THE STRUCTURE OF AN IMPERIAL CHINESE CITY:

A PERSON-ENVIRONMENT STUDY OF LIN'AN (1123-1278)

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Summary

In order to understand key features of the premodern Chinese city, *Lin'an*, the imperial capital of the Southern *Song* Dynasty (1123-1278), I adopt a person-environment approach in the study.

The study consists of two parts. The first part defines the overarching theoretical framework describing the multi-layered place system of a city. Based on this framework, the second part investigates the structure of *Lin'an* in both spatio-physical and psycho-social dimensions, by analysing the contemporary texts and maps that represent various real life interactions/transactions between the city and its inhabitants.

In detail, the first part involves a theoretical study within the multidisciplinary framework of EBS (environment-behaviour studies) or EP (environmental psychology). I discuss the two key psychological traditions of spatial cognition and social representation, as well as the theoretical construct of *place*, which amalgamates physical attribute, activity and conception into a single unit of analysis; then define the basic framework of the city as a multi-layered place system, with detailed operative parameters specified to facilitate further studies.

Within the second part, with special reference to the elite tradition and the basic social structure of the imperial Chinese system, I first discuss various issues concerning the types and features of the texts and maps, in order to justify the merit of those sources to the study and figure out how to interpret them. Then, re-focusing on the city of *Lin'an*, selectively investigate key features of the city with the integrated framework developed in the first part. The study is not conducted in a comprehensive manner, but focused on the conceptual place system at various levels based on different primary and secondary sources, thus the study has the following three-fold approach:

- The study on general categorization of the city and urban places that comprises the official and folk place systems. Mainly through a place naming study supplemented with other related researches, I show that the duality of the two place systems formed the basic cognitive category, which reflected the fundamental social structure of the contemporary society and manifested both in spatio-physical and psycho-social dimensions;

- The detailed study of the imperial structure over the city. The integrated study is conducted mainly through interpreting historical texts and maps, as well as through investigating the theories and practices of the Chinese imperial urban planning;

- The detailed study of the urban structure on everyday life. It is mainly based on the detailed accounts of commoners' lifestyles, and general investigations on the evolution of common urban sectors during the imperial periods.

Based on the findings in the above studies, the overall cognitive structure of the city could be specified as a multi-layered system, with the official and folk places/place systems as the two key layers, manifested distinctively with both spatio-physical and psycho-social parameters. This cognitive urban structure integrated the use value and a higher level of signification, and thus achieved both complexity and clarity.

The integrated person-environment approach leads to some fresh understanding of the historic Chinese city, particularly both from the broad social framework and various detailed aspects of the interplay between the city and its inhabitants.

Chapter 1. Introduction

In this study, I intend to understand the structure of an imperial Chinese city with an integrated person-environment approach.

Defined within the framework of person-environment relationship, the study has clear urban design relevance instead of general interests of the urban historian. In the context of uses and senses, it explores both the manifest and latent aspects of the urban system.

Looking at the city as a multi-layered place system, the understanding of the imperial Chinese city is mainly derived from analysing the contemporary texts and maps, which recorded the real life interactions/transactions between people and places at different levels.

In general, the following two parts are integral to the study:

- Define an overarching framework describing the city as a multi-layered place system with operative parameters specified for further studies;

- Within this framework, investigate the city's structure both in spatio-physical and psycho-social dimensions.

1.1. Background of the study

The particular focuses and approach of the study are greatly influenced by two factors. One is my interests in comparing Medieval Chinese cities and European cities, the other is my former experiences in design/planning related practices.

1.1.1. "Authentic" Chinese architecture and city

Trained and practiced in architectural design/planning with some exposures to both the Chinese and the Western cultural traditions, I always wonder why such a physical contrast existed between the European and the Chinese cities in their past and present.

The "time structures"[1] of many European historical cities is still in existence. They witnessed the brilliant urban tradition, which had been theorized, dominating the narrative of world architecture and urban history. While the Chinese counterpart with less preserved physical manifestations, still has much to be explored. Early socio-economic studies on premodern Chinese cities that were made by those foreign Sinologists in the Euro-centric manners, were reviewed as inadequate. Because, as Skinner (1977) observed, none of those dichotomies, namely the rural - urban, the pre-industrial - industrial, the despotic -autonomous, could adequately describe the premodern Chinese cities. On the other hand, some studies on the premodern urban forms and planning systems by the local Chinese scholars, seemed to be disconnected from the comprehensive social tradition and thus offered only restrictive views.[2]

Actually, most of these studies reflected different parts of the truth, and thus had certain relevance to the knowledge pool of historical Chinese cities. From my observation, what

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[1] Please refer to chapter 6.4 for the discussion on the original Mumford's definition and etc.

[2] Xu (2000, p. 4) made similar remarks on the available historical Chinese urban studies. "…either that sociological interests override careful examinations of the formation and transformation of the spatial and physical features of the cities or that an overemphasis of the cities' formal and technological aspects detaches them from social contexts."

really lacking is an overall framework that could effectively link those earlier studies into a consistent system. The city is made for people, it contains both physical artefacts and abstract social relations, and thus it directly relates to detailed uses and various senses of its users. All these need to be incorporated for an effective urban study.

Therefore, defining the city as a multi-layered place system integrating various aspects about the city and its inhabitants, I intend to reconstruct such a framework, within which relevant researches from both existing and future studies will be incorporated, amended and upgraded in a systematic manner.

1.1.2. Design relevance

Switching between academic research and practice in my past experiences, I am concerned with the usefulness of the research. It will not be a mere academic exercise, but a design oriented research, which could closely relate to the design/planning practices.

In this study, spatio-physical features of the city will not be the only focus. At the inception of the study, I had tried to apply Lynch's image theory to the analyses of the historic Chinese city. Such an approach, relating a person's psychological aspects with the design of city, was seen as a major shift from the dominant design paradigm concentrating on forms and social uses, but was still inadequate for its over-emphases of the visual property out of the multifaceted mental aspects. Fitting Lynch's limited explorative theory into the broader framework of person-environment relationship, I feel that urban design theory should refer more to the comprehensive person's mental aspects.

In the broader context, Rapoport (1978) defined urban design as the organization of space, time, meaning and communication. With such design relevance, this study is conducted with emphasis on comprehensive analyses instead of an exclusive insistence on creativity and practical problem solving of the typical thinking in the actual design process.

The study involves more comprehensive human experience of places, based on the person-environment analyses of various real life aspects that encompass both spatio-physical and psycho-social dimensions.

Such approach will enable both a comprehensive structural understanding and detailed investigations. The particular focus of the study is not that of the typical urban historian, intending to explain the emergence and development of the city as a whole; neither is it an architectural or planning exercise, searching for design/planning models. In this study, I investigate the person-environment structure of the city, and strive to explore new dimensions in describing the particular features of the historic Chinese city.

1.2. The development of an idea

Aiming to construct a theoretical framework and then apply it, the study involves an iterated process of defining/redefining objectives, justifying theoretical framework, and understanding sources, as well as analysing detailed cases.

1.2.1. Theories

Much effort has been made to the theoretical studies, in order to develop an operative framework relevant to the study. Such a framework will be particularly important for the historical Chinese urban study with multidisciplinary focuses.

At the inception of the study, I had turned to Kevin Lynch's model of city image (1960) for the theoretical support. The well-known concept of *imageability* and the fivefold taxonomy had been effectively applied in my former studies on the Medieval German urban centres.[3] I tried to use similar methodology in this study to find the alternative taxonomy of city image in the imperial Chinese urban context.[4] However, such effort did not turn out to be effective, as the study was not supported with the absence of empirical data from various sources. More importantly, the model itself offered only a restrictive view, as the term *Imageability* referred more to the visual spatial features, which could only be a part of the multifaceted urban features.

In order to reach a comprehensive understanding, the study then resorts to the multidisciplinary system of EBS (environment-behaviour studies) or EP (environmental psychology) with special emphasis of the psychological aspects. This system is defined based on the comprehensive analyses of various person-environment

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[3] I discussed issues related to urban revitalization of the small and medium-sized historic German centres, Bietigheim -Bissingen and Murrhardt in the vicinity of Stuttgart, the State Capital of Baden-Württemburg.

[4] Based on the preliminary explorations in this direction, the paper (Co-author Dr. Heng Chye Kiang) <u>City as Image: A Chinese perspective</u> was presented at the conference "City as Text", co-organized by Centre for Advance Studies and Department of English, National University of Singapore, August 1999.

interactions/transactions at different levels, incorporating many empirical studies of diverse nature into the two psychological traditions in the direction of spatial cognition and social representation.

Furthermore, the effective use on the theoretical construct of *place* is justified throughout the study. *Place* amalgamates physical attribute, activity and conception into a single unit of analysis. *Place* not only integrates the two psychological traditions, but also bridges the intellectual gaps between researchers and practitioners, as it emphasizes both the conceptual process and the contents (mental representations and environmental features).

With a basic framework structuring the city into a multi-layered place system, I further specify detailed parameters of this system, and thus set the stage for further inquiries.

1.2.2. Sources

As in many other historical studies, premodern Chinese cities were more probably existed as textual reality rather than physical reality. With few urban paintings in existence, the abundant maps and texts left from that period serve as the primary sources for various researches.

In the study, these sources will provide relevant information in terms of fact and value. The fact refers to the objective descriptions that can be obtained through the lines;[5] whereas value refers to the structure that needs to be explored behind the lines. However, for both and the latter in particular, straightforward interpretations or "translations" into the modern context will be problematic, as those sources are dated almost for one millennium, the relevant conventions or particular socio-cultural rules underlying them might lost contingency at the present.

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[5] For *Zhi* and *Biji* used in the study, the basic assumption is that those texts directly narrated the common conceptions of the group typified by the authors, without going into complex issues of the typical post-structuralist thinking.

Contrasting with the Western cultural tradition, the imperial Chinese system as a whole was unique with a rich legacy left to the world. The historical Chinese urban study relates to a broad spectrum of knowledge, such as philosophies, literary theories, linguistic traditions etc. The study with limited scope has to concentrate only on certain dominant and persistent issues like the elite tradition etc. that were seen as critical factors influencing the production and interpretation of the texts and graphics. Such general understanding is mainly derived from the secondary sources.

With special reference to the elite tradition and the basic social structure of the imperial system, I address various issues about the type and feature of the texts and graphics, in order to justify the merit of those sources to the study and figure out how to interpret them. Such study set the stage for further studies based on these sources.

1.2.3. The study of the imperial city of Lin'an

The particular period of *Lin'an* as the imperial capital of the Southern *Song* has drawn many research interests.[6] It was perhaps partly because of the availability of abundant primary sources and partly because of the city's own appeal.

During the imperial Chinese history, the *Song* state was noted for its great material growth and cultural achievements. However, the Southern *Song* court was also notorious for cowardice. *Lin'an* was a hasty choice after the invasion of the *Jin* Empire. The imperial system had to be re-established and imposed over the existing urban fabric, which had already gained considerable development and acted as a prosperous economic hub in southern China. Although not an ideal imperial capital compared with those grandiose northern capitals such as *Chang'an* and *Kaifeng*, *Lin'an* was listed among the most populous and prosperous world city during that period. *Lin'an* could not embody the general

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[6] For example, the study of the comprehensive urbanism by Gernet (1962), Lin (1984) and Finegan (1976); the socio-economic study by Shiba, as well as the planning studies by He (1986b) and Yang (1993) etc.

Chinese urban traditions that were diverse in political, economic and cultural importance; yet it reflected certain aspects of this tradition.

In the analyses of various features of the city, the study is not conducted in a comprehensive manner, but focused on the conceptual place system constructed at various levels based on different primary and secondary sources, as shown blow:

- The study on general categorization of the city and urban places that comprises the official and folk place systems. Mainly through a place naming study supplemented with other related researches, I show that the duality of the two place systems formed the basic cognitive category, which reflected the fundamental social structure of the contemporary society and manifested both in spatio-physical and psycho-social dimensions;

- The detailed study of the imperial structure over the city. The integrated study is conducted mainly through interpreting historical texts and maps, as well as through investigating the theories and practices of the Chinese imperial urban planning;

- The detailed study of the urban structure on everyday life. It is mainly based on the detailed accounts of commoners' lifestyles, and general investigations on the evolution of common urban sectors during the imperial periods.

Based on the findings in the above studies, the overall cognitive structure of the city could be specified as a multi-layered system, with the official and folk places/place systems as the two key layers, manifested distinctively with both spatio-physical and psycho-social parameters. This cognitive urban structure integrated the use value and a higher level of signification, and thus achieved both complexity and clarity.

The integrated person-environment approach leads to some fresh understanding of the historic Chinese city, particularly both from the broad social framework and various detailed aspects of the interplay between the city and its inhabitants.

1.3. Organization of the thesis

Following the above discussion, the thesis is organized into two individual parts, as shown in the table below:

Parts	Chapters	Topics
Part I	Chapter 1	Introduction
	Chapter 2	Theoretical framework
Part II	Chapter 3	Historical sources
	Chapter 4	The basic urban category
	Chapter 5	The city's imperial symbolic structure
	Chapter 6	The city's structure on everyday life
	Chapter 7	The overall structure of the city (conclusion)

Table 1-1. The organization of the thesis

In the first part, after introducing the background of the study, I discuss various researches on relevant EBS theories in order to develop a theoretical framework for further studies.

In the second part, I investigate the traditional Chinese cities. The study includes five rather independent chapters, each of which addresses particular issue. Chapter 3 and chapter 4 are more general studies, one on the literary sources and another on the basic urban category between the official and folk place system. Detailed investigations are found in chapter 5 and chapter 6, one on the imperial system and another on the folk system. In the last chapter, I define the multi-layered cognitive structure of the city based on the studies in the previous chapters and conclude the study.

PART I. CITY, PLACE AND DESIGN

A city is a large and complex environment. A city contains a variety of places and a great number of people, constantly interacting each other.

In this part, the theoretical framework of the places and people is the focus of the study. Under the rubric of person-environment relationship or environment behaviour studies (EBS), this multidisciplinary theoretical framework is derived mainly from various existing researches that were not defined under one unifying theme. To be effectively operative to further studies, the framework is re-constructed with special focuses on urban forms, however without neglecting people in terms of uses and senses. In this sense, it incorporates various significant political, socio-cultural aspects and ordinary everyday aspects of the city into a comprehensive multi-layered system.

Therefore, by first defining the field of inquiry, I try to identify the relevance of EBS in terms of the connection between researches and designs. Then investigate various models of the person-environment relationship and especially on the concept of place in the urban context. Operative parameters are further specified as the scientific basis and methodological reference to the further studies on the city, places and people.

Chapter 2. City as a place system[1]

2.1. Theory and practice: defining the approach

Based on the assumption that design theory should be applicable to the design practice, in the following sections, I will try to define the design related theoretical study in the general framework of person-environment relationship.

2.1.1. Design theory and praxis

As conceived from my experiences,[2] design theories sometimes could not closely related to the design practices. The typical approaches of a researcher and a designer could be quite different. Altman (1990, pp.239-242) described such difference between the two parties as having *an intellectual gap*, as shown in the following table:

	Designer	Researcher
Target	Criterion/dependent variable (particular goals and design objectives)	Independent variable
Methodology	Synthetic and holistic, aiming to gain understanding of the holistic unity	Analytic, less concerned with the immediate synthesis of findings from different domains
Objective	Problem solvers and implementers	Knowing and understanding rather than immediate application
Priority	Creativity	Understanding

Table 2-1.The intellectual gap between designers and researchers.[3]

Starting from Altman's discussion, while a designer would strive to find a concrete or "creative" solution to the problem out of many possible alternatives; whereas a researcher would rather seek detailed "understanding" of a case or a section of it, considering both parameters and processes instead of immediate applications.

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[1] The framework of this chapter was abstracted in the conference paper: "*A person-environment approach to historic urban studies*", which was accepted for presentation at ICAP XXV (International Congress of Applied Psychology), July 2002, Singapore.

[2] I had involved both in the academic teaching/research and the practices in the field of architectural/urban and planning.

[3] The table is developed mainly based on Altman (1990), the discussion on different features in priority however, is derived mainly from the general understanding and experiences of my own.

The architects/urban designers could still focus on spatial forms and social uses as the key design parameters, which could be approached with objective standards or manifested aspects. Such design approaches are criticized of being shallow, imprecise, non-analytic and insensitive to the importance of theory. The researchers, however, often emphasize the comprehensive understanding of cause and effect, and they could look into the urban environment in term of the socio-physical parameters, which include various latent aspects of human experiences like perceptual, cognitive and affective aspects. These could essentially underlie the creation of form and spatial use, but tend to be ignored in the design practice. Researches are often reported as irrelevant to solve practical problems, as sometimes their focuses are not associated closely with the physical components and the research outputs are yet to apply to the actual practice (cf. Altman, 1990; Rapoport, 1992; 2000).

Realizing the disconnection between designers and researchers, my basic point of the study is that not only need theoretical study be oriented to the design practice, but the design process need also follow a theoretical framework that is defined systematically or "scientifically".[4] Thus, in the study I resort to the existing pool of Environment Behaviour Studies (EBS), and address particularly those issues that could attract typical interests of designers but have not treated systematically by them, in order to develop a relevant framework.

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[4] By "scientific approach", I address the similar concerns of Rapoport (1999, 2000) in the sense that design should involve logic and systematic approaches, similar to the process of the hard science no matter how complicated are the variables.

2.1.2. EBS researches and the design

As generally accepted, EBS is a multidisciplinary knowledge base covering various issues regarding person-environment relationship. These issues are discussed both on the individual and collective levels, with focuses both on manifest and latent aspects. The common concern of EBS is on both the person and the environment.

Under the rubric of EBS, various notions and theories are constructed. According to Bonnes and Sechanoli (1995), they reflect different parts of the truth, or different levels of the dynamics between a person and his/her living environment, with diverse objectives and relevance. There is still no "grand" theory or a general theory defined in the broad scale. Although the attempt for a synthesis started in 1970s, it finally appeared as a mere anthology.

Actually, aiming for such a "grand" theoretical framework is unlikely feasible, as Altman (2000, pp. 40-42) argued, because of the "diverse and ever-changing membership, the varying interests of participants from different disciplines, and the early stages of our knowledge", and because "…there are multiple truths, multiple types and rules of evidence, and multiple twists of the kaleidoscope of human behaviour, many of which have legitimacy and meaning, but none of which is 'the answer'". Thus, it could be more productive to develop "a middle range" framework that is limited in scope and application.

As many EBS researches and theories relate to the environmental design practices, they can act as theoretical guidance to designers. In terms of the urban design, it facilitates a better understanding of various design parameters and their effectiveness, which relate to the real life of people in using and making sense of their living environment, besides focusing on the physical features of the environment. The approach that emphasized a person's subjective

aspects to guide urban design practice was introduced by Lynch (1960), as a significant paradigmatic shift in the design process (cf. Rapoport, 1977).

In reality, urban design theories do not systematically benefit from the developments of EBS theories. Thus, I would re-emphasize the importance of design related theoretical study. Based on a systematic inquiry on the holism of person's behavioural/conceptual aspects and urban features, I will reconstruct the framework of studying the city with a particular urban design focus. Within this general framework, urban design could be viewed as a process that relates to parameters and processes on various levels, or as a process of organizing space, time, meaning and communication, as Rapoport (1977, pp.8-47) had noted.

2.1.3. The study of theories

The objectives of the theoretical study are both to reconstruct a relevant framework and to specify operative parameters with a person-environment point of view. The study does not intend to develop urban design theories, or to reach design guidelines for immediate application; neither is it a systematic test of EBS hypotheses. It concentrates on the comprehensive understanding of various issues related to the urban place making, and sets up an overall framework that can facilitate further detailed studies.

This framework will be an open system, which will encompass the basic structure outlining many subsystems within the comprehensive system that is yet to be developed and upgraded constantly. Thus, in general the study focuses on key traditions and the basic framework of EBS, and in specific it explores important theoretical constructs in the related fields, which effectively define the person-environment relationship in the urban context. Theories discussed are either because of their general validity in EBS or because of the

relevance as methodological references. It may emphasize, out of my arbitration, those theories that are not dominant but are relevant to the study.

In general, the theoretical study seeks a modern perspective. Both the research methodology applied and researches outputs referred to follow the modern Western tradition, partly due to the dominance of the scientific framework in the modern Western context, and partly because of the lack of systematic theorizations on the city-people issues in the tradition Chinese texts.

Concerning the potential cultural bias of the study, I would argue that such bias could be minimized with proper justifications. Given the fact that most studies are cultural dependent, e.g. Lynch's study on imageability was conducted in the modern urban context, what this study seeks is the understanding of the general person-environment paradigms and detailed research methodologies, not the direct answers on the particular kind of person-environment given in the Western context.

Thus, with critical readings of various theoretical constructs and especially their presumptions in specific contexts, the general person-environment framework developed in the modern Western context, could still be relevant when apply to the traditional Chinese study.

2.2. EBS and its psychological traditions

2.2.1. EBS and EP *in the broad definition*
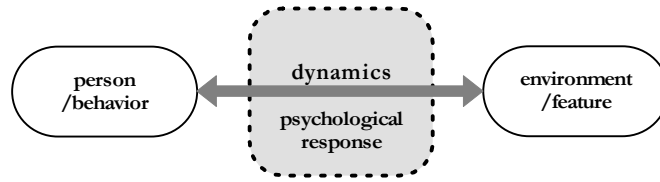
Figure 2-1. The psychological process between person and environment

As shown in the above figure (cf. Figure 2-2 in section 2.3.3), a common scheme of EBS is defined between person and environment, with the psychological process mediating in-between. As this psychological process is emphasized, thus all related EBS studies are subsumed under the rubric of Environmental Psychology (EP).

EP focuses on analyzing the basic psychological process on both individual and group levels. With pushes from the environmental design practices in 1950s, EP's existing research areas relate both to the modality of person-environment relationship and to the psycho-environment process, as shown by Stokols (1978, pp. 255, 259):

Forms of relationship		Cognitive		Behavioural	
Phase of transaction	Active	Interpretive		Operative	
		Cognitive representation of the spatial environment	Personality and the environment	Experimental analysis of ecologically relevant behaviour	Human spatial behaviour
	Reactive	Evaluative		Responsive	
		Environmental attitudes	Environment assessment	Impact of the physical environment	Ecological psychology

Table 2-2. Research areas of Environmental Psychology

Various EP researches are mostly empirical based, conducted with different objectives and at different levels of analyses. In the following, Bonnes and Secchiaroli (1995, p. 66, pp. 73-76) further elaborated thematic areas of EP studies into the two broad groups:

- Behaviours in relation to the characteristics of environment: this theme explores the adequacy of built environment with respect to its functions. Relevant to planners/designers, the typical approach is to identify components, attributes of the physical environment that impede or facilitate behaviour;

- Knowing and evaluating the environment: this theme focuses primarily on the outcome of the psychological process. The typical approach is to clarify the role that people play in defining the characteristics of the environment. The process of cognitive representation is assigned the key indicator of the complex relationship between person and environment.

In detail, the topics of existing studies range from concrete-geometric knowledge to abstract-symbolic association. At different levels, all the following categories have certain relevance to the study (Moore, 1983):[5]

- Objective environments, i.e. experts' descriptions;

- Cognitive mapping, i.e. location, spatial layout, other physical geometric aspects;

- Linguistic labels and category system, i.e. urban vocabularies;

- Images of overall character and qualities of environment;

- Meaning and symbolism of different environment or aspects of the environment.

2.2.2. Convergence and divergence of traditions

Underlying various researches of Environmental Psychology, Bonnes and Secchiaroli (1995) identified two traditions, i.e. the tradition of perceptual/cognitive psychology (the spatio-physical tradition) that focused mainly on the spatial cognition, and the tradition of social psychology (the psycho-social tradition) that was normally not considered belonging to the mainstream psychology. Regarding person-environment relationship, the views of these two traditions are both convergent and divergent.

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[5] Those topics were originally defined under "environmental cognition", which were actually relevant to more comprehensive field of researches in Environmental Psychology, as discussed in the following section 2.2.3.

According to Bonnes and Secchiaroli, (pp. 146-148), the divergence between the two traditions reflects different demands of the person on the environment. In the tradition of spatial cognition, typical focus of the study is the information provided by the formal organization of physical space as a function of the cognitive representation. The study investigates spatial forms with the focus of cognitive "knowing" of the spatial structure of the environment.

Instead of the spatio-physical focus, researches in the tradition of social representation specify a more comprehensive unit of analysis on the psycho-social level in general. The focuses of various studies are "both the dynamic modalities with which shared and personal aspects of social experience take shape and the interconnections between cognitive and affective aspects of processes" (ibid, p. 179). The presumption is that the environment is not only known through behaviour, but also through human value and intentions (cf. Stokols and Schumaker, 1981).

The focuses of recent researches in the two traditions gradually converge. According to Bonnes and Secchiaroli, by considering spatial cognition (of the spatial tradition) as source of information within the comprehensive focuses of the social context (of the social tradition) and defining the spatial knowledge as "one of the many components of the complex environment where individuals are part of and interact with" (p. 142), two traditions are not conflicting but complimentary.

The above general scheme facilitates a better understanding of existing studies, which could be clearly recognized whether they are of the spatio-physical or psycho-social focuses based on the initial directions of inquiries. It also helps the further studies, so that the real life context of person-environment could be explored more comprehensively and effectively.

2.2.3. Concepts and terms

To various EP/EBS researchers, concepts and terms could be defined under different traditions with different objectives and methodologies, and thus their uses are often in conflict. This happens particularly with the design related terms, as they are also defined by the participations of "the practicing environmental designers" who "are not always well-versed or able to spend time and energy in the development and assessment of theoretical constructs"(Alterman, 2000).

Therefore, it is necessary to justify different uses in the mainstream EP tradition before applying them to the further studies. In the following sections, I will discuss several terms in pair, namely mental representation-cognitive representation, image-mental map and cognitive map-map.

Mental representation vs. cognitive representation

I will start using the term *mental representation* to describe the full spectrum of a person's psychological response to the environment. As generally accepted, this term consists of a series of processes in the order of preference/evaluation, cognition and perception. These different processes or stages belong to a single process and cannot be split apart in the real life context, the purpose to make such distinction, as Rapoport (1977, pp.31-33, 36-37) noted, was mainly for the convenience of analyses, i.e. "separate primarily sensory processes from vicarious experiences, and hence helps distinguish between how people learn the city, structure and organize it conceptually and how the city is experienced through the senses".

For the distinction among the three-featured mental representation relevant to the study of the urban environment, Rapoport further noted that "perception deals with how information is gathered and obtained, cognition with how it is organized (although the two

are closely related) and preference deals with how it is ranked and evaluated". As shown in the table below, different features among these three mental processes are compared based on the Rapoport's discussion:

Mental Process	Type of representation		Individual/cultural differences	Affective attitude
	Person	Environment		
Perception	Direct sensory	Concrete	Consistency	Neutral
Cognitive				
Evaluative	Inference	Abstract	Variability	Charged

Table 2-3. 3-featured mental representation: perception, cognition and evaluation

I choose to use the term *mental representation* instead of the term *cognitive representation*, as the latter is associated with a unique emphasis in EP. The function of cognition is the focus in the spatial cognition studies, which investigate perceiving, active knowing and structuring of the multiform environment with relevance to a person's behaviour like way-finding or navigation plan. In this context, *urban perception* and *urban cognition* are used interchangeably without much distinction. On the other hand, in the social representation studies, the term *cognitive representation* relates both to various mental processes of the spatio-physical dimension and or more of the psycho-social dimension, like the cognitive and affective aspects. Thus, although with emphasis on the cognitive process, the connotation of the term *cognitive representation* here actually extends to the full range of mental representation.

Terms like *cognitive map, environmental cognition, image, mental map* and etc, could probably be specified in the tradition of spatial cognition, but used in the other instances. Thus, in some cases these terms can be used interchangeably, but often can not, as they were perhaps constructed in different contexts, with different roles and functions assigned to the process, or with different relationships to behaviour (Bonnes and Secchiaroli, 1995, pp. 132-133; cf. Downs and Stea, 1973b).

<u>Image vs. mental map</u>

The term *image* is evasive, widely referred in different contexts. To a psychologist, *image* is the general psychological referent for all consciousness; to a designer/planner or a geographer, *image* could refer to the pictorialization of the cognitive map without the psychological reference.

The following are important theoretical constructs in the development of the term *image*:

- Bartlett (1950): the psychological notion "schemata" on the study of memory. The term referred to the internal representations that individual drew upon as references. It had behaviour relevance, referring to the organization of the past and present experiences as bases for the future actions.

- Boulding (1956): an economist extension of the term "image" into the total structure of the organized subjective knowledge of what a person believed to be true about himself and the world. In addition to the psychological connotation, the notion amalgamated comprehensive aspects of political, economic and other organizational significances (cf. table 2-4 below).

- Lynch (1960): an urban designer/planner's notion that described the relationship between urban physical settings and person's psychological representations. The image consisted of identity, structure and meaning.

- Lee (1968): the concept of "socio-spatial schemata" on the study of the neighbourhood. It specified the organization of people's daily life.

Referring to Bartlett, Lee and especially Lynch, environmental psychologists highlighted the cognitive aspect of *image*, which could be more accurately described as *mental map*. "Mental maps are those specific spatial images which people have of the physical environment and which primarily affect spatial behaviour" (Canter, 1977, pp.13-26, 110; cf. Rapoport, 1977, p. 119).

To Lynch, the *image* related primarily to spatial forms, thus this *image* is not equivalence to *mental map/cognitive representation* in the psychological tradition, but only a part of it, i.e. the cognitive representation of vision, as pinpointed by Downs and Stea (1973b, pp.79-86).

To geographer, *mental map* could be used to represent the people's spatial preferences at the regional or national and international scales (Gould, 1986). This departed from the cognitive emphasis of *mental map* in the psychological tradition, as such cognitive structuring of social stimuli was mainly evaluative than cognitive.

Image had another broader definition in addition to its cognitive emphasis. As shown in the table below, by grouped Boulding's(1956) components into three broad categories, Rapoport defined *image* as the structure or schemata incorporating the notion of ideals and ideas, as well as facts and values/knowledge of how the world was and how it worked (1977, pp. 42-47, 115-118). Thus, *image* could be equivalent to the overall *mental representation* of a person on his socio-physical environment. Only spatial, temporal and relational components relate to the *image* of Lynch.

No.	Boulding: 10 components of images	Rapoport: 3 broad categories
1	Spatial image	Factual knowledge and how this related grouping and arrangement of elements
2	Temporal image	
3	Relational image	
4	Personal image	
5	Value	Ideals and preferences, affective ranking of values, etc.
6	Affection	
7	Division into conscious, subconscious and unconscious areas	Grouping and similarity in terms of structure, properties and components
8	Certainty or uncertainty	
9	Reality-unreality	
10	Public-private	

Table 2-4. The restructure of Boulding's "image"

To avoid confusion in the following studies, I follow the environmental psychologists' proposal and use *mental map* in place of *image* to highlight the cognitive emphasis.

Cognitive map vs. cartographic map

The term *cognitive map* was coined by Tolman (1948), and then widely applied in the practices of environmental design and research. The term normally applies to very large spatial entities like landscape, a city or its part, which cannot be perceived as a whole immediately (cf. Kitchen, 1994).

Referring to the product of cognitive process, *cognitive map* could be similarly used as *cognitive representations* or *mental map*.[6] For both *cognitive map* and *mental map*, the so-called *map* is mainly a functional analogy. It may have the functions of the cartographic map, and may manifest itself in certain real world characteristics, i.e. "a subject behaves as if such a map existed"; but it does not necessarily possess the physical properties of such a graphic model (Stea, 1982, pp.45-47; Downs and Stea, 1973b, p. 11).

In general terms, as Golledge (1999) noted, maps are human products for the purpose of recording the absolute and relative location of places, features, and spatial relations among phenomena. A map normally consists of points (landmark and node), lines (route and path) and areas (regions, neighbourhoods), as well as surfaces (3D characteristics). Different features of a physical map are determined by the principles with which these mapping elements are organized.

Further to the definition as pinpointed by Harley and David (1987), maps are "graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world." Thus, Harley (1996, pp. 426-432) observes two principles that underlie a mapping process; each has discrete priority and mode of representation:

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[6] Cognitive mapping is used to indicate the process and cognitive map is the product of the process (Downs and Stea, 1973b). Similar terms of cognitive map include mental map or environmental images (Lynch 1960),

- The scientific (positivistic) principle: it emphasizes the objective and accurate mirroring of the physical world, most modern maps are made under this principle;

- The non-scientific (cultural) principle: it highlights the embedded value like ethnocentricity and rules of social order, as demonstrated in traditional Chinese maps.

Thus, a *cognitive map* is not an accurate Euclidean *cartographic map*, but has the feature of incompleteness, distortion and schematisation.[7] In contrast with the spatial continuance of an ordinary *cartographic map* following the scientific principle, a *cognitive map* is made through an order-preserving transformation with the following principles (Stea, 1982, pp. 48-49; cf. Kaplan, 1982, pp. 55-56; Downs, 1973, pp. 16-21):

- The difference in magnitude between the length of two paths, the sizes of two subspaces, etc, is demonstrably recognized;

- The elements involved (paths, points, spaces etc.) are equal in importance, cogency, and valence (attractiveness of goal value), and are equally well known to subjects; or

- Differences in importance, valence, or cogency are in the direction of objective differences in magnitude.

These principles are parts of the so-called non-scientific or cultural principles. The interpretation of non-scientific map features with these principles could facilitate the better analyse of various psychological aspects reflected in the cognitive map.

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cognitive system (Canter 1977), or spatial representation that is more general and valid both for human and nonhuman species (Kitchen, 1994).

[7] Schematisation denotes the use of cognitive categories into which we code environmental information and by which we interpret such information (Stea, 1982, pp. 48-49).

2.3. Theoretical developments of EP research and urban design theory

Kevin Lynch has been important both to EP researches and to urban design practices. He has instilled constant incentive for further theoretical developments of Environmental Psychology and urban design theories.

In the following sections, I will discuss Lynch's city image model and fit it into the large framework of EP/EBS. Then investigate its related theoretical developments following the twofold classification of the psychological tradition respectively. Topics focus either on "information" in line with the tradition of spatial cognition, or on "value" in the tradition of social psychology.

2.3.1. Lynch and urban design theories

"The image of city"

With design/planning backgrounds, Lynch was interested in defining goal of city design and ideal of city form. He initiated the approach to apply *image/mental map* model to the study of urban forms, inspired by the early developments of psychological theories and with particular influences of Gyorgy Kepes (cf. Banerjee and Southworth, 1990).[8] Lynch's approach was widely accepted and debated at the same time.

In the study of the *image* of city, Lynch (1960) defined the city *image* as having three components of identity, structure and meaning, and narrowed down the discussions only on the physical and perceptible aspects (identity and structure), with an ignorance of the functional and symbolic aspects (meaning). The term *imageability* or *legibility* was defined as "the ease with which various parts of city can be recognized and organized into a coherent pattern" (pp.2-3), thus it was used to describe the quality of spatial forms that could

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[8] Kepes, a painter and designer, was particularly interested in the city's spatial and symbolic aspects.

facilitate or impede the perception of the city. According to him, public image of city was stable in spite of subjective differences and could be analysed with the five parameters, namely path, edge, node, landmark and district.

The city image model found great acceptances among designers and researchers, perhaps partly because of its operative nature. Following him, similar researches have been applied to the study of cities in other cultural contexts, e.g. Amsterdam, Rotterdam and, Ciuda Guayana in Venezuela, Rome and Milan, New York, Paris etc. But to the actual city design/planning practices, the theory had only minor influences. This owed to the variant nature of public image and the current value system of the design, which relegated subjective public image to something frivolous compared with those material issues. Thus, it was difficult to apply to public planning and design policy, as Lynch recollected (1986).

A general evaluation and further related works

The city image model was criticized for the limited scope, ambiguity in definition and the research methodology.

As Lynch recollected (1984), the model's limited scope had inherent difficulty, as meaning always crept in and cannot be split apart from the visual aspects of image. More questions arose regarding Lynch's research methodology. With an insufficient sample size and the design usurpation, the study was considered speculative in certain ways. Rapoport (1977, p. 117) further noted, the criteria used to classify parameters of city *image* was ambiguous, as it ignored the inherent variability of definitions and classifications of the users cognitive schemata, e.g. landmark was actually defined partly on socio-cultural variables: meanings, names, associations and preference rankings, as well as the perceptual and locational prominence.

There had been a number of efforts testing or developing Lynch's model. Researches were conducted to test its underlying premise (Holahan and Dorenson, 1995),[9] or to validate the taxonomic system of city image (cf. Magana et al., 1981; Aragones and Arredondo, 1985). In the research on the city of Ciudad Guayana, with an improved sample, accurate map interpretation and field survey, Appleyard (1982) explored the type of elements predominantly used and their level of congruence with the objective city plan. The finding corroborated Lynch in certain degree, e.g. the sequential elements related to paths and modes, and the spatial elements related to the landmarks, districts and edges.

2.3.2. Lynch's City image/mental map in the broad framework of EP

With the broad framework of EP, Lynch's city *image*, or *mental map* model to be more accurate, is relevant in the aspect of "environmental difference" (Moore, 1983), as it focuses on the effect/outcome of formal aspects in relation to a person's cognitive reactions. As Bonnes and Secchiaroli (1995, p. 137) noted, the premise of the theoretical model is that the optimal modalities for organization of the urban formal structure could be established, once the way that its properties are perceived and cognitively organized by person is known.

The use of *mental map* by Lynch was restrictive with an over-emphasis of the visual aspect of imagery. Such theoretical orientation was explicit in the definition of the term "*imageability*" , which was "… the possibility of some environments would generate more comprehensible structures than others would…the quality in a physical object which give it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer…" (Lynch, 1960, p.9). Thus, using formal aspects of geometric space as exclusive criteria in the analysis of cognitive representation, this approach ignored the role of various forms of person-environment

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[9] The experiment applied theoretical formulation from the information processing metaphor to explore underlying premise in Lynch's conception of imageability. Using maps memorization method to test the memorization of the three types of maps: unorganized, organized map and controlled map, the conclusion is that imageability requires both salient features and well organized features.

interaction on the outcome of spatial cognitions (Bonnes and Secchiaroli, 1995, p. 9; cf. Downs and Stea, 1973). The fivefold urban image taxonomy was also confined with a typical designer's perspective, and could likely only be a subset of a psychologically meaningful one (Gäring, 1995b, p. 4).

Lynch's research focus could be fit into a more comprehensive system of Environmental Psychology, which was developed with a significant theoretical shift "from the outcome of perceptual and cognitive processes to the modalities and content of representation" (Bonnes and Secchiaroli, 1995, p. 143). In this system, as Appleyard (1973) proposed, the cognitive representation included the following three dominant modalities/contents: [10]

- Operational: the functional use of city, the particular aspects of the environment for the purpose of carrying out tasks;

- Responsive: the configuration of the physical environment, which could include multi-modalities, including imageable elements of Lynch;

- Inferential and probabilistic: cognitive decision process, e.g. fitting into categories, predicting probabilities, forming and testing hypotheses.

The above scheme considers the outcome and the process, as well as the duality between environment dominant responsive perception and man-dominant operational and inferential representation. Each kind of representation relied on certain attribute of the environment, i.e. personal movement and visibility for the operational, imageability for the responsive, and socio-functional significance for the inferential (cf. Kaplan and Kaplan, 1982, p.80).

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[10] Originally it was termed as urban perception. Urban perception and urban cognition were used interchangeably during the research period, albeit it referred more accurately to urban cognition with focuses on the abstract/non-physical aspects.

I believe this represents a rather holistic view on cognitive representation, starting from the spatial cognition researches. In the following sections, I will discuss this topic further based on the spatio-physical tradition and the psycho-social tradition respectively.

2.3.3. Map as information: the spatio-physical tradition

Research focuses and trends

The basic research focus of spatial cognition/urban cognition is centred on formal aspects or contents aspects of the cognitive process, within which spatial information is elaborated to facilitate spatial orientation or navigation. As shown in the following scheme, the actor's psychological response acts as the key mediator between the environment and the person's action. This scheme ignores the motives, goals and attitudes, thus offers a simplified version of person-environment relationship (Gäring, 1995b, pp. 1-2).
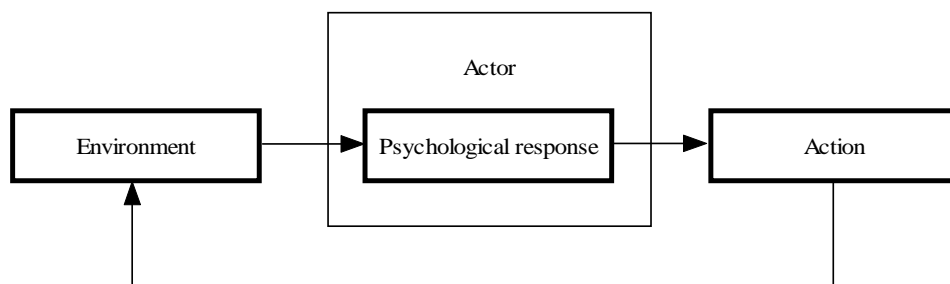
Figure 2-2. A basic research paradigm of urban cognition after Gäring

In general, the theoretical framework and methodology of the spatial cognitive studies are well developed, some are validated by experiments. The latest trend in spatial cognitive researches are developed in the following two areas:

- One concentrates more on the "processes" of acquisition, organization and the use of spatial information. New research direction considers the relationship between knowledge and aims of actions, e.g. assuming people construct mental map in order to carry out the

travel plan as a particular objective to achieve (Golledge, 1999; cf. Bonnes and Secchiaroli, 1995, pp. 137-143).

- Another focuses on the formal properties of the cognitive map itself, in addition to emphasizing content aspects of the cognitive referents (Gäring, 1995b). Examples are researches of anchor point and reference system on cognitive map, both hypotheses are supported by experimentations.

<u>Anchor point and reference system on cognitive map</u>

An *anchor point* is defined as an essential element on a cognitive map. As long as *anchor points* anchor other elements to form an organized cognitive system containing spatial knowledge, which could be used to aid distance/direction estimation and facilitate navigation, they can be any of the following (Couclelis et al, 1995, p. 43; cf. Gäring, 1995b): [11]

- Properties intrinsic to the object, such as perceptual or symbolic salience;

- Relational-spatial properties, such as location within daily activity space, frequency of interaction, location near key decision points, etc.

- Relational non-spatial properties, such as actual or potential significance in a person's life.

According to Couclelis et al, *anchor points* differ from *landmarks* in many ways. A*nchor points* refer more to the map and need not to be physical object or point like; they are also abstract, personalized, process-oriented and have distinctive cognitive functions for structuring and organizing individual cognitive maps. *Landmarks*, however, normally refer to some distinctive formal features, they could be *anchor points* if they play similar cognitive roles. In

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[11] Couclelis (pp. 37-40) reached a tentative conclusion that spatial knowledge is represented in hierarchy, and structured in discrete spatial units (segmentation or regionalization); salient cues play a key role for organizing and retrieval. Anchor-point is intended to be a synthesis of the properties of cognitive map, combining regionalization, salient cue function and hierarchical structure: "…primary modes or reference points anchor distinct regions in cognitive maps in any given environment. These anchors and the linkages between them provide a skeletal hierarchical structure for representing and organizing cognitive information about space."

addition, similar to *landmarks*, *anchor points* also exist in hierarchy, but the hierarchy is based on cognitive saliency rather than spatial scale or visual dominance of *landmarks*.

Another relevant theoretical development defined on the cognitive map is *reference system*. As Gäring and Lindberg et al. (1995a; cf. Gäring, 1995b) proposed, reference systems are encoded in cognitive map of large-scaled environment. On different levels, three types of reference system exist:

- The egocentric reference: it links to body axes;

- The local reference: it ties to places;

- The global reference: it coordinates across different places.

In an experiment conducted with field observation and in-house slide presentation, Gäring and Lindberg et al. (1995a) correlated the clarity of cognitive map and different levels of reference system used, ranging from the city level, the river and major street to the main direction of building. As suggested by the research outcome, the use of various levels of reference seems to correlate with the time of residence, and the use of global reference system requires more time but with better cognitive clarity; the cognitive clarity can be improved when more regular framework is present, e.g. the district where places are located has a regular street pattern etc.

With *anchor point* and *reference system* hypotheses, more detailed structures of cognitive map or cognitive spatial knowledge could be investigated. They also supplement the cognitive mapping principles discussed in the section 2.2.3. For further studies on maps, I would extend both hypotheses into the more comprehensive context of real life. Referring to the mapping principles of the system of desirability/valence that determines the schematic map features, thus what the desirability/valence refers to is not only spatial knowledge but the whole set of physical and social knowledge, value and etc.

2.3.4. Map as value: the psycho-social tradition

<u>General discussions</u>

As the organization of a person's daily life always relates both to the physical and the social environments, the psychological developments in person-socio-physical dimension reflect the move towards the real life. However, unlike the rather clearly defined focuses and methodologies of the mainstream spatial cognition researches, researches on the social representation are more diverse, normally with no particular attention given to the spatio-physical aspects of urban places.

Actually, the approaches in the psycho-social direction were already partly addressed in the early researches of EP, such as the Lee's (1968) study on the social-spatial schemata of neighbourhood. With particular focus analogous to Lynch's imageability of city form, Stokols and Shumaker (1981a) studied the "*social imageability*" of urban places, which was defined as *memorability* of physical forms and the "capacity to evoke vivid and collectively held social meanings among the occupants and users of a place" (p. 446). Contributing to the *social imageability* of place, were both the perceptual salience (of physical environment) and salience of significance (the non-material properties of the physical milieu), or in parameters of functions, goals and evaluations (Stokols, 1981b)

In another study analogous to Lynch's spatial image of the city, Nasar (1998) studied the evaluative image of the city, concentrating on the connotative aspects of social meaning, which Lynch intentionally ignored in his study. Nasar came out with the term *likeability* (comparable to *imageability*), defined as the probability that an environment could evoke a strong and favourable evaluative response among the groups or the public experiencing it.

A fivefold taxonomy system of this evaluative image was also proposed.[12] Without much connection to the mainstream researches of EP, the purpose of the study, as indicated by Nasar, was mainly to justify the scientific methodology for empirical social research. It is discussed here, mainly for methodological reference.

Contributing to the general development of EP theories, various researches on the social representation explore issues in a broader context. In the following sections, I will not go for a comprehensive study in this field, but rather concentrate on the study of place names, which used to be the topic for both geographers and environmental/social psychologists.

The relevance of classifying place names

Place names comprise generic names or specific names. They could be arbitrary bestowed with a clear intelligible consciousness, or gradually evolved from the unconscious communal process. As Rapoport argued, place/building names are important sources for the cognitive urban studies, as these names normally encoded the understandings and expectations of the users. Naming actually is a cognitive process of classifying, attaching meaning, searching and imposing orders, so as to make the chaotic environment comprehensible and manageable. Thus, instead of focus on the knowledge of the environment, the place naming study focuses more on meaning and value of the environment to its users (1977, pp.110-114).

Classifying place names is an effective way to explore the mysteries of place names, the place associated and hence the cognitive urban system. In the study of general place systems around the world (Stewart, 1975), specific place names were classified into ten types:

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[12] As Nasar argued, these parameters included naturalness, upkeep/civilities, openness, historical significance, and order, which could be valid only under the modern American context. These parameters related to different evaluative responses of a person, like arousing to sleepy, unpleasant to pleasant, distressing to exciting, gloomy to relaxing, and other sensations such as prestige, social position, personality, use, friendliness, neighborhoodness, suitability, safety, privacy, territoriality, criminalizability and etc.

descriptive names, associative names, commemorative names, commendatory names, incident-names, possessive names, folk-etymology, manufactured names, mistake-names, shift-names. According to Stewart, such classification considers both the modalities of the naming referents being named and the consciousness of the namer; it is also the result of common perception and practical expedience. Thus, some names are straightforward in the classification, albeit some lack unambiguous demarcation and can fall into more than one compartment.[13]

Here, what I intend to discuss is not the names of individual entities, but the modalities/features of naming referent that are named and further the consistent naming systems.[14] Thus, in line with the person-environment tradition, I will investigate four types of place names, i.e. *descriptive name, associative name, commemorative and commendatory names.*

Type	Naming referent / consciousness of namer	Particularity/relationship to other names
Descriptive name	Sensory: Size, colour, configuration and material	Unique quality, Related to other names
	Relative: Location/position, time	
	Intellectual: Special Knowledge, belief	
	Metaphorical: Quality in abstract form	
	Subjective, Negative-ironic, Hortatory, Repetitive etc.	
Associative name	Nature: Topography, animal, vegetation & mineral	Of major use. Related to descriptive names with differentiations
	Man-made: Bridge, history	
	Emotion, Anti-descriptive and etc.	
Commemorative name	Person	Consciously bestowed. Of religious awe, aesthetic pleasure, associated with formality. Related to descriptive, associative names.
	Other places	
	Abstraction: ideal fictional thing	
	Miscellaneous: Star, holiday, animal, ship, society	
Commendatory name	Luck, good omen	Future oriented, Closely related to descriptive and commemorative names
	Euphemism	
	Counter-commendatory: pejorative	

Table 2-5. A comparison of four types of place name after Steward (1975)

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[13] The commemorative name differs to commendatory name mainly in temporal sense: the former refers to good wishes for the future, bringing luck or inspiration to people; the latter refers to the honourable past.

[14] This system could undergo mutations that involved phonetic and semantic changes, thus some names could be unintelligible today after shortening, amalgamation or assimilation of specific and generic names etc. Not the main focus of this study, there is etymological study that particular deals with these issues (Stewart, 1975).

As shown in the above table, the contrast between *commendatory/commemorative* name and *descriptive/associative* name, actually parallels the duality of person dominant features vs. environment dominant features. Other name types could either roughly fall into these types, or they are more relevant in other aspects, thus are not included in the discussion.

Categorized place names and urban place systems

In the study on the colonial Singapore's street naming systems in the early 1900s, Yeoh (1996, pp. 219-235) investigated the names and naming as the processes of signifying the built environment with different uses of the colonial landscape and its physical artefacts. She demonstrated the contrast between the official British system and indigenous folk system (particularly the Chinese system). According to her, the official naming, in which commemorative names occupied the largest share, was assigned utmost significance to identify the urban landscape with the authorities' notions of civic progress and racial ordering in the city. The folk nomenclature was normally strongly anchored to local features, symbols and activities that formed the significant part of their quotidian experiences. Thus, with two naming systems, the use values of the streets were matched and a higher level of signification was attained.

In another study conducted in the large and medium-sized Italian cities like Milan, Rome and Bologna, Bonnes and Secchiaroli (cf. 1995, pp.180-185) found that the social representation of three different urban places: *centre*, *neighbourhood* and *periphery*, correlated with their generic names. The correlation existed systematically in a range of parameters, including focal component (physical, perceptual, function, meaning), cognitive-affective component and functional-symbolic component, as listed in the table below:

Cognitive components	Centre	Neighbourhood	Periphery
Focal components of image	Physical-perceptual relevance: architectural structure	Perceptual relevance: functional structure	Social meaning relevance: atmosphere context
Cognitive-affective dimension	Positive: variety, history/antiquity, happiness and interests	Ambivalence: general positive, negative on components	Negative: poverty and monotony
Symbolic-functional dimension	Aspecific-observative activity, less goal-oriented action	Specific-instrumental use, goal-oriented	Non-use-extraneousness

Table 2-6. Social representation of place in centre, neighbourhood and periphery

The above studies on the specific and generic place names exemplify the particular approaches of social representation researches. Although mainly focusing on understanding the meaning and other affective aspects, however, as demonstrated by Bonnes and Secchiaroli's study, these researches also involve perceptual and cognitive aspects, and thus become more integrated, covering various features of the mental representations of certain group of people in the city.

2.4. Rethinking person-environment relationship

As discussed above, although theorises in the spatial cognition tradition (the mainstream one) and the social tradition (the non-mainstream one) were developed on separate theoretical-methodological levels, they could be incorporated to involve more complex real life issues with a multi-disciplinary approach.

In the sections below, I will explore fundamental paradigms underlying various forms of person-environment relationship discussed previously, and then elaborate on different models and detailed parameters of these models.

2.4.1. Paradigms of person-environment relationship

Paradigms of the person-environment relationship are fundamental views about interactions/transactions of person and environment. They are the principles underlying various theoretical models in the early discussions.

To demonstrate person-environment interactions/transactions on different levels, Saegert and Windel (1990) conceptualised the following person-environment paradigms (cf. Canter, 1996, pp. 109-111; Bonnes and Secchiaroli, 1995, pp. 73, 149, 152)[15]:

A. Adaptive paradigm: basic biological and psychological responses of a person to the physical environment is viewed as motivating behaviour;

B. Opportunity structure paradigm: "the rational planning aspect of human nature is emphasized rather than the biologically responsive aspects";

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[15] Saegert and Windel originally suggested four paradigms. The fourth one "inter-paradigm historic synthesis" could roughly regarded as a combination of the above three and more towards social changes, thus I follow Canter's reinterpretation and focus mainly on the first three paradigms.

C. Socio-cultural paradigm: "person as social agent rather than an autonomous individual

having needs for survival or desires to carry out personal projects. The person … seeks and

creates meaning in the environment."
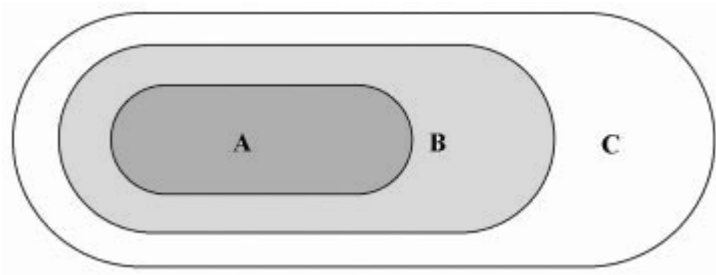
Figure 2-3. Progressive inclusion of the three person-environment paradigms

According to them, the three paradigms are not separated, but connected and interlinked

with progressive inclusion, as shown in the above diagram. The personal adaptation

paradigm (A) is the most internal one, it is included in the opportunity structure paradigm

(B), which is further included in the socio-cultural paradigm (C). Under this scheme, the

person's role is defined from the simple model that considers him/her as individual receiver

of environmental stimulants, to more realistic model that puts him/her in goal-oriented and

social-cultural context, actively searching for congruence between his/her internal motives

with opportunities and objectives presented in the environment. In parallel, the

environment is conceived in the process of seeing, thinking and doing, especially through

the process of cognitive structuring and knowing, without exclusion of various social

aspects (cf. Ittelson et al., 1974, pp. 83-92).

The above threefold scheme facilitates a clear understanding of various research focuses in

EP. The spatial cognitive researches define the person-environment mainly in

physical-perceptual terms with an individualist view. Features of environment are

considered as source for information in the spatial behaviour context, mainly in terms of

adaptive and opportunity structure paradigms. While social studies define the goals in the

complex context of real life on the collective level, taking the view of social-cultural
paradigm (Bonnes and Secchiaroli, 1995, pp. 20-58, 146-8)

Thus, with the integration of three paradigms or two psychological traditions, the
person-environment relationship could be defined within an overarching framework. Such
a framework moves from restrictive person-spatio-physical dimension or psycho-social
dimension, to the comprehensive person-socio-psycho-physical dimension.[16]

2.4.2. From "Behaviour setting" to "place"

The concept of "*Place*" represents the culmination of paradigms and traditions. Deriving
from many earlier intellectual works, [17] particularly from the *behaviour setting* construct, the
place model effectively addresses both the interests of environmental researches and
designers.

<u>"Behaviour setting"</u>

The *behaviour setting* hypothesis was first used by Barker to describe human behaviour in the
particular kind of environment (1968, pp.18-26). Considering a person as a mere biological
entity, the model was constructed on an ecological perspective. To a *behaviour setting* as
shown in Figure 2-4 below, the basic unit of analysis was neither a person nor a setting, but
the integrated behaviour setting that consisted of standing patterns of behaviour and the
physical milieu.[18] Among various important terms related to *behaviour setting*, *staffing* and
penetration are often applied to analyse and measure the degrees of person-setting

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[16] This corresponds to a so-called physicalist-molecular approach to the psychosocial-molar approach.
Tolman (1949) used the term molar in a metaphorical sense regarding behaviour. Molar is more than and
different from the sum of the molecular/physiological components (Craik, 1970).

[17] For examples, phenomenology school defines the place exclusively in the experiential terms, with the key
assumption that believes the capacity of human internationality could enlarge the cognitive horizon in both
spatial and temporal senses (Bonnes and Secchiaroli, 1995, p. 165).

interactions within a given behaviour setting (cf. Bechtel, 2000).[19] In *behaviour setting* researches, field observation techniques are often applied to study real-world behaviour, and used to assess environmental design.[20]

Justified within the broad framework of Environmental Psychology, *behaviour setting* applies more to a group than to an individual; it is applicable merely on "observed' or observable phenomena. Thus this model does not give adequate attentions either to various psychological aspects or to detailed physical features (Canter, 1996; cf. Bonnes and Sechiaroli, 1995, pp. 52, 167-170).
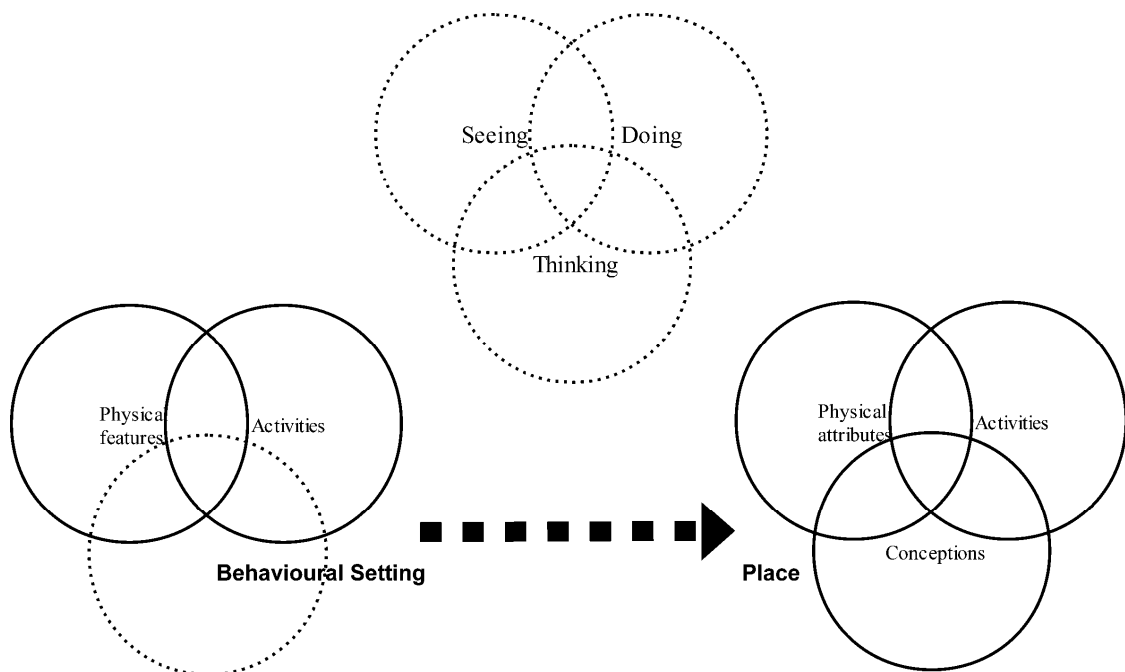
Figure 2-4. The theoretical shift from behaviour setting to place

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[18] In detail, a behaviour setting consists of 1) A discrete behaviour entity with univocal temporal-spatial coordinates; 2) Standing extra-individual pattern and behaviour-milieu: behaviour pattern attached to particular constellation of non-behavioural phenomena (Barker, 1968).

[19] Staffing was originally used as manning by Barker, it was later considered a gender-biased term. Penetration defines the functional position of a person in a behaviour setting ranging from performers to non-performers. As illustrated in a diagram of the six concentric circles, which represent six zones of penetration differentiated in any given behaviour setting, the depth or centrality of the participant's penetration measures his responsibility in a setting. From the centre to the periphery, the hierarchy of order is: 1) Performers (zone 1-3): leaders, active functionary, 2) Non-performers/general observers (zone 4-6): member/customer, audience/invited guest, to onlooker (Barker, pp. 26-28, 51-52).

<u>"Place"</u>

In relation to *behaviour setting*, the concept of *place* could be seen as an upgraded version, which incorporates another important component "conception" into the two-fold proposed behaviour setting, as shown in the above diagram.

> [Place is] a technical term for describing the system of experience that incorporates the personal, social and culturally significant aspects of situated activities. …it differs from that conceptualization [behavior setting] by including much more directly the understanding and expectations that participants have of the place in which they find themselves, together with the qualities that the physical shape and perceptual properties of that location have.

As indicated by Canter (1996, pp. 111-112) in the above quotation, *place* amalgamates physical parameter, person's behaviour associated or anticipated (i.e. the purposive of human action), and descriptions or conceptions into a single unit of analysis. Among the three components of *place*, "conception" refers to those psychological aspects that environmental psychologists like to emphasize. Because, "if we are to understand people's responses to places and their actions within them, it is necessary to understand what (and how) they think; and thus …I concentrate more upon conceptual systems than behaviour systems" (Canter, 1977, p. 1).

Originally, those psychological aspects (conceptions) were anchored to cognitive maps or mental maps, or knowledge of the environment, as Canter noted. With recent theoretical developments in social researches, social parameters like collective values and other affective dimensions could be added to the complexity of place. Thus, being the culmination of person-environment paradigms and convergence of the spatial and social

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[20] Various applications include documenting community life, assessing the social impact of change, and analysing sufficiency of operation, handling of responsibility and indications of status (Gifford, 1997, p.77; Bechtel, 1997; Bell, 1996, pp. 139-146).

traditions, the theoretical construct of *place* incorporates personal, social and cultural constituents of person-place relationship.

The theoretical construct of *place* is an integrated model, which involves the totality of what a person (or certain group of people) sees, thinks and does, and also effectively addresses the interests of both the designer and research, as discussed in the session 2.1.

2.4.3. Place or other research model

Interactionalist or transactionalist?

To justify researches on person-environment relationship, there are debates between the interactionalist and the transactionalist at the fundamental worldview level.[21]

Altman (2000, pp. 46-51; cf. Altman and Rogoff, 1987) compared the key differences of these two worldviews, as shown in the table below. The differences manifest in terms of the unit of analysis, how each considers change with time, and the validity of research methodology. According to Altman, the *interactionalist* tends to separate person and environment on two sides, and treats them independently as defined elements interacting each other; while the *transactionalist* considers the environment and behaviour as a holistic unit, and does not focus on relationship between separate elements.

Of the latest research trend, *place* is a transactional construct that considers its three components in constant change/transaction as a holistic entity. However, based on different demands of researches, the interactional construct is also useful especially to the analysis of detailed interactions.

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[21] This level is deeper than the level of person-environment paradigms, as the latter concerns how person interacts with environment, albeit the former determines the specific viewpoint of study.

	Interactional	Transactional
Unit of analysis	Psychological qualities and environmental features treated as separate entities with interaction between parts	Holistic entities composed of aspects that mutually define, non-separate elements, temporal qualities are intrinsic features of the whole
Time and change	Change occurs from interaction of separate person and environment entities; sometimes occurs in accord with underlying regulatory mechanisms, not intrinsic to phenomena	Stability/change are intrinsic and defining features of psychological phenomena; change occurs continuously; directions of change are emergent and not pre-established
Causation	Emphasize efficient causes or antecedent-consequent relations between variables	Emphasize formal causes, or description and understanding of patterns, shapes, and form of phenomena

Table 2-7. Comparison of the interactional view and the transactional view
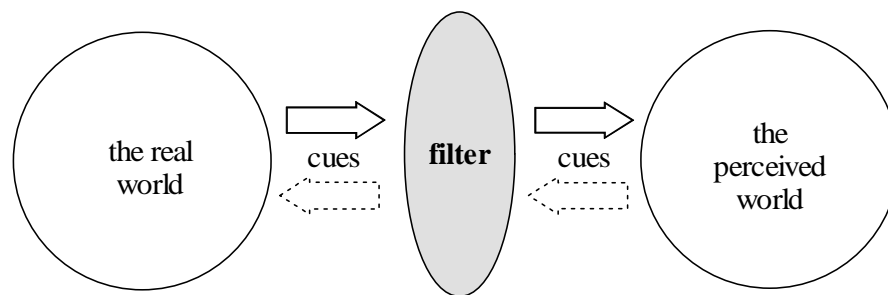
Figure 2-5. The relationship between the real world and the perceived world

Rapoport and the interactional model

Theories or notions, as Rapoport (2000, pp. 30-31) pinpointed, need to be more specific and sometimes need to be dismantled for conceptual clarity and operative purpose. Although the interactional view is dated and restrictive in certain sense, it is still prevalent in many researches.

As shown in the above diagram proposed by Rapoport (1977, pp. 184-195), the typical interactional model involves both the components of environment and the perceived environment, as well as the processes in-between, thus each is specified and could be explicitly approached with a scientific philosophy and epistemology. Rapoport looks at the perceived world as the result of filtering from the real world, or as decoding from the encoded real world. To him, the environment contains many cues, which act as props to

direct behaviour;[22] various dimensions of environmental filters/cues that a person could be aware of include the multisensory cues, such as visual, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, auditory, or proprioceptive, kinesthetic cues, and more general social and temporal cues.

With a stage-setting analogy, Rapoport interpreted the *behaviour setting* model of rather transactional tendency. A *behaviour setting* contains both physical-perceptual cues and non-physical cues like various social cues related to behaviour (1977, pp.298-305). Although, represented with different worldviews, such interactional definition of *behaviour setting* is actually congruent with the concerns of *place*, if both implicit non-physical cues are considered as cues of settings, and conception as implicit dimension of behaviour.

To the explorative urban study, as Alterman (1990) argued, there is no best way or only one correct way of doing research in EBS. By understanding the basis for different approaches, relevant operative models that could effectively demonstrate certain aspects of the complex person-environment relationship and thus contribute to the overall knowledge base of EBS could all be valid.

Therefore, in the studies I adopt both interactional and transactional perspectives. They could be complimentary in the sense that a transactional view allows a better understanding of holistic feature of place and its components, and that an interactional view facilitates detailed analyses of various components and the specific transformation between them.

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[22] That is inhibiting or facilitating behaviour instead of determining behaviour.

2.5. City, places and models for the study

2.5.1. City as a multi-layered place system

A city is made up of places. Various places are not isolated but existed in the system. The idea of place system is inherited in the concept of place and is the basic research focus of the study.

Canter addressed the hierarchy of place in terms of the system by emphasizing the active structuring or the purposive evaluation of place, and proposed that such system was formed based on environmental features and reciprocal relations, as well as the level of interaction implied to people (1977, p. 128; 1996).

Rapoport addressed similar concerns on the relevance of the behaviour setting system (cf. section 2.4) as a tool for urban studies with different cultural contingency (1977, p. 299):[23]

> …For all people, various buildings and urban places are behaviour settings. It is, then, their nature and the spatial and temporal relationships among them which distinguish systems from one another. One can thus relate lifestyles, activities and behaviours to behaviour setting systems and also distinguish lifestyles through their behaviour settings…

Obviously, the place system is "user" dependent; it could only be stable and shared at certain period for certain group of people. There could be different place system to the group based on different relationship with place in the city. Also integral to place, the temporal aspects are yet to be explored. Place system can form over time, synchronically or diachronically, "space and time modify each other: the idea of a space is built up by a

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[23] As discussed in the last section, Rapoport's behaviour setting closely relates to place, and thus the behaviour setting system also relates to place system.

temporal sequence of scenes; time is enriched by cramming it with spatial experience"

(Lynch, 1976, p. 167.

Thus, focusing on the conceptual system with an integrated view on the form and

behaviour, both the issues of user and time will be incorporated into the comprehensive

analysis of the multi-layered place systems in the city.

2.5.2. The structure of urban places and place systems

For analyzing urban places and place systems, I propose the following three models with a

combination of international and transactional strategies. These models reflect the

people-place relationship on different levels. Thus, places could be zoomed in with close

focuses (fig. 2-6, 2-7) on the individual elements and parameters; or could be investigated

within the place system, or with relation to the overall system (fig. 2-8). As reiterated in this

chapter, with integration of the formal and behavioural aspects, various

psychological/conceptual aspects are always highlighted within these models.
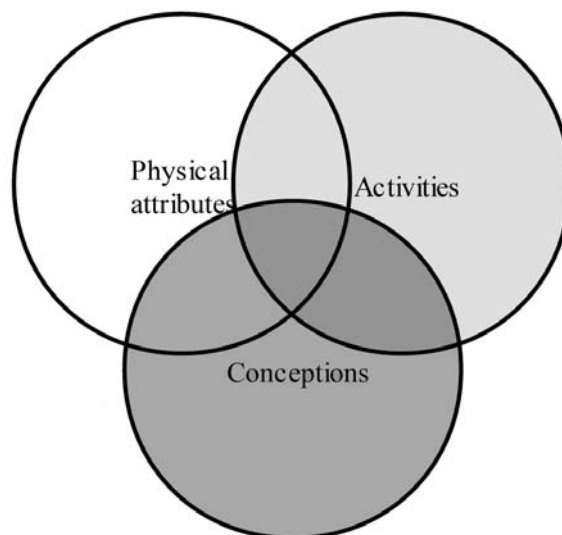
Figure 2-6. Place and its components
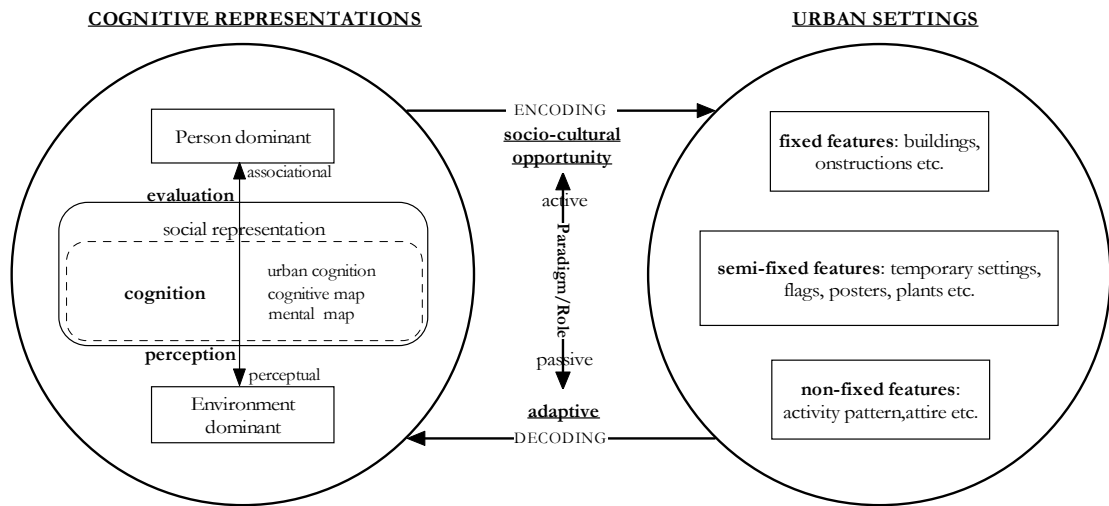
Figure 2-7. City and its cognitive representation
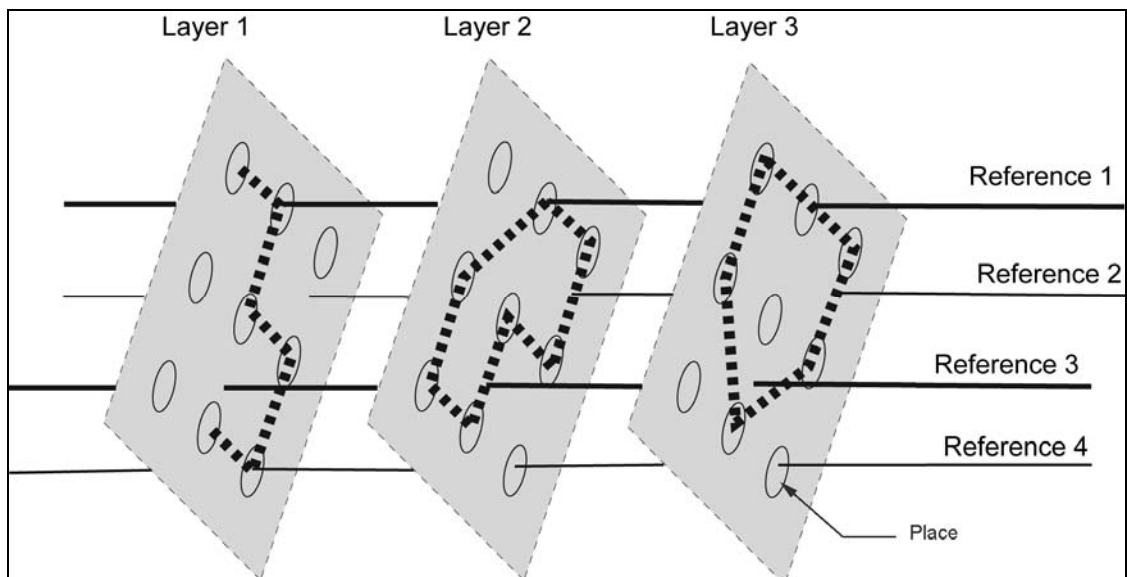
Figure 2-8. City as a place system

- The integrated place model

Looking at the place holistically or place parameters separately as A. physical attribute, B. conception and C. respectively, or in different combinations, such as A+B, A+C, or A+B+C (fig. 2-6);

- The two-world model

Separating the object world (the city) and its subjective counterpart (the cognitive representation of the city) and considering the existence of a dual directional information

flows between the two worlds, thus the contents/modalities of both and the process between both are the focuses (fig. 2-7):

D. The objective urban structure includes fixed-features (buildings and constructions), semi-fixed features (temporary settings) and non-fixed features (human activities) (cf. Rapoport, 1982);

E. The subjective urban structure contains a multi-layered person dominant or environment dominant cognitive representations, ranging from the concrete perceptual aspects to more abstract associational aspects, i.e. in the range of perceptual-cognitive-evaluative dimensions (cf. Table 2-3 in section 2.2.3);

F. The process between the above two parties undergoes at different levels depending on the discrete paradigms, or behavioural roles of a person (or a group) ranging from the passive responsive to the active purposive, or the social cultural force, which all act as special filters to control the particular transformation.

- The model of interlinked place system

Looking at the modalities/cues (place attribute) that a person (or a group) uses to purposively structure places into system, and the relationship of the system to other place systems or to the overall cognitive structure of the city (fig. 2-8):

G. Place is linked into system with salient cues (valence)[24] or anchor points that are constructed by people in the city at different levels related to their real life purposes, encompassing both spatio-physical and psycho-social aspects;

H. Among multi-layered place systems with different valence, the anchor point system or reference system is more stable; they could act as the common system of reference, or as the key structure that could organize the overall place system.

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[24] On the spatio-physical level, place/place system could achieve *imageability/legibility* or *knowledgebility*; or on the psycho-social level, they could achieve *memorability or likeability*.

2.5.3. Interpreting represented urban places in historical urban studies

With the basic presumption that city is a multi-layered place system, and the design of city is the making of places, the above three operative models serve as methodological references for the further studies.

The models proposed for the study are mainly based on environmental psychology theories that are developed on empirical basis. However, with reference to the historical urban studies, especially to the premodern Chinese city, neither the physical structures remain, nor are activities realistically recorded like in documentary films. We cannot conduct empirical field observation or interview, what available are only represented urban realities, through textual and graphic sources made by the people at that time in the real life context of seeing, doing and thinking.

These texts and graphics are actually selected representations of the city. The challenge of the study is to understand the urban places within the city based on those selected representations of the city, with the help of other general studies. The three models are still the basic tools for analysis, applying to the meticulous reading of the sources between the line (for fact) and behind lines (for the underlying structure), please refer to the chapter 3 for detailed discussion on issues of historical sources.

In the context of the person-environmental relationship, the city and places are not only part of conscious physical design; they are also mentally constructed through everyday uses and various significances. In that sense, both the grand design/planning idea or scheme and the different demands of the people on the city from significant aspects to ordinary everyday life aspects, should all be important aspects of inquiry in the design related study. This is also the basic approach of the study, as will be covered in the following chapters.

PART II. IMPERIAL CHINESE CITIES AND PLACES

To our general understanding, the typical image of an imperial Chinese city often exists as a rectangular walled city with the formal road network, as well as the architectural style of wooden framed structure and curved roof etc.

That only reveals one part of the truth. In comparison with other traditional cities, e.g. Medieval European cities in the Western world, the imperial Chinese cities had both unique outlooks and distinctive internal structures, which underlay the multifaceted features of the people-place interactions. Thus, the issues of imperial Chinese cities could hardly be effectively addressed by the direct application of the Western or the Euro-centric principles and methodologies.

With a scarcity of physical evidences, the understanding of the imperial Chinese city in the following chapters is mainly derived from analyses of the extant texts and limited graphics. From general schemes to more specific topics, the study contains the following three-step approach:

- Understanding the primary sources;

- Looking at the city's basic place category;

- Exploring various details of the imperial and folk places.

Chapter 3. Historical sources

China has a written history of more than 3 millennia. As Halsall (1998) commented, "… [Chinese] rulers almost obsessively recorded everything and where the unbroken historiographical tradition is the longest on record."

At present, many premodern Chinese cities existed partly or primarily as textual realities, as those cities were "reconstructed" mainly based on historical urban texts and maps rather than on limited physical remnants, if at all. Various extant historic textual and graphic sources are of prime relevance to the historical urban studies.

However, to the study of premodern cities, those sources could be relevant in different aspects and in different social-cultural context. The direct application of modern or western framework of thinking to the interpretation could be problematic, when the social-cultural contingency was no more existed after thousands of years of changes and transformations, especially after the disruption of the imperial system.

To set a proper stage for further studies, I will discuss various issues related to the historical textural and graphic sources, focusing on the urban texts of two kinds, i.e. *Fangzhi* (local gazetteers) and *Biji* (miscellaneous notes), as well as the city maps. Aiming for a general and adequate understanding, topics like kinds and features of those historic sources in general and in specific, relevance of details, as well as the socio-cultural context underlying the productions of those sources are explored.

3.1. Availability and relevance of the historical sources

3.1.1. Texts and graphics under the elite tradition

As a general understanding of the traditional Chinese culture, the features of historical texts and graphics as well as the modes of the textual and graphic representations are seen significantly influenced by an elite cultural tradition. This tradition reflected the power structure of the contemporary society and its education system in particular.

In the imperial Chinese system, the social rank was determined neither by wealth nor military power, but the levels of classic literary learning. The orthodoxy Confucian's definition of the social hierarchy was *Shi-Nong-Gong-Shang*, following a top down order. *Shi* 士 (the scholar-officials) recruited by state exams represented the ruling class.[1] *Shi* 士 was entitled to administer *Nong* 农 (farmer), *Gong* 工 (artisan) and *Shang* 商 (merchant).

The imperial official examination system emphasized general classical learning rather than specific technical knowledge. The winners of the state exams, the future elite official group, stood out of the intense competition[2] by the virtue of *Boxue* 博学 (broad literary learning). Contrasting with the modern intellectual values, this elite group "firmly against any form of specialization… their social role was at one and the same time that of architect, engineer, teacher, administrator, and ruler" (Balazs, 1964).

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[1] According to Fairbank (1992), the scholar-officials had political-economic relevance, because they were both land-holders and degree-holders. Thus, it is more accurate to define them as groups of families rather than individual degree-holders.

[2] Song represented the culmination of the imperial official exam system. Normally, winning in state exam guaranteed the scholar the entrance to the officialdom, and secured his career as a scholar-official. However, the future of the candidate relied both on his capability in administration and such things like patronage, nepotism, and kinship networks (ibid.).

Thus, the elite tradition prevailed in many historic sources, especially in those formal ones.[3]

The influences manifested both in the structure and detailed features, particularly with

unique mode of artistic representation that was shared both by text and by graphic.

From the general linguistic tradition (cf. Chapter 3) to the idea of artistic representation

mainly developed from Han, the traditional Chinese texts did not only focus on the

representational fidelity to the external reality, and their features were more suggestive than

realistic. *Shi Yan Zhi,* 诗言志 (Poetry expresses intention, *Confucius*, 551-479 BC),

exemplified the artistic principle that fused the rendering of the physical reality with that of

the subjective experience (Yee, 1987, pp.128-169).

Similarly for traditional painting, early theories emphasized *Qiyun* 气韵 (breath-resonance),

Shensi 神似 and *Chuanshen* 传神 (spiritual resemblance) instead of *Xingsi* 形似 (formal

resemblance)[4] as the most important principle of pictorial representation. These principles

involved the sense of objects represented and the painter himself (Ge, 1982, pp.12, 14).[5]

Thus, produced with the similar artistic principles under the influence of the elite literary

tradition, not only Chinese texts can be "painted", but "Chinese pictures are not painted in

our sense, but 'written'" as well (Eichhorn, 1969, p. 281).[6]

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[3] The influence could also be observed in those not considered as the products of the high artistic nature

[4] By *Gu Kaizhi* 顾恺之 (345-406, the painter in East Jin), please refer to section 3.3.2.

[5] The Song's art theorist *Guo Ruoxu* 郭若虚 (1983) identified 4 types of traditional Chinese painting: human figure 人物, mountain & river 山水, flower & bird 花鸟, and miscellaneous paintings 杂画. Another official categorization distinguished 6 types: Buddhist & Daoist theme 佛道, human figure 人物, mountain & water 山水, bird & beast 鸟兽, flower & bamboo 花竹, building 屋木 (Fu, 1984a). From Tang to Northern Song, formal resemblance seemed dominate. In Song, the themes of Mountain and river, flower and bird dominated the mainstream taste, and the style was shifted more to the expressions of the abstract internal spirit (Xu, 1999; Fu, 1984).

[6] Chinese painting, from its form to the spirit, is essentially an amalgamation of poetry, calligraphy and drawing, with calligraphy as its backbone and poetic conception its essence (Tong, 1991).

3.1.2. Selected texts and graphics

The city of *Lin'an* had been the capital for several kingdoms of princes during its history, but was only a state capital of China during the Southern *Song* Dynasty (1127-1279) for about 150 years. During that period, the city was blessed with the constant growth, and became one of the most prosperous and populous world city.[7]

Genre		Title	Abbr.	Author	Time
Texts	Zhi	Qiandao Linan Zhi 乾道临安志	QD	Zhou Cong 周淙	1169
		Chunyou Linan Zhi 淳祐临安志	CY	Shi E 施谔	1252
		Xianchun Linan Zhi 咸淳临安志	XC	Qian Shuoyou 潜说友	1268
	Biji	Dongjing Menghua Lu 东京梦华录 The dream of Dongjing	DJ	Meng Yuanlao 孟元老	1148
		Ducheng Jisheng 都城纪胜 The wonders of the capital	DC	Naide Weng 耐得翁	1235*
		Xihulaoren Fansheng Ji 西湖老人繁胜录 Many marvels of Hangzhou	XH	Xihu Laoren 西湖老人	1253*
		Meng Liang Lu 梦梁录 The past seems a Dream	ML	Wu Zimu 吴自牧	1275*
		Wulin Jiushi 武林旧事 Old stories of Hangzhou	WL	Zhou Mi 周密	1280
		The travel notes of Marco Polo	MP	Marco Polo	Early 13th century
Graphics	Map	the Palace City 皇城图 the Imperial City 京城图 Xihu 西湖图 Zhe River 浙江图 the prefecture 九县山川总图	XC	Qian Shuoyou 潜说友	1867 edition etc.

Table 3-1. Selected historical sources[8] (* denote a rough dating)

In the above table, important textual and graphic materials are listed as primary sources for the study of Lin'an in the Southern Song period. Most of these texts and graphics are roughly dated to that period.

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[7] For a brief historic overview, please refer to Appendix I.

[8] The authentications about authors and author periods of 7 historic urban texts are based mainly on Siku Zongmu's abstracts. More studies are conducted by Lin (1984, pp.14-19); Huang (1993, pp.442-454) and Zhu (1963, pp.324-332).

<u>Texts</u>

Among the nine texts selected, five are *Biji*(s) 笔记 (miscellaneous notes) and the other

three are *Zhi*(s)/*Fangzhi* 方志 (local gazetteers). Both *Biji* and *Fangzhi* are descriptions of the

old Lin'an city by the locals around the same period, as discussed in the following sections.

Besides the local writings, an additional travel note was given by a foreigner. The author,

Marco Polo (1254-1324), who claimed to be in Kublai Khan's services for 17 years (Yuan

Dynasty), stayed in China during 1276-1293. The description of Lin'an was one of the

longest and most detailed in his memoirs. It talked about the city shortly after its ruin, with

many urban features unchanged (Moule, 1957; Yu, 1983; Gernet, 1962).

To search specific information, sometimes I have to refer to other miscellaneous notes and

documents in the standard histories.[9] Although those sources could belong to the different

author periods and refer to other cities, they are still of some relevance, considering a

general consistency of the imperial system, especially the continuance of many Song's urban

traditions in the subsequent imperial periods.

<u>Maps and paintings</u>

Most of the maps analysed in the study came from XC (*Tongzhi* version), including maps

that focused on the Imperial City, the Palace City, *Xihu* and *Zhejiang* respectively. According

to Que (2000, pp.287-293), 10 different versions of these maps existed together with texts,

reproduced after the original XC version in Southern *Song*, which was still available but

almost illegible. Among replicas during the *Ming* and especially the *Qing* periods, e.g.

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[9] The standard history normally focuses on significant events and general patterns of a city or country, in terms of political, economic, military and cultural importance, thus it might contain less sufficient information on the city itself, which can be found in *Fangzhi*, or minute/trifle details that were vividly represented in *Biji*. In this sense, the standard history is less relevant to the study than *Biji* and *Fangzhi*; yet it serves still as one of the authoritative sources to the study, e.g. providing accurate information on things and happenings in the imperial realm.

Daoguang 道光 (1830), *Tongzhi* 同治 (1867) and *Guangxu* 光绪 (1891) etc., *Tongzhi* version is the best edition in terms of printing quality. Some maps are also included in *Siku*, other gazetteers, such as *Xihu Youlan Zhi* 西湖游览志 (Travel notes of the West Lake, Jiajing 1547), *Hangzhou Fuzhi* 杭州府志 (1784), please refer to Apendix J.

Besides, there are other maps and paintings relevant to the study. Although none of them are about *Lin'an* or Southern *Song*, they are of great reference value to the study, as the urban tradition still remained some kind of consistency, as argued in the latter chapters. *Pingjiangtu* 平江图 (abbr. PJ) is a detailed city map of *Pingjing Fu* 平江府 (the prefectural city of *Suzhou*). Measuring 198x134cm^2, it was engraved on the stone stele dated to 1229, when the redevelopment of the city was completed after the *Jin*'s invasion.

Two paintings often referred to are *Jiehua* 界画, the kind of painting made with the help of a ruler.[10] *Qingmingshanghe Tu* 清明上河图 (Up the river during Qingming Festival, abbr. QM) is a 25x530 cm^2 scroll about *Bianliang* 汴梁 (*Kaifeng* 开封), the capital city of Northern *Song*. It vividly depicted a panoramic view of the city, including its urban section and its suburbs along the banks of *Bian* 汴 River during *Qingming* Festival.[11] There are two extant reproductions of QM after the original version of the Northern *Song*, but those actually depicted quite different urban scenes.[12]

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[10] A little pejorative in meaning, such paintings were normally less important in the high standard of the elite's, because common urban scenes were not likely the pursuit of the elites such as the academics, professional painters and scholar painters. This partly explains the rarity of the extant urban paintings.

[11] The painter of this original Song's version was believed to be *Zhang Zeduan* 张择端, a member of Imperial Academy during late years of Northern Song. There are other opinions about the place painted, the time and originator of the artwork (Johnson, 1996; Hansen, 1996). The urban scroll has 3 parts: 1) from the suburb to the busy bridge; 2) a section of the busy urban street life; 3) missing part, believed to be more boisterous urban life, referring to its replicas.

[12] The two reproductions were painted in *Ming* and *Qing* dynasty by court academics. *Ming*'s copy by *Qiu Ying* 仇英(ca.1498-1552, born in *Taicang*) painted a scene of *Jiangnan* instead of the northern *Bianliang*; *Qing*'s copy was done around 1736.

Gusufanhua Tu 姑苏繁华图 (Flourishing scenes of Gusu, abbr. GS) depicted the city of *Suzhou* and its suburb in the *Qing Qianlong* period (1772-81). The 40x1240 cm^2 scroll is twice the length of QM, cutting through the suburban and the city. It displayed the prosperity of the city's commerce and craft industry, as well as the lifestyle of its people.[13]

None of PJ, GS and the three versions of QM is about Southern *Song Lin'an*. For QM, the original version is about *Bianliang*, the *Ming* version is not a copy or replica, but innovative reproduction based on the urban condition of the region around *Hangzhou*; the *Qing* version refers more to *Beijing*. However, all the four are relevant, as the urban system remained consistent during much of the imperial Chinese periods, especially after the *Song* period. For example, the system of folk festivals that was adapted from the tradition of northern China to different customs and climate of the Southern was rather stabilized after the *Song* period (Wilkinson, 1999, pp.186-187; cf. chapter 6.4.1).

The above-mentioned maps and sections of urban paintings are included in the following chapters and Appendix J and Appendix M respectively. A detailed study on the historical maps is covered in the subsequent section.

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[13] Also known as *Shengsh zisheng Tu* 盛世滋生图 by Xu Yang 徐扬, a court folk painter in 1759. The scroll puts together more than 2000 buildings, bridges, boats and plenty of shop signs, mountain and river, ramparts, gates, streets and alleys, docks, temples, schools, administrative offices, depositories, shops and residences; agricultural activity, military exercises, state exams, performance, marriage, banquets, official inspections, loading and downloading cargos, trading, fishing and etc. (Bing, 1986)

3.2. A study of Biji & Fangzhi

3.2.1. Selected texts and the Siku series

Compared with the specialised modern library system, the Imperial Chinese library was classified in more general categories. As Wilkinson (1998, pp. 261-292) reported, early from the Confucius' time, started the efforts to categorize classical literary works.[14] Formulated in *Han,* the four-branch classification includes *Jing* 经 (Classics), *Shi* 史 (History), *Zi* 子 (Philosophy) and *Ji* 集 (Belles-lettres). The classification had been widely adopted in the classical library system since Tang, continuously used up to the present.

Siku Quanshu 四库全书 (the comprehensive collection of Siku), one of the largest and the most important compilations of literary works, used the four-branch library system.[15] Within its comprehensive annotated catalogue, *Siku Zongmu* 四库总目,[16] contextual information of each included literary piece, including the table of contents in whole or in part, brief biographical sketches of the author and an evaluation, could be found (Wilkinson, pp. 256-259, 262-266; Yu, 1986).[17]

In the *Siku* series, *Fangzhi*(s) and *Biji*(s) could generally be found in History branch or/and Philosophy branch, as shown in the following diagram:

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[14] the first categorized system included the six broad types: *Yi* 易 (Philosophy book of change), *Shu* 书 (Government Documents), *Shi* 诗 (Literature, Songs), *Li* 礼 (Society Rites), *Chunqiu* 春秋 (History Spring and Autumn Annals) and *Yue* 乐 (Arts, Book of Music).

[15] Commissioned by the Qing's court during 1772-1782, initially more than 10000 works were reviewed and annotated; only 3461 writings were finally included in *Siku*, with more than halves of them rejected and destroyed.

[16] After completion of the whole series, *Siku Zongmu* 四库总目 was also released. It contained annotations of 10,000 literary pieces, 6793 of which were not included in *Siku*. A general catalogue and detailed categories of *Shi* (History branch) and *Zi* (Philosophy branch) are attached in Appendix B and C.

[17] As a result of non-standardised publishing methods, different versions could coexist, some part could be missing, thus the compiling process involved a careful textual research, e.g. consolidation of different versions; verification of the author's biography and when the writing was dated.
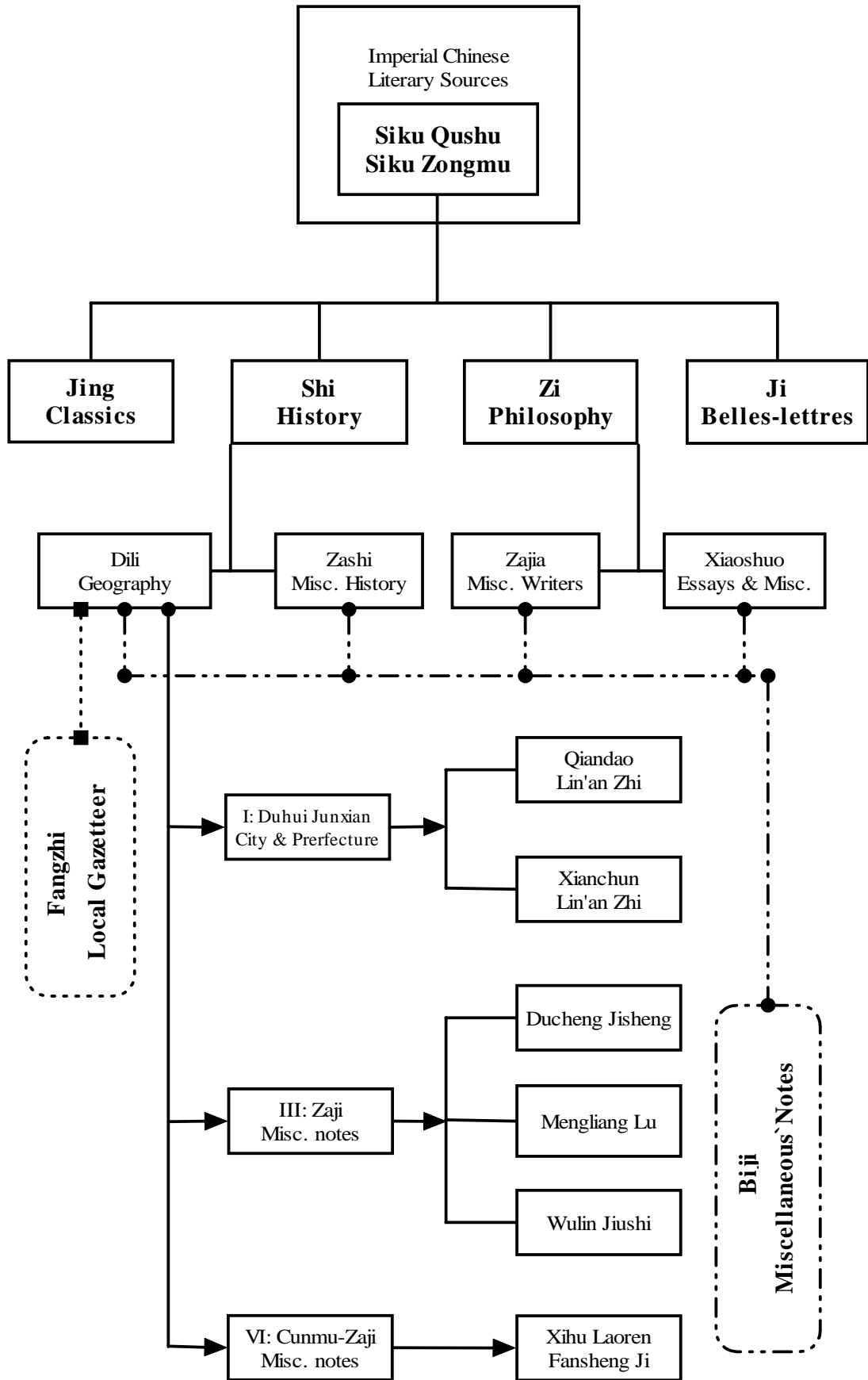
Figure 3-1. Categorization of *Zhi*/F*angzhi*(s) and *Biji*(s) in *Siku*

Under the subcategory *Dili* of History branch, many volumes of *Fangzhi*(s) were preserved. Over 417 pieces with a total number of 200 volumes were annotated, providing information of the intention, content and style, authorship etc. (Huang, 1993, pp. 66-71). Biji(s), of a greater variety, were generally categorized under the both branches, i.e. *Zajia* and *Xiaoshuo* subcategories under Philosophy Branch, or *Zashi* subcategories under History Branch.

The selected seven urban texts of *Lin'an* could all be found in *Dili* subcategory. Among them, QD and XC are further found in subcategory *Dili* I: *Du Hui Jun Xian* 都城郡县 (city and prefecture); three *Biji* (s), DC, ML and WL, are found in the subcategory *Zaji* 杂记 (Miscellaneous Notes); the last *Biji* XH was left in the *Cunmu* 存目(Stored Titles), as it was considered less important than other sources.[18]

Thus, from the general category of *Siku*, the selected *Fangzhi*(s) and *Biji*(s), either to be the official or casual writings, both seemed to be recognized as the alternative and relatively reliable sources of history, especially those related to the local geographic issues and the common lifestyle of the contemporaries.

3.2.2. Zhi 志 /Fangzhi 方志— Local gazetteer[19]

<u>General features</u>

Focusing on local geographical issues, *Fangzhi* covers a wide range of topics. *Fangzhi*'s specific designation is still under debate by the modern standard.[20]

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[18] CY was not included in *Siku*.

[19] For general information on *Zhi*, please refer to Zhu's introduction (1963) and the comprehensive index (1985), as well as the general introduction by Wilkinson (1998, pp.153-158) and Zurndorfer (1999, pp.187-195), the latter was based on Pierre-Etienne Will's work "Chinese Local Gazetteers: An historical and practical introduction (Paris, 1992)." More in-depth researches, including typology of works, scholars and theories, features and other related issues, could refer to Peng (1990) and Huang (1993). In the discussion of this section, as cross-references are common, acknowledgements are not particularly given when intellectual credits are difficult to verify.

The origin of *Fangzhi* could roughly be dated to the early *Zhou* Dynasty, closely related to those historic documents like *Shi* 史, *Shu* 书, *Zhi* 志, *Ji* 记, *Lu* 录, *Zhuan* 传, *Tu* 图, *Jing* 经 (Zhu, 1986), and evolved from the following practices (Zurndorfer, 1995, p. 88; Huang, 1995):

- The practice of keeping records of the local population, revenue etc. for auditing and accounting purposes. From Han Dynasty onward, as the centralized state government gradually gained its power over the large territory, maintaining communication and control was important[21], thus it was stipulated for various documents to be submitted to the central government together with maps and plans every 3 to 5 years;

- The practice of collecting biographies of local celebrities and the related literary works to commemorate local achievements. The names of local elites and heroes were recorded to glorify their ancestors and clans. This helped to maintain the proper social order of that locality;

- From Song period onwards, especially in the Southern Song period, *Fangzhi* started to possess regular features. Contents were enriched and regularly organized; data of people and literary arts were incorporated.

Therefore, as an established literary genre, *Fangzhi* has a formal structure, covering comprehensive local issues of military, political, socio-economic and other significances; it also serves various purposes of aiding administration, preserving cultural inheritance and controlling public opinion, as defined by Zurndorfer.[22]

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[20] Modern researchers have not reached a consensus on whether *Fangzhi* is a geographic book, a local administrative collection, or a kind of local encyclopaedia. Also under much debate is identification of the first *Fangzhi* among *Zhouguan* 周官, *Yugong* 禹贡 and *Shanhaijing* 山海经.

[21] *Fangzhi* was both used to inform the central governors of various local happenings besides those in the capital, and to acquaint those administrative officials sent by the central government with comprehensive local issues, from information on tax, irrigation, folk habits, military services, to the reason of geographical and administrative changes etc.

[22] "…a local gazetteer is a work, devoted to a given administrative unit, contains a series of sections on the land itself (topography, hydrology, toponymy, production, monuments), on its inhabitants (population, local

<u>Topics</u>[23]

With regard to the selected *Zhi*(s), QD, CY and XC were compiled roughly within the same century. Similar in general categories and all having incomplete extant volumes,[24] they were consistent and complementary.

XC, the latest edition of *Zhi*, was the most comprehensive in contents, with more details supplemented to the former two *Zhi*(s). The following lists that are adapted from the general discussions of Wilkinson (1998) and Zurndorfer (1999) basically cover various topics of the three *Lin'an Zhi*(s), especially the well-preserved volumes of XC:

- Preface and general rules (*Fanli* 凡例)

- Maps (*Tu* 图)

- Changing borders and administrative units (*Jiangyu* 疆舆, *Yange* 沿革)

- Main topographical features: river and mountain (*Shanchan* 山川)

- Famous places, views (*Mingsheng* 名胜, *Guji* 古迹)

- Official buildings, city walls and moats (*Chengchi* 城池, *Gongshu* 公署)

- Passes, fords and bridges (*Guanjin Qiaoliang* 关津桥梁)

- Water conservancy, canals and rivers, irrigation etc. (*Hequ* 河渠, *Shuili* 水利)

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customs, prominent families and local worthies, holders of academic titles, literary productions) and most importantly, on its government (structure, personnel, fiscal and other activities, biographical lists of officials); and it combines, in variable proportion, descriptions of the contemporary situation and historical accounts." (Zurndorfer, 1995, p. 188)

[23] Other information on QD, CY and XC can be found in the chapters of Lin's book on Local gazetteer of *Zhejiang* (1984, pp.14-19) and Huang's (1995, pp. 442-454), as well as Zhu's index of Song-Yuan local gazetteers (1963, pp. 324-332).

[24] QD: estimated 15 volumes in origin, only the first 3 volumes are survived in 20 chapters: palace and central administrative settings; History, habit, boundary, market, product, warehouse and other; local magistrates and etc.; CY: 6 out of 52 volumes (5-10) are extant, including descriptions of the general city (excluding the Palace City) and the society, various places and relics, mountains and rivers; XC: 5 out of 100 volumes are

- Chronicle of natural/man-made disasters/omens (*Zaiyi* 灾异, *Xiangyi* 祥异, *Bing* 兵）

- Academies (*Shuyuan* 书院), Schools (*Xuexiao* 学校)

- Ancestral shrine (*Cimao* 祠庙), Buddhist and Taoist temples (*Siguan* 寺观)

- Office holders (*Zhiguan* 职官)

- Examinations and names of successful candidates (*Xuanju* 选举)

- Fiscal data: household and head counts (*Hukou* 户口), land taxes etc. (*Fushui* 赋税)

- Granary reserves (*Cangchu* 仓储)

- Markets, tolls and barriers (*Shizhen* 市镇)

- Products and crops (*Wuchan* 物产)

- Custom and festivals (*Fengsu* 风俗)

- Personality (*Renwu* 人物, *Liezhuan* 列传): Biographies of dignitaries, uptight officials, chaste women, technicians, Buddhist and Taoist monks

- Military institutions (*Bingzhi* 兵制)

- Inscriptions and tombs (*Jinshi* 金石, *Lingmu* 陵墓）

- Biographies and choice excerpts (*Yiwen* 艺文)

- Miscellaneous topics and records (*Zalu* 杂录)

3.2.3. *Biji* 笔记 — *Miscellaneous Notes*

<u>General features</u>

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missing. Vol. 1-15 is on the Imperial City (*Xingzaishuo* 行在所), while Vol.16-100 about other city regions and the suburbs (*Fuxian Zhi* 府县志).

In contrast with the regular features of *Fangzhi*, *Biji* as a broad literary genre, has a greater variety. It became popular especially from the *Tang* and *Song* periods onwards. The origin of *Biji* was associated with the terms of "*Bi*" and "*Xiaoshuo*", as noted by Liu (1980).

Etymologically, "*Wen*" and "*Bi*" were first discussed in a literary debate during the *Wei-Jin* Period (ca. 200 A.D.). To distinguish from "*Wen*" 文 (literature), the literary piece with the embellished style in wording and rhythm; "*Bi*"笔 (pen) referred to any small piece of free-styled writing.

Liu (ibid.) further showed that the term *Xiaoshuo* 小说 (Novel) was defined rather differently in the context of the classical Chinese literature than the modern context. *Xiaoshuo* was either the special talk contrasting the formal discourse by *Zhuangzi* 庄子 (ca. 369-286 BC), or the insignificant overheard of everyday life by *Bangu* 班固 (32-92). Continued with *Bangu*'s definition thereafter, *Xiaoshuo* thus denotes those miscellaneous talks and records, or those literary works difficult to classify.

Thus, *Biji*(s) were often treated as a leisure pursuit, often related to anecdotes, gossips and rumours, which were considered unfit as the formal writings, as Wilkinson (1998, pp. 573-575) indicated. "Miscellaneous notes" could be a proper literary translation and description of *Biji*, which is *Za* 杂 (miscellaneous) in contents and styles, as well as in general thinking.[25] To classify *Biji*, Liu (1980, pp. 2-3) proposed the following three-fold scheme:[26]

- *Xiaoshuo Gushi* 小说故事（Novel and story);

- *Lishi Shuowen* 历史琐闻 (Historic trifles overheard);

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[25] This feature also reflected in the titles of *Biji*(s), which often had the repeated word "miscellaneous" (*Sui* 随, *Za* 杂), *Tan* 谈 (talks), *Lu* 录 (records), *Ji* 记 (notes) and etc.

- *Kaoju Bianzheng* 考据辨证 (Textual research and dialectical explanation).

According to the above scheme, the four *Biji*(s) of *Lin'an* mainly belong to the second category, i.e. "historic trifles overheard". This type of writing became popular accompanied with the emergence of the prosperous urban life, especially after the late *Song*. They could come out of the authors' individual interests on the flux of city life, the theatrical and other divertissements that were either experienced or overheard (cf. Wilkinson, 1998, p.574). The vivid descriptions of *Biji* are not found in any other formal sources.

<u>Structures and focuses</u>

Both in structures and focuses, DC, XH, ML and WL are different.

	DC		WL 6
1	Markets 市井		
2	Commercial establishments 诸行	1	Various market 诸市
3	Wine shops 酒肆	2	Wa 瓦子勾栏
4	Restaurants 食店	3	Wineshop 酒楼
5	Teahouses 茶坊	4	Singing House 歌馆 (brothel)
6	The four departments and six offices 四司六局 (Special services)	5	Renting 赁物
7	Entertainment centres 瓦舍众伎	6	Workshop 作坊
8	Clubs 社会	7	Haughty people 骄民
9	Gardens 园苑	8	Hustler 游手
10	Boats 舟船	9	Famous food 市食
11	Specialty stores 铺席	10	Various wine 诸色酒名
12	Warehouses 坊院	11	Small trade 小经纪
13	Hustlers 闲人 (particular kinds of people and special career)	12	Various art performer 诸色伎艺人
14	The three teachings 三教外地 (Religious places and schools)		

Table 3-2. Comparison of topics between DC and WL 6 [27]

Following a categorical order, DC described the everyday life of town folks in 14 chapters (cf. the left column in the above table). XH was comparable to DC in contents, but more

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[26] This was based on the original proposal by *Hu Yinglin* 胡应麟 (the Ming's literary theorist) and Siku, which identified 6 types of *Xiaoshuo*: *Zhiguai* 志怪, *Chuanqi* 传奇, *Zalu* 杂录, *Congtan* 丛谈, *Bianding* 辩订, *Jiangui* 箴规.

frivolous in details; it supplemented a colourful urban life scroll, such as imperial rituals, folk customs and festivals in a temporal order (cf. Appendix C).[28]

Among the four texts, ML was the most comprehensive and likened to be a combination of *Zhi* and *Biji*. In a categorical structure, it repeated some portions of *Zhi*, but overloaded many everyday life details that were not found in *Zhi*; it also depicted a vivid urban life scroll in a temporal order.[29]

Among the four texts, only WL was written by a literatus. *Zhou Mi* was a famous poet, chronicler and calligrapher, and once held a minor official post. WL was one of his best known work, written after the overhearing from retired eunuch and personal encounters (cf. WL preface, 1986). It was the elite taste prevailed in the text that made WL distinctive. The writing focused on the palaces, its customs and events, as well as on natural and cultural settings, but treated other everyday life issues very briefly. As shown in the table 2, the only chapter exclusively on the commoner's life of WL resembled DC in topic, albeit more briefly treated, e.g. various foods, goods, markets and entertainment centres were just recorded with names without further depictions (cf. Appendix C).

3.2.4. *A closer look at the selected Biji and Fangzhi*

<u>The issue of reliability</u>

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[27] WL 6 denotes Chapter 6 of WL. The catalogue of DC is translated after Yu (1986).

[28] The text, without individual chapters, covers cyclic happenings in the city and at its suburbs: Lantern in the street and market; Court ceremony; Religious festivals; Imperial ancestral rites: Jinglin, accompanied group and setting; Beginning of brew; Qingming: name of wine, food and other goods; Hanshi: boating in West Lake; Army inspection; State exams; Submission of official documents; Duanwu: announcement of winner of the state exam, drink, flower, food, dress, insect, sweet food, martial exercise on the lake and courts; Mid-autumn: Qiantang River, elephant; Grand rites: rehearsal with elephant, bestow flower: accompanied group; Lantern festival: imperial street; Snow: Wa and various art performances, foods and goods; Charities: helping the poor; Shi.

[29] The lengthy text was considered tedious and vulgar (cf. annotation of WL, 1986), some parts were also accused as being developed from some former writings like XC, DJ etc. (cf. West, 1985)

For *Biji*, the issue of reliability could be discussed referring to the *Fangzhi's* collating and editing process, according to the studies by Peng (1990) and Huang (1993).

During the preparatory stage of a *Fangzhi's* production, existing archive, historic documents, genealogical writings (family records), anthology of poem and prose, old items, as well as survey and mapping data etc. were collected through various channels, followed by a cautious screening process. The selection criteria were mainly official Confucian norms, thus those selected were considered orthodoxy or significant to the proper function of the society; while individual interests of everyday life, such as foods, goods and recreation etc. were normally treated as trifles and ignored.

Furthermore, as shown in some late *Qing's* examples (cf. Peng and Huang), the local magistrate normally led the editorial board, assisted by a group of prominent and erudite scholars who had intimate local knowledge. The general editorial principle emphasized objectivity, which avoided subjective comments and personal interpretations. The collected sources were carefully studied, when any doubt arose, as claimed in the theories of *Fangzhi* compilation of the late *Qing*, the source should be retained as it was without any alteration.

With the above discussions, we could conclude that the credibility and objectivity of *Fangzhi* vary depending on how we view them. The ideological biases are inherent even during the early stage of the source selection, however other information especially those less value-laden ones are generally credible.

The intellectual value and reliability of *Biji* varied from case to case. *Biji* could be serious undertaking, albeit in more free form instead of rigid classic cliché. In such case, *Biji* could be valuable source to the historical researches, because its firsthand observations and comments on popular topics and details could provide different versions to supplement or be used to crosscheck the information on other formal sources.

Written contexts of *Biji*(s)

From structure to wording, DJ of *Bianliang* influenced the writings of DC, XH, ML and WL of *Lin'an* in certain degrees. This could be observed from schematic imitation to direct paraphrasing (West, 1985).[30]

Selectively representing a past prosperous city and the merry-making lifestyle, DJ was composed after the ruin of *Bianliang* in Southern *Song*. Both ML and WL were written in the similar contexts, i.e. after the ruin of *Lin'an* (cf. XH colophon, 1986).[31] Thus to DJ, ML and WL, the ruins of the capitals and good old days were nostalgic themes both for the authors and other contemporaries.

Differently, DC, XH with a peace treaty signed between two countries. As no immediate dangers were presented, the authors and town folks could enjoy temporary frivolity; while the evanescent nature of such lifestyle was still realized and noted down with particular passions and admonitions (cf. annotations of DC and XH, 1986).

Therefore, as indicated by *Siku* editor (cf. related annotations, 1986; especially the preface of DJ attached in Appendix D), nostalgia was a common theme for all 5 *Biji*(s) including DJ; the past diverse urban lifestyles and colourful urban settings, the harmonious social ambience, were so impressive and constantly depicted. Under such nostalgic theme, the negative aspects like over-crowding, poverty, intensive competition, frequent threats of crimes and fires, were almost ignored. Thus, those texts are selected representation of the city and urban life.

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[30] Another factor needs to notice could be the similarity of the life style, including both the formal court etiquettes and folk habits, because many residents of *Lin'an* were immigrants from *Bianliang* after its ruin, *Bianliang*'s patterns were followed in many aspects.

[31] In the study of traditional Chinese texts, *Xu* 序 (preface), *Ba* 跋 (colophon, postscript) and *Tiyao* 提要 (annotations, comments of collations) are informative, they normally offer contextual clues and evaluations of the writing.

How *Biji* and *Zhi* differ: a comparison

To facilitate the comparison among the seven urban texts, the topics related to urban matters are arbitrarily arranged in the two categories of the physical city and "others". The topics on the physical city follow the same order of *Zhi*, and "others" include either non-physical or less relevant issues like the lifestyle and events etc.

Referring to the following two tables, all *Zhi*(s) are organized in hierarchical categories that have administrative relevance. Focusing on the formal framework of the city, e.g. names, layouts, historic contexts and important associations, *Zhi*(s) normally elaborate neither on events/activities, nor on the interests of everyday life like gastronomy, exotic goods and services, frivolous life-styles etc.

Biji(s) however, contain more vivid descriptions of various events and settings. Both DC (in a categorical order) and XH (in a temporal order) focus primarily on the common urban quarters and the daily experiences. ML and WL duplicate some parts of *Zhi*(s) in contents, however furnish additional details on the local events like rituals and festivals, as well as other informal aspects of the city life.

Narrative structure	ZHI			BIJI			
	QD	CH	XC	DC	XH	ML	WL
Categorical	●	●	●	●	○	●	○
Temporal					●	●	●

Table 3-3. Narrative structure of the seven urban texts (●- full, ○- part)

Category	Subcategory	Elements	ZHI			BIJI			
			QD	CY	XC	DC	XH	ML	WL
The physical city	Imperial city	Maps			●				
		Palaces	●		●			●	●
		Altars, temples and shrines	●		●			●	○
		State administrative settings	●		●			●	
		Warehouses and other facilities	●		●			●	
		Mansions of royal family and court officials	●		●			●	○
		Schools	●		●			●	○
		Gardens	●		●			●	○
		Garrisons	●		●			●	
	The general city	Maps			●				
		Historical evolution	●	●	●			●	
		General location	●	●	●			●	
		City area, gates	●	●	●			●	
		Rivers and bridges	●	●	●			●	
		Residential boroughs, wards	●	●	●			●	
		Mountains and rivers			●			●	●
		Prefecture complex	○	○	●			●	
		Other facilities of prefecture (school, warehouse etc.)	●	●	●			●	
		Religious settings	●	●	●			●	○
		Garden, relics and landscape settings	○	●	●			●	○
Others	Systems, other records	Imperial decrees and other documents			●				
		Military system			●			●	
		Taxes			●			●	
		Household, folk habit, local product			●			●	
		Famous people			●			●	
		Literature and etc.			●				
		Foods, drinks, goods and services				○	●	●	●
		Music titles, performances and folk artists					●	●	●
	Events and happenings	Important ritual			○		●	●	●
		Royal ceremonies and daily life			○		○	○	●
		Seasonal and religious festivals and folk life					●	●	●
		Street life				●	○	●	○
		Hang, shi, wa			○	●	●	○	○
		Wineshop, food court, tea-house				●	●	●	●
		Societies and other organization				●	●	●	●
		Other services and happenings				●	●	●	●

Table 3-4. Contents of the seven urban texts (●- full details, ○- brief description).

3.3. Traditional Chinese maps: a different cartographic tradition

In general, traditional Chinese maps demonstrated different features comparing with modern maps or maps that follow the Western cartographic tradition. This is fairly obvious referring to the maps of *Lin'an* maps in chapter 5 and Appendix J.

As Yee (1994a) summarized, in the early studies on the Chinese cartography, both foreign Sinologists like Joseph Needham (1954) and Mainland/Taiwan scholars tended to treat the traditional Chinese map as the predecessor of modern mapmaking. Thus, based on the quantitative interpretation, they believed that the development of the traditional Chinese cartography was in a quite backward state.

After a systematic exploration of Chinese cartographic tradition, from aspects of the political context, the role of textual scholarship and measurement, to the relationship of art etc, Yee (1994a) reached an alternative conclusion that traditional Chinese cartography was a different map-making practice, which could not be evaluated based on the Western cartographic standard. He further called for a significant "revision" to the world cartographic history dominated by the Western discourse, in order to accommodate the traditional Chinese cartography.

Parameters	Scientific tradition/European cartography	Cultural tradition/Traditional Chinese cartography
Map features	Quantitative, mathematic, accurate, objective Planimetric mode, mensuration Symbolism, abstract symbols and uniformity of scale	Qualitative, implicative, inaccurate, subjective Textualism, general pictorial impression Perspective mode, realism, non-uniformity of scale
Key modality of mapping referents	Spatial-physical features	Physical-social features

Table 3-5. A comparison of the traditional Chinese and Western cartographic traditions[32]

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[32] The map features in the table mainly follow the discussions by Yee (1994).

3.3.1. General features

As shown in table 3-5 on the last page, most modern maps are scientific products and emphasize objectivity and quantitative accuracy, following the Western or European cartographic tradition. Exemplifying another cartographic tradition, the traditional Chinese maps, especially those large scale country maps or world maps, are cultural products and have "particular imaginative bent and humanistic purpose" (cf. Smith, 1996). They were produced by social, aesthetic, religious as well as scientific principles.

Yee (1994a) and other researchers believed, it was inappropriate to attribute the non-quantitative Chinese mapping tradition to the lack of development in the survey techniques.[33] Rather such features were partly due to the belief that maps functioned beyond geographic knowledge to cultural values and political significances.

Early in the 3rd century, mapping principles that could be considered scientific were already recorded. *Pei Xiu* 裴秀 (223-271) conceptualised the six-principles of mapmaking, which emphasized the accurate survey based on scale, orientation, distance, topography, curvature and angularity,[34] to achieve representational fidelity to geographic actualities. *Yugongdiyu Tu* 禹贡地域图, a 3rd century regional map by him, demonstrated such influences.

However, in the widespread mapping practices, few extant maps can be found strictly follow these principles, and those maps on various *Zhi*(s) were obviously not the results of those principles. The reasons are multi-fold. The first relevant question is how widely known was the expertise, given the fact that a great number of maps were produced and

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[33] As a matter of fact, such techniques did not progress from the earlier practices in mathematical astronomy, navigation and water conservancy.

[34] 晋书. 裴秀传. 制图之体有六焉：一曰分率，所以辩广轮之度也。二曰准望，所以正彼此之体也。三曰道里，所以定所由之数也。四曰高下，五曰方邪，六曰迂直。此三者，各因地而制宜，所以校夷险之异也。Please also refer to the translation by Yee (1994f, pp.110-113): proportional measure -*Fenlu* 分率, standard

updated every 3 year.[35] Further, the question is whether it was worthwhile to take the trouble of making accurate maps, or what were the real purposes behind those maps.

The utilitarian value of Chinese map, as Yee (1994e) and Steinhardt (1998, pp.12-15) elaborated, served mainly for military, administrative and religious purposes. Maps were not only the representation of distance and spatial relation, but also the redolence of power, duty and emotion.[36] Maps could serve as past time for the elite or backdrop for court pleasure. As the professionalism in the mapmaking did not seem highly specialized, some maps could be drawn by the literary-elite, who were well versed in classical text, as well as painting and calligraphy. Thus maps drawn reflected their aesthetic tastes, with integrated feature of cartography, calligraphy and painting.

In short, as Yee (ibid, p. 55) pointed out, one should interpret maps "in the context of the beliefs and values of the ruling elite, not 'abuse' them by imposing modern conceptions of cartography."

3.3.2. The mode of representation: textualism, mapping and painting

Referring to the historical maps in chapter 5, the focuses of those maps were more on the general configuration than quantitative details, only most relevant features of these maps were represented according to the intended purposes, while other trivial or irrelevant details were ignored. Thus, the traditional Chinese mapping representation is selective and indicative. To further study the mode of mapping representation, the following discussions concentrate on the mapping issues related to text and painting.

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view - *Zhunwang* 准望, road measurement - *Daoli* 道里, Leveling of heights - *Gaoxia* 高下, Determination of diagonal distance - *Fangxie* 方邪, Straightening of curves - *Yuzhi* 迂直.

[35] In fact, some engraved maps like those for *Tang Chang'an* and *Song Pingjing*, as well as a few maps on local gazetteers are of higher accuracy like that for *Jingjiang*.

[36] Such purposes manifested themselves clearly on the maps preserved in tomb, rite and talismans.

Map and text

As discussed in section 3.1.1, if the traditional Chinese painting was written in certain sense, the same can be said to the traditional Chinese map. Text remained as the primary sources of representational authority, if provided with the map. The exact distance and direction were itemized by text, not measured on the non-scaled maps. Hence, map can complement but not substitute for the verbal descriptions (Yee, 1994c, p.91).

Yee also noted, the fact that textual sources helped to achieve correspondence between map and reality was probably derived from the tradition of preserving cultural heritage. Because mainly through texts, systems of the former dynasties could be preserved and continued to pass down to the later generations.

Therefore, "the textual tendency in Chinese cartography suggests that a fruitful approach to the study of Chinese maps might involve interpretive principles commonly invoked in literary study." (Yee, 1994f, p. 127).

Map and painting

Researches (Yee, 1994b; cf. Que, 2000) found a close relation between traditional Chinese paintings and maps. Certain painting principles could also be valid for mapping, or in other words, some mapping principles could have been derived from the painting principles.

In general, traditional Chinese painting contrasts with the Western painting both in the formal features and the underlying principles. In Chinese paintings, the felicitous rhythm of vitality and fellowship of man-nature are depicted more symbolically than realistically. Spiritual resemblance was more important than formal resemblance. [37]

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[37] According to Tong (1990), a Chinese painter would rather paint his understanding of the fluent rhythm of life into the picture instead of trying to achieve faithful reproduction of people and object. In other words, a traditional Chinese painter strives "to infiltrate life into the aesthetic objects by entering into a fellowship in

For traditional Chinese paintings, there were widely known the *Xie He*'s six-principles.[38] These principles seem valid to the map production, especially the 3rd and the 5th. The 3rd principle *Yingwu Xiangxing* 应物象形 (correspondence to objects, or resemblance to forms) could explain the appearance of realistic 3-D features on the planimetric map; the 5th principle *Jingying Weizhi* 经营位置 (division and planning, or placement and arrangement),[39] could explain free graphic composition on the map.

On a traditional Chinese painting, both the position of objects and the pictorial scale could be determined by aesthetic or other representational purposes. To achieve a dynamic and fluid aesthetic experience was more important than to follow the rules of perspective.[40] The popular three-*Yuan* 远 (depths) of traditional Chinese painting, i.e. *gaoyuan* 高远 (high distance), *shenyuan* 深远 (deep) and *Pingyuan* 平远 (level), also featured in traditional Chinese maps.[41]

Thus, as Yee (1994b.) concluded, traditional Chinese cartography reflected the mapmaker's intuitive sense of underlying form, and it was relevant for quantification and mensuration, but more for expressiveness and aesthetic value.

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unity with them" (Fang, 1957). Representational fidelity was one of the key issues in the Western art tradition. Relying on scientific knowledge of anatomy, perspective, shade and shadow, as well as realistic colours, the senses of volume, architectural space and sculptural massing could be accurately reproduced.

[38] 1. 气韵生动 2. 骨法用笔 3. 应物象形 4. 随类赋彩 5. 经营位置 6. 传移模写 (*Xie He* 谢赫, theorist in Southern Dynasty)

[39] It was also known as *Zhichen Bushi* 置陈布势 *by Gu Kaizhi* 顾恺之 (345-406, the painter in East Jin); it was considered the most important principle by *Zhang Yanyuan* 张彦远 (815-875, theorist in late Tang) (cf. Zhou, 1995, p. 400; Ge, 1982, p. 54). For original information, please refer to *Guo Ruoxu* 郭若虚, *Tuhua Jianwenzhi* 图画见闻录 (Record of experiences in painting); *Zhang Yanyuan* 张彦远, Lidai minghua ji 历代名画记 (Record of famous painters through the dynasties); *Xie He* 谢赫, *Guhua Pinlu* 古画品录 (Comments on classic paintings).

[40] The multi-viewpoint and non-uniformity of scale are seen as unique features of traditional Chinese painting.

[41] 3 *Yuan* was proposed by *Guo Xi* 郭熙 in *Linquan Gaozhi* 林泉高致 (cf. Ge, 1982, p.73)

3.4. Critical inquiries: text-reading and map-reading

3.4.1. Different urban representations and the underlying social structure

The contrasting features of *Zhi* and *Biji*, reflect the complexity of the urban system, which could be represented with certain features on different layers of the system.

The three official *Zhi*(s) under the collective authorship of the celebrated local erudite (not likely literati), belonged to the kind of formal urban representations that were structured according to the preferences of scholar-officials. These texts focused exclusively on the formal framework of the city. Various commercial settings and patterns of the everyday life, were normally excluded in such formal discourses.

For the case of four *Biji*(s), it seemed more complex, especially with WL, as its author was also a scholar-official. However, although WL with its elegant style expressed typical tastes of the literary-elites, it was basically a casual personal collection of the enjoyable urban past. In this sense, the author still treated the city with the attitude not deviating much from the interests of the commoners.

As for the other three texts, there were no extant biographical sketches about their authors. They might be someone like *Meng*, the author of DJ,[42] or they might not even be associated with a powerful clan or as wealthy, as their accounts could be observed on the street, overheard or even read in books during that time. They might have belonged to the average well-off class (or even associated with merchants), who had enough time and money to afford the frivolous lifestyles, and would have been literate enough to put everything they knew on paper.

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[42] Meng "… was perhaps an educated, but not particularly literate, well-heeled young man-about-town; one who lived on the sufferance of his clan's wealth and power, his money and his limited authority granting him access to urban delights denied by both the poor and the powerful" (West, 1985, pp. 71-77).

In general, the four *Biji*(s) unanimously choose to represent the city with kaleidoscopic life experiences: the amenities of diverse foods and goods, and spectacles of imperial rituals and folk festivities; their frivolous accounts of the place and people in the city could vocalize the interests of the ordinary urban dwellers and satisfy the curiosities of the general readers.[43]

The selected urban texts and maps are structured social representations of the certain aspects of the city by certain groups. As explained, underlying the different representations of *Zhi*(s) and *Biji*(s) is the fundamental social structure that distinguishes the ruling elite from the commoner.[44]

The duality of elite-commoner was the dominant social reality in imperial China. Under the imperial system, the social status related more to civil learning than to military or economic status. It was a common practice in the *Song* period that military officials and military power (武 *Wu*) were disparaged, while scholar-officials and cultured civility (文 *Wen*, and hence civil officials) were exalted. Merchants were always assigned low ranks in the Confucian social ranking, it remained so even when merchants had gained huge wealth from trade.

Thus, the ruling elite and the commoner (including merchants) remained primary social groups of the imperial Chinese society, so were the two types of representations about different features of the city.

3.4.2. The merit of the sources in the study

The selected texts and maps are particular kinds of representations, and could be effectively used for the study on the urban system of the imperial city.

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[43] For discussions on the author and reader of Chinese literature, refer Maeno(1989).

[44] The duality of official-commoner (Guan-min 官－民) paralleled with a series of terms: the elegant – the vulgar (Ya-Su 雅－俗), the civilized-the uncultivated (Wen-Ye 文－野), or even classical style-vernacular Chinese (Wenyan-Baihua 文言－白话). All manifest the social stratification between the educated elites and less educated commoners.

For *Zhi*(s) and *Biji*(s), written by authors who had intimate local knowledge, both were conceptualized from the real life experience in the city over a period of time. Even the *Biji*(s) were not casual recordings based on individual idiosyncrasy, rather they treated the past cyclic happenings as shared memories, or ideal patterns that one could see, experience and understand. These kinds of representations are more stable and shared among the public, formed over time with real life experiences.

Such kind of representation could never be given by anyone mainly through superficial contacts. The description of MP was an example, which mainly focused on the physical realities of the city.[45] The account was written with a spatial order, like a tourist report, as it was given by a foreign traveller.

As urban representations at different levels and of different features of the city, *Zhi*(s) and *Biji*(s) could be investigated complementarily for an effective study, aided by the graphical information provided by the maps. To study various urban settings and urban systems, *Fangzhi*(s) contain brief and accurate records on names, functions, indicative maps, and other contextual information; thus with these information a precise framework of the city could be constructed, reflecting the official significance of the city. Without much perceptual richness and human agency, such framework has filtered out irrelevant elements according to dominant social norms of the contemporary city and society; on the other hand, *Biji*(s) contain vivid portraits of real life happenings, which could substantiate the framework with colourful details.

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[45] Marco Polo described the city in the following order: 1) city wall & moat, 2) canal, 3) sandflats, 4) rivers & circulation of tidal river, 5) the great street, 6) bridges, 7) stone warehouse, 8) lake, 9) temples, 10) imperial palace, 11) watch-tower, 12) market squares, 13) bath, 14) cremation.

3.4.3. Interpreting text and map

Common to *Fangzhi* and *Biji* under the influence of the elite Chinese literary tradition, descriptions of texts or depictions of maps are normally very brief. This phenomenon is typified by *Baimiao* 白描, a term borrowed from traditional Chinese painting, which means only to use black and white instead of rich colour to depict. Normally the authors or map-makers seem to stand at certain distance picking up only key features. In terms of narrotology, it seems that the authors or map-makers produce the work with a fixed lens and an omniscient view, and stay neutral/undramatized.[46] Even for the free styled *Biji*, descriptions are more on activities and contents, less on physical features of settings or affective aspects; similarly, the maps focus more on literary items (place names) or spatial relation, less on detailed physical layout.

Actually, the feature of the sources determined the unique approach, which focuses both on the overall structure and the details systematically with the place model developed in chapter 2. However, without direct descriptions on physical attribute and emotional contents, extra efforts are needed to understand the integrated concept of place. References should be made to other sources or general studies, and by looking at the text and reading between the lines of texts and maps. Question should be asked of the particular category or the distorted map features, the naming systems, as well as various latent aspects underlying urban places. In this sense, text reading and map reading are essentially mind reading.

Therefore, to ensure an effective study based on the proper interpretation of texts and maps in the different socio-cultural context, scrutinized reading and cross referencing are critical.

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[46] More discussions about narrative structure refer Wayne C. Booth, "the rhetoric of fiction" (Onega, 1996), and related chapters in Liu (1996).

Chapter 4. Categorizing urban places: the official system vs. the folk system

As discussed in chapter 3, *Zhi* and *Biji* are two different types of representations, each focuses on certain features of the city. Or in other words, the city and its places are represented at different levels, one on the official one (of the ruling elite) and the other on the folk one (of the commoner).

The duality of official-folk had been a basic urban category of the imperial Chinese cities in general and *Lin'an* in specific. This urban category was readable and manifested itself distinctively with both spatio-physical and psycho-social features, outlining the key characteristics of the imperial Chinese cities. It contrasted significantly with various dominant European historic urban features like the duality of the holy and the profane, or the duality of the rich and the poor in the modern urban context.

In this chapter, I will first discuss general issues regarding the Chinese imperial cities, and then move on to explore the city of *Lin'an*. With integrated spatio-physical and psycho-social views, I will investigate the issue of categorizing the city by the study of both objective urban features and subjective ones in particular, which are conducted mainly through analysing the city's selected naming systems.

4.1. A general study of imperial Chinese cities

The traditional/premodern Chinese cities had been investigated in various topics by the local Chinese scholars, as Qu (1998) noted. The premodern Chinese cities are also popular research topics of the foreign Sinologists, with focuses on the urban forms, the social structures and especially on the relationship between the two.

4.1.1. Architecture and urban form

Standardized features

Unique to traditional Chinese architecture, as generally accepted, its form does not follow the function. Both in general layout and configuration, there are not much formal differentiations between an office and a residence, or between the buildings of religious use and common use.

Thus, the similar structural and spatial features could be observed among different buildings types in traditional Chinese architecture, as shown in the following diagram (fig. 4-1). A typical building is made up by duplicating *Jian Jia* 间架 (bay/step), the standardized unit of timber-framed structure. A typical building elevation comprises three (or four) sections: podium, wall/column and roof. A building complex normally consists of several individual buildings, verandas and the courtyard, which are organized under certain principles.

Furthermore, the structure of an imperial Chinese city could be understood as starting from individual building, building complex, to urban block and the city.[1] Actually, for cities with overall plans especially those built from scratch, the derivation of urban forms were in the reverse order, i.e. starting from the city rampart, then urban block (by defining the grid

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[1] This sequence could still continue up to the universe. It parallels the Confucian worldview: the hierarchical structure from person, home, to the city and universe.

system), and further to building complex and individual buildings.

As form and function do not match each other, there are several ways of distinguishing architecture and urban spaces. For example, mainly based on the functional differentiation, a five-fold classification is adopted by the textbooks of the traditional Chinese architectural history (Liu, 1980), namely *Gongdian* 宫殿 (palace), *Tanmiao* 坛庙 (temple & altar), *Lingmu* 陵墓 (mausoleum), *Yuanlin* 园林 (garden) and *Minjue* 民居 (residence). Traditional architecture and urban spaces could be classified based on other criteria as well, such as formal feature or scale etc (Li, 1982, pp. 57-74), please refer to Appendix H for more discussions on classifications. This poses a serious issue for further investigations on general urban classification.

<u>Formal differences vs. social differences</u>

In traditional Chinese architecture, although there was no correspondence between form and function, formal differences did relate to the difference of social status. These differences were noticeable in the configurations of building elements, spatial layout buildings in the complex etc.

To ensure the proper correspondence of the buildings constructed to the social ranks of their users, the imperial courts had prescribed strict regulations. Both in the *Song* and *Qing* periods, the official code of architecture and construction, *Yingzao Fashi* 营造法式, stipulated various allowable types of buildings and building components with the hierarchical differences in numbers of *Jian/Jia*, roof type, decorative themes etc.[2] Examples of the hierarchical types of roofs are shown in Figure 4-2.

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[2] The original intention of the Song's version was not only to regulate the design and construction, but especially to prevent misuses of governmental funding and corruptions, as there were huge constructions going on soon after the establishment of the Song. Please refer to the relevant discussion in Appendix H.

Restricted by the construction materials and methods of the traditional Chinese architecture, it was probably difficult for the timber-framed structure to achieve large volumes considering durability and fire-protection. Hence, as a unique feature, the social importance of a building complex was manifested not through its overwhelming volume and particular architectural style, but mainly through the number of duplicated units, the style of building elements and spatial organizations of building, gates and courtyards etc.
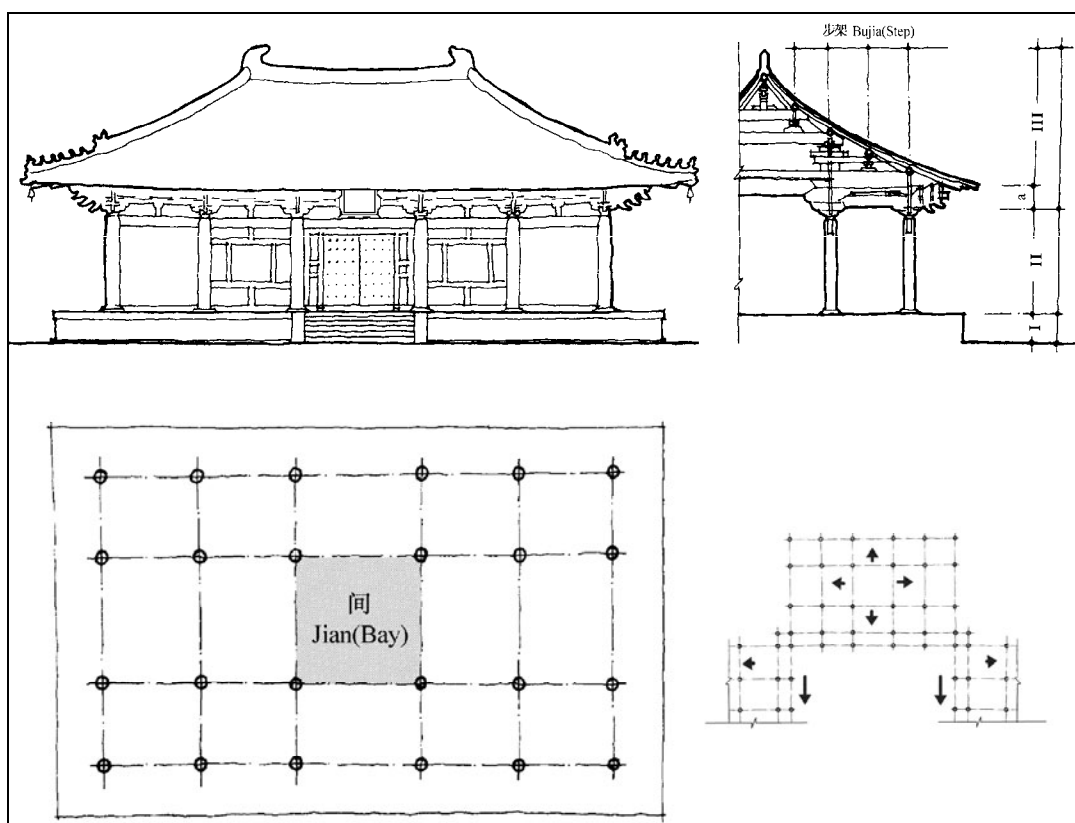
Figure 4-1. The spatial organization of typical single building and building complex[3]

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[3] I-Podium, II-Column or wall, III-Roof, a-bracket system; Liang (1984) proposed a 4-fold division, while Liu (1980) preferred the 3-fold division, in which the bracket system was included as part of the roof.
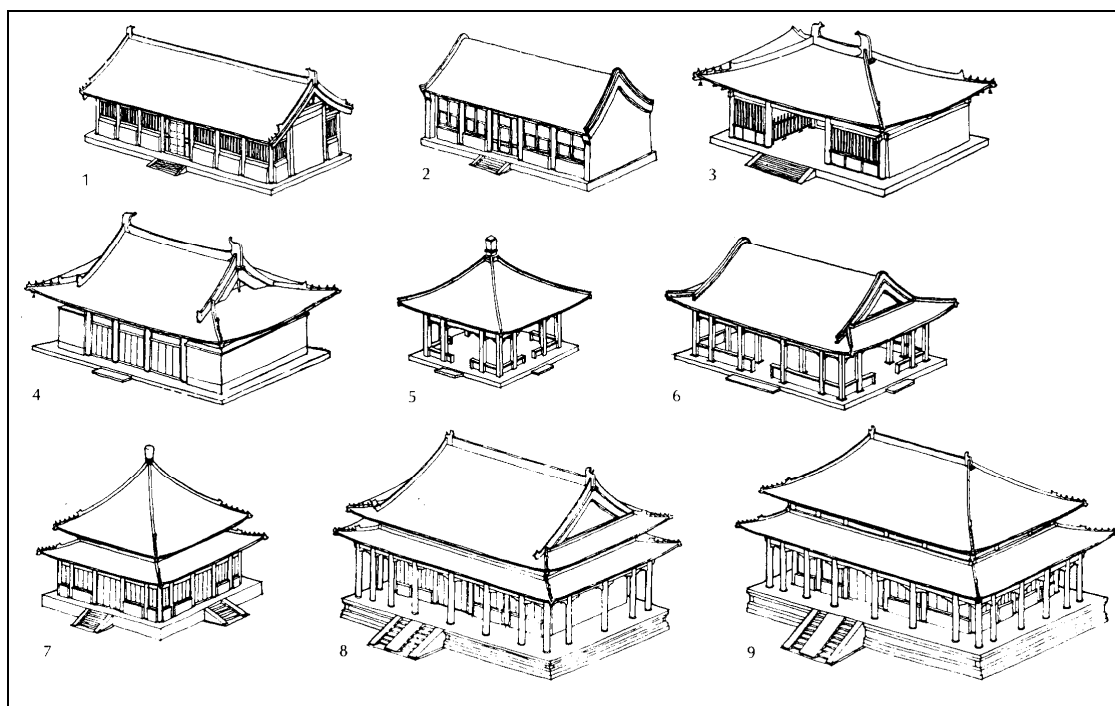
Figure 4-2. Different roof of traditional Chinese architecture after Liang (1984)[4]

4.1.2. Imperial Chinese cities and the underlying principles

In the world's urban history, the premodern Chinese cities are unique not only in formal features, but also with distinctive social structures.

The cultural roles of the city

In early seminal studies on premodern Chinese cities, the understanding of the general urban type and urban pattern was mostly derived from the broad social framework of the Euro-American cities. Without the contingent social context, none of dualities between urban and rural (Wirth and Redfield), between pre-industrial city and industrial city (Sjoberg, 1960), or between despotic city and autonomous city (Weber, 1958), adequately describe the basic structure of premodern Chinese cities (cf. Skinner, 1977). Those cities could neither

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[4] 1.Overhanging gable roof 悬山, 2. Flush gable 硬山, 3. Hip roof 庑殿, 4, 6. Gable/hip roof 歇山, 5. Pyramidal roof 攒尖, 7, 9. The double-eaved versions of 3, 4, 5. Double eave denotes higher rank than single eave, from the top down, the rough social hierarchical order is in the range of Hip roof-Gable/hip roof-overhanging gable roof-flush gable.

be oversimplified as the physical manifestation of the socio-economic system, which was

stagnant in development under the omnipotent central control.[5]
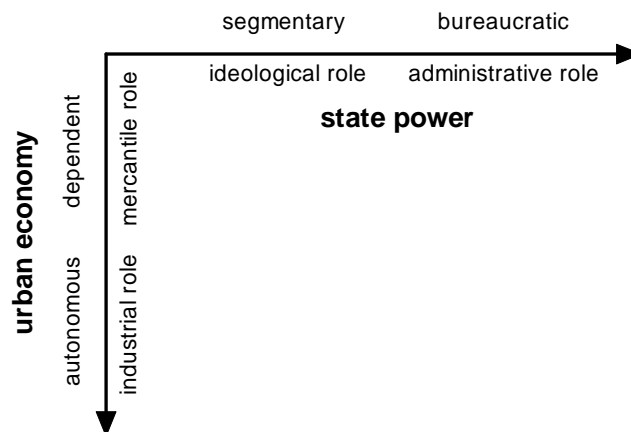
Figure 4-3. Dynamics of the city after Fox (1977, p. 35)

For an effective understanding of the premodern Chinese cities, I subscribe to the dynamic

link model of the city proposed by Fox (1977, pp.17-38). As shown in the above diagram,

Fox proposed that a city was always associated with a society/state and had to play its

cultural roles. Relating to the state power, these roles could be ideological or administrative,

while relating to the urban economy, these roles could be mercantile or industrial. Finally, it

was the interplay of the two parameters: the autonomy of state power and the development

of urban economy, or the structure of power and wealth, that determined the specific urban

types. Thus, among five general urban types identified, regal-ritual city, administrative city

and mercantile city, related directly to the premodern city.[6]

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[5] This was suggested by the notion "*Asiatic mode of production*", formulated in 1850s by Max (1918) on private property and capitalism, as a particular stage of the development of the oriental society and had raised great unresolved debate (Brook, 1989). According to Southall (1998), ancient China was under Asiatic mode when it was united most of the time, while under the feudal mode when it was fragmented. There are also debates on the topic of urban-rural continuum etc.(cf. Mote, 1977; Ma, 1997)

[6] According to Fox, a city exists always within the context of society, hence the concepts of a city and a state correlate. Fox classifies 5 basic urban types: 1) Segmentary state, regal-ritual city; 2) Bureaucratic state, administrative city; 3) Commercial autonomy, mercantile city; 4) Prismatic state, colonial city; 5) Heterogeneity, the industrial city; and logically I could propose the next could be Cultural pluralism, post-industrial city.

Applying Fox's hypothesis to the premodern Chinese cities, the bureaucratic state and administrative city could be the primary urban types of these cities, with the persistence of the imperial system. As for sub-types, these cities could show features of the regal-ritual and/or mercantile cities, reflecting changes and transformations under the imperial system.

<u>Conscious planning themes</u>

Researchers (Mote, 1977; Dong, 1984) noted, the premodern Chinese cities resulted either from conscious design, natural sprawl or other processes. Accordingly, the Imperial Chinese cities were developed either from scratch based on overall plans, or redeveloped on the existing city in general. Their features differed from the North to the South.

Between the Imperial cities of the North and the South, strong regional differences existed throughout the imperial Chinese history.[7] The north was rather flat and dry; the south was rather humid and hilly. The Northern plain had almost been the nuclear of Chinese civilization particularly during the early stages of imperial period, it was practically possible to plan and implement grandiose and regular Northern capitals like *Chang'an*, *Bianliang* or *Beijing* etc. The South, however, originally not belonging to the central Chinese region, gradually gained its importance especially after *Tang*. On the irregular and hilly sites of the south that was first used as military outpost, to develop capitals like the Northern ones were physically difficult, thus *Nanjing* and *Lin'an* had different features.

As for the conscious planning themes, often quoted are the two prescribed in the classical texts of *Zhouli* and *Guanzi*, which seem to form a pair of contrast.[8] Wu (1986) traced the evolution of imperial Chinese cities under the influence of the pair, as shown in Figure 4-4.

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[7] Separated at roughly halfway between Yellow River and Yangtze River, the vast territory of China could normally be divided into the southern and the northern parts, based on both weather/terrain conditions and patterns of human uses (Fairbank, 1992).

[8] More discussions on *Zhouli* and *Guanzi* can be found in chapter 5.1.
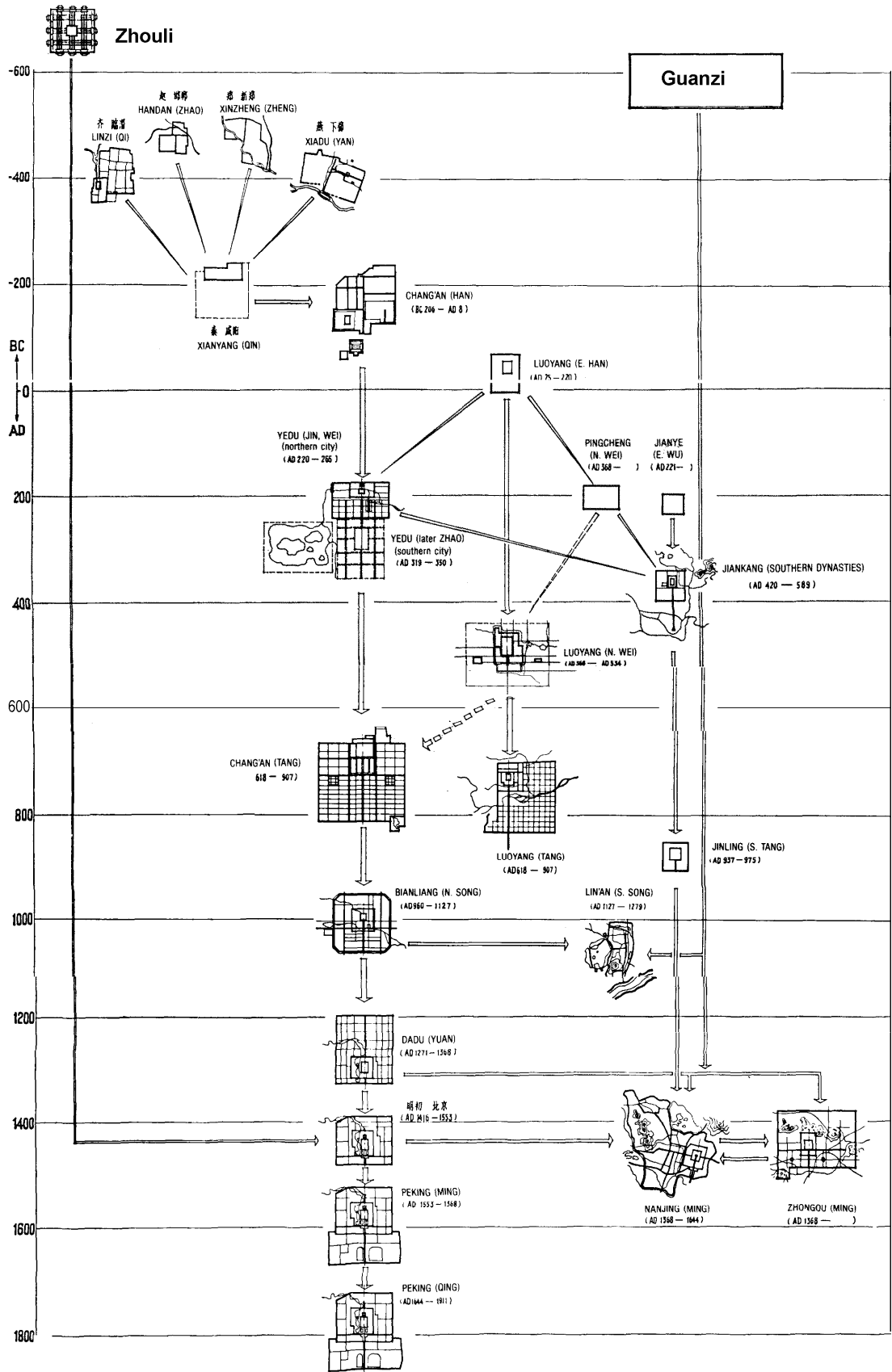
Figure 4-4. The evolution of imperial Chinese cities after Wu (1986, pp. 89-90)

Thus, the different features of imperial cities between the North and the South roughly paralleled the contrast between *Zhouli* and *Guanzi*.

However, I prefer to interpret the contrast between *Zhouli* and *Guanzi* as reflecting the dual role of a city: the ideological role vs. the pragmatic one.[9] Focusing on the city's ideological role, the *Zhouli* theme explains the particular form of the city mainly in the cosmological-ideological relevance. The *Guanzi* theme focuses on the city's pragmatic role, such as defence, production, administration and logistics, as well as the conditions of the existing site, thus explaining the form of the city mainly as accommodating to those specific requirements (cf. Guo, 1997).

To understand diverse features of the imperial Chinese cities on the fundamental level, one can see the city as the compromise between ideological/spiritual intentions and pragmatic/physical requirements. Thus, the imperial Chinese city could be understood in the context of a large system, with *Zhouli* on the ideological pole at one end, and *Guanzi* on the pragmatic pole at the other end, together with other minor influences in between like *Fengshui* etc, as will further be discussed in chapter 5.

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[9] The pragmatic urban roles could include administrative and mercantile roles etc. based on Fox's hypothesis discussed previously.

4.2. The physical and functional structures of the city

4.2.1. The physical layout

As few physical features of *Lin'an* are still observable on *Hangzhou*, the existing city developed on the old site of Lin'an, researches "reconstructed" maps of the old city in various versions based on extant historical sources and limited archaeological evidences (He, 1986; Moule, 1957; Guo, 1997; Lin, 1986).

A detailed list of the transformations and changes of the city Lin'an can be found in Appendix I. In general, the basic layout of *Lin'an* in the Southern *Song* could trace to the *Sui* (581-617) period, with significant extension in the *Wuyue* period (907-978). As shown on the reconstructed maps below, Lin'an was built on the undulating landform that was hilly in the southern part and relative flat in its northern part. Mountains and waters surrounded the city, made its irregular shape elongate in the south-north direction and roughly measured 7km. To the west of city, the West Lake and a range of mountains around it formed the scenic suburban zone that earned the city its fame. To the southeast, flowed the *Qiantang* River, which was a natural barrier for the city and its fresh water supplier.
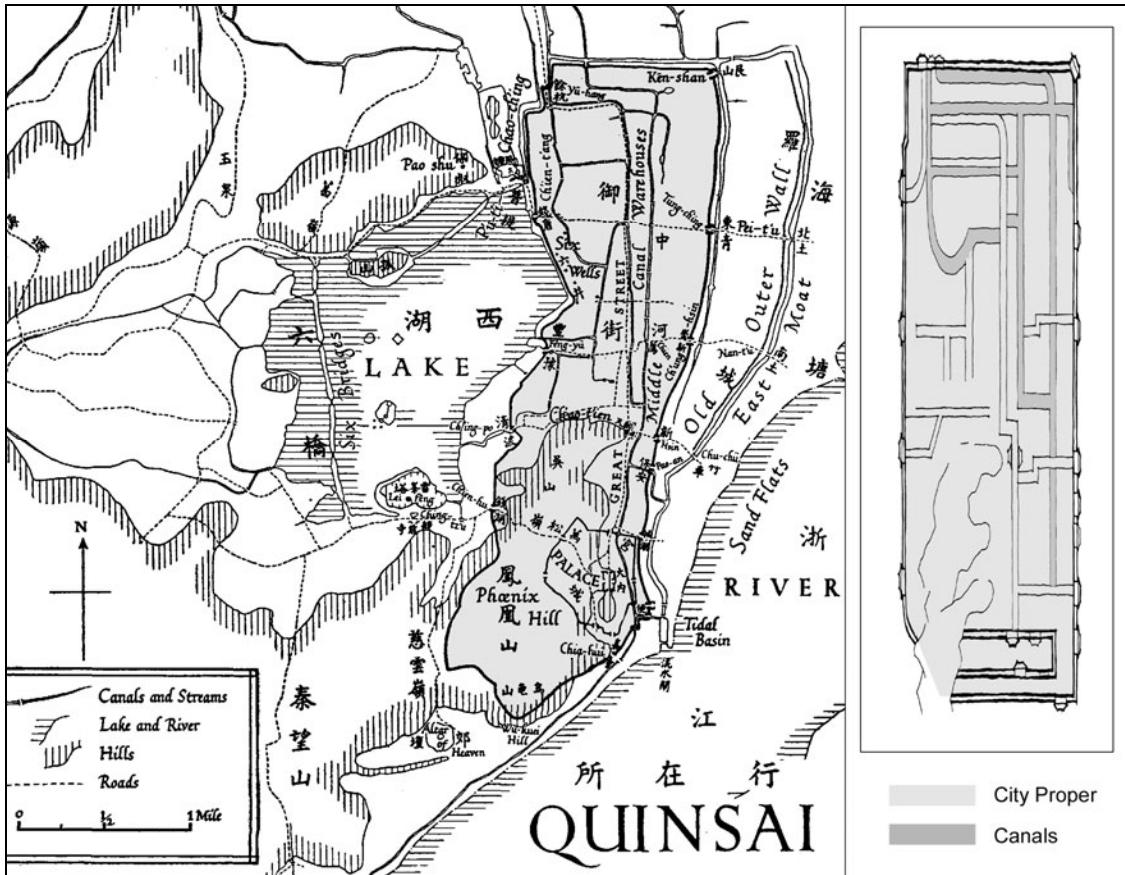
Figure 4-5. Reconstructed maps of *Lin'an* (Left: after Moule, 1957; Right: based on XC)
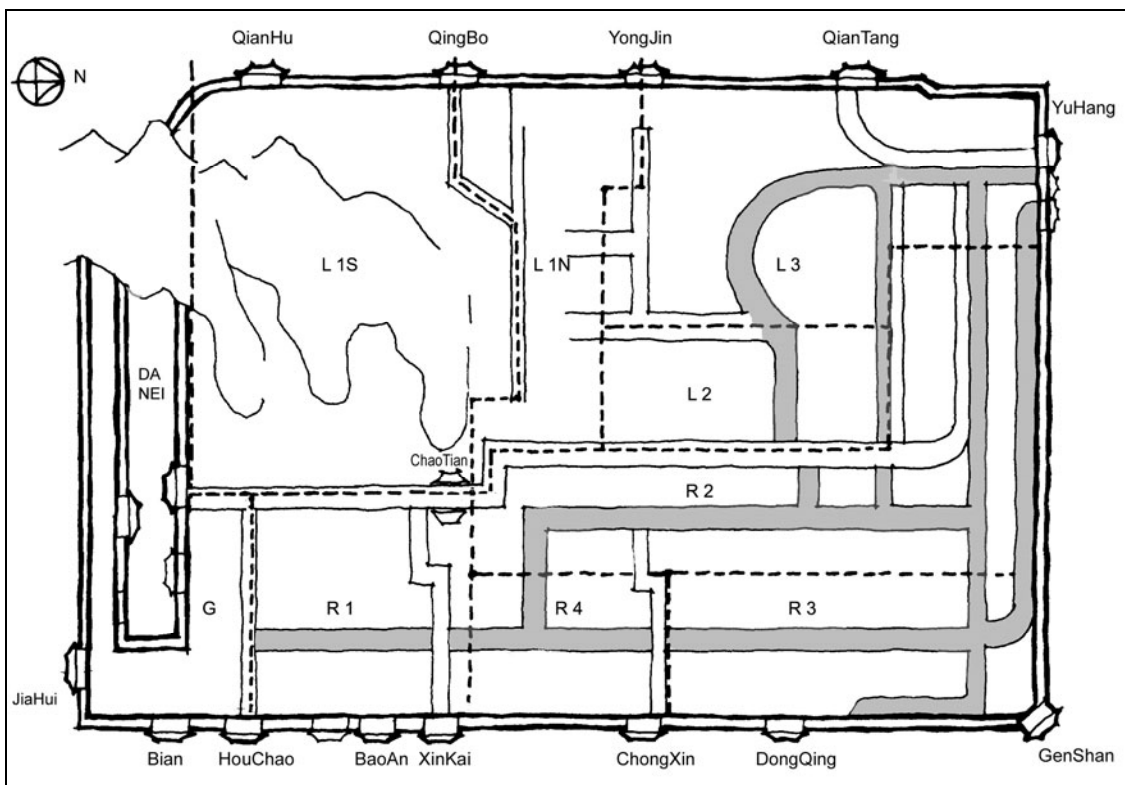
Figure 4-6. A schematic city map based on XC and Guo (1997)

Referring to the above schematic map, *Lin'an* was also enclosed by the rampart, similar to many imperial Chinese cities. 18 city gates was located on the rampart, except for the five floodgates, the other 13 were all crowned with monumental towers. Within the city proper, *Tianjie* 天街 (the Imperial Avenue) was the main street and also the central axis of the city, traversed the city roughly in the north-south direction. Perpendicular to it were other roads, linking to most of the city gates on the east and the west city rampart. Roughly paralleled to the Imperial Avenue, four canals[10] run across the city with a great amount of bridges over them. The stone-paved roads and regularly dredged canals formed the city's major service network, connecting to the outside city.[11]

For administrative purpose, the city was divided into 9 *Xiang* 厢 (boroughs), as demarcated with the dashed line on the above map. The Imperial Palace occupied one borough, other boroughs further contained several *Fang*(s) 坊 (wards). *Fang* was a sub-administrative unit, having its own administrative staff (*Xiang Guan*) and policeman (*Xunpu*) for efficient control against fires and crimes. Often within the *Fang*(s), houses were mixed up with markets, shops, wineshops, food courts etc, lining the streets or narrow lanes. More details about the urban street scenes are discussed in chapter 6.

4.2.2. The functional system

He (1986b) had investigated the functional system of *Lin'an* in detail. Based on the type of clustered land use, He identified 10 functional zones, which excluded the religious settings within or adjacent to the scenic zones and the entertainment centres mixed with commercial settings. These two functional uses were intentionally left out, as they were of scattered

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[10] This includes the one on the east of city, which was already devastated during Southern Song period.

[11] According to Polo (1938), all roads in Lin'an were covered by stone slabs and some of them could have underground conduit systems.

natures, often overlapped with other categories and were difficult to single out as distinctive zones.

However, for better understanding of the comprehensive urban functional system, I prefer to include these two functional types, as they were distinctive categories essential to the life of the locals. A brief description of the functional system is listed in the following table and map (Table 4-1 and Figure 4-7):

- Royal court: the imperial family exclusively used this system for various official, residential and ritual purposes. It included *Huangcheng* 皇城 (the Palace City) for the emperor and *Deshou* Palace德寿宫 that hosted the retired emperor, as well as various ritual settings linked by the Imperial Avenue, including *Jingling* Palace 景灵宫, *Wanshou Guan* 万寿观, East *Taiyi* Palace 东太乙宫at the north-west end of the Avenue; *Taimiao* 太庙 (the Ancestral Temple) and *Shejitan* 社稷坛 (the Altar of Soil and Grain) at both sides of the Avenue; *Jiaotan* 郊坛 (the Astral Altar) and *Jitian* 稷坛 (the Altar of Agriculture) at the southern suburb.

- Administration: it included the administration settings both for the state and prefecture. The state administration mainly concentrated on the southern city along the Avenue and in front of the Palace City; *Fuzhi* 府治 (prefectural administration) was located at the western city.

- Craft industry: it included workshops run both by the state and by the private. State run craft industry mainly consisted of 3 *Jian*监 (departments),[12] 4 *Fang* 坊 (workshops), and many other official workshops for printing, porcelain production etc. While most of these workshops were located at fixed places, a few scattered in the city like wine-making ones. The private workshops were mainly for silk making and printing.[13]

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[12] 1) *Shaofu* Dept 少府监 consisted of 5 *Yuan*院 (workshops) with the purpose to supply for imperial rites and daily use; 2) *Jiangzuo* Dept.将作监 consisted of 10 *Si*司 (offices) in charge of imperial architecture and constructions; 3) *Junqi* Dept.军器监 took charge of ammunition production.

[13] Those small workshops that direct traded their products were classified under the commercial system.

- Commercial system: this consisted of the three major parts: 1) the central market starting from the Palace City in the south to the *Guan* Bridge 观桥 along the Imperial Avenue; 2) the official market along two banks of the *Tongjiang* bridge 通江桥; 3) specialized markets within the Fang(s) throughout the city, especially those attached to the Imperial Avenue, or along the banks of the canals, rivers and lakes, or near the bridges and the city gates.

- Recreational system: this included various *Wa* 瓦 (entertainment centres) near the city gates or closed to other busy parts within or outside the city. *Wa* was normally located in the complex, which was a marketplace of various sales and services, thus *Wa* could also be classified under commercial category.

- Scenic system: various scenic spots were generally located around the West lake 西湖, at the South and North Mountains, as well as gardens in the eastern suburb, where the locals frequented during festivals and holidays.

Zone	Sub-category	Location
1.Royal court	Palace city	Palace city, Deshou Palace
	Temples	Ancestral temple--Taimiao
		Jingling, Taiyi temples and etc.
	Altars	Altar of the earth & soil, altar in Southern (heaven) and northern suburbs
2.Administration	State administration	Southern part of the Imperial Avenue
	Prefectural administration	In the western city along Qingbo and Fengyu Gates
3.Commerce	Central market	Central part of the Imperial Avenue
	Official market	Along the east and west banks of Tongjiang Bridge
	Specialized markets and services	Along banks of the rivers, lakes, canals, bridges; esp. alleys attached to the Imperial Avenue
4.Warehouse	Official storehouses of rice and salt	North of Yan Bridge, between Maoshan to Qinghu River, and in the north-western part of the city
	Warehouses	In the Baiyang lake of the northern city
5.Port/dock	For river transport	Long Mountain, Zhe River, Beiguan etc.
	For sea transport	In Hanpu county
6. Craft industry	Official craft workshops	Between Zahoxian(N) and Wulin(S) Ward; north of Yongjin Gate (the military industry)
		Beiqiao, Yijing Ward belong to Shaofu
		Kangyu ward, Xianchun granary belong to Jiangzuo
		Jijia, Tojiang River, Baomin Ward (printing)
		Piedmont of Pheonix Mountain (Porcelain)
		Out of Dongqing Gate (ship manufacture, metallurgical and charcoal workshops)
	Private workshops	Silk workshops around San Bridge, Shixi Ward
		Printing workshops around Muqin Ward, Peng Bridge
7.Education	Taixue, Wuxue	National & Military academies located at Jijia Bridge in the northern city
	Prefectural schools, etc.	In the Prefectural administrative complex
8.Residence	Mansions for officials	Along Qinghu River, from Qinghe(N) to Wulin(S) Ward
		The region within Fengle Bridge, Deshou Palace (N), the Imperial Avenue (E), Fengle Ward (S)
	Commoners' residence	West from imperial Path, south Xin Gate, north Baiyang lake, between Shi and Yan River
		North to Qiantang Gate, south to Fengyu Gate, the region between central market and prefectural administrative complex
9.Defence		Around the city rampart, esp. outside eastern part of the city along the river
10.Scenic zones		Along West lake, South and North Mountain and gardens in eastern suburb.
11.Religious settings		Many ancestral, Buddhist and Daoist buildings within city and in the mountains along west lake, within scenic zones
12.Recreation	Wa(s) in/outside city	In vicinity to city gates, important bridges, markets and etc.

Table 4-1.The functional system of Lin'an after He (1986b, pp. 241-242)
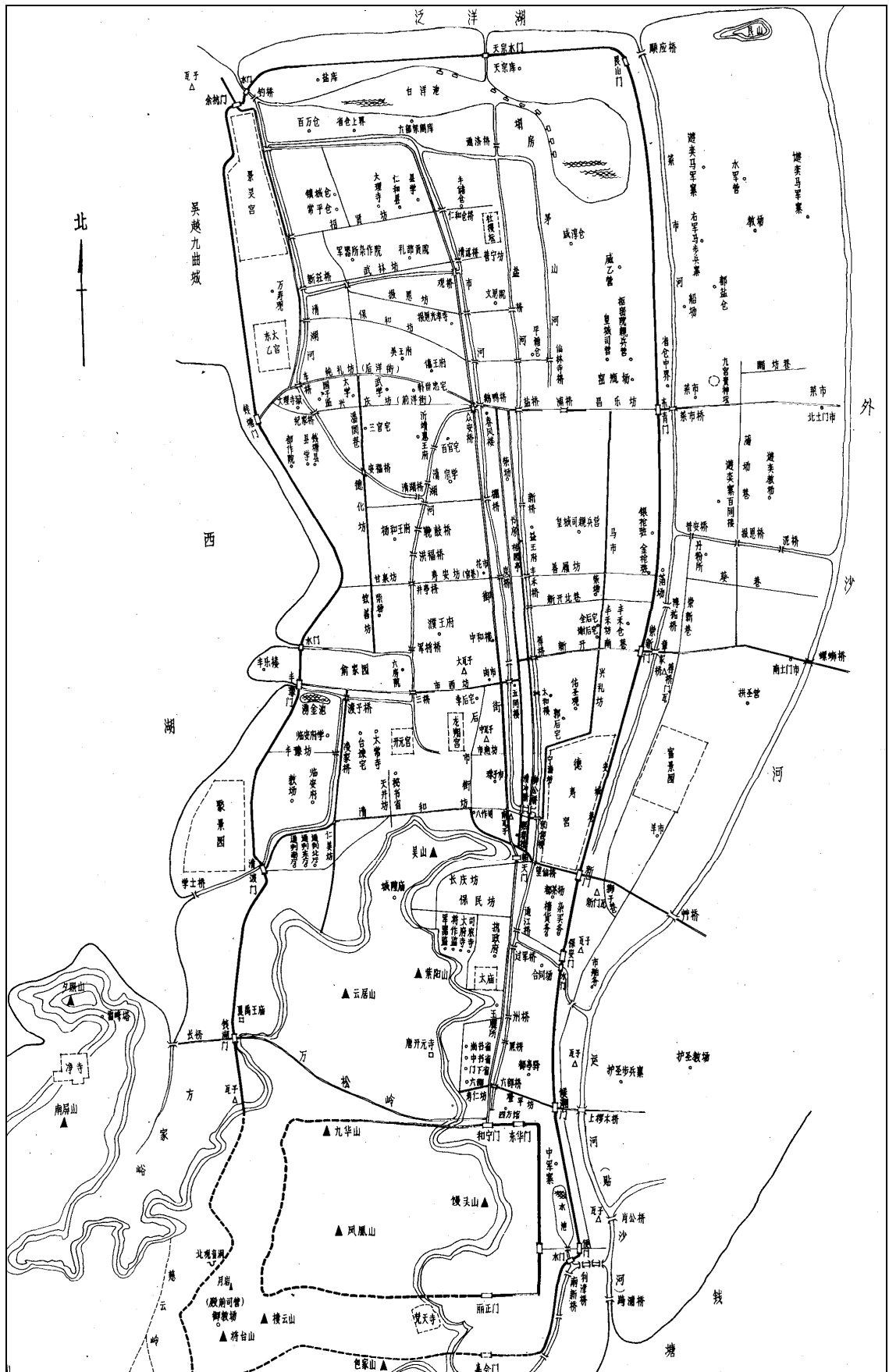
Figure 4-7. Map of Lin'an reconstructed by He (1986b)

4.3. Representing urban places: a study of place names

The understanding of the physical features and the functional system of *Lin'an* in the previous sections facilitates further exploration of the multi-faceted place system and various cognitive aspects of the city in particular.

In the text of XC, similar to that of other *Zhi*(s)/*Fangzhi*(s), various topics were organized according to a hierarchical structure, which reflected both the physical and the social structure of the city. As shown in Figure 4-9 on the next page, *Lin'an* was both the state capital and the prefectural seat. *Lin'an* Prefecture consisted of seven counties, two of them (*Renhe* and *Qiantang*) were located within the city rampart. Thus within the city proper, some parts belonged to the imperial court, other parts were administrated by the prefecture. Each part could further be subdivided into smaller administrative units, as demonstrated on the schematic diagram in Figure 4-8.

The above categorization of the city demonstrates the effort of an official ordering of the urban places, which were done mainly through functional uses, spatial forms and especially by place naming. Is the general representation of the city also perceived/cognized or referred to by the majority of the local residents?

Starting from the general structure to more specific features, I will explore the general cognitive features of urban places in the following section, mainly through the names/naming system of those places. To understand the name as a key element of a place and the naming system as a key component of urban cognitive system, I will first discuss the themes and conventions of names; then investigate selected naming systems as well as the corresponding place systems after defining the parameters of the approach.

Lin'an Fu (Prefecture)

| Other 7 counties | Renhe County | Qiantang County | Mountains, rivers |

The prefecture

| Prefectural administrations | City wall and gates, bridges and canals |
| Craft workshops, warehouses, schools and other facilities | Shrines, temples, gardens relics, mountains & rivers in the city and suburbs |

Fangxiang (Residential wards/alleys):

Residence mixed with Shi, Hang, Zuo (specialised market & craft shop); wine shops, restaurants, food courts, tea-houses; Wa (entertainment centre); and etc.

Huangcheng (Palace city)

Jing Cheng (Imperial city):

Divided into 9 boroughs (the Palace City as one borough)

The Royal court

| Palaces/offices | Residence, Gardens |
| City wall and gates | Other services |

| State administrations | Altars, Ancestral shrines, buddhist/Daoist temples |
| Halls, gardens of royal families and officials | Army, craft shops, warehouses, schools etc. |

Figure 4-8. The hierarchical structure of *Zhi/Fangzhi*
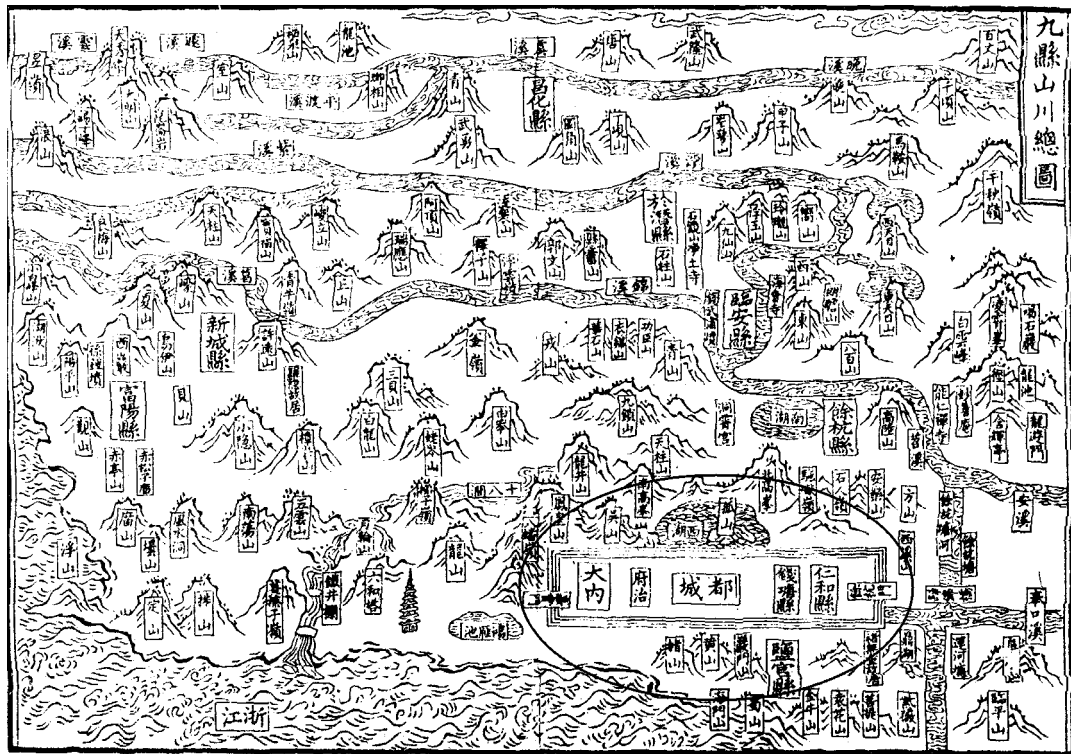
Figure 4-9. Map of Lin'an Prefecture after XC (*Tongzhi* version)

4.3.1. Place names and the naming tradition

<u>A general discussion of Chinese names</u>

Strongly believing in the power of naming, the Chinese started the debate over names some three millennia ago. In the formal discourse of the classics, the relationship of *Ming* 名 (name) and *Shi* 实 (actuality) had been a recurring theme among the major schools of Chinese philosophical thinking, i.e. Confucian, Daoist, Mohist, Legalist and School of Names etc. (cf. Feng, 1975). A detailed study of the ancient Chinese debate over name between the nominalist and the correlative is attached in Appendix F.

Referring to the Makeham's (1994) study, on the relationship between name and actuality, the debate was whether the name for the actuality was arbitrarily assigned or an inherent attribute of that actuality. However, more relevant to the study is the great cosmological-ethical and political implications that went beyond mere philosophical issues.

For the classic Confucian, the notion *Zhengming* 正名 (the rectification of names) was essentially a principle of proper governing, as demonstrated by *Confucius* 孔子（551-479 AD）*Fufu Zizi Junjun Chenchen* 父父、子子、君君、臣臣 (let the ruler be a ruler, the minister be a minister, the father be a father, and the son be a son). In this system, everyone lived and acted in accordance to the significance of his name. The name was imposed arbitrarily with the intention to regulate coherent social behaviour.

In this context, a proper name that was bestowed to either a person or a place became an essential attribute of its referent in the Chinese tradition. In the studies on modern/historic toponyms, Li (1998) found that Confucian moral ideals were popular themes for place naming; this view was corroborated by Yi's (1993) study on person's names. According to them, among frequently used characters or words, some were directly associated with

Confucian doctrines like *Zhong* 忠 (faith), *Xiao* 孝 (filial piety), *Ren* 仁 (benevolence), *Yi* 义 (righteousness), *Li* 礼 (propriety), *Xin* 信 (trustworthiness); or used to commemorate civil and military achievements, as well as to express good wishes, e.g. felicity, happiness, achievement, prosperity, peace and tranquillity, good cycles and all other good things that could be expected in a typical agrarian society. [14]

However, informal names are normally evolved through time and lack consistent themes, as noted in the general study of *Hangzhou*'s historic toponyms by Lu (1994).

<u>Classification of place names: a model for the study</u>

Studying names involves interpreting characters and words under the profound Chinese cultural tradition, as shown in Appendix E. In Chinese linguistic tradition, *Yi* 意 (the meaning) not only closely links with *Xiang* 象 (the image) and *Yan* 言 (the direct utterance), but also depends on context. Many place names are *Ci* 词 (word), each of them contains at least two *Zi* 字 (character) that could carry multiple meanings, thus, the accurate or exact interpretations of these names rely on the proper understanding of the character, word and the context. Moreover to the study, the difficulties lie not only in how to decipher the meaning of the name, but also how to translate the name between Chinese and English. To be safe, I just translate the word as the simple combination of the independent characters, without a careful study on the context.

In chapter 2.3.4, I have briefly discussed the general studies on place names. Again for the study of Chinese toponym, Li (1998, pp. 7-9, 78-89, 169-176) proposed a scheme differentiating three broad types of names: *descriptive name, narrative name* and *allegoric name.*

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[14] 安, 宁, 兴, 昌, 太平, 福, 泰, 和, 平, 清, 明. Please refer to Appendix G for the discussion on Confucian thinking.

The descriptive name involved natural features like geographical location, scene etc; the narrative name emphasized artificial/cultural features like racial, historic or legendary happenings; the allegoric name accentuated the abstract emotion, value and idea. Obviously, comparing with the discussion on the clarification of names by Steward (1975), which was based both on the place features (naming referent) and on the consciousness of the namer, Li's scheme only emphasized the naming referents, while ignores the consciousness of the namer.

Thus, in the following study, I will focus on the close relationship of naming and place attributes, investigating what kinds of consciousness and place features are represented, and how they create/enhance the place, and how they contribute to the overall place system if any. To differentiate place names in general, I propose a two-fold study model mainly following the Steward's scheme: the commendatory/commemorative category (abbr. Com) and the descriptive/associative category (abbr. Des/Ass.). Two sub-categories are further distinguished under the Des/Ass category, one emphasizes more perceptual cues, the other focuses on the less obvious cues, as shown in the following table:

	Main category		Sub-category
1	Commendatory/commemorative		
2.	Descriptive/associative	I.	Related to dominant perceptual features (natural or man-made) like mountain, spring, building, office etc.
		II.	Associated to the functional use, spatial relationship to dominant settings, temporal cues and other less obvious cues

Table 4-2. A study model of place names

4.3.2. The names of official and landscape settings within the Palace City

Similar to other imperial periods, the Palace City of Lin'an consisted of halls for court audience, routine work and residence, as well as verandas, courtyards and gardens etc. The whole complex was configured in the order of *Qianchao Houqin* 前朝后寝 (the imperial court in the front and his sleeping chambers at the back).

Imperial halls in the front

According to various historical records, due to a hasty process of settling, the court of *Lin'an*
only had several main halls[15] that were located in the front/south of the Palace City.
Especially during the starting period of the reign, there were insufficient halls to conduct
formal court functions. Actually, it was the principle hall alone that served for multiple-uses.

Referring to Figure 4-1,2 (section 4.1.1), the typical façade of a formal hall consists of
podium, wall/column and roof, with symmetrical feature. The number of *Jian/Jia*, type of
roof etc. indicate the importance of the hall, together with its name, which is engraved or
painted (in golden or other colours) on a wooden plaque called *Bian* 匾 below the eave(s)
and on the central axis of the building. In *Lin'an*, the principle hall needed to change
according to different imperial audiences or ceremonies conducted, not in other physical
features, but mainly the content of *Bian* (with different names) was shifted accordingly. This
was called *Suishi Jieming* 随事揭名. The following different names were recorded in ML9.1
(cf. XC, 1.14; XH):[16]

- *Wende* (文德 Civil virtue): meeting with officials;

- *Daqing* (大庆 Grand celebration): formal ceremony;

- *Zichen* (紫宸 Purple eave): celebrating emperor's birthday;

- *Jiying* (集英 Gathering of Elites): announcing winner in the state exam;

- *Mingtang* (明堂 Ritual Hall): offering sacrifice to the heaven.

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[15] The principal hall of audience *Daqing* and supporting hall *Chuigong* were of the similar configuration:
double-eaved hipped roof, 5 *Jian* 12 *Jia*, according to *Yuhai* 玉海 (Sea of Jades) by *Wang Jinglin* 王应麟
(1223-1296).

[16] 丽正门内正衙, 即大庆殿, 遇明堂大礼、正朔大朝会, 俱御之。如六参起居, 百官听麻, 改殿牌为文德殿; 圣节
上寿, 改名紫宸; 进士唱名, 易牌集英; 明禋为明堂殿。次曰垂拱殿, 常朝四参起居之地。

Later there were more halls in the Palace City. Many names of those halls were commendatory/commemorative types, which at times, could be assigned or even handwritten by the emperor himself. *Diangu* 典故, a very terse literary quotation alluded to the former happenings or ideas (Maeno, 1989, p. 27), was often applied for naming. Emperor *Gaozong* named *Shunzhai Hall* 损斋 (the room of lose) with a *Diangu* derived from *Zhuangzi* (ca. 355-285 BC),[17] meaning abdicating flashy contents and returning to simplicity and non-action.[18]

With the above stories and especially the shift of *Bian*, it seemed obligatory to give a proper name to a hall, so as to match the event hosted/expected with the denotation/connotation of its name. Thus, the name of the official hall played a performative role in signifying the essential uses and meanings of the setting, and ensuring the absolute compatibility between the setting and the event.

<u>Imperial gardens at the back</u>

Contrasting with the formal imperial halls, the landscape buildings in the imperial gardens were named under different themes. As listed in the table below, chosen from 137 landscape settings in the imperial gardens (WL 4.1),[19] these names suggested various subtle communications with the nature. Translations are only indicative; please refer to the discussions on interpretation of Chinese characters and words in Appendix E.

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[17] 庄子. 知北游: 为道者曰损, 损之又损之, 以至于无为.

[18] *Fugu* Hall 复古 (Return to the ancient) was named by Emperor *Lizong*, the theme fit the function of reading and discussions on ancient policies; *Jiaming* Hall 嘉明 (good and bright) was named by Emperor *Gongzong* to glorify his mother (XC1, ML8).

[19] Those included 33 *Tang* 堂, 7 *Lou* 楼, 6 *Tai* 台, 1 *Xuan* 轩 and 90 *Ting* 亭 (WL 4.1). For the explanation of terms regarding building types please refer to Appendix H.

1st Character	2nd Character (* denotes reverse order of the 1st and the 2nd characters)			
Qing 清, clear, clean, bright, cool, fair, quiet, fragrant, pure, elegant	凉 cool and cold	迥 far, high	远 far, deep	美 pretty
	趣 meaning, gusto	隐 subtle, quiet	徹 clear, penetrating	兴 prevail
	颢 vast, bright	寒 cold, desolate	霁 clear up after rain	赏 enjoy
	晖 shining, radiant	激 surged, chill	暑 summer	晚* late
Chun 春, spring	妍 beautiful, fine	融* blend	留* long	别是一家* family
	华 glorious	寻* seeking	皆* all	
	阳 bright, warm	映* reflect	芳* fragrant	
	信 message	余* remain	宴* feast	
Xiang 香 fragrant	琼 good, jade	秾* luxuriant, deep	岩* rock	倚* adjacent
	玉 jade, pure	暗* hidden	披* cover	
	界 ambient	晚节* last stage	绣* colourful	
Xiu 秀 beautiful, luxuriant	野 natural field	衍 full	明* bright	衍* rich, lush
	环 surround	琼* jade	濯* clear	深* dark, deep
Jin 锦 beautiful, like brocade	烟 mist	灿 bright	丽* beautiful	绣* beautiful
	浪 wave	云 cloud	丛* cluster	万* myriad
Fang 芳 fragrant, scent	远 far, lofty	秋 autumn	流* flow, stream	延* stretch, spread
	屿 island	呈 display	聚* assemble	
Bi 碧 Blemish green	岑 high	澄 limpid	滟* bright	
	琳 beautiful jade	泚 bright		
Han 寒 cold, desolate	碧 blemish green	香 fragrant	翠 emerald green	凌* above

Table 4-3. Names of landscape architecture in the imperial gardens of *Lin'an*

Among those names, the most repeated characters are: *Bi* 碧 (blemish green), *Chun* 春 (spring), *Fang* 芳 (fragrant, scent), *Han* 寒 (cold, desolate), *Jin* 锦 (beautiful, like brocade), *Jing* 静 (tranquil, serene), *Qing* 清 (clear, clean, bright, cool, fair, quiet, fragrant, pure, elegant), *Xiang* 香 (fragrant) etc. These characters formed a rich multisensory repertoire, however, they not only related to the direct visual, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, auditory perceptions of plant, water, sun and light, wind and natural phenomena, but also implied serenity, purity and other more subtle feelings.[20]

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[20] The fragrance of lotus and the perseverance of pine could further connote the sense of the purification of soul and perfecting of personality, under the general Chinese artistic tradition.

In terms of classification, these names are basically descriptive, but associative, commendatory and commemorative as well, because they could describe the natural features, and could link to affections and values or commemorate the namer who could be an elite-official or literatus with great achievement. Thus, the modalities of naming referents include not only the physical existences of natural features and their perceptual qualities, but also their symbolic meanings.

With fusion of the responsive landscape features and purposive human values, this naming scheme links to a sophisticated Chinese literary or rather artistic term that manifests in literature, painting and landscaping, called *Yijing* 意境.[21] In a rather comprehensive study, Lin (1992) noted that *Yijing* was the coalesces of mind related coherently in the place: the combination of *Xiang* 象 (visual image), *Yi* 意 (meaning), *Qing* 情 (feeling), and *Gan* 感 (reverberation). Thus, through the gaze of eyes and wanders of the mind, a kind of totally new mindscape emerges, re-creating or renewing the sense of place.

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[21] *Zong Baihua* 宗白华, a modern Chinese literatus, considered *Yijing* in relation to the process of seeking truth and divinity, which has five realms, i.e. the utilitarian, the moral, the political, the scientific and the religious realms, *Yijing* relates to the last two realms (Wang, 1989, p.152).

4.3.3. The names of city gates and residential wards

<u>Places with dual naming themes</u>

In the texts of *Zhi* and *Biji*, the city gates and residential wards within the city of Lin'an were named under two different themes. One was *Yacheng* 雅称 (the elegant official names) and the other was *Sucheng* 俗称 (the vulgar folk names). The official names were physically presented, either engraved or painted on *Chengmen* 城门 (city gates), or on *Fangbiao* 坊表, a memorial gateway marking the entrance of the *Fang* 坊 (residential wards). However, the folk names were often circulated orally without physical presence on buildings or constructions.

The study on the dual naming systems of the city's 13 gates (excluding floodgates) and 37 *Fang* that belonged to two *Xiang* (residential boroughs) is mainly based on historical records (XC18, 19, ML7) aided with modern researches (Lin, 1986, pp.80-130; Yang, 1993). As the city had altogether 85 *Fangs* and 9 *Xiangs* (XC), as well as many other gates, the study is by no means exhaustive, neither are those selected city gates and wards random samples for statistic purpose. They were located either at the entrances of the city or along the central axis, which was the site for both the grandiose imperial avenue and the busiest central market. These gates and wards are typical and useful cases to the study, as they had very close relationship with the local residents, and were frequently being used and/or referred to by them.

no	Names of the city gates	Com	Des/Ass. I	Des/Ass. II	Particularities: features and modalities of name referents
S.	Jiahui (嘉会 the carnival)	●			The main gate of the city, on the central axis, the grandest feature. 1158
	Lishe* (利涉 L Brigde)		○		
E1	Bian (便 Convenience)			●	Bianmen lane, 1158
E2	Houchao (侯潮 Wait tide)	●			Legend: Wu Emperor defeated the tide
E3	Baoan (保安 Ensure security)	●			Xiaoyan is the name of the floodgate next to Baoan
	Xiaoyan (小堰 Small Weir)			○	
E4	Xinkai (新开 Newly open)			●	Opened in Xiaozong reign to access to the famous imperial garden outside the city
E5	Chongxin (崇新 revere new)	●			Chongxin ward, Chongxin bridge, opp. to Jian bridge
	Jianqiao (荐桥 Jian bridge)		○		
E6	Dongqing (东青 Eastern Green)		●		Vegetable garden
	Caishi (菜市 Vegetable Mart)			○	
E7	Genshan (艮山 Mt. G)			●	Gen Mountain, or the orientation correspond to Gen Diagram; Bazi bridge
	Bazi (坝子 Dam)*		○		
N.	Yuhang (余杭)			●	Wulin mould in Five Dynasty, close to the terminal of the Grand Canal.
	Baiguan (北关 Northern Pass)		○		
	Wulin (武林)*	●			
W1	Qianhu (钱湖 Q lake)			●	At the piedmont of Qingping
	Qingping (青平 green peace)*		○		
W2	Qingbo (清波 Clean Wave)	●			A canal with 5 open and 15 underground ditches; famous authors: Liu, Zhou[22]
	An (暗 Underground)		○		
W3	Fengyu (丰豫 Abundant, vast)	●			Fengyu was renamed from Yongjing in 1158, Yongjing pond, Fengyu wineshop
	Yongjin (涌金 Surge of gold)	●			
W4	Qiantang (钱塘 Q Dyke)			●	Related to Qiantang river

Table 4-4. Names of the city gates (●- official name, ○-folk name)[23]

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[22] There were still spill over effects: as the scholar *Liu Songnian* had lived near the *Qingbo* gate, he was called *Liu Qingbo*; the author *Zhou Hui*'s Biji was also named after the name of *Qingbo* gate, call *Qingbo Zhazhi*.

[23] For abbreviation: Com- Commendatory/commemorative, Des/Ass. - Descriptive/associative, * - not recorded in XC and ML but found in the modern source (Lin, 1986).

no	Official: Fang (坊 ward) / Folk: Xiang (巷 alley)	Com	Des/Ass. I	Des/Ass. II	Particularities: features and modalities of name referents
1	Wushan (吴山 Mt. Wu.)		○		On the east slope of Wu Mountain, a well named Wushan in the Fang
	Wushanjing (吴山井 Mt. Wu)		●		
2	Qinghe (清和 Clear & peace)	●			Opp. Chongyang Palace where Duke of Qinghe (Zhang Jun) lived.
3	Ronghe (融和 Hamony & peace)	●			A mound where pig lungs and other intestines are traded
	Guanfeiling (灌肺岭 Lung ridge)		○		
4	Taiping (太平 Peace & tranquil)	●			Taiping wineshop
5	Xinjie (新街 New street)			●	Newly opened in Southern Song
6	Shinan (市南 South of Market)			●	Former prefectural market in the north, famous scarf market, Huiming North branch
	Jingzi (巾子 Skarf)			○	
7	Shixi (市西 West of Market)			●	3 bridges over the West canal, the busiest shopping area, Shang Wa at the north
	Sanqiao (三桥 3 bridges)		○		
8	Nanxin (南新 Southern new)				Developed at late Southern Song
9	Kanyu (康裕 Healthy & wealthy)	●			The governmental department in charge of imperial construction
	Bazuosi (八作司 Bazhuo Dept.)		○		
10	Houshi (后市 Back of the market)			●	Market of mandarin and orange
	Ganju (柑桔 Mandarin & orange)			○	
11	Wushan Bei (吴山北 North of Mt. Wu)			●	At the northern slope of Mt. Wu
12	Taihe (泰和 Peace & harmony)	●			Developed in middle of S. Song, Granary for sticky rice; within the Fang there is Kaiyuan Palace, the former residence of the emperor before enthroned
	Nuomicang (糯米仓 Sticky rice granary) Wanshui (万岁 emperor)			○	
13	Tianjing (天井 courtyard) Tongzhe (通浙 connect to Zhe)			●	A pond in a temple named Tianjing, also believed to connect to Zhe river in legend
14	Zhonghe (中和 Mean) Jingyin (净因 pure cause)	●			A temple named Jingyin; one hall of prefectural complex named Zhonghe; Loudian official Dept. in charge of rent, lease and repair
	Loudianfu (楼店务 Loudian Dept.)		○		
15	Renmei (仁美 Kind & beauty)	●			Flagstone over Liufu canal
	Shiban (石板 stone slabs)		○		
16	Jingmin (近民 Close to people)	●			The juridical facility: Zuosili Yuan
	Zuoyuanqian (左院前 facing Z Yuan)			○	
17	Liufu (流福 Flowing bless)		●		The Liufu canal; A pond in front of prefectural complex is filled with lotus flower (name in Ming)
	Taohuachi (桃花池 Lotus Pond)*		○		
18	Fengyu (丰豫 Rich & happy)	●			Near Fengyu gate, the prefectural school in Fang
	Fuxue (府学 Prefectural school)*		○		
19	Meihua (美化 Beautification)	●			A mound called Zhuyuan (Bamboo Garden) mountain
	Zhuyuanshan (竹园山 Z. Mountain)*		○		

Table 4-5. Official and folk *Fang* names in LIN *Xiang*[24]

[24] LIN-Left I North 左一北厢, Com- Commendatory/commemorative, Des/Ass. - Descriptive/associative, ●- official name, ○-folk name, * - not recorded in XC and ML but found in the modern source (Lin, 1986).

no	Official: Fang (坊 ward) Folk: Xiang (巷 alley)	Com	Des/Ass. I	Des/Ass. II	Particularities: features and modalities of name referents
1	Xiuyi (修义 cultivate righteous)	●			The meat market, Da Wa
	Linjiao (菱椒 water chestnut & pepper)			○	
2	Fule (富乐)	●			The house market
	Meima (卖马, horse market)			○	
3	Zhongle (众乐 everyone happy)	●			Hupao spring, Zhong Ku, Zhonghe wineshop
	Hupaoquan (虎跑泉 HP Spring)		○		
4	Jiaomu (教睦 teach harmony)	●			Yingweng wineshop in front, Mt. Gouer.
	Yingwenghou (银瓮后 behind YW) Gouer (狗儿山 G Mountain)		○	○	
5	Jishan (积善 accumulate goodness)	●			Gathering place for puppet plays
	Shangbaixi (上百戏 up 100 play)			○	
6	Xiuyi (秀义 good & righteous)	●			Gathering place of puppet plays
	Xiabaixi (下百戏 down 100 play)			○	
7	Shouan (寿安 longevity and peace)	●			Shouan Ridge in Bianliang; or Guan means 冠 cap, the market for clothing accessories and flowers; or the name of earlier quay.
	Guan (官 official)		○	○	
8	Xiuwen (修文 civil learning)	●			Department of imperial architectecture and construction
	Jiangzuojian (将作监, JZ Dept.)		○		
9	Liren (里仁 kind neighbourhood)	●			Family shop or service
	Taojia (陶家 Tao family)		○		
10	Baoxin (保信 keep reputation)	●			Scissor market
	Jiandaogu (剪刀股 scissor)			○	
11	Dingming (定民 Pacify public)	●			Zhongpeng Bridge
	Zhongpeng (中棚)		○		
12	Muqin (睦亲 harmonious relation)	●			Muqin Hall to accommodate the imperial juniors (Shaoxing 4, 1134) and Zongxue, school of ancestral learning
	Zongxue (宗学 Ancestral School)		○		
13	Chunli (纯礼 pure rite)	●			
	Houyangjie (后洋街 behind Y alley)			○	
14	Baohe (保和 keep harmony)	●			Road with brick paving, shops of child model made of clay or wood
	Zhuanjie (砖街 Brick alley)		○		
15	Bao'en (报恩 repay obligation)	●			Bao'en Daoist temple, Guan bridge
	Guan (观)		○		
16	Fude (福德 fortune and virtue)	●			
17	Zhaoxian (招贤 recruit virtuous)	●			Renhe county seat was shifted here in Shaoxin 3 (1133).
	Renhexian (仁和县 Renhe County)		○		
18	Dengsheng (登省 ascend ministry)	●			Setup in Xianchun 5 (1269), Renhe County school

Table 4-6. Official and folk *Fang* names in LII *Xiang*[25]

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[25] LII-Left II 左二厢, Com- Commendatory/commemorative, Des/Ass. - Descriptive/associative, ●- official name, ○-folk name, * - not recorded in XC and ML but referred to by the modern source (Lin, 1986).

A closer look at the selected place names

In general, the official names differed from the folk names in the similar way as shown in other studies (cf. Yeoh, 1996; Li, 1998 etc.). The official names fell more into the Commendatory/commemorative group, while the majority of the folk names fell into the Descriptive/associative group.

To the city gates listed in Table 4-5, although the themes of official names and the folk names are distinguishable in general, such differences are not explicit. Among the official names, only few related to the formal themes, e.g. *Jiahui* related to the imperial ceremonies, *Houchao* commerated the former Emperor, *Fengyu* and *Yongjin* related to the good wish of prosperity etc. Other names could be associated with the adjacent settings like mountain (*Genshan*), ward (*Bian*), bridges (*Jiao, Chongxin*) or waters (*Qingbo, Qiantang, Qianhu*) or their physical features, uses or temporal cues like *Xinkai, Dongqing* and *Yuhang* etc.

Actually, these names did not have much difference to the folk naming convention, and they could probably be inherited directly from the folk names. It is hard to find an overall coherent naming system in the naming of the city gates, or the system was rather weak, if at all existed.

To the residential wards, the names between official - folk are easier to differentiate. With a few exceptions, most official names are commendatory or commemorative. As shown in Left II Xiang (Table 4-6), the names such as *Xiuyi* (cultivate righteous), *Fule* (rich & happy), *Zhongle* (everyone happy), *Jiaomu* (teach harmony), *Jishan* (accumulate goodness), *Xiuyi* (good & righteous), *Shouan* (longevity and peace), *Xiuwen* (civil learning), *Liren* (kind neighbourhood), *Baoxin* (keep reputation), *Dingming* (secure public), *Muqin* (harmonious relation), *Chunli* (pure rite), *Bao'en* (repay obligation), *Fude* (fortune & virtue), *Zhaoxian* (recruit virtuous), all expressed the traditional Confucian values or general good wishes.

Differently, the folk names could anchor either to bridges (*Guan, Zhongpeng*), water (*Hupao*), mountain (*Gou'er*), important setups (*Jiangzuojian, Zongxue, Taojia, Guan*), particular features (*Guan* in *Shou'an, Renhuxian, Zhuanjie*), or spatially associated with certain dominant settings (*Shangbaixi, Xiabaixi, Yingwenhou*), as well as related to special uses (*Linjiao, Meima, Jiandaogu*). These names were rather spontaneous in nature without observable system.

4.3.4. Contrasting naming themes and place representations

<u>Elite naming themes and places</u>

In the above discussion, the naming themes between the official settings and landscape settings form a pair of contrast, as shown in the following table:

	Official settings	Landscape settings
Type of name	Commendatory/associative	Integration of naming types
Themes for naming	Elite literary tradition, General Confucian moral ideals	Elite literary tradition, Daoist (Buddhist) conceptions
Place attributes associated with names	Formal features, official functions, moral idea of duty in the society	Nature, freedom and spontaneity in person-nature oneness

Table 4-7. A comparison of the two naming themes.

In general, names of the official settings are more commendatory/commemorative, while names of the landscape settings are integrations of the descriptive/associative and commendatory/commemorative types. One can see both naming themes under the influences of the elite literary tradition, the former more on the Confucian moral ideals, the latter more on the Daoist (Buddhist) conceptions.[26] In this sense, extra meanings under a coherent system are consciously conceptualized and attached to places, names become critical elements representing the essence of places.

Two naming themes demonstrate the systematic difference in representing urban places,

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[26] Underlying the contrasting urban place features is probably the contrast of two mainstream schools of thinking: *Confucianism* and *Daoism*, which are perhaps paralleled by the discourse between *classicism* and *Romanism* in the Western art history (He, 1999). Further discussions are included in Appendix G.

paralleled with the differences of physical features of these settings and behaviour patterns in the settings, thus distinctive place systems are formed with contrasting features. In the physical context, the contrast is the regularity and order of official settings vs. flexibility and natural patterns of the landscape settings; in the behavioural context, it is the obligation and restriction in the routine social life vs. freedom and spontaneity in the person-nature oneness.

However, the two place systems are related. An elite scholar-official could be both a Confucian and a Daosit, as Johnbank commented, "…the Chinese officer was a Confucian when in office and a Daoist when out of office" (1992, p. 53; cf. Copplestone, 1963; Boyd, 1962). Hence, he could think and behaviour following either Confucian ritual and hierarchical order, or the free and spontaneous Daoist (Buhhdist) doctrine depending on occasions. In such cultural context, both official settings and landscape settings could be classified as the "elite places/place system".

<u>Naming themes and folk places</u>

Parameter	Official names	Folk names
Major type	Commendatory/associative	Descriptive/associative
Origin	Bestowed	Evolved
Modalities for naming	General Confucian moral ideals, spatial relation to dominant settings	Spontaneous uses, spatial features, temporal cues, legends and stories

Table 4-8. A comparison between the official names and the folk names

The study on the dual naming systems of the city gates and the residential wards of *Lin'an*, validates the existence of the systematic contrast between official names and folk names, similar to other general studies. In naming type, most of official names are more in the conscious commendatory/commemorative group; folk names are more in the spontaneous descriptive/associative group, associated with the everyday uses on more spontaneous basis.

However, there are exceptions. Assuming formal names could originate from a coherent system defined under a unified theme, it is difficult to explain why quite a few official names are more like folk names, associated with the spatial or temporal features of the surrounding environment like *Dongqing* gate, *Xinkai* gate, *Xinjie* ward and *Houshi* ward etc. As we lack historic evidences to examine the city's original naming system and its evolution in details, two possible explanations exist: either the formal naming system was fragmented in the beginning, or it was gradually eroded by the folk naming system.

The latter hypothesis is more likely true by the evidence of coexistence of the official and folk naming systems. The setting up of the imperial *Lin'an* was a dual process of imposing the imperial/official order over the existing city and coping with the material growth of the old city. As recorded in *Biji* and *Zhi*, place names were either continued from old ones, or newly bestowed individually together with the expansion of the city. Thus, some of official names could directly come from the folk ones or named after the folk naming conventions, especially in the case of the city gates.[27]

To the residential wards and the most of the city gates, considering a coherent naming system was already eroded, their formal naming themes lack the coherence with both physical features of the place and activities happened in and around the place, thus these places could be categorised as the folk/commoner's place system in general.

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[27] Except the main gate *Jiahui*. The study of city gates mainly focus on the gates on the exterior rampart, those gates probably more related to folk uses, however, the gates of the Palace City had explicit official naming themes, referring to discussions in chapter 5.

4.4. Critical inquiries: official place system vs. folk place system

4.4.1. Official and folk naming systems and place systems

As discussed in chapter 2.3.4, place names are parts of the social representation of urban places, and they are integrated attributes of places. The contrast between formal names (or conscious naming themes for the official and landscape settings) and informal names (or spontaneous naming themes for the residential wards and some city gates) manifests the different features of the elite and the folk places/place systems. As topics on the landscape settings are so extensive that go beyond the main focus of the study, I will concentrate primarily on the formal/official (of the ruling elite) and the informal/folk (of the commoner) place naming systems, as well as the related place systems accordingly.

In the city of *Lin'an*, the official place system includes those offices, temples and shrines, mansions that belong to the imperial or official domains; the folk places are the rest of places in the residential wards, markets and workshops etc. The two place system could overlap in the sense that certain places could be considered in both categories depending on the context like some city gates. The identification of the two place systems is not based on individual criteria like access and use, but based on the three integrated attributes of place: physical features of the named place, behavioural and conceptual aspects related to the named places, as shown in the following table:

Aspect	Formal/official places	Informal/folk places
Physical attribute	Regularity and hierarchical order	Spontaneity and homogeneity
Role/activity	Obligation, responsibility, Compulsory rules	Freedom, spontaneity Certain voluntary patterns
Concept	Related to the political/administrative ordering; imposing conscious social order to places, stable and shared meaning More abstract and systematic, reflecting power structure, values, symbolic aspects	Related to intuitive conception of place in the context of everyday life, and utilitarian interpretations, dynamic and multi-layered More realistic and flexible, reflecting folk lifestyle, direct uses, spatio-physical aspects

Table 4-9. A comparison: formal place vs. informal place

Thus, based on architectural studies in general and naming studies in specific, the contrast between two place systems can be analyzed in formal and behavioural aspects. In physical context, it is the regularity and order of formal places vs. spontaneity and homogeneity of informal places; formal names had physically prominence on the plaque or stele at the central position of the buildings/constructions, while informal names were mostly not physically displayed but known orally or written on paper. In behavioural context, it is the obligation and responsibility of the former vs. freedom and spontaneity of the latter, or the compulsory role of the former vs. voluntary role of the latter.

In essence, both official place system and folk place system are conceptual systems, which were constructed purposively based on the different demand of a person (a group) on the place and encoded in the naming systems of the place. For the official place system, it was the power structure (order and significance) that were consciously encoded, reflecting the political/administrative ordering of urban places. Like the story of the principle imperial hall shows, the name fused with particular physical attribute of the place and expected behaviour contained in the place into a strong coherent one, systematically symbolised the hierarchical social values that were stable as the compulsory understanding especially to those learned users in the contingent socio-cultural context.[28]

On the other hand, the folk place systems were mostly conceptualised on the spontaneous cues of everyday experiences, reflecting the unique and concrete attributes of the places, such as physical features, spatial relations, functional uses or other cues related to foods, products and people. Defined mainly on various utilitarian aspects of the places, as well as the folk lifestyle, folk place systems were more dynamic and multi-layered.

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[28] I believe that these places have less effects on the commoners, especially on those illiterates, as they could still sense the social importance of those places.

4.4.2. The duality of official-folk place system as a basic urban category

A systematic contrast between the official and folk place systems in conception, physical attribute and associated behaviour, as discussed, leads to the concept of basic urban category of the imperial *Lin'an*. In general, one can generally categorize the city into official and folk place systems. Why such urban category is more dominant than other urban categories, such as the holy and the profane or the poor and the rich, as demonstrated in its Western counterparts, like Medieval European cities?

The explanation probably lies with the underlying social structure of the cities or the societies specifically, i.e. the duality of the ruling elite and the commoner, as discussed in chapter 3. The duality of holy-profane could never had chance to dominate in the imperial Chinese society. As Gernet (1960) noted, Chinese religions formulated by scholar-officials within the general framework of the imperial system, were more ceremonious than devout. The same can be said of the duality of the poor and the rich, because in the context of proper ruling neither military power nor economic wealth could directly lead to political power, as discussed in chapter 3.4. Such view was widely accepted and supported by many researches.

Thus, even with the great development of urban economy and the emergence of urban merchant, this basic social structure remained unaltered. In *Lin'an*, according to Gernet (1962, pp. 59-62, 66-67, 76-78; cf. Fairbank, 1992, pp. 51-54, 88-127), the merchants gradually emerged as a group/class, consisted of the big regional traders, the owners of wineshops and warehouses, as well as the stingy shopkeepers etc. They accumulated great wealth from the four kinds of trades: state-controlled trade, the large-scale river and maritime trade, the luxury trade and the general trade. Their social ranks that used to be at the bottom of the Confucian hierarchy of professions were generally ameliorated. They could have chances to ascend higher social ranks, and hence they tried to develop new

relationships with the ruling elite or tried to follow the elite's lifestyle ostentatiously. However, merchants were still merchants, rejected by the elite group that was defined by the virtue and the classical learning instead of the wealth. Gernet noted this particular phenomenon quite sharply in the following (p. 61):

> In Europe… the merchant class was able to assert itself, have its rights recognized, and form an entity of its own. Towns gained their liberties and urban institutions appeared, the opposition between town and country became permanent … In China, in spite of the gigantic scale of development, nothing more happened than that merchants became wealthy… in China, an all-powerful central government was there from the start: any more likely to threaten the supremacy of the State was unthinkable. Moreover, the State itself canalized for its own benefit the vigorous economic expansion of the period; it, too, became a merchant, and drew from its monopolies and from the taxes levied on private transactions the major part of its revenue…

In a larger context, it is the lack of citizenship structure and dominant religion that underlies particular features of premodern Chinese cities. The city lacks municipal systems and religious systems that could challenge the dominance of the imperial system (Weber, 1960; Mote, 1977). [29]

Therefore, the extravagant and magnificent folk places such as large wineshops, halls and palaces for entertainments, could even match those grand official halls and mansions in physical features, but in terms of "category", these places are still similar to those shabby and narrow commoner's places. On the other hand, official places like palaces and administrative set-ups both at the state and prefectural levels, always had overwhelming physical and social cues of regularity and order. Such order and regularity lost contingency

in the folk places, such as those bustling urban quarters and the places surrounding many city gates. [30] In this sense, the duality of official-folk place system remained the basic urban category of the city *Lin'an* as in other imperial cities throughout the imperial Chinese era, even though there were some great transformations taken place.

In the above effort to categorize the city, I try to show that the duality of official place system and the folk place system is the basic starting point of the study on the imperial Chinese city in a systematic framework. In the subsequent chapters, I will investigate further on the urban place systems of *Lin'an* with the detailed bi-focal studies: one on the imperial symbolic system that is of the highest importance in the official place system; the other on the structure of the folk places, focusing on the residential wards and various commercial establishments.

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[29] According to Fox's (1977) categorization, the administrative-bureaucratic medieval Chinese city (as Lin'an) did not have common ground to compare with the mercantile-commercial medieval European city. Each had discrete ideological and organizational structures. Here, what I intend to compare is just indicative.

[30] Excluding those on central axis and on the wall of the Palace City, which related mostly to the imperial ceremonies.

Chapter 5. The imperial symbolic structure over the city[1]

With the early pursuits of sinologists, the strong cosmological-symbolism of the imperial Chinese cities became widely known in the world architecture and urban history, together with the canonical prescriptions on the design/planning of the imperial cities.

In reality, during the three millennia of the imperial history, many imperial Chinese cities were products of conscious designs. It had been a tradition for a new imperial dynasty to set up a new capital, like *Chang'an* in *Han* and *Sui-Tang*. Lin'an was different, it was neither a planned new capital, nor a city with only natural expansion. It was a combination, as the city was the result of overlaying an imperial structure over the existing urban fabric. Then, how did various features of *Lin'an* relate to the ancient theories and practices?

In this chapter, I will first address various factors or traditions that underlie the specific features of the imperial Chinese cities, by looking into relevant classical texts and practices. Then, applying the integrated place model to the detailed analysis of *Lin'an*, mainly through text reading and map reading, I will investigate the perpetual/cognitive features of the individual elements and the overall structure of the imperial symbolic system.

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[1] Based on the discussions of this chapter and particularly the map reading section, a paper with the title "Map and city: an alternative interpretation on imperial symbolism" was drafted and presented (co-author Dr. Heng Chye Kiang) at the International Conference on Chinese Architectural History II (Aug 18-21, 2001, Hangzhou, China).

5.1. Introduction: the imperial city and its symbolism

5.1.1. The imperial symbolic models

<u>Kaogongji 考工记</u>

As believed, many Chinese imperial cities resulted from conscious planning and design. In general, the principles underlying these processes were not systematically documented, but some could be seen consistently in effect. *Kaogongji* was one of the most important one.

Kaogongji 考工记 (Record of trades) was one section of *Zhouli* 周礼 (Rituals of Zhou),[2] dated to the early period of the Warring States (ca. 15th century BC).[3] It recorded the ancient planning practices of the ruler's city in the two chapters: one on the survey method; another on the hierarchical planning system of the three types of cities: *Wangcheng* 王城 (the city of the emperor), *Zhuhoucheng* 诸侯城 (the city of the prince) and *Ducheng* 都城 (the city of the fief). To the city of the different hierarchy, corresponding prescriptions were given to regulate the overall plan and construction details (He, 1985; Zhang, 1983). The following prescription was made for the imperial city:

> The Jiangren constructs the state capitals. He makes a square 9 li [1 Li about ½ km] on each side; each side has 3 gates. Within the capital are 9 north-south and 9 east-west streets. The north-south streets are 9 carriage tracks in width. On the left is the Ancestral Temple, and to the right are the Altars of Soil and Grain. In the front is the Hall of Audience and behind is the market…

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[2] As valuable historical sources of the early imperial China, *Zhouli* was originally known as *Zhouguan* 周官. It mainly documented technological issues about craft industry in *Qi*, including various details about the making of carriages, boats, palaces, weapons and musical instruments (Ci Hai, p. 1393).

[3] There is a debate on whether *Kaogongji* was dated to the similar period as *Zhouli*. He (1985) noted that it was written in that period but stored in the imperial library and not widely known until West Han, when Liu De incorporated it into *Zhouli*. Wright (Wright, 1977, p.46), however, proposed that the underlying ideas of some texts could be dated early, but the basic structure, especially the numerical-symbolic references were from the Western *Han Wudi* period, as the arrangement and interpolation of texts were in accordance with Han's synthetic philosophical tradition.

匠人营国，方九里，旁三门，国中九经九纬，经涂九轨。左祖右社，面朝后市…
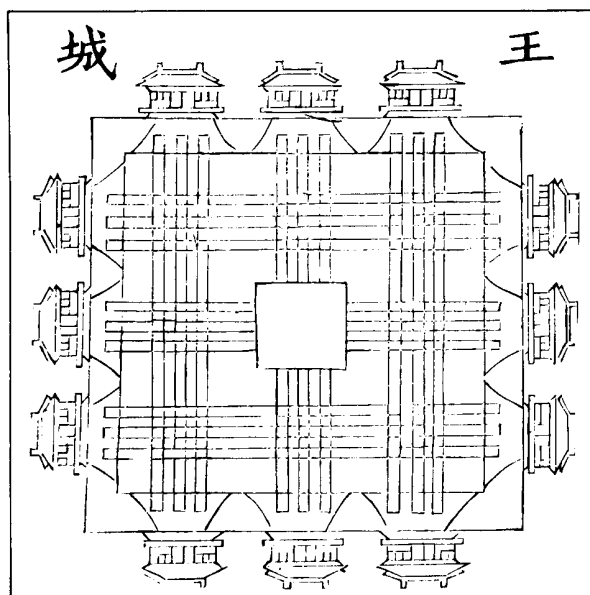
Figure 5-1. A model of an imperial city (*Wangcheng*) in *Sanli Tu Jizhu* part I, vol. 4.

The above text and illustrative diagram of the 14th century (Figure 5-1), was believed as a conceptual pattern of the Chinese imperial city:[4] the city was square in shape and fortified by walls, each side of which was pierced by three gates. Major roads connecting the city gates in N-S and E-W directions divided the city into nine parts. The elements of city like the gate, road, palace, temple, altar, market etc, were all organized with a regular pattern; the imperial palace was strategically located in the central part looking to the south along the main N-S axial road, the Ancestral Temple and the Altars of Soil and Grain were in the front and the market in the rear.

Imperial cosmological-symbolism

Both in the text and the graphic that was only a much later interpretation, the *Kaogongji* model demonstrates the imperial symbolism with full ritualistic details. Underlying this, as Wright (1977, p.50) noted, " [there were]…ancient lore and practice and partly out of the

systematizing imaginations of the architects of Han imperial Confucianism, surrounding this core ideology, and in a loose relation to it, are bits of nomenclature and symbolism from the early classics, as well as other elements…"

Thus, for the emperor, the idea of being the son of heaven and thus the cosmic pivot fully manifested itself in the formal model of the city, with both formal-perceptual features and underlying cosmological-ideological norms, as explained in the following:[5]

- The emperor's palace is centrally located in the square-shaped city facing toward the south: the ideas of *Tianyuan Difang* 天圆地方 (square earth and round heaven) and the strategic importance of the centre[6] are Chinese beliefs of a very early origin, relevant records could be traced to the *Shang* Dynasty. In *Yin-yang-wu-xing* 阴阳五行 theory, the cardinal directions symbolize different importance; the south is the sign of Yang/the heaven and thus it signifies the outmost importance;

- The city has nine roads and each measures nine *li* in length: as conceptual subdivision of the world (cf. footnote 6), it has particular symbolic meaning. According to the tradition of the emblematic number that was developed before Han, odd numbers relates to Yang; as the largest single-digit odd number, thus nine symbolizes the almighty heaven;

- The spatial organizations of the Ancestral Temple, the Altar of Soil/Earth, Halls for imperial audience and residence, as well as the market and residential wards, reflects the cosmic order, as well as the hierarchical value system of the Chinese imperial society.

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[4] He (1985) argued that it was not an ideal model or proto-type, but the actual records of *Zhou's* capital building process. There were different interpretations of *Kaogongji* text, especially about the configuration of the roads etc.

[5] Please refer to He (1985) and Xu (2000, pp. 31-39) for detailed discussion. He particularly traced the development of early imperial Chinese city planning with relation to the model, while Xu has incorporated previous views of the foreign sinologists into his rather systematic analysis. I am mainly interested to find out symbolic elements related to the model, instead of the essential interpretation of it.

[6] The nine region configured Jingtian 井田 (well-field) pattern in the imperial Chinese era not only relate to the system of land settlement and cultivation, but also to the conceptual subdivision of the whole world, where the central core, as the cosmic pivot, is occupied only by the ruler of the earth under the heaven.

5.1.2. Other principles/patterns

Guanzi 管子

In contrast with *Kaogongji*, *Guanzi* 管子 proposed another city planning model, which was

explained in one section of *Guanzi:*[7]

> To set up an imperial city, the site should neither be situated at a too high location,
>
> otherwise it will have difficulties to access to the water. On the other hand, nor be it located
>
> so low that it is too close to the water, thus it can be easily drained. The city should also be
>
> planned and constructed in compliance with the natural landform and local conditions;
>
> there is neither the need of regular layout of the city, nor the rigid pattern of the roads.

> 凡立国都, 非于大山之下凡于广川之上。高毋近旱而水用足，下毋近水而沟防省。因天材，
>
> 就地利，故城郭不必中规矩，道路不必中准绳.

Thus, instead of the ritual/symbolic requirements of *Kaogongji*, *Ganzi* presented a city

model that focused on the city's pragmatic functions, such as defence, logistic, population

and economy etc. It proposed that the functional zoning and land use should be

determined by the local conditions, and that the scale and patterns of the city should be

based on the population and economic conditions (cf. Guo, 1997; Wu, 1986; He, 1985).

Here, there was no detailed model prescribed similar as *Sanlitu*. It seemed that *Ganzi's*

influence could be more evident on the site selection than on the particular features of the

city. In addition, it could perhaps be a general principle valid not only for the imperial

capitals, as its influences were more evident on the cities of the lower hierarchies (cf. Wu,

1986).

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[7] *Ganzi* was roughly dated to the similar period of *Zhouli*. *Ganzi* had 24 volumes classified into eight categories, which involved discussions on philosophy, economy, agriculture, astronomy etc. (Ci Hai, p. 2124). 管子.立政篇. Please refer to He (1985, pp. 1, 35-37) and Wu (1986, pp. 3-7).

Fengshui 风水

Fengshui, literally means Wind and Water 风水, termed as Geomancy by Western scholars. There were two schools of *Fengshui*, the older one was Form School (*Jiangxi* School), concerned with the influence of landform and configuration of the site, including mountains, hills and water courses. The Compass School (*Fujian* School) involved the practice of many-ringed compass to predict good direction and position. The Form School was practiced more in the mountainous regions, while the Compass School was better suited for the flatter terrain.

In general, *Fengshui* schools believed in the existence of *Chi* 气 (energy) flowing around the site like wind and water, it could be gentle and nurturing in some places while harsh and irritating in other places. The configuration of land where both the living and the dead inhabited, could affected the fates of the settlers (and their descendants) living there, thus *Fengshui* sought an optimum balance to ensure that the sitting of environment and buildings could lead to good health and fortune (Skinner, 1982; Walters, 1989; Wang, 1992; Brunn, 2003).

Wheatley (1971) defined *Fengshui* as an "astro-biological mode of thought". There are still debates on *Fengshui's* underlying principles as to whether it has scientific basis such as ecological approach, or is simply superstition etc. Brunn (2003) has written a rather informative chapter on the origin of *Fengshui*, with emphasis on the works by foreign sinologists.[8] To the modern local scholars, even the definition of the term *Fengshui* itself is

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[8] Early sinologist work on *Fengshui* starting from the late 18th century, It was interpreted as the system of magic and fortune-telling with the relation to chaldean, or to the ancestor worship, as an amalgamation of religion that distorted into superstition and physical science in form of rough guess about nature (p. 266). Max Weber also explained the persistence of *Fengshui* in the context of the want of an efficient imperisonal bureaucracy and in the continued role of magic (p. 268). Later by the work of Hong-key Yoon, the understanding of *Fengshui* transferred from the sphere of superstition to that of ecology, *Fengshui* was believed as the process of conceptualizing the physical environment that regulate human

problematic in certain sense.[9]

Some exciting historical records demonstrated the relevance of *Fengshui* to the site selections of imperial *Nanjing* and *Beijing*, particularly of the imperial mausoleums. But our knowledge of *Fengshui* as a city planning model is still very limited. However, it is fairly obvious that in comparison with *Zhouli's* regular grid, the *Fengshui's* principles advocate natural form.

According to Wright (1977), *Fengshui* was more prevalent in southern China and practiced by the sub-elite.[10] It did not influence imperial Chinese city planning to the same extent as the canonical Chinese norms like *Zhouli*. The study on *Suzhou* shows that *Fengshui* related more to the individual buildings or the building complex, or it was "applied much more often as part of the retrospective evaluation of a regional or local city's sitting and the evolution of its form than as the actual guidelines of construction projects at an urban level" (Xu, 2000, pp.200-236, p. 245). This view was shared by another study on the influence of *Fengshui* on *Beijing* (Liu, 1998).[11]

5.1.3. Imperial symbolism in a broader context

Among the three models discussed, the key concepts related to *Kaogongji* seem to

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ecology, as an alternative wisdom, created by the instinctive feel for the environment of the ancient Chinese.

[9] Especially with architecture/planning related studies by some Chinese local scholars, *Fengshui* is investigated as a kind of design technique, thus the hierarchical design approach, i.e. the layering of space in sequence of the imperial mausoleums or the Palace City in Beijing were used as examples (cf. Kang Liang and Kiang Yu, 1999; Wang Qiheng, 1992; Ying Ding, Yu Lu and Hong Yong, 1996). This could be part of *Fengshui*, or related to the board sense of *Fengshui* principle, but not necessarily the essence of it.

[10] Actually, it involved particular social group with the set of belief contradictory to state orthodoxy. The government have striven to eradicate grave geomancy, but looked at house geomancy with greater complacency. Only during the early Song when the court patronized popular religion, *Fengshui* was much developed under the Taoist and Buddhist influence, and drew much of their philosophy from the neo-Confucian learning (Brunn, 2003).

[11] "… the use of fengshui ideas as part of retrospective interpretations of the capital city at the urban planning level. However, the inferior position accorded fengshui in orthodox cultural contexts prevented fengshui's being incorporated in the official ideology for creating imperial capitals."

dominate the influences on the imperial symbolic aspects of the city. Referring to the discussion in Chapter 4.1.2, the imperial symbolic manifestation or rather the imperial Chinese city could be understood in the context of a large system, with *Zhouli* on the ideological pole, and *Guanzi* on the pragmatic pole at the other end, together with other influences like *Fengshui* etc. It is a futile effort trying to identify a single model as the basis for a city, without a understanding of the complex urban context.

During the imperial periods, China had been fragmented, but always reunited. The united big China in *Han*, *Sui* and *Tang* were the most powerful states among their peers in the world. So were their capitals, located at their power bases on the northern plains. These northern capitals were planned and constructed anew, matching their grandiose political aspirations with powerful symbolism. Still various practical constraints needed to be accommodated. For many southern capitals that were often less formal, other pragmatic considerations often overrode the prescribed canonical requirements.

As shown on Figure 4-1 in the last chapter, the imperial cosmology and symbolism were more evident in the Northern capitals, with limited imprints on *Chang'an* (*Han*), but more on *Yecheng* (Northern *Wei*), *Luoyang* (*Tang*), *Chang'an* (*Tang*) and *Kaifeng* (Northern *Song*) etc. While the southern capitals of *Jinling* (Nanjing) fell into another category, in which urban forms were more determined by existing site conditions and other pragmatic factors with limited overall imperial symbolic themes manifested. *Lin'an* (Southern Song) was something in between, but more towards the latter group.

One can find that even with the Northern capitals, *Kaogongji* were not strictly followed.[12] The only imperial capitals that strictly conformed to the canonical prescription of *Zhouli*, was Yuan *Dadu* (*Ming/Qing*), the capital city of Khubilai. Khubilai was a non-Chinese, and

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[12] However, no evidence exists to prove that this may come from the great pride of the empire to create a new era and to set new tradition.

thus might have felt the need to use this pedigreed Chinese model to symbolise his legitimate control over the Chinese (Steinhardt, 1998, p. 2). Another strict follower was *Wang Mang* of East *Han*, the plan of *Chang'an* reflected the usurper's crave for the legitimate power (Wright, 1977).

Thus, I view *Kaogongji* as a proto-type, which symbolised those key ideas or concepts related to the imperial symbolism. The planning of imperial Chinese cities subjected to various interpretations and interpolations in practices, only those fundamental concepts manifested themselves constantly regardless of variations. For example, the sense of centrality could be maintained by locating the palace city in the centre or the northern part of the city on the central avenue in the north-south direction; the sense of strict hierarchy and regularity could be achieved by laying out the city blocks and the road system in the regular patterns, together with a hierarchical functional distribution. These concepts were valid both for most of the Northern and Southern imperial cities.

5.2. Pursuing the imperial symbolic manifestation

5.2.1. Lin'an as the choice of an imperial capital

In the imperial Chinese history, the *Song* dynasty was famous for civil (*Wen*) achievements but notorious for military (*Wu*) impotence. On the one hand leading the world were Song's efflorescence of the technological invention, material growths, political philosophy, as well as government and elite culture; on the other hand, the military impotent state was destined to fall into the hands of foreign invaders, first by the *Jin* and then by the *Yuan*, as Fairbank (1992, pp.88-127) noted.[13]

North of the Northern *Song* territory, *Nuzhen* tribe set up the *Jin* Empire in 1125. They frequently invaded *Song* and gradually forced the *Song* court to abandon its capital in *Bianliang*. The Southern *Song* court was thus set up hurriedly at *Shangqiu* 商丘 in 1127, and it was further shifted from place to place. Lin'an was the final location, as there were no more alternatives for the timid court that took its safety as the top priority.

Locating at the hilly and waterlogged terrain, the city at that time was crowded and was short of formal features. It was a far cry from the ideal imperial capital, such as the grandiose *Chang'an* where both space and terrain allowed full manifestation of imperial symbolism[14] or *Jiankang* (*Nanjing*), the ideal southern imperial capital (cf. section 5.2.2 below). Thus after several court debates as recorded in the standard history (Li, 1956), the capital was moved from *Jiankang*, *Shaoxing* and finally to *Lin'an*. *Lin'an* was selected not only for its distance away from the areas threatened by invasion, but also the existence of

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[13] There were various reasons for the ruin of such powerful state, among which the fundamental Confucian attitude lay in the deep layer: exalt *Wen* (culture and civilisation) and disparage *Wu* (military and violence). Particularly to Song, as recorded in the formal or informal history, the founding emperor *Zhao Kuangyin* seized the power by military mutiny, and was afraid to see the same fate falling back to himself, hence endeavoured to reduce the powers of military officials, while promote cultural achievements.

[14] *Bianliang* of Northern Song was developed from a small part of an existing city on the relatively flat terrain, thus it was also possible to implement extensive overall planning.

natural obstacles like *Qian Tang* River and mountainous terrain, which could hamper the deployment of invading cavalry.

The setting up of the imperial system was a gradual process, which overlay the existing urban fabric, in order to accommodate the requirements of imperial activities and symbolism. As He (1986b) noted, the implementation could roughly be divided into the following three phases (cf. Appendix I):

- The preliminary phase: with an ambition to reunite the lost territory, the emperor settled in Lin'an reluctantly with no permanent settlement plan, making it only a temporary capital and named it *Xingzai* 行在 (the temporary seat). Thus before 1138, money was spent grudgingly, the city was developed on the site of the former prefectural administrative city with only basic facilities supplemented;

- The extensive construction phase: satisfied with the temporary peace and comfort, the emperor decided for permanent settlement soon afterwards in 1138. To keep him safe, the emperor also signed a peace treaty with Jin in 1141.[15] Major facilities were constructed during this period, "…after settling in the city for 20 years, *Lin'an* is now equipped with *Jiao* [郊suburban altar], *Miao* [庙ancestral temple, *Taimiao*], *Gong/Guan* [宫/观 imperial Buddhist shrine and Daoist temple, *Taiyi* and *Jingling* Palace, etc.] and *Sheng* [省the administrative offices]".[16]

- The refinement phase: after *Gongzong* periods, there were no more major constructions. And the city lasted for another 140 years, until it was destroyed the by Mongols in 1279.

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[15] The emperor submitted himself to the Jin by ceding the northern part of territory (north from the *Huai* River) and paying an annual tribute.

[16] This was noted by a contemporary officer *Wang Yinglin* 王应麟 (*Yuhai* 玉海 the sea of jade, vol.1).

5.2.2. Any conscious overall city plan?

As discussed, *Lin'an* did not possess the qualities to be an ideal imperial capital. It had to develop on the over-crowded site with the undulating landform, circumscribed by a range of mountains, lake and rivers, which all made the extension of the city difficult. Thus, the compliance of the city with the prescriptions of *Kaogongji* was impractical and irrelevant. Actually if a systematic manifestation of the imperial symbolism was a major concern, Lin'an could have never been chosen. Then, after settlement in Lin'an, when piecemeal developments were undertaken, was there any conscious overall plan for the city?
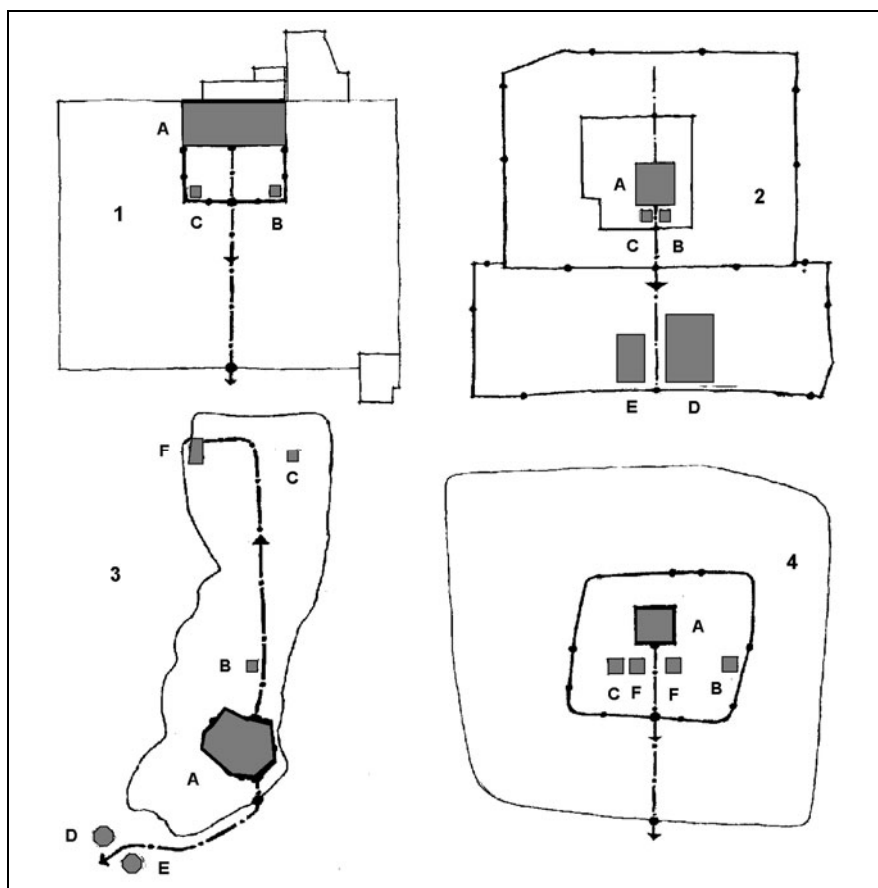
Figure 5-2. Physical layout of Lin'an and other imperial capitals (not drawn to scale)[17]

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[17] 1. Tang Chang'an, 2. Ming/Qing Beijing, 3. Lin'an and 4. Northern Song Bianliang; A-the Palace City, B-the Ancestral Temple, C-the Altar of Grain and Soil, D- the Altar of Heaven, E-the Altar of Agriculture, F-Jingling Temple.

The *Kaogongji*'s model

As shown in the above diagram, the basic layout of *Lin'an* (3) differed from other imperial capitals significantly. For *Chang'an* (1), *Beijing* (2) and *Bianliang* (4), the Palace Cities were all located in the south, but for *Lin'an*, the Palace City was located at the southern Phoenix Mountain, occupying the former prefectural administrative site and overlooking the city to the north. Actually this basic configuration took shape in *Sui* Dynasty, and was further redeveloped in *Wuyue,* the Southern *Song* court just adopted it.

It seemed obvious that the spatial location of the Palace City affected the later constructions. Comparing *Lin'an* with *Beijing* in *Ming/Qing* dynasty (as well as *Tang Chang'an* and *Song Bianliang*), the spatial relationship of various imperial elements to the Palace City was consistent in all cases. If taking the north as the city's main orientation, the relative locations of A (Palace City), B (Ancestral Temple), C (Altar of the Grain and Soil), D (Altar of Heaven), E (Altar of Agriculture) to the Palace City in *Lin'an*, corresponded with those in *Beijing*, which fully complied with the canonical prescription in *Kaogongji*. In fact, north was the main orientation of *Lin'an* not only because the palace was located in the southern hilly part that faced to the city northwards, but this direction was used as a reference to name the city's 13 residential boroughs. To determine whether they were called left or right, the only reference was the Imperial Avenue that extended to the north.

Thus, the influence of *Kaogongji*'s principles was still quite dominant on *Lin'an*, though not or rather not possible rigorously pursued determined by the practical constraints. Actually, the Southern *Song* court need coherent symbolism to legitimise its ruling power no less than other imperial courts, especially in the chaotic and unstable social conditions. However, if considering *Kaogongji* as the determining factor for the physical layout of *Lin'an*, then it would be one of the most variant examples of the model.

A *Fengshui* interpretation?

There were also efforts to explain the city's layout and its imperial symbolism in the *Fengshui* tradition. In a *Biji* about *Lin'an*, the author described the mountain range, partly in the western part of the city and partly outside, as a flying dragon and a dancing phoenix, stretching from the northwest city to the southern Phoenix Mountain. Furthermore, the Palace City and the Altar of Heaven were likened to be the dragon's two wings.[18]

Actually, the term "dragon" used in the above, did not denote the specific embodiment of the Emperor but the mountain ranges, similarly tiger meant water. 龙脉 "dragon vein," sought by the Form School of *Fengshui,* was actually features of the best settlement site. Thus, *Jiankang* (*Nanjing*) in Southern China, an imperial capital for nine dynasties was an ideal *Fengshui* model, frequently quoted as 帝王之宅 Imperial residence.[19] As shown on the historic maps in Appendix L, a range of mountains and the *Changjiang* River encircled the city like a "crouching tiger and a flying dragon" 虎踞龙蟠.[20]

In the case of *Lin'an*, Yang (1993, pp.344-351) believed that the planning of the city and particularly the imperial system could relate to the practice of *Fengshui*, and he even located the spot of the dragon's eyes on the north-western end of the city.[21] To support his hypothesis, Yang noted that *Fengshui* applied *Wuyin* 五音 (the five sounds) in the

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[18] *Yunlu Manchao* 云麓漫钞 by *Zhao Yanwei* 赵彦卫 (1206): 所谓余杭之凤凰山，即今临安府大内丽正门之正面案山，山之尽处即嘉会门。山势自西北来，如龙翔凤舞，掀腾而来，至凤凰山止，分左右翼。大内在山之左腋，后有山包之…第二包即郊坛… A contemporary also noted (ML 19.1 楼钥), "一山环湖万龙翔…扶舆磅薄拥王气…" "the mountain encircles the lake as if ten thousands dragons fly, the general environs embrace majestic imperial quality".

[19] It was a city of ca. 2500 history starting from *Dong Wu* (229-280 AD), and "few places in China could surpass *Nanjing* in the depth of its literary associations, and on other kind of associations contributed more to the fame and glory of a place in the Chinese mind." (Mote, 1977, 124)

[20] From the map, the description seemed only indicative, as detailed explanations of how the dragon crouched or even where the dragonhead was varied.

[21] Inside *Yitai* temple next to *Jingling*, there was a mound called *Wulin*, which was considered the main mountain and hence the eyes of the dragon (cf. Lou Chi's poem in ML).

practice of site selection during the *Song* period; *Zhao* 赵, the emperor's family name, corresponded to *Ren* 壬, the northwest direction. This phenomenon was evident on the layout of the extant mausoleums of the *Song*'s imperial families, where all palaces were found locating at the northwest of the complex. And of course, *Jingling* of *Lin'an* was located at the northwest corner of the city. Then, was *Fengshui's* influence really there, or just a far-fetched retrospective interpretation?

In the Northern *Song* period, *Jingling*[22] was first constructed in 1012 within the Imperial City (Figure 5-2, 4F) during the *Zhenzong* reign; the rituals conducted in *Jingling* was continued by the Southern court, first in the Palace City and later in *Jingling*, when it was set up by converting the former mansion of official *Liu* (Figure 5-2, 3F). *Jingling* was visited during the ceremony together with East *Taiyi* Palace 东太乙宫 and *Wanshou* Observtory 万寿观, which were both built on the adjacent sites. According to XC3.4, 13.1, *Jingling*, East *Taiyi* and *Wanshou* were all built or redeveloped in the 1140s at the beginning of Southern *Song* (cf. Table 5-1 below), when both rituals were restored.

Actually, Yang contradicted his own argument on the locational issue, as the *Jingling* Palace of *Bianliang* itself was a violation, located in front of the Palace City instead of in the Northwest direction. Maybe instead of the fixed direction and position, the location of *Jingling* in *Lin'an* might be determined by the location of water course outlet in the city. The *Fengshui* considerations on the constructions of *Jingling* etc. were not recorded in any available sources. Thus not excluding its possible influences, pragmatic considerations like land availability etc. probably played more decisive roles. In this regard, the *Fengshui* influence on the overall planning was rather weak, if at all present.

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[22] *Jingling* Palace 景灵宫 was the temple to worship imperial ancestors, like a second *Taimiao* 太庙 the Ancestral Temple. The differences between the two lie with the different symbolic referents of imperial ancestors installed in halls: the statues of imperial ancestors in Jingling, tablets in *Taimiao*.

5.3. The spatio-physical features

In the following sections, I will discuss spatio-physical features of some key elements of the imperial city, including the two fronts of the Palace City that was particular to *Lin'an* and the Imperial Avenue that was common to many other imperial capitals.

5.3.1. Two fronts of the Palace City

The south

To the Palace City of *Lin'an*, the southern front was used for formal functions and imperial rituals like the Grand Astral Rite, as quoted in the following (ML 9.1):

The main entrance of the palace city is Lizheng Gate. On each of its three vermilion-colour gates, are golden doornails, painted ridges and carved rafters. On top of the roof, cooper tiles with flying dragon and phoenix engraved at the ends of ridges and hips, make a lofty and magnificent spectacle. On each sides [out of the gate], Ques are placed for awaiting officials and retinues.

大内正门曰丽正，其门有三，皆金钉朱户，画栋雕甍，复以铜瓦，镌镂龙凤飞骧之状，巍峨壮丽，光耀溢目。左右列阙，待百官侍班阁子。

Dengwen Guyuan and Jianyuan [Juridical offices] are located opposite to each other. Red cross-staved balustrade [lined in front of two offices] are arranged in grim order, and the entrance is strictly guarded… people dare not to raise their head looking up. In the afternoon, the gates are shaded by green [Qing, or black] curtains…

登闻鼓院、检院相对，悉皆红杈子，排列森然，门禁严甚…人无敢辄入仰视。至晡时，各门下青布幕护之…
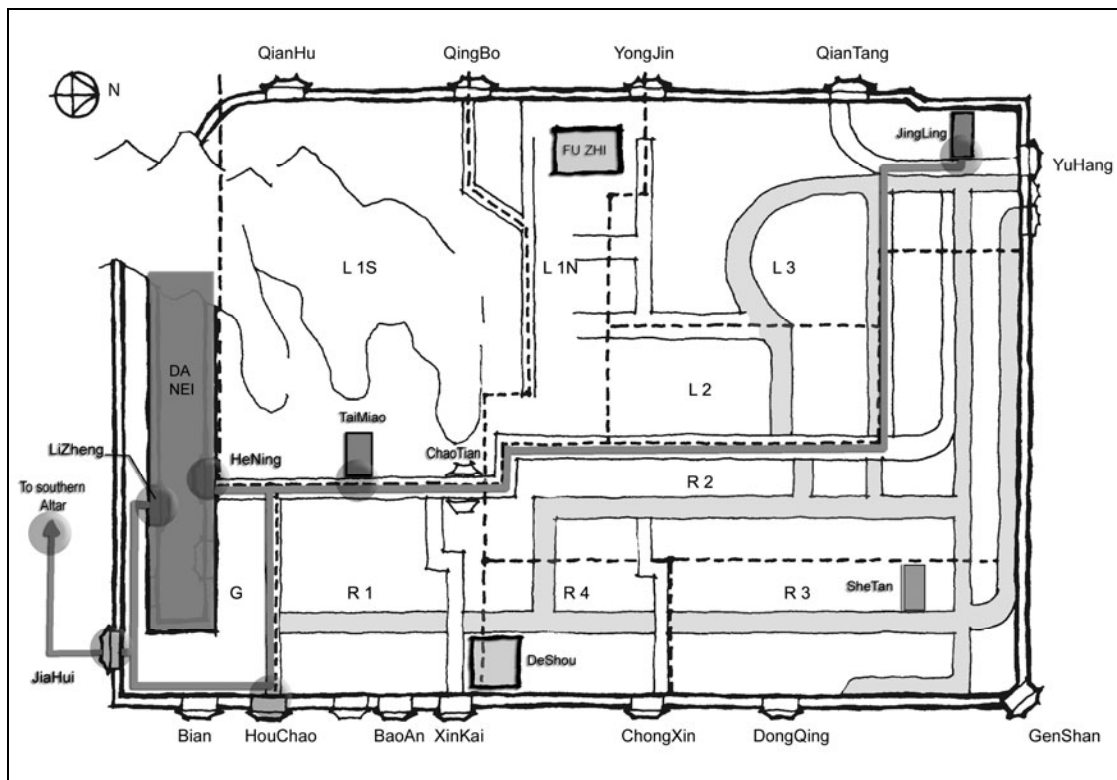
Figure 5-3. The basic imperial system after Guo (1997)
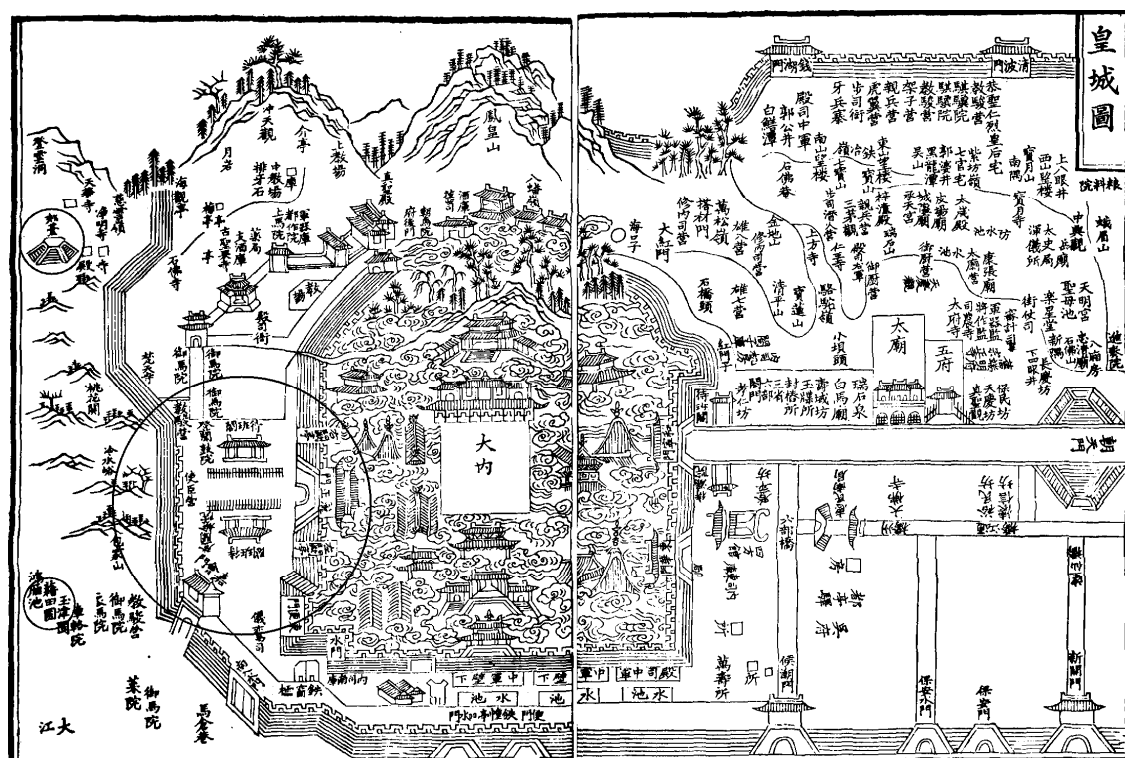
Figure 5-4. Map of the Palace City (*Huangcheng*) after XC (p. 3345)

As shown in the above quotes and diagrams (Figure 5-3, Figure 5-4), the southern gates of the Imperial City and the Palace City, *Jiahui* 嘉会 and *Lizheng* 丽正[23] were both main entrances that demonstrated the grandiose features both in the colour scheme and the articulation of architectural details. Further referring to Figure 5-9 (section 5.5), *Lizheng* gate was the only one crowned with a double-eaved roof, and in front of it, *Que*(s), the traditional architectural form similar to gates, lined the Imperial Avenue.

To the south of the Palace City, a formal imperial square was delimited by two juridical offices[24] and red cross-staved balustrades, as circled on Figure 5-4 (cf. Figure 5-13 for more detailed features). Most formal court audiences and ceremonies were held there, and attendants had to wait in queues in front of *Lizheng* before activities started. Coming from the northern city, they were not allowed to trespass the Palace City, but followed the normal route that turned down from the Imperial Avenue to *Houchao* gate and further to *Lizheng* gate, as marked on Figure 5-3 above.

<p align="center">The north</p>

As the Palace City opened up to the city in the north, its northern side was also used as a front, by no means turning its back to the city.

The northern gate *Hening* 和宁 (constructed in SX 18) was also bestowed with the equally grandiose features as the *Lizheng* and *Jianhui* gates in the south. In front, defined by the red balustrade was also an imperial square, which provided the space for various ceremonies and also for queues of the officials awaiting routine imperial audiences in the

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[23] Jiahui was built during the extension of imperial city in SX 28, Lizheng was built in SX 2 and acquired the formal name in SX 18.

[24] *Dengwen Guyuan* 登闻鼓院 was used for normal juridical cases, and *Dengwen Jianyuan* 登闻检院 dealt specially with cases involving officials. These offices were initially constructed outside the northern gate Hening and were shifted to the south in SX 28 (XC 8.6, ML9.9).

Palace City.[25] Due to various physical constraints, the northern imperial square and its surroundings lacked the formal features displayed in its southern counterpart. The undulating landform intruded onto the western parts of the narrow site, and broke the sense of symmetry. The administrative complexes were mainly concentrated on the western part along the Imperial Avenue; some of them intermingled with the residential wards, among which *Dengping* 登平 and *Xiaoren* 孝仁 were famous for food specialties.

In general, the city of *Lin'an* was bi-directional in terms of formal features and official uses, or in other words, the Palace City had two fronts with different uses. The southern front related more to the formal audience and ceremony, whereas the northern front more to the routine court audience. On this point, there were no explicit records, and the messages from different sources seemed contradictory.

In Southern *Song*, as in other Chinese imperial era, the etiquette of rituals and ceremonies were so sophisticated that *Taichang Xi* 太常寺 (the Sacrificial Ceremonies Bureau) had to discuss and set the details long before the events took place. According to the records (SHYX vol. 13), during *Chunxi* period (1174-1189), the routine for the Grand Audience held during winter solstice was set as follows: 1) queuing in front of *Lizheng*, 2) entering the Palace City through *Lizheng*, 3) leaving the Palace City from *Hening* (to greet ex-emperor at *Deshou* Palace) and etc. However, according to XH's record, the Grand New Year Audience (equally important as the Grand Audience) was held in front of *Hening*. XH might be of relevance, as court activities were mostly conducted at the southern gate in the beginning of the Southern *Song* period. Some activities might have been shifted later to the northern gate, probably for the sake of better open exhibition.

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[25] For example, the winners of the state exam and the emperor's son-in-law entered the Imperial City through *Donghua* gate to attend ceremonial audience with the emperor.

5.3.2. The Imperial Avenue

There are no descriptions or graphic sources available about the detailed features of the Imperial Avenue in *Lin'an*, except for the double line configuration shown on the map (Figure 5-4). For more detailed investigation, I has to rely on cross-references to its counterparts of *Tang Chang'an* and *Song Bianliang*.
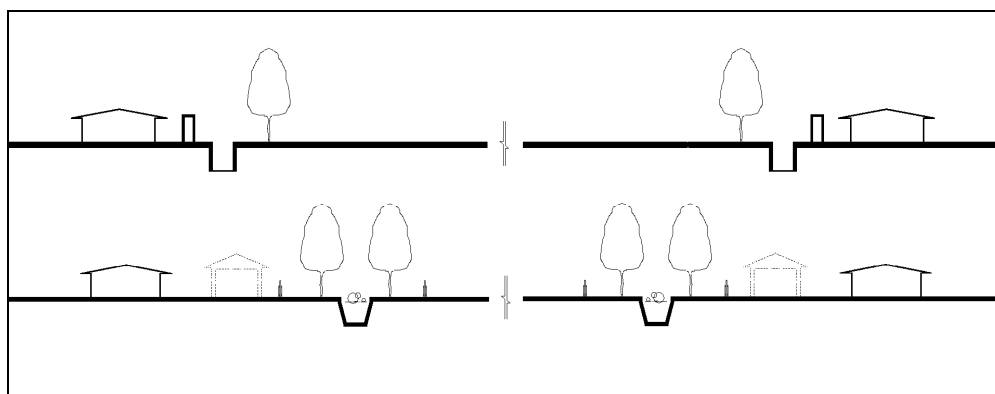
Figure 5-5. Imperial avenues (in section) of *Tang Chang'an*[26] and *Song Bianliang* (below)

The Imperial avenues of *Chang'an* and *Bianliang* differed both in scale and pattern. As shown in the above schematic diagram, the one in *Chang'an* was wider and enclosed with heavy mud walls (Heng, 1999); the one in *Bianliang* was demarcated by painted balustrades with a more elaborated three-part design, according to DJ 2.1:[27]

- The first two lanes were Imperial galleries (drawn on the diagram with the dotted line); [28]

- With ditches in the centre, two other lanes were demarcated by black balustrades. The ditches were made of bricks and stones, planted with lotus flowers and lined with various fruit trees at the both banks;

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[26] Please refer to Heng (1999, pp. 9-10)

[27] …各安立黑漆杈子，路心又安朱漆杈子两行，中心御道，不得人马行往，行人皆在廊下朱杈子之外。杈子里有砖石甃砌御沟水两道，宣和间尽植莲荷，近岸植桃李梨杏，杂花相间，春夏之间，望之如绣。

[28] It is not clear whether it is a gallery-like construction or just an open corridor. According to the records about Lantern festival (DJ6.4): spectators gathered *under* the 2 galleries along the Imperial Avenue 游人已集御街两廊下, it seems to suggest the validity of the first projection.

- The central lane was demarcated with two rows of red balustrades, and was reserved exclusively for the emperor.

For *Lin'an*, the Imperial Avenue might have followed *Bianliang's* style in certain aspects, as noted by Marco Polo (Halsall, 1996).[29] This avenue was made of 35300 pieces of stone slabs with a total length of 135,300 *Chi* (roughly 3.3km) (XC 21). The typical section from *Hening* to *Jingling* would include a central roadway, paved with sand and marked with red balustrades and reserved exclusively for the emperor's chariot. On either side of the roadway, two narrow lanes could be stone paved. Thus, the double line on the map probably denoted a kind of border definition: either the existence of balustrade, or lanes with different paving materials. However, the road section from *Duting Yi* (hotel for foreign messenger) through *Houchao* Gate to *Lizheng* Gate, were all paved with stone slabs for the convenience of the court audience (ML). Only during the Grand Rrites, would the stones slabs of the central roadway be temporarily replaced with sand, in order to ensure the travel safety of the emperor's chariot (SHY, cf. Guo, 1986).

The Imperial Avenue in *Lin'an* could neither match the grand scale of that in *Chang'an*, nor the elaborated design of *Bianliang*.[30] Still it was strongly represented in texts and maps. Across the city from the south to the north, it was this 3 km Avenue that supported frequent imperial rituals and manifested the supremacy of the emperor and his court.

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[29] "All the streets of the city are paved with stone or brick…But as the Great Kaan's couriers could not gallop their horses over the pavement, the side of the road is left unpaved for their convenience. The pavement of the main street of the city also is laid out in two parallel ways of ten paces in width on either side, leaving a space in the middle laid with fine gravel, under which are vaulted drains which convey the rain water into the canals; and thus the road is kept ever dry."

[30] According to DJ, the width of Imperial Avenue of *Bianliang* was 200 paces (roughly 300 meters). In Songshi the scale reduction of the guard of honour was frequently recorded, owing to the narrow roadway. To accommodate six horse-driven chariot of the emperor's, accompanied with other four chariots and followers, the width could still be rather wide (Lin, 1986, p. 88). According to Que (2000, pp. 37-38), an accidental excavation in 1988 showed that the Imperial Avenue was only 3-4 meter in width at certain sections. With no further details available, it seemed that the whole length of the avenue was not of the same width.

5.4. Imperial rituals and the use of place

5.4.1. Imperial rituals at Lin'an

Formulated by the scholar-officials, imperial rites were considered an integral part of governing. These activities helped to ensure the continuity of the dynasty, regulated time and space and thus gave the world prosperity and peace. In this sense, the imperial Chinese rituals were more ceremonious than religious, as Gernet (1960) noted.

The court at Lin'an, defeated by the *Jin* and deprived of the hope of re-conquering its lost land, became over-indulgent in the material comfort. However, it had never stopped the pursuits of various imperial ritual activities. The more unstable the social condition, the more was the need for sacrifices and worships, so as to demonstrate the emperor's legitimacy as a potent and virtuous ruler to his subject.

Location	Ritual facilities	Construction time	Period of rites	Sources
The northern part of city	Jingling Gong	SX 13, 1143	At the start of each season and before the grand Astral Rite	ML8.4-6, XC3.4, XC13.1
	Wanshou Guan	SX 17, 1147		
	East Taiyi Gong	SX 17, 1147		
	Taimiao, the Ancestral Temple	SX 4, 1134	At the start of each season[31]	ML8.3, XC3.3
	Shejitan, the Altar of Grain and Soil	SX 12, 1142	Every spring and autumn	XC 3.7
Southern suburb	Jiaotan, the Altar of Heaven	SX 13, 1143	Once every 3 year	XC 3.1, WL 1.3
	Jitian, the Altar of Agriculture	SX 7, 1137	Every spring	XC3.8

Table 5-1. Imperial rites and ritual facilities

In the Southern Song period with the system of former imperial rituals gradually restored, various rites were conducted roughly at the fixed time of the year and at the fixed venues. As shown in the above table, in a descending order, the importance of these rites were conducted respectively at 1) the Astral Alter (*Jiaotan*), 2) the Ancestral Temple (*Tai Miao*) and *Jingling* Palace, 3) the Altar of Soil and Grain (*Sheji Tan*).

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[31] The triennially conducted Grand Astral Rite at *Jiaotan* also had important sections at *Taimiao*.

Integral to these rites, the large procession of the emperor's chariot and his guard of honour paraded the Imperial Avenue to make full symbolic manifestations. In a contemporary poem, the scene of the procession marching back from *Jingling* to the Palace City on the Imperial Avenue was vividly described, "flowers on hair fill the Imperial Avenue, as if a red cloud is approaching."[32]

5.4.2. The Grand Astral Rite

The Grand Astral Rite, *Dali* 大礼, was the most important event for the emperor. Every third winter, a large number of participants and sophisticated ritualistic routines were deployed for the rite.[33] Sophisticated preparations had to be made earlier until:[34]

> Three days before the cult, the Emperor was bidden to purify himself by fasting in the Daqing Hall. For this he donned the 'hat of communication with Heaven', a tunic of fine silk, and various pendants. The following day, wearing a different kind of hat, he visited the Jinglin Hall, and returned from there to the Ancestral Temple and then spent the night in one of the lustration halls. At the fourth beat of the drum, just before dawn, he donned his ceremonial headgear and went to sacrifice to his ancestors. During the night, soldiers provided with torches and bearing the imperial insignia were posted on both sides of the great avenue along the whole length of the Emperor's route from the Taimiao right to the altar for the sacrifices to Heaven. There were so many torches that it was like daylight. High

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[32] 姜白石："万数簪花满御街，圣人先自景灵回。不知后面花多少，但见红云冉冉来" (ML 19.1) After the rite, emperor bestowed flowers to his followers as the token for gratitude.

[33] According to *Songshi* 宋史 vol. 145 (1977), normally the huge guard of honour, elephant, horse, chariot made a procession of several thousands in number. In SX 13 (1143) over 10 thousands people were involved, and even in *Xiaozong* reign roughly 29 years later, a compacted group still exceeded 6900.

[34] *Zhaidian* 斋殿, a lustration hall of timber-framed structure was built and covered with matting and green fabric; the surface of the Imperial Avenue from the *Taimiao* via *Houchao* gate to *Lizheng* gate and *Jiahui* gate was covered/replaced with fine sand; the road from *Jiahui* gate to the Altar of Heaven was levelled… for public exhibition, the emperor's ceremonial chariot was placed in a temporary building in front of the Taimiao; regular rehearsals and road bearing tests that used elephant carriage or heavy iron-loaded carriages were conducted…

officials, members of the imperial family and of wealthy and titled families were crowded in serried ranks. [35]

…前三日，百官奏请皇帝致斋于大庆殿。是日上服通天冠，绛纱袍，缃结佩，陛高座，侍中奏请降座，就斋室。次日，车驾诣景灵宫，服衮冕行礼。礼毕驾回，就赶太庙斋殿宿斋。是夕四鼓，上服衮冕，诣祖宗诸室行朝飨之礼。是夜，卤簿仪仗军兵于御路两旁分列，间以粝盆食烛，自太庙直至郊坛泰禮门，辉映如昼。宰执亲王，贵家巨室，列幕栉比…

The routines of the rite was spectacular with full of formalistic details, strictly regulated in spatial and temporal senses. The hierarchical system of number, colour, orientation, sequence, and other sensory cues like sounds and smells, were deployed and culminated a multi-sensory aesthetic experience, as Tuan (1995) may term it:

At dawn, the Emperor mounted his chariot, all lights except those lining the route were extinguished. The imperial procession, led by tame elephants, now came out through the Great Processional Gate and made its way to the altar, near which a host of standards and flags flew. The sound of the imperial guards shouting orders to each other could be heard, and the flicker of torches could be seen against the daybreak. The earth shook with the beat of drums and the solemn sound of trumpets as an immense and silent crowd stood waiting on the open space at the foot of the altar.

黎明，上御玉格，从以四辂，导以驯象，千官百司，法驾仪仗…次第出嘉舍门至青城宿斋队四壁皆三衙诸军，周庐坐甲，军幕旌旗，布列前后，传呼唱号，列烛互巡，往来如织。行官至暮则严更警场，鼓角轰振…

At the altar,[36] the ritual went on until daybreak.[37] Then accompanied with the music and

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[35] Referring to ML 5.2, translations (including the next paragraph on the same page) are rearranged and amended after Gernet (1960).

[36] It is about 30 feet high, approached by a stairway of 72 steps in 9 groups of 8, and was on 4 different levels, not including the top platform. 12 steps led to this topmost level, which was 21 yards wide. On this platform there was a place for libations to the Emperor-on-High (Heaven) and 2 places for libations to the August Earth, as well as places for offerings made to the first emperors of the dynasty. 16 niches in

ode, the emperor mounted a different chariot, headed back to the *Lizheng* Gate with his followers. At the *Lizheng* Gate, an amnesty would soon be announced.

5.4.3. The pattern of imperial ceremonies

The scenes of imperial rituals and ceremonies had been painted at different times in the imperial era. Although various events were painted differently in details, they seemed to share the similar pattern in terms of spatial use, regardless of different natures and venues of the events.

In Figure 5-6 below, the procession of the emperor and his followers were depicted in two different scenes some 600 years apart. The grand expedition of the *Song's* emperor in his chariot with his guard of honour (left) contrasted with the queues of *Qing's* court officials and imperial clan awaiting for their emperor (right).[38] The *Qing's* ceremony took place against a backdrop of formal physical settings, while the *Song's* procession seemed to conduct in an open field. Actually both scenes shared the similar spatial pattern. In both scenes, it was the various temporary settings such as flags and royal guards etc. arranged in serried ranks that defined the immediate linear space and highlighted the supreme centrality of the emperor. This could reach full manifestation particularly when lighted by

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the uppermost of the altar's 4 levels were used for the sacrifices to the mythical emperors of the 5 colours, to the planets, and to the 360 stars (translated after Gernet, 1962).

郊坛，天盘至地高三丈二尺四寸，通七十二级，分四成，上广七丈，共十二阶，分三十六龛，午阶阔一丈，主上升降由此阶，其余各阔五尺。圆坛之上，止设昊天上帝，皇地祇二神位，及太祖、太宗配天(WL1.3)

[37] Accompanied with the ritual music, the Emperor mounted the altar steps, which were covered with yellow gauze and sprinkled with pieces of camphor. A victim was sacrificed on the small adjacent altar to the God of the Soil, and then the Emperor, having reached the topmost platform of the altar for the sacrifices to Heaven, offered libations to Heaven, to the August Earth, and finally to his ancestors. To the last, he presented jade tablets along with the ritual wine. He read aloud what was written on these sacred tablets…then he drank the 'wine of happiness', and when all was over, he made his way to the buildings that had been erected near the altar in order to change his robes. The officials offered their congratulations (translated after Gernet, 1962).

…天步所临，皆籍以黄罗，谓之"黄道"。中贵一人，以大金会贮片脑迎前撒之…上先诣昊天位，次皇地祇，次祖宗位，奠玉，祭酒，读册，文武二舞，次亚终献，礼毕。上诣饮福位，受爵，饮福酒…上还大次，更衣，乘辇还斋宫，百僚追班，贺礼成于端诚殿…

torch and accompanied with sound of military codes, drums and horns, as was the case of the Grand Astral Rite of *Lin'an*.

Without much deviation from this pattern, various imperial ceremonies were conducted within the Palaces City. As discussed in Chapter 4.3.2, when the Grand New Year Audience was conducted in *Daqing* Hall, the emperor, high on his throne in the hall, looked down to his subordinates who lined in serried order according to their official ranks, accompanied with flags, umbrella, the guard of honour and the imperial orchestras. In this hall with a different name called *Zichen*, different events but the similar scene were repeated at the emperor's birthday (ML3, WL1), when the emperor extended a grand banquet to his family and officials, coupled with a formal arts performance, dance and music (ML1, WL2).

Even 700 years later, at the wedding of *Qing's* emperor *Guangxu* 光绪, not much had changed (Figure 5-7 below).[39] In terms of the detailed etiquettes and physical features, these two scenes could have a lot of differences, but in terms of the spatial use, both scenes were similar: the centrality of the emperor was reinforced by supporting features, which could be permanent buildings, or temporary settings of lined people and flags etc.

Furthermore, the above pattern of imperial ceremonies even manifested at less formal occasions in the ordinary places. In the lower portion of Figure 5-7, legendary stories on "filial piety" were depicted in different settings. Whether the story happened in the courtyard in front of a main building, or in front of a city gate, or in an open field, a

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[38] Outside the Forbidden City, between uprightness and meridian gates, officials lined the Imperial Avenue, waiting for their emperor Kangxi 康熙 (1654－1722) returning from his tour in Jiangnan (Yu, 1984).

[39] The painting depicted *Guangxu'* wedding during his 15th reign in 1889. On the picture, there were the imperial wedding sedan chair and the guards of honour, the titles of officials and names of buildings that were written in rectangular yellow cartouches, as well as traditional bells and stone chimes that were hang. In red colour, *Xi* (double happiness) were installed on the bright coloured awning under the eaves and on the square bases of the supporting posts, around which dragons coiled (Yu, 1984, pp. 68-69).

common pattern that emphasized the hierarchical order was present. Such order was achieved basically through human uses and the support of certain temporary settings, regardless of the presence of the permanent settings.

In the Confucian world-view, the filial piety to one's father could extend to the royalty to the emperor at the state level, or to the heaven at the universal level. The pattern of both the ritualistic imperial ceremonies and ordinary activity patterns could have arisen from this fundamental hierarchical concept. It was the social structure that was highlighted systematically in terms of direction, location and other cues of hierarchy. Isn't this pattern embedded in the *Kaogongji* model? For sure it is. In the imperial Chinese society that was based on a patriarchal clan system, both the pattern and its underlying idea should have been well understood and respected by both elites and commoners.

In addition, there existed the connection between imperial rituals and folk customs. Actually most of the imperial rituals were derived from the folk customs, but more formal in nature. Thus, to signify the supremacy of the emperor seemed just a matter of extending the linear distance of the central axis, or the sophistication of the hierarchical supporting features.
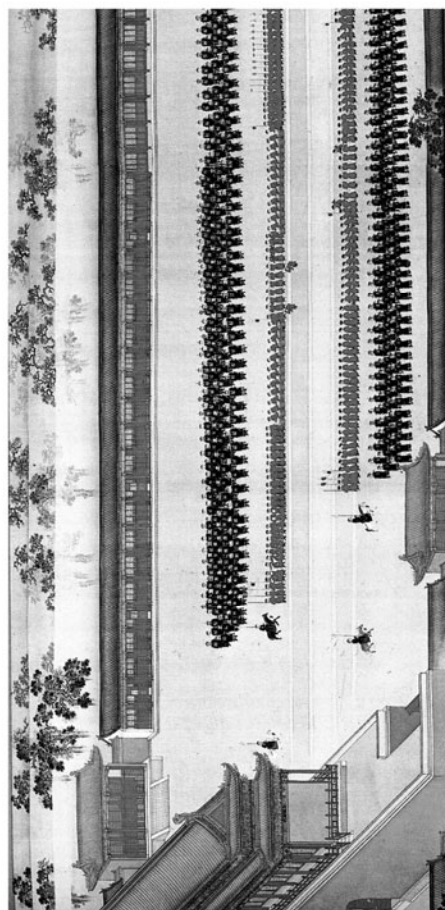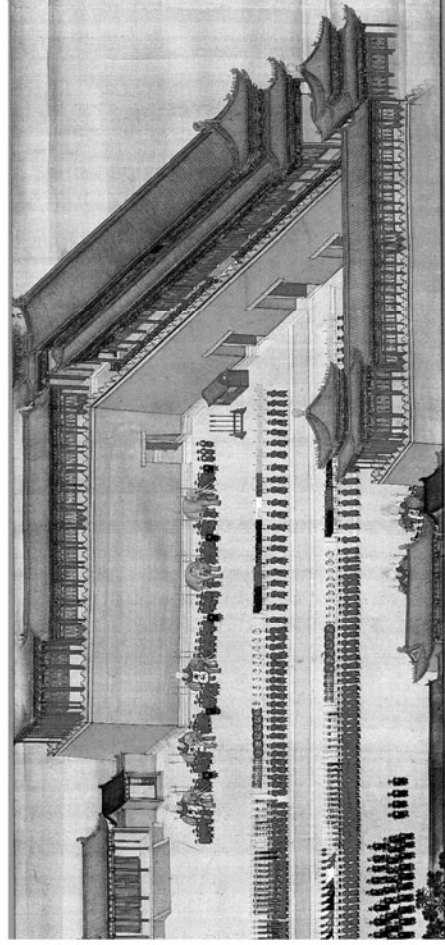
Figure 5-6. (on the last page) The imperial procession in Southern Song and Qing.[40]
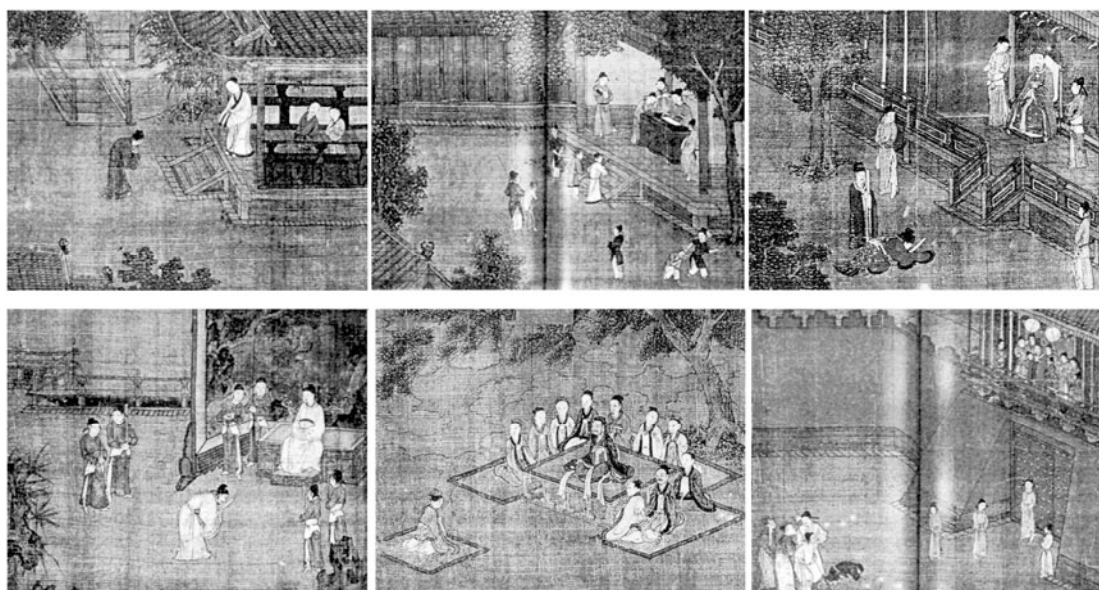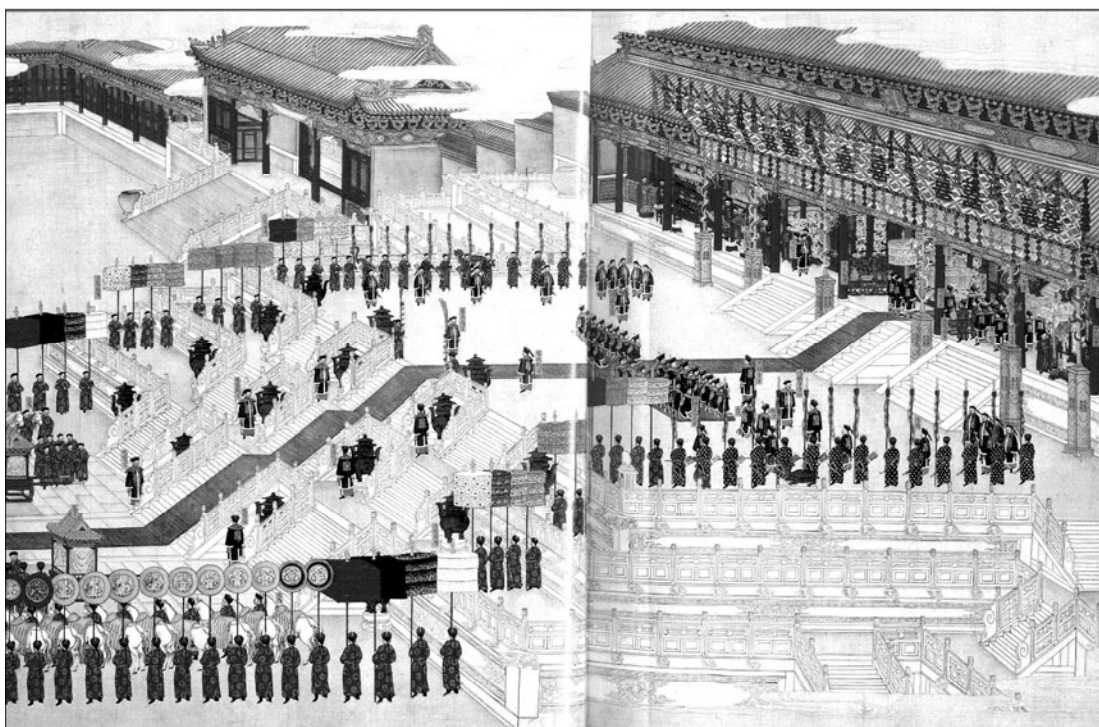
Figure 5-7. The formal imperial wedding ceremony and ordinary events[41]

[40] The graph on the left was *Luboyulu Tu* 卤簿玉辂图 (The Imperial chariot and guards of honour) by the anonymous Southern Song painter (Jin, 1984). The one on the right was about the Emperor Kangxi's tour of the south by Wang Hui (1632-1717), the painting is stored in Beijing Palace Museum (Yu, 1984).

[41] The graph in the upper part: Wedding of Emperor *Guang Xu* (by Beijing Palace Museum, after Yu, 1984). Six typical scenes on the lower part are taken from a series of painting called *Xiaojing Tu* 孝经图, Classic of filial piety, by Yan Benli, a Southern Song painter (Jin, 1984).
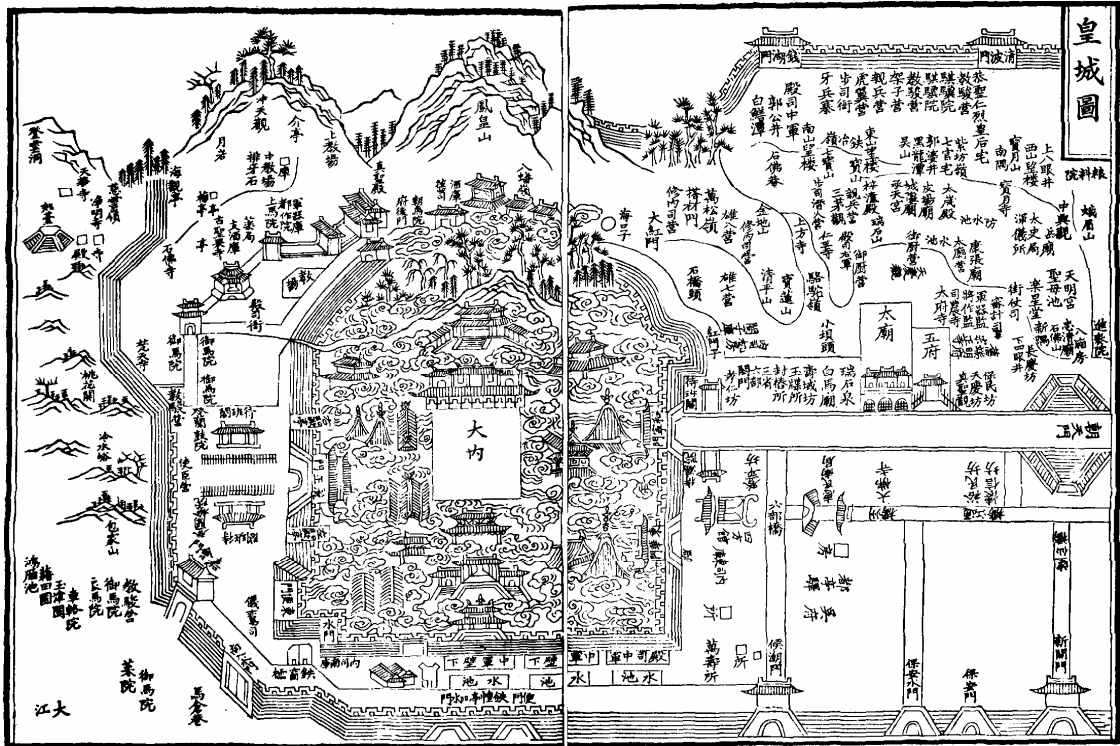
Figure 5-8. Map of the Palace City (Huangcheng) after XC (p. 3354, Tongzhi version)
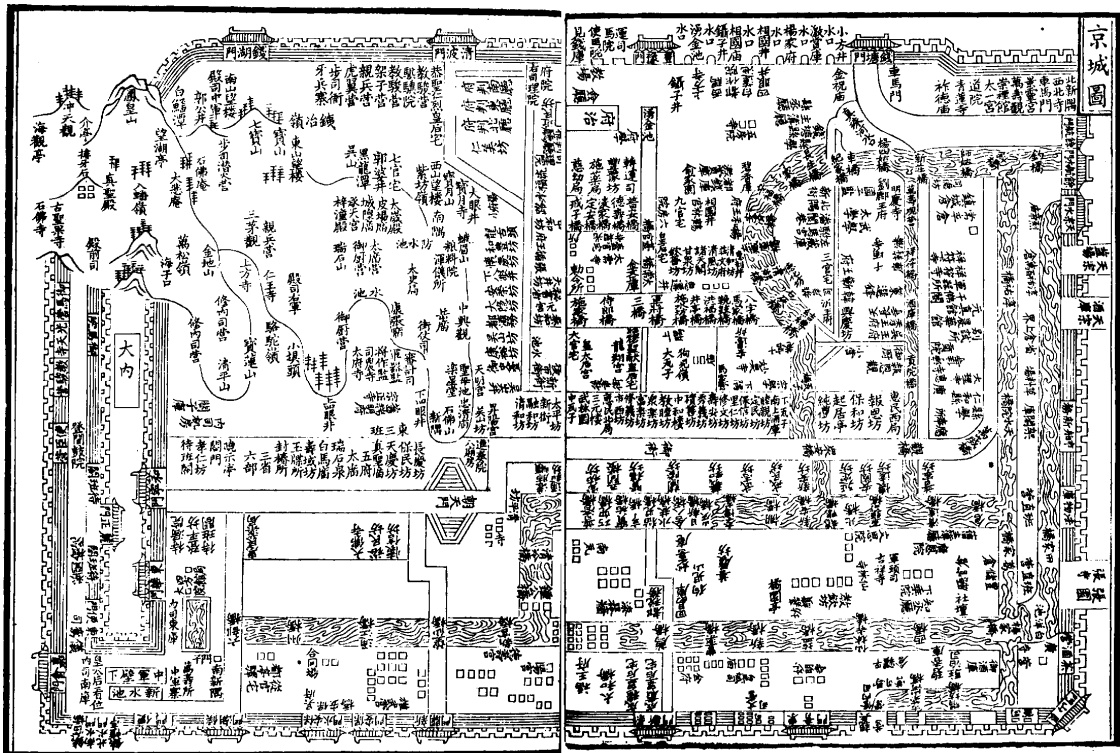
Figure 5-9. Map of the Imperial City (Jingcheng) after XC (p. 3354, Tongzhi version)

Figure 5-10. Map of the West Lake (Xihu) after XC (p. 3355, Tongzhi version)
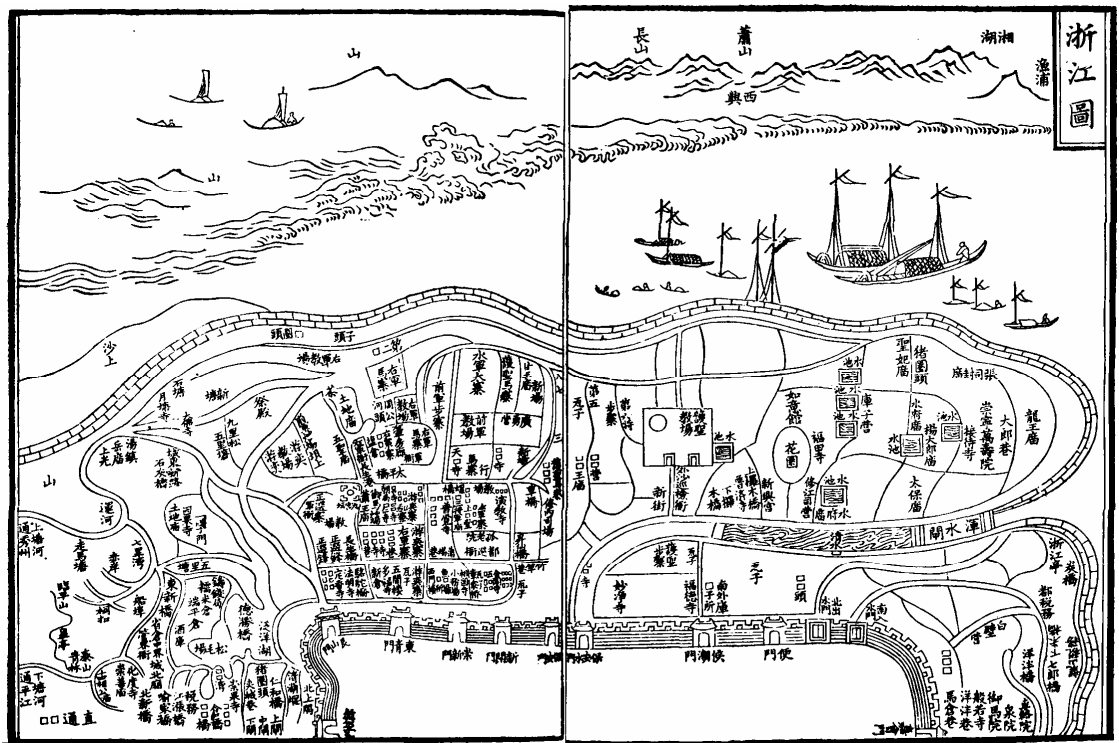
Figure 5-11. Map of the Zhe River (Qiantang River) after XC (p. 3355, Tongzhi version)
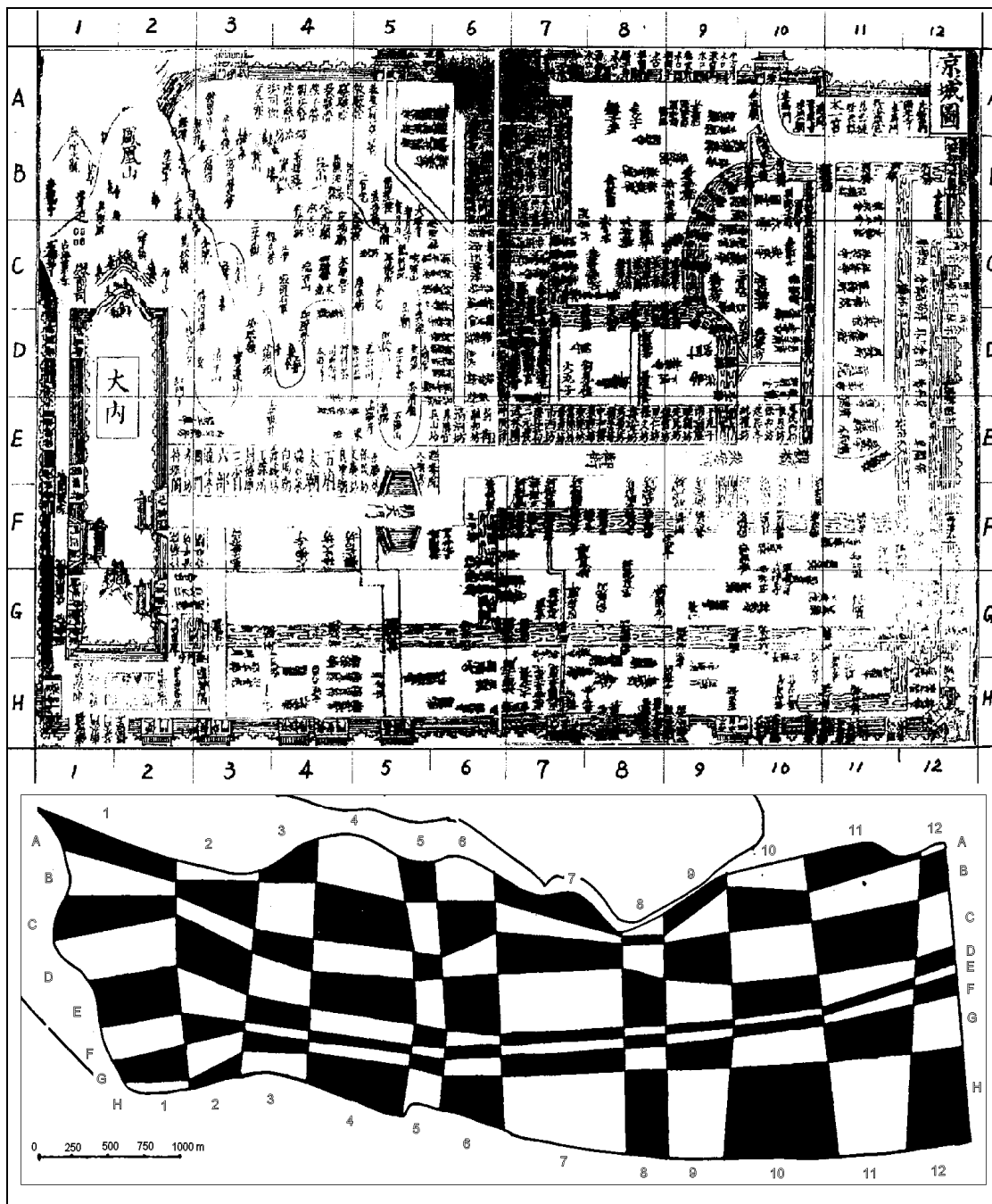
Figure 5-12. A comparison of the distorted map features after Que (2000, pp. 146-147)

5.5. Mapping the idea of the imperial city

The traditional Chinese map, as the result of both scientific and cultural mapping principles and relevant not only to the quantification of spatial knowledge, but also to artistic expressiveness and redolence of power, were indicative and schematised, "cognitive maps", as discussed in chapter 2.3.

For *Lin'an*, the idea of the imperial city and the imperial symbolic system was mapped in the contemporary maps (Figure 5-8, 9, 10, 11), on which distorted map features were quite obvious when compared with the modern reconstructed maps (Figure 4-5, 4-7 in chapter 4.2; also cf. Appendix J). As demonstrated on Figure 5-12, on the original map (the *Song*'s XC version), the regular grid corresponds to the irregular shape on the reconstructed map (Que, 2000). In general, key distortions could be observed as follows:

- Selective representation: certain features are represented selectively, sometimes emphasized in augmented scales, or indicatively with certain realistic features like trees, mountains etc.

- Formalization: it lies with the formalized/simplified overall shape of the cities (the Imperial City and the Palace City) and the layout of the Imperial Avenue etc.

Resorting to the cognitive mapping principles in both spatial and social traditions, as discussed in chapter 2.2.3, I will investigate various factors underlying such distorted map features, so as to understand the represented/mapped city with special reference to the imperial symbolic representation.

5.5.1. Formalization: a utilitarian explanation

As observed in the maps (Figure 8-11) above, the contours of the Palace City and the Imperial City demarcated by the city walls were represented differently. They could be abstracted or formalized as a simple shape of square, or could be realistically drawn with

very articulated contours. What are the reasons behind these features?

From a utilitarian point of view, it seems that each map was created for a discrete purpose, which was explicitly indicated in the title of the map. This probably accounts for the different manner in which various parts of the city were represented in each map.

Based on this assumption, the contours of both the Imperial City and the Palace City appeared simply in a square shape on the map of the Imperial City (Figure 5-9), as this map focused mainly on the general layout of the city. Its detailed shape was of little consequence, rather it was the relationships of the main river, roads, significant settings etc. to the city as a whole that were important. Similarly, the map of *Lin'an Fu* (Figure 4-9 in chapter 4.3) aimed to map the general layout of the prefecture, which included nine counties and numerous mountains and rivers, the Imperial City made up of only two counties was again simplified into a squared item.

However, in the map of the Palace City (Figure 5-8), the shape of the Palace City was articulated because, in this case, the contour of the city and its relationship to the hills and undulating terrain were also important. These features figured prominently in the representation. The same city could appear once more realistic (with an irregular shape) or partially drawn, when the maps purposed to represent the suburban region either surrounding the West lake (Figure 5-10) or adjacent to the *Zhe* river (Figure 5-11). In both cases, it was either the routes to various scenic spots of the West Lake through the mountains, or the spatial layout of the east suburban areas along the *Zhe* river that were accentuated. The partially depicted city rampart was there to show the spatial relationship between the city and its western or eastern suburbs.

With a utilitarian interpretation, those distorted map features could be explained as the results of easy conceptualisation, especially of the spatial relationship among mapping

elements.

5.5.2. The interpretation related to the elite tradition

In the above five maps of *Lin'an*, it is quite obvious that not all spatio-physical features were represented, or represented in the same manner with the same prominence or at similar scales. One can explain the map features in relation to the elite tradition.

On the above four maps (Fig 5-8, 9, 10, 11), some elements were mapped, such as the city rampart and city gates, palaces, temples and altars, key memorial archways, as well as mountains, trees etc, in more symbolic senses and were sometimes over-scaled; while other features could totally disappear on the maps.[42] In addition, certain nodes and links such as the Imperial Avenue and several paths, canals and gates, were also over emphasized with the augmented scales and the articulated shapes; yet other canals and streets were either absent or not clearly linked. Within the common urban quarters, those represented on maps were textual labels such as the official names of *Fang*,[43] important wineshops (both the state-owned and famous private ones) and the entertainment centres. Those eateries, markets and teahouses etc, which were described with many details in *Biji*(s), were largely ignored.

It is understandable that *Zhi* being an official representation of the city, focused selectively on the city's main framework in terms of the administrative relevance, and prioritized the imperial and prefectural settings on the map. Thus, in the section of Figure 5-13, or the whole map (Figure 1, 2 in Appendix J), the original Song's version, important settings like *Liubu* 六部 and *Taimiao* 太庙 were all highlighted with the larger fonts.

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[42] Some square symbols on the maps could either denote the lost texts of the later edition copied after the previous versions of the same map, or indicate the existences of certain constructions that might be temporary, such as the entertainment centre and garrisons.

[43] The physical counterpart is *Fangbiao*, the memorial archway (cf. chapter 6).

As for the different realistic map features, especially those mountains and trees, scenic spots and meandering routes, as well as other landscape features, were portrayed partly due to the specific aesthetic tastes and preferences of the mapmakers, the elites. Thus, similar to the Chinese painting (cf. Chapter 2.3), various visual features could be depicted simply to add aesthetic values to the maps.
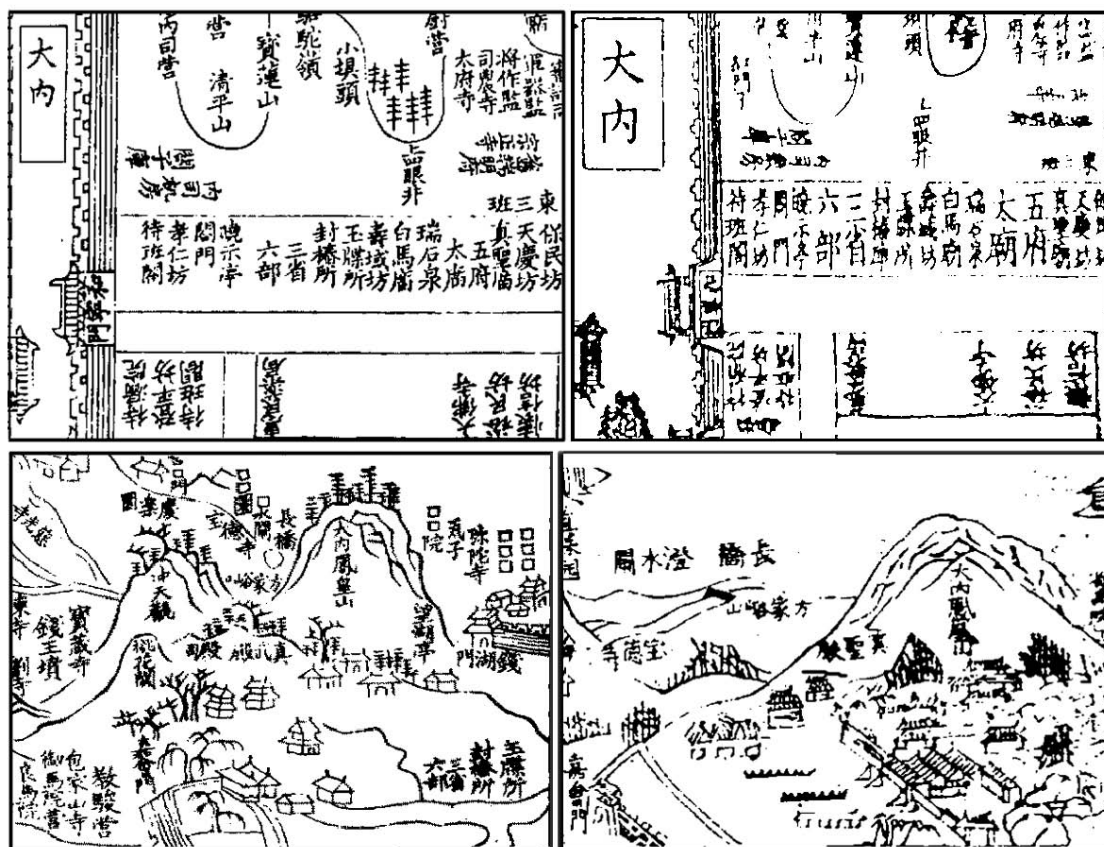
Figure 5-13. A comparison of detailed map features among different versions.

1	2	Maps of the Palace City, 1. *Tongzhi* version, 2. Original *Song* version (cf. Appendix J)
3	4	Maps of *Xihu*, 3. *Tongzhi* version, 4. *Jiajing* version (Que, 2000, p. 235; cf. Appendix J)

5.5.3. The representation of the ideal imperial symbolic scheme

The formalized map representation could also be interpreted with the influence of *Zhouli*. Steinhardt believed (1998, p.8), "in thirteenth century China, an officially published map could thus guarantee that, whatever happened to the timber, brick, tile, and stone, the

image preserved for posterity was of a city as Chinese, as pedigreed, as legitimate, and as orthodox as the city prescribed for the king of *Zhou*."

From my observation, the consideration of the ideal imperial symbolism should not be the foremost concern of these maps; otherwise those related formal features could not be absent from the map. For example, at the southern imperial square where important ceremonies and rituals were conducted, especially during the triennial Grand Astral Rite, a long roadway was exclusively built from the *Jiahui* Gate leading directly to the altar (XC 22.1; ML 1.1). The site (circled on Figure 5-4; cf. Figure 5-8) and the two grandiose city gates, *Jiahui* and *Lizheng* should have some regular relationship represented, but no such cues could be read from the maps of the *Tongzhi* version. In addition, the northern gate *Hening* that supposed to be the city's main front was drawn without even formal relationship to the Imperial Avenue, the central axis of the city.

Remarkably, both features appeared formally in the original version of XC of the Southern *Song*, referring to the detailed section of Figure 5-13. An interesting issue then arises, why reproduced maps in the *Qing* period had such obvious oversights? It probably meant that at least during the time when the map was drawn, a very coherent imperial symbolic manifestation was not overwhelmingly intended in the official gazetteer.

Thus, the formalization could mainly owe to the consideration of practical printing issues or easy conceptualisation, instead of the formal representation of the coherent imperial symbolic scheme as prescribed in *Zhouli*. Nevertheless, several elements of the scheme can still be strongly conceived, such as the Imperial Avenue, *Taimiao*, the main city gates and the imperial squares at *Lizheng* gate. They were all represented with particular emphases based on the salient physical features and probably more on socio-cultural saliency.

5.6. Critical inquiries: the imperial symbolic structure

With the study on imperial symbolic system of the city, I have resorted to the dynamic link model to look at the development of imperial Chinese cities from a historical view in general, and *Lin'an* in specific. *Lin'an* is a special case of imperial capitals, as it was originated from a prefectural seat in *Sui*, not overall planned in the beginning with coherent imperial symbolic scheme. This imperial symbolic structure was add-on system over the existing urban fabric in the process of city building.

I have discussed the spatio-physical form of this system, such as the two official fronts, the section of Imperial Avenue and symmetrical features. With the sense of permanence and exclusiveness, this system was not overwhelming strong in the spatio-physical terms, but was consistently represented in the formal discourse.[44]

Referring to the table and diagram below, I will concentrate on the main gates of the Palace City, the Imperial Avenue and imperial squares, other ritual settings and the city rampart, for the discussion of the imperial place system. The analyses deal with the imperial place system with special reference to the overall cognitive structure of the city.

Element	Place				Place system	
	Fixed setting	Temp. setting	Activity	Conception	Integrated	Relating to other or overall systems
Main gates of the Palace City	●	●	●	●	●	●
Imperial squares	●	●	●	●	●	●
Other ritual settings	●/○	●	●	●	●	●
Imperial Avenue	○	○	●	●	●	●
City rampart	○	○	○	●	●	●

Table 5-2. Cognitive valence of the imperial symbolic system (●- strong, ○- average or weak)

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[44] But might not be so strongly conceived as a whole by the general populace, as evidenced in *Biji*.
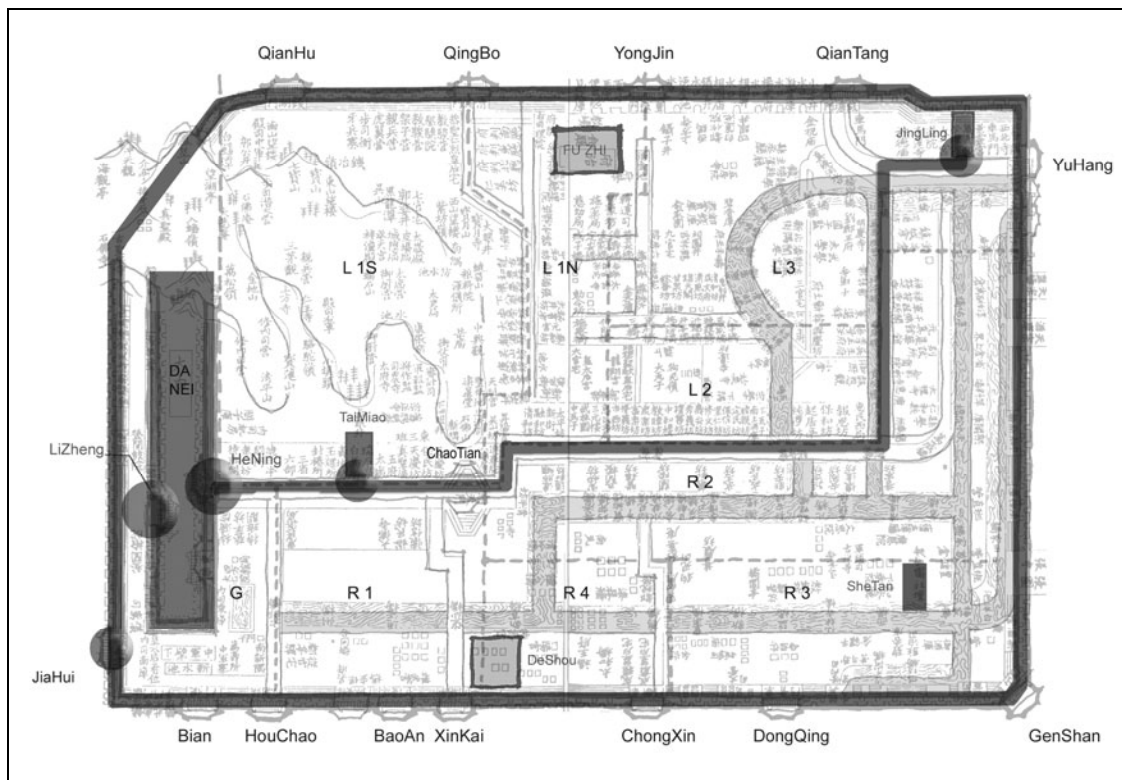
Figure 5-14. The imperial symbolic structure over *Lin'an* city

5.6.1. The imperial place system

The imperial place system was not only a system of settings for the imperial rites and ceremonies as well as routine functions. It is a distinctive place system, containing permanent-featured grandiose palaces, avenue, squares and gates etc, which are strategically located, overlaid with the rigid social structure and augmented by the imperial ceremonious uses.

To make a close look at the place system, various imperial places constituted the most prominent features of the city in terms of the fixed setting and the temporary setting, especially with those permanent features, such as the Palace City and the imperial squares. With the grandiose design features highlighting symmetry and hierarchical order, they were exclusively made to comply with the imperial system, and created for the intended symbolic uses. *Lin'an*, with such existing condition and the particular process of city building, lacked overall prominence in physical features. Not the full length of the

Imperial Avenue and only part city rampart were relevant to the imperial uses; only the selected parts on the central axis especially those near the Palace City demonstrated strong formal features to support frequent ceremonies conducted there. Thus, in spatio-physical terms, this system as a whole is not consistently imageable.[45]

In essence, the imperial system was a "value-encoded" conceptual system. For those physical elements of this system, the spatial relationship and architectural details like scale and decoration themes, as well as names were all encoded with the deep-rooted social structure that emphasize hierarchy and order, as prescribed in *Zhouli* or demonstrated with the underlying pattern depicted in the paintings of the imperial era. In this place system, strictly regulated formal features, activity conducted following the rigid spatial and temporal orders, all acted as noticeable cues for the proper conduct of an individual or for the proper function of the society as a whole. Thus, to everyone in that society, the decoding of various settings for personal behavioural (conceptual) relevance, directly linked with the deep-rooted system of value and significance, which did not subject to any individual interpretation.

In this sense, even though the city that was constructed on the undulating terrain had difficulties to achieve symmetry at the northern part in front of the Palace city, and the scale of the Imperial Avenue was not extraordinary grandiose, still the clarity of the whole system and especially the sense of prominence and significance (centrality and regularity) were conceptually maintained. Integrated with what one sees, does and thinks, the whole system was coherently represented, i.e. both imageable in spatio-physical cues and paycho-social cues; or in other words, the valence of this system is rather high.

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[45] As discussed in chapter 4.1, the prominence of premodern Chinese architecture was not achieved through overwhelming volume and particular style, but mainly through the number of duplicated units, the style of building elements, or through the general spatial organization of the complex. Thus, such prominence can be viewed as strongly noticeable both from prominent features or features of more subtle

5.6.2. The imperial system and the overall structure of the city

The physical elements included in the imperial system shaped the basic structure of the city. Not only had those elements with overwhelming scales and permanent features strong visual valence, they were further augmented with uses and senses. Hence, the city was ordered into a coherent system that could be conceived without ambiguity: the city sat on the four cardinal points, two layers of walled cities shared the central axis with the Palace City in the centre; those elements like the Palace City, the Imperial Avenue and the city gates had the most prominent perceptual features.

Obviously, this imposed symbolic system existed in the *global* reference system. As the overall spatial property of the imperial system was understood in relation to the social structure that referred to the cardinal directions or the specific locations of the astral analogy and other correlative thinking. Enhanced by those non-physical elements that had rather ideal features, the cognitive system could be rather independent of the existing conditions or could be understood as the formalization or abstraction from non-ideal actual conditions. Symbolizing the value of the highest importance with the sense of permanence and prominence, this system seemed to be predetermined irrespective of the practical conditions and thus it was more stable.

Therefore, the imperial symbolic system made up a basic layer over the multi-layered place system of the city distinctively, with those important elements as anchor points. To the overall cognitive urban structure, the more prominent this imperial symbolic system, the better the clarity of the city; and the more other urban places associated with those important anchor points, the better the clarity of those places.

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nature, like hierarchical differences in number and colour, which can be cognitively amplified with particular ways of representation. Thus the degree of physical prominence can be culturally variable.

Chapter 6. The structure of the city on everyday life

During the Southern *Song* period, the city of Lin'an was not only a ritual abode for the emperor and bureaucrats, but was also developed for the ordinary life of nobles and commoners alike.

To the city *Lin'an*, the upgrading to an imperial capital involved a dual process. One was to impose a symbolic structure over the existing city, as discussed in chapter 5, the other was to cope with the actual urban growth. Being already an economic hub of southern China before the Southern *Song*, the city still had to expand so as to accommodate to the need of the large population and to cater to the luxurious consumption of the court and its bureaucrats.

In the following section, I will look into the common urban quarters and discuss the cognitive structure of the city based mainly on the context of everyday life. From general discussions of the development of the urban unit: residential wards and markets, as well as the integrated urban system in *Lin'an*, I will explore the interlinked folk place systems, focusing on a detailed urban section, as well as various place systems within the city mainly from the functional, spatial and temporal aspects.

6.1. A general study on the development of urban ward

6.1.1. Shi 市 (Market) and Fang 坊 (Ward) as the basic urban unit

In the imperial Chinese city, an urban unit was normally delimited by a regular road

network. As shown in the following schematic diagram interpreting *Kaogongji* (cf. Figure 5-

1), typically by the main roads a imperial Chinese city was divided into nine units. This

urban system was called the well-field system, within which two units in the central row

(the central and the southern) were reserved for the imperial uses, the unit in the rear

(with the grey shading in the north) was a market, called *Shi* 市; other units were the

residential wards, called *Fang* 坊 or *Li* 里.[1]
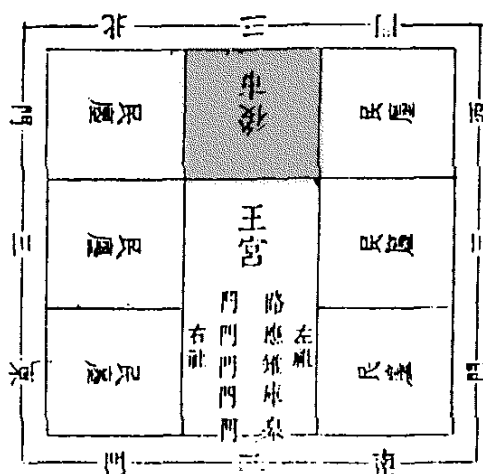
Figure 6-1. The layout of earlier imperial capital by the *Qing*'s scholar[2]

The early markets of the imperial cities, as study had shown, were relatively small and

confined only to certain locations, as their service was not intended for the whole

population, but catered mainly to the rulers' preference and convenience. Answering to

the increasing demand of the urban population, the markets increased both in number

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[1] The term *Fang* appeared in North Wei, but was not officially used until early Sui. In the Qin Dynasty, it
was called *Li*.

[2] The diagram was taken from *Gongshi Kao* 宮室考 (Research on palaces) after Xiao (1999, p. 152).

and scale,[3] and became the trading centres of the city. However, up to the Tang Dynasty, markets were still confined to certain urban wards, and operated only during certain hours of the day (Liu, 1998; He, 1986b).

The physical features of *Shi* were engraved on bricks in East *Han*. According to the images 1-3 in Figure 6-2, *Shi* was configured by grouping the similar commodities in the same rows or columns based on their respective trades. Within the wall, two crisscrossed paths divided the market, in the centre of which stood the administrative house (*Shilou* 市楼 or *Qiting* 旗亭), where flags were hoisted and drums were beaten during the opening time of the market (Liu, 1973).

With a similar general configuration, *Fang* was normally externally defined by the wall and internally divided by two crisscrossed paths, as shown in the *Tang*'s stone engraving (the image 4 in Figure 6-2). For effective administration, Fang was strictly monitored with a curfew. The door of the commoner's house was only allowed to open to the internal path, with the exception of the high officials' in Tang, which could pierce the wall of *Fang* and open directly to the urban street.

Prior to the late *Tang*, *Fang* and *Shi* were separated in the city. Within a *Fang* or a *Shi*, both living and trading were strictly administered.

6.1.2. Fangxiang (坊巷) as an integrated urban unit

As the consequence of more intensive urban development, the strict regulations on *Fang* and *Shi* were gradually lessened both in spatial and temporal senses. *Fang* and *Shi* were gradually combined into a new urban unit.

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[3] The numbers of markets varied from nine in Han Chang'an to three in Northern Wei Luyang. Excavated evidences show that two large markets of Tang Chang'an, the east and the west market roughly measured respectively 1031x927, 1000x924 m² (He, 1986; Liu, 1998).

Early in Northern *Wei*, it was recorded that a large *Shi* had existed. This *Shi* integrated *Shi* and *Fang*, but the enclosed configuration and the regulated opening hours were still unchanged. However, such restrictions were frequently breached after the middle of the *Tang* period. It was noted that a few markets occupied spaces in *Fang*(s) and opened their doors directly to the urban street; some of them also operated till the late night.

With significant urban growth starting from the *Zhenzong* reign (1023-1065), the separation of *Fang* and *Shi* finally came to an end,[4] and this significantly transformed the urban structure. Sinologists defined this widespread phenomenon as "the medieval urban revolution", which had the following features according to Skinner (1977, pp. 23-26):[5]

- The breakdown and eventual collapse of the official marketing organization;

- The disappearance of the enclosed marketplace, replaced by a much freer street plan in which trade and commerce could be conducted anywhere within the city or its outlying suburbs;

- The rapid expansion of particular walled cities and growth of commercial suburbs outside their gates.

As happened in *Lin'an*, walls of *Fang*(s) were demolished and markets mixed with residential houses and lined up the street throughout the city. A new urban system, *Fangxiang* 坊巷 was established. In this system, *Fang*'s name still used, but not referring to the former enclosed *Fang*. What *Fangxiang* represented was an urban section organized along the *Xiang* 巷 (lane), marked with a *Fangbiao* 坊表 (memorial archway), as shown in PJ of *Suzhou* (Figure 6-2, cf. Appendix K) and related maps of *Lin'an*.

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[4] Roughly from the late 11th to the early 12th century of Song period, the affirmation of which was based on studies on typical imperial cities and other types of cities with essential commercial developments; as stated, it could start even earlier (Skinner, 1977).

[5] Based on the early sinologists' studies on Tang cities and Song cities etc, the "Medieval revolution in market structure and urbanization" was proposed by Elvin (1973) (cf. Skinner, 1977, p. 23).

Figure 6-2. *Fang, Shi* and *Fangxiang* (from the historical stone/brick carvings).

1	2	1, 2, 3. Markets of the East Han Dynasty engraved on bricks after Liu (1968)
3	4	4. A section of residential wards of Tang Chang'an on stone engraving in 1080 A.D
5		5. A section of street plan of Suzhou in Pingjing Tu engraved in 1229

6.2. Growth and transformation of Lin'an and its commercial services
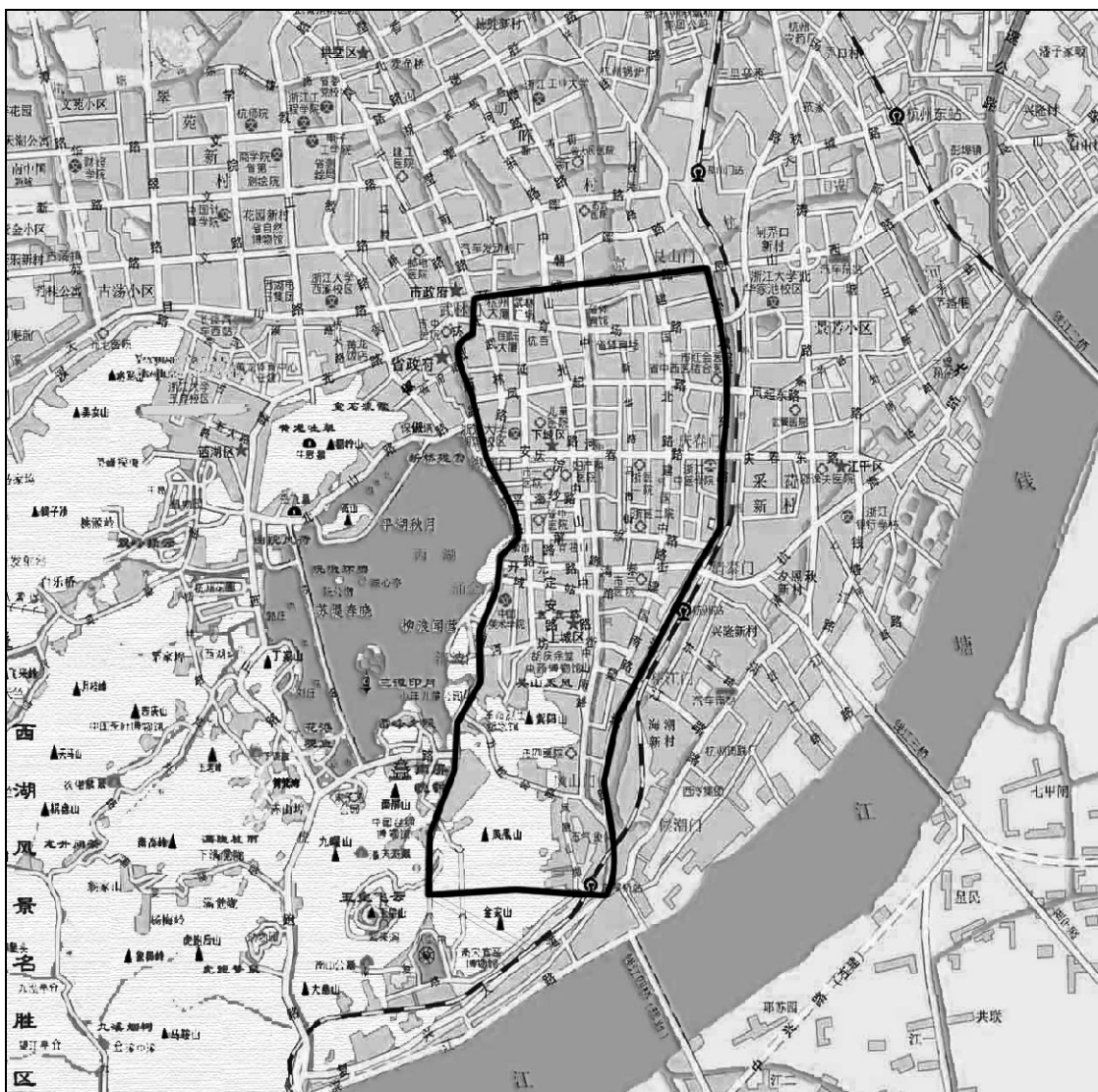
Figure 6-3. *Lin'an* on the latest modern map of *Hangzhou* (2000)

During the Southern *Song* period, rapid developments had taken place in *Lin'an*. There were a great increase of the urban population and a significant transformation of the urban system.

According to ML18.2, from QD to XC periods, the population of *Lin'an* prefecture doubled. The population of *Qiantang* county and *Renhe* county, which administratively belonged to the city located within the city rampart, even increased by 2.5 times. Making up this population were officials, soldiers, artisans and merchants, as well as the influx of

northern refugees, students for state exams, messengers and missionary groups etc. The estimated city's population could reach around 0.6 million at its prime (cf. XC 58.3; Lin, 1986, pp. 174-184).

Referring to the modern map in Figure 6-3 above, the city *Lin'an* was only about 1/20th the size of modern *Hangzhou*, but the population could be as high as one third of it.[6] The density of *Lin'an* was conceivably high, the pictures of GS in Appendix M could be a common reference. To support this large population and wealthy bureaucrats, the city's craft industry, and especially its service sector had to expand in great scale.

Basically, the city of Lin'an was not a city mainly for production but mainly for trading and consumption. This did not deviate from our basic understanding of the imperial Chinese cities in chapter 4.1. Various state run craft industrial workshops, warehouses etc. were set up with the purpose to serve the practical needs of the imperial state and its bureaucrats, like those *Jian* 監 (department) and *Yuan* 院 (workshops) discussed in chapter 4.2. The State also operated workshops like wine making and warehousing, it controlled the rental/leasing of shop houses as well. As a regional commercial and trading hub, *Lin'an* traded widely with the neighbouring counties and with other cities inside or outside the country. The State monopolized the sale of the basic commodities such as wine, tea, salt, vinegar, and levied high taxes on the imported goods like incense and jewellery,[7] thus great profits were heaped from the sales of both common and luxurious goods (cf. XC9; Lin, 1986, pp. 233-245; Gernet, 1960, pp. 22-53).

Although there were official markets, it was through various private commercial

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[6] Here, my intention is just to show the rough scale, not a serious comparison, as the delimitation of city area and actually composition of urban population could be different. According to Hangzhou's official data (http://www.hznet.com.cn) for the year 2000, the population figure is 1,791,800, land area 306.8 sqkm. The land area of Lin'an, as measured on Moule's reconstructed map, is roughly 15 sqkm.

establishments that products, goods and services were distributed to the large number of common consumers. Spread throughout the city, a dense trading and service network took shape to serve the city and its catchments areas. This network, on the one hand, supplied the city with everyday goods like rice, meat, salted fish, tea, wine, and luxurious ones like pearls and jewels, fashioned attires etc.; on the other hand, it catered to the amusement and recreational needs of the locals. Those activities made the common urban places hectic from early morning till late at night (ibid.).

In the following sections, I will focus on the system of markets and special urban services, as well as the general physical features of urban streets, which were used exclusively for trading or mixed used.

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[7] Shibowu Si 市舶务司 was set up to supervise sales of exotic foreign goods. The sale of incense and perfume etc were licensed by the state because of the high profits (XC9).

6.2.1. The market system
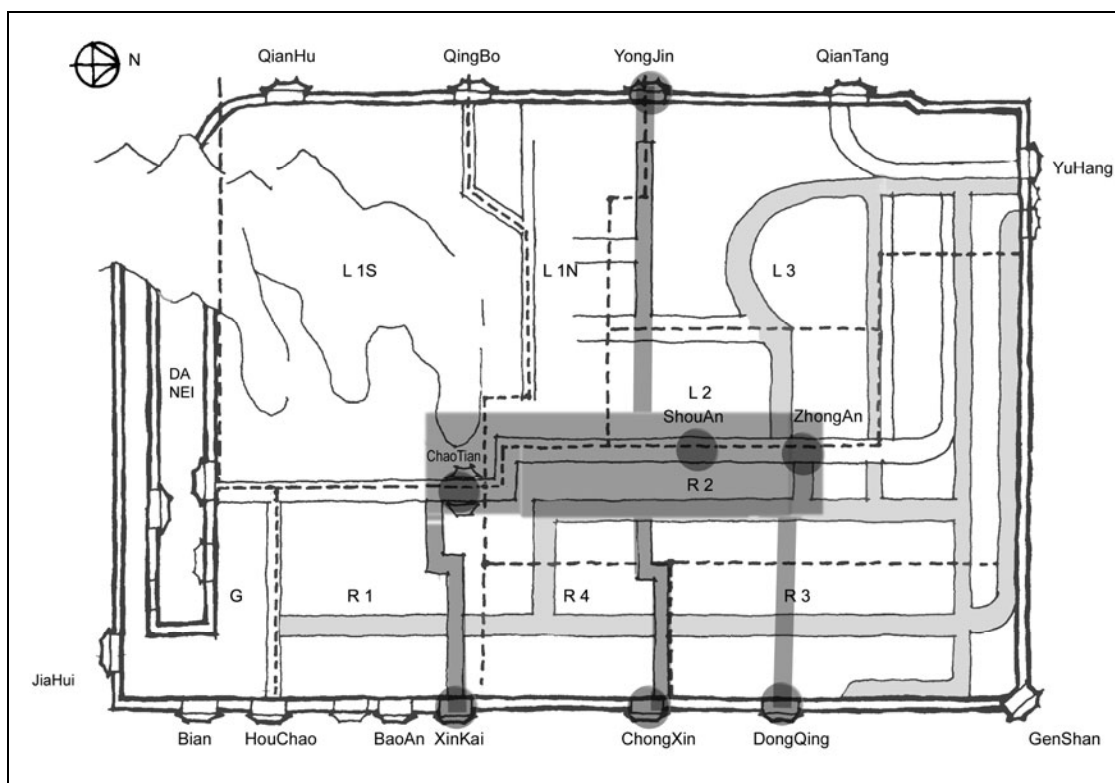
Figure 6-4. Schematic diagram of the key commercial and service network[8]

Consisting of a variety of markets and shops ranging from wholesale to retail, and services like entertainment centres, singing houses (brothels), public bathes etc., the trading and service network took the form of a fish bone structure. The Imperial Avenue where the central market was also located acted as the central spine, the lanes that contained various commercial establishments acted as bones attached to the spine roughly in the perpendicular directions, as shown in diagram above.

The market system of *Lin'an* was unique in comparison with other imperial capitals in the earlier times. The uniqueness lies not only with the variety of markets both in number and type, but also with the spatial distribution of these markets. For those formal featured imperial capitals in particular, it could never be possible to assign the busiest central

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[8] This diagram was mainly based on Shiba, quoted in Que (2000, p.144), which can be found in Appendix K, Figure 8.

market along the central axis of the city and to locate the meat market at the city's geometric centre, but it is so in *Lin'an*.

In *Lin'an*, the government organized various shops into the taxable unit of *Hang* (or *Zuo*). This unit was used not only for the shops that distributed goods (retail or wholesale) and workshops with direct sales, but also for various services, as noted in DC 2:[9]

> Various businesses are designated by the word 'company'' (hang), which is a taxation category imposed by the government and is used for all businesses dealing in commodities, regardless of their size… Other trades sometimes also borrow the word "company" for their own use, such as liquor company and food company. Some businesses are called 'gatherings''(tuan), such as a flower gathering, fruit gathering, dried-fish gathering…. Artisans sometimes call their businesses "workshop" (zuo), such as comb workshop, belt workshop, gold-and-silver plating workshop. There are some businesses that use unusual names; for example, shops dealing in the "seven treasures" (gold, silver, pearl, amber, etc.) may call themselves curio companies, whereas a bathhouse may be designated a fragrant-water company.

> 布肆谓之行者，因官府科索而得此名，不以其物小大，但合充用者，皆置为行，虽医卜亦有职…内亦有不当行而借名之者，如酒行、食饭行是也。又有名为团者，如…花团…青果团…誉团…柑子团…其他工伎之人，或名为作，如蓖刃作、腰带作、金银镀作…又有异名者，如七宝谓之骨董行，浴堂谓之香水行是也。

As shown in the Figure 6-4 above (cf. chapter 4.2; Figure 8 in Appendix K), the market system of Lin'an consisted mainly of the three parts. Except the official market was located at the banks of *Tongjiang* Bridge and served exclusively for the court and officials, both the central market and specialized markets served the urban inhabitants.

Along the Imperial Avenue, the central market ran from the southern Palace City to the *Guan* Bridge. Together with various special markets and services in the perpendicular lanes attached to the Avenue, this market was the busiest place for shopping and recreation, almost all kinds of shops, wineshops, teahouses and services could be found there. Based mainly on the types of services, the central market could roughly be classified into three parts (He, 1986b; Lin, 1986, pp. 233-279; Yang, 1990, 344-426):[10]

- The southern part lay between the Palace City and *Chaotian* Gate (*Qinghe Fang*): it was known for the luxurious and exotic goods and foods, and served mainly the court residents who lived near the Palace City;

- The central part lay between *Qinghe Fang* up to *Shou'an Fang* (*Guan Xiang*): it was the most comprehensive shopping district of the city;

- The northern part lay between *Shou'an Fang* to *Guan* Bridge: it was famous for bookshops and other cultural facilities, partly due to the influences of the biggest entertainment centre and various schools located at the adjacent areas.

Numerous special markets were located at *Fang*(s) throughout the city. More important were those located at the lanes linked to the Imperial Avenue, or adjacent to the major junctions. For examples, *Yanshi* 盐市 (Salt Market), *Mishi* 米市 (Rice Market) and *Caishi* 菜市 (Vegetable Market) were located either along the banks of the canals, rivers and lakes, or adjacent to the bridges and city gates, where circulations were more convenient. Please refer to Appendix K, Figure 9, 10 for the reconstructed maps on the general layout of shops and eateries as well as special markets.

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[9] Translations of paragraphs in DC in this chapter are mainly adapted from Yu (1981) unless otherwise specified. There are minor amendments of Pinyin system and inappropriate translations of place names etc.

[10] Such classification also corresponds to the locations of the three official medical relief bureaus in each part.

6.2.2. Special urban services

According to various records of *Biji*(s), many types of services found in *Lin'an* such as wineshops, teahouses, entertainment centre, singing houses (brothels) and public baths etc, were already proliferate in *Bianliang*.

Lin'an had various grades of teahouses, eateries, restaurants and wineshops, catering to the different need of the customers. Town folks frequented these places, not only for foods and drinks, but also for social gathering. In *Lin'an*, wineshops were operated either by the State or by private connoisseurs. *Guanku* 官库 (or *Zhengdian* 正店, *Ziku* 子库) were large state-run wineshops licensed for wine making, thus most of them had wine making workshops attached or located elsewhere; *Jiaodian* 角店, *Paihu* 拍户 were private wineshops that had to get wine from the licensed producers. Many official and private wineshops were actually high standard restaurants providing both wines and delicacies. Numerous wineshops of the lower standard also existed.

Wa 瓦 (the tile) was a type of entertainment setting, also known as *Wazi* 瓦子, *Wasi* 瓦市, *Washe* 瓦舍. In DC 7 (translated after West, 1985, p. 77; cf. ML 19.2), it was explained:

> …"when [patron and performer] arrive it is like piling tiles together. When they depart it means tiles falling apart" — so it is easy to gather and disperse. No one knows when [such sites] arose, but they were formerly the places in the capital [of Bianliang] where men of worth and commoners were free and unrestrained and completely out of moral control. It was the gate through which young wastrels went to fritter away their time and pass to their ruin.
>
> 瓦舍者，谓其"来者瓦合，去时瓦解"之义，易聚易散也。不知起于何时。顷者京师甚为士庶放荡不羁之所，亦为子弟流连破坏之门。

Originally staffed with singing-girls, musicians and performers to entertain soldiers and hence not considered proper places for well-behaved people, those *Wa*(s) outside the city rampart were run by the military department, *Dianqian Si* 殿前寺 (Dept. of Imperial Guarding Troops). But serving the local people as the entertainment centre, those Wa(s) within the city rampart were under the supervision of *Xiunei Si* 修内寺 (Dept. of Interior Construction) (XC19).

Wa was actually a complex that agglomerated both the entertainment set-ups and commercial facilities. Within the complex, plentiful performances were on day and night, such as drama, storyteller, acrobat, shadow and puppets play, circus play and jugglers etc. A chain of services were also provided in the complex. Hence, having a diversity of plays, goods, foods and drinks to choose from, the locals frequented there. *Wa* was more bustling during the festivals and holidays.

6.2.3. The typical streetscape

By offering town folks a variety of choices in foods, goods, plays, services and other kaleidoscopic everyday divertissements, the function and structure of the city were fundamentally transformed. For detailed spatio-physical features of those urban streets containing various commercial services or being mixed used, references can only be made to relevant paintings, particularly QM and GS (cf. Appendix M), as no details were described in the seven contemporary texts.

As mentioned in chapter 3.1.2, GS and different versions of QM are not about Southern *Song Lin'an*. GS depicts *Qing* period *Suzhou*. For QM, the original version is about *Bianliang*, the Northern *Song* capital, but the *Ming* version is an innovative reproduction based on the urban condition of the region around *Hangzhou*; the *Qing* version refers more to *Beijing*. All three paintings are useful references to the understanding of *Lin'an*, as the imperial

Chinese urban system and urban tradition remained rather consistent after the *Song* period (cf. chapter 3.1.2). The *Song* version of QM is relevant particularly about the type of shops and services corresponding to the textual descriptions; *GS* and the *Ming* version of *QM* are useful because, as the hubs of commercial transaction and cultural exchange along the Grand Canal in the same region, both cities displayed the prosperity of commerce/craft industry and the diversity of urban lifestyles in similar degrees, although from later periods.

Thus, with carefully understanding of the paintings of QM and GS, as well as sections in Figure 6-5, Figure 6-6 below, the following can be proposed:

- The central market encroached the Imperial Avenue, many folk activities could take place close to or even on the Imperial Avenue (Figure 6-5, pic. 1);

- Certain types of commercial services were quite visually prominent, like wineshops of different grades (Figure 6-6). The street transactions were quite busy, besides fixed shopfronts, signboard or flag, there were temporary stands with simple shading screens etc. These were clearly shown on QM (Song's original version, Figure 16, 17 in Appendix M), but the street of *Lin'an* must be narrower than more spacious *Bianlian*;[11]

- *Lin'an* might have similar overcrowding condition as shown on GS. Many wooden framed houses lined the street, which could often exceed one storey and were subject to frequent threat of fires as noted in *Biji* and *Zhi*;

- There are many bridges over the streets of the city, as shown on GS (Figure 20, 21, 22 in Appendix M) and pictures of the existing ones taken from *Suzhou* (pic 3, 4 in Figure 6-5). Some of them had quite prominent formal feature.

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[11] But on GS and QM, street uses seemed to be more controlled either with less temporary stands (Figure 20, 21, App. M), or wider street (versions of *Ming* and *Qing,* Figure 18, 19, App. M), and the shop identities (decoration themes) were not so prominent. Crosschecking with the texts, I believe that certain street or part of it could be regulated, but the common streetscape of *Lin'an* could be like the scene depicted by original version of QM, with narrower street sections. *Suzhou*, the regional commercial hub in *Qing* would have also achieved prosperity but not to the degree of *Lin'an* in Southern *Song*.

Figure 6-5. The street and river views

1	4	1. The Imperial Avenue of *Bianliang* shown on the reproduction of QM by Qing's academy
	3	2. A section of GS, showing the bridge of *Suzhou*
	2	3. *Zaishi* bridge in 1986 (Que, 2000, p.36); 4. A bridge in *Mudu (Suzhou)* in 2001 by the author
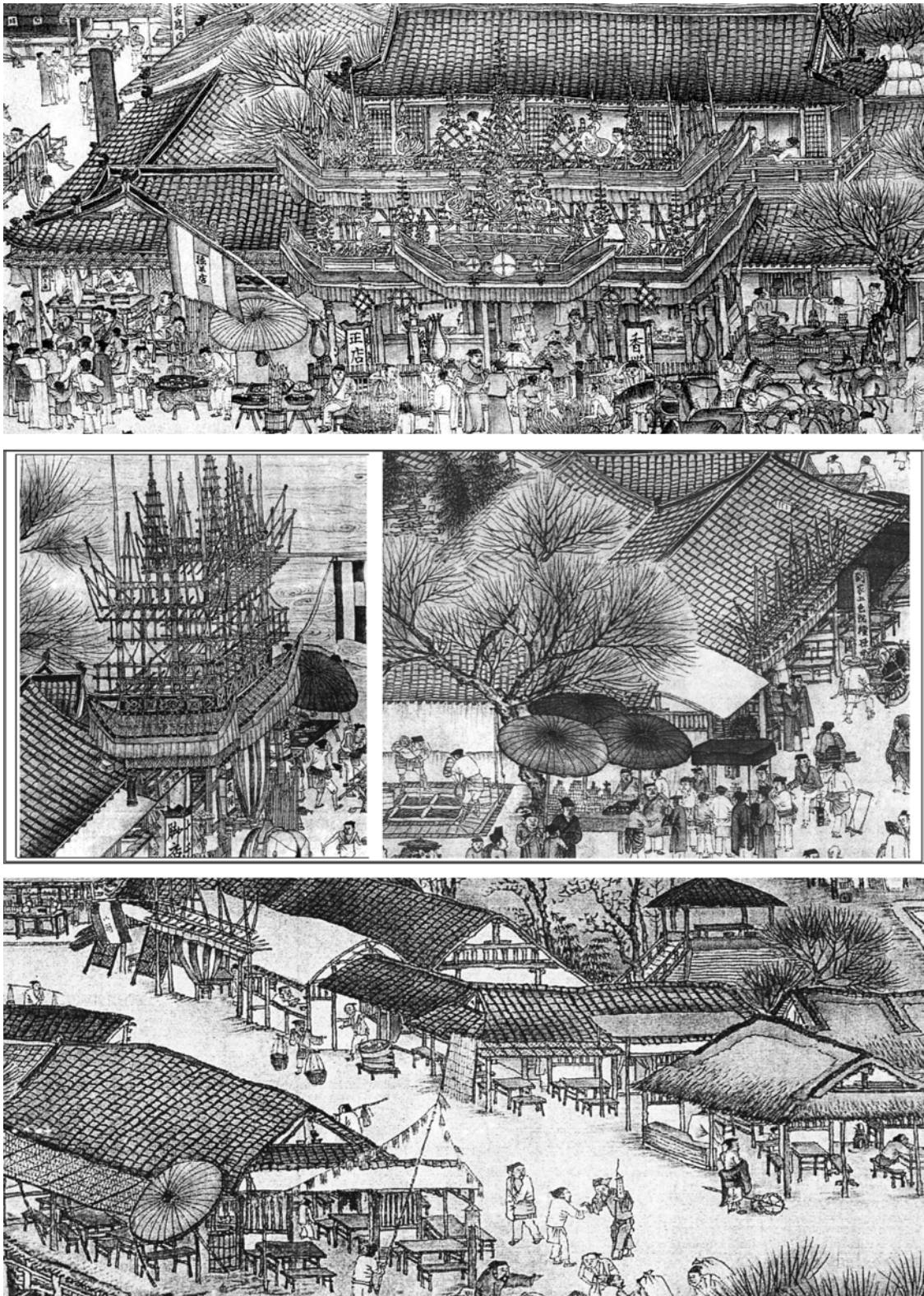
Figure 6-6. *Bianliang*: Wineshops in different grades from QM by Zhang[12]

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[12] It is a modern reproduction by Wu (1991), this is argued to be a quite faithful product. In from top down different grades of wineshops are arranged in a descending order, from the most luxurious official *Zhengdian* to the shabby stalls.

6.3. Selected urban place systems

To the commoners, the city contained various places that could provide them plenty of choices of goods, services and numerous opportunities of live, work and play. Thus, on the city level, many places were remembered or cognitively structured into system on the level of everyday life of the town folks.

Actually, there were many ways of structuring place systems, as long as they were meaningful to the experiences of the town folks. In the following section, I will explore three distinctive place systems: *Jiusi*, *Chafang* and *Wa*.

6.3.1. Jiusi 酒肆 — Wineshop

The emblems of wine shops are a branching twig painted red, crimson curtains with laces of red and gold tones, and a gardenia lantern…

酒家事物, 门设红杈子绯缘帘贴金红纱栀子灯之类…

As described in the above text (DC 3, Figure 6-6), the generic identity of the wineshop was similar both in *Lin'an* and in *Bianliang*. The common emblem in *Lin'an* was actually an imitation from *Bianliang*.[13]

Among the various kinds of wine shops… the tea-and-food shops sell not only wine, but also various foods to go with it. However, to get seasonal delicacies not available in these shops, one should go to the inns, for they also have a menu from which one make selections. The pastry-and-wine shops sell pastries with duckling and goose fillings… but they are rather expensive. The mansion style inns are either decorated in the same way as officials' mansions or are actually remodelled from such mansions. The garden-style inns are often located in the suburbs, though some arc also situated in town. Their decoration is

usually an imitation of a studio-garden combination. Among other kinds of wine shops are the straight ones which do not sell food. There are also the small retail wine shops which sell house wine as well as wine from other stores. Instead of the common emblem — a painted branching twig-used be all other wineshops, they have bamboo fences and canvas awning. To go drinking in such a place is called hitting the cup, meaning that a person drinks only one cup: it is therefore not the most respectable place and is unfit for polite company. The "luxuriant inns" have prostitutes residing in them, and the wine chambers are equipped with beds. At the gate of such an inn, on top of the red gardenia lantern there is always a cover made of bamboo leaves. Rain or shine, this cover is always present - serving as a trademark…

…有茶饭店，谓兼卖食次下酒是也。但要索唤及时食品，知处不然，则酒家亦有单子牌面点选也。包子酒店，谓卖鹅鸭包子…此处易为支费。宅子酒店，谓外门面装饰如仕宦宅舍，或是旧仕宦宅子改作者。花园酒店，城外多有之，或城中效学园馆装折。直卖店，谓不卖食次也。散酒店，谓零卖…并折卖外坊酒。门首亦不设油漆杈子，多是竹栅布幕，谓之打碗，遂言只一怀也。却不甚尊贵，非高人所往。庵庐店，谓有娼妓在内，可以就欢，而于酒阁内暗藏卧床也。门首红桅子灯上，不以晴雨，必用窨匣盖之，以为记认…

As quoted in the above (DC3), the wineshops in *Lin'an* could provide various services ranging from direct wine sales, full menu services to extra services etc, and thus these wineshops together formed a fine-grained system that could cater to different customers. Remarkably, the hierarchical difference was legible from the patterns of the doorway, which were decorated with the luxuriously painted branching twig or the simple bamboo and canvas. To indicate the special type of service included, signs were also used like the red gardenia lantern. The top grade luxurious wineshops could also be prominent in other

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[13] " The doorways of the wine shops in the capital are all miniature towers with knotted multi-coloured bunting named 'the gates of happiness'"; 凡京师酒店，门首皆缚彩接欢门… (DC 2.5)

visual features, they were particularly eye-catching at night with the lanterns. However, to the lower standard eateries that sold only vegetarian or meat dishes, or special pastry and noodle (cf. ML11.4-5), such fine grained hierarchy both in functional and formal terms did not exist.

Thus, the place identity of the wineshop was mainly achieved through visual prominence of the fixed and semi-fixed physical features, and greatly enhanced with the functional uses when such a system exists. As all visual features lead to the functional differentiations, with which the locals used purposively to represent various separate wineshops into a hierarchical system.

6.3.2. Chafang 茶坊 — teahouse

Comparably, both from interior design themes to services types, the teahouses in *Lin'an* also followed *Bianliang's* tradition. They formed another functional group, based mainly on the types of services or rather the activities contained, but not so much closely related to physical features of each (DC5, translated after Yu, 1981):

> In large teahouses there are usually paintings and calligraphies by famous artists on display… Often many young men gather in teahouses to practice singing or playing musical instruments. To give such amateur performances is called "getting posted." A "social teahouse" is more of a community gathering place than a mere place that sells tea. Often tea-drinking is but an excuse, and people are rather generous when it comes to the tips. There is a special kind of teahouse where pimps and gigolos hang out. Another kind is occupied by people from various trades and crafts who use them as places to hire help, buy apprentices, and conduct business. These teahouses are called "trade heads." "Water teahouses" are in fact pleasure houses, the tea being a cover. Some youths are quite wilting to spend their money there, which is called "dry tea money."

大茶坊张挂名人书画…茶楼多有部人子弟占此会聚，习学乐器，或唱叫之类，谓之挂牌

儿。人情茶坊，本非以茶汤为正，但将此为由，多下茶钱也。又有一等专是娼妓弟兄打

聚处；又有一等专是诸行借工卖伎人会聚行老处，谓之市头。水茶坊，乃娼家聊设桌

凳，以茶为由，后生辈甘于费钱，谓之乾茶钱…

In the teahouse, drinking tea could just be the means for music instrument practicing and various social activities such as employment, business, or even prostitution. Thus the type of social activity could be the essence of the place for it to be represented in a system. Particularly, the differences might not manifest on the shop-fronts, but were encoded in their names that were only orally given by locals. As narrated in the above text, such jargon like 挂牌儿"getting posted" (amateur performance), 市头"trade heads" (business agent) and 水茶坊 "Water teahouses" (prostitution) etc. implied the type of teahouse and the desirable activities, comprehensible only to those who knew the connotation of the names.

Unlike wineshops that still had visual prominence to attract both old and new customers, teahouses lacked physical prominence in general. However, with the interior decoration and layout or with the activity patterns of the users, certain common identity could be established, particularly by the regular users, so that they would easily identify the place they wanted to go. This seemed to function in more subtle sense. Similarly, the 'secretive' naming system perhaps also existed in other cities in the region, and was not alienated to the targeted user group. Thus, the system of teahouse also worked well in the commercial world, probably in the more subtle way than the more explicit system of wineshop.

6.3.3. *Wa* 瓦 — *entertainment centre*

As discussed (cf. Yang, 1993, pp. 273-74), without distinctive formal features, *Wa* was actually a complex with many temporary settings. From the names of *Goulan* 勾栏 (railing)

and *Peng* 棚 (canopy), this complex seemed to contain some performing platforms that were covered by the canopy and encircled with railing and ropes.

For the purpose of entertaining the soldier or the populace, *Wa*(s) were distributed either near the city gates where garrisons were located, or closed to the busy parts within or outside the city (Figure 6-7 below). Thus, the general identity of *Wa* was actually derived from the dominant features adjacent to it. This is quite obvious by reading the names of the city's 17 *Wa*(s), which are listed in the table below:[14]

	Name of Wa	Gate	Hill	Bridge	Spatial relation
Within the city	Nanwa 南 south Wa				South
	Zhongwa 中 central Wa				Central
	Dawa 大 large Wa (shang upper, Xi west)				West, upper
	Beiwa 北 north Wa (Xia, lower)				North, lower
	Puqiaowa 蒲桥 Pu bridge Wa (Dong, east)			●	East
Outside the city	Beiguanmen 北关门	●			
	Bianmen Wa 便门	●			
	Genshan 艮山	●			
	Houchangmen Wa 候潮门	●			
	Jiahui 嘉会	●			
	Jianqiaomen (chongxinmen) 荐桥门(崇新)	●			
	Qianhumen 钱湖门	●			
	Xiaoyanmen Wa (Baoan) 小堰	●			
	Xinmen 新门	●			
	Chishan 赤山		●		
	Longshan 龙山		●		
	Caishi (caishi bridge) 菜市桥			●	
	XingchunQiao 行春桥			●	
	MishiQiao 米市桥			●	
	Yangfang bridge 羊坊桥			●	
	Wangjia bridge 王家桥			●	
	Beiguo 北郭				

Table 6-1. Names and distributions of *Wa*

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[14] According to texts written at different periods, the numbers of *Wa* were not the same. The 5 Wa(s) located within the city never changed, other 12 Wa(s) were noted in XH and ML, while additional 6 were mentioned in WL and XH.
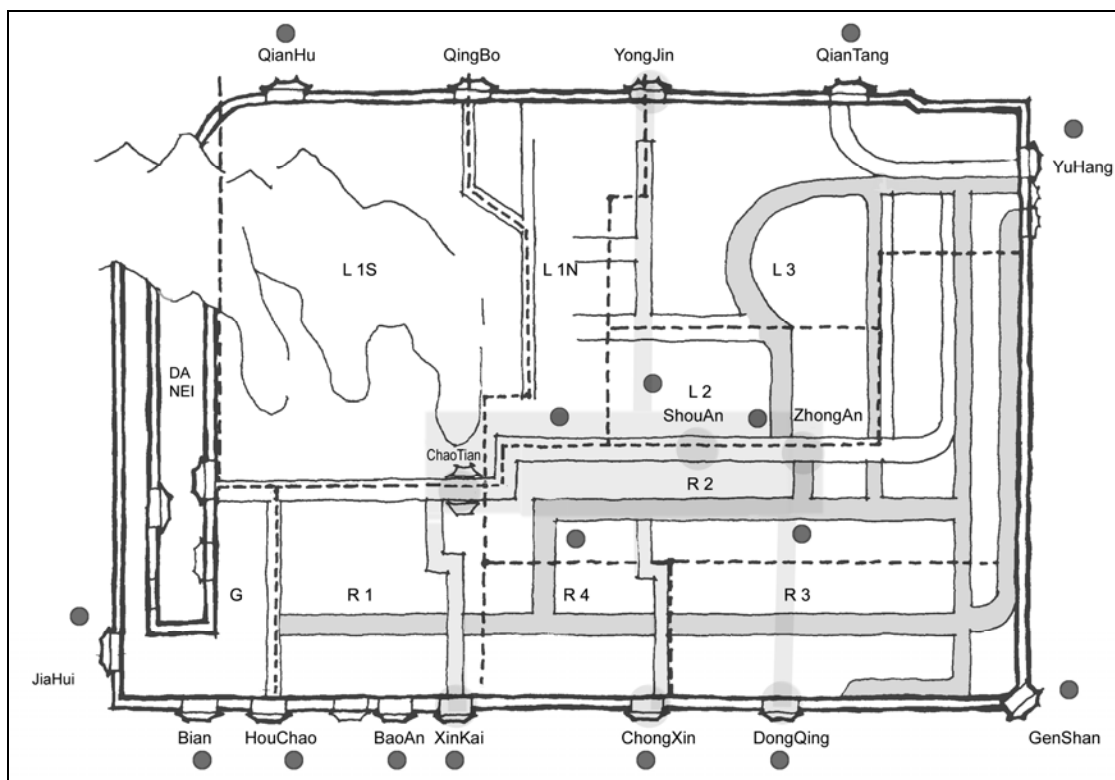
Figure 6-7. The distribution of Wa

The above table and diagram show that *Wa(*s) referred to one another based on the mutual spatial relationship, being named as the north, south, east and west in the whole system within the city. While outside the city's rampart, it was bridges, city gates and hills/mountains that gave *Wa* better legibility. In this sense, the cognitive parameters of this system were mainly derived from the adjacent physical entities, instead of the formal features of the *Wa*(s) themselves. Such feature was particularly evident on another type of entertainment setting that was mobile and even more formless (DC1):

> On the lot in front of the wall of Zhizhengfu, there are always various acting troupes performing, and this usually attracts a large crowd… The same kind of activity is seen in almost any vacant lot, including those at the meat market of Da Wa, the herb market at Charcoal Bridge, the book market at Juyuan Pavilion, the vegetable market on the east side of the city, and the rice market on the north side…

此外如执政府墙下空地诸色路歧人，在此作场，尤为骄阗…其他街市，如此空隙地段，

多有作场之人。如大瓦肉市、炭桥药市、橘园亭书房、城东菜市、城北米市…

In the above quotation, performance groups were found at different urban places on regular basis. The venues of various performances were remembered, next to various specialized markets of meat, herb, book, vegetable and rice.

Coming back to the system of *Wa*, *Wa* could be comparable in the system not only based on the mutual spatial relationship, but also on the difference in scale. As recorded in ML, as one of the most famous place for the historic storytelling, the largest North *Wa* contained 13 stage-sets and normally two were constantly on show, it was called *Da Wa*, the largest of all.

Thus, it was famous artists and titles of performance, as well as the famous markets and wineshops and the general agglomerated configuration that also helped to establish the identity of *Wa*(s). Actually, lacking dominant visual features, its identity relied more on the dominant urban features, such as adjacent city gates and bridges. The identity was also enhanced in a system by the spatial distribution of *Wa*(s) over the city as a whole, or by the difference in size/scale of the *Wa*(s).

6.4. The "time structure" of place systems

> …in the city, time becomes visible: buildings and monuments and public ways, more open than the written record, more subject to the gaze of many mean then the scattered artefact of the countryside, leave an imprint upon the minds even of the ignorant or the indifferent…by the diversity of its time-structure, the city in part escapes the tyranny of a single present, or the monotony of a future that consists in repeating only a single beat heard in the past.

As quoted above, the concept of a city's time structure was first introduced by Mumford (1938, p.4). This concept was relevant to the study, not with its original meaning but the extension proposed by Lynch. In the following section, focusing on the city during the time of seasonal festivals, I will apply this concept to the discussion of the premodern Chinese cities in general and *Lin'an* in specific.

6.4.1. The city's "time structure" and the folk festival

Following Mumford's definition, Mote (1977) observed that the premodern Chinese city generally lacked a time structure. Because few physical ruminant was preserved in the city as evidence showing its glories during different time periods, nor was there the architectural style that belonged distinctively to the certain time periods. The comment was up to the point in this sense.

However, with certain twist, the term could more effectively describe the features of the premodern Chinese cities. Lynch (1976) in describing the broader dimension of "time", coined the term "social image of time," which manifested itself both on the city's physical structure and the related behaviour pattern that could be observed in the city. The definition integrated the past, present and future aspects of a city, and particularly corresponded with the typical Chinese view of life, which emphasized the integration of

the past, present and future into a single cycle. Such a "time structure" manifested itself on the city especially during the folk festivals, and regulated the city with a temporal rhythm. Here, I need to emphasize that such time structure of a cyclical nature is different from the one of teleological nature as observed by Mumford and Mote. The use of "time structure" is a re-interpretation as it does not follow its original denotation.

To the Chinese, folk festivity related to various beliefs, as Gernet noted (1962, pp. 185, 179-197):[15]

> Nowhere else in the world has been such a passionate delight in festivals as in China. Nowhere else have festivals, ceremonies and minor annual rituals better been able to express the joys, aspirations and anxieties of an entire people. They not only served as a means of marking off the seasons, thus giving time its full weight and value, but they also expressed a certain understanding of life. … in main outline, the primary purpose of these annual festivals was to get rid of "breaths" that had become vitiated, of pestilences and demons, to recreate everything so that it should be new and pristine, to inaugurate a lucky period, and to open the way for beneficial influences. At the same time they offered entertainments which gave free rein to play-loving instincts, and times of merry-making during which the constraints of daily life could be forgotten.

In *Lin'an* during the Southern *Song* period, popular festivals included the three board types: the political festival, seasonal festival and religious festival. Among these, some were only celebrated by the court, or only for certain religious groups. But as a part of seasonal festivals, many religious festivals were more secularised and recreation oriented, thus they were popular and celebrated by all (Li, 1993, pp. 193-207). Descriptions of the folk

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[15] In general, linking to the worship of the soil, fertility and the ancestors, the earliest festivals were set to take place by the seasons of the year and by the food production cycle of north China. The ordering of these festivals remained basically stable after Han, supplemented with additions and adaptations from Buddhist or Daoist traditions. The present Chinese system of festivals is mainly a continuance from the Song, which was once again adapted from northern tradition to the different customs and climate of the Southern (Wilkinson, 1999, pp.186-187).

festivity were the most colourful parts in *Biji*(s), as will be discussed in the following sections.

6.4.2. Yuanxiao 元宵— the Lantern Festival

Yuanxiao 元宵, the Lantern Festival to celebrate the New Year, started on the 14th of the first moon and lasted for several days. It was a holiday of lanterns, plays, foods and drinks.

No matter in the back lanes or in the wide street, from Mountain *Dragon* to the *Beixin* Bridge, the whole length of the street (40 *li*) was lit up with lanterns. The most memorable places included the prefectural administrative city, the exotic scenes from the palaces of the royal family, court officials and the wealthy.[16] A variety of the lantern shows competed one another, the musical and dancing parades, people carried lanterns and gorgeous-dressed women wandered about the city. Here and there, delicacies were served; mansions, shops or private houses were magnificently decorated; sound of pipes and drums could be heard (ML 1.4; WL2.8; translated based on Gernet, 1962, pp.188-190 in this section unless otherwise specified).

A grand celebration was held in the Palace City. Only small groups of people were invited to observe the delicate lantern show (ML 2.3):

> In Imperial palace, 'a mountain made of coloured glaze was put up which measured 5 Zhang high [ca. 16m], figures were controlled by machine, it was stored in a big scaffolding… thousands of exotic kinds of multi-coloured lanterns were hung over, and in the centre other lanterns made of strips of jade form the four characters: Huang Di Wan Sui, 10-thousand years Emperor. On top of it court performer was playing, chanting. Below was a big platform where games and shows of all kinds were on. The court women and

over a hundred little eunuchs wearing turbans danced in a circle like marionettes. When the show was over, troupes of dancers from the town were allowed in as well as peddlers…

禁中尝令作琉璃灯山，其高五丈，人物皆用机关活动，结大彩楼贮之…山灯凡数千百种，极其新巧，怪怪奇奇，无所不有，中以五色玉栅簇成"皇帝万岁"四大字。其上伶官奏乐，称念口号、致语。其下为大露台，百艺群工，竞呈奇伎。内人及小黄门百余，皆巾裹翠蛾，傚街坊清乐傀儡，缭绕于灯月之下。既而取旨，宣唤市井舞队及市食盘架…

In general, the show was far from the spectacle of *Bianliang's*, which can be seen from the following (ML2.3):

…a big wooden platform was erected in front of Xuande Gate [the southern gate of Palace City], with painted immortals and status of deities, water flowing down and dragons. When emperor mounted Xuande Lou, facing the southern views of lanterns and his people, shares pleasure with his people', as on the inscriptions on the plaque, while all spectators looked up with reverence and cried "Ten-thousand years".

6.4.3. *Qingming* 清明— *the Pure & Bright*

Qingming 清明 (Pure and Bright), the festival to commemorate the deceased kins, was associated with a chain of events:

- Three days before it, *Hanshi* 寒食 (the cold food) was celebrated in the Palace City with a fire-making show, which symbolized the desire for renewal and purification. On the housing doors of the town folks, fresh brackets of willows were fixed. The whole city was decorated in green;

- At certain time before *Qingming*, a group of colourful attired courtesans and prostitutes paraded the busy streets of the city to promote the new wine sales;

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[16] Paraphrased based on XH, *街市点灯*: …巷陌爪札, 欢门挂灯, 南至龙山, 北至北新桥, 四十里灯光不

On the day of *Qingming*, the scene was even more spectacular (ML 2.4, cf. WL 3.4, XH, translated after Gernet, 1962, pp.192-193):

Whole population -officials, aristocrats, merchants, common people- made a general exit from the city to gather around the lake and on the surrounding hills. There was great congestion at the gates of the city. People went to the graves of their close kin, swept them, burnt sticks of incense and placed offering; others picnicked in the gardens at the edge of the lake to the west of the ramparts and in southern suburbs; others again hired boats on the lake which were painted in bright colours and decorated with fine carving, and watched dragon-boat jousts. All stayed until nightfall to enjoy the beauty of the scenery: reflections of pink-flushed clouds on the lake, a moon hanging from the willow branches. Then everyone returned to the city, men of the upper classes on horseback, astride magnificent saddles, the ladies in carry-chairs, and the common people on foot.

官员士庶，俱出郊省坟，以尽思时之敬。车马往来繁盛，填塞都门。宴于郊者，则就名园芳圃，奇花异木之处；宴于湖者，则彩舟画舫，款款撑驾，随处行乐。此日又有龙舟可观，都人不论贫富，倾城而出，笙歌鼎沸，鼓吹喧天，虽东京金明池未必如此之佳。殢酒食欢，不觉日晚。红霞映水，月挂柳稍…男跨雕鞍，女乘花轿，次第入城.

6.4.4. *The temporal rhythm of Lin'an*

Demonstrated in the above two festivals, with common themes of "lantern" or "green" (nature), the folks houses throughout the streets of the city linked with the Palace City, or with the suburban mountains, the West Lake etc. Thus, different urban places that had no sense of relationships at ordinary times were reorganized into new system. Features of urban places like foods, goods, decoration themes and the attire and activity patterns of the locals were synchronized under the same festive theme, which was sometimes

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绝。城内外有百万人家, 前街后巷, 僻巷亦然, 挂灯或用玉栅, 或用罗帛, 或纸灯, 或装故事, 你我相赛。州府和山栅三狱放灯, 公厅设醒, 亲王府第、中贵宅院, 奇巧异样细灯, 教人睹看.

legendary. There were more festivals throughout the year. Thus, various folk festivals

ordered the city with a temporal rhythm. Urban places of the routine monotony were

revitalized.

Lunar time	Name of festival	Generic pattern	Special activity and venue
1/1	Chunjie 春节 Spring Festival	Spring couplets, peach wood charms decoration; New clothes, pay new year call, play firecracker	Imperial grand audience at Lizheng Gate and Daqing Palace
~/1	Lichun 立春 Start of spring	Spring streamer, food plate, spring ox souvenir (1st agricultural period)	Official ceremony: Crane spring ox to mark the start of farming (in prefectural complex)
15/1	Yuanxiao 元宵 Lantern festival	Festive lantern show, plays and acrobats, feast and parade	Imperial lantern exhibition, wine & poem party (in Palace City)
15/2	Huachao 花朝 Flower festival	Flowers and fruits	Outing in the city's suburban gardens and monasteries
Early /3	Qingming 清明 Pure & Bright	Paper offerings to deceased kins, green trigs to decorate the house, cold foods	Official ceremony: Drill elm making fire (in prefectural complex); Grave sweeping and picnic in suburban mountains; boating in the West lake; New wine parade
8/4	Yufo 浴佛 Birth of Buddha	Toy: a small Buddha based in a basin	Fairs at shrines, Free captive animal at the West lake
5/5	Duanwu 端午 Dragon Boat	Ghost/plague exorcising plant, glutinous rice dumpling	Dragon boat race in Qiantang River at the east suburb
7/7	Qixi 七夕 Seven Night	the legend of Cowboy and Weave girl, pray for skill and happiness	Weaving competition in Palace City
15/7	Zhongyuan 中元	Ancestral sacrifice, vegetarian diet	Markets close for Hang's holiday, lantern on at night
8(9)/8	Liqiu 立秋 Start of autumn	Leaf of autumn tree, fruit and melon	Official ceremony: report the arrival of autumn (in prefectural complex)
15/8	Zhongqiou 中秋 Mid-autumn	Moon cake, wine, family reunion party; Appreciating moon and lantern	Night market, parade and lantern display; New wine parade; the tide bore and navy exercise on Qiantang
9/9	Chongyang 重阳 Double-Nine	Chrysanthemum wine, Chongyang cake flowers, lanterns	Climb high in the mountain, fairs at shrines and temples
22(3)/11	Dongzhi 冬至 Winter Solstice	Offer sacrifice to ancestor	Triennial grand astral rite at the Altar south to the city; 3 days close of Markets
30/12	Chuxi 除夕 New Year's Eve	Firecracker, lantern, feast, wait for new year to come	Troup from the Imperial City to exorcise ghost

Table 6-2. Selected folk festivals

As listed in the above table, each festival could link to a temporal place system under the

festive theme. Such temporal system could also be hierarchical, in the sense that the

physical features and activities pattern of the linked places differed from the commoner's

homes, markets throughout the city (trade fairs in monasteries) to the official mansions

(or the prefectural complex and the imperial palaces), or to the suburban scenery spots.

The festival could be celebrated in more formal sense, such as in the prefectural complex of the symbolic craning spring ox during *Lichun*, and the weaving competition in Palace City during *Qixi*, Or in much casual way with foods and outings by the locals.

Among this system, there always seemed a central part highlighting the common festive theme, such as along the Imperial Avenue and especially closed to the Palace City during the Lantern Festival, or at the west suburb surrounding the West Lake during *Qingming*, or the important monasteries during various Buddhist festivals.

In *Lin'an*, the colourful time structure mainly displayed through temporary features. Lanterns, green brackets, flowers, corresponding decorative themes, goods and foods, as well as the activity patterns of people could all be observed in rich perceptual features throughout the city. In contrast with the rigid imperial symbolism and ritualistic patterns of imperial ceremonies, seasonal folk festivals mostly related to the everyday life divertissements, which interpret the general beliefs of the agrarian society and deep rooted social psyche of man-heaven oneness in a more spontaneous manner.

On the practical side, the folk festival provided the best time for the town folks to celebrate family reunion or to go closer to the nature. It was also the best time for the merchants, who advertised their products and decorated their shop fronts with matching festive themes (there were also trade fairs held in the monasteries during religious festivals), so as to promote sales and secure themselves in the intense commercial competition.

Thus, the temporary place system linked up various features of the fixed settings and temporary settings, events undertaking with ideas and stories, synchronized the city with the rhythm of the nature and history. The diversity of time structure added up both to the broadness and deepness of the general cognition of urban places.

6.5. Multiple place systems: a section in the central market
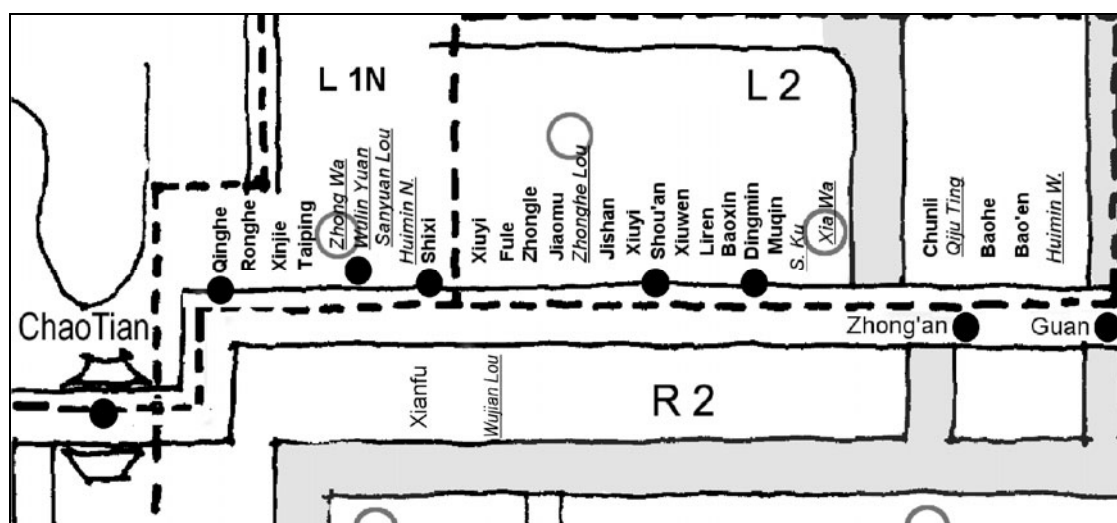
Figure 6-8. A section along the Imperial Avenue[17]

As shown in the diagram above, a section of the central market is enlarged for detailed

analysis. This urban section involves three residential wards: the LIN (Left I North ward)

and the LII (Left II ward) to the west of the Imperial Avenue, and the RII (Right II ward)

to its east. From functional component to cognitive feature, I will investigate how the

places/place systems were cognitively structured.

6.5.1. The functional components

Located at the busiest part of the central market, this section contains various commercial

and service settings, as well as offices, mansions and cultural settings etc,[18] both along the

central market and in the *Fang*(s) perpendicularly attached to it. The functional

components include the following types, based on XC 19.2, ML 7.8 and modern

researches (Lin, 1986; Yang, 1993; Que, 2000; cf. chapter 4.2):

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[17] This schematic diagram is drawn based on the map of the Imperial City and the Palace City in XC (cf. Figure 5-4, 5-8 in chapter 5)

[18] "…there are at least one or two village schools, family schools, private studios, or learning centres in every neighbourhood. Often the students' recitation of texts from one school is echoed by that of another…" (DC 14, 乡校，家塾，舍馆，书会，每一里巷须一两所，弦诵之声，往往相闻…)

	Fang	Commerce and service	Office, mansion and etc.	Cultural/religious setting
1	Qinghe		Opp. Chongyang Palace	
2	Ronghe	Pig intestines Market	Longxiang Palace	
3	Xinjie	Wujian Wineshop, Kugui Tea house		
*				Zhong Wa
*		Sanyan Wineshop		
*		The north branch of Huiming medical relief bureau		
4	Taiping	Taiping Wineshop		
5	Shixi	A former prefectural Market	The Execution ground	Shang Wa at the north
6	Xiuyi	The Meat Market		Da Wa
7	Fule	The Horse Market		
8	Zhongle	Zhong Wineshop (official)		
9	Jiaomu	Yingweng Wineshop (official)		
*		Zhonghe Wineshop		
10	Jishan			Puppet show
11	Xiuyi		Puppet show, shrine of Duke Dongping	
12	Shouan	The Flower & clothe Market		
13	Xiuwen		Jiangzuo Dept. (for imperial construction), war industry	
14	Liren	You's lacquerware shop		
15	Baoxin	The Scissor Market		
16	Anming	The Book Market		Baifu temple
17	Muqin	Muqin Hall for imperial juniors; School of ancestral learning		
*		The South Ku (official Wineshop)		
*				Xia Wa
18	Chunli	The Jingzi Wineshop	Mansions of Dukes	Tianchangjingxin temple
*			Qiju Ting	
19	Baohe	The Clay/wood toy Market		
20	Bao'en			Bao'en temple
*		The west branch of Huiming medical relief bureau		

Table 6-3. Functional components of the section (number-*Fang*, *-other facility)

6.5.2. Cognitive place system: ways of describing places

Functional categories in different spatial/temporal order

Comparing with DJ of *Bianliang*, the four urban texts of *Lin'an* were mostly structured in

the categorical order. As studied in section 6.3, different places were represented together

within the same functional group, which could have no spatial continuance. But rarely, the

narrative of *Shijing* 市井 (the Market) chapter in DC was structured with a continuous

spatial and temporal order, as if the author was reporting his real experiences while

walking along the street (DC 1):

During the morning hours, markets extend from Hening Gate of the palace all the way to the north and south sides of the New Boulevard. Here we find pearl, jade, talismans, exotic plants and fruits, seasonal catches from the sea, wild game - all the rarities of the world seem to be gathered here. The food and commodity markets at the Chaotian Gate, Qinghe Fang, Zhong Wa, Batou [Shixi Fang], the end of Shou'an Fang, Pengxin [Dingmin Fang], and Zhong'an Bridge are all crowded and full of traffic. In the evening, with the exception of the square in front of the palace, the markets are as busy as during the day. The most attractive one is in front of Zhong Wa, where all sorts of exquisite artefacts, instruments, containers, and hundreds of varieties of goods are for sale. In other marketplaces, sales, auctions, and exchanges go on constantly. The wine shops and inns business also thrives. Only after the fourth drum does the city gradually quiet down, but by fifth drum, court officials already start preparing for audiences and merchants are getting ready for the morning market again, this cycle goes on all year round without respite.

自大内和宁门外，新路南北，早间珠玉珍异及花果时新海鲜野味奇器天下所无者，悉集于此，以至朝天门、清河坊、中瓦前、灞头、官巷口、棚心、众安桥，食物店铺，人烟浩攘。其夜市除大内前外，诸处亦然，惟中瓦前最胜，扑卖奇巧器皿百色物件，与日间无异。其余坊巷市井，买卖关扑，酒楼歌馆，直至四鼓后方静；而五鼓朝马将动，其有趁卖早市者，复起开张。无论四时皆然。

Probably because this section of urban street was exclusively related to commercial transactions, the diversity and density of sales had made the author write his text with a more realistic continuous spatial order. In addition, the above described the general pattern related to sales, such as the variety of goods and the customer flows. It described the regular "heart-beat" of the city, which could happen on any day from early morning till late night. Rather differently, places could also be remembered without a spatial or temporal continuance, as demonstrated below (DC 1):

By far the most exciting time of the year is the Lantern Festival. Rows upon rows of businesses and private residences are all richly decorated, and numerous tents are set up for various spectacles and activities… During the Longxing reign, Gaozong and the Noble Ladies' Quarters were located at Zhong Wa, opposite the present imperial dye and bleach works [which belong to Xiunei Dept.]. Once, after performing the state sacrifice, Emperor Xiaozong stopped to see the lantern displays. We saw the rows of imperial attendants in front of the curtain of the Emperor's carriage, and the piles of cash that they spent to buy food…whenever there is an imperial procession or a religious parade, the carriages form a spectacular, long wall, the tip of one touching that of another.

如遇元宵尤盛，排门和买，民唇作观玩，幕次不可胜纪。隆兴间高庙与六宫等在中瓦，相对今修内司染坊看位观。孝宗皇帝孟享迴，就观灯买市，帘前排列内侍官峡行，堆垛见钱，宣押市食… 若遇车驾行幸，春秋社会等，连檐并壁，幕次排列。

With colourful memories of the significant past happenings such as the imperial visitation and procession, the past merged with the present. Thus, the time structure or the particular sense of the place and the place system were further enriched.

<u>Functional categories with realistic or "abstract" features</u>

In terms of the functional differences, various shops and markets in the central market were represented in the text, mainly with realistic descriptions of the physical attributes of goods displayed and traded. Probably the physical features of the buildings or structures were rather similar or not so relevant to the author's purpose of writing, as not so much descriptions were given, as shown in the chapter of *Puxi* 铺席 (special stores, DC11; cf. ML13.4):

The commercial area of the capital extends from Qinghe Fang… includes the square in front of Zhongwa, which is also called the Center of Five Flowers. From the north side of Wujianlou to Guanxiang along South Imperial Avenue, there are more than one hundred

gold, silver, and money exchanges. On the short walls in front of these stores, there are piles of gold, silver, and copper cash: these are called "the money that watches over the store." Around these exchanges there are also numerous gold and silversmiths. The pearl marts are situated between the north side of Ronghe Fang and Shinan Fang. Most deals made here involve over 10,000 cash. A score of pawnshops are scattered in between, all owned by very wealthy people and dealing only in the most valuable objects. Some famous fabric stores sell exquisite brocade and fine silk which are unsurpassed elsewhere in the country. Along the river, close to the Pingjing Bridge [inside Xianfu Fang], there are numerous fabric stores, fan shops, and lacquerware and porcelain shops…

都城天街，旧自清河坊…中瓦前谓之五花儿中心，自五间楼北，至官巷南御街，两行多是上户金银钞引交易铺，仅百余家，门列金银及见钱，谓之看垛钱，此钱备入细算请钞引，并诸作匠炉韛纷纭无数。自融和坊北至市南访，谓之珠子市头，如遇买卖，动以万数。间有府第富室质库十数处，皆不以贯万收质。其他如名家彩帛铺堆上细匹段，而锦绮缣素，皆诸处所无者。又有大小铺席，皆是广大物货，如平津桥沿河，布铺、扇铺、温州漆器铺、有白碗器铺之类…

Furthermore, as different trades within the central market also thrived at other places throughout the city, certain attribute of places such as the type of goods or services could link places without spatial continuance into a system, as discussed previously. Based on the exotic goods and delicious foods associated with various places, places were linked up as described in the following (DC 2):

…in general, the capital attracts the greatest variety of goods and has the heat craftsmen. For instance, the flower company at Shou'an Fang does a truly excellent job of flower arrangement, and its caps, flair-pins, and collars are unsurpassed in craftsmanship. Some of the most famous specialties of the capital are Zao'er Water in front of Zhong Wa, the sweet-bean soup at the Zamai field, the pickled dates of the Ge family, the thick soup of the Guang family at Guan Xiang, the fruit at the Da Wa, the cooked meats in front of Eternal

Mercy Temple, Sister Song's fish broth at Qiantang Gate, the juicy lungs at Yongjin Gate, the "lamb rice" of the Zhi family at Zhong Wa, the boots of the Peng family, the fine clothing of the Xuan family at Nan Wa, the sticky rice pastry of the Zhang family, the flutes made by Ku the Fourth [at Houchao Gate], and the Qiu family's Tatar whistles at Da Wa.

...大抵都下万物所聚，如官巷之花行，所聚花朵、冠梳、叙环、领抹，极其工巧，古所无也。都下市肆，名家驰誉者，如中瓦前皂儿水，杂卖场前甘豆汤，如戈家蜜枣儿、宫巷口光家羹、大瓦子水果子、寿慈宫前熟肉、钱塘门外宋五嫂鱼羹、涌金门灌肺、中瓦前职家羊饭、彭家油靴、南瓦宣家台衣、张家圆子、候潮门顾四笛、大瓦子丘家隼集之类。
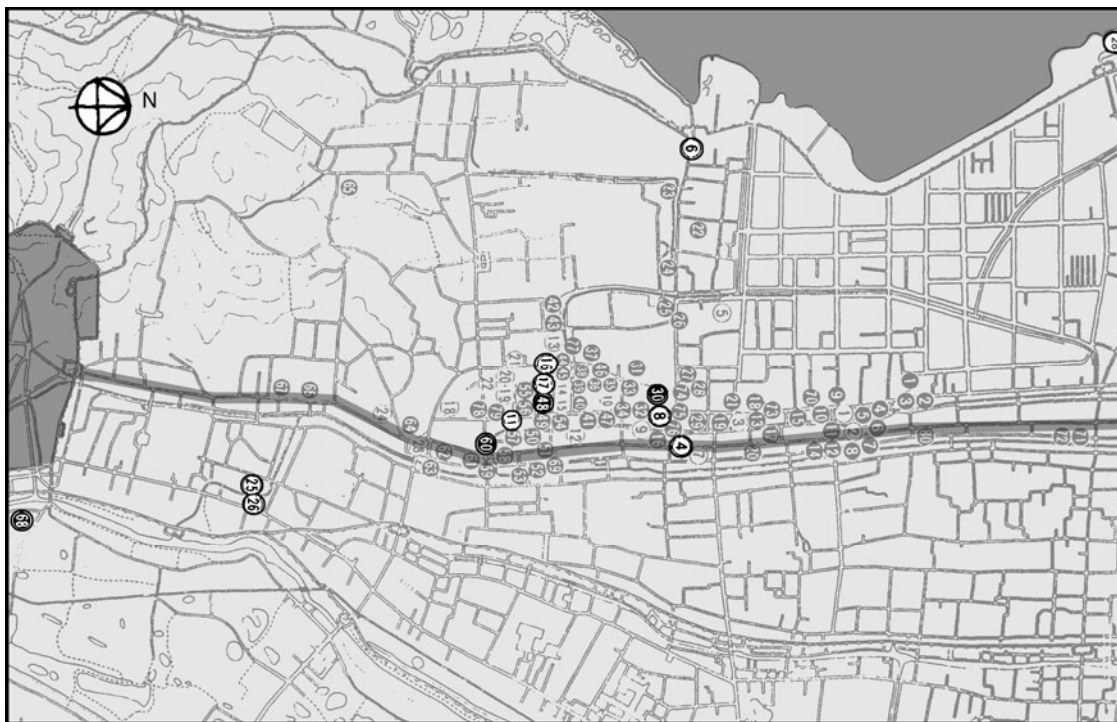
Figure 6-9. Various special places

As shown in the above diagram and table below, various places mentioned are marked with numbers. Those places marked did not have spatial continuance, neither were they within a single functional group. The cognitive clarity or the identity of the place was mainly achieved by anchoring to the dominant structures adjacent to it, such as *Wa(s)*, *Xiang*, city gates, temple or special field. And remarkably, the identity of the place was also

conceptually associated with a person's family names.

Item	Place associated	Name associated	Location on the map
Zao'er Water	Zhong Wa		16
Sweet-bean soup	Zamai field		26
Pickled dates		Ge family	25
Thick soup	Guan Xiang	Guang family	1
Fruit	Da Wa		8
Cooked meats	Eternal Mercy Temple		4
Fish broth	Qiantang Gate	Sister Song	27
Juicy lungs	Yongjin Gate		6
Lamb rice	Zhong Wa	Zhi family	17
boots		Peng family	48
fine clothing	Nan Wa	Xuan family	60
sticky rice pastry		Zhang family	11
flutes	Houchao Gate	Ku the Fourth	68
Tatar whistles	Da Wa	Qiu family	30

Table 6-4. Place system with exotic foods and goods

Actually, this place system was purposively structured according to the types of the exotic

goods and delicacies, each place associated could not be compared like the system of

wineshop, teahouse and *Wa* discussed previously, as they were not within a single

functional group. They were structured mainly to complete such a system with the

concept of prosperity and diversity, instead of the realistic functional relevance, in this

sense they were represented with more "abstract" place parameters.

6.5.3. The valence of urban places

In this urban section, the text descriptions also revealed different cognitive valence of

various nodes, some of which seemed to have higher valence. As marked with the large

black dots on Figure 6-8 above, the accentuated nodes include *Qinghe*, *Shixi*, *Shou'an*,

Dingmin; *Wulinyuan* Wineshop; *Chaotian* Gate and *Zhong'an* Bridge, *Guan* Bridge.[19] In what

sense did these nodes have higher cognitive valence?

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[19] In the original *Song* version as shown in Figure 1 appendix J, *Qinghe, Shixi* and *Wulin* etc. were marked
with larger characters, indicating the particular cognitive valence of these three nodes.

These nodes were mainly prominent either in the formal features or in the functional contents. The valence of these nodes were partly due to visual prominence of the buildings/structures that made up the nodes, such as those wine-shops with luxurious scaffoldings (*Wulinyuan*, cf. section 6.3.1), or those in the surrounding, such as the city gates (*Chaotian*), bridges (*Zhong'an* and *Guan*) and *Fangbiao* (*Qinghe*, *Shou'an* etc.). On the other hand, the bustling scenes of the diverse goods, foods, posters, the interactions among people could all enhance the place's cognitive valence.[20]

The texts only represented certain place systems structured based on the context of personal everyday life enjoyments. There would be unlimited place systems, or a place could be linked up into multiple systems by certain property of it. It seemed that the more the place appeared in various place systems, the higher its valence. *Zhong Wa* was such a place of the higher valence, as it is associated with various facts including foods (*Zao'er* water, lamb rice), memories (the past presence of the emperor and the imperial concubine, general boisterous scenes and especially the night market for various sales, auctions etc) and physical features (plaza and luxuriously decorated shopfronts) etc. Thus, with overlapping, these nodes could achieve higher valence.

In essence, these nodes are more important in the cognitive system than in physical world. They function as "anchor points" not merely in spatio-physical sense, but are relevant more in complex real life context. Places always have physical component and help to achieve legibility, but this does not always require physical prominent cues. Sometimes physical cues function in more subtle way that are only comprehensible to the targeted users; or they could be less physically prominent but embedded with legible non-physical components, like name and idea of more abstract nature, particularly in a system.

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[20] In particular, human agency could be an important cognitive element that displayed as the pattern of higher concentration, as happened in the most quoted *Shou'an Fang* and in front of *Zhong Wa*.

6.6. Critical inquiries: cognitive urban structure on everyday life

With the study on the basic urban system of everyday life, including the street/market and various functional systems, I have particularly looked at the different ways of representing places into system, which were based either on various functional/utilitarian interpretation of the selected features of place, or on the pattern of cyclical folk custom/festivity. In general, folk place system formed under such condition are less stable or more dynamic in nature, as not always these systems are closely associated with dominant physical components, but more link to those with homogenous features.

Referring to the following diagram and table, I will concentrate on the wineshop, teahouse and *Wa*, as well as the central market for the discussion of folk places and place systems. The analyses deal with the conceptual folk system with special reference to the overall structure of the city.
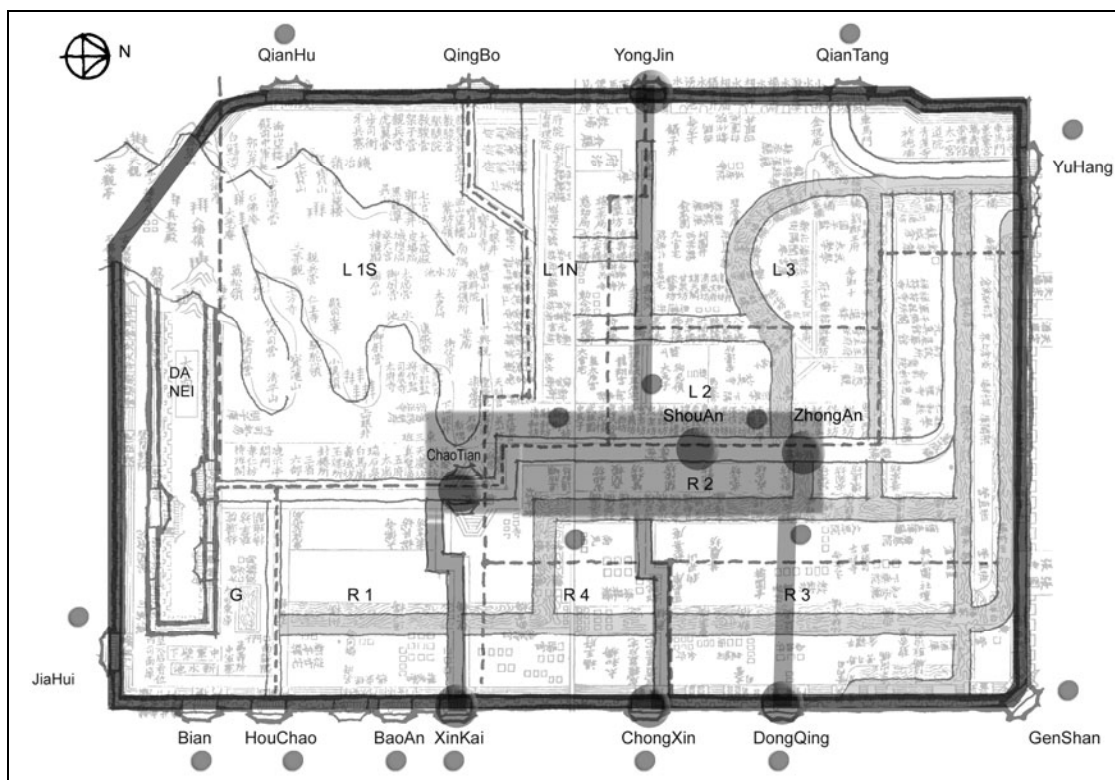
Figure 6-10. The structure of ordinary urban place

Element	Place				Place system	
	Fixed setting	Temp. setting	Activity	Conception	Integrated aspects	Relating to other or overall systems
Wineshop	●	●	○	●	●	○
Teahouse	○	○	●	●	○	○
Wa	x	○	x	●	○	○

Table 6-5. Places and place systems on everyday life (●- strongest, ○-average, x-weak)

6.6.1. Spatio- formal cues vs. functional cues

In terms of detailed parameters, the above places are rather different. The wineshops had more prominent fixed and temporary features; whereas teahouse, *Wa* and other settings on the central market did not have such prominent fixed features. And while activity patterns of the peoples in *Wa* were more spontaneous and simultaneous, in teahouses and wineshops the activities were more predictable.

In essence, the folk system was "use-oriented" conceptual system. These folk place systems had distinctive functional relevance, often related to the utilitarian aspects and everyday life styles of the users, such as various services of the wineshops, related social happenings in the teahouses, or the particular performances within the *Wa*. Folk places could be fit into place system based on certain properties of them. Take the case of the wineshop, duplicated throughout the city, it was the goods, foods and services that mattered for the town folks and that could bring identity to the place within a system without relying on specific spatio-physical features. In this sense, the spatial and formal features could only be secondary, as they were associated with the functional aspects. The detailed spatial and formal cues were also relevant in the folk places, mainly for general identity.[21] For example, the common emblem of wineshop that distinguished itself out of the chaotic surroundings was suggestive of the service available.

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[21] General beliefs and values of ordinary town folks were also embedded into many temporary settings like streamers, flowers, lanterns etc, especially during folk festivals. Such symbolic system was widely understood, and helped to link various places of the city into a coherent system.

Folk systems could be spatially anchored to prominent physical structures for legibility, using local references. However, they could also refer to the global system, for example, the folk systems could also be conceptualised based on the wholesale pattern in relation to the cardinal directions of the city, "as in a folk saying, 'east vegetable, west water, north rice, south charcoal,' it is for the daily consumptions".[22]

Thus, contrasting with the hierarchy and order of the imperial cosmological symbolism, the folk system was conceptualized based on the everyday life context of the locals. The ordinary urban places became famous mostly by the functional/utilitarian aspects to the local users, like famous foods and exotic goods involved with the place. The fixed and temporary features of settings, as well as activity patterns, ideas and meanings all contributed to the valence of place. In this sense, mainly through spatio-formal cues and functional cues, or associated with multi-sensory perceptual and cognitive aspects of the users, these places functioned in system. They were "use-oriented" with individual differences and normally more associated with temporary features, and thus multifaceted and more dynamic in nature.

6.6.2. The interlinked folk place systems

The texts only represented certain place systems that were structured based on the theme of diversity and prosperity in the context of personal everyday life enjoyments, which was much more complex than the travel plan discussed in chapter 2.3.3. As long as place they were structured meaningfully to the daily life context of the locals, there would be unlimited place systems, or a place could be linked into multiple systems by certain property of it. Thus, folk place systems were lacking of a uniform theme. Or, if there was a common theme, it should be the merry-making lifestyle of the town folks with the

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[22] ML18. 谚云: "东菜西水, 南柴北米", 杭之日用是也.

backdrop of diversity and prosperity, as discussed in chapter 3.

During the Southern *Song* period, the large population of the diverse cultural background from the South and the North partly accounted for the rapid development of the city's service sectors. Shops and other facilities spread the city and were accessed day and night. Thus, a dense network that contained a fine grain of service could emerge and further formed various functional categories. The street scenes were more hectic and homogeneous in general; it was the various functional themes and festive themes etc. that organized various places into legible systems out of chaos.

In detail, the place system on functional cues could follow a continuous spatial and or temporal order, or non-continuous order both in spatial and or temporal senses. As cognitive place systems could be structured based on the cues such as the type or quality of goods, services and activities, undergoing the so-called order-preserving cognitive process, which did not need a spatial or temporal continuance (cf. chapter 2.2.3). Furthermore, this functional system could rely on realistic features of place, or rather "abstract" aspects of it. Remarkably, under common festive themes, temporary place system could be structured by synchronizing various features of urban places with the rhythm of the nature and history, this forms distinctive "time structure" of the city. Within the interlinked place system the cognitive valence of certain nodes could be enhanced and became more legible. All these added up to the complexity and legibility of the urban system.

Comparatively, Marco Polo's (Halsal, 1996; Yule, 1903) understanding of the city was mainly a visual report about what were there and how did them looked like, lacked such complexity and clarity:

In this part are the ten principal markets, though besides these there are a vast number of others in the different parts of the town. The former are all squares of half a mile to the side, and along their front passes the main street, which is 40 paces in width, and runs straight from end to end of the city, crossing many bridges of easy and commodious approach. At every four miles of its length comes one of those great squares of 2 Miles (as we have mentioned) in compass. So also parallel to this great street, but at the back of the market places, there runs a very large canal …

6.6.3. Folk place system and the overall structure of the city

The physical elements in folk places were generally homogenous and lacked prominent fixed features, except for those luxuriously decorated shop fronts, façade of the wineshops and restaurants etc. The places could have functional valence, known for certain kinds of goods and services, or as activities nodes with the high concentration of goods and people, located within the city or around city gates with intensive accesses by the town folks. However, the spatial clarity of the place still needs to anchor to the prominent fixed features adjacent to it.

As mentioned, various cognitive place systems discussed often existed in the *local* reference system. Although the common wineshops, teahouses and especially the *Wa*(s) in the city did not have former valence and spatial clarity, except for those luxurious wineshops, teahouses located at the central market (normally closely linked to *Wa*), or near the city gates (ML11.1-3), as they could anchor to the adjacent prominent spatio-physical features. Visual permanent settings were often used as anchor points for spatial reference. Thus, places that were located at convenient transport nodes such as crossroads, bridges or city gates etc. had easy spatial orientation, while those that mixed in the busy urban quarters normally lacked spatial clarity, as the references were sometimes confusing, cross-referencing one another.

In general, the folk system constitutes many flexible layers over the multi-layered place system of the city. Its spatial clarity can be influenced by the referencing system chosen, the more an element is associated with the city's official (especially the imperial) structure including the spatio-physical prominent city rampart, gates, central avenues etc, the better cognitive clarity it could achieve.

Notably, it was unlikely that the folk place used the similar references as the official system.[23] *Fang*(s) were often used as reference besides city gates, as they were officially defined and could also had visual prominence with the presence of the memorial archways. The official *Fang* were defined (with coherent themes) in roughly global reference system similar as city gate, i.e. their spatial properties could be referred to from the city scale. However, contradictory to the study on folk names that often used the bridge as place reference that were mostly on the local level, bridges were rarely used in official *Zhi*. However, this official system did not seem to well conceived and used by town folk, partly because this system was already eroded and lost contingency, as discussed in chapter 4. Thus, the officially represented *Fang* with it formal name and physical structure was unlikely used as anchor point in the folk system.

However, *Fang* could be used as anchor point when it had achieved certain cognitive prominence through overlapping of different place systems. Some nodes like certain *Fang*, wineshop, bridge or *Wa* etc, could serve as anchor points or anchor point system on the secondary level. Thus, in the overall structure of the city, the overlapping of the place system provides more references to various places in the city, and helped to achieve a complex yet legible overall cognitive urban system.

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[23] In XC18, city gates were defined when introducing the city as a whole with astral relationship, XC19, boroughs were defined, then wards with their official and folk names, with hints of spatial relationship with other wards or key structures; followed by was Shi, Wa (XC 21) and then bridges (ML7, 13).

Chapter 7. The multi-layered cognitive structure of the city: a conclusion

7.1. General aspects

To understand the city as a multi-layered place system with constant person-environment interaction/transaction, as discussed, could benefit urban researchers with a basic framework of analysis. Within this framework, various issues about the city and its inhabitants could be tackled systematically, from the larger social issues to the minute everyday life details.

In general sense, urban design is about the making of place, which results not only from conscious physical design/planning, but also from mental constructions through uses and senses. Linking the uses and senses of person with the features of environment and integrating physical and non-physical elements of place into a unit of analysis, the theoretical framework thus could effectively apply to the study of the placing making of the city.

The person-environment approach could be particularly relevant to the study of Imperial Chinese cities. Taking *Lin'an* as a specific case, the study of its urban system could cover the structural social aspects and the detailed everyday aspects. Thus, various features of the city could be consistently and systematically explored to achieve both the clarity of structure (the basic urban category) and the complexity of details (the imperial system and the folk system).

In the context of place, the duality of the imperial - folk place systems displayed prominently on the imperial Chinese cities, but it differed in degree mainly depending on the kind of interplay between the autonomy of state power and the development of urban economy. *Lin'an* was more evident with the confrontation and compromise of the two

systems, thus formed the distinctive urban features.

To this capital city of the South, *Lin'an* was considered as a bureaucratic state and administrative city in the transition to a mercantile city in general social context. However, the transition never took place, or in other words, *Lin'an* could never become an equivalence of the European mercantile city, because it was strictly controlled with the omnipresent imperial system. The setting up of *Lin'an* as a state capital involved a dual process: one was to overlay the "power system" over the city to order the state symbolically; another was to reorganize the "wealth system" of the city to cope with the urban growth.

Both in the general layout and detailed features, *Lin'an* was a particular capital city of the imperial era. On the one hand, this Southern capital lacked such regular patterns and strong symbolism manifested on those typical Northern capitals; on the other hand, compared with other earlier capitals, the common urban sectors were particularly active accompanied with the rapid commercial development of the city.

7.2. Imperial place system vs. folk place system

The duality of the imperial and the folk place systems constituted the key physical contrast of the city. The grandiose monumentality of the imperial system vividly contrasts with the homogenous common urban quarters, forming a basic urban category in the imperial Chinese context. This category could be systematically analysed with a transactional view (the three parameters of place) or a interactional view (the content aspects and process aspects).

Referring to Table 7-1 below, with a transactional view, the contrast is the regularity and hierarchical order of the imperial system vs. spontaneity and homogeneity of the folk system in spatio-physical context; in behavioural context, it is the restrictive and set patterns with symbolic relevance of the former vs. the improvised and spontaneous patterns with utilitarian relevance of the latter; in conceptual context, it is the imposing conscious social orders of the political ordering and the stable and shared meaning of the imperial system vs. relating to the everyday life and the flexible utilitarian interpretation of the folk system.

Parameter	Imperial system (official place system)	Folk place system
Formal feature	Regularity and hierarchical order in general layout, scale, permanent design themes based on social hierarchy and symbolic relevance	Spontaneity and homogeneity in general layout, design themes, dynamic temporary features with utilitarian relevance
Activity	Restrictive and set pattern corresponding to the social norms embedded in the place (name etc); symbolic relevance with significance (social relevance)	Improvised, spontaneous pattern corresponding to everyday life style (ordinary and festive themes), utilitarian relevance with individual choices
Conception	Encoding the power structure, value and significance, symbolic (ideological-cosmological) interpretations; stable representation	Reflecting utilitarian values and everyday life style, functional or multi-sensory interpretations; flexible and dynamic representation

Table 7-1. A comparison (transactional view): imperial place system vs. folk place system

Parameter	Imperial system (official place system)	Folk place system
Modalities /contents (noticeable cues)	Formal and hierarchical cues of the fixed and temporary spatio-physical features, activity pattern and building/place names.	Improvised utilitarian aspects or spatial features, mainly from temporary features with seasonal changes.
Process/level of interaction	Visual and symbolic aspects, Perceptive/cognitive and esp. evaluative aspects, stable and abstract. The purposive political control, focusing on the social value, the "power" structure	Multi-sensory perceptual/cognitive aspects, responsive, multifaceted and dynamic. The purposive, direct and spontaneous everyday life interactions focusing on uses

Table 7-2. A comparison (interactional view): imperial place system vs. folk place system

With an interactional view referring to Table 7-2 above, different place systems could further be understood from the modalities (noticeable cues) used and the process/level of the people-place interaction.

The imperial system is "value-encoded", in the sense that all noticeable spatio-physical cues of the fixed and temporary features are conceptualized in close relation to the deep rooted system of social value or the "power" system, with the sense of permanence and prominence, reflecting the strong and purposive political control over the city. Strictly regulated meanings, formal features, activity conducted in rigid spatial and temporal terms, all act as cues for a person's conduct, or the proper function of the society as a whole. Such significant understanding is compulsory and not subject to any individual interpretation.

On the other hand, the folk system is "use-oriented" and serves as the container for spontaneous everyday life interactions of the town folks. Various places could link up into different place systems based on certain physical or non-physical cues, relating to the direct visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile, gustatory senses or other functional aspects on the more direct perceptual/cognitive levels. These place systems are use-oriented with individual differences and normally more associated with temporary features, and thus multifaceted and more dynamic in nature.

7.3. The multi-layered cognitive structure of the city

In *Lin'an*, the imperial place system and the folk place system were structured with different cognitive prominence. They acted as two distinctive layers over the multi-layered cognitive structure of the city.

- The physical elements in the imperial system shaped the basic framework of the city, especially with the overwhelming scale and permanent features. The strong visual valence was further reinforced with uses and senses, ordered the city into a coherent system, which could be conceived without ambiguity. The imperial place system referred more to a global system, as the overall spatial property of the imperial system was understood in relation to social norms, astral analogy and other correlative thinking. This system could be rather independent of the existing conditions, and stand alone with the sense of permanence and prominence, and thus could act as the basic layer of the overall structure of the city.

- The physical elements in folk places were generally homogenous and lacking in prominent fixed features. Associated with the everyday life aspects of the town folks, these places could be functional nodes or activity nodes. They referred more to various local systems, because in terms of spatio-physical properties, these systems need anchoring to more prominent physical features for cognitive clarity, thus they constituted many flexible layers of the overall structure of the city on the secondary levels.

For the overall urban system structured with the multi-layers, each layer could parallel a place system based on certain attribute of it and related to the cognitive representation of it at different levels. There could be more layers on the lower levels. Different layers were not isolated and separated from one another, but interlinked, overlapped and referred to one another. Thus, with interlinking and overlapping, the use values of urban places were matched and a higher level of signification was attained in the overall cognitive structure of the city. In such way, this cognitive system also achieved complexity and clarity, as

concluded in the following table, the aggregate diagram (Figure 7-1) and the dissected

diagram below (Figure 7-2):

	The place system	Related aspects	Explanation
Layer I	The imperial system: Overall layout of the two walled cities and major city gates, the Imperial Avenue, imperial offices and other settings etc.	This layer had strong visual valence, augmented with ideal conception and formal events	The official system: Mainly related with fixed features or permanent set-ups as "hard fact", and were more fixed in terms of system stability, thus could be used as the basic reference system of the cognitive urban structure
Layer II	Other official system: Other dominant physical nodes strategically located, like other city gates, memorial archways, bridges, important settings etc.	Augmented by general spatial orientation and intensive accesses: transportation and transaction	
Layer III	Activity nodes or anchor points system within various *Fang*(s) and *Wa*(s) along the Central Market, luxurious wineshops and restaurants that have physical prominence	Augmented by various temporary features, activity pattern like density, performance	The folk system: Mainly related to semi-fixed features and non-fixed features of places, the so-called "soft fact", i.e. temporary settings and activity patterns, it needs anchor to dominant node for spatial clarity.
Layer IV	Subsystems constructed on hierarchical functional uses, like specialized market, *Wa*(s), wineshops and teahouse etc.	Augmented by various functional aspects etc.	

Table 7-3. The multi-layered cognitive urban system
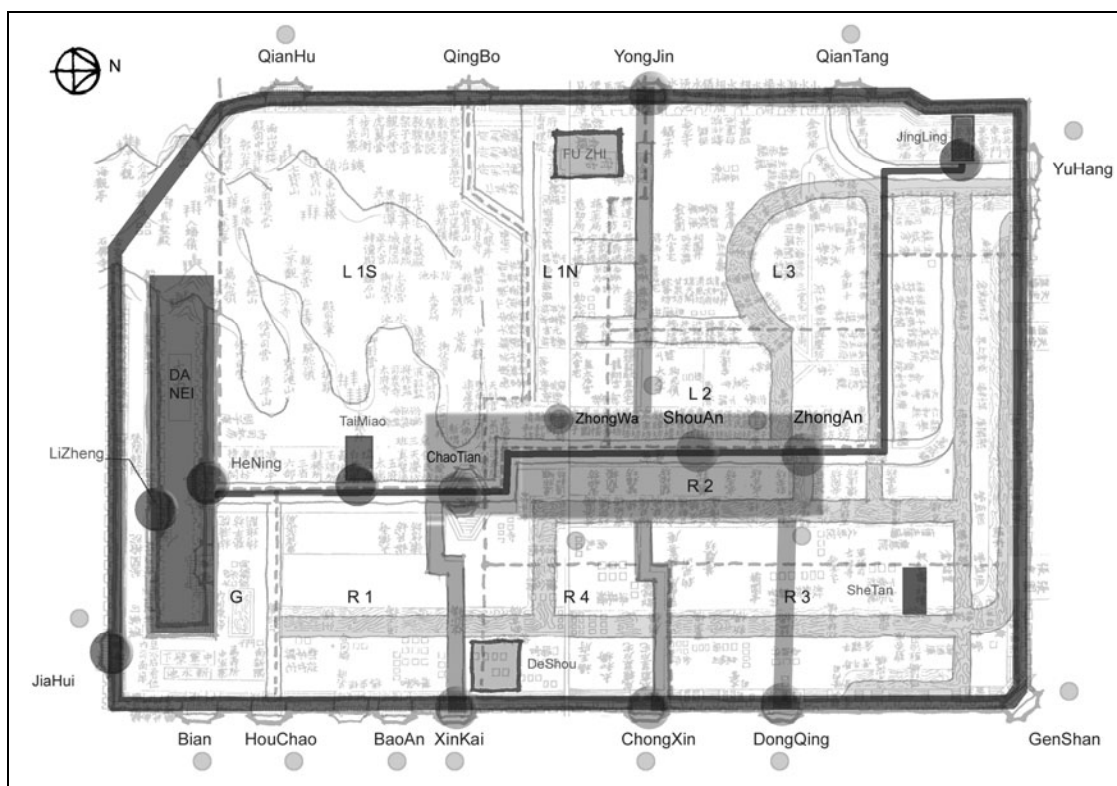
Figure 7-1. The key cognitive framework of *Lin'an*
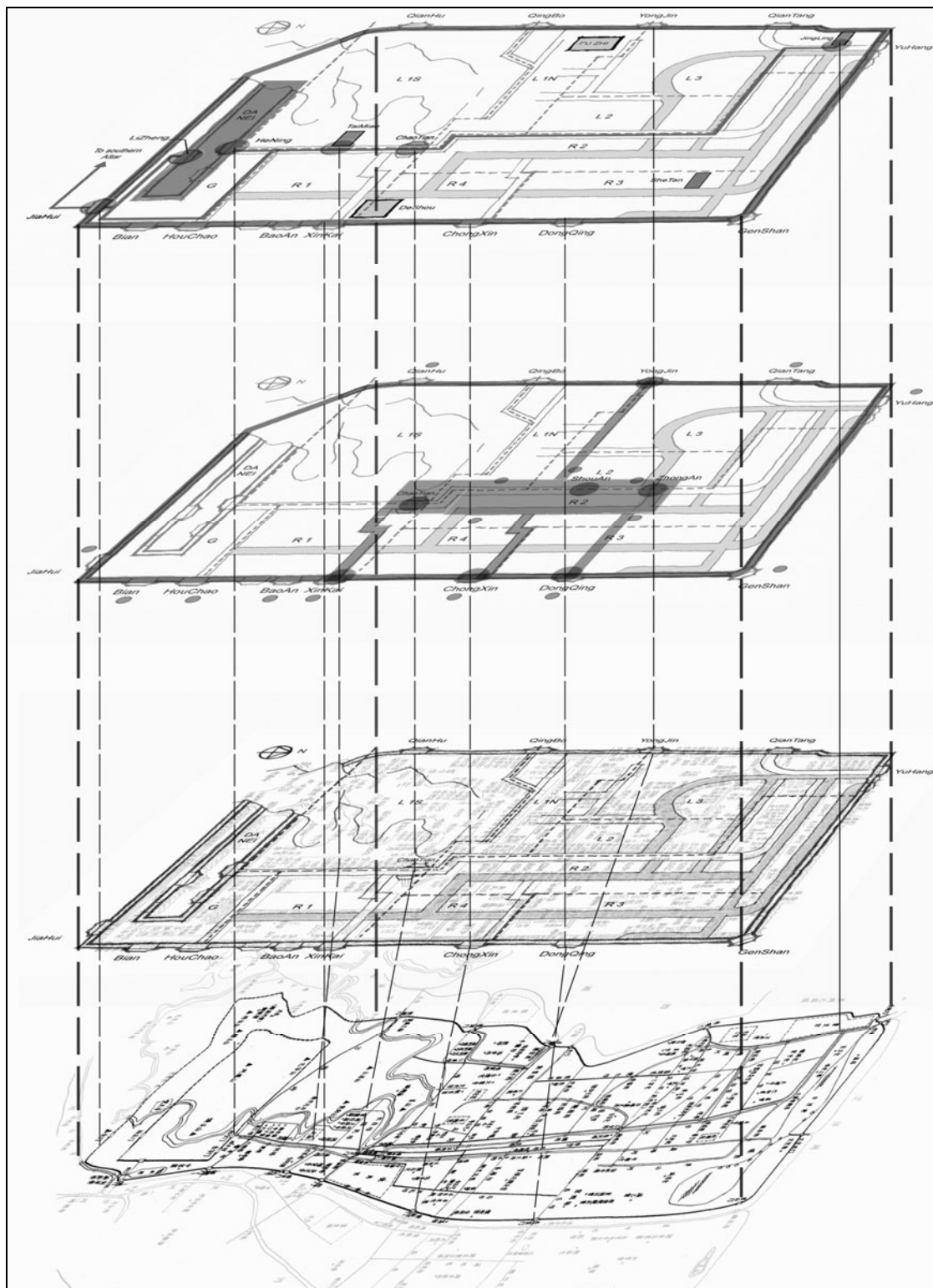
Figure 7-2. The interlinking and overlaying of place systems

7.4. Final remarks

Within this complex cognitive urban system, as elaborated above, various person-place mappings of the city are both person and environment dependent. The mapping of the city can be done for a particular urban activity or festivity, or by a particular user group (officials, commoners etc.) from the way that they associate themselves with the place (social significance, utilitarian value etc). Many of these mappings can then be used to construct the multivalent and multi-dimensional city structure.

This structure of the city derived is complex yet legible, not alienated to the contemporaries. Rapoport's (1977) had attributed the particular charm of the traditional urban forms to the widely shared meanings among residents. This also applied to *Lin'an*, in which various features in both spatio-physical and psycho-social dimensions were largely understood among the populace.

The contribution of this study to the understanding of *Lin'an* in specific and the imperial Chinese cities in general, lies with both the systematic framework reconstructed (mainly starting from the spatial cognitive studies) and detailed aspects analyzed (the selected official and folk systems). For future directions of the study, I expect more social theories to be incorporated into the theoretical part, such as social theories on power structure and mass consumption; as well as more detailed cases to be taken in the second part, such as the study of monasteries, gardens etc.

ABBREVIATION

Abbreviation	Title
QD	Qiandao Linan Zhi 乾道临安志
CY	Chunyou Linan Zhi 淳祐临安志
XC	Xianchun Linan Zhi 咸淳临安志
DJ	Dongjing Menghua Lu 东京梦华录 The dream of Dongjing
DC	Ducheng Jisheng 都城纪胜 The wonders of the capital
XH	Xihulaoren Fansheng Ji 西湖老人繁胜录 Many marvels of Hangzhou
ML	Meng Liang Lu 梦梁录 The past seems a Dream
WL	Wulin Jiushi 武林旧事 Old stories of Hangzhou
MP	The travel notes of Marco Polo
PJ	Pingjiang Tu 平江图 Pingjiang Map
QM	Qingmingshanghe Tu 清明上河图 Up the river during Qingming Festival
GS	Gusufanhua Tu 姑苏繁华图 Flourishing scenes of Gusu
JD	Jingding Jiankang Zhi 景定建康志 Jiankang Zhi in the Jingding Period
SHY	Songhuiyao Jigao 宋会要辑稿 Song's governmental compilation
SHYX	Songhuiyao Jigao Bubian 宋会要辑稿补编 A supplement to Song's governmental compilation

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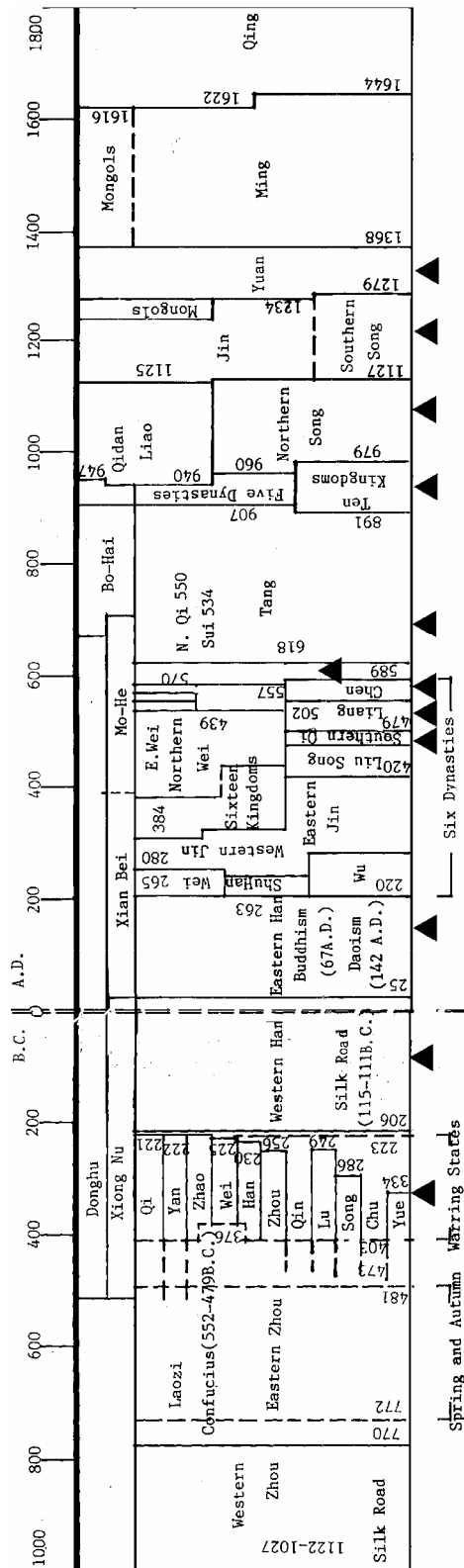
APPENDICES

A. Dynasty periods

Figure 1. Time periods of the premodern Chinese Dynasty after Liu (1989)

Dates	Dynasty	朝代
ca. 2000-1500 B.C.	Xia	夏
1700-1027 B.C.	Shang	商
1027-771 B.C.	Western Zhou	西周
770-221 B.C. Eastern Zhou 东周	770-476 B.C. -- Spring and Autumn period	春秋时代
	475-221 B.C. -- Warring States period	战国时代
221-207 B.C.	Qin	秦
206 B.C.-A.D. 9	Western Han	西汉
A.D. 9-24	Xin (Wang Mang interregnum)	新
A.D. 25-220	Eastern Han	东汉
A.D. 220-280 Three Kingdoms 三国	220-265 – Wei	魏
	221-263 -- Shu	蜀
	229-280 -- Wu	吴
A.D. 265-316	Western Jin	西晋
A.D. 317-420	Eastern Jin	东晋
A.D. 420-588 Southern & Northern Dynasties 南北朝	420-588 Southern Dynasties 南朝	
	420-478 -- Song	宋
	479-501 -- Qi	齐
	502-556 -- Liang	梁
	557-588 -- Chen	陈
	386-588 Northern Dynasties 北朝	
	386-533 -- Northern Wei	北魏
	534-549 -- Eastern Wei	东魏
	535-557 -- Western Wei	西魏
	550-577 -- Northern Qi	北齐
	557-588 -- Northern Zhou	北周
A.D. 581-617	Sui	隋
A.D. 618-907	Tang	唐
A.D. 907-960 Five Dynasties 五代	907-923 -- Later Liang	后梁
	923-936 -- Later Tang	后唐
	936-946 -- Later Jin	后晋
	947-950 -- Later Han	后汉
	951-960 -- Later Zhou	后周
A.D. 907-979	Ten Kingdoms	十国
A.D. 960-1279 Song 宋	960-1127 -- Northern Sung	北宋
	1127-1279 -- Southern Song	南宋
A.D. 916-1125	Liao	辽
A.D. 1038-1227	Western Xia	西夏
A.D. 1115-1234	Jin	金
A.D. 1279-1368	Yuan	元
A.D. 1368-1644	Ming	明
A.D. 1644-1911	Qing	清

Table 1. Time periods of the premodern Chinese Dynasty

Emperor	Nianhao/Reign Name	Reign period	Year
Taizu 太祖	Hongwu 洪武	31	1368
Huidi 惠帝	Jianwen 建文	04	1399
Chengzu 成祖	Yongle 永乐	22	1403
Renzong 仁宗	Hongxi 洪熙	01	1425
Xuanzong 宣宗	Xuande 宣德	10	1426
Yingzong 英宗	Zhengtong 正统	14	1436
Daizong 代宗	Jingtai 景泰	08	1450
Yingzong 英宗	Tianshun 天顺	08	1457
Xianzong 宪宗	Chenghua 成化	23	1465
Xiaozong 孝宗	Hongzhi 弘治	18	1488
Wuzong 武宗	Zhengde 正德	16	1506
Shizong 世宗	Jiajing 嘉靖	45	1522
Muzong 穆宗	Longqing 隆庆	06	1567
Shenzong 神宗	Wanli 万历	48	1573
Guangzong 光宗	Taichang 泰昌	01	1620
Xizong 熹宗	Tianqi 天启	07	1621
Sizong 思宗	Chongzhen 崇祯	17	1628

Table 2. Emperors, reign names and periods of *Yuan*

Emperor	Nianhao/Reign Name	Reign period	Year
Taizu 太祖	Tianming 天命	11	1616
Taizong 太宗	Tianzong 天聪	10	1627
	Chongde 崇德	08	1636
Shizu 世祖	Shunzhi 顺治	18	1644
Shengzu 圣祖	Kangxi 康熙	61	1662
Shizong 世宗	Yongzheng 雍正	13	1723
Gaozong 高宗	Qianlong 乾隆	60	1736
Renzong 仁宗	Jiaqing 嘉庆	25	1796
Xuanzong 宣宗	Daoguang 道光	30	1821
Wenzong 文宗	Xianfeng 咸丰	11	1851
Muzong 穆宗	Tongzhi 同治	13	1862
Dezong 德宗	Guangxu 光绪	34	1875
Puyi 溥仪	Xuantong 宣统	03	1909

Table 3. Emperors, reign names and periods of *Tang*

B. The catalogue of *Siku*

经部	史部	子部	集部

• 易类
• 书类
• 诗类
• 礼类
  o 周礼之属
  o 仪礼之属
  o 仪礼之属
  o 三礼总仪之属
  o 通礼之属
  o 杂礼书之属
• 春秋类
• 孝经类
• 五经总义类
• 四书类
• 乐类
• 小学类
  o 型训诂之学
  o 字书之属
  o 韵书之属
	• 正史类
	• 编年类
	• 纪事本末类
	• 别史类
	• 杂史类
	• 诏令奏议类
	  o 诏令之属
	  o 奏议之属
	• 传记类
	  o 圣贤之属
	  o 名人之属
	  o 总录之属
	  o 杂录之属
	• 史钞类
	• 载记类
	• 时令类
	• 目录类
	  o 经籍之属
	  o 金石之属
	  o 史评类
	• 地理类
	  o 宫殿簿之属
	  o 总志之属
	  o 都会郡县之属
	  o 河渠之属
	  o 边防之属
	  o 山水之属
	  o 古迹之属
	  o 杂记之属
	  o 游记之属
	  o 外记之属
	• 职官类
	  o 官制之属
	  o 官箴之属
	• 政书类
	  o 通制之属
	  o 仪制之属
	  o 邦计之属
	  o 军政之属
	  o 法令之属
	  o 考工之属
		• 儒家类
		• 兵家类
		• 法家类
		• 农家类
		• 医家类
		• 天文算法类
		  o 推步之属
		  o 算书之属
		  o 术数类
		  o 数学之属
		  o 占候之属
		  o 相宅相墓之属
		  o 占卜之属
		  o 命书相书之属
		  o 阴阳五行之属
		• 释家类
		• 道家类
		• 艺术类
		  o 书画之属
		  o 琴谱之属
		  o 篆刻之属
		  o 杂技之属
		• 谱录类
		  o 器物之属
		  o 饮馔之属
		  o 草木禽鱼之属
		• 杂家类
		  o 杂学之属
		  o 杂考之属
		  o 杂说之属
		  o 杂品之属
		  o 杂纂之属
		  o 杂编之属
		• 类书类
		• 小说家类
		  o 杂事之属
		  o 异闻之属
		  o 琐记之属
			• 楚辞类
			• 别集类
			  o 汉至五代
			  o 北宋建隆至靖康
			  o 南宋建炎至德祐
			  o 金至元
			  o 明洪武至崇祯
			  o 清代
			• 总集类
			• 诗文评类
			• 词曲类
			  o 词集之属
			  o 词选之属
			  o 词话之属
			  o 词谱词韵之属
			  o 南北曲

Table 4．A brief catalogue of *Siku* 四库全书 after http://www.guoxue.com/skqs/

Shi 史, History		Zi 子, Philosophy	
Standard history	Zhengshi 正史	Confucian writer	Rujia 儒家
Annual	Biannian 编年	Military expert	Bingjia 兵家
Topically arranged history	Jishi benmo 纪事本末	Legal writer	Fajia 法家
Unofficial history	Bieshi 别史	Write on agriculture	Nongjia 农家
Miscellaneous history	Zashi 杂史	Writer on medicine	Yijia 医家
Edict & memorial	Zhaoling zouyi 诏令奏议	Astronomy and math	Tianwen suanfa 天文算法
Biographical work	Zhuanji 传记	Mantic art	Shushu 术数
Historical excerpt	Shichao 史抄	The fine art	Yishu 艺术
Contemporary records	Zaiji 载记	Manual	Pulu 谱录
Regulation of time	Shilling 时令	Miscellaneous writer	Zajia 杂家
Geography	Dili 地理	Encyclopaedia	Leishu 类书
Government office	Zhiguan 职官	Essay/miscellaneous work	Xiaoshuo 小说
Government institution	Zhengshu 政书	Buddhist	Shijia 释家
Bibliography/epigraphy	Mulu 目录	Daoist	Doajia 道家
Historiography	Shiping 史评		

Table 5. Subcategories under *Shi* and *Zi* branches after Wilkinson (2000, pp. 268-270)

C. The catalogue of the selected *Biji* and *Zhi*

Vol.	东京梦华录			Remarks
1	东都外城	旧京城	河道	The city
	大内	内诸司	外诸司	The Palace City Imperial offices
2	御街	宣德楼前省府宫字	朱雀门外街巷	Markets, streets etc.
	州桥夜市	东角楼街巷	潘楼东街巷	
	酒楼	饮食果子		
3	马行街北诸医铺	大内西右掖门外街巷	大内前州桥东街巷	
	相国寺内万姓交易	寺东门街巷	上清宫	
	马行街铺席	般载杂卖	都市钱陌	
	雇觅人力	防火	天晓诸人入市	
	诸色杂卖			
4	军头司	皇太子纳妃	公主出降	Happenings
	皇后出乘舆	杂赁	修整杂货及斋僧请道	
	筵会假赁	会仙酒楼	食店	Foods
	肉行	饼店	鱼行	
5	民俗	京瓦伎艺	娶妇	Habits
	育子			
6	正月	元旦朝会	立春	Seasonal Happenings: folk festivals, official events and imperial rituals
	元宵	十四日驾幸五岳观	十五日驾诣上清宫	
	十六日	收灯都人出城探春		
7	清明节	三月一日开金明池琼林苑	驾幸临水殿观争标锡宴	
	驾幸琼林苑	驾幸宝津楼宴殿	驾登宝津楼诸军呈百戏	
	驾诣射殿射弓	池苑内纵人关扑游戏	驾回仪卫	
8	四月八日	端午	六月	
	是月巷陌杂卖	七夕	中元节	
	立秋	秋社	中秋	
	重阳			
9	十月一日	天宁节	入内上寿	
	立冬			
10	冬至	大礼预教车象	车驾宿大庆殿	
	驾行仪卫	驾宿太朝奉神主出室	驾诣青城斋宫	
	驾诣郊坛行礼	郊毕驾回	下赦	
	驾还择日诣诸宫行谢	十二月	除夕	

Table 6. The catalogue of DJ 东京梦华录

vol	武林旧事		Remarks
1	庆寿册宝	四孟驾出	
	大礼	南郊明堂	
	登门肆赦	恭谢	
	圣节		
2	御教	御教仪卫次第	
	燕射	公主下降	
	唱名	无正	
	立春	元夕	Seasonal happenings:
	舞队	灯品	Folk festivals,
	批菜	进茶	official events and
	赏花		imperial rituals
3	西湖游幸	都人游赏	
	放春	社会	
	祭扫	浴佛	
	迎新	端午	
	禁中纳凉	都人避暑	
	乞巧	中元	
	中秋	观潮	
	重九	开炉	
	冬至	赏雪	
	岁除	岁晚节物	
4	故都宫殿	乾淳教坊乐部	The Palace City, imperial departments
5	湖山胜概		Mountains and lake
6	诸市	瓦子勾栏	
	酒楼	歌馆	
	赁物	作坊	Markets, various services,
	骄民	游手	foods and beverages
	市食	诸色酒名	
	小经纪	诸色伎艺人	
7	乾淳奉亲		
8	车驾幸学	人使到阙	
	宫中诞育仪例略	册皇后仪	Imperial functions and visitations
	是后归谒家庙	皇子行冠礼仪略	
9	高宗幸张府节次略		
10	官本杂剧段数	张约斋赏心乐事	Art works
	约斋桂隐百课		

Table 7. The catalogue of WL 武林旧事[1]

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[1] Following lists are adapted from the translation of Nienhauser (1986, p. 325): 1) Court ceremonies and rituals; 2) Review of the troops, archery ceremonies, the wedding of a princess, entrance into the civil service, ballet troupes, and the daily life of emperor; 3) A tour of West Lake, other seasonal festivals; 4) The palace and the imperial school of Music and Dance; 5) Mountains and lakes in the surrounding countryside; 6) Lives of the citizens of the capital; 7) The imperial parents; 8) Imperial visitations to schools, the reception of foreign ambassadors, the ceremonies of the imperial family; 9) The visit of Gaozong to Zhang; 10) Catalogue of dramas performed at the Song court.

vol	梦梁录				Notes	
1	正月	元旦大朝会	立春	元宵		Seasonal happenings
	车驾诣景灵宫孟飨	二月	八日祠山圣诞	二月望		
2	三月	诸州府得解士人赴省闱	荫补未仕官人赴铨	清明节		
	诸库迎煮	州府节制诸军春教	二十人日东岳圣帝诞辰	暮春		
3	四月	皇太后圣节	宰执亲王南班百官入内上寿赐宴			
	皇帝初九日圣节	僧寺结制	五月	士人赴殿试唱名		
4	六月	七月	七夕	解制日		
	八月	中秋	解闱	观潮		
5	九月	明禋年预教习车象	明堂差五使执事官	驾出宿斋殿		
	五辂仪式	差官跋祭及清道	驾诣景灵宫仪仗			
	驾回太庙宿奉神主出室	驾宿明堂斋殿行禋祀礼	明禋礼成登门放赦	郊祀年驾宿青城端诚殿行郊祀礼		
6	十月	立冬	孟冬行朝飨礼遇明禋岁行恭谢礼			
	十一月冬至	十二月	除夜			
7	杭州	大河桥道	小河桥道	西河桥道	City	Categorical recordings
	小西河桥道	倚郭城南桥道	倚郭城北桥道	禁城九厢坊巷		
8	大内	德寿宫	太庙	景灵宫	Official settings	
	万寿观	御前宫观	西太乙宫	佑圣观		
	显应观	四圣延祥观	三茅宁寿观	开元宫		
	龙翔宫	宗阳宫				
9	三省枢使谏官	六部	六部监门	诸寺		
	秘书省	诸监	大宗正司	省所		
	六院四辖	三衙	阁职	监当诸局		
	诸仓	内司宫	内诸司			
10	诸官舍	府治	运司衙	后戚府		
	诸王宫	家庙	馆驿	本州仓场库务		
	点检所酒库	安抚司酒库	厢禁军	防隅巡警		
	帅司节制军马					
11	诸山岩	岭	诸洞	溪潭涧浦	The nature	
	井泉	池塘	堰闸渡			
12	西湖	下湖	浙江	城内外河		
	湖船	江海船舰	河舟			
13	两赤县市镇	都市钱会	团行	铺席	Market	
	天晓诸人出市	夜市	诸色杂买			
14	祠祭	山川神	忠节祠	仕贤祠	Religion	
	古神祠	土俗祠	东都随朝祠	外郡行祠		
15	学校	贡院	僧塔寺塔	城内外诸宫观		
	城内外寺院	古今忠烈孝义贤士墓	历代古墓			
16	茶肆	酒肆	分茶酒店	面食店	Shops	
	荤素从食店	米铺	内铺	鲞铺		
17	历代人物	状元表	武举状元	后妃列女	Person	
	历代方士	历代方外僧	行孝			
18	民俗	户口	物产(谷,桑,货, 菜...)	免本州岁纳及苗税		Folk habits & misc.
	免本州商税	恩露军民	恤贫济老			
19	园囿	瓦舍	塌房	社会		
	闲人	雇觅人力	四司六局筵会假赁			
20	嫁娶	育子	妓乐	百戏伎艺		
	角觝	小说讲经史				

Table 8. The catalogue of ML 梦梁录

Vol.	咸淳临安志					Remarks
1	序录					Preface Rules Maps
	范例					
	图	宫城图	京城图	浙江图	西湖图	
	驻跸次第					
	宫阙	大内				
2		学士院	东宫	资善堂	祖宗诸阁	
		北宫				
3	郊庙	郊丘	明堂	太庙	景灵宫	
		斋宫	太社太稷坛	九宫贵神坛	籍田先农坛	
		高媒坛	海神坛			
4	朝省	三省	枢密院	中书门下后省	检正左右司	
		承旨检详编修	三省枢密院门	三省枢密院架阁		
5	御史台					The Palace City, ritual places, imperial offices and departments, craft industries
	谏院					
	六部	吏部	户部	礼部	兵部	
		刑部	工部	六部监门	六部架阁	
6	诸寺	太常寺	下牒所宗正寺	大理寺	司农寺	
		太府寺				
7	秘书省					
	国史院					
	敕令所					
8	诸监	国子监	将作监	军器监		
	大宗正司					
	省所					
	院辖	登闻检院	登闻鼓院	都进奏院	官告院	
		诸司诸军粮料院	诸司诸军审计院	林货务都茶场	杂买务杂卖场	
		文思院	左藏东西库	封椿上库	封椿下库	
		安边太平库				
9	监当诸局	车輅院	御前军器所	编估打套局	惠民和剂局	
		太平惠民	省仓上界	省仓中界	省仓下界	
		丰储仓	丰储西仓	端平仓	淳祐仓	
		平糴仓	咸淳仓	草料场	合同场	
		会子库	造纸局	交引库	法物库	
		度牒库	市舶务	司农排岸司	三省枢密院激赏钱库	
		三省枢密院激赏酒库	左右麒骥院	牛羊司		
10	三衙	殿前司	侍卫马军司	侍卫步军司		
	合职	合门	客省四方馆	御前忠佐军头引见司		
	内诸司					
	邸第	诸后宅	谱王府	公主府	联臣赐第家庙	Mansions
	官宇	宰执府	侍从宅	台谏宅	省官院宅	
		百官宅				

The Imperial City

11	学校	诸王宫大小学	宗学	太学	武学		
12	贡院	礼部贡院	别试所	太史局	太医局	Schools, religious places, gardens	The Imperial City
		堂後官院					
13	宫观	太一宫	西太一官	万寿观	佑圣观		
		开元宫	龙翔宫	宗阳宫	四圣延祥观		
		三茅宁寿观	显应观				
	祠庙	祚德庙					
	苑囿	聚景园	玉律园	富景园	翠芳园		
		玉壶园					
14	禁卫兵						
	省院兵					Army and misc.	
	攒宫						
	馆驿						
15	赋咏						
16	图	府治图	九县总图	余杭县图	临安县图	Maps	The prefectural city
		於潜县图	富阳县图	新城县图	监官县图		
		昌化县图					
	疆域 1	序	吴越考	古今郡县表		Boundary, layout	
17	疆域 2	郡县境					
18	疆域 3	星垫	城郭	社稷			
19	疆域 4	厢界	坊	市			
20	疆域 5	镇	乡里				
21	疆域 6	桥道					
22-39	山川 1-18					Mountains, lake Decrees, offices and officials	
40-41	诏令 1-2						
42	御製						
43-51	秩官 1-9						
52	官寺 1	序	府治	漕治			
53	官寺 2	幕属官厅					
54	官寺 3	诸县官厅					
55	官寺 4	仓	场	库	务		
		局					
56	文事					Celebrities, habits, relics and misc.	
57	武备						
58	风土						
59	贡赋						
60-70	人物 1-11						
71-74	祠祀 1-4						
75-85	寺观 1-11						
86	园亭,古迹						
87	冢墓						
88	恤民,祥异						
89-100	纪遗 1-12						

Table 9. The catalogue of XC 咸淳临安志

D.   The preface of Dongjing Menghua Lu[2]

仆从先人宦游南北，崇宁癸未到京师，卜居于州西金梁桥西夹道之前。渐次长立，正当辇
翁之下，太平日久，人物繁阜，里春之宜，但习鼓舞，班白之老，不识于戈，时节相次，
各有观赏。灯宵月夕，雪际花时，乞巧登高，教池游苑。举目则青楼画阁，绣户珠帘，雕
车竟驻于天衢，宝马争驰于御路，金翠耀目，罗绮飘香。新声巧笑于柳陌花街，接管调絃
于菜坊酒肆。八荒争凑，万国咸通。集四海之珍奇，皆归市易。会寰区之异味，悉在庖厨。
花光满路，何限春游，箫鼓喧空，几家夜宴。伎巧则惊人耳目，侈奢则长入精神。瞻天表
则无夕教池，拜部盖亭。频观公主下降，是子纳访。修造则创建明堂，冶铸则立成鼎鼐。
观妓籍则府曹衙罢，内省宴回；看变化则举子唱名，武人换授。仆数十年烂赏叠游，莫知
厌足。一旦兵火，靖康丙午之明年，出京南来，避地江左，情绪牢落，渐入桑榆。暗想当
年，节物风流，人情和美，但成怅恨。近与亲戚会面，谈及曩昔，后生往往妄生不然。仆
恐浸久，论其风俗者，失于事实，诚为可借，道省记编次成集，庶几开卷得睹当时之盛。
古人有梦游华胥之国，其乐无涯者，仆今追念，回首怅然，岂非华育之梦觉哉。目之日《梦
华录》。然以京师之浩移，及有未尝经从处，得之于人，不无遗闭。倘通乡党宿德，补级
周备，不胜幸甚。此录语言鄙埋，不以文饰者，盖欲上下通晓尔，观者幸详焉。绍兴丁卯
岁除日，幽兰居士益元老序。

I followed my father on his official travels north and south. In the year *guiwei* of the Chongning [reign period, 1103], we arrived at the capital city and sited our residence in the western part of the prefecture, on the south side of the westerly road that lines the Jinliang Bridge. By and by I grew up beneath the hub of the [imperial] chariot. Peace stretched on day after day; people were many and all things were in abundance. Youths with trailing locks practiced naught but drumming and dancing, the aged with white speckled [hair] recognized neither shield nor spear. Season and festival followed one upon the other, each with its own sights to enjoy. Lamplit nights there were and moonlit eves, periods of snow and times of blossoming,[21] beseeching skills and climbing heights, training reservoirs and gardens to roam in.

Raise the eyes and there were green bowers and painted chambers, embroidered gates and pearly shades. Decorated chariots vied to park in the Heavenly Avenue and bejeweled horses competed to spur through the Imperial Street. Gold and kingfisher dazzled the eye, silky cloth and silken gauze let float their perfumes. New sounds and sly giggles were found in the willowy lanes and flowered paths, pipes were fingered and strings were harmonized in the tea districts and wine wards.

The eight wilds strived to assembled [in Bianlang], the myriad states were all in communication [with the capital]. Gathered together were the valued and the rare from the four seas — all found their way to market for trade. Assembled were I the rare flavors of the whole world — all were in the kitchens [of Bianliang]. The radiance of flowers filled the roads — what limit to spring excursions? Pipes and drums sounded in the empty air — night feasts in how many households? As for skills and crafts — they startled a person's eyes and ears; as for the waste and extravagance — they prolonged a person's spirit.

To look upon the Heavenly countenance [of the emperor] there were the events of Prime Eve and the training reservoir, the Suburban Sacrifice and the Ancestral Rites of the First [Quarter). Time after time we observed imperial I princess being handed down in marriage or august princes receiving their consorts. As for refurbishing and new construction, there was the raising of the Bright Hall; 31 as for casting and moulding, there was the creation of the Great Cauldrons.

As for observing the registery of the sing-song girls, when the official duties of the sub-functionaries of (Kaifeng) Superior Prefecture were finished, then they returned to feast in the Inner Councils. As for looking at changes and transformations, there was the calling out of names of recommended scholars and the changing and bestowing [of rank] for the promotion of military men-[because of their talent].

For tens of years I thoroughly enjoyed [the sights] and roamed often [through the city], yet never did I know enough. Then one morning came the fires of war and in the next year, year bingwu of

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2 Translated after West (1985) with minor adjustments.

the Jingkang [reign period, 1126, I] went out of the capital and came south to this haven on the left (i.e. eastern) side of the hang. My emotions despondent and fallen, by and by the sun set into the mulberry and the elm [as I passed into the dusk of my life].

Silently remembering those years, of the style and sophistication of the things that belonged to each season, of the gentleness and comeliness of human feelings — these became naught to me but disconsolance and vexation. In recent times, when meeting with kith and kin, as the discussion turned back to olden times, the younger-born constantly fancied what was never so. I feared that, as time went by, those who would discuss the customs and traditions [from the capital] would lack all hard fact—and this was truly lamentable. [I] have carefully abridged my records and compiled them in sequence to make this collection. I would hope that as soon as one opened a chapter, one could see the flourishing of that time.

The Ancient One had a dream of roaming in the land of Hua Xu, and the pleasure of it knew no bounds. Now, I push my thoughts back and turn my head [to the present] in disappointment — is this not awakening from the dream of Hua Xu? I have entitled [this work] A Record of the Dream of Hua Xu. But from all that widespread bustle in the capital, of those places I myself never ventured but only heard of from others, there cannot but be omissions. If an old, virtuous man of my home village should be met who could supplement or add to this record and thus bring it to fullness and completeness—would that not be great fortune?

That the language of this record is coarse and vulgar and that it is not adorned by literary style is that [I] wanted everyone, high or low, to know about it. Reader please take careful note of this!

Prefaced on the last day of the year dingmao of the Shaoxing [reign period January 22, 1148] by the Hermit of the Hidden Thoroughwort, Meng Yuanlao.

E.   Interpreting historical Chinese texts and names

In general Chinese linguistic tradition, Chinese names were made of characters or words. Interpreting character/word belonged to one of the most ancient and profound Chinese wisdom: *Xiaoxue* 小学 (philology), which often traced the etymological meaning of a character/word from phonetic or morphological analyses. Such analyses are beyond the scope of the study.

Relevant to the study of place names is the unique features of the Chinese language in its morphology and syntax,[3] contrasting with its Western counterpart. As Dai (1996, pp. 46-81, 115-134, 144-150) noted, Chinese language in the general sense is less strong to convey accurate and logic ideas, but rather articulate in vivid description and affective expression. The conveying of *Yi* 意 (the meaning) does not mainly rely on *Yan* 言 (the direct utterance), but more via *xiang* 象 (the image) as the medium. This relationship among *Yi - Xiang - Yan* was an ancient theme under much philosophical debate (cf. Shen, 1993).

Furthermore, Dai noted that the context is an important concept of the Chinese language, as the exact meaning of a word or a sentence depends on the context. The basic grammatical unit is not *Ci* 词 (word), but *Zi* 字 (character), a single-syllabled morpheme and semanteme that has independent meaning. Under a different context from the Western linguistic tradition, in which a word is structured through prefix or suffix and other morphological changes, the sentence of Chinese language has no tense, sex, number and case; the syntax relationship is flexible, emphasizing matching of the meaning instead of matching of the form. The meaning is more determined by context and internal logic:

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[3] It underlies a different cultural psychological pattern, as mentioned by Hall (1995) as the analogical and correlative thinking. Further discussion on Chinese language and cultural patterns refer Shen (1991; 1993)

the former word may determine the meaning of the later word (1996; cf. Shen, 1993). Thus the meaning of a Chinese word formed by combination of single characters could be quite different from that suggested by each of individual character.

Hence, the difficulties of interpreting names lie not only in how to decipher the semantic meaning, but also how to translate between Chinese and English. As many place names are made up of at least two characters, the combinative meaning subjects to different interpretations under the different context.

F.   Theories on name: the modern vs. the ancient Chinese

To modern philosophers, the study of names involves an epistemological inquiry between a name (a proper name in specific, which is the name of individual, animal or particular place or situation etc.) and its referent. There are four major branches of theories, respectively connotative theory, denotative theory, descriptive theory and casual (historical connective) theory. For detail readings please refer to the selected works: Gottlob Frege "on sense and reference"; John R. Searle "Proper name"; Saul Keipke "Naming and necessity"; Tyler Burge "Reference and proper names"; Gareth Evans "the causal theory of names" (Martinich, 1996, pp. 245-323; Ludlow, 1997, pp.557-655) and Pollock (1982, pp.55-105).

Among different theoretical proposals, common terms like the sense, reference and meaning are defined under different contexts. A basic understanding is that the proper name generally associates with a concept, either directly referred or connoted, and that such concept differs according to the context (Martinich, 1996, p. 247).

To the ancient Chinese, the relationship of *Ming* 名 (name) and *Shi* 实 (actuality) had been a recurring theme among major schools of Chinese philosophical thinking, i.e. Confucian, Daoist, Mohist, Legalist and School of Names etc. (cf. Feng, 1975).

For the name-actuality debate, Makeham (1994) identified the two major branches: the nominalist and the correlative. According to him, the nominalist that could trace to the classic Confucian in 500 BC dominated the discourse by proposing that it was man who arbitrarily or conventionally determined which *Ming* should be applied to which *Shi*. The correlative was represented by *Xu Gan* (170-217) in *Zhong Lun* 中论 (Discourse that hit the mark) during the late Eastern *Han*. *Shi* was defined by the correlative as "a state of

development peculiar to an entity or state of affairs by virtue of which that entity or state of affairs is what it is". The correlative further argued that the proper relation between *Ming* and *Shi* was not artificially prescribed, but ordained by *Tian* 天 (heaven) or by *Ziran* 自然 (what is naturally so); this relationship reflected the cosmic order and affected the socio-political order, as well as the moral order of the human society.

Thus, on the relationship between name and actuality, the key difference of the two schools lay in whether the name for the actuality was arbitrarily assigned or an inherent attribute of that actuality. Normally, the debate went beyond mere philosophical discussions but had great cosmological-ethical and political implications, as Makeham argued.

G. An outline of the Confucian thinking

Confucianism has profound influences to the imperial Chinese society. It is relevant not only for our understanding of place naming, but also on the cognitive representations of the general social-physical environment of the imperial Chinese cities.

Confucianism was established as the orthodoxy imperial ideology in Han (ca. 140 BC), and was further elaborated upon. Developed throughout the imperial era, it became the foundation and the backbone of Chinese culture. It helped to mould the imperial state and society into a strictly hierarchical structure, which greatly influenced the social life of contemporary people and was deeply rooted in their minds.

	1	2	3	4	5
5 ethics	benevolence ren 仁	righteousness yi 义	propriety li 礼	wisdom 知 zhi	trustworthiness xin 信
5 relations	king and counseller juncheng 君臣	husband and wife fuqi 夫妻	father and son fuzi 父子	brothers xiongdi 兄弟	friends pengyou 朋友

Table 10. Confucian 5-ethics and 5-relations

As shown in the above table, Confucian's moral ideals include *Wulun* 五伦 (5 ethics) and *Wuchang* 五常 (5 relations). With a hierarchy, Confucian's world-view starts from the living context of self, family, society and state, further extends to the world and the cosmos. The ideal world is correlated, in the sense that filial piety in the family of the patriarchal clan system could extend to the loyalty to the emperor and the reverence to the heaven; thus an order is setup, closely linking the man and society to heaven above and earth below.

An ideal Confucian society is like a pyramid structure, at the top of which is the emperor who applies his legitimate power to order his kingdom and subordinates; and below

everyone have a definite position (status) and function (role), and have to attend their reciprocal duties and obligations (Raguin, 2000, p. 15).

Confucianism is the key component among the three major traditions in imperial China. It had absorbed and incorporated the elements from Daoism during Han (260BC-220AD), and from both Daoism and Buddhist during Song (960-1279AD). Thus, Confucianism could better be understood in comparison with Daoism, which has a similar hierarchical structure (that is the reason why Daoism was more officially promoted than Buddhism), as shown in the following table:

	Relationship	Functional role	Attitude to the society	Association
Confucianism	man - society	organizing and regulating, doer	responsibility and obligation, total involvement in human affairs.	imperial cosmology
Daoism	man - nature	inaction or effortless, dreamer	a refuge of world affairs, infiltration into the nature	naturalistic cosmology

Table 11. A comparison between Confucianism and Daoism

As discussed in chapter 4.3, the contrast did not pose problem for those Confucians, who can be a Daoist after work. That is the basic point about the scholar-officials and the elite culture that integrates both Confucian and Daoist traditions.

H. A classification of building types in Chinese architecture

To classify building types in Chinese architecture, *Lijie* 李诫(?-1110) proposed the seven broad types in his official Song's *Yingzao Fashi* 营造法式 (Treatise on architecture and construction),[4] namely *Gong* (宫), *Que* (阙), *Dian* (殿), *Lou* (楼), *Ting* (亭), *Taixie* (台榭), *Cheng* (城).

After investigating criteria and other related issues regarding classification, Liu (1987, pp. 29-52) proposed the following scheme, which was based both on functional and formal criteria with special attention paid to the semantic meaning of the generic building names, which are mostly defined by single characters.

Types	Features	Uses in different context
Lou 楼 Ge 阁	Lou - building duplicated in height, also used in temple, or the memorial structure on city gate, Chenglou.	The kind of hollow structure, uses are normally on upper floor.
	Ge - building supported by pillars.	All
Gong 宫 Shi 室 Dian 殿 Tang 堂	Dian (palace) & Tang (hall) - building of larger scale, dominant in height or width, as well as roof type and organization principle	Normally used for official function Gongdian was used exclusively for the imperial court
	Gong is similar to Dian - residence	
	Shi - the basic type.	All
Ting 亭 Lang 廊 Xuan 轩 Xie 榭 Zhai 斋 Guan 馆 Fang 舫	Ting (pavilion) - structure made up of roof, pillars but no wall for more contact with nature.	Landscape architecture, no fixed features, especially after the Ming Dynasty.
	Lang (veranda) - roofed passage way.	
	Xie, Xuan - structure on high platform with views to the distance	
	Zhai - room, doing something conscientiously, a studio, in rather deep, remote, less noisy place.	
	Guan - hosting guest, feast, for public uses; or to gaze, looking far, normally existed in-group and does not possess prominent visual features.	
	Fang -originally boat in lake, used in garden a building like boat.	
Men 门 Que 阙	Men (gate) - Gate of city, courtyard and building, Que is an ancient form much used in Han. Both may have sophisticated roof types.	Bian (plaque) demarcates domain of useage
Qiao 桥	Bridge	

Table 12. A classification of building types

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[4] It is one of the most comprehensive norms on architectural design and construction in imperial China, officially published in Song. The book contains 36 volumes, including 6 volumes of graphic examples. It is first published in 1091, as after the establishment of the Song, mushrooming constructions needed norms and standards to regulate the design and construction, and especially to prevent misuses of governmental

I.   The history of the city: Lin'an

Lin'an was only a county in *Qin* Dynasty (306-209 BC), and it became a prefectural seat in *Sui* Dynasty (581-617). The creation of the Grand Canal brought about its development and prosperity. During the *Sui* (571-617) period, the site of administrative city was located on the southern mountain overlooking the city to the north. This basic configuration of the city was retained, when it became the imperial city for the Prince *Wuyu* (907-978), with the city proper extended and fortified. The city developed and gradually gained its importance, by the time when it was assigned as the capital of southern Song, Lin'an had been an economic hub of southern China.

The following is a chronological record of the city's development, based on XC and corroborated by other historical researches (Lin, 1986, p.1-37; He, 1986, p. 219-224; Yang, 1993, p. 344; Gernet, 1962). Refferring to Figure 1 in Appendix A, the corresponding time of development is marked with a tiny black triangle:

- Qin dynasty: Qiantang county under Huiji Jun (郡commandery, an administrative unit roughly equivalent to the prefecture of the later periods);

- Western Han: Qin's system was continued with an increased importance;

- Eastern Han: Qiantang county under Wu Jun;

- Southern Qi: the political center of the peasant insurrectionists;

- Liang: upgraded to Linjiang Jun;

- Chen: Changed to Qiantang Jun with the city proper extended, and became prefectural city ever since;

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funding and corruptions. In 1907, the book underwent major amendment as the first edition was not articulated and effective in control, and was finally released in 1103.

- Sui: the name "Hangzhou" was started. The two important events in the city's history was the construction of the prefectural city and ramparts around Fenghuang (Phoenix) mountain in 591, and the the operation of the Grand Canal (Da Yunhe) in 610, which terminated at the southern city and linked the city to northern China. Both better defense of the city and easy transportation stimulated the city's economic development. By 7th century, when ramparts around the city were constructed, the town had come to occupy its final site.

- Tang: the configuration of the existing Sui's city was continued, but the city was renamed back into Yuhang Jun. The great urban development, manifested with the increase of the urban population and the growth of the urban economy especially in the silk and shipbuilding industry, promoted the city into an important city in southern China;

- Wuyue: the city became the capital for the Prince Wuyue country (907-978), thus started the history of an imperial capital. After the three extensions in the three directions except in the west restricted by the West lake, the city area almost doubled, containing the three walled cities: the Palace City 子城 (Zicheng), the interior city 内城 (Neicheng) and the newly developed exterior city 罗城 (Luocheng). The city became the center of the regional economy and cultural exchanges in the Southeastern part of China.

- Northern Song: Lin'an became one of the greatest economic hubs of the Southern China, especially with its craft industry, local and foreign trading, contributing greatly to the national income.

Emperor	Reign Name	Period	Important happenings
Gaozong 高宗	Jianyan 建炎	1127-30	1-1127, Establishment of Southern Song court at Shangqiu, 3-1129, Fled to XingZhai, promoted Linan as the prefectural city
	Shaoxing 绍兴	1130-62	1-1131, Imperial edict to construct the Imperial City, redeveloping on the former prefectural administrative city 2-1132, Rampart repairing, named southern gate Gate of Temporary Stay 5-1135, Jin recessed, starting sacrifice at Taimiao (Royal ancestral temple) 8-1138, Formally assigned as the imperial capital; 11-1141, Peace treaty with Jin, ceding land and paying annual tributes; 13-1143, Started Jingling, Sheji Altar, Astral Altar; Taixue (imperial school); first formal sacrifice at Taimiao; 15-1145, First new year Grand Audience (Chaohui) at Daqing Palace; construction of Altar of Agriculture; 17-1147, Construction of the east Yitai Palace; 18-1148, Naming Lizheng, Hening gates; built Altar of Jiugong Guishen 20-1150, Construction of Yudie (the imperial archive); 27-1157, Reconstruction of the Liubu administrative offices; 28-1158, Construction of Sunzhai palace, redeveloping the Palace City; 32-1162, Coronating the prince, emperor retired to Deshou Palace;
Xiaozong 孝宗	Longxing 隆兴	1163-64	1-1163, Visitation to emperor's father in Dechou, set as ritual ever since;
	Qiandao 乾道	1165-73	QD (5-1169)
	Chunxi 淳熙	1174-89	4-1177, Visitation to imperial school;
Guangzong 光宗	Shaoxi 绍熙	1190-94	5-1194, New year Grand Audience at Daqing Palace;
Ningzong 宁宗	Qingyuan 庆元	95-1200	3-1197, Opening of Donghua gate;
	Jiatai 嘉泰	1201-04	4-1204, Reconstruction of Taimaio after fire;
	Kaixi 开禧	1205-07	YL (1206)
	Jiading 嘉定	1208-24	4-1211, a three-day big fire near the gates of the Palace City, 3 Shen 6 Bu, destroyed 2700 houses; Almost ruined Taimiao;
Lizong 理宗	Qingding 宝庆	1225-27	
	Shaoding 绍定	1228-33	
	Duanping 端平	1234-36	DC (1235)
	Jiaxi 嘉熙	1237-40	
	Chunyou 淳祐	1241-52	11-1251, First invasion from Mongols; CY (12-1252)
	Baoyou 宝佑	1253-58	Invasion from the Mongols;
	Kaiqing 开庆	1259	Peace treaty with Mongols;
	Jingding 景定	1260-64	
Duzong 度宗	Xianchun 咸淳	1265-74	3-1267, Grand sacrifice and amnesty in January, visitation to imperial school; XC (4-1268) 7-1271, The Mongol settled in Yuan Dadu, threaten intensified;
Gongdi 恭帝	Deyou 德佑	1275-76	2-1276, Lin'an falled into the hand of Mongol, the history of being an imperial capital stopped ever since.
Duanzong 端宗: Jingyan 景炎 (1276-77)			
Dibing 帝炳: Xiangxing 祥兴 (1278-79)			

Table 13. Emperors, reign names/periods, important happenings after Lin (1986, pp. 403-450).
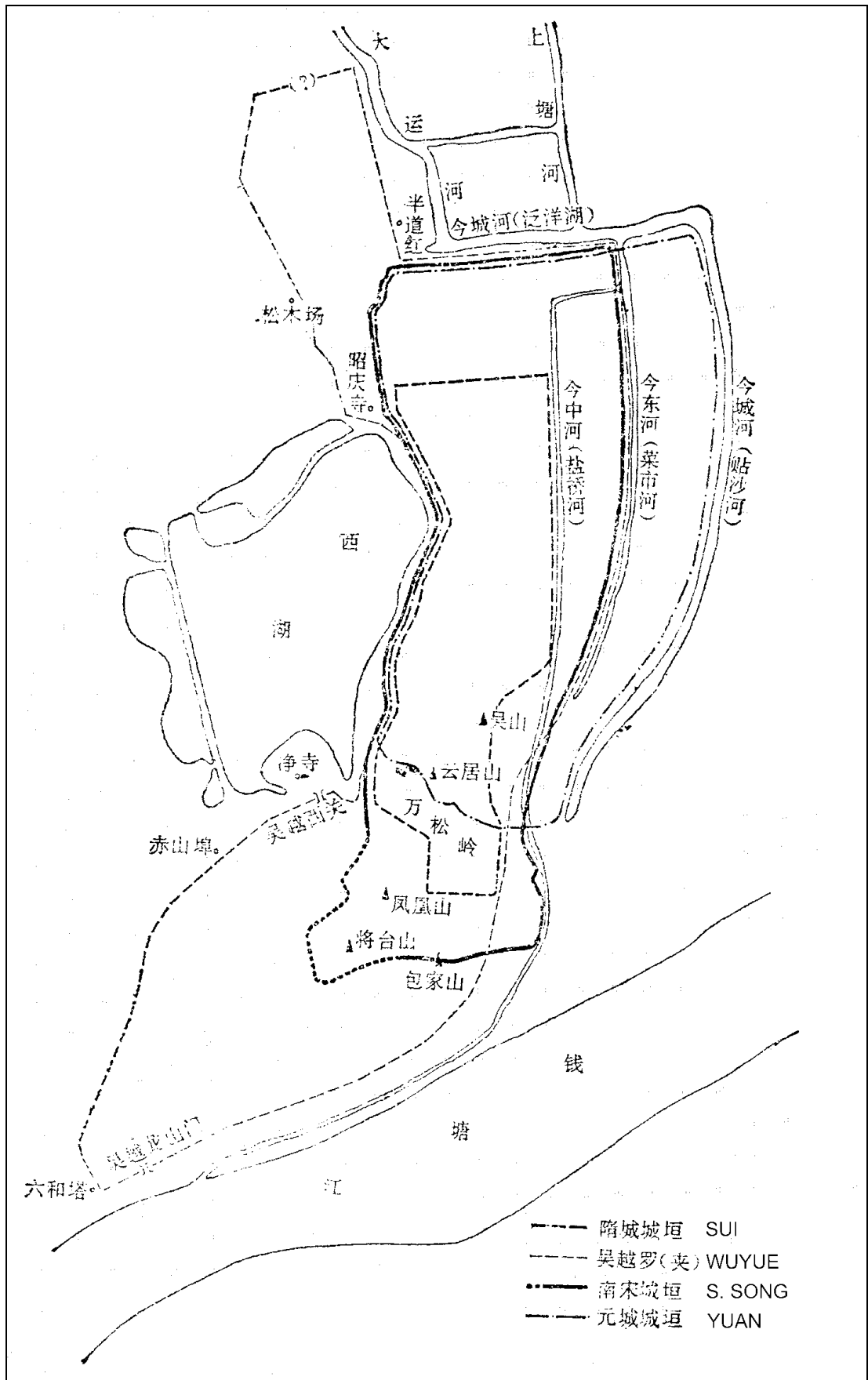
Figure 2. A historical evolution of *Hangzhou* after He (1986)

J.   Historic maps of Lin'an
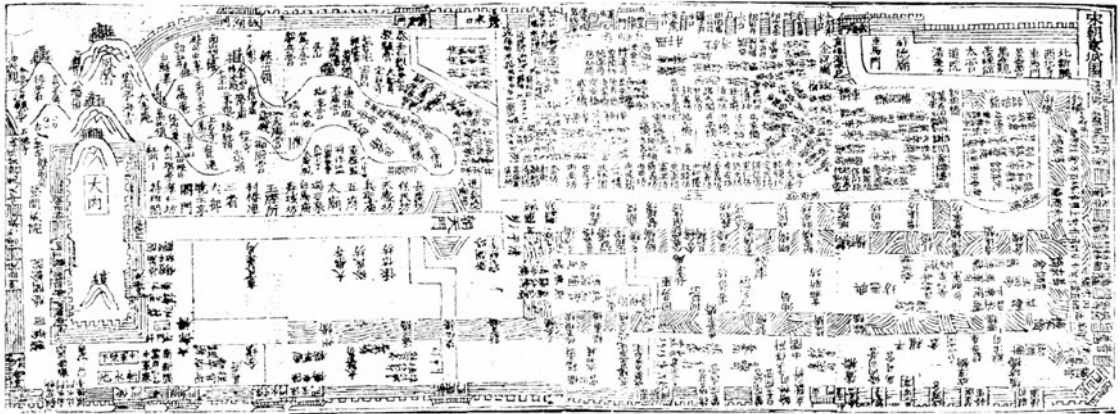
Figure 3. Map of the Imperial City (*Ming Jiajing* version) after Que (p. 127)
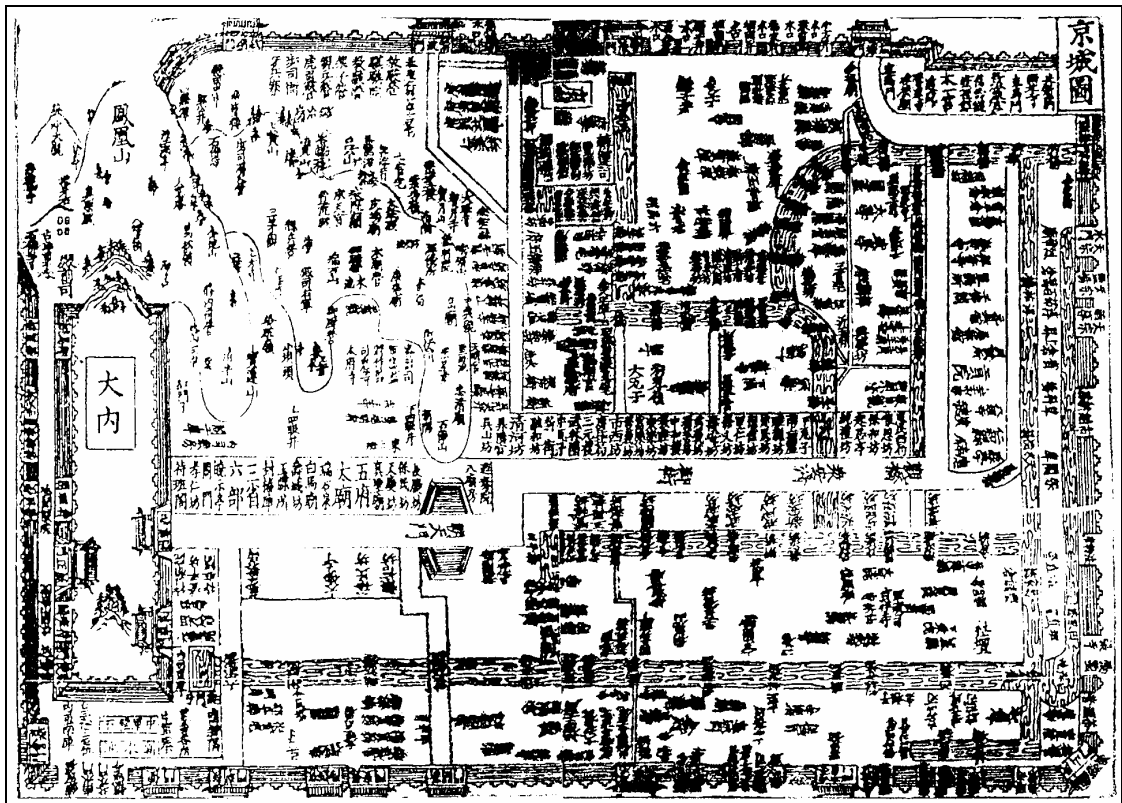
Figure 4. Map of the Imperial City (*Song Xianchun* version) after Que (p. 126)
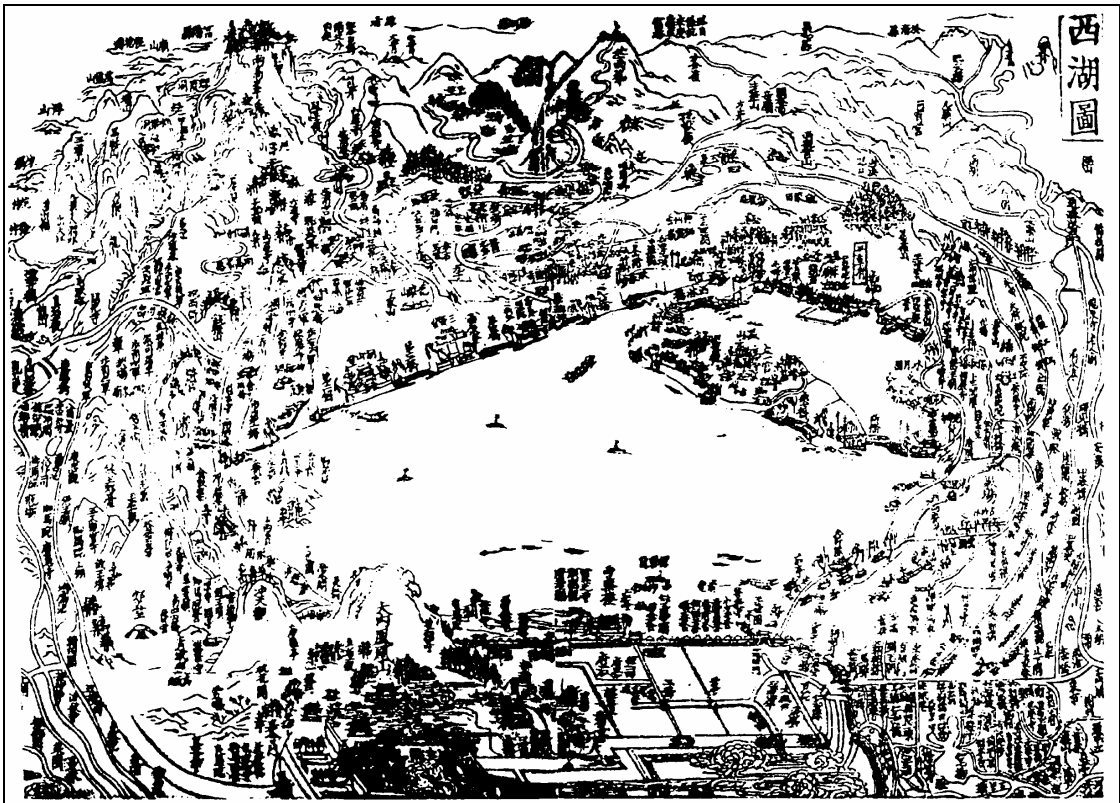
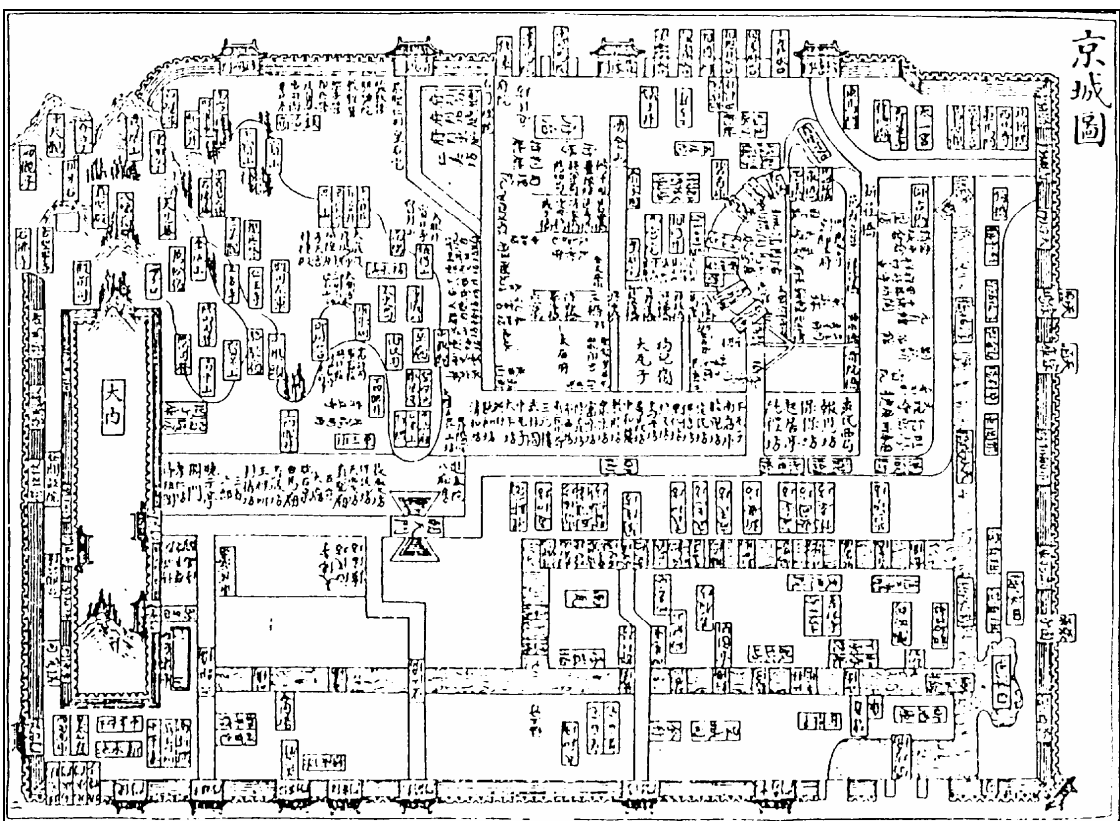Figure 5. Map of *Zhe* River (*Song Xianchun* version) after XC (p. 233)

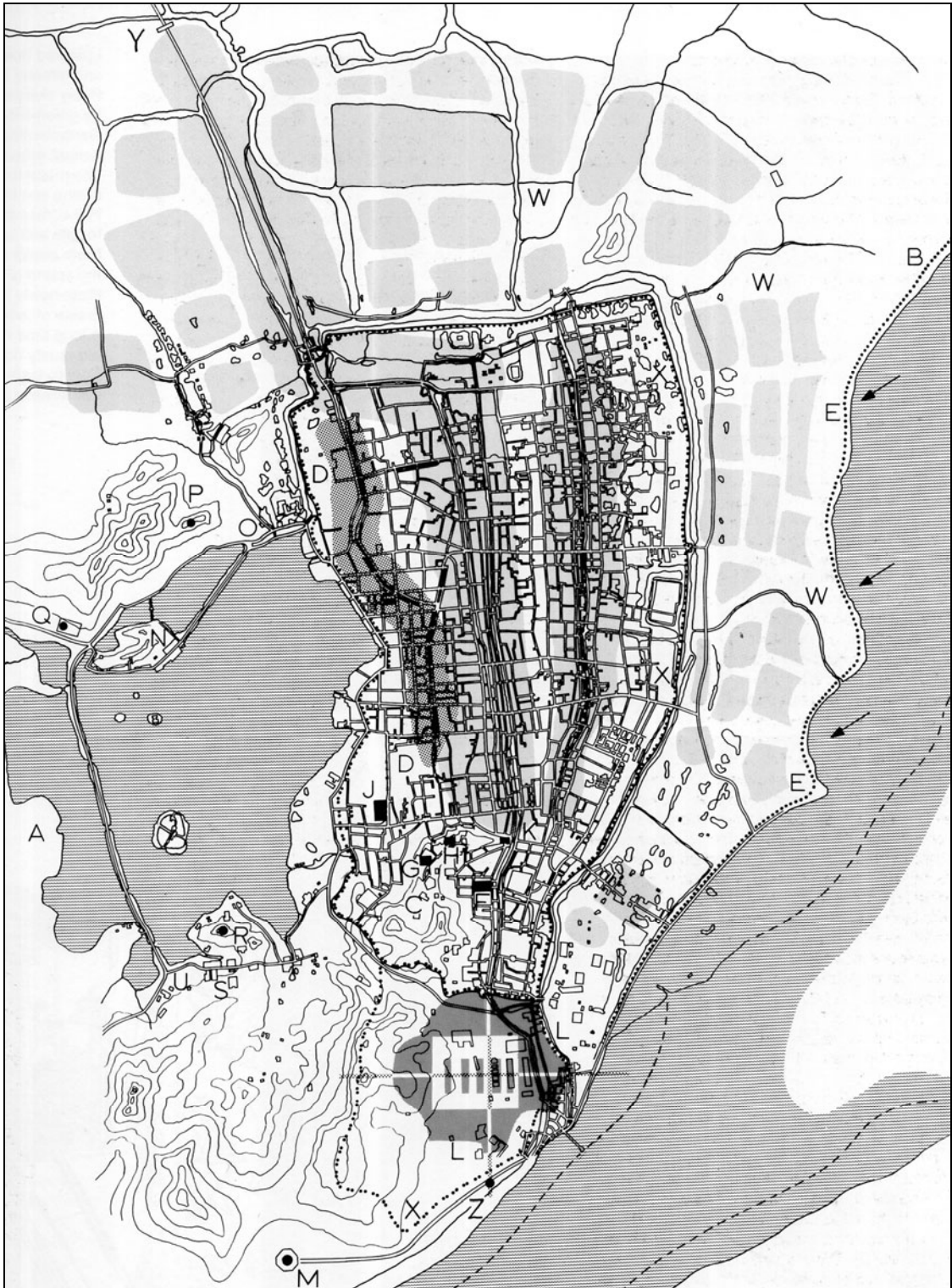Figure 6. Map of Imperial City (*Qianlong Siku* version) after Que (p. 128)

K.   Reconstructed modern maps of Lin'an

Figure 7. Map of Lin'an reconstructed by Schinz (1996, p.239) based on 1934 city map
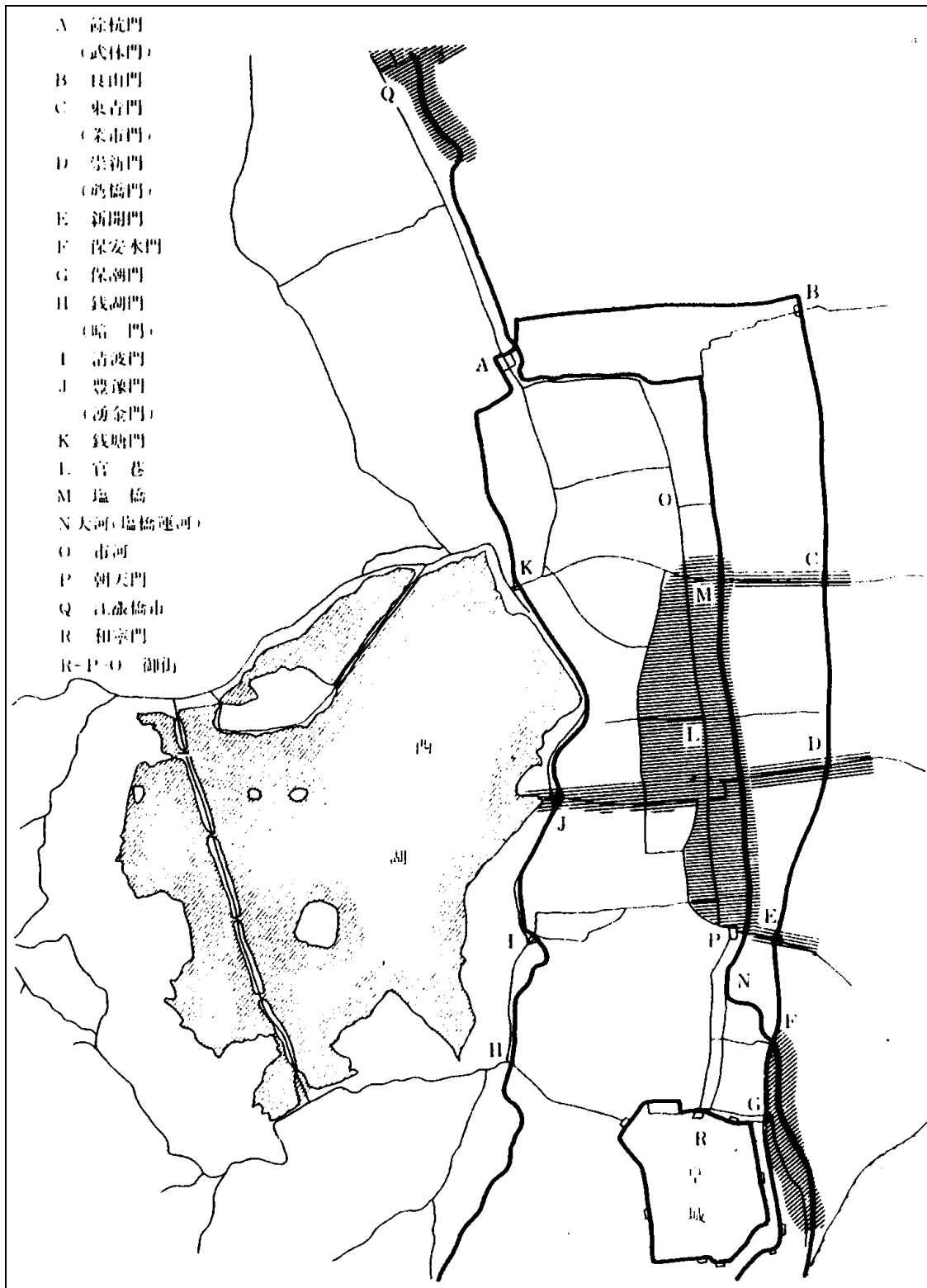
Figure 8. Lin'an commercial core after Que (2000, p. 144, originally from Shiba).

Figure 9. Shops and food courts in Lin'an after Feng (2000, originally from Shiba, 1988)

Figure 10. Markets in the Southern *Song Lin'an* by Yang (1993, p. 377)

L. Other historical or reconstructed maps

Figure 11. Nanjing in Southern Song, *Jiankangfu* (1375) after JD

Figure 12. *Nanjing* in Ming, *Yingtianfu* (1375) after JD
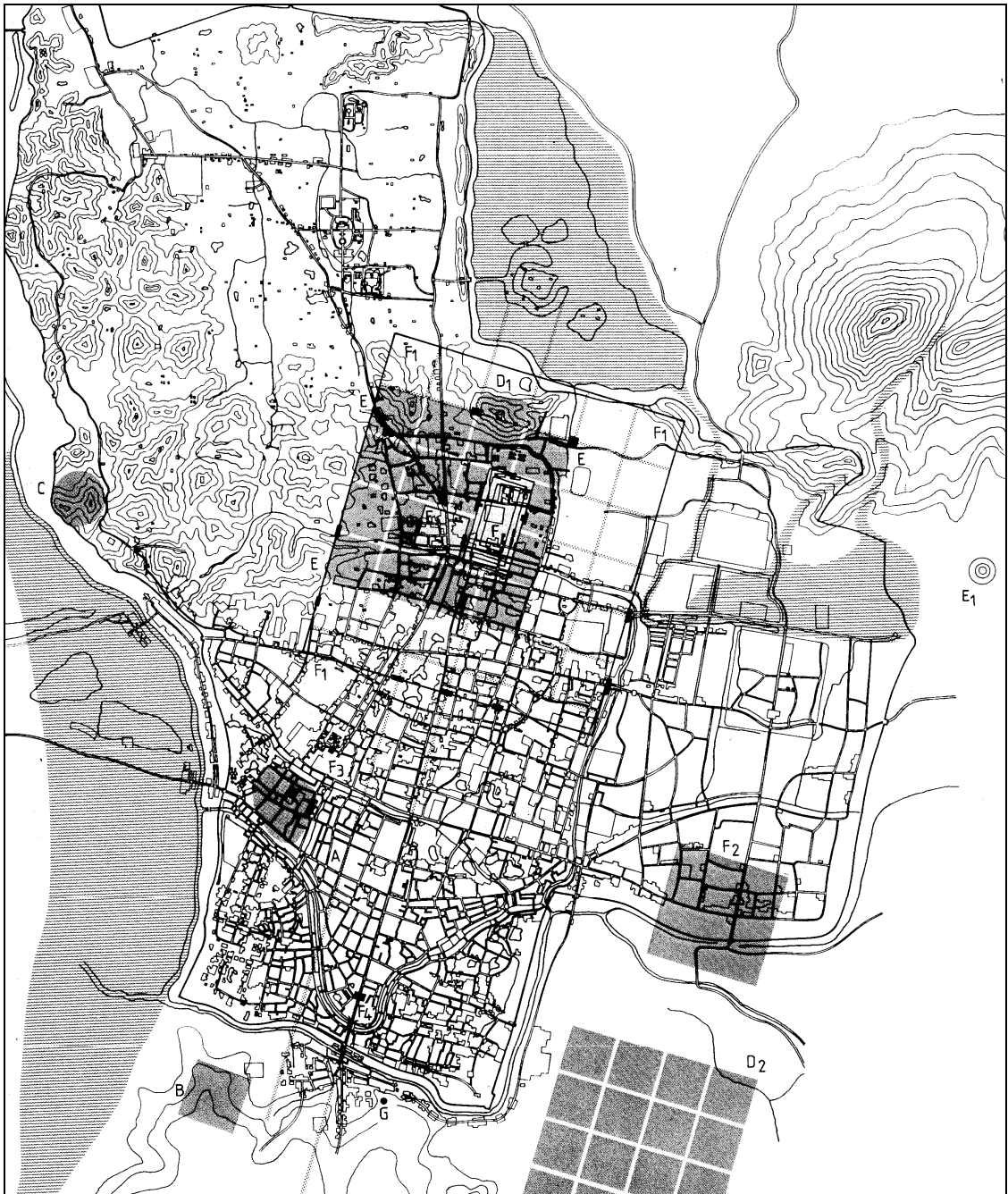
Figure 13. Nanjing in the Six Dynasty after Schinz's (1996) reconstruction
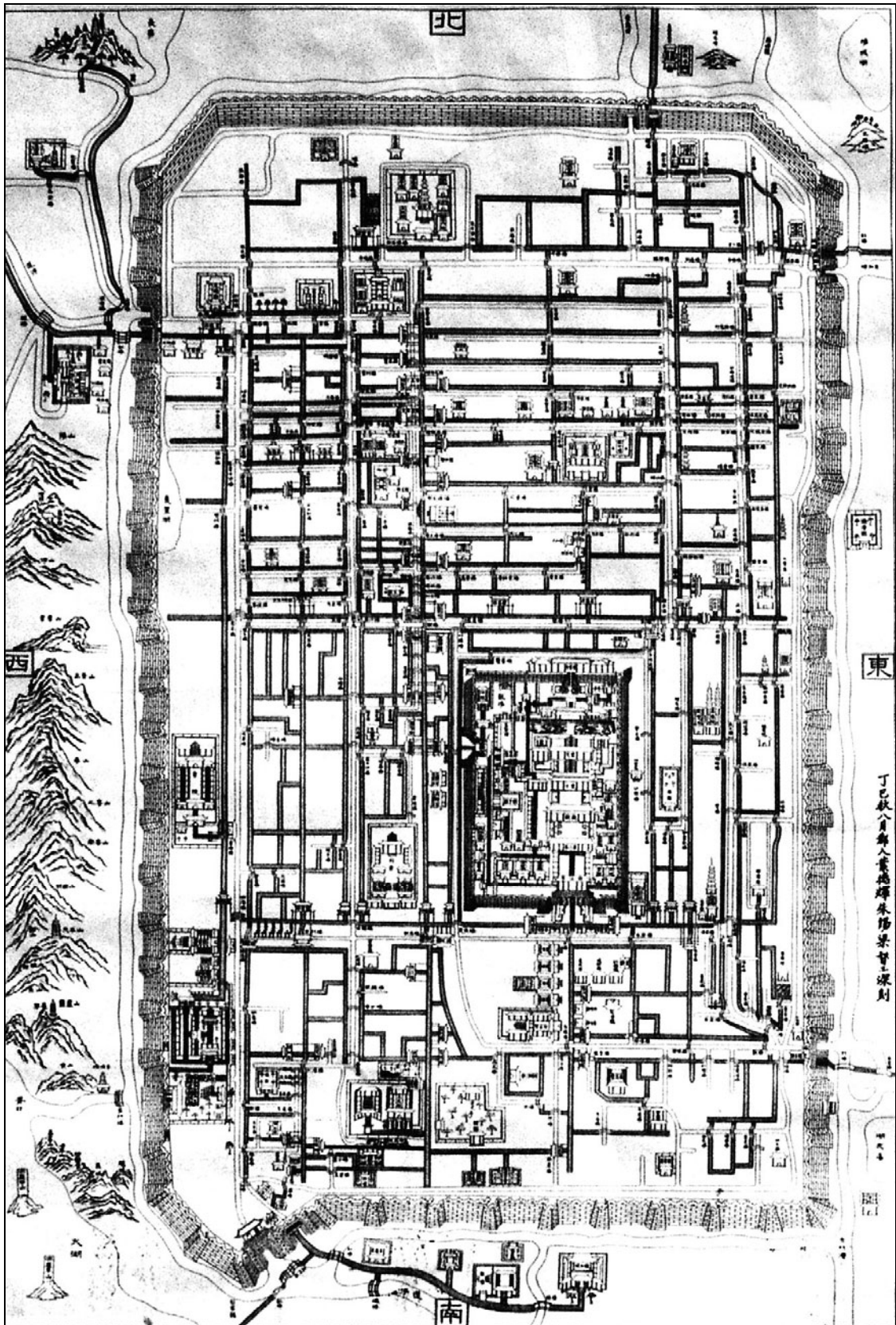
Figure 14. *Pingjingtu* of *Suzhou* in Southern Song after Wu (1986, p. 94)
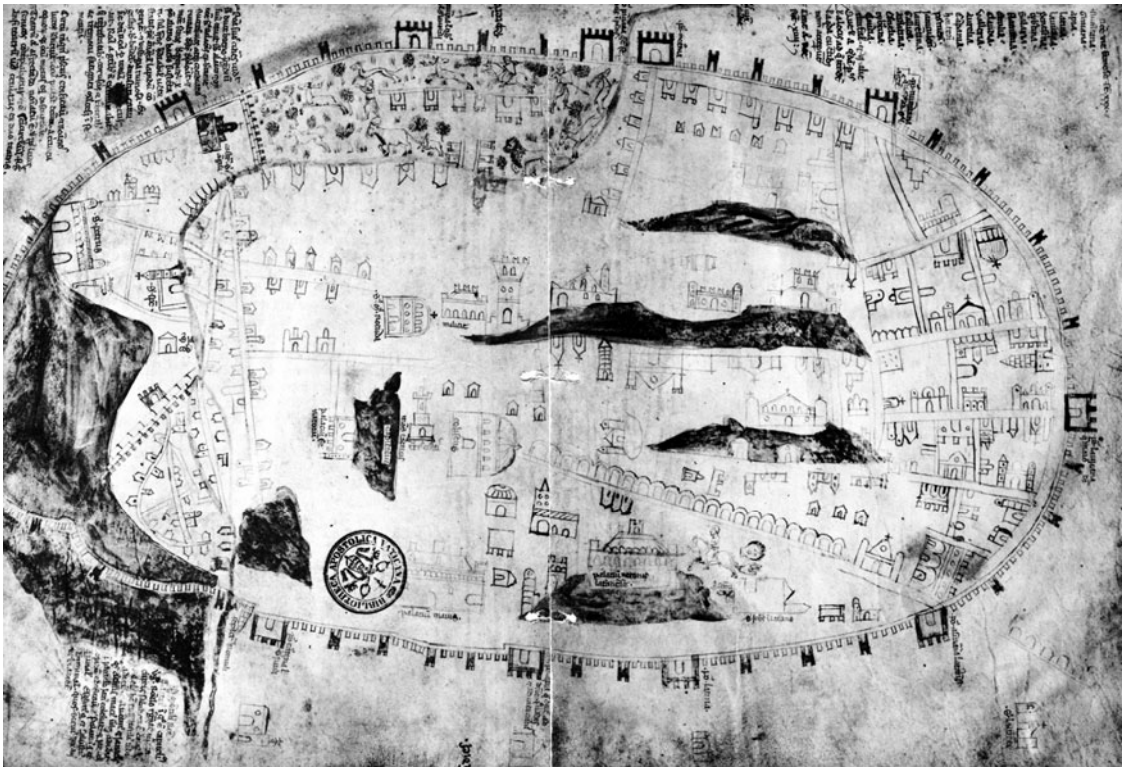
Figure 15. Medival Rome in 1323 after Krautheimer (1980, p.182)

M. Sections in QM and GS

Figure 16. Streetview and state-owned Wineshop in QM by *Zhang Zeduan*

Figure 17. Streetview in QM by *Zhang Zeduan*
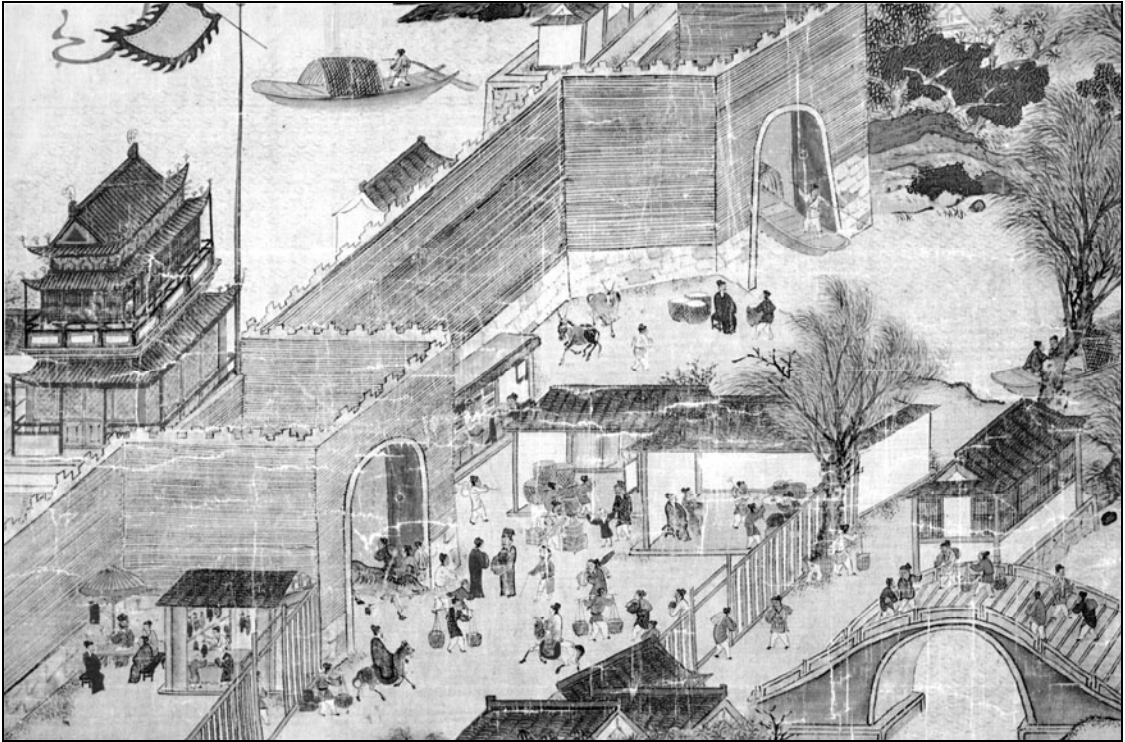
Figure 18. One of the city's gates in QM by *Qiu Ying*

Figure 19. Streetview in QM by *Qiu Ying*
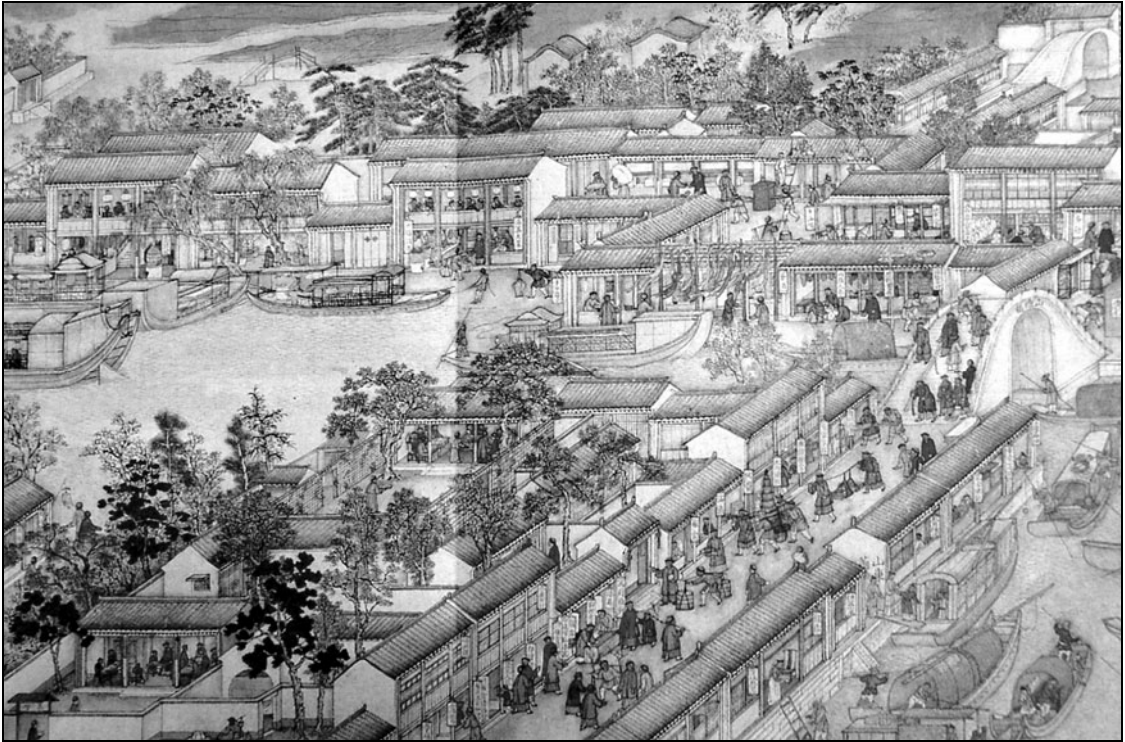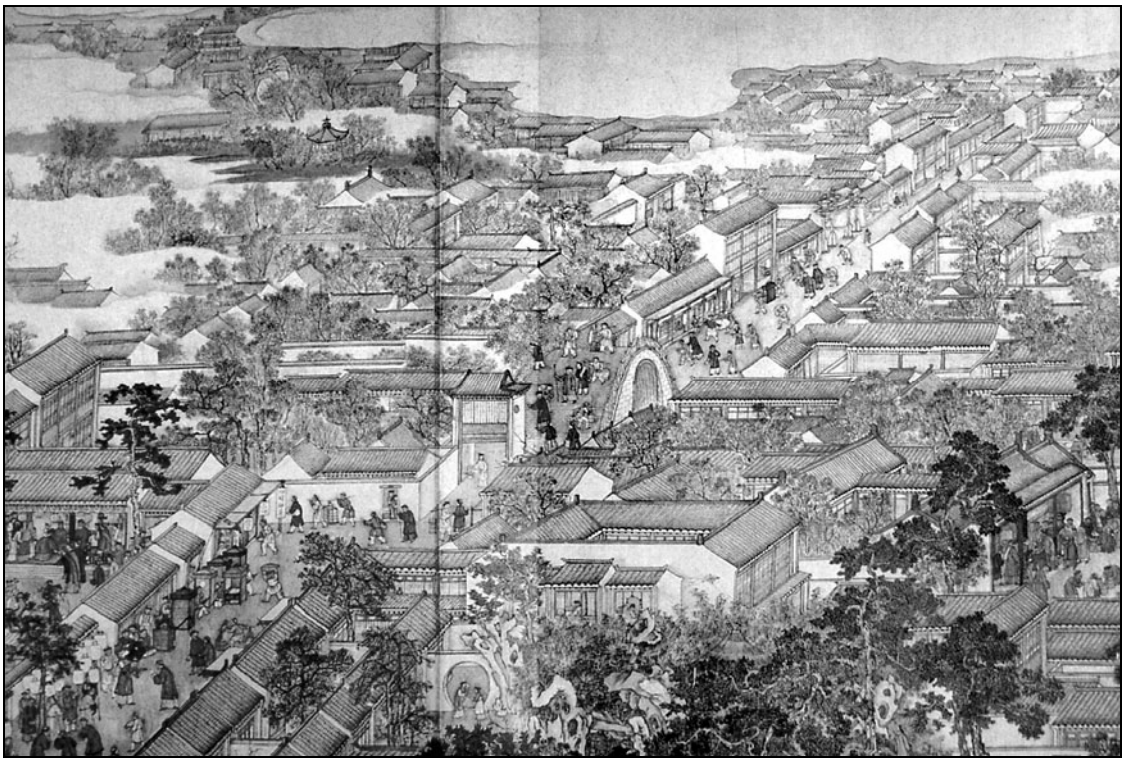
Figure 20. Streetview, canal and bridge in GS by *Xu Yang*

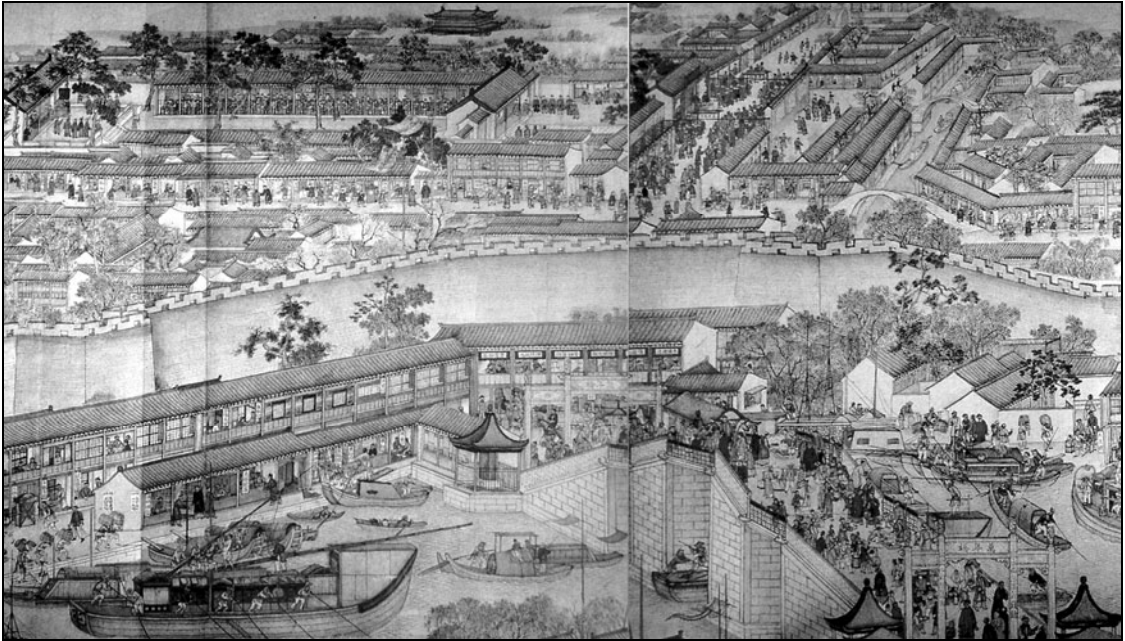Figure 21. Streetview in GS by *Xu Yang*
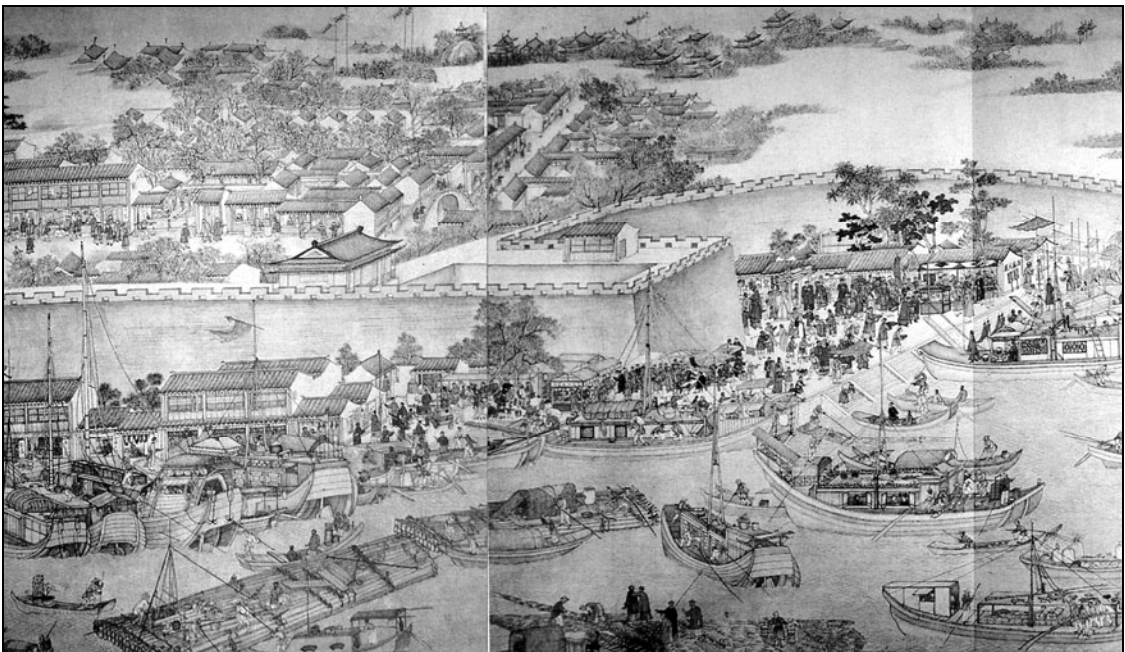
Figure 22. Canal and bridge in GS by *Xu Yang*

Figure 23. City moat, city wall and city gate in GS by *Xu Yang*