

From Hangzhou to Lin'an:
History, Space, and the Experience of Urban Living
in Narratives from Song Dynasty China

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation uncovers the contemporary impressions of Song cities represented in Song narratives and their accounts of the interplay between people and urban environments. It links these narratives to urban and societal changes in Hangzhou 杭州 (Lin'an 臨安) during the Song dynasty, cross-referencing both literary creations and historical accounts through a close reading of the surviving corpus of Song narratives, in order to shed light on the cultural landscape and social milieu of Hangzhou. By identifying, reconstructing, and interpreting urban changes throughout the “pre-modernization” transition as well as their embodiments in the narratives, the dissertation links changes to the physical world with the development of Song narratives. In revealing the emerging connection between historical and literary spaces, the dissertation concludes that the transitions of Song cities and urban culture drove these narrative writings during the Song dynasty. Meanwhile, the ideologies and urban culture reflected in these accounts could only have emerged alongside the appearance of a consumption society in Hangzhou. Aiming to expand our understanding of the literary value of Song narratives, the dissertation therefore also considers historical references and concurrent writings in other genres. By elucidating the social, spatial, and historical meanings embedded in a variety of Song narrative accounts, this study details how the Song literary narrative corpus interprets the urban landscapes of the period’s capital city through the private experiences of Song authors. Using a transdisciplinary methodology, it situates the texts within the cultural milieu of Song society and further reveals the connections of these narratives to the transformative process of urbanization in Song society.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“The Chatting Under a Grove of Trees”: A Reevaluation of Song Narratives

In his remarkable study regarding Song poetry, *Songshi xuanzhu* 宋詩選注 (An Annotated Anthology of Song Poetry), Qian Zhongshu 钱鍾書 (1910–1998) pronounces: “Having Tang poetry as an example was both the greatest fortune and the greatest misfortune for Song Dynasty authors” (有唐詩作榜樣是宋人的大幸，也是宋人的大不幸).¹ In fact, Song *xiaoshuo* 小說 (petty talk, narrative),² just like Song poems, are also perceived as mere shadows of their Tang predecessors. While the surviving corpus of Song poetry has recently attracted a fair amount of academic attention, Song narratives are still neglected. In addition to constant comparison of these stories with the earlier Tang *chuanqi* 傳奇 (transmissions of the marvelous, tales) as well as with Ming and Qing novels, commentaries on Song *chuanqi* today have been shaped by previous critical iterations. Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488–1559), one of the earliest critics to compare Song

¹ Qian Zhongshu, ed., *Songshi xuanzhu* (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2002), 10.

² Hereafter, I use “Song narratives” to refer to these texts.

narratives with those of the Tang, remarks in *Tan yuan tihu* 譚苑醍醐 (The Pelican in the Garden of Discussions): “Writings and books remark that Song *xiaoshuo* are inferior to those of the Tang; this is indeed true” (說著云宋人小說不及唐人，是也).³

Hu Yingling 胡應麟 (1551–1602), a critic from a slightly later period, also penned an influential proclamation about Tang and Song *xiaoshuo* in *Shaoshi shanfang bicong* 少室山房筆叢 (Miscellaneous Notes from the Mount Shaoshi Studio):⁴

For *xiaoshuo*, the works written by the Tang and earlier authors mostly narrate factitious materials and their writings are embellished and impressive; the *xiaoshuo* since the Song Dynasty mainly discuss realistic matters, but these [Song] writings are particularly short of colorful diction.⁵ Probably the Tang and earlier *xiaoshuo* were written by literati and talented writers and the Song and later *xiaoshuo* were discussions of vulgar Confucianists and country bumpkins.

小說唐人以前記述多虛而藻繪可觀，宋人以後論次多實而采豔殊乏。蓋唐以前出文人才士之手，而宋以後率俚儒野老之談故也。”

Hu Yinglin further notes:⁶

Only by the Tang era did writers consciously invent strange adventures and deliberately employ the *xiaoshuo* form to put their tales in writing. Works like the “Biography of Furpoint” (Mao Ying zhuan 毛穎傳) and “An Account of the Governor of the Southern Branch” (Nanke taishou zhuan 南柯太守傳) [which fall into the conscious fictionalization category] are pleasant to read. However works such as the “Records of the Night Weirdness at Dongyang” (Dongyang yeguai lu 東陽夜怪錄), which claims to be “made from the illusionary” (*cheng zi xu* 成自

³ Yang Shen, *Tan yuan tihu* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1936), 7. 56.

⁴ Hu Yinglin, *Shaoshi shanfang bicong* (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1963), 29. 377.

⁵ Stephen Owen’s discussion of *cai* 彩, 采 (coloration) concludes that *cai* refers to “the bright, variegated pattern that seems to be part of the affect of a text, something like ‘rhetorical flourish,’ without the pejorative and manipulative associations that attend upon most modern uses of the term ‘rhetoric’” in Chinese literary criticism. See Stephen Owen, *Reading in Chinese Literary Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 592. Also see Laura Hua Wu, “From Xiaoshuo to Fiction: Hu Yinglin’s Genre Study of Xiaoshuo,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 55, no. 2 (1995), 360.

⁶ *Shaoshi shanfang bicong*, 36.471. The English translation is modified from Laura Hua Wu. See Laura Hua Wu, “From Xiaoshuo to Fiction,” 362.

虛), and the *Xuan guai lu* 玄怪錄 (Accounts of the Mysterious and the Marvels), which professes to be “[something that is] originally non-existent” (*yuan wu you* 元無有), all provide good laughs. Moreover, their literary quality is very poor and unworthy of mention. Tales by Song authors are, in most cases, closer to factual, yet their literary elegance is not worth looking at with appreciation.

至唐人乃作意好奇，假小說以寄筆端。如《毛穎》《南柯》之類尚可，若《東陽夜怪》稱成自虛，《玄怪錄》元無有，皆但可付之一笑。其文氣亦卑下亡足論。宋人所記乃，多有近實者，而文彩無足觀。

Here, Hu Yingling points out several characteristics of Song *xiaoshuo*: first, instead of “consciously inventing strange adventures” (作意好奇) as seen in the Tang texts, the writers of Song *xiaoshuo* “mainly discuss realistic matters” (論次多實). Moreover, the Song *xiaoshuo* lack rhetorical elegance, instead being crafted from plain, workmanlike language. Hu Yingling argues that such characteristics in Song *xiaoshuo* stem from a change in the social class of the authors: whereas most Tang *xiaoshuo* were composed by elite literati, those in the Song were mainly written by rustic and vulgar Confucianists. Scholars following Hu Yingling in the Ming and Qing dynasties assert essentially unchanged opinions. For example, in Feng Zhenluan’s 馮鎮巒 (1760–1830) “A Miscellaneous Discussion after Reading the *Record of Wonders from the Studio of Leisure*” (Du liaozhai zashuo 讀聊齋雜說), he comments that “*xiaoshuo* of the Song Dynasty are inferior to those written in the Tang Dynasty” (小說宋不如唐).⁷

Among modern scholars, Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936) was a trailblazer in extracting value from the surviving corpus of Tang and Song narratives. The eleventh

⁷ Feng Zhenluan, “Du *Liaozhai zashuo*,” in *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo lunzhu xuan* 中國歷代小說論著選 (A Selection of the *Xiaoshuo* Criticism from all Dynasties) (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1982), 2.531.

article, “Writings of *Zhiguai* and *Chuanqi* in the Song Dynasty” (Song zhi zhiguai ji *chuanqi wen* 宋之志怪及傳奇文), in Lu Xun’s seminal work, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe* 中國小說史略 (A Brief History of Chinese Fiction), is one of the earliest discussions by a modern scholar dedicated to Song classical narratives.⁸ In his renowned *chuanqi* compendium, *Tang Song chuanqi ji* 唐宋傳奇集 (A Collection of Tang and Song Dynasty Tales), Lu Xun collected nine short pieces from the Song. The compendium also includes a “Small Appendix alongside the Trivial Histories” (*Baibian xiaozhui* 稗邊小綴), in which Lu Xun discusses the date, authorship, and circulation of the 48 tales in the collection.⁹ Despite his attentiveness to Song *xiaoshuo*, Lu Xun also expresses a largely critical assessment in his concluding remark about Song authors:¹⁰

As for the “records of anomalies” by Song Dynasty authors, they were plain and solid and lacked literary elegance, while their “tales of the remarkable” usually avoided contemporary topics and dealt with the past; they were neither good imitations of earlier works nor yet original tales.

之為志怪，既平實而乏文彩，其傳奇，又多托往事而避近聞，擬古且遠不逮，更無獨創之可言矣。

In fact, such harsh criticism of Song *xiaoshuo* is largely due to the establishment of Tang *xiaoshuo* as the sole benchmark by which scholars like Lu Xun made their evaluations. Once scholars failed to locate in Song *xiaoshuo* elements like “the complexity of narrative accounts” (*xushu wanzhuan* 敘述宛轉) and “the resplendence of

⁸ Lu Xun, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe* (Beijing: Lu Xun quanji chubanshe, 1941), 71.

⁹ Lu Xun, *Tang Song Chuanqi ji* (Beijing: Lu Xun quanji chubanshe, 1941), 295–336.

¹⁰ Lu Xun, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe*, 71. The English translation is modified from Yang Hsian-Yi and Gladys Yang, trans., *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1964), 139.

style and diction” (*wenci huayan* 文辭華豔),¹¹ which were anticipated based on the Tang *xiaoshuo*, such a conclusion was perhaps inevitable. To a large extent, the critiques Song *xiaoshuo* received from scholars such as Lu Xun and Hu Yingling regarding their literary quality contributed significantly to their unpopularity in contemporary academic circles.¹² Subsequently, two phenomena appear in the history of Chinese literature as written by twentieth-century scholars: either vernacular stories are taken as representative of Song *xiaoshuo* without mentioning any Song narratives written in literary Chinese, or Song *xiaoshuo* are simply regarded as inferior to those of the Tang and not accorded additional scrutiny.

¹¹ One widely circulated standard of *xiaoshuo* is Lu Xun’s discussion of Tang *xiaoshuo* in *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe*:

Fiction was also like poetry—there was a complete change when it came to the Tang era. Although it still could not divorce itself from collecting the strange and recording that which had been left out of historical account, the sign of evolution in the complexity of narrative accounts and the resplendence of style and diction, in comparison to the crudely arranged, abridged structures of the Six Dynasties, are evident. What is especially manifest is that only from this time do we have fiction written with intent.

小說亦如詩，至唐代而一變，雖尚不離於搜奇記逸，然敘述宛轉，文辭華豔，與六朝之粗陳梗概者較，演進之跡甚明，而尤顯者乃在是時則始有意為小說。

See Lu Xun, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe*, 54. The English translation is from William H. Nienhauser, Jr., “Creativity and Storytelling in the Ch’uan-ch’i: Shen Ya-chih’s Tang Tales,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 20 (1998): 32.

¹² Although he reaches a similar conclusion to that of Hu Yingling, Lu Xun provides a different explanation for its source, linking it to the prevailing influence of popular religions in the Song Dynasty:

Though the Song scholars elevated Confucianism and sometimes accepted Buddhist and Daoist teachings, the foundation of their worship lay in shamans and ghosts. Therefore, after Xu Xuan and Wu Shu, there was still a great number of discussions of metamorphoses, anomalies, prophecies, and numinous correspondence.

宋代雖崇儒并容釋道，而信仰本根，夙在巫鬼，故徐鉉吳淑而後，仍多變怪讖應之談。

See Lu Xun, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe*, 241.

If we insist on taking the features of Tang *xiaoshuo* as criteria for the assessment of Song *xiaoshuo*, the only possible conclusion is the one arrived at by Lu Xun and Hu Yingling, devaluing all the merits of the Song iteration. But, as a matter of fact, Song *xiaoshuo*'s characteristic plainness can also be seen as an authentic reflection of the contemporary style of the Song Dynasty. In the preface of *Songren baijia xiaoshuo* 宋人百家小說 (Stories from a Hundred Writers of the Song), the Peach Blossom Spring Layman (*Taoyuan jushi* 桃源居士) pinpoints the particular merits of Song *xiaoshuo*:¹³

[*Xiaoshuo*] were especially prevalent during the Tang Dynasty. Probably at that time, writers who travelled to Chang'an, those frustrated and disappointed frequently satirized something while writing the tales. But these stories were pure fantasy and nonexistent, as well as elegant but not trustworthy. Only the Song *xiaoshuo* were written by scholar-officials. [The Song stories] were either records outside their work as officials, or chatting under a grove of trees. Their narrations came from discussion with their fathers, brothers, teachers and friends during their lifetimes, or [were based on their own] travel experiences and knowledge. For the uncertain points, [Song writers] did research on them. Therefore, every word and smile could serve as a remembrance of the predecessors. The matters [in Song *xiaoshuo*] could supplement the omissions of the official histories and remedy the deficiencies of the anecdotes. Compared to the writings of Duan Chengshi [800–863], Shen Jiji [777–800], and others, although [the Song *xiaoshuo*] lack marvels and literary elegance, they are overflowing in an unadorned and graceful style. Those [Tang *xiaoshuo*] are like jade in the harvest years; these Song writings are like grains in the famine years. Those are like cypress leaves and sweet flags, emptying one's wisdom and inner spirit; these are like fine treasures and standard wine, satiating one's intestines and stomach. Both of [the two writings] are valuable; it is not permissible to emphasize one at the expense of another.

尤莫盛於唐，蓋當時長安逆旅，落魄失意之人，往往寓諷而為之。然子虛烏有，美而不信。唯宋則出士大夫手，非公餘纂錄，即林下閑譚，所述皆生平父兄師友相與談說，或履歷見聞，疑誤考證，故一語一笑，想見先輩風流，其事可補正史之亡，裨掌故之闕。較之段成式，沈既濟等，雖奇麗不足而樸

¹³ Peach Blossom Spring Layman, "A Preface for the Stories from a Hundred Writers of the Song" (Song ren xiaoshuo xu 宋人小說序), in *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba ji* 中國歷代小說序跋集, ed. Ding Xigen 丁錫根 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1996), 1790.

雅有餘。彼如豐年玉，此如凶年穀；彼如柏葉菖蒲，虛人智靈，此如嘉珍法酒，飫人腸胃；并足為貴，不可偏廢耳。

It should be noted that the *xiaoshuo* mentioned by the Peach Blossom Spring Layman in the above passage may plausibly include some accounts that might been classified as *biji* 筆記 (causal jottings) by scholars of later periods. Although the Peach Blossom Spring Layman persists in comparing Song *xiaoshuo* with their Tang predecessors, he recognizes Song narratives as having an “abundance of simplicity and elegance” (樸雅有餘), arguing that they should not be discounted solely for lacking Tang *xiaoshuo*’s “marvel and literary elegance” (奇麗). In this vein, which treats Song *xiaoshuo* as an effort to precisely yet subtly replicate and reflect contemporary experience instead of following the conventional perspective which takes Tang *chuanqi* as a reference, the particular, unique values of Song *xiaoshuo* can be revealed through a reevaluation of the extensive Song narrative corpus. Moreover, Song *xiaoshuo*’s characteristic preference for the authors’ “travel experiences and knowledge” turns out to be a great virtue for us today: we are able to reconstruct the experiences of authors during these periods of time, establishing a comprehensive and authentic picture of literary spaces which intersects with that reconstructed through official historical writings (*zhengshi* 正史).

Besides underrating the literary value of Song *xiaoshuo*, another debatable aspect of earlier scholarship is the widespread use of generic labels on the surviving narrative corpus. When Li Jianguo 李劍國 discusses his criteria for selecting different works as

chuanqi in his anthology *Songdai chuanqi ji* 宋代傳奇集 (An Anthology of Song Dynasty Tales), he notes the disordered labeling standards for these accounts:¹⁴

However, *xiaoshuo*, *zhiguai*, *zashi* [“miscellaneous stories”], [and] *chuanqi* often coexisted in the collections of *xiaoshuo*. When judging them by the standard of *chuanqi*, we are frequently put in a quandary of deciding where to land. As for those accounts that I chose today, mostly, if a piece has the writing style of *chuanqi* and a long length, I included it [in my collection].

然小說集中多為志怪雜事傳奇俱存，而以傳奇標準繩之，每有游移難定之窘。今之所擇，大凡具傳奇筆意，篇幅較長者即取之。

In fact, some entries in Li Jianguo’s collection are chosen from works that are traditionally not considered to be *chuanqi*. For example, he includes the 115 accounts from Hong Mai’s 洪邁 (1123–1202) *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Record of the Listener), which is conventionally understood as a collection of *zhiguai*. As this example demonstrates, due to the ambiguities of classification, breaking the *xiaoshuo* corpus into various subgenres is problematic. As Liu Qian suggests in her study of Tang narratives, it is necessary to cast away these generic twentieth-century labels and “have an acute awareness of the rather limiting view of these categorizations, and our research should avoid either being restricted to very limited proportions of this extensive corpus or being confined to rigid and meager readings.”¹⁵ Hence, in this dissertation, I use “Song narratives” to refer to accounts written in classical language by Song Dynasty authors.

¹⁴ See Li Jianguo, ed., *Songdai chuanqi ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), 3.

¹⁵ The limitations of the conventional categorizations of *xiaoshuo* have been challenged by many scholars. For a detailed discussion and summary of previous scholarship on this matter, see Liu Qian, “Reading Resonance in Tang Tales: Allegories and Beyond,” (Ph. D. Diss. Arizona State University, 2017), 8.

An Overview of Contemporary Scholarship on Song Narratives

In recent decades, while Tang narratives have attracted attention from many scholars in Chinese, Japanese, and Western academia, substantially less scholarship has addressed Song narratives. However, although this is a comparatively limited field, among the handful of studies concerning Song narratives, several are particularly thought-provoking.

In 1997, Li Jianguo published *Songdai zhiguai chuanqi xulu* 宋代志怪傳奇敘錄 (Notes on the Supernatural Stories and Marvelous Tales from the Song Dynasty), which is a comprehensive and evidentiary study of the dates, authorship, and circulation of 267 single tales or *xiaoshuo* collections from the Song, Liao 遼 (916–1125), and Jin 金 (1115–1234) Dynasties,¹⁶ followed by the compilation *Songdai chuanqi ji*. In the preface of *Songdai zhiguai chuanqi xulu*, Li Jianguo prudently divides the development of Song narratives into six periods on the historical time scale: the Early Northern Song (960–1022), including the reigns of Taizu 太祖 (r. 960–976), Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–997), and Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997–1022), for a period of 63 years; the Middle Northern Song (1023–1067), including the reigns of Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–1063) and Yingzong 英宗 (r. 1063–1067) over 45 years; the Late Northern Song (1068–1126), including Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–1085), Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1085–1100), Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1126), and Qinzong 欽宗 (r. 1126–1127), covering 59 years; the Early Southern Song (1127–1162) for the reign of Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162), spanning 36 years; the Middle Southern

¹⁶ Li Jianguo, *Songdai zhiguai chuanqi xulu* (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1997), 21–22.

Song (1163–1224), including Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1162–1189), Guangzong 光宗 (r. 1189–1194), and Ningzong 寧宗 (r. 1194–1224), over a period of 62 years; and the Late Southern Song (1125–1279), including the reigns of Lizong 理宗 (r. 1224–1264), Duzong 度宗 (r. 1264–1274), Gongzong 恭宗 (r. 1274–1276), Duanzong 端宗 (r. 1276–1278), and Zhao Bing 趙昺 (r. 1278–1279), for 55 years.¹⁷ Through a systematic inspection of the extensive surviving Song *xiaoshuo* with a focus on genre, writing style, and the number of entries, Li Jianguo concludes that the narratives of the early Northern Song mainly collected common gossip and extraordinary historical events, which are unlikely to be praised for their literary value. By contrast, the Late Northern Song period, starting with the reign of Shenzong, marks a period of flourishing for Northern Song narratives. Both quantity and quality appear to increase, as shown by representative pieces such as “Zhang Hao” (Zhang Hao 張浩) and “An Account of the Mandarin Duck Lanterns” (Yuanyang deng zhuan 鴛鴦燈傳), which do “not aim for poetic quality or in-depth reflections, but intricately depict scenes of bustle and excitement” (不求詩意深沈，但求曲折熱鬧). The compilations of Liu Fu’s 劉斧 (fl. 1073) *Qingsuo gaoyi* 青瑣高議 (Lofty Discourses from the Green Latticework) and Li Xianmin’s 李獻民 (fl. 1073) *Yunzhai guanglu* 雲齋廣錄 (Extended Records from the Cloud Studio) are also considered to mark an unprecedented peak in the history of *xiaoshuo* during the Northern Song. After the Jingkang Incident 靖康事變 (1127), the literary quality of *xiaoshuo* noticeably plummets. Religious subjects become dominant in the works of this period;

¹⁷ Ibid., 10–20.

the four tales collected in Lian Bu 廉布 (1092–1166)'s *Qingzun lu* 清尊錄 (Records of the Pure Goblet) are the only ones of relative value from a literary perspective. Li Jianguo considers Hong Mai's *Yijian zhi* as the most representative work of the Southern Song *xiaoshuo*, which “reflects an elevation and expansion of the status, impact, and richness of *xiaoshuo*” (反映著小說地位，小說影響，小說自身豐富化的提高和擴大).¹⁸ Lastly, Li Jianguo further concludes that the achievements of *chuanqi* were comparatively prominent during the Northern Song, while *zhiguai* flourished in the Southern Song.¹⁹

Such a detailed division of Song *xiaoshuo* is particularly beneficial for later researchers who aim to comprehend the historical development of the Song narratives; *Song dai zhiguai chuanqi xulu* and *Song dai chuanqi ji* serve as solid foundations for subsequent studies. Nevertheless, because in these two works Li Jianguo concentrates primarily on evidentiary research, we do not encounter detailed and in-depth studies of any individual pieces. Moreover, Li Jianguo's proclamation that *Yijian zhi* reflects an elevation of the status of *xiaoshuo* in the Southern Song is problematic. As the study by Alister D. Inglis indicates, although a variety of stories in *Yijian zhi* inspired later adaptations in different genres, Hong Mai's compilation of *Yijian zhi* during his lifetime should be distinguished from “*xiaoshuo* that are consciously written with intention” (有意為小說).²⁰ From the internal evidence of the 13 prefaces for *Yijian zhi*, it could be

¹⁸ Ibid., 18.

¹⁹ Ibid., 20.

²⁰ Inglis suggests that his work completely endorses Robert Campany's strong opposition to the “hitherto established paradigm which viewed Six Dynasties (222–589) *zhiguai* accounts as the ‘birth of fiction’ in China.” See Inglis, *Hong Mai's Record of the Listener and its Song Dynasty Context* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 54.

inferred that Hong Mai “understood himself to be compiling a sort of history of events as told by contemporary narrators, and that most of his readers also understood him to be engaged in this task.”²¹ In other words, assuming *Yijian zhi* to be an “[intentional] creation of *zhiguai xiaoshuo*” (志怪小說創作) is a longstanding misinterpretation.

Song Yuan xiaoshuo shi 宋元小說史 (A History of Novels from the Song and Yuan Dynasties) of Xiao Xiangkai 蕭相愷 marks another significant piece of research into Song narratives, in which the author divides Song narratives into “*xiaoshuo* of urban citizens” (*shiren xiaoshuo* 市人小說) and “classical *xiaoshuo*” (*wenyan xiaoshuo* 文言小說). Here the texts that are labeled *shiren xiaoshuo* relate to storytelling.²² Within this category, Xiao focuses on works such as “Record of the Three Demons from Luoyang” (Luoyang san guai ji 洛陽三怪記), *Sanguo zhi pinghua* 三國志平話 (Records of the Three Kingdoms in Plain Language), and *Da Song Xuanhe yishi* 大宋宣和遺事 (Remnant Affairs of the Xuanhe Era of the Great Song). But as the studies of Patrick Hanan point out, the authorship of none of these vernacular stories can be incontrovertibly credited to the Song Dynasty.²³ Therefore, labeling these *shiren xiaoshuo* as Song productions is an inexact classification. The latter half of *Song Yuan xiaoshuo shi* concentrates on *wenyan xiaoshuo* during the Song Dynasty, which was divided into *zhiguai* 志怪 (records of anomalies), *yishi* 軼事 (anecdotes), and *chuanqi*.²⁴

²¹ Ibid., 238.

²² Xiao Xiangkai, *Song Yuan xiaoshuo shi* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1997), 10.

²³ See for example, Patrick Hanan, “The Early Chinese Short Stories: A Critical Theory in Outline,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 27 (1967), 178–207.

²⁴ Xiao Xiangkai, *Song Yuan xiaoshuo shi*, 164–65.

The classification that Xiao defines as *wenyan xiaoshuo* to some extent overlaps with the scope of this dissertation, yet it is still problematic to divide the surviving corpus of Song narratives into these categories.

A parallel pronouncement to Xiao Xiangkai's can be found in Cheng Yizhong's 程毅中 *Song Yuan xiaoshuo yanjiu* 宋元小說研究 (Research on *Xiaoshuo* from the Song and Yuan Dynasties), in which Cheng Yizhong proposes that the transition from the Southern Song Dynasty to the Yuan Dynasty marks a radical transformation in the history of Chinese *xiaoshuo*, elevating "vernacular stories" (*tongsu xiaoshuo* 通俗小說) to the narrative mainstream.²⁵ Yet Cheng Yizhong refrains from combining Song narratives written in literary Chinese with vernacular stories such as *huaben* 話本 (story-telling scripts, novellas). Instead, he notes that the Song narratives written in literary Chinese and vernacular stories markedly diverged after the Song Dynasty.

Besides these works by Xiao and Cheng dedicated to Song narratives, there is also an abundance of contemporary scholarship on literary history which mentions narratives during the Song. These studies predominantly stake out a similar position: that narratives written in classical language during the Song Dynasty witness a gradual waning, making popular tales like *huaben* more prominent and noticeable.

In the past decade, another prominent work dedicated to Song *xiaoshuo* is Ling Yuzhi 凌鬱之's *Zouxiang shisu—Songdai wenyan xiaoshuo de bianqian* 走向世俗—宋代文言小說的變遷 (Towards the Mundane World—A Transition of Song Literary *Xiaoshuo*), which excludes vernacular stories that are labeled as Song *xiaoshuo* by Xiao

²⁵ Cheng Yizhong, *Song Yuan xiaoshuo yanjiu* (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1998), 11.

Xiangkai. Such a research dedicated to Song narratives in literary Chinese is a significant step forward in the analysis of Song *xiaoshuo*. In his study, Ling Yuzhi proclaims that literary *xiaoshuo* has long been considered as in decline during the Song Dynasty; however, it is necessary to note that “the change is not a decline in quality, but rather a shift in style” (傳奇文體到了宋代不是衰落了而是轉型了).²⁶ Compared to the Tang Dynasty’s characteristic pursuit of literary merit, Song authors endeavor to approach the *zhuan* 傳 (historical biography) tradition. Ling Yuzhi argues that, in general, the Song tales follow the tradition of historical biographies while the Tang tales follow the tradition of *Shijing* 詩經 (Classics of Poetry) and “Encountering sorrow” (Lisao 離騷).²⁷ This is undeniably a perceptive analysis.

In Western academia, with the exception of a few translations of Song tales in anthologies, there has been very little research on Song narratives.²⁸ The most notable contribution to the field is Alister Inglis’s *Hong Mai’s Record of the Listener and Its Song Dynasty Context*, in which he studies the nature and content of *Yijian zhi* in its

²⁶ Ling Yuzhi, *Zouxiang shisu—Songdai wenyan xiaoshuo de bianqian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 23–33.

²⁸ In *The Golden Casket: Chinese Novellas of Two Millennia*, Christopher Levenson translated three Song tales into English, though with a great deal of linguistic inaccuracies. See Bauer Wolfgang and Franke Herbert, eds. *The Golden Casket: Chinese Novellas of Two Millennia*, translated from German by Christopher Levenson (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1965), 202–24. Wilt Idema and Beata Grant also includes one Song tale “Wen Wan” (Wen Wan 溫琬) in their collection *The Red Brush: Writing Women of Imperial China*. See Wilt Idema and Beata Grant eds., *The Red Brush: Writing Women of Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 101–07. Together with Li Jianguo, Rania Huntington also published an article in Chinese on historical criticism in Tang and Song tales. See Li Jianguo and Rania Huntington, “Wangling yiwang: Tang Song chuanqi de yizhong lishi guanzhao fangshi” 亡靈憶往：唐宋傳奇的一種歷史關照方式, *Nankai xuebao* 南開學報, no. 3 (2003): 1–11; no. 4(2004):97–105.

historical setting. Through a detailed examination of internal evidence in the massive *Yijian zhi* corpus, especially the extant prefaces, Inglis reveals “how Hong Mai combined the historian’s concern for factual reliability with an insatiable obsession with tales of the strange.”²⁹ In 2016, we see the first published anthology of Song tales in English, *Song Dynasty Tales: A Guided Reader*. Though the compilers “aim to provide an enjoyable and useful anthology of Song tales for recreational readers,” the book’s detailed preface nevertheless traces the development of Song tales as a whole and summarizes their major characteristics, including “secularization,” “plain and solid style,” “a combination of multiple genres,” and “moral teachings.”³⁰

Constructing the Norm (*chang* 常) from the Fascination of the Marvelous (*qi* 奇):

Reading Song Cities in the Context of Narratives

When reading narratives written by Song authors, one noticeable phenomenon is the appearance of transformation in Song cities. A forerunner in recognizing the Song dynasty as an important period of transformation toward modernity in Chinese history is the renowned Japanese scholar Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 (1866–1934),³¹ the founder of the Kyoto School of historiography 京都學派. Inspired by the widely acknowledged linear

²⁹ Paul Jakov Smith, “Hong Mai’s *Record of the Listener* and Its Song Dynasty Context (review),” *China Review International*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2008), 470; Inglis, *Hong Mai’s Record of the Listener and its Song Dynasty Context*, 105–51.

³⁰ Zhenjun Zhang and Jing Wang eds., *Song Dynasty Tales: A Guided Reader* (Toh Tuck Link: World Scientific Publishing Co., 2017), xix–xxix.

³¹ Naitō Konan is also known as Naitō Torajirō 内藤虎次郎.

and tripartite (ancient–medieval–modern) periodization of European civilization and Uchida Ginzo’s 内田銀藏 (1872–1919) periodization of Japanese history, Naitō advises that the drastic change from the mid-Tang dynasty to the early Song dynasty, spanning the spheres of politics, demography, culture, and economy, marks a significant transition in Chinese history towards the “modern age” (*kinsei* 近世). Traversing such aspects as power redistribution, political reorganization, and official appointments, Naitō proclaims that the Tang-Song transition implies the collapse of feudalism, with the former aristocratic order replaced by autocratic imperialism, empowering commoners with their own vibrant cultures and autonomous communities (*jichi dantai* 自治團體).³²

Following these ideas, his student and successor Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定 (1901–1995) further expands and enriches the scope of Naitō’s study via a systematic analysis of the premodern characteristics of the Song dynasty. Through comparative studies with references taken from Western history, Miyazaki insightfully notes a clear tendency toward secularization with the retreat of Buddhism, similar to the dynamics of the Renaissance. He also observes invigorated patterns of trade and transportation as compared to those of previous medieval ages,³³ accompanying the “rise of cities and

³² Richard von Glahn, “Imagining Pre-modern China,” in *Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, eds. Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 37–40. Yao Zhengzhi 姚政志, “Bijiao Neiteng Hunan, Gongqi Shiding, yu Hao Ruobei de ‘Tang Song shidai guan’ 比較内藤湖南, 宮崎市定與郝若貝的唐宋時代觀,” *Zhengda Shicui* 政大史粹 22 (2012): 81–118.

³³ Wang Hui, *The Politics of Imagining Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 44.

commerce and the formation of a rural society governed by free deposition of labor, land, and capital.”³⁴

In Western academia, the theories of Naitō and Miyazaki are also deeply influential, serving as the precursors of many studies. In Dwight Perkins’s work on agricultural development, he suggests that during the period from the ninth century, the late Tang, to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties, there were revolutionary and fundamental changes in the *Jiangnan* 江南 region (south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River) along the lower Yangtze River, with one being the agricultural revolution reflected through the deployment of paddy fields. The economic growth in this region was a remarkable and representative event for economic development across the whole empire.³⁵ Similarly motivated by regional analysis, in 1982 Robert M. Hartwell published “Demographic, Political and Social Transformations of China.” Through a systematic long-term statistical study, based on nearly one thousand sources, he establishes the asynchronous patterns of discrete changes in China across different regions and investigates the underlying forces driving these variances and transformations.³⁶ Furthermore, Robert Hymes studies local elites in Fuzhou 撫州 (modern Fuzhou, Jiangxi) Prefecture, and mentions that with a reduction in the passing rate for the *Jinshi* examination, which had served as a social ladder, elites started more

³⁴ Richard von Glahn, “Imagining Pre-modern China,” 40.

³⁵ Dwight Heald Perkins, *Agricultural Development in China 1369–1968* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 2013), 55–79.

³⁶ Robert M. Hartwell, “Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750–1550,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 42, no. 2 (1982), 365–442.

actively seeking local and regional power and cohesion, instead of single-mindedly focusing on achieving national political rank.³⁷ More recently, Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn proposed the idea of the “Song-Yuan-Ming Transition” in Chinese history, with the aim of restoring the continuity of the historical narrative by “filling in the gap between mid- and later imperial China.”³⁸ Regarding the history of economics, based on the research work of Dwight Perkins, Mamoru Kawakatsu 川勝守 further points out that the late Tang to Southern Song agricultural revolution in the lower Yangtze delta could be considered the first economic revolution in Chinese history. He suggests that the key determinants of this revolution were: 1. The expansion of commerce as well as the increased complexity of business structures; 2. The appearance and circulation of paper currency; 3. The development of urbanization; 4. The appearance of urban residents and the growth of urban cultures; 5. Changes in national business policies; 6. Economically fundamental changes in national financial policies regarding land and capital; 7. The rise of the regional middle class with a strong link to merchants and local elites.³⁹

While many questions are still hotly debated, scholars have reached commonly accepted conclusions on certain aspects. One of these is the notion of a society formed during the Song transition which is directly linked to modern Chinese society. Despite

³⁷ Robert Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 210–12.

³⁸ *Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, 1.

³⁹ Mamoru Kawakatsu, “Zhongguo shi shang de liangci shangye geming ji zhongguo shehui jingji de fazhan” 中國史上的兩次商業革命及中國社會經濟的發展, in *Jidiao yu bianzou: 7 zhi 20 shiji de Zhongguo* 基調與變奏: 7 至 20 世紀的中國, ed. Huang Kuanchong 黃寬重 (Taipei: Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishi xue xi, 2008), 1.

nuanced variations, different theoretical interpretations of this transition, including the Tang-Song transition proposed by Naitō, the Northern-Southern Song transition, and the Song-Yuan-Ming transition championed by Western scholars, all regard the development of metropolitan cities in the Song Dynasty as important reflections of the pre-modernization process of Chinese society. Throughout the transition, the layouts of urban spaces, residents' social structures, experiences of urban living, and cultural landscapes all underwent drastic change.

Regarding the development of Song urbanization and market structure, the research of G. William Skinner is both representative and influential. In *The City in Late Imperial China*, Skinner proposes that there were five significant features to what he called the “Medieval Urban Evolution”: “1. a relaxation of the restriction that each county could maintain only one market, which had to be located in the capital city; 2. The breakdown and eventual collapse of the official marketing organization; 3. The disappearance of the enclosed marketplace, along with the walled-ward system, and their replacement by ‘a much freer street plan in which trade and commerce could be conducted anywhere within the city or its outlying suburbs;’ 4. The rapid expansion of certain walled cities and the growth of commercial suburbs outside their gates; 5. The emergence of a ‘great number of small and intermediate-sized towns’ with important economic functions.”⁴⁰ The development of Dongjing 東京 (modern Kaifeng 開封,

⁴⁰ See Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 23.

Henan)⁴¹ and Lin'an 臨安 (Hangzhou 杭州) precisely reflects what Skinner identifies as the Medieval Urban Evolution.

The existing historical studies of Hangzhou (Lin'an) are impressively detailed and comprehensive. However, despite the plethora of literature on record in historiography and *biji* 筆記 (casual jottings), there has been very little research on how contemporary stories told in the classical language described the city. Song narratives, which also preserved the collective memory of the authors and informants who lived in the capital city, have long been ignored.

In fact, compared with historical writings, the recounting of city and space in Song narratives offers us insight into the private experiences of literati men. An understanding of the urban and social structures of Song cities, as well as their changes, forms a backdrop against which to deliberate the impetus and significance of the writing and collection of Song narratives. Song urban spaces, especially the public places in Lin'an meant for leisure and entertainment, served as sites of tremendous literary production, including poetry, narratives, anecdotes, and performance literature. These stories of urban experience subconsciously, yet persuasively, impacted the people living in the city. As Tatsuhiko Seo 妹尾達彦 and Linda Feng point out in their studies of Chang'an 長安 (modern Xi'an 西安, Shanxi), the circulation of stories and legends in urban spaces formed a spatial memory about different localities of the city which was shared by diverse urban inhabitants. The accumulation and condensation of stories

⁴¹ To be consistent, hereafter I use “Dongjing” to refer to the metropolis of the eastern capital during the Song Dynasty.

around various architectural landmarks of the city over a long period of time nurtured a population which shared these social memories of the city, from its streets to its markets, wine houses, tea lofts, pleasure precincts, and scenic spots. Subsequently, this enabled the formation of an urban society as it is understood ideologically, in the modern concept.⁴² The informality of Song narratives, also refined and altered as they were retold, popularized, and passed on, convey the feelings of not only the author, but rather a whole population collectively immersed in a shared urban space.

While official historical documents focus on emperors and nobles, a close reading of Song narratives provides an expansive horizon of authentic accounts of the urban experience of residents in Song cities. Song authors who had experienced these changes to the urban landscape recorded what they heard and saw in the collections. Previously labeled *chuanqi* or *zhiguai*, these Song narratives represent contemporary urban lives and social experiences from various perspectives. Cracking the shell of an abundance of “strangeness” (*qi* 奇), “abnormality” (*guai* 怪), and “ghostliness” (*gui* 鬼) in those stories, one encounters the thoughts, worries, and observations of Song urban dwellers.

In “A Letter to Discuss the Compilation of the Historical Books with Palace Writer Fan (1041–1098)⁴³ of the Hanlin Academy” (Yu Fan Neihan lun xiushu tie 與范內翰論修書帖), Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) remarks: “As for the veritable

⁴² Tatsuhiko Seo, “Wei Su (d. 757) de *Liangjing xinji* yu ba shiji qianye de Chang’an” 韋述的《兩京新記》與八世紀前葉的長安, in *Tang Yanjiu* 唐研究, ed. Rong Xinjiang 容新江 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2003), 9. 23–24; See also Linda Feng, *City of Marvel and Transformation: Chang’an and Narratives of Experience in Tang Dynasty China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2015), 6–13.

⁴³ Fan Zuyu 范祖禹, style name Chunfu 淳夫 and Mengde 夢得, was one of the compilers of *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government).

records, not all of the official histories are well-grounded; not all of the miscellaneous histories and stories are ungrounded” (其實錄，正史未必皆有可據；雜史，小說未必皆無憑).⁴⁴ That is to say, exhaustive historical materials can be obtained from the extensive body of writings. By reflecting authentic memories of life in their narrators’ localities, Song narratives are invaluable for the reconstruction of Song urban experience.

The main aim of this dissertation is to uncover the contemporary impressions of Hangzhou represented in Song narratives and the interplay between people and the urban environments within. It links Song narratives to urban and societal changes in Hangzhou during the Song dynasty, cross-referencing both literary creations and historical accounts through a close reading of the surviving corpus of Song narratives, in order to shed light on the cultural landscape and social milieu of Hangzhou. By identifying, reconstructing, and interpreting urban changes throughout the “pre-modernization” transition as well as their embodiments in narrative, the dissertation links changes to the physical world during the Song dynasty with the development of Song narratives. The emerging connection between historical and literary spaces that this dissertation reveals leads to the conclusion that Song narratives were created and evolved along with the development of cities in the Song dynasty. Meanwhile, the ideologies and urban culture reflected in these accounts could only have emerged alongside the development of consumption society in Hangzhou.

⁴⁴ Sima Guang, “A Letter to Discuss the Compilation of the Historical Books with Palace Writer Fan of the Hanlin Academy,” in *Sima Wen gong ji bian nian jianzhu* 司馬溫公集編年箋注, ed. Li Zhiliang 李之亮 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2009), 6.162.

An equally important issue for this dissertation to expand our understanding of the literary value of Song narratives; it also, therefore, considers historical references and writings in other genres at the time. The following chapters set forth in detail how the Song literary narrative corpus interprets the urban landscapes of Hangzhou through the private experiences of Song authors.

With this motivation in mind, the second chapter inspects the changes to Hangzhou, both as an ideological symbol of Jiannan 江南 (south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River) and as a physical space, from the Northern to the Southern Song, by navigating through public and religious spaces both urban and suburban via their representations in Song narratives. In the accounts written during the Northern Song, which romanticized its landscapes and features, the image of Hangzhou (Qiantang 錢塘), Lin'an's precursor, was that of a serene territory, peaceful and quiet, in which literati might forsake their dreary, frustrated political careers for joyful meanderings and encounters with immortals. Embodying “nature and commonality” (*ye* 野), Hangzhou stands in striking contrast to Dongjing, the Eastern Capital, which symbolizes “the court and the center of power” (*chao* 朝). Furthermore, these texts celebrate the glamorous Qiantang landscapes and southern women, but primarily as touristic curiosities and objects of the gaze. In these narratives, strong connections can be found between literary representations of the space of Hangzhou and symbolizations of the feminine.

In the Southern Song, Hangzhou was renamed Lin'an, and as the temporary capital of the Southern Song court, a large new immigrant population flooded in. Reflecting these changes inventively—yet truthfully—Southern Song narratives turn their

eyes to the locations in the teeming metropolical where people enjoyed unrestrained indulgence in material consumption. Furthermore, as these tales depict numerous individuals as horrendous demons, Lin'an loses its position as an Arcadian space of serenity: instead, the narratives in the Southern Song depict a sense of insecurity, horror, and distrust inherent in both spaces and people.

The third chapter continues the analytical exploration of Lin'an in the Southern Song collection, *Gui Dong* 鬼董 (The Dong Hu of Ghosts). This chapter starts with an attempt to reconstruct the date and compiler-authorship of *Gui Dong* by assembling the accounts' internal evidence while utilizing the postscripts of the collection and official historical documents as close references. Based on this understanding of authorship and collection, the subsequent study of a representative story in *Gui Dong*, "Zhou Bao" (Zhou Bao 周寶), reconstructs the vicissitudes of a Southern Song merchant in Jiangnan. By elucidating the social, spatial, and historical meanings of "Zhou Bao," this chapter unearths significant shifts in the economic landscape and social milieu of Lin'an and adjacent areas in the Southern Song.

The fourth chapter embarks on a detailed reading of another piece from *Gui Dong*, "Student Fan" (Fan sheng 樊生), which could be considered an example of the typical "demon story" as defined by Patrick Hanan.⁴⁵ A closer investigation is devoted to localities by following the paths of the protagonist, Fan Sheng: from wine houses, tea lofts, and crowded streets inside the city to temples, desolate hills, remote trails, and

⁴⁵ Here Hanan incisively interrogates a typical demon story, which is about an unmarried man's ignorant involvement with a demonic woman, whose dangerous identity is not revealed until the later part of the story. See Patrick Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 44.

dwellings in suburban Lin'an. By aligning the landmarks in the world of "Student Fan" articulated by the narrator with those found in chronicles, gazetteers, and maps, this chapter establishes how "Student Fan" represents the experience of a variety of localities in Lin'an, from the stunning landscapes of the West Lake 西湖 to the commercial centers of the city and even a haunted cottage on the western mountain outside the city wall.

In "Student Fan," it is noteworthy that Lin'an is represented as a prosperous but chaotic space in which ghosts mingle with mortals. Through a close examination of the account, I argue that its narration and transmission reflect the insecurity of Lin'an city residents, provoked by contemporary political instability and the influx of a large number of recently-arrived immigrants. At the end of the story, the ghosts, albeit horrifying and threatening, are subdued by a commandant from the Palace Command Department (*dianqian si* 殿前司), spurring hope for reverting the state of abnormality (*fanchang* 反常) to normality (*chang* 常). The story's punishments for its ghosts stand for the enforceable moral rules that governed abnormalities in both the human and supernatural worlds. Through reinterpreting disturbances to the natural order, anxiety towards strangers in Lin'an society is released; moreover, by relating the imperial army to this reversion to order, the tale shores up the legitimacy of the newly established Southern Song court.

CHAPTER 2

ENCOUNTERING THE EXOTIC HANGZHOU: SPACES AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE IN SONG NARRATIVES OF HANGZHOU

The first year of the Shaoxing 紹興 reign (1131) was destined to be an unusual year in the history of Hangzhou. Four years had passed since the Jingkang incident. During these four years, Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1126) and Emperor Qinzong 欽宗 (r. 1126–1127), together with many members of the imperial family, were taken prisoner by the Jurchen forces and sent to the northwest. When the Song army retreated further south, Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162) proclaimed himself emperor in Nanjing 南京 (modern Shangqiu, Henan). The newly enthroned Gaozong retreated south, from Nanjing to Yangzhou 揚州, then Zhenjiang 鎮江, Changzhou 常州, and Wuxi 無錫, to avoid the determined pursuit of the Jurchens. Eventually, the displaced Gaozong, who had even spent a period out on the ocean, decided to relocate the capital to Lin'an (modern Hangzhou) in the eleventh month of 1131 (1131.11.22–12.21).⁴⁶ Hangzhou, although only intended to be a temporary capital city, was indeed the best option for the Southern Song court. The economic development, cultural landscape, transportation infrastructure, and geographical conditions of Hangzhou were all advantageous compared

⁴⁶ Li Xinchuan 李心傳 (1167–1244), comp., *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄 (A Concise Chronology of the Important Events Since the Jianyan Reign) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 49.981. In fact, in the third year of the Jianyan 建炎 reign (1129), Hangzhou was promoted to status of prefecture of Lin'an. The name of "Hangzhou" remained as a popular name. See *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 25.512.

with the other alternatives.⁴⁷ As early as the reign of Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–1063), Lin’an had already been considered “the number one prefecture of Southeast China” (東南第一州).⁴⁸ In “An Account of the Hall of Possessing Beauty” (Youmei tang ji 有美堂記), Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) also remarks: “[The city] is where people from the four directions gather, all kinds of commodities trade; its products are abundant and the city residents are multitudinous” (四方之所聚，百貨之所交，物盛人眾).⁴⁹

The Qiantang area had become an administrative district when, in 222 BCE, the Qin Emperor Ying Zheng 嬴政 (r. 247–220 BCE) founded Qiantang county as a part of the Kuaiji 會稽 prefecture (modern Suzhou, Jiangsu and Shaoxing, Zhejiang). Hangzhou, a city that had been governed by different kingdoms from the Warring States period on, found itself in a stable political state for the first time in its history, albeit as Qiantang county with a small area of land to its name. After Emperor Yang of Sui 隋煬帝 (r. 604–618) ascended to the throne in 604 AD, he committed to the completion of the Grand Canal 大運河. From that point on, since Hangzhou was an important station on the canal,

⁴⁷ Lin Zhengqiu 林正秋, *Nansong ducheng Lin’an* 南宋都城臨安 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1986), 32.

⁴⁸ In the second year of the Jiayou 嘉祐 reign (1057), Renzong bestowed a poem “For Mei Zhi on the Appointment to be the Prefect of Hangzhou” (Ci Mei Zhi chu shou Hangzhou shi 賜梅摯出守杭州詩) to Mei Zhi 梅摯 (994–1059). In it, Renzong says, “The place [of Hangzhou] has lakes and mountains that are beautiful. [It can be considered as] the number one prefecture in the Southeast” (地有湖山美，東南第一州), showing that the beauty of Hangzhou in the Northern Song Dynasty was already widely praised. See Zhou Cong 周淙 (d. 1175) et al., *Qiandao Lin’an zhi* 乾道臨安志 (Gazetteer of Lin’an in the Qiandao Era), in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 宋元方志叢刊 (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1990), 3.3243b.

⁴⁹ Li Yian 李逸安, ed., *Ouyang Xiu quanji* 歐陽修全集 (The Complete Works of Ouyang Xiu) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), 40.585.

and under orders to build a provincial capital in Qiantang, Hangzhou experienced an unprecedented development.⁵⁰ During the Tang Dynasty, the city had already developed into an important regional metropolis where many merchants gathered. During the Five Dynasties (907–960), Qian Liu 錢鏐 (r. 907–932), King of Wuyue 吳越王, had founded his kingdom with Hangzhou as the capital city.⁵¹ By the Northern Song Dynasty, Hangzhou had become a prosperous city with a rich culture.⁵²

More importantly, the reestablishment of the imperial court of the Song Dynasty and the “southward migration” (*nan qian* 南遷) of northerners brought a large number of

⁵⁰ Wu Zimu 吳自牧 (fl. late 13th century), *Meng liang lu* 夢梁錄 (Dreaming Over a Bowl of Millet) has an introduction of the history of Hangzhou. It remarks

One name of the city of Hangzhou was Wulin. It was also called Qiantang. Secondly, it was named Xushan. In particular, a commandery was found [in Hangzhou] during the Sui Dynasty (581–619). [The perimeter of the city] was thirty-six *li* and eighty *bu* (approx. 19.25 km). Afterwards, Qian Liu, the King of Wusu, made a requisition on the able-bodied men and the soldiers of thirteen military camps to construct the Palace Wall. The perimeter of the Palace Wall became approximately seventy *li* (approx. 37.17 km).

杭城號武林，又曰錢塘，次稱胥山。隋朝特創立此郡城，僅三十六里九十步，後武肅錢王發民丁與十三寨軍卒增築羅城，周圍七十里許。

Wu Zimu, *Meng liang lu*, in Gudian wenxue chubanshe bianji bu 古典文學出版社編輯部, eds. *Dongjing meng Hua lu (wai si zhong)* 東京夢華錄外四種 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), 7.183.

⁵¹ *Yuzhao xin zhi* 玉照新志 (New Records from the Moon Studio) suggests that Hangzhou became flourishing since Qian Liu made it as the capital of the Kingdom of Wuyue:

In the Tang Dynasty, the prosperous of Hangzhou could not be compared with the two commanderies of Gusu (modern Suzhou, Jiangsu) and Kuaiji. Because the Qian family found their kingdom [in Hangzhou], it began to flourish.

杭州在唐，繁榮不及姑蘇，會稽兩郡，因錢氏建國始盛。

See Wang Mingqing 王明清 (1127–ca. 1215), *Yuzhao xin zhi* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 5.98.

⁵² Heng Chye-Kiang 王才強, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats: The Development of Medieval Chinese Cityscapes* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 141.

elite literati and wealth to the city. Thus, the center of the Song empire, in terms of politics, economics, and culture, had been relocated to Hangzhou. As a result, Hangzhou achieved an unprecedented level of prosperity during the Southern Song Dynasty.⁵³ This prosperity was attributed to the advanced economic development of the Southern Song capital. At the same time, the beautiful natural environment of the city also contributed to a rich cultural landscape. The tension between these economic, natural, and cultural aspects created a productive and dynamic environment that was reflected in Song narratives.

The goal of this chapter is to take a close look at the city of Hangzhou, also known as Qiantang or Lin'an, in the context of Song narratives. Together with Quanzhou 泉州 and Guangzhou 廣州, Hangzhou was one of the larger commercial ports in Southern Song.⁵⁴ At the same time, as a burgeoning immigrant city, Hangzhou hosted commoners, civil service examination candidates, merchants, sailors, and former officials from the North and their dependents, as well as emperors and other members of the royal family. Furthermore, after the night curfew was relaxed,⁵⁵ flourishing night bazaars

⁵³ Some scholars suggest that the relocation of the Song court towards the southern region introduced the third cultural transition in China to the South. See, for example, Chen Zhengxiang 陳正祥, *Zhongguo wenhua dili* 中國文化地理 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1983), 5.

⁵⁴ For a study of Hangzhou as an important commercial port of the Southern Song, see Shiba Yoshinobu 斯波義信, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū* 宋代江南經濟史の研究 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1988), 336–41.

⁵⁵ In “Prohibitions and Regulations” (Jinyue 禁約) of *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (The Edited Draft of Administrative Documents of the Song), it reads:

On the 18th day of the third month of the third year of the Shaoxing reign [1133.4.24], Lu Zhiyuan [d.1141], the Prefect of Lin'an Prefecture, reported:

“[After] the Auriga stayed temporarily at the Lin'an Prefecture, the station troops are multitudinous; the city residents are crowded and bustling. At present, I propose [the court] to consider changing the night curfew to the third *geng* [approx. 11 p.m.–1 a.m.] every night and

became increasingly popular and crowded. Especially given the natural beauty of its lakes and mountains, Hangzhou was invested with romance and glamour. The flourishing of unofficial spaces such as West Lake, wine lofts, tea houses, taverns, and pleasure quarters, provided a space for male protagonists in narratives to enter into numerous spectacular and romantic adventures.

Moreover, citizens of Hangzhou became accustomed to outsiders from all over the world. Inundated by thousands of refugees in a short period of time, Lin'an's society experienced a certain anxiety, which emerged in Southern Song narratives in the form of the netherworld. Diverse forms of narratives about city life, especially the life of Hangzhou, proliferated throughout the first few decades of the Southern Song. Unlike the love stories between young literati and courtesans in Tang tales and the legendary accounts of emperors and aristocrats in early Northern Song tales, texts in this period presented a kaleidoscope of city life: deceit, trickery, theft, and robbery, as well as ghosts and the other supernatural beings. The protagonists wandered throughout a much broader space, including West Lake, the Qiantang River 錢塘江, wine houses, temples, streets, shops, marketplaces, and courtesan spaces. These texts not only focus on romantic encounters, but also illustrate the activities of mundane life among the lower-class commoners of the city.

allow the people to travel after the fifth *geng* [approx. 3 a.m.–5 a.m.].” [The emperor] followed his suggestion.

紹興三年三月十八日，知臨安府盧知原言：“車駕駐蹕臨安府，屯兵既眾，居民浩穰，今慾相度每夜三更斷夜，五更依舊許人行往。”從之。

See Xu Song 徐松 (1781–1848), ed., *Song huiyao jigao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), vol.7, 166.6569a.

The Southern Song Capital Lin'an

In January of the eighth year of the Shaoxing reign (1138.2), after the political stability of the Southern Song Dynasty became solidified, Gaozong returned to Hangzhou from the frontier of Jiankang 建康 (modern Nanjing, Jiangsu) and officially announced Hangzhou as the capital city. During this period, Hangzhou was still frequently called Lin'an (temporary peace) or "Xingzai" 行在 (temporary dwelling place), which reflected a desire to restore the Northern Song Dynasty and Bianliang as its legitimate capital.⁵⁶

The traditional urban layout of a city in imperial China followed an ideological model of the universe that simulated the earth and the sky, with a space of worship surrounding the central square. Both the capital of Chang'an in the Tang Dynasty and Dongjing in the Northern Song followed such a layout, which placed the imperial city in the north, facing the south; but the empire of the Southern Song abutted the sea. Furthermore, the geographical constraints of the mountains that surrounded the city made it difficult for the Hangzhou's urban layout to follow such a plan exactly. Under these geographical restrictions and special historical constraints, despite a tremendous joint effort made by both northern immigrants and local residents, Hangzhou had to be settled

⁵⁶ Some scholars have pointed out that the prosperousness of Lin'an was related to the nostalgia for the old capital, the Eastern Capital. See, for example, Song Lihua 宋莉華, "Bianzhou yu Hangzhou: xiaoshuo zhong de liang Song shuangcheng ji" 汴州與杭州小說中的兩宋雙城記, in *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua luncong* 中國典籍與文化論叢, ed. Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua bianji bu 中國典籍與文化編輯部 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 7.173–94; Sun Xun 孫遜 and Ge Yonghai 葛永海, "Zhongguo gudai xiaoshuo de 'shuangcheng' yixiang jiqi wenhua yunhan" 中國古代小說中的“雙城”意象及其文化蘊涵, *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 中國社會科學, 6 (2004): 162–173; Zhu Yulin 朱玉麟, "Tang Song ducheng xiaoshuo de dili kongjian bianqian" 唐宋都城小說的地理空間變遷, in *Tang yanjiu*, ed. Deng Xiaonan 鄧小南 and Rong Xinjiang (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2005), 11.525.

as an irregularly-shaped capital city facing the north.⁵⁷ The southern part of the city, the former inner city of the Kingdom of Wuyue 吳越國 located on the east side of Mount Phoenix 鳳凰山, was reconstructed as the Forbidden city. Regarding this urban layout, Cheng Yinong 程一農 points out that just like the “southward migration,” the development of the city was spontaneous and lacked careful planning. The palace city of the Southern Song Dynasty also “failed to completely reflect the strict requirement that a capital city should follow as required by the Confucian classics.”⁵⁸ Similarly, Shiba Yoshinobu also suggests that the palace city of Hangzhou was too far away from the city center.⁵⁹ Indeed, the construction of Lin'an during the Southern Song period did not perfectly follow the classic traditions of the previous capitals, which were “northern location and south-facing” as well as “centrally located.”⁶⁰ But it is important to note that, when the Southern Song dynasty had relocated to the south, Lin'an was simply a temporary capital, under the premise that the imperial court would eventually return to Dongjing. Therefore, it stands to reason that both the architectural construction as well as the urban layout of the city of Hangzhou both differ from those of the former capital cities.

⁵⁷ Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 146–47.

⁵⁸ Li Xiacong 李孝聰, *Li shi chengshi dili* 歷史城市地理 (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007), 237.

⁵⁹ Shiba Yoshinobu, “10–13 seiki ni okeru Chu goku toshi no tenkan” 10–13 世紀に於ける中国都市の転換, *Sekaishi kenkyu* 14 (1966): 22–37.

⁶⁰ Steinhardt incisively observes that the illustrations of Lin'an in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* represent the ideal Chinese imperial city rather than the historical truth. Instead of showing the city's irregular shape, the illustrations draw the palace city as an almost perfect square and the outer city as a nearly perfect rectangle. See Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 146–47 and Fig.1.

1. Late-sixth to seventh century city
2. Southern Song Hangzhou, including palace-city in the south

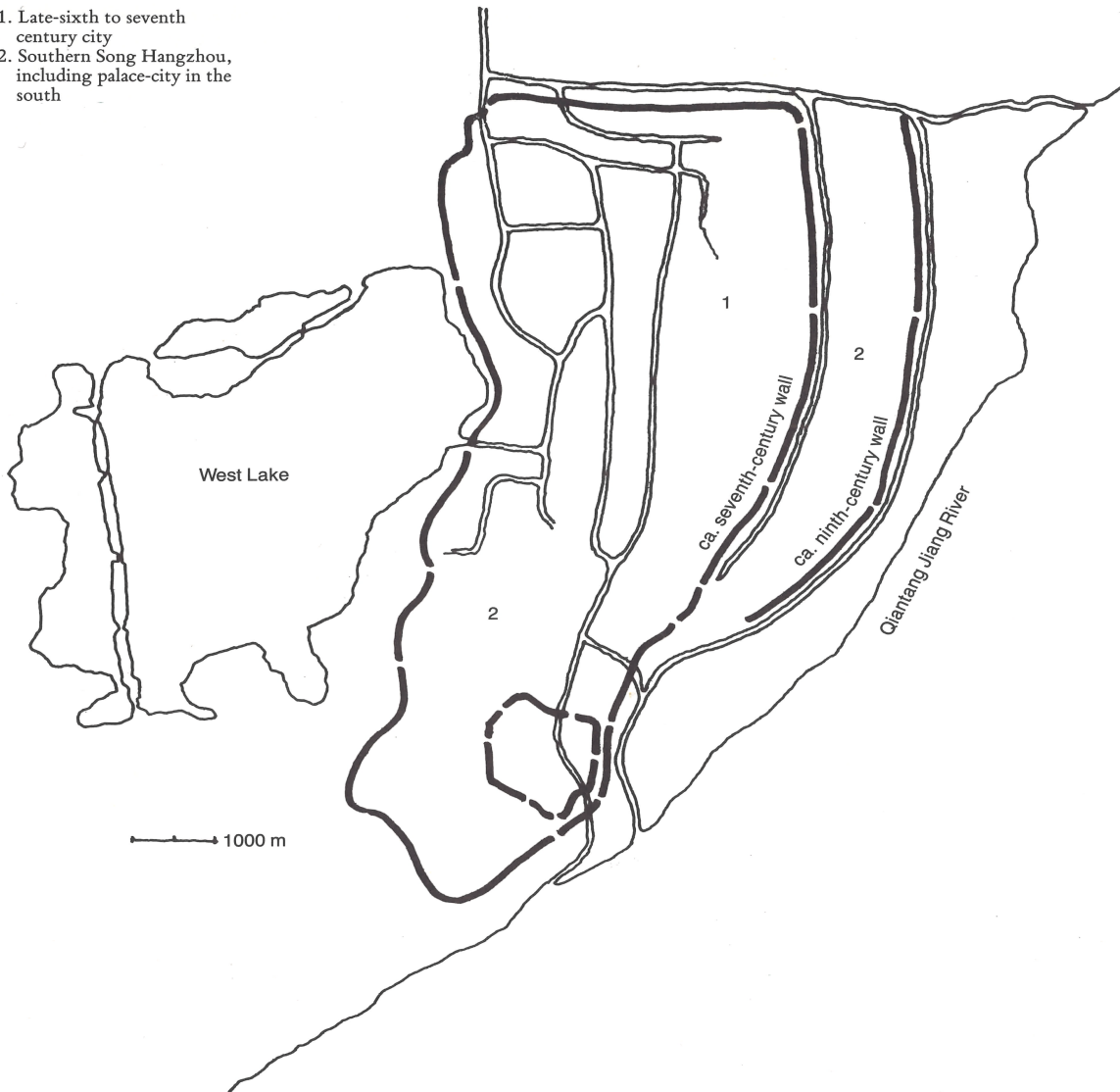


Figure 1. Hangzhou through history. Drawn by Huang Yunsheng; copied from Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 25.

In contrast with the Eastern Capital during the Northern Song, which comprised three layers: the palace city, inner city, and outer city. Meanwhile, the city of Hangzhou in the Southern Song Dynasty had only a palace city and an outer city. The palace complex also housed the government buildings that the inner city did in the Northern Song Capital. As mentioned previously, due to geographical constraints, the profile of the

palace city was situated to the south, facing north. There were four main gates guarding the capital of Lin'an: the southern Lizheng Gate 麗正門, the northern Hening Gate 和寧門, the side gate to the north (Donghua Gate 東華門), and the side gate to the south (Dongbian Gate 東便門). Of the four gates, the southern Lizheng Gate was the main gate of the palace city, while the northern Hening Gate was its back gate.⁶¹ But the overall structure of the palace city still followed the traditional urban plan of a capital city which had prevailed since the Qin Dynasty: a main axis from the Lizheng Gate on the South to the Hening Gate on the North, symmetrically divided the palace city. In addition, the roads were distributed in a grid similar to a chess board. Most of the individual palaces in the palace city still followed the ideal “northern location and south facing” plan. Once the palace city was constructed in the southern region of Hangzhou, it became an essential space for rituals and celebrations, especially during major festivals. For example, on the First Prime of the first month, the Grand Gathering of Receiving Homage (*Da chaohui* 大朝會) was held in the Daqing Palace 大慶殿.⁶²

⁶¹ *Meng liang lu*, 8.192.

⁶² The Grand Gathering of Receiving Homage was held in the imperial city, usually on the First Prime day. During the gathering, the emperor received loyalty pledges from officials and foreign envoys. In “The Grand Gathering of Receiving Homage on the First Prime” (*Yuandan da chaohui* 元旦大朝會) from the third *juan* of *Meng liang lu*, it remarks:

When it came to the Grand Gathering of Receiving Homage, the Auriga sat in the Daqing Palace. There were four Armaments Heads, who were Grand Military Warriors-in-Chief, standing at the corners of the throne in the palace. They were called “Defender-Generalissimos of the Palace.”

遇大朝會，駕坐大慶殿，有介冑長大武士四人，立於殿陛之角，謂之“鎮殿將軍”。

See *Meng liang lu*, 1.139.

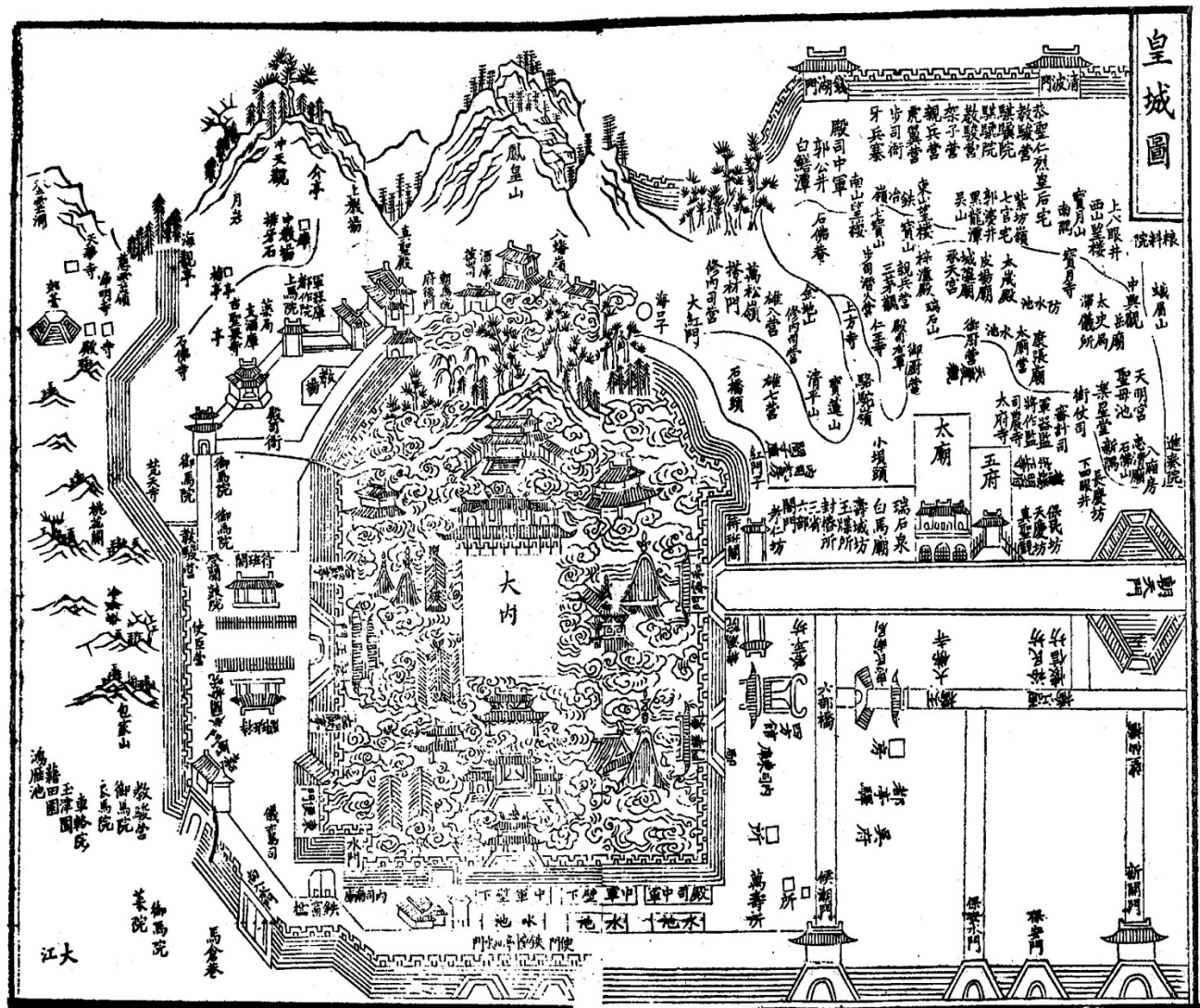


Figure 2. The map of the palace city. From Qian Yueyou, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 1.3354b.

The outer city served as a protective zone for the palace. According to Meng liang lu, the walls built during the Southern Song were grandiose.⁶³ Traditionally, as the city's

⁶³ In *Meng liang lu*, it reads:

walls divided the space around the city into inner and outer space, they also served as the boundary between “urban space” (*cheng* 城) and “rural areas” (*xiang* 鄉). For a capital city, the city’s walls further divided “the court” (*chao* 朝) from “the common” (*ye* 野). The large influx of immigrants greatly accelerated the growth of Hangzhou. Both residential areas and business districts were extended beyond the city’s walls.⁶⁴ Moreover, the cancellation of the curfew system encouraged people to indulge themselves in various entertainment and leisurely pursuits during both day and night, inside and outside the city’s walls. As a result, the actual functionality of the walls was greatly reduced.

The height of each city wall was over three *zhang* (approx. 8.1 m). The horizontal width was over one *zhang* (approx. 2.7 m). The regulations of prohibiting [to climb the city’s walls] were strict and stern. People dared not to climb [the city’s walls]. The offenders would be punished for the crime.

諸城壁各高三丈餘，橫闊丈餘。禁約嚴切，人不敢登，犯者准條治罪。

Meng liang lu, 7.183.

⁶⁴ Similarly to Dongjing, the commercial and residential districts of Lin’an rapidly expanded beyond the city wall; see Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 145.

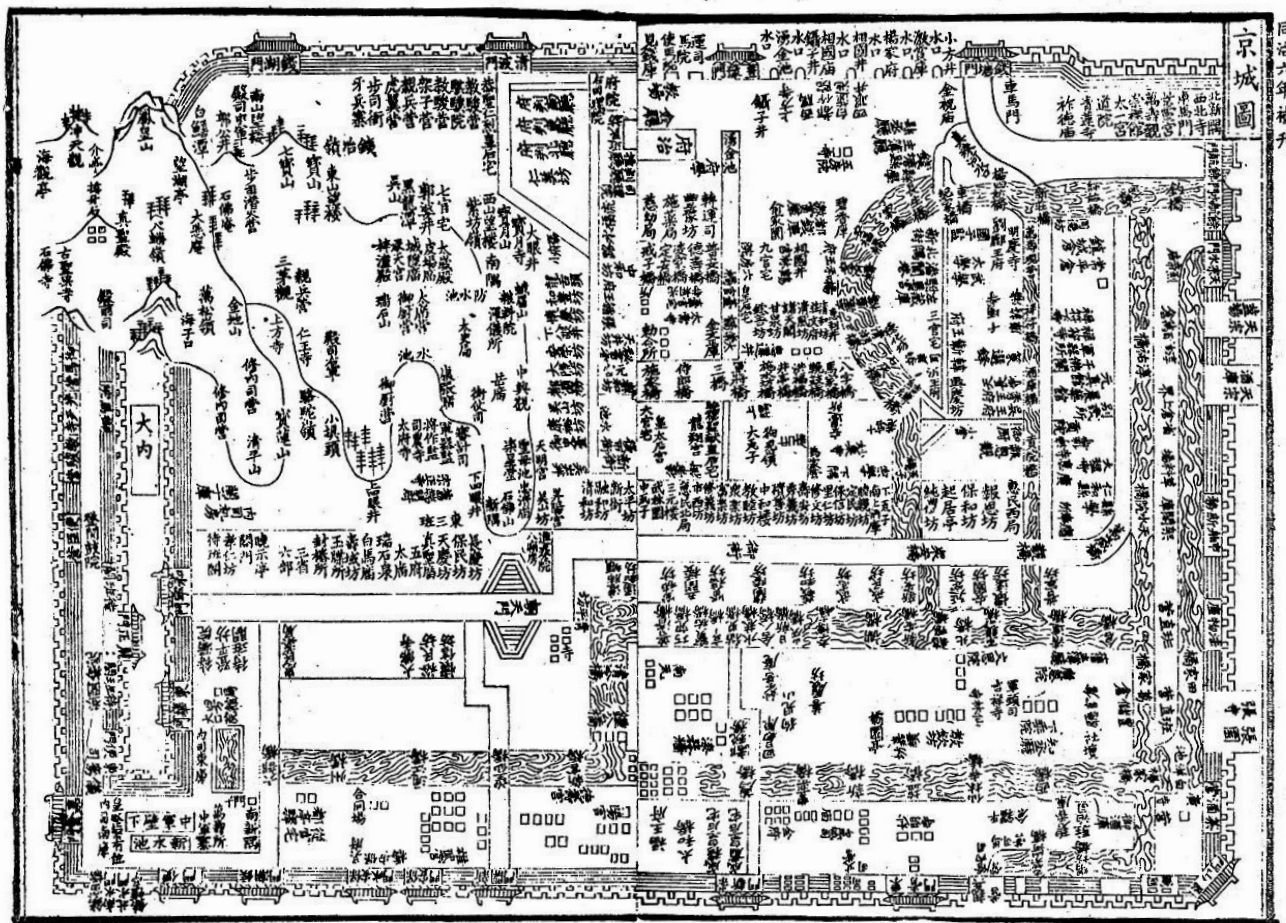


Figure 3. The map of the capital city. From Qian Yueyou, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 1.3354b.

Similar to the imperial way 御街 of the Eastern Capital during the Northern Song Dynasty, an imperial way was also planned and built in Hangzhou to display the power of the emperors and to facilitate the movements of the members of the imperial family. This imperial way was different from most of those in earlier imperial capitals: it ran southward from the northern gate of the inner city, the Hening Gate 合寧門, through the Chaotian Gate 朝天門 to the Jingling Palace 景靈宮.⁶⁵ The imperial way was paved with huge stone plates and extended more than 13,500 *chi* (approx. 3.645 km). The imperial way connected the Salt Bridge Canal 鹽橋運河 and the city moat 市河, constituting another axis of the outer city. This axis passed through the most prosperous commercial and residential districts and served as the artery of urban activity, supporting a web of streets that enabled the dynamics of the city.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Ibid. Also see Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 370–71.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

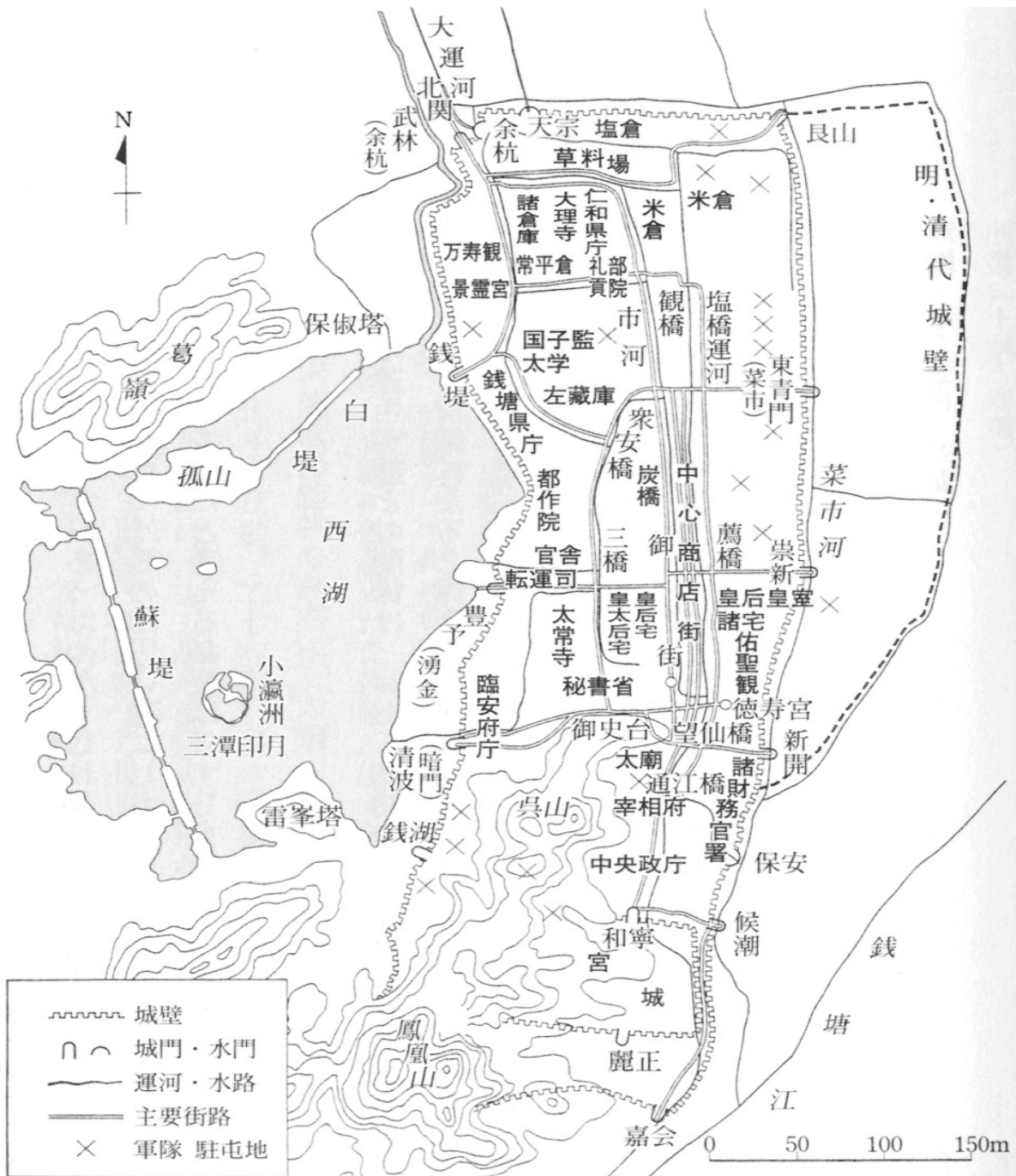


図 25 南宋の杭州城

Figure 4. The map of Hangzhou in the Southern Song dynasty. From Shiba Yoshinobu, *Chūgoku toshishi* 中國都市史 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2002), 85.

In addition, compared with the city of Dongjing, the urban layout of Lin'an had been completely revolutionized. While the Southern Song inherited the district-ward (*xiangfang* 廂坊) system,⁶⁷ there were no longer actual ward walls to physically divide the city. The ward in this new Song context simply implied an administrative division of districts. With the disappearance of these boundaries, the residences of ordinary citizens, the mansions of bureaucrats, the marketplaces, and the shops found themselves in close proximity. Different types of stores could be located across the city, free from restrictions on opening and closing times. The flourishing city of Hangzhou was always crowded with people, from sunset to midnight. *Meng liang lu* records that the flourishing city:⁶⁸

Along the main avenue of the city of Hangzhou, buying and selling never stopped during day or night. When it was the third drum beat (approx. 11 p.m.–1 a.m.) at night, the roamers dispersed. When the bell struck at the fifth drum beat (approx. 3–5 a.m.), the people who ran the morning market opened their shops again.

杭城大街，買賣晝夜不絕，夜交三四鼓，遊人始稀；五鼓鐘鳴，賣早市者又開店矣。

⁶⁷ During the Qiandao 乾道 reign (1165–1173), there are eight districts (*xiang* 廂) in Lin'an: the Palace City Wall (*gongcheng* 宮城), the First Left District 左一廂, the Second Left District 左二廂, the Third Left District 左三廂, the First Right District 右一廂, the Second Right District 右二廂, the Third Right District 右三廂, and the Fourth Right District 右四廂. See Zhou Cong, ed., *Qiandao Lin'an zhi*, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan*, 2.3227a–3228b.

During the Chunyou 淳佑 reign (1241–1252), there are nine districts in Lin'an: the Palace City Wall, the First Left District on the North 左一北廂, the Southern District 南廂, the Second Left District 左二廂, the Third Left District 左三廂, the First Right District 右一廂, the Second Right District 右二廂, the Third Right District 右三廂, and the Fourth Right District 右四廂. See Shi E 施諤 (fl. 1252) et al., *Chunyou Lin'an zhi* 淳佑臨安志 (Gazetteer of Lin'an in the Chunyou Era), in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan*, 6.3274a–3274b.

The same nine districts were kept during the Xianchun 咸淳 reign (1265–1274) as well. One can find the ward names in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 (Gazetteer of Lin'an in the Xianchun Era). See Qian Yueyou 潛說友 (1216–1277) et al., *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan*, 19.3540b–3542b.

⁶⁸ *Meng liang lu*, 13.242.

The happiness of the mundane city was also reflected in narratives and other literature of the Southern Song Dynasty. Just as Stephen H. West has noted, “The sordid interest in mundane life and the fusty reminiscences of urban pleasures were kindled in a new secular space of commerce and urbanity that Kaifeng provided as the prototype of China’s great commercial cities.”⁶⁹ If Dongjing was the prototype of a burgeoning capital city, Lin'an could be regarded as its successor, developing another prototype for capital city space. While literary works set in Dongjing show the effect of its urban spaces, the mentality behind the literary works of Lin'an could be similarly reflected through textual representations of this new mode of urban space.

According to G. William Skinner, one of the characteristics of the medieval urban revolution of Chinese cities was a lessened importance for or even a complete removal of the walled-ward system, which was replaced by a street planning guideline providing a greater degree of freedom and officially recognizing trading markets and stores inside the city or in its varied outskirts.⁷⁰ Such a revolutionary change in urban planning greatly improved the commercial and economic growth of Hangzhou society.

This lively economy was accompanied by expanded public space and the daily lives of the general public, which all provided indispensable material for the authors of narratives in the Southern Song. In these accounts, it was rare that a place would be described by its ward name; rather, it would be replaced by other physical landmarks like

⁶⁹ Stephen H. West, “Empresses and funerals, pancakes and pigs: *Dreaming a Dream of Splendor Past* and the origins of urban literature” 皇后，葬禮，油餅與豬——《東京夢華錄》和都市文學的興起，in *Literature, Culture, and World Change* 文學、文化與世變 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2002), 197–218.

⁷⁰ Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China*, 24. Also see Heng Chye-Kiang, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats*, 151–62.

bridges, rivers, well-known temples and monasteries, etc. For example, marketplaces often formed near bridges where many urban residents gathered and therefore the authors would refer to the name of the bridge instead of the ward. In the renowned story “Wo Lai Ye” (我來也, literally “Here I Come”) in *Xie shi* 諧史 (A Humorous History), the notorious thief “Wo Lai Ye” hid his collection of valuables under the river near the Bridge of Attendant Gentleman. “Wo Lai Ye” bribed a jailer to retrieve the stash, promising him the treasure as his prize. Due to the popularity of the bridge and the crowds of pedestrians going to the nearby marketplace, the jailer had to ask one of his family members to find the treasure under the guise of washing clothes in the river, in order to hide from the public.⁷¹

In the capital’s districts within the market walls and gates, there were an enormous number of thieves and brigands. Since their traces were surreptitious, it was not easy to eliminate them. When Imperial Secretariat Zhao Shiyi (1148–1217) worked as a magistrate of Lin’an, there was a thief who wrote three characters *Wo lai ye* 我來也 [here I come] on the doors and walls of every household he stole. Though the hunting and arrests were extremely strict, after a long time, [the thief] had not been seized yet. The name of “Wo Lai Ye” spread in the capital. [People] did not call [the arrests as] “the hunt of the thief.” Instead, they called it “the hunt of ‘Wo Lai Ye.’”

One day, the subordinates [of Imperial Secretariat Zhao] took a thief to [the government] and referred to the thief as “Wo Lai Ye.” Immediately, [the man] was sent to the prison and interrogated. Given that the man completely refused to admit the crime and yield, and there were no stolen goods could prove [the man as “Wo Lai Ye”], this lawsuit could not be resolved. While this man was in the jail, he unexpectedly told the jailer a secret, saying, “I am certainly a thief, but I am not ‘Wo Lai Ye.’ Now I also know that there is no reason for me to get away, but I supplicate you to treat me well. I have several pieces of white gold, hidden at so-and-so place on so-and-so floor of the Baoshu Pagoda;⁷² you could go and get them.” With a view that the path of the pagoda was a thoroughfare where people

⁷¹ Shen Chu 沈俶 (fl. 1247), *Xie shi*, in *Shuo fu* 說郛 (Ramparts of Fiction) (Beijing: Beijing shi zhongguo shudian, 1986), 23.25a–25b.

⁷² See Fig. 3.

came and went, the jailer thought that thief was attempting to humiliate him. The thief said, “Don’t doubt, just go. At that place, you just make a little offering, light the lantern on the pagoda for one night, and linger all night long; then you can get them.” The jailer followed the plan of the thief and he was overjoyed after he got the gold. The next morning, when the jailer entered the prison, he secretly gave some wine and meat to the thief.

After several days, again, [the thief] told the jailer: “I have an urn of artifacts that is placed under the water somewhere close to the Bridge of Attendant Gentleman.⁷³ You can get it.” The jailer said: “That place is tumultuous, how can I get [the urn]?” The thief said: “Ask [one of] your family members to place clothes in a bamboo basket, wash the clothes under the bridge, secretly pick up the urn in the basket, cover it with clothes and bring it back.” The jailer followed the words of the thief. What the jailer got was more abundant than before. The next day, again, the jailer rewarded the thief with wine and food. Though the jailer was extremely thrilled, he did not know the intention of the thief.

京城闐闐之區，竊盜極多，蹤跡詭祕，未易根緝。趙師曩尚書尹臨安曰，有賊每於人家作竊，必以粉書“我來也”三字於門壁，雖緝捕甚嚴，久爾不獲。“我來也”之名，傳京邑。不曰捉賊，但云捉“我來也。”一日，所屬解一賊至，謂此即“我來也”。亟送獄鞠勘，乃略不承服，且無贓物可證，未能竟此獄。其人在禁，忽密謂守卒曰：“我固常為賊，卻不是‘我來也’，今亦自知無脫理，但乞好好相看。我有白金若干，藏於寶叔塔上某層某處，可往取之。卒思塔上乃人跡往來之衝，意其相侮。賊曰：“勿疑，但往，此方作少緣事，點塔燈一夕，盤旋終夜，便可得矣。”卒從其計，得金大喜。次早入獄，密以酒肉與賊。越數日，又謂卒曰：“我有器物一甕，置侍郎橋某處水內，可復取之。”卒曰：“彼處人鬧，何以取？”賊曰：“令汝家人以籬貯衣裳，橋下洗濯，潛掇甕入籬，覆以衣，舁歸可也。”卒從其言，所得愈豐。次日復勞以酒食。卒雖甚喜，而莫知賊意。

As *Meng liang lu* remarks, “The corner of Xinzhi, located to the east of the Bridge of Attendant Gentleman and at the side of the Temple of Pichang” (新止隅在侍

⁷³ See Fig. 3. According to *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, the Bridge of Attendant Gentleman was located on the West River, with a name originating from Lang Jian 郎簡 (968–1056), a minister during the reign of Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997–1022) as well as a native of Lin'an. See *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 21.3558b. Lang Jian once held the post of Attendant Gentleman in the Ministry of justice (*Xingbu silang* 刑部侍郎). For the biography of Lang Jian, see *Song shi*, 299.9926–27.

郎橋東皮場廟側), was a location of one of these fire prevention centers.⁷⁴ While only urban residents stayed near the Bridge of Attendant Gentleman, there were also posts where official military personnel resided and temples for the Buddhists were seen. But the thief “Wo Lai Ye” could still hide his ill-gotten fortune under the river near the Bridge of Attendant Gentleman. While being surprised by the cleverness of “Wo Lai Ye,” readers can also see the chaos of contemporary Southern Song society under the rule of Gaozong and Qin Kuai 秦檜 (1090–1155). The fact that the Bridge of Attendant Gentleman, named after a Northern Song minister famed for his great morality, became a place for a thief to hide his treasure serves as an ironic gesture.

In addition, one difference between the Song narratives and their Tang predecessors lay in the portrayal of night life in the urban environment since the night curfew was generally relaxed.⁷⁵ Moreover, since the commercial society was well-developed in Song, people enjoyed exciting and rich nightlife. One account entitled “The Daoist Arts of Yang Chunsou” (Yang Chunsou daoshu 楊醇叟道術), recorded by He Wei 何蘊 (1077–1145), is of particular interest. It includes a noteworthy detail about the gathering of literati in a courtesan house of Hangzhou at night:⁷⁶

Shen Ye from Yuhang (modern Yuhang, Zhejiang), with the style name Chunzhong, was a man who was tactful and intelligent. He had a penchant for collecting calligraphy and painting, of which he had an accurate knowledge. Once at Qiantang, he had met the Daoist priest Yang Ximeng, with the style name

⁷⁴ *Meng liang lu*, 10.216. For a detailed study of the Temple of Pichang in Hangzhou, see Chan Hok-lam 陳學霖, “Liang Song jingshi pichang miao kaosu” 兩宋京師皮場廟考溯, in *Song Ming shi luncong* 宋明史論叢 (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2012), 115–28.

⁷⁵ See note 10.

⁷⁶ He Wei 何蘊 (1077–1145), *Chunzhu jiwen* 春渚紀聞 (Records from the Spring Islet) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 3.36–37.

Chunsou. Shen liked Yang for his optimistic character and volubility, and Shen invited Yang to live with him in the same house. Shen was adept in discussing [and distinguishing] talented people, but he did not know that Chunsou excelled in this special skill.

At that moment, Cai Yuanchang⁷⁷ had been expelled from the Academy of Arts and Letters and for a long time lived at the West Lake. Recently, [Cai Jing] sent someone to invite Yang Chunsou. One day, [Shen and Yang] came back late. Shen told Yang: “I once observed the vigor and bearing of Hanlin, all of them are enough for making him a member of the nobility. But he would certainly not be a Grand Councilor.” Slowly, Yang said: “The power of your eyes is insufficient. This man is as if carved from a beautiful jade. He is perfectly put together and none of the many elements of his being are not perfect. Such a man will still be in a position of Grand Councilor for twenty years during a peaceful time. But his end is not allowed to be openly discussed.” Yang also excelled at playing the flute. He cherished an iron flute, which is as big as a usual flute. Every time [Yang] drank his fill, he would surely take out the flute and entertain himself. None of those who listened [to his music] did not praise it.

One day, together with Shen, [Yang] drank wine at the courtesan loft. The moonlight was as if painted. However, [Yang] did not take his flute. A guest lifted a cup and said: “Tonight’s moonlight is extremely fine. The pleasure of the wine and the banquet is perfect. The only regret is that [we can] not hear the music of the flute.” Yang smiled slowly and said: “Wait for [me to] ask someone to get [the flute].” In fact, no one was sent off. When the people drank wine again, unexpectedly, [Yang] drew out the flute, and quickly played several tunes. None of the guests at the banquet knew where Yang got the flute from.

餘杭沈野字醇仲，權智之士也，喜蓄書畫，頗有精識。嘗於錢塘與一道士楊希孟醇叟相遇，喜其開爽善談，即延與同邸而居。沈善談人倫，而不知醇叟妙於此術也。時蔡元長自翰長黜居西湖，日遣人邀致醇叟。一日晚歸，沈語楊曰：“余嘗觀翰林風骨氣宇，皆足以貴，而定不入相。”楊徐曰：“子目力未至，此人要如美玉琢成，百體完就，無一不佳者。是人尚作二十年太平宰相位，但其終未可盡談也。”楊復善笛，蓄鐵笛大如常笛，每酒酣必引笛自娛，聽者莫不稱善。一日，與沈飲於娼樓，月色如畫，而笛素不從。客有舉酒而言曰：“今夕月色佳甚，盃觴之樂至矣，獨恨不聞笛聲也。”楊徐笑曰：“俟令往取。”實無所遣也。酒再行，忽引袖出笛，快作數弄。座客皆不知笛所從來。

⁷⁷ Cai Jing, whose style name is Yuanchang. He was impeached during the reign of Huizong and lived in Hangzhou. See Charles Harman, “A Textual History of Cai Jing’s Biography in the *Song shi*,” in *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics*, ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Maggie Bickford (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 517–65.

“The Daoist Arts of Yang Chunsou” is a rare exception among the Northern Song narratives that illustrate the urban life of Hangzhou. In this account, the author portrays the life of a group of literati in Hangzhou, including the infamous official Cai Jing, who had been dismissed from his official post and lived in West Lake at that time. In this account, visiting a courtesan space is portrayed as a normal routine of daily life: the literati frequently called at courtesan lofts, drank there, and roamed around, enjoying the music and the moonlight. Here, Hangzhou, as a social space, was depicted as an opposing image to the Eastern Capital: Hangzhou was a quiet and serene space lacking the noise and crowds of the former metrocapital. This encounter with “the extraordinary person” (*yi ren* 異人) Yang Chunsou further reinforced the mysterious feel of the city of Hangzhou.

In addition to such urban spaces as the palace city and the outer city, Hangzhou was also graced by natural scenic areas. Surrounded by mountains, Hangzhou also abutted the West Lake to the west and the Qiantang River to the east. The enclosing mountains and waters gave the city a beautiful natural ambience. West Lake and especially the tidal bores of the Qiantang River attracted a large number of tourists and local residents. Life inside and outside of Hangzhou city had been merged together by the flow of people from inside the city out to celebrate the natural wonders of the place. Besides the mundane pleasures brought by the thriving consumer economy, the natural blessings of Hangzhou provided a distinct environment that helped create cultural landscape. For the writers of narratives of Hangzhou in the Song Dynasty, the city’s incomparable setting greatly influenced narrative style and cultural meaning, as well as the characterization of the protagonists. Eventually, a unique literary identity of

Hangzhou narratives was born from the interplay and tension between nature and urban space.

Of the Hangzhou accounts which we can date precisely, some were composed during the Northern Song Dynasty, and some the Southern Song. Given that Hangzhou possessed a tradition of producing tremendous literary works, the passage of time was also reflected in its literature, reflected through the distinct styles of narratives written in the Southern or the Northern Song.

Hangzhou in Northern Song Narratives: The Divine Land

During the Northern Song Dynasty, the region near Hangzhou was already the richest and wealthiest in southeast China, praised as “the first prefecture of the Southeast.” But due to its distance from the political center where the emperor lived and a comparatively smaller number of travelers attracted to the region as compared with Dongjing, Hangzhou maintained a quiet atmosphere. The serenity of the Qiantang region during this period, away from the imperial power of the Song court, often served as a contrast to the dynamism of the metropolis, the Bianliang. In literature, many of the protagonists from the north, mostly at the nadir of their lives and political careers, bankrupted or expelled, find peace in the natural beauty of the South and regard the Qiantang region as a haven.⁷⁸

Authors in the Northern Song tend to illustrate picturesque scenes of the region of Hangzhou, focusing on its tranquil environment, omitting quarrels, fights, and chaotic

⁷⁸ “The Daoist Arts of Yang Chunsou” I mentioned above is also a good example.

scenes. “The Record of Zhang Junfang’s Divine Dream” (Zhang Junfang lingmeng zhi 張君房靈夢志) is an excellent example. When Zhang Junfang visits the Qiantang county, he is sick with ulcerated sores. The locals suggest that he head for the Temple of Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (d. 484 BCE), which he does, respectfully visiting the temple to worship. At the moment when he walks out of the temple, Zhang Junfang sees a stunning scene in front of him. It reads:⁷⁹

On the *hui* day of the second winter month of the *guisi* year of the Chunhua reign [993.12.15], Zhang Junfang arrived from Maoyuan [modern Suzhou, Jiangsu] to Yuhang at an opportune time to become a retainer. At that time, Zhang was sick with ulcerating sores; then someone informed him and said: “In general when travelers pass this county, they shall make a pilgrimage to the Shrine of the Deity of Mount Wu, who is Lord Wu Zixu.⁸⁰ He is enfeoffed with the title of King now.” Junfang was shocked by what he heard, and said: “Thus it is proper [for me] to show bona fide allegiance. The King [of Mount Wu] was a resolutely loyal in ancient times. When he was at the Kingdom of Chu, Chu was powerful; when he came to the Kingdom of Wu, Wu became dominant. When it came time that he left and died, then Wu was subjugated and Chu perished. Assuredly, his name was able to remain stunningly shining on the clear Xiang river, with a sweet remembrance flowing down and sacrificial worship. To this day, the populace has not forgotten about his protection. Such a man of boundless virtue!”

The next day, deferentially, Junfang paid his respect to the temple, censured the thurible, cleaned the vessel, pledged in his heart, prayed soundlessly, supplicated with great concentration, prostrated deeply, and retreated. At that moment, it was a sunny day of magnificent views. The lovely sun just rose to the middle of the sky. [Junfang] wandered in the woods and pavilions, looking out to the city from four directions. The lofts and terraces appeared and disappeared as the nebulous mist and clouds drifted along. [Sometimes, the view] looked like the water; sometimes, it looked like the mountain, as if it was a painting in color or a drawing. Over ten winter prunus lined both sides of the lane. The prunus

⁷⁹ Wei Xinzi 委心子, ed., *Xinbian fenmen gujin leishi* 新編分門古今類事 (Newly Edited Classified Affairs of Ancient and Modern) (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1987), 8.126.

⁸⁰ Wu Yun 伍員, style name Zixu, was a renowned scholar, minister, and general of the State of Wu 吳 in the Spring and Autumn period (722–481 BCE). For the biography of Wu Zixu, see Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145 or 135 – 86 BCE), *Shiji* 史記 (Historical Records) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 66.2180. For a study of the cults of Wu Zixu in later periods, see David Johnson, “The Wu Zixu *Pien-wen* and Its Sources,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40, 1 (June 1980): 93–156 and 40, 2 (December 1980): 465–505.

blossoms were already in full bloom. Concentrating his mind and letting his thoughts wander, Junfang returned at sunset.

淳化癸巳仲冬之晦，張君房適自茂苑來客餘杭，時抱瘡瘍之患，遽有告曰：“凡經游是郡者，當謁吳山神祠，即伍君子胥也，今封王爵。”君房聆之聳然曰：“是故宜至誠耳。王，古之忠鯁，在楚楚疆，來吳吳霸，及其去而死之，則吳亡楚弊，故得耀美清湘，流芳祀典，迄今民不忘其庇，斯盛德者歟！”翌日恭謁於廟，薰爐滌爵，質辭以心，默禱冥祈，肅拜而退。時初陽盛景，愛日方中，載步林亭，四望闐闐，樓台出沒，煙靄浮沈，若水若山，如繪如畫，夾道有寒梅十數株，已爛漫矣。凝懷抒思，比暮而回。

Here, instead of depicting the details of Qiantang, the text focuses on the overall atmosphere and illustrates a wonderfully impressionistic panorama. The mist over the far horizon, the pavilions hidden behind the clouds, and the surface of the water connected to the layers of mountains all suggest Qiantang's striking resemblance to the divine land. Eventually, the reader's vision is brought to the prunus blossoms on the sides of the road. In the dream of the protagonist that night, he goes to a mountain and meets a Daoist priest in a monastery. After consulting with the Daoist priest regarding his sickness and pain, he sees the prunus blossoms again on his way back. It reads:

On that night, Junfang dreamed of going up a mountain. Halfway up the hill, there was a newly constructed Buddhist palace, in which were several deity statues. Inside the side door of the hall, there was a Daoist priest, carrying divination-slips in his hands.⁸¹ The length of a slip was approximately a little over two *chi* [approx. 54 cm.]. They looked like today's peach wood charms.

Junfang bowed to him. The Daoist priest said: “These are bamboo slips.” Thinking over [the slips], they looked like those charms in the Daoist writings of the twelve Perfected Lords.⁸² Junfang said: “My body is lame and deteriorating. I

⁸¹ Michel Strickmann points out that these divination-slips, named the “Oracle-Slips of the Twelve Perfected Lords,” “designate a Daoist sequence of the sort with which we are now familiar.” See Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Poetry and Prophecy: The Written Oracle in East Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University, 2005), 54.

⁸² Here Zhang Junfang refers to the hagiographic works that have been dedicated to Xu Xun 許遜 (239–374) and his twelve disciples. For instance, Hu Huichao's 胡慧超 (d. 703) *Shier Zhenjun zhuan* 十二真君傳 (Biographies of Twelve Perfected Lords). For the hagiography of Xu Xun and the twelve Perfected

would like to do a divination, may I?” Thus, the Daoist priest took out the slips and drew one [from them], pulling a slip that had two lines of large vermilion characters. There were four sentences in all. Every sentence had five characters, saying:

The moment comes when it is the time,
After this moment has gone, you do not have to worry about your fate.
If you cultivate your mind like that,
Not long after, your illness will be eliminated.

As soon as Junfang read [the above characters] to himself, he knew that it was an auspicious statement. Feeling grateful, Junfang excused himself. As soon as Zhang gone down the hill for over a hundred *bu* [approx. 152 m.], suddenly, he smelled the fragrance of the prunus blossom. Looking back above him, there were the flowers that he saw yesterday. They were resplendent in the eyes. Thus, he was shocked and enlightened and said, “This is the Temple of Mount Wu.” Therefore, [Zhang] woke up. The delicate fragrance was sweet and aromatic. Filling the bed quilt and pillows, [the scent] did not diffuse for a long time. From then on, the suffering of the abscess and ulcers was healed after ten days.⁸³ Ah me! Would the proclamation of the numinous god have been something like this? On the tenth month of the winter of the *yimao* year of the Xiangfu reign [1015.11.15–12.13], Junfang received the order to change his official post to Qiantang. The Shrine of the King [of Mount Wu] was the renowned attraction in the territory that he governed. Wouldn’t this be the so-called “the moment [that] comes when it is the time”? From the winter of the *guisi* year of the Chunhua reign [993] to the *yimao* year of the Xiangfu reign [1015], Junfang lived in the South. Then he took office at Qiantang. Now again three years had passed; Junfang’s wife and offspring were provided with adequate food and clothing. He had been safe and sound. Mustn’t this be the secret blessing of the King? Now the tenure [in Qiantang] has expired, Junfang is about to be far away from the numinous shrine. If Junfang does not publish this essay and record it on the stone, he not only sets aside his long-cherished feeling, but also disregards the numinous proclamation of the King. Therefore, Junfang dug with a spade and carved this essay [on a stone tablet], hoping for people to acknowledge the numinous efficacy of the King. On the 21st day of the ninth month of the third year of the Tianxi reign [1019.10.21], Zhang Junfang, the Assistant Editorial Director and the District Magistrate of Qiantang, wrote this essay.

Lords, see Judith M. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature, Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 70–78.

Moreover, in *Lao Xue'an biji* 老學庵筆記 (A Notebook from the Cottage of an Old Student), Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210) remarks: “Each of the Twelve Perfected Lords of the West Mountain has poetry, which contain words of admonitions. Later generations used these poems on divination slips, to foretell good or ill luck. [These slips] were extremely efficacious” (西山十二真君各有詩，多訓戒語，後人取為簽，以占吉凶，極驗). See Lu You, *Lao Xue'an biji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 2.18.

⁸³ *Fenmen gujin leishi*, 8.126–27.

是夜夢上一山，迨半間有新創佛宮，中設尊像數身，殿偏門內，一道人手運籌牌，約長二尺餘，如今之桃符狀。君房揖之，道人曰：“此籤也。”意若今之道家十二真君所著撰者也。君房曰：“身蹇多剝，欲一卜之，可乎？”道人乃出籤牌抽之，引一牌，有朱書大字二行，凡四句，每句五字，曰：“時來自有期，此去不憂運，行心但如此，非久銷疾病。”甫讀於口，意亦知其吉告矣，感激而別。既下山百步，忽聞梅香，回望其上，乃昨日所見之花，爛然在目。因驚悟曰：“此吳山廟也。”於是遂覺。其清香芬馥，滿衾枕間，良久方歇。自是，瘡瘍之苦，浹旬而愈。於戲！靈神之告也若是乎？君房自祥符乙卯冬十月改官領錢塘之命，王祠即部之名勝也，非時來自有期乎？自淳化癸巳冬距祥符乙卯南至，爰蒞錢塘，今又三載，妻子溫飽，身跡安泰，豈非王之陰賜乎。今考秩告滿，將遠靈祠，苟不揭文志石，即不獨曠於宿心，亦負王之靈告也。因鑱而壁之，冀人知王之靈應事。天禧三年秋九月二十一日，著作佐郎知錢塘縣事張君房記。

Similar to the earlier stories that involve journeys to the unseen realm, the above account also provides concrete evidence of the breaking of the boundary between the divine realm and the earthly world: the fragrance of the prunus blossom. As Robert Campany points out, rather than being merely mental states, dreams are considered real contacts with supernatural beings (the immortals, the dead, etc.) as well as a mode of travel to the unseen realm.⁸⁴ To further confirm such a journey, the protagonist often wakes with “tangible evidence of travel”⁸⁵ to the realm of normally unseen beings. In the dream of Zhang Junfang, the flowers leave him with a deep visual impression, becoming a key that connects the reality of Qiantang to the divine world in his dream. The prunus blossom reminds him the place he visits in his dream is the same temple in which he had worshipped. Thus, Zhang Junfang comprehends the secret of divine space and,

⁸⁴ Robert Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), 354.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 356.

consequently, has to wake up and leave the immortal world; but after waking, the fragrance of the prunus blossoms proves that he has travelled to the divine realm.

The principal reason for Zhang's frequent mentions of the secretive blessing (*yin ci* 陰賜) is to "pay back the deity for a fortunate response" (*huanyuan* 還願). By publicizing this miracle of the Temple of Mount Wu, Zhang repays the blessing through his writing. He not only wrote about the dream-travel but also carved it on the stone stele, "hoping for people to acknowledge the numinous efficacy of the King."⁸⁶ This fact could be related to his official position as the Assistant Editorial Director (*zhuzuo zuolang* 著作佐郎). As Wang Guoliang 王國良 observed, many of the early mediaeval *zhiguai* authors served as Editorial Directors (*zhuzuo lang* 著作郎) or Assistant Editorial Directors.⁸⁷ For Zhang Junfang, though there is no evidence that he wrote anomaly accounts in order to advance his official career,⁸⁸ his public identity as an official historian should not be ignored.

More importantly, the prime task of Zhang Junfang before 1019 was the compilation of the Daoist encyclopedia *Yuji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel). In the winter of the sixth year of the Dazhong Xiangfu 大中祥符 Era (1013), Emperor Zhenzong ordered Zhang Junfang to join the project of compiling a

⁸⁶ *Fenmen gujin leishi*, 8.127.

⁸⁷ Wang Guoliang, *Wei Jin Nanbei chao zhiguai xiaoshuo yanjiu* 魏晉南北朝志怪小說研究 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1984), 292–96.

⁸⁸ Campany discusses the possibility of writing *zhiguai* as a way of being promoted in one's official career, but he also points out that current evidence is not enough to prove such a possibility. See Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China*, 173.

Daoist canon.⁸⁹ Zhang did not finish the *Yuji qiqian* until 1019, four years after he was appointed the District Magistrate of Qiantang.⁹⁰ Hence, it is plausible that in writing an anomaly account recounting his own religious experience, Zhang was attempting to promote the teachings of Daoism and testify about his faith to the public as well as the court.

Also noteworthy is that Zhang interprets his good fortune as the secretive blessing of Wu Zixu. Beyond the picturesque depiction of Qiantang, Zhang emphasizes the miraculous power hidden in this space and how the King of Wu protected his people. Soon after his visit to the Temple of Mount Wu, he completely recovers from his illness. Eventually, he takes a position as the county magistrate of Qiantang and lives peacefully, as all the predictions the Daoist priest makes in his dream come true. Thus, Zhang remarks, “Mustn’t this be the secret blessing of the King?” (豈非王之陰賜乎). As a matter of fact, as early as the second year of Jingfu 景福 reign (893) in the Tang Dynasty, Wu Zixu had already been regarded as the god of tidal bores by the locals of Qiantang, and further respected as the Marquis of Huiguang 惠廣侯. In the fifth year of the Dazhong Xiangfu reign (1012) of the Northern Song Dynasty, the Temple of Wu Zixu on Mount Wu was also officially titled the Temple of Zhongqing 忠清廟 by the imperial court. In the meantime, Wu Zixu was awarded the title of the Heroic and Ardent King 英烈王. Besides, according to “The Biography of Ma Liang” (Ma Liang zhuan 馬亮傳) in *Song shi*, in the ninth year of the Dazhong Xiangfu reign (1016), huge tidal bores flooded

⁸⁹ See Zhang Junfang’s preface, *Yunji qiqian*, HY1032; *Daozang*, 22.1–2.

⁹⁰ *Fenmen gujin leishi*, 8.127.

the river banks. As a result, Ma Liang 馬亮 (957–1031) prayed in the monastery of Wu Zixu. The next day, the tidal bores retreated and the dam was completely built.⁹¹ From the official historical accounts of the worship of Wu Zixu, it is clear that rituals and prayers towards Wu Zixu had already become common practice for local civilians and bureaucrats. Meanwhile, according to this account, the time of writing should be the third year of the Tianxi 天禧 reign (1019). Only seven years had passed since the official naming of the temple. Hence, it is reasonable to deduce that this period was the peak of the ritual ceremonies and worship of Wu Zixu.⁹²

In fact, the incident of Zhang and the god of Mount Wu is a typical example of the mutually dependent relationship of the mortal and the deities. As Valerie Hansen points out in her discussion of lay practices and beliefs in the Southern Song, “One broad principle underlay all interpretations: people and gods were mutually dependent. As men

⁹¹ In *Song shi*, it reads:

[Ma Liang] was transferred to Hangzhou. Moreover, he was assigned the position of the Academician of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. At first, the swell of the river overflowed. [Ma Liang] made a requisition on the soldiers to build the dike. However, the construction had not been finished yet. [Ma Liang received] an imperial order that asked about his stratagems of guarding against the river. Liang [asked the emperor for] an imperial order of glorification [for Wu Zixu] and prayed at the Shrine of Wuyuan. The next day, the level of the tidal bore retreated and several *li* of spreading sands came out. It was at that time that the dam was completed.

徙杭州，加集賢院學士。先是，江濤大溢，調兵築堤而工未就，詔問所以捍江之策。亮褒詔，禱伍員祠下，明日，潮位之卻，出橫沙數里，堤乃成。

Song shi, 298.9917.

⁹² As for the granting of titles for the deities in Song, Valerie Hansen quotes the petition of Wang Gu 王古 (fl. 1097) in *Song huiyao jigao*, suggesting that there were two ways for the central government to recognize continued miracles: “By promoting deities—first from marquis to lord and then to king—and by increasing the number of characters in his titles to the deities or to their temples.” Here, giving honors to Wu Zixu and his temple on Mount Wu was also a way for the Song government to control lay practice and belief in Hangzhou. With official sanction, the Temple of Mount Wu was not an “excessive temple” (*yin ci* 淫祠). See Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 82.

needed protection and miracles, deities needed people to acknowledge and reward them.”⁹³ The god of Mount Wu heals the painful illness of Zhang Junfang. In return, Zhang Junfang publicizes the miracle in his writing. To circulate the miracle widely, he even inscribes the essay on a stone tablet. A dream of the god is private. By writing about it, Zhang Junfang causes his readers to acknowledge his communication with the god of Mount Wu. As an official of the local government, Zhang Junfang hints to the reader that Wu Zixu serves as a local protector for Qiantang, with the divine power to affect the bodies of people and determine the political careers of scholar-officials. Zhang Junfang’s career success in being put in charge of Qiantang could be interpreted as a reward stemming from his respect for local belief and his appropriate behavior in the Temple of Mount Wu. Additionally, the fact that both Wu Zixu and (eventually) Zhang Junfang are destined to serve as the protectors of the region, spiritually and practically, may itself enable Zhang Junfang to visit the divine realm in his dream.

As mentioned above, in the Northern Song narratives, Qiantang was commonly depicted as a contrasting space, often compared to the imperial court of the capital city, Dongjing. In this space, the absence of imperial restraints makes miraculous stories more likely to happen. Scholars and merchants often encounter curious events on their way to or back from Qiantang. In “The Tale of A Red Snake” (Zhu she ji 朱蛇記), the protagonist, Li Yuan, arrives in Qiantang, accompanying his father who has assumed duty there. During Li Yuan’s journey to take the triennial provincial examination, while he is roaming the banks of the Wu river 吳江, he saves a Dragon Prince who has

⁹³ Ibid., 48.

transformed into a little red snake; afterward, Li Yuan receives an invitation from the Dragon King. After Li Yuan passes over a long bridge and enters the gaily-painted boat of the Dragon King, he enters a world that is much more magnificent than even the most luxurious mansions of kings and dukes in the human world:⁹⁴

Jun and Yuan went boating together. Cassia oars were lifted in pairs. The boat went as if it was flying. Soon they arrived at a mountain. Tens of people who looked like officials were already standing and waiting on the shore. Once Yuan arrived [at the palace] by riding in a palanquin, [he saw] vermilion doors and high gates. The guards [of the palace] were formidable. The decorated corridors were as straight as rope. The main hall reached the height of the clouds. The purple pavilion looked out over the void. Precarious kiosks rested on the water. Precious stones decorated the eaves of the palace. Cold jades were laid as bricks, threading pearls as falling curtains, carving walls into windows, even the residences of dukes and marquises in the world could not match [this palace]. For a while, an old man in a tall crown and Daoist robe stood in the palace hall. Those who waited at his sides were all beautiful women.

浚與元同泛舟，桂楫雙舉，舟去如飛。俄至一山，已有如公吏者數十立俟於岸。元乘肩輿既至，則朱扉高闕，侍衛甚嚴。修廊繩直，大殿雲齊，紫閣臨空，危亭枕水，寶飾虛簷，砌甃寒玉，穿珠落簾，磨壁成牖，雖世之王侯之居莫及也。俄一老人高冠道服立於殿上，左右侍立皆美婦人。

Taking into account the narrative structure of receiving a return favor from the Dragon King after saving a Dragon Prince or Princess, “The Tale of A Red Snake” appears to have been influenced by the famous Tang tale “The Tale of Liu Yi” (Liu Yi zhuan 柳毅傳).⁹⁵ But the depictions of the Dragon Kings’ palaces differ. In “The Tale of Liu Yi,” the most prominent characteristic of the Dragon King’s palace to Liu Yi’s eyes is the abundance of treasures collected from all over the world.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Liu Fu 劉斧 (fl.1073) ed. *Qingsuo gaoyi* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 188–89.

⁹⁵ The tale is also known as “The Tale of the Supernatural Marriage at Dongting” (Dongting lingyin zhuan 洞庭靈姻傳).

⁹⁶ Li Chaowei 李朝威 (766–820), “The Tale of Liu Yi,” in *Taiping guangji*, 419.3410–17. For the English translation of “The Tale of Liu Yi,” see Meghan Cai, “The Tale of the Supernatural Marriage,” in

[He] scrutinized [the palace] carefully, then [Liu Yi realized that] treasure from all over the world was completely collected here. The pillars were made of white jade; the steps were made of green jade; the beds were made of coral; the curtains were made of crystals. The opaque colored glass was carved into the kingfisher green lintels; ambers decorated the rainbow-colored ridgepoles.

諦視之，則人間珍寶畢盡於此。柱以白璧，砌以青玉，床以珊瑚，帘以水精，雕琉璃於翠楣，飾琥珀於虹棟。

In contrast, in “The Tale of a Red Snake,” while treasures like precious jade and pearls are not rare in the Dragon King’s palace, valuable pieces of jewelry are not its most prominent characteristic. Beyond these treasures, the architecture of the palace itself is more notable: the raised gates, the towering hall, the floating purple pavilion all reflect a masterpiece of architecture and a majestic power of construction. Compared with the palaces of kings in the human world, the contrast implies the existence of a divine power whose capacity is much greater than that of any authority in the mundane world. Besides, the various kinds of people in the Dragon King’s palace—the old man, the beauties, the young gallant, and the guards—all correspond with the immortal world’s heavenly king, female immortals, transcendent children, and divine soldiers, suggesting a dominant divine world hovering above the phenomenal world of human perception.⁹⁷

Such an emphasis on miraculous power in the Qiantang region was also reflected through Song authors’ rewritings of previous stories. The Song authors added specific descriptions of the natural beauty of the Qiantang region to frame the traditional romantic

Tang Dynasty Tales: A Guided Reader, vol. 2, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Toh Tuck Link: World Scientific Publishing Company, 2016), 1–70.

⁹⁷ The description of the palace is possibly related to the cult of the Dragon King, which can be dated to long before the Song. Hansen considers dragons “the only nonhumans in the Song pantheon.” See Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276*, 182.

encounters. In these stories, the Qiantang region is a mysterious and serene space, full of exotic *yin* power. Likewise, the people whom the protagonists encounter are mostly beautiful female transcendents or demons. For example, “Xing Feng Encounters the Water Immortal of the West Lake” (Xing Feng yu Xihu shuixian 邢鳳遇西湖水仙), collected in *Lüchuang Xinhua* 綠窗新話 (New Conversations Under the Green Lattice Window), is adapted from “The Record of the Anomalous Dreams” (Yimeng Lu 異夢錄), written by Shen Yazhi 沈亞之 (781–832) in the Tang Dynasty.⁹⁸ In “The Record of the Anomalous Dreams,” young gallant Xing Feng encounters a beauty who visits him in his mansion in the Pingkang Ward 平康里 of Chang’an in his dream.⁹⁹

Later, Xing Feng dwelled on the south of the Pingkang Ward in Chang’an. He spent millions to rent a formerly rich family’s mansion that had archway doors and hidden rooms. When he fell asleep and ceased reading, Xing Feng dreamed that a beauty came from the rooms in the West. [The beauty] walked with the sound of her jade pendants at ease. She held a book scroll [in her hands] and chanted [the lines on the scroll]. The beauty wore ancient-style clothes as well as a high bun of hair and long eyebrows. Her dress had a square collar and an embroidered belt. A coat with wide sleeves draped over her shoulders. Xing Feng was greatly delighted and said, “Why did a beauty like you come to me by yourself?” The beauty laughed and said: “This was my house and you resided under my roof as a guest. How can I [be here] by myself?”

後寓居長安平康里南，以錢百萬質得故豪家洞門曲房之第。即其寢而晝偃，夢一美人自西櫺來。環步從容，執卷且吟。為古裝，而高鬢長眉，衣方領繡帶紳，被廣袖之襦。鳳大說曰：“麗者何自而臨我哉？”美人笑曰：“此妾家也，而君客妾宇下，焉有自耶？”

⁹⁸ Huangdu fengyue zhuren 皇都風月主人 ed., *Lüchuang xinhua* (Shanghai: Shanghai gujichuanshe, 1991), 1.48.

⁹⁹ Shen Yazhi, *Shen Xiaxian ji* 沈下賢集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994), 27.

A comparison of the two accounts demonstrates that Shen Yazhi emphasizes the luxury of the mansion Xing Feng rents,¹⁰⁰ his extravagance, and the beautiful dress of the ravishing lady. The details also suggest that the story takes place in a metropolitan city. The beauty in his dream wears a magnificent dress in an ancient style as well. She tells him that this mansion belongs to her, which hints at her possible identity: a ghost of a noble lady or a household courtesan. The location of this mansion, the Pingkang Ward, was also a famous space for courtesan houses in the Tang Dynasty;¹⁰¹ in Tang literature, many of the romantic stories between literati and courtesans were set here.

By contrast, “Xing Feng Encounters the Water Immortal of the West Lake” shifts the background space of the story from Chang’an, the capital, to a villa near the West Lake in Qiantang. Compared with the Tang tale, the Northern Song story stresses the special natural characteristics of the West Lake region. It reads:¹⁰²

Xing Feng, style-name Junrui, lived at the West Lake. There was a living hall named “This Gentleman.”¹⁰³ The water and the bamboos were quiet and secluded

¹⁰⁰ For a detailed study of Shen Yazhi’s “The Record of the Anomalous Dreams,” see Sarah M. Allen, *Shifting Stories: History, Gossip, and Lore in Narratives from Tang Dynasty China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 203–15.

¹⁰¹ Pingkang Ward was a ward of Chang’an during Tang Dynasty. Since it was located on the North side of the city, it was also named *Beili* 北里. In *Beili zhi* 北里志, Sun Qi 孫榮 (fl. 884) suggests, “All the courtesans resided in the Pingkang Ward” (諸妓皆居平康里). See Sun Qi, *Beili zhi* (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), 22.

The name “Pingkang Ward” was also used in the Northern Song to refer to the courtesan spaces in the Eastern Capital. For example, *Zuiweng tanlu* suggests, “as for the Pingkang Ward, it was the place where the courtesans of the Eastern Capital resided” (平康里者，乃東京諸妓所居之地也). See *Xinbian zuiweng tanlu*, 4. 35.

¹⁰² *Lüchuang xinhua*, 1.25.

¹⁰³ In Zhou Lengqie 周楞伽’s comments to this account, he notes that bamboo is called “This Gentleman” (*cijun* 此君) because of an anecdote of Wang Huizhi 王徽之 (338–86) in *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (A New Account of Tales of the World). In the anecdote, Wang remarks, “How could I live one day without this gentleman” (何可一日無此君). *Ibid.*, 1.26. For the anecdote, see Yu Jiayi 余嘉錫 ed., Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–44), *Shishuo xinyu jian shu* 世說新語箋疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 760.

and he often rested among them. One day, when Xing Feng sat in the hall by himself, he saw a girl who came to him by passing through the shadow of the bamboo plants. Xing Feng was about to hide from her.

The girl immediately blurted out: “Xing Junrui, why is it necessary for you to avoid me? I, your handmaid, have a poem to present. [The poem] goes:

The maiden with a graceful demeanor trods through the sunshine in Spring,¹⁰⁴
Where does the spring sunshine not make a heart break?
Those flowing sleeves and arches of bound feet were completely forgotten,
And within the silk draw-curtains five years of frosts will be pass in vain.”

Feng teased her with a poem, which went:

To capture your mien and manner in paint would be hard,¹⁰⁵
What made you depart the altar of the immortals?
Deep in the clouds over the Hall of This Gentleman,
You should ride the colorful phoenix with your lover.

The girl said: “My mind and your thoughts are the same with each other. But it is not the time yet. The affair will happen after five years. You will be an official who governs Qian Tang. On the bank of the West Lake and the side of the Mount Phoenix, there is my residence. If you have the affection and would not cast it away, make sure that you look for me.” After these words, she disappeared. Five years after, Feng followed his brother to guard Qiantang. Therefore, he prepared the boat and the oars, going out for the West Lake and looking for the former arrangement. Suddenly, Xing Feng heard songs with sounding rods in the lotus flowers. He saw a girl in the boat, calling: “Xing Junrui, you may be called a gentleman who faithfully keeps his word! I am indeed the immortal of water and moon inside the West Lake. From a thousand *li* away, you looked for me. This was enough to see your great cordiality.” Feng pulled up to her boat and all at once, he sunk in the water. Afterwards, people saw Feng traveling on the lake, thinking that he became a water immortal.

¹⁰⁴ Here, “trods through the sunshine in Spring” (*Ta chunyang* 踏春陽) refers to the custom of spring outings during the Shangsi festival (*Shangsi jie* 上巳節), also known as the Double Third Festival (*Sanyue san* 三月三). Set on the third day of the third month, the Shangsi festival, which had gained in popularity since the Han dynasty, was a common time of year for events like outings in the open and dining along the water. See, for example, Sun Siwang 孫思旺, “Shangsi jie yuanyuan mingshi shulue” 上巳節淵源名實述略, *Hunan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 湖南大學學報 (社會科學版), 2 (2006): 23.

¹⁰⁵ This line is possibly adapted from Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086)’s renowned poem “The Song of the Radiant Consort” (*Mingfei qu* 明妃曲), which says, “The exquisiteness and manner could never be captured in paint, it was wrong to kill Mao Yanshou at that time” (意態由來畫不成, 當時枉殺毛延壽). See Li Bi 李壁 (1159–1222), ed., *Wang Jingong shi Li Bi Jian zhu* 王荊公詩李壁箋注 (The Poetry of Wang Anshi, with Commentaries by Li Bi) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 6.429.

邢鳳，字君瑞，居西湖。有堂，名曰此君，水竹清幽，常憩息其間。一日，獨坐堂中，見一女子，穿竹陰而來，將欲避之。女遽呼曰：“邢君瑞，何必回避？妾有詩奉獻。”曰：“娉婷少女踏春陽，何處春陽不斷腸？舞袖弓彎渾忘了，羅帷虛度五年霜。”鳳以詩挑之曰：“意態精神畫亦難，不知何事別仙壇？此君堂上云深處，應與蕭郎駕彩鸞。”女曰：“吾心子意，彼此皆同，奈數未及期，事在五年之後，君當守官錢塘，西湖岸上，鳳凰山傍，有妾所居。有情不棄，千萬相尋。”言迄，不見。

後五年，鳳過隨兄鎮錢塘，遂具舟楫，出西湖，欲尋舊約。忽聞荷花中鳴榔而歌，見舟中一女子，呼曰：“邢君瑞，可謂有信君子！妾乃西湖中水月仙也。千里相尋，足見厚意。”鳳挽其舟，忽沉水中。後人見鳳往來湖上，意為水仙也。

Unlike “The Record of the Anomalous Dreams,” in “Xing Feng Encounters the Water Immortal of the West Lake,” while the name of Xing Feng and the plot of exchanging poems are kept, the residence and settings where Xing Feng meets the beautiful lady are entirely different. In “Xing Feng Encounters the Water Immortal of the West Lake,” the author does not limn the luxuriousness of the residence of Xing Feng, how much he has spent on the mansion, or the details of the beauty’s dress. Instead, the author explores the serene ambience of Xing Feng’s living hall: the lake water, the bamboos and the shadows weaving under them, and the distinctive name of the living hall itself. The reactions of Xing Feng when he meets the beauty for the first time are different as well: in “The Record of the Anomalous Dreams,” he is “greatly delighted,” but in “Xing Feng Encounters the Water Immortal of the West Lake,” he is “going to hide from her.” It could be inferred from the Song author’s changes to these details that he intentionally downplays the aspects of the story relating to the seductive details of the woman’s body and the expenses of the mansion. In both appearances of the beauty in the Song version, no detailed description of her face, figure, or dress is given. Instead, readers are left with impressions of her entrances into the environment of the story: for

the first time, under the shadows of the bamboo; for the second time, in a small boat passing through the lotus flowers on the West Lake. Such appearances were unique to the scenic quality of Qiantang's environment and also correlates to her true identity mentioned at the end of the story: "the immortal of water and moon of the West Lake" (Xihu shuiyuexian 西湖水月仙). In this typical plot of "encountering the beauty," the author of the Song story successfully creates a distinguishing atmosphere for the story, in which the West Lake and its striking scenery serve as the most special character of the Song retelling. In this space, the immortals live, tour, and rest with the commoners, sharing and enjoying the pleasures of discovering the beauty of nature.

During the Northern Song dynasty, there were many different narratives of encounters with the supernatural: immortals, demons and other supernatural beings. Among this genre of the narratives, other well-known pieces include "The Long Bridge Plaint" (Changqiao yuan 長橋怨),¹⁰⁶ "The Anomalous Dreams of Qiantang" (Qiantang yimeng 錢塘異夢),¹⁰⁷ and "The Tale of the Jinhua Immortal" (Jinhua shenji 金華神記).¹⁰⁸ In these stories, the protagonists all prefer natural mountains and waters over a prosperous political career or the pursuit of good fortune. They lived off the beaten path, away from the crowded mundane world, eventually leading them to romantic encounters or even immortality. In general, the protagonists' fondness for the landscape of the

¹⁰⁶ *Qingsuo gaoyi*, 5.54.

¹⁰⁷ Li Xianmin 李獻民 (fl. 1073) ed., *Yunzhai guanglu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 7.44–46.

¹⁰⁸ Zhang Bangji 張邦基 (fl. 1131). *Mozhuang man lu* 墨庄漫錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 10.259.

Hangzhou region is affirmed by the authors. Hangzhou, especially the West Lake and the surrounding area, was regarded as an ideal destination for touring and living a quiet life.

In sum, in the surviving corpus of Northern Song narratives, the region near Hangzhou mainly represented a distant land far from the center of political power, in contrast with the Eastern Capital, which hosted the Song court and was flooded with bureaucratic errands. A serene depiction of the natural world was often used by authors to compare with the busy life of the capital and relate the attempts of elite literati to escape the pressures of a political career. To intensify this contrast, most authors of Northern Song narratives devoted great efforts to detailing the scenic beauty of Hangzhou at the expense of depicting urban life in this period. In fact, in these stories, Hangzhou often stood as a symbol of serenity detached from the center of politics. In addition, authors preferred stories of how divine power influenced the earthly world, relating protagonists' life-changing encounters with supernatural figures. The West Lake, the river, and other landscapes were all depicted as spaces where immortals and other supernatural beings lived.

Lin'an and its Public Spaces in Southern Song Narratives

After the Song court fled to the south, a large immigrant population of different social hierarchies followed and began to stream into Hangzhou.¹⁰⁹ According to the 19th

¹⁰⁹ In *Lao Xue'an biji*, Lu You describes the immigration: "When the Auriga first stayed temporarily at Lin'an, literati, commoners and merchants from the former capital and four directions converged [at Lin'an]" (大駕初駐蹕臨安，故都及四方士民商賈輻輳). See Lu You, *Lao Xue'an biji*, 8.104.

According to Shiba Yoshinobu, approximately 400,000 military soldiers, 20,000 high officials, tens of thousands of low ranking staffs and their family members moved to Hangzhou in 1127. See Shiba

juan of *Meng liang lu*, the residents of Lin'an "comprised close to one million families" (近百萬餘家).¹¹⁰ The population included one hundred and eighty-three thousand families of immigrants as well as the seventy-seven thousand families of original inhabitants.¹¹¹ From the numbers, it is clear that the population of immigrants in Lin'an in the Southern Song Dynasty had greatly surpassed that of the original inhabitants. The "Southward Migration" of a large number of people significantly contributed to Hangzhou's local economy and spurred urban construction, making the city not only a rich prefecture of Southeast China, but also the center of the whole empire during the Southern Song. In fact, it was considered the richest and most populated city in the world in the late twelfth and thirteenth century by Jacques Gernet.¹¹² Due to the changing nature of the city, the narratives of Hangzhou during the Southern Song were notably different from those written in the Northern Song.

Of all the changes in the texts, arguably the most prominent is the perceived image of the city. It was seen as a pleasant space for people who wanted a quiet, serene escape, as well as a crowded metropolical where people could indulge in material consumption. While the authors in Northern Song depicted Hangzhou as an Arcadian space of peacefulness, the authors of the Southern Song focus on the metropolitan

Yoshinobu, "Urbanization and the Development of Markets in the Lower Yangtze Valley," in *Crisis and Prosperity in Sung China*, ed. John Haeger (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975), 19.

¹¹⁰ *Meng liang lu*, 19.299.

¹¹¹ Robert Hartwell suggests that the population of Hangzhou reached 391,300 households and possibly two million inhabitants in 1225. See Robert Hartwell, "Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China," 392–93.

¹¹² Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion, 1250–1275* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), 25.

characteristics of Hangzhou and the urban experience of the residents in the city. The authors no longer emphasize natural scenes near the West Lake, nor are they interested in anecdotes of the elite literati in the city like the authors of the Tang tales. Instead, they are more inclined towards the stories and lives of the commoners in Lin'an. One of the reasons for this transition was the development of the social structure in Lin'an during the Southern Song. As Otake Fumio 小竹文夫 points out, the population of Lin'an exploded during the Southern Song, producing a well-developed economic infrastructure for both commerce and entertainment, allowing people of different classes and places in the social hierarchy to pursue their own ways of leisure, either economically or lavishly.¹¹³ Around this period, Lin'an evolved into a complete metrocapital, which included a variety of commercial and entertainment spaces for every taste. As a metropolitan city, it also provided sufficient room for people of different backgrounds to exchange information:¹¹⁴ just as in Bianliang, the fall of the walls that had divided the city into different wards allowed people to move freely about the city without physical restriction. The city's flourishing commercial development also further empowered and revitalized the merchant class and a great variety of other urban professionals, such as entertainers. From this perspective, the narratives of Lin'an during the Southern Song Dynasty can be regarded as reflections of the thoughts of urban residents during this period.

¹¹³ Otake Fumio, "Nansong zhi dushi shenghuo" 南宋之都市生活, *Xiandai shixue* 現代史學 no. 2 (1934): 272.

¹¹⁴ Shiba Yoshinobu, "Songdu Hangzhou de shangye zhongxin" 宋都杭州的商業中心, in *Riben xuezhe yanjiu zhongguo shilun xuan yi* 日本學者研究中國史論著選譯, ed. Liu Junwen 劉俊文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 5.311–36.

In addition, compared with the Northern Song narratives, the Southern Song narrative accounts also revealed a sense of insecurity. At this moment, Lin'an was no longer regarded as a space of peace and serenity, and romantic encounters with divine figures became rare in the Song accounts. Instead, the focus of the narratives shifted towards the chaotic and dangerous, in parallel with a rise in the number of stories related to wealth, lust, crime, and supernatural beings. The plots of "Wo Lai Ye" also placed the whole city under the shadow of the famous thief, Wo Lai Ye.¹¹⁵ The story is set in the time when Gaozong and Qin Kuai oversaw the court, and it reflects a lack of order in Southern Song society that produced a chaotic city. In the meantime, as Luan Baoqun 樂保群 points out in the Preface of *Gui Dong* 鬼董 (The Dong Hu of ghosts), the plots and ambience of Southern Song narratives demonstrated Hangzhou residents' insecurity and fear towards the influx of immigrants who fled into the Qiantang region during a very short amount of time.¹¹⁶

Furthermore, the vibrant urban atmosphere of the Southern Song narratives also depicted public spaces both inside and outside of the city. Like the Tang tales, the public spaces of the capital city in the Song narratives were settings for the protagonists to encounter each other or for stories to unfold, making them often significant platforms for the progress of the plot. The authors of Lin'an narratives during the Song dynasty were no exceptions, often setting their stories around well-known public spaces such as the West Lake. Besides, as the development of the city of Lin'an significantly surpassed the

¹¹⁵ *Xie shi*, 23.25a. See page 12–13.

¹¹⁶ Luan Baoqun ed., *Gui Dong Yehang chuan* 鬼董夜航船 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2014), 6.1a.

confined area within the city's walls, the constant connection, communication, and trade between the commercial and residential areas inside and outside of the city were therefore reflected in the narratives. In addition, famous landmarks including the West Lake, Mount Phoenix, and the Qiantang River were scattered around Lin'an city, and as a result, the spaces where the stories' protagonists actively live and wander are not limited to urban space within the city's walls. In the narratives, we discover a broad urban space that extends well beyond the confined inner city.

As a metrocapital, Lin'an had all the different elements of an urban city. The residences of the imperial family, nobles as well as bureaucrats and commoners, Buddhist temples, Daoist monasteries, famous landmarks, and other spots for leisure and entertainment are all panoramically portrayed in the texts. By utilizing this flourishing urban space, its beautiful landscape, and the rich cultural environment, the authors create a dynamic and comprehensive city setting. For contemporary readers who fully identified with an environment with which they were familiar, communication between the text and the targeted reader were impressively enhanced, strengthening their experiential and visual imagination. Such a perspective on the spatial environment and the rich depiction of the cultural atmosphere—creating a tension between the virtual space of the stories and the lived space of the real world—could not only bring the setting to life but also create chances for characters to proceed along different plot lines. The following section discusses the two most important public spaces, the West Lake and the Qiantang River, and how they are represented in Song narratives.

The West Lake

A long tradition for the people of Lin'an of visiting the West Lake made it a productive space for creating literary works. In most stories, the image of the West Lake, just like the city of Hangzhou, was transformed between the Northern Song and the Southern Song. The literati from the northern regions during the Northern Song often praised the West Lake in their poems or other literary works as a place suitable for a secluded life or as a great tourist attraction. Especially as West Lake was far away from the capital where the emperor lived, the literati often regarded it as a place to rest and recover once their political careers had been derailed. While the city of Hangzhou was already rather prosperous, the poets during the Northern Song seldom mentioned its urban life.¹¹⁷ Poems related to the West Lake frequently mention the boats on the lake, the beautiful scenery, the moonlight, and so on; the lake is merely a place for literati to travel and gather, with little hint of quotidian urban life. The poems of the West Lake written by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) are representative¹¹⁸ and similar attitudes pervade narratives during the Northern Song.

¹¹⁷ Ronald Egan also points out that the poets during this period seldom limn ordinary people in Hangzhou. Even if there is a description of the commoners, it is often a biased view from the elites, such as “Wandering Around the Lone Mountain of a Day of the Twelfth Month and Visiting the Two Monks Huiqin and Huisi” (La ri you Gushan fang Huiqin Huisi er seng 臘日遊孤山訪惠勤惠思二僧). See Egan, “Songdai wenxian zhong de ducheng mianmian guan,” 宋代文獻中的都城面面觀, in *Dushi fanhua: yi qian wu bai nian lai de dongya chengshi shenghuo shi* 都市繁華：一千五百年來的東亞城市生活史, ed. Fudan daxue wenshi yanjiu yuan 復旦大學文史研究院 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 94–95; Wang Wengao 王文誥 (1764–?) ed. and ann., *Su Shi shi ji* 蘇軾詩集 (Collected Poems of Su Shi) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 7.316–19.

¹¹⁸ Su Shi had been an official in Hangzhou twice. The first time was in the fourth year of the Xining 熙寧 (1071) reign, where Su Shi served as the Controller-General (*tongpan* 通判) of Hangzhou. The second time was the fourth year of the Yuanyou 元祐 (1089) reign, when Su Shi had already experienced the political instability of the Xining Reforms (*Xining bianfa* 熙寧變法) and the Yuanyou

But in the Southern Song dynasty, the urban development of Lin'an city meant that many roamers, of various social classes, came to the West Lake. As *Meng liang lu* points out, “the culture and customs in Lin'an were luxurious throughout the four seasons, which made every day suitable for touring” (臨安風俗, 四時奢侈, 賞觀殆無虛日).¹¹⁹ In particular, during the festivals, most Lin'an residents went out and gathered at West Lake and other nearby attractions. People held banquets, roamed through a variety of natural scenes, and fully indulged in the joy of life.

Similar to the Reservoir of Metal's Luster in Dongjing, people of different professions gathered in the region of the West Lake: merchants, courtesans, craftsmen, actors, actresses, city idlers, peddlers, and many others who provided services for tourists. Even more places for entertainment and leisure were built in the region during the Southern Song dynasty. For example, on the bank of the West Lake, there was a well-known wine loft named after Dongjing's famous Loft of Abundant Joy 豐樂樓 of the Northern Song.¹²⁰ It could be argued that the construction of various structures, such as

Reversion (*Yuanyou genghua* 元祐更化). Su Shi frequently visited the West Lake with his friends. In the fifth year of the Yuanyou (1090) reign, he wrote “Memo from Hangzhou on Requesting the Ordination Certificate to Open the West Lake” (Hangzhou qidu diekai Xihu zhuang 杭州乞度牒開西湖狀), in which he mentioned that “the West Lake to Hangzhou is just like eyes and eyebrows to a human: it cannot be taken away” (杭州之有西湖, 如人之有眉目, 蓋不可廢也). See Kong Fanli 孔凡禮 ed., *Su Shi wen ji* 蘇軾文集 (Collected Essays of Su Shi) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 30.864.

¹¹⁹ *Meng liang lu*, 4.162.

¹²⁰ See Fig. 5. In *Meng liang lu*, it reads:

For the Fengyu Gate, outside of it, there was a wine loft named “Abundant Joy,” which had a former name of “the Loft of Imposing Jade.” It took up the heart of the West Lake. There were thousands of continuous peaks and a boundless expanse of jade green waves.

曰豐豫門, 外有酒樓, 名豐樂, 舊名聳翠樓, 據西湖之會。千峰連環, 一碧萬頃。

Meng liang lu, 12.230.

gardens, temples, and wine lofts, made the West Lake a richer and enlarged public space compared with the Northern Song. The West Lake then became an encompassing social space for people of all classes, where, besides enjoying the stunning scenes of natural beauty, visitors and tourists could also enjoy different types of entertainment options and leisure choices.

In *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 (Old Affairs of the Martial Grove), it reads:

The Loft of Hele, the Loft of Hefeng, the Loft of Zhonghe, the Loft of Chunfeng, the Loft of Taihe, the Loft of Xi, the Loft of Taiping, the Loft of Fenge, the South Outer Wine House, the North Outer Wine House, and the Wine House of Xixi, all the above were official wine houses. These were subordinated to the Inspecting Station of the Ministry of Revenue. In every wine house, there were tens of government courtesans. In each wine house, there were several thousand *liang* of golden and silver drinking vessel for the customers to use.

和樂樓，和豐樓，中和樓，春風樓，太和樓，西樓，太平樓，豐樂樓，南外庫，北外庫，西溪庫，已上並官庫，屬戶部點檢所，每庫設官妓數十人，各有金銀酒器千兩，以供飲客之用。

Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1308), *Wulin jiushi*, in *Dongjing meng Hua lu (wai si zhong)*, 6.441.



同治六年補刊

Figure 5. The map of the West Lake. From Qian Yueyou, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 1.3355b.

Accompanied by an influx of immigrants, an increased population, and a growing number of tourists, the commercial and residential areas adjacent to the West Lake flourished during the Southern Song dynasty. The continuing fast-paced economic development also signified an expansion of the urban public space of Hangzhou as the

capital city. As a result, although it was located outside the city proper, West Lake became a practical extension of Hangzhou's urban space. Due to the prosperousness of the West Lake and the nearby area, a myriad of people from different social backgrounds continuously gathered there.

The Southern Song narratives depicted the stories of diverse people, wealthy or poor, young or old, roaming near the West Lake and having romantic encounters. Therefore, how the public space was presented to urban residents was also reflected through such stories. As Song Lihua suggests, the significance of the West Lake for Lin'an in the Southern Song literature resembled the importance of the Reservoir of Metal's Luster for Dongjing in the Northern Song writings. But the expanse of the West Lake was much more magnificent compared with that of the Reservoir of Metal's Luster, which made it a perfect stage for romantic encounters and limitless possibilities.¹²¹ In "The Two Beauties of Zhou Hao" (Zhou Hao er yan 周浩二豔), Zhou Hao came to know his wife as both of them lived near the neighborhood of the West Lake:¹²²

Zhou Hao, a retainer of Qin Xi (1117–1161),¹²³ a native of Luoyang, located his residency in the West Lake district as a neighbor to the residences of high

¹²¹ Song Lihua, "Bianzhou yu Hangzhou," 188.

¹²² *Gui Dong*, in Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博(1728–1814) et al., *Zhi bu zu zhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (Collectaneum of the Insufficient Knowledge Studio) (Shanghai: Shanghai gushu liutong chu, 1921), series 12. 2.44a.

¹²³ Qin Xi was the foster son of Qin Kuai. According to "Cao Yong" (Cao Yong 曹詠) from *Qidong yeyu* 齊東野語 (Unrestrained Conversations from the East of Qi), Qin Xi was foolish and clumsy:

Xi was the son of Mr. Wang, who was the brother of the wife of Qin Kuai. Qin Kuai used to have a banquet with his followers and invited some entertainers and courtesans to perform [for the guests]. Qin Xi burst into uncontrollable laughter in his seat and fell on the floor. Qin Kuai was extremely upset.

燻本檜妻黨王氏子，蠢駘。嘗燕親賓，優者進妓，燻於座中大笑絕倒。檜殊不懌。

officials. A young woman in white came to the lodge in his neighborhood. She was gorgeous and smart. At first, she hid from Zhou Hao. After a little while, what formed in their eyes connected in their hearts. Zhou Hao knocked on the neighbor's door and asked about her. The neighbor said, "She is Ms. Li from Bianliang. Her husband died and she is about to take off her mourning clothes. She is on the edge of her next move." Zhou Hao advanced a great deal of money to the matchmaker and took Ms. Li into his house. She was able to anticipate Hao's every need and they lived happily together.

秦熺之客、洛人周浩，卜居西湖鄰邸，有白衣少婦來寓，豔冶而慧，始見猶自匿，稍久，目成心通。叩諸鄰，鄰曰：汴人李氏。夫死，服將除，方謀再行。浩厚致媒幣，室之。婦能先事中浩意，相得甚歡。

As a retainer of Qin Xi, Zhou Hao was someone who would like to join the class of bureaucrats. He was a native of Luoyang, and thus, the demon who transforms into the woman in white pretends that she is from Bianliang. As both are immigrants from the north, they have come to reside near the West Lake. Furthermore, as both are northerners, the experience they share provides them with greater mutual understanding.

The most remarkable characteristic of the encounter of Zhou Hao and the woman in white is its straightforward nature. A man like Zhou Hao could simply ask after a woman and pursue her; no matchmakers or families are mentioned in the account. After Zhou Hao and the woman in white develop feelings toward each other, Zhou Hao knocks on the doors of neighbors to find out more information about her. Here, it is noteworthy that the neighbors also know a lot of details of the woman in white. From the above account, it can be seen that immigrants from the north who resided in the region of the West Lake were a large and closely related community who became topics of interest for writer.

Zhou Mi, *Qidong yeyu*, in *Tang Song biji ziliao congshu* 唐宋筆記資料叢書, ed. Zhang Maopeng 張茂鵬 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 11.197.

Furthermore, the social structures of the city residents became relatively complicated in the Song due to the disappearance of the walled-ward (*li-fang* 里坊) system.¹²⁴ As mentioned above, some narratives written in the Southern Song, even though set in the West Lake region, still strongly emphasized urban life inside the city of Hangzhou, preferring to represent the shared experiences of people from all social classes. West Lake and the greater West Lake region were places for the city residents to travel and gather. Southern Song narratives reflect this nature of West Lake as a commercialized social space. The characters in these accounts encompass a great variety, including officials, eunuchs, courtesans, necromancers, traders, merchants, soldiers, city idlers, etc. Such a range of identities reflects the complicated social structure of the population in Southern Song Hangzhou.

Among all characters in the Southern Song narratives, the emergence of city idlers or *flaneurs* (*youshou* 游手) is noteworthy.¹²⁵ In *Wulin jiushi*, Zhou Mi notices the existence of this social class and remarks:¹²⁶

¹²⁴ The *li-fang* system physically divided the city via interior walls, splitting it into different functional districts. The word *fang* emerged in the Eastern Han Dynasty 東漢 (25–220), but the *fang* system was first introduced in Pingcheng 平城 (modern Datong 大同, Shanxi) of the Northern Wei Dynasty 北魏 (386–534). Luo Yang and Chang’an during the Sui and Tang Dynasties were typical representatives of cities that implemented the *li-fang* system: in Tang Chang’an, there were 108 urban *fang* (wards) that enclosed by ward walls. The deterioration of *fang* began at the end of the Tang dynasty, and these functions of *fang* disappeared in the Song. Dongjing inherited and continued to use many names for *fang*; however, the concept of *fang* in the Northern Song was no longer the same as it had been in the Tang. Despite the frequent assertion that the walled-ward system might have disappeared by the early Song, modern scholars have proven that its collapse was only final by the late Northern Song. See Heng Chye-Kiang, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats*, 151–62; Kubota Kazuo 久保田和男, *Sōdai Kaifū no jinkōsū* 宋代開封の研究 (Kōkyō : Kyūko Shoin, 2007), 57–89; Qi Xia 漆俠, *Songdai jingji shi* 宋代經濟史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988), 965–78; Li Hequn 李合群, “Lun Zhongguo gudai lifangzhi de bengkuai” 論中國古代里坊制的崩潰, *Shehui Kexue* 社會科學, 12 (2007): 132–38.

¹²⁵ Note that we see more city idlers in Song narratives than before.

¹²⁶ *Wulin jiushi*, 6.444.

In the bustling and crowded districts, people gathered in groups; the flaneur were clever and treacherous, and there were a lot of this type.

浩穰之區，人物盛伙。遊手奸黠，實繁有徒。

As Chen Shichong 陳世崇 pointed out in the section “The Idlers in Qiantang” (Qiantang youshou 錢塘游手) (d.1038) in *Suiyin man lu* 隨隱漫錄 (Casual Jottings in Seclusion), “there were tens of thousands of idlers in Qiantang, who often earned their living by laying deceitful traps for people” (錢塘游手數萬，以騙局為業).¹²⁷ In fact, as scholars points out, such an emergence of a large number of jobless people in the narratives of the metrocapitals was an inevitable outcome of immigration and urban economic development.¹²⁸ “Zhou Bao” (Zhou Bao 周寶), which I will discuss below, serves as an excellent example.¹²⁹

Moreover, West Lake had long been considered a rare example of urban space harmoniously blending with nature. In previous literary traditions, especially that of poetic writings, urban life was usually set as the contrast to mountains and waters; urban space and natural space were separated. But for the Song, especially Southern Song, the natural scenery of West Lake became part of the city’s urbanized space. Nature and city were no longer in conflict with each other. On the contrary, the beauty of West Lake partially neutralized the more mundane aspect of urban life in Hangzhou, forming a new

¹²⁷ Chen Shichong, *Suiyin manlu* (Shanghai: Shanghai buji chubanshe, 2001), 5.380.

¹²⁸ Sun Xun and Ge Yonghai point out that since the area of the South of the Yangtze River was densely populated in Song Dynasty, many peasants lost their fields and were forced to earn a living in the cities. See Sun Xun and Ge Yonghai, “Zhongguo gudai xiaoshuo de shuangcheng yixiang jiqi wenhua neihan,” 164. Also see Chen Guochan 陳國燦, *Songdai Jiangnan chengshi yanjiu* 宋代江南城市研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 144.

¹²⁹ See a detailed discussion of “Zhou Bao” in Chapter 3.

space of urban culture, a perfect environment for residents of Lin'an to visit. Such a visit was often the beginning of a plot progression, with West Lake or other nearby natural attractions providing an abundance of options for protagonists' activities. "Zhang Shen Found an Ideal Match during the Spring Outing" (Zhang Shen you chun de jia'ou 張詵遊春得佳偶) in *Lüchuang xinhua* is an excellent example. It reads:¹³⁰

Zhang Shen had been devoted to studying since he was young and never left his study. Being moved by spring's glories, the inspiration to go out to enjoy the sights stirred inside him. Together with his friends Zhao Bomo and Wang Jisu, Zhang Shen went out of the city walls, took a boat and traveled on the West Lake. By the time night fell, the two friends departed and Shen drank his fill and became tired. Therefore, he rested at the tea house of Supernumerary Wang. Without his knowing, Shen was weary and slept. The Supernumerary asked his servant [about Zhang Shen], who said: "[This is] the gallant from the house of Zhang." The Supernumerary said: "Is he the one who used to discuss marriage with Lady 'Flowers Cannot Compare'¹³¹ of our family?" The servant said: "Just so."

After a while, Zhang Shen was awakened from his sleep. Seeing Shen as a vigorous and handsome man, the Supernumerary arranged wine and invited him to drink, rode with him as he went home. And then the Zhang family held a banquet for the Supernumerary and discussed marriage issues with him face to face. Immediately, [the two families] asked for the matchmaker and the marriage was settled quickly. They prepared the formal presents and held the wedding ceremony. At first sight of the Lady "Flowers Cannot Compare," [Shen found that] she had a dazzling beauty that could overthrow cities. Her brilliant complexion was unrivalled. It was a harmonious union of the two lovers; their conjugal love became more and more passionate. When they traveled, they went shoulder to shoulder; when they sat, they sat thigh to thigh. Afterward, Shen reached the ranks [by passing the *jinshi* examination] and held an official position as an Ancillary in [the principal office of] Hubei [modern Jingzhou, Hubei].¹³²

¹³⁰ *Lüchuang xinhua*, 1.48.

¹³¹ Note that *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Record of the Listener) also has an account named "Flowers Cannot Compare" (Hua buru 花不如), but the two stories are not identical except for the names of the female protagonists. See Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202), *Yijian zhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), *bu*: 10.1636–37.

¹³² Here Hubei refers to the Northern Jinghu Circuit 荆湖北路 (modern Hubei), one of the fifteen circuits (*lu* 路) set up by Song Taizong. The regional headquarters were in Jiangling 江陵 (modern

Though Shen worked in the governmental establishment, he was not interested in government affairs. The couple joyfully caroused with complete devotion, and then died one after another at the official office of Shen.

張詵，少篤學，未嘗出書齋。因春感物，遂動游賞之興，同友人趙伯謨，王季肅出城，罷舟游西湖。迨晚，二友別袂，詵酒酣足倦，因憩于王員外茶肆，不覺困睡。員外聞其僕，曰：“張宅小官人。”員外曰：“莫是向來曾與吾家花不如小娘子議親者？”僕云：“正是。”須臾，睡覺，員外見詵精神俊秀，具酒延之，聯騎送歸。其家復宴待員外，因面議親事，隨即命媒，一言而合，具禮成親。一見花不如小娘子，豔色傾城，光容絕代；兩情好合，恩愛日隆，行須比肩，坐則疊股。後詵登第，仕至湖北幕官，雖在公府，無心政事。夫妻一意歡宴，遂相繼卒於任所。

At the beginning of the story, to depict an image of a diligent student, the author mentions that Zhang Shen had never left his study studio, but when the season turns to spring, he starts to become interested in an excursion and arrives in the West Lake. As we know, once the protagonist arrives in the West Lake, he enters a public space that opens many possibilities for encounters. When he was traveling, and roaming along the bank of the West Lake, he could easily find wine lofts and tea houses with his friends, which also reflects the convenience of the urban planning of this region for travelers and tourists. The tea lofts became an important destination for roamers and part of the cultural landscape of the West Lake. The author of the narratives, instead of solely depicting natural scenes of the West Lake, emphasizes the detailed personal experiences of people in the region of the lake. Here, sensory experience is not only limited to the joy of boating on the lake, but also includes entertainment in the tea lofts and wine houses, as well as all the experiences available in the urban infrastructure accompanying the flourishing development of the West Lake region.

Jingzhou, Hubei). See Tan Qixiang 譚其驥 (1911–1992), ed., *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中國歷史地圖集 (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1982), 6.27–28.

Many Song accounts utilize landmarks of the city to symbolize urban spaces, resorting to attractions like the Reservoir of Metal's Luster 金明池 in the Eastern Capital. In the narratives, it was significant to present public spaces for meeting to construct an experience of urban space; these spaces then became important symbols of the city in the narrative tradition.¹³³ As for the West Lake, since it was a rare public space for the residents in Lin'an, it played a major role in many stories. Sometimes, it was a place where young men and women encountered each other during their outings, and at other times, it was a place where couples arranged secret dates. Occasionally, it was a space where marvelous stories happened.

These encounters in outings such as "Seeking out the Spring" (*tan chun* 探春) often served as the starting points of the stories. Meanwhile, the rich cultural inheritance and beautiful natural landscape successfully combined with the secular atmosphere of Lin'an. The West Lake, a massive natural space for entertainment, became a symbol of urban Lin'an. In fact, a whole family of urban symbolizations has similar implications, as all were famous entertainment spaces of a city, crowded with tourists, replete with different categories of services and leisure offerings. People from different social backgrounds all came to such places for expected and unexpected encounters. In some sense, all these flourishing spaces crowded with people reflected a societal trend toward hedonism and entertainment. As a result, the literatus Zhang Shen, who refused to leave

¹³³ Sun Xun and Ge Yonghai, "Zhongguo gudai xiaoshuo de shuangcheng yixiang jiqi wenhua neihan," 164.

his self-confined study space, was easily influenced by the hedonistic atmosphere when he toured the West Lake.

Meanwhile, note that the stunning scenes of the West Lake are often compared to feminine beauty in Song writings. For example, Su Shi wrote that he “would like to compare West Lake to Xi Shi. Lightly made up or thickly adorned, it always suits her” (欲把西湖比西子，淡妝濃抹總相宜)，¹³⁴ which not only stresses the resemblance in appearance between a beautiful woman and the West Lake but also emphasizes the similarities between them in terms of their characteristics. Similarly, other Southern Song stories connect the scene of the West Lake to feminine attractions and the *yin* power. A typical “demon story” of the West Lake is the following: first, the male protagonist goes for an outing in the West Lake area. He meets a beautiful woman and goes home with her. The beautiful lady he falls for might well be a female ghost or a demon, who has approached the male protagonist with the ultimate purpose of extracting the *yang* power, which often results in his weakness, sickness, or even death, just as in the story told in “Zhang Xingjian” (Zhang Xingjian 張行簡):¹³⁵

At the beginning of the Longxing reign (1163–1164), Zhang Xingjian, a student of the Imperial Academy, was a native of Lin’an. [Zhang Xingjian] had once roamed around the West Lake with other students, all of whom were extremely drunk. [Others] cast off Zhang Xingjian and left. Zhang lay under the shadow of the stone statue of the big Buddha head.

At midnight, the moon was as bright as day, and he was sobering up a little. A woman in plain colored silk came to him and said: “My home is not far from here. Could you return with me and stay for a short while?” The student understood what she meant. When he got to the woman’s house, [he found that] the rooms

¹³⁴ Su Shi, “Drinking Wine on the Lake, Raining after Sunshine” (Yin Hu shang chu qing hou yu 飲湖上初晴後雨), in *Su Shi shi ji*, 9.430.

¹³⁵ *Yuzhao xin zhi*, 4.79–80.

and curtains were extremely elegant and clean. There were also servants, who fully attended to his orders. Thus, Zhang lodged and rested [in the woman's house]. From this time on, Zhang hung around for several days. They drank happily together, and once they became enamored, Zhang gave up the idea of going home. The woman said: "Do you miss your home? You should feel free to come and go as you will." From then on, the student visited her often, and they became even more tightly joined. The student said: "My house is slightly more spacious. Could you go there with me?" The woman said: "That is no problem, but there is an impediment to me entering the palace walls. What shall be done about it?" [Zhang] questioned her several times before she said: "If you truly want to do this, You can inquire and look for two pieces of "pigeon and parasol-tree plasters." As soon as you stick them on the Qiantang Gate, I will have nothing to fear." The student asked her to explain it was. The woman said: "It is the adhesive plaster that heals the sores from the rod of torture."

The student made a deliberate effort to get them. The gate guards became suspicious and asked about it. The student said: "There is something I need to overcome by suppression,¹³⁶ so I use [the plaster]." Not long after, the woman went to the student's cottage with him. She was also nothing different from normal human beings and from then on, the student frequently had sickness and fever. With each passing day, the student felt that he became overly emaciated. Unexpectedly, a Daoist priest arrived at the student's door and saw him, saying, "What you encountered was a demon of herbaceous and woody plants. If you do not set her aside, you will inevitably have a life-threatening problem." The student was terrified and asked the priest, who said, "This demon dares not to across the Zhe River. You shall immediately go east of the Zhe River and avoid it. Thus you will escape [disaster]." The student followed his words.

At the moment when [Zhang Xingjian was] about to take his bag and embark towards the boat, the woman was stumbling and jumping on the bank of the river, pointing at him and scolding. Soon [Zhang Xingjian] stopped at Kuaiji. A student from the same studio happened to invite Zhang Xingjian to stay in his residence. From then on, the days of Zhang Xingjian were peaceful. His travel and living went as usual.

After Zhang Xingjian experienced three cold [winters] and hot [summers], occasionally, someone encouraged him to return home and said, "A long time has passed, the demon certainly went to a different place and is not able to do any evil deeds. Most likely, there is nothing to worry about." Then the student arranged a

¹³⁶ "The method of suppression to obtain victory" (*yasheng fa* 厭勝法) is a practice that used loud cursing and shouting to expel evil spirits. The method often involved some talismans to suppress evil spirits. For a detailed study on *yasheng*, see Shi Jiepeng 史傑鵬, "Yasheng' zhi ciyi kaobian ji xiangguan wenti yanjiu" "厭勝"之詞義考辨及相關問題研究, *Liyun yuyan xuekan* 勵耘語言學刊, no. 2 (2013): 83–108.

boat and returned to the west. When he ascended the stone embankment,¹³⁷ the woman was already there. She was radiant with a pleasant smile. Thereupon, the student went home with her. In a few months, the student relapsed and died. In the end, people did not know what kind of demon she was.

隆興初，有太學生張行簡者，臨安人也。嘗與同捨生遊西湖，俱大醉，委之而去，臥於大佛頭石像之陰。夜半，月色如畫，酒亦少醒。有素衣婦人者至其所，云：妾家距此不遠，可同歸少歛否？生領略之。至其舍，屋宇帷帳甚為雅潔，亦有使令之屬，逢迎悉如意旨，遂寓止焉。由是流連數日，燕飲甚歡，情意既洽，遂至忘歸。婦曰：君懷家否？往返當自若也。自是生時造之，益以膠固。生曰：吾家稍寬敞，可以偕往否？婦曰：此亦不憚，但有所礙而不可入禁城，奈何！再三詢之，云：君誠有意，可訪尋鵝梧丁二枚，貼於錢塘門，即無所懼矣。生扣問為何物，婦曰：刑人之杖瘡膏藥曆也。生為經營得之。抱關者疑而問焉，生云：“有所厭勝而然耳。”已而，婦果與之俱造其廬，亦無以異於常人。然自此多疾疢，日覺羸瘠。忽有道人至其門，見之，云：“君之所遇，乃草木之妖，若不舍之，必有性命之虞。”生惶懼，詢

¹³⁷ The stone embankment 石塘 of the Qiantang River was originally constructed outside the Houchao Gate 候潮門 by Qian Liu, King of Wusu, to protect the city from the tidal bores of the Qiantang River. In the map of the Zhe river (Fig. 6) in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, the stone embankment was on the bank of the river. See Fig. 6.

In *Song shi*, it remarks:

When it came to the years of the Jingyou reign [1034–1038], the stone embankment of the Zhe River had not been repaired in quite a while. People were concerned about drowning; the Ministry of Works Director Zhang Xia [fl.1063] was sent on the mission [of repairing the embankment]. Hence, Zhang Xia established Five Commanders¹³⁷ of the Guarding the River Troop to quarry stone and construct the embankment. Whenever the embankment was damaged, it would be repaired. The common folk depended on the embankment to live in peace. People in the district built a shrine for Zhang Xia. The court praised his achievement and enfeoffed him with the title of “Marquis of Resting River.”

When it came to the last years of the Shaoxing reign [1131–1162] of Gaozong, since the stone embankment of the Qiantang River was damaged and cracked, the tide water floated and became swollen, causing the masses to become nervous. The court ordered the Transport Commission and the government of Lin'an Prefecture to repair and construct [the stone embankment] together. In the ninth year of the Qiandao reign [1173] of Xiaozong [r.1162–1189], the district of the Miaozi bay of the Qiantang River was destroyed in the raging tide again. In the form of an imperial edict, [Xiaozong] ordered Lin'an Prefecture to fill in the river bank and build an additional stone embankment.

至景祐中，以浙江石塘積久不治，人患墊溺，工部郎中張夏出使，因置捍江兵士五指揮，專采石修塘，隨損隨治，眾賴以安。邦人為之立祠，朝廷嘉其功，封寧江侯。及高宗紹興末，以錢塘石岸毀裂，潮水漂漲，民不安居，令轉運司同臨安府修築。孝宗乾道九年，錢塘廟子灣一帶，復毀於怒潮。詔令臨安府築填江岸，增砌石塘。

Song shi, 97.2396.

之，曰：“此魅不敢過江，且亟往浙東避之即免。”生從其言。挈囊登舟之際，婦人者踉跳戟手岸側而詈。既次會稽，偶有同齋生延佇以處，自是日向安寧，出入起居如常。積是三閱寒暑，或有勉其還家者，且曰：歲月既久，魅必他往，不能為祟，可無所慮焉。生於是整棹西歸。方登石塘，婦已先在焉，喜氣可掬，遂與之同歸。不數月，生疾復作而死，竟不知為何怪也。

The experience of Zhang Xingjian in the story is representative. In this story, the West Lake, for a young student like Zhang, is primarily a space for drinking, touring, and enjoying nature, with temples and monasteries nearby available for visiting and resting. The stone Buddha sculpture mentioned here could be the huge statue sculpted from a natural rock in the Temple of the Big Stone Buddha 大石佛院.¹³⁸ The big rock was the renowned “Rock on Which the King of Qin Anchored His Boat” 秦王攔船石. It was carved into a large head of the Buddha during the Xuanhe 宣和 reign (1119–1125). In *Wulin jiushi*, it remarks:¹³⁹

As for the Monastery of the Big Stone Buddha, it has been passed down from antiquity that it was the rock on which the King of Qin anchored his boat. Its popular name was “the Stone in the West.” During the Xuanhe Era, the monk Sijing carved it into a bust of the big Buddha. Someone said, “Under the Big Stone Buddha, you can reach “the eye of the ocean.”

大石佛院，舊傳為秦始皇攔船石。俗名“西石頭”。宣和中，僧思淨就石鑄成大佛半身。或云：下通海眼。

In *Xihu meng xun* 西湖夢尋 (Search the West Lake in Dreams), Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597–1679) also suggests that the large Buddha head was once a rock that anchored the

¹³⁸ See Fig. 5.

¹³⁹ *Wulin jiushi*, 5.430.

boats on the lake. The Temple of the Big Stone Buddha was also constructed with the statue:¹⁴⁰

As for the Temple of the Big Stone Buddha, examining the old history, [one can find that] the First Emperor of Qin anchored his boat on this rock during his Eastern Tour to the sea. Afterwards, since Grand Councilor Jia (1213–1275)¹⁴¹ resided in the Ge Ridge, which located at the inner side of the lake, and the Inner Palace of the Song court was located at Mount Phoenix, the two places stood over 20 *li* (approx. 10.6km) apart. When the Grand Councilor heard the sound of the imperial court bell, immediately, he went down on the boat in the lake. [People on the boat] did not use the oar but a big brocade cable to twist and move around the bust of the Buddha. Then, the boat left as if someone sailed it. The rock of the big Buddha head was the stone pile that was used to fasten down the cables of the boat. After the Grand Councilor failed, people of later generations chiseled [the rock] into a bust of the Buddha and decorated it with gold. [They] constructed a temple to protect [the statue] and named it the Temple of the Big Stone Buddha. When it came to the end of the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368), the temple was destroyed.

大石佛寺，考舊史，秦始皇東游入海，攔舟於此石上。後因賈平章住里湖葛嶺，宋大內在鳳凰山，相去二十餘里，平章聞朝鐘響，即下湖船，不用蒿楫，用大錦纜絞動半身佛像，則舟去如駛，大佛頭，其系纜石樁也。平章敗，後人鑄為半身佛像，飾以黃金，構殿覆之，名大石佛院。至元末毀。

Wu Zimu further notes in *Meng liang lu* that the big Buddha stone was a popular attraction for sightseers:¹⁴²

For the Bridge of Gushan, it was also named Baoyou, with an old name “the Broken Bridge.”¹⁴³ On the inner side of the bridge, there was a Buddhist temple, which carved the stone into a big Buddha and gilded it. It was named “the Big Buddha Head” and was located on the mountain of “the Rock on Which the Emperor of Qin Anchored His Boat.” The tourists scrambled to see it.

¹⁴⁰ Zhang Dai, *Xihu meng xun* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 1.8.

¹⁴¹ The Grand Councilor Jia was Jia Sidao 賈似道, who served as the Right Chancellor (*you chengxiang* 右丞相) in the court of Lizong 理宗 (r. 1224–1264) and Duzong 度宗 (r. 1264–1274). For the biography of Jia Sidao, see *Song shi*, 474.13779–88.

¹⁴² *Meng liang lu*, 5.229.

¹⁴³ See Fig. 5.

曰孤山橋，名寶祐，舊呼曰斷橋，橋里有梵宮，以石刻大佛金裝，名曰：“大佛頭，”正在秦皇攔舟石山上，遊人爭睹之。

In essence, the Temple of the Big Stone Buddha in “Zhang Xingjian” has a similar function as the Xiangguo Monastery in narratives related to the Eastern Capital in the Northern Song. The religious teaching is no longer the focus of the narratives: instead, the temples are regarded more like spaces of public entertainment. The account clearly reflects the secularized transformation of temples and monasteries during the Song Dynasty.

It is no accident that the story of Zhang Xingjian has a similar beginning to that of Zhang Shen. In both stories, a few young scholars, who have spent most of their time studying classics, come to the West Lake for touring, enjoying banquets, and even getting drunk. The protagonist falls asleep in an unfamiliar place, and when he wakes, he becomes involved with a young lady. Note that the young man becomes obsessed with both the natural scenes and the woman. One particular reason for such a development is that the protagonists have left their familiar environments and arrived in the West Lake, an entertainment space that drastically contrasts with their studies. The strong differences between the two types of spaces make the young scholar vulnerable to the temptations of pleasure and they easily lose their sobriety to excessive drinking.

Compared with the West Lake during the day the group of young scholars enjoyed together, the landscape in “Zhang Xingjian” at night is a distinctive scene full of *yin* power. Under the moonlight, the West Lake, the shadow of the huge Buddha statue, and the slowly approaching woman in white form a serene and mysterious picture. As the narrative proceeds, again, we observe the revelation of the demon’s identity and the fatal

result of such an encounter. But as the story advances a doctrine of self-discipline towards sexual indulgence, it is interesting to note that the demon consciously emulates the behavior and living conditions of a human courtesan. The residence of the woman is not far away from the West Lake; its cleanliness and elegance, together with the servants' skills to please visitors, all remind readers of courtesan spaces near the West Lake in reality. The female demon, similar to the courtesans, as a result of her feminine desire, would like to steal the young literatus's *yang* power, even at the cost of destroying his body. The miserable ending of the male protagonist could be regarded as a reflection of fear and resistance towards the temptation of sexual desires.

What is more intriguing is the function of the Qiantang Gate in this account. According to the structure of an ancient Chinese city, the city gate is a node in the city's walls, which serves as the boundary of *cheng* 城 (city) and *ye* 野 (nature and commonality). Meanwhile, the city gate also connects the “inside” and the “outside” of the city. By opening and closing the city gate, a city controls the flow of the population. The Qiantang Gate, as one of the thirteen land gates of Lin'an, was built in the eighteenth year of the Shaoxing reign (1148).¹⁴⁴ The Qiantang Gate was the far North gate among

¹⁴⁴ According to *Meng liang lu*, there were “thirteen land gates as well as five water gates” (旱門十有三，水門五者) in the city of Lin'an. The Qiantang Gate was one of the thirteen land gates. It reads:

There were four [land] gates on the west side of the city: [one] was called the Qiantang Gate; [one] was called the Feng Yu Gate. The popular name of this gate was the Gate of Gushing Gold; [One] was called the Gate of Clear Wave. The popular name of this gate was the off-center gate; [One] was called the Qianhu Gate.

城西門者四，曰錢塘門，曰豐豫門，即湧金，曰清波，即俗呼衰門也，曰錢湖門。

Meng liang lu, 7.183.

the four Western gates of the city of Lin'an and was also located on the main avenue from the city of Lin'an to the West Lake.

As the gate of a metropolitan capital, Qiantang Gate safeguarded the city from intruders. The female demon who transformed from a plant near the West Lake, apparently belongs to the *ye*, an identity which obstructs her from entering Lin'an and becoming a member of the capital's citizens who can share the space with members of royalty. The existence of the city gates makes Lin'an a "forbidden space" for her. Hence, the demon asks Zhang Xingjian to stick the plaster on the Qiantang Gate in order to diminish the gate's function as a defense for the city and then break the boundary. What is of interest here is the item used to break the boundary: a plaster that heals the wounds of the local authorities' implements of punishment. This ability of the plaster to heal the wounds from cruel beatings inflicted in the course of government-authorized punishments is translated by the author into a certain power to resist the might of the central government. Hence, it could both heal and diminish the function of the city gate, serving to deconstruct the central power. It is also notable that the female demon and the servants in her house use every means to please the young scholar, while the demon also leaves Zhang Xingjian at large, the better to manipulate him to break the Qiantang Gate for her. Her behavior, which has already been humanized, certainly resembles that of courtesans for the contemporary readers. The behavior and the living space of the demon can be seen as reflections of the city residents' inclination for stories involving lavish courtesan lifestyles. In the meantime, the story indicates that the space of the metropolitan capital is dominated by mortals, such that even a demon needs to transform into a human being and accommodate herself into human living space.

In sum, West Lake has always been the center of literary constructions of spatial experience in Lin'an. In Song narratives, West Lake is a precious, socially open entertainment space for people of all classes. It has been a representative setting for the encounters of protagonists in the texts as well as an exemplification of the characteristic geography of Lin'an. The symbolic meaning of West Lake in narratives demonstrates the special character of Lin'an: at the same time, literati gather at the lake and explore cultural meanings in the beautiful natural landscape, while it also functions as a space filled with the secular pleasures of a consumer society. The tensions between these characteristics made the West Lake a significant part of the narratives of Lin'an.

The Qiantang River

As for important public spaces outside the walls of Lin'an besides West Lake, there was also the Qiantang River on the east side of the city. Watching the tidal bore in the Qiantang River appears as a trope in poetry,¹⁴⁵ and was a festival activity for Lin'an citizens during the Southern Song period. Moreover, since the tidal bore came at the eighth month during the mid-autumn festival period, the city dwellers and tourists all came to the river banks to watch it and enjoy the festival. *Wulin jiushi* records:¹⁴⁶

The tidal bore in the Zhe River¹⁴⁷ was a magnificent scene in the world. From the full moon day¹⁴⁸ [of the eighth month] to the eighteenth day, the tidal bore was at

¹⁴⁵ Distinguished poems of watching the tidal bores of the Qiantang River include Su Shi, "A Playful Work for Pressing the Examiners who are Marking the Examination Papers" (Cui Shiguan kaojiao xi zuo 催試官考較戲作), in *Su Shi shi ji*, 2.376–77.

¹⁴⁶ *Wulin jiushi*, 3.381.

¹⁴⁷ Another name of the Qiantang River.

¹⁴⁸ The fifteenth or sixteenth day.

its peak intensity. When the tidal bore just went out of the ocean door¹⁴⁹ in the distance, it only looked like a silver thread. After a while, when the tidal bore gradually approached, it looked like a jade city or a snow-covered mountain ridge, drawing near to the sky. The sound [of the tidal bore] was as huge as the thunderclap. The sound was shaking and sharply swelling. [The tidal bore came as if it would] embrace the sky and submerge the sun. The grandeur [of the tidal bore] was extremely forceful and spectacular.

浙江之潮，天下之偉觀也，自既望以至十八日為最盛。方其遠出海門，僅如銀線，既而漸近，則玉城雪嶺，際天而來，大聲如雷霆，震撼激射，吞天沃日，勢極雄豪。

The sightseers who came to the Qiantang River in August included all the classes of Lin'an, from the emperor to the commoners. *Meng liang lu* also records:¹⁵⁰

Every year, during the eighth month, the tidal bore was more intense than usual. From the eleventh day [of the eighth month], people of the capital began to watch the tidal bore. When it came to the sixteenth or the eighteenth day, [people of the capital] strove to go out of the city's walls. The carriages and horses were numerous and one after the other. On the eighteenth day, [the crowds] were extremely profuse. On the twentieth day, the people became slightly fewer.

每歲八月內，潮怒勝與常時，都人自十一日，便有觀者，至十六，十八日傾城而出，車馬紛紛，十八日最為繁盛，二十日則稍稀矣。

¹⁴⁹ Here, Zhou Mi uses “the ocean door” (*haimen* 海門) to refer to the estuary of the Qiantang River since there were mountains on both sides of it.

¹⁵⁰ *Meng liang lu*, 4.163.

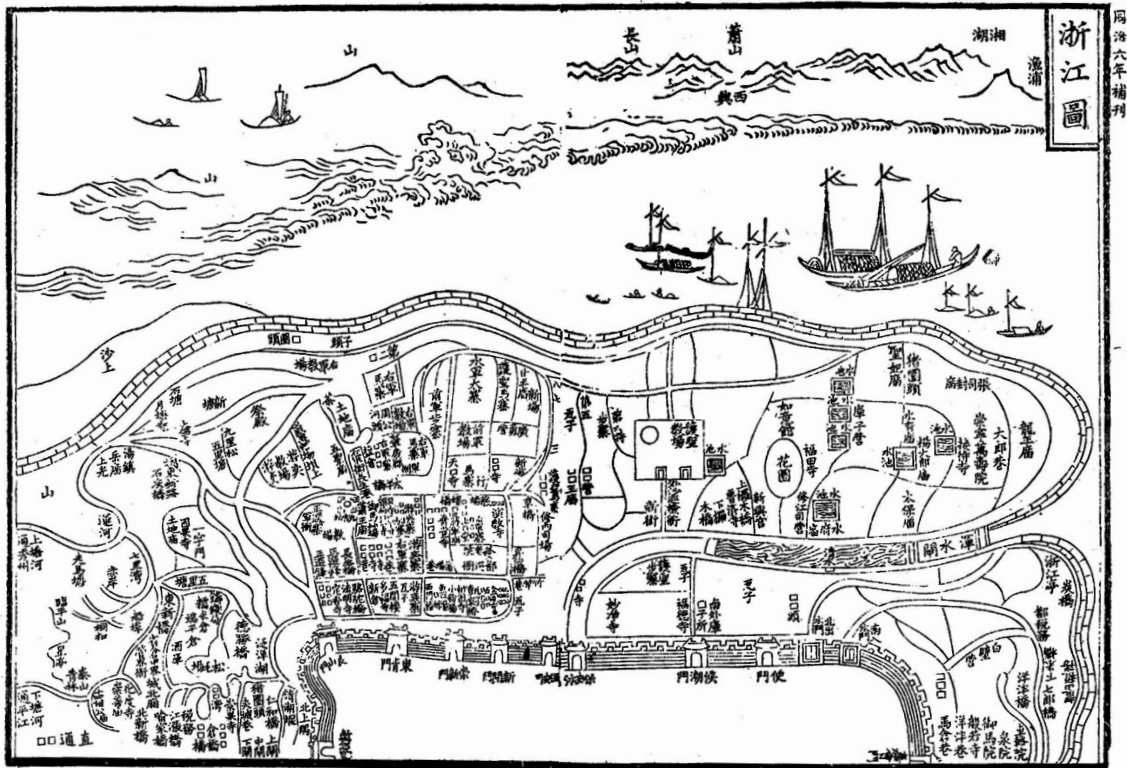


Figure 6. The Map of the Zhe River. From Qian Yueyou, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 1.3355b.

One can see that the Qiantang River was also an important public space in the festival because of the custom of watching the tidal bore. The tidal bores of the Qiantang River were thought to be the anger of Wu Zixu. Furthermore, since almost the whole city turned out to see the tidal bore, the shore of the Qiantang River also became a place for people to see each other and for the plots to spark. “The Two Beauties of Zhou Hao” is an exemplary tale of such romantic encounters:¹⁵¹

A little more than a year later, when viewing the tidal bore on Qiantang river, Zhou Hao saw a young girl with twin hair buns. She was more beautiful than his wife. He admired her in his heart. The old crone in the tea house said, “She lives in the Six Harmonies Pagoda district. Her parents died, so she lives alone with her

¹⁵¹ *Gui Dong*, 2.1a.

aunt. Lately, she is willing to sell herself as a talented musician.” Hao offered several thousands of gold before he could obtain the girl. When she first came to his house, the wife and the concubine were in harmony like the *chi* and *xun*¹⁵² (two musical instruments).

Later, they began to squabble angrily with each other. Zhou Hao’s instruction to them to solve the problem had no effect and they went so far as to hit each other. When the two were fiercely angry, a great amount of black smoke came out of their mouths and covered the room like ink. Following a strange sound, the smoke vanished and the room was empty and both beauties were lost. Zhou Hao sent someone to look for the concubine’s aunt. [Her house had] disappeared; only sand and gravel were left.

Zhou Hao was startled and dared not to live in his house, so he borrowed a monk’s room in the Chuanfa Temple¹⁵³ and moved there. At the fourth drum beat [1–3 a.m.] of the Prime Day of the new year, Zhou Hao was about to go to Qin’s house and give him a New Year’s greeting. He had just gone out of the house; rapidly, the ethers of *yin yin qi* came and the candle in the lantern extinguished. The wife suddenly appeared out of nowhere, and scolded him, saying, “The one without morals left me and moved to the monk’s room. You thought I could not get close to you?” Zhou Hao felt frustrated and did not realize that she was a demon, so he begged her pardon. The woman said, “I already moved into the city.” They went together to a small house, joyfully drank, and slept together. The next day, people found Zhou Hao under the Wangxian Bridge,¹⁵⁴ half lying under the water. He had only a few breaths left, so people took him home and treated him. It took several days for him to recover. Zhou Hao was more frightened than before, so he resided at Mrs. Qin’s mansion.

One night, he was sitting in the study room. Someone was making a puncture in the window; Zhou Hao scolded [the person making the hole]. Following the sound, someone came in through the crack; it was the concubine. She did not wear any powder or blush; her hair buns were hanging down, but her manner was more brilliant. She leaned on Zhou Hao and sweetly whined, “Your wife is

¹⁵² Both *chi* and *xun* are musical instruments. A *chi* is a cross flute with seven holes. It is usually made of bamboo. A *xun* is a vessel flute with six holes, often made of clay. The record of *chi* is often in companionship with *xun*. For a detailed study on *chi* and *xun*, see Zhang Junwen, *Harmony and Dissonance: The Records of Mongolian Folklore by Xiao Daheng (1532–1612) and Two Rhapsodies on the Xun-Flute from Tang China (618–907)* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2017), 100–06.

¹⁵³ In *Meng liang lu*, it remarks, “The Temple of Chuanfa of the Taiping Xingguo Era, located to the east of the Yousheng Monastery” (太平興國傳法寺，在佑聖觀東). See *Meng liang lu*, 15.258.

¹⁵⁴ Wangxian Bridge was a bridge on the Grand Canal. In *Meng liang lu*, it remarks: “Straightly following the Grand Canal, one will find a bridge named ‘Wangxian’” (沿大河直至曰望仙橋). See *Meng liang lu*, 7.184.

jealous and malicious. I was about to enlist you as my dependent, but you are a coward so you cannot instruct her. You made me like this. She is not a human being; she is nothing but a dead old monster. How could you have been lured by it?” Zhou Hao was also confused and did not realize the truth, so he allowed the concubine to stay and they slept together. They went out to drink in a wine house inside the Middle Pleasure Precinct. When Zhou Hao heard the temple bell sound, he woke up. His body was inside the pond in the back garden [of a temple] and his ears and nose were full of mud. Mrs. Qin called a Daoist priest to bring the demon under control, but it did not work.

Thus Qin ordered four soldiers to take turns guarding Zhou Hao at night. Though Hao was not able to go out, the two women arrived at night in turn. In some cases, Hao was inhabited by the demon and shouted and talked. Qin Xi was displeased with Zhou Hao and made another retainer send Zhou Hao to Jiankang. On the way, they met [Lu] Shizhong. [Lu] Shizhong [fl. 1120–1127]¹⁵⁵ said, “These are water demons. The turtle became the lady in white, laired in the West Lake; the otter became the young girl, and lived in a cave of the Qiantang River. If people did not save Hao quickly, he was about to die of drowning.” Shizhong summoned the gods of the West Lake and the Qiantang River in order to constrain the two demons, saying, “The tradition¹⁵⁶ does not allow me to kill them.”

歲餘，觀濤於江，見雙鬢女，美出妻右，心慕之。茶肆姥曰：此女居六和塔，父母亡矣，獨與姨處。方願以樂藝自鬻。浩捐金數千，方獲焉。始至其家，妻妾順比如簾壼。後忽忿爭，浩論不可解，至相毆擊。兩怒方厲，黑煙蓬勃出自吻，蔽屋如墨，奇響一聲，煙銷室空，二豔俱失。遺人訪其姨，蕩然砂磧也。浩怪愕不敢居其居，從傳法寺假僧房徙焉。元日四鼓，欲之秦氏賀。甫出門，陰氣砉然，籠燭隨滅，妻不知從何來，怒罵曰：“無行棄我逃釋，謂終不能近汝耶？”浩罔然不省其妖，隨謝之。婦曰：“我已徙居入城矣。”偕至小宅中，歡飲共宿。明日乃得之望仙橋下，半臥水中，喘息僅屬，掖歸，療治數日乃愈。浩益恐，遷館於秦氏。一夕，坐書室，有穴窗者，叱之，隨聲自隙入，妾也。鉛丹不施，雙鬢紛披，而態度愈明豔。倚浩

¹⁵⁵ Lu Shizhong was one of the renowned ritual masters of the Heart of Heaven tradition (Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法) in the Southern Song. He is also the author of two ritual manuals in *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 (The Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Era), including a thirty-juan *Wushang xuan yuan santian Yutang dafa* 無上玄元三天玉堂大法 (Great Rites of the Jade Hall of the Three Heavens, of the Supreme Mysterious Origin) and a two-juan *Wushang santian Yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu* 無上三天玉堂正宗高奔內景玉書 (The Precious Text of Flying High in the Inner Landscape, of the Correct Tradition of the Jade Hall of the Supreme Three Heavens), see Fabrizio Pregadio ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2008), 715–16. Lu Shizhong was also mentioned as a famous Daoist exorcist in the surviving *Yijian zhi* corpus, see, for example, “Lu Dangke Learned the Tradition” (Lu Dangke defa 路當可得法), in *Yijian zhi, bing*: 13.479–80.

¹⁵⁶ Lu Shizhong was known for founding the Great Rites of the Jade Hall tradition (Yutang dafa 玉堂大法), which is closely related to the Heart of Heaven tradition. See Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2001), 54.

嬌怨曰：“主母妒悍，正藉君主張，乃懦不能令。使我至此，且彼非人，乃死老魅，君何為惑之？”浩亦迷罔不省，留共寢。妾挽出遊，偕飲中瓦酒家。聞寺鍾而寤，身乃在後圃池中，汗泥滿耳鼻。秦氏呼一道士製之，不驗。乃使四卒夜番守之。浩雖不得出，而二女間夜至，或憑浩言，雲雲叫呼。熺厭之，使他客送往建康，道遇時中。時中曰：“是水族之怪也。鰲為白衣，穴西湖；獺為少女，窟於江。弗速拯，將死於溺矣。”為檄江湖神，俾繫二物，曰：“法不許殺也。”

Here, the turbulent waves resemble the protagonist's flood of desire for the beautiful girl with two hair buns. What is perhaps even more interesting is how Zhou Hao goes to the tea house and talks to the old crone to get information of the girl, similarly to how the young gallant in “Student Fan” also goes to a tea house to inquire about the woman who dropped a shoe for him. The story demonstrates that the tea houses served as important public spaces in which Lin'an citizens could search for a go-between.¹⁵⁷ Together with the story of Zhou Hao's encounter with his wife, one can see that the way Zhou Hao approaches these two beauties is rather different from how the male protagonists in “Xing Feng Encounters the Water Immortal of the West Lake” meet beauties. In the latter, the young gallant expresses his mind with tender poetry and conversation with the female protagonist; in contrast, Zhou Hao never speaks directly with the two beauties, rather inquiring about them from their neighbors or the matchmaker in the tea house. The detail that Zhou Hao pays several thousands of golds to buy the girl he sees on the bank of the Qiantang River is an accurate reflection of the common Southern Song practice of keeping concubines in the household. By introducing

¹⁵⁷ In the commercial area of Song cities, one could find a specialized guild [of intermediary women], a kind of informal go-between in trade (*yaren* 牙人). For a detailed discussion of *Yaren* in the Song Dynasty, see Liang Gengyao 梁庚堯, “Cong Fangshi dao cunzhen: Tang Song yaren huodong kongjian de kuoda,” 從坊市到村鎮：唐宋牙人活動空間的擴大, in *Jidiao yu bianzou: Qi zhi ershi shiji de Zhongguo*, 2. 69–104.

the girl as someone skilled in music and entertainment, the story implies that she also possesses a certain attractive grace and beauty.

The old crone in the tea house is also a reference to “the intermediary woman” (*ya po* 牙婆), who traded young girls as maids and concubines at the time in Southern Song society.¹⁵⁸

The Six Harmonies Pagoda (Liuhe Ta 六和塔),¹⁵⁹ the girl’s district of residence, was located at the foot of the Peak of the Full Moon and faced the Qiantang River. It was said that the pagoda was built to calm the tidal bore of the Qiantang River. In *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, it reads:¹⁶⁰

The Six Harmonies Pagoda was located under the Peak of the Full Moon of the Mount Dragon and was the former Monastery of Longevity and Peace. In the third year of the Kaibao reign (970), Zen Master Zhijue,¹⁶¹ whose name was Yanshou, first “opened up the mountain” begin constructing the pagoda in the Southern Fruit Garden of the Qian family¹⁶² on the mountain.¹⁶³ [Master Zhijue] constructed the temple in accordance with the [geomantic] terrain in order to calm

¹⁵⁸ Note that the concubines are considered morally suspicious by some Song literati. For example, Yuan Cai 袁采 (1140–1195), included strict rules about keeping concubines in his family in *Yuanshi shifan* 袁氏世範 (The Hereditary Rules of the Yuan Clan), including “maids and concubines should not be provided” (婢妾不可供給), “One should not have a favored concubine in the declining years” (暮年不宜置寵妾), “maids and concubines should not be cautiously guarded” (婢妾不可不謹防) and “Beautiful concubines should not be kept” (美妾不可蓄). See Yuan Cai, *Yuanshi shifan*, in *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1935), 3.49–50.

¹⁵⁹ See Fig. 5.

¹⁶⁰ *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, 82.4117b.

¹⁶¹ Zen Master Zhijue 智覺禪師 (904–975), also known as Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽, was an eminent Buddhist monk during the Five Dynasties and early Northern Song Dynasty. As a native of Qiantang, Master Zhijue was made the abbot of the Temple of Lingyin 靈隱寺 by Qian Chu, the King of Wuyue, in 960. The next year, the King of Wuyue bestowed him the title of “Zen Master Zhijue.” See Zan Ning 贊寧 (919–1001), *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (The Song Biographies of Eminent Monks) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 28.708–09.

¹⁶² The Qian family that ruled the Kingdom of Wuyue.

¹⁶³ Here “*Kaishan*” 開山 refers to the Buddhist term of building a temple on a mountain primarily.

the tidal bore. The height of the pagoda was nine levels and over fifty *zhang* (approx.153.6m). Inside [the pagoda], there were the relics of the Buddha.

六和塔在龍山月輪峰即舊壽寧院。開寶三年智覺禪師延壽始于錢氏南果園開山建塔，因地造寺，以鎮江潮，塔高九級，五十余丈，內藏佛舍利。

Because the Six Harmonies Pagoda was located on the shore of the Qiantang River, it was considered one of the best sites from which to watch the tidal bore.¹⁶⁴

Mengliang lu records the excitement of the city during the tidal bore season:¹⁶⁵

On the eighteenth [of the eighth month], because the Military Commissioner went out to the suburban area to command the exercises for the navy, from Head of the Temple¹⁶⁶ to the Six Harmonies Pagoda, the lofts and rooms in every household

¹⁶⁴ Gao Lian's 高濂 (1573–1620) "One Night, Enjoying the Wind and Tidal Bore at the Six Harmonies Pagoda" (Liuhe ta ye wan feng chao 六和塔夜玩風潮), in *Sishi you shang lu* 四時幽賞錄 (Records of Appreciating the Four Seasons in Seclusion), records his experience of watching the tidal bore on the Six Harmonious pagoda during the night:

As for the tidal bore of the Zhe River, most people watch it in daytime during the eighth month. There are seldom people who know enough to watch it at night. I used to burn incense and cultivate in the temple, lighting the lamps of the pagoda. In the middle of the night, the moonlight spread in the void. On the river, the waves were silent and still. The everlasting flowing water of the river sucked in and spat out the moonlight. It was certainly a marvelous scene.

浙江潮汛，人多從八月晝觀，鮮有知夜觀者。余昔焚修寺中，燃點塔燈。夜半，月色橫空，江波靜寂，悠悠江水吞吐蟾光，自是一段奇景。

Gao Lian, *Sishi you shang lu*, in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (Collectaneum of Stories from the Martial Grove), ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 (1832–1899) (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 15.14–15.

¹⁶⁵ *Meng liang lu*, 4.162.

¹⁶⁶ "Miaozi tou" 廟子頭 is a place name near the Qiantang River. *Xianchun Linan zhi*: "The Temple of the Heroic Duke of Tongying, located at Miaozi tou" (英顯通應公廟，在廟子頭). See *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 71.3998a.

Meng liang lu also remarks:

The Temple of Shunji [is the shrine] of Mr. Feng, who was a native of the residential compounds of the Zhe River. He was awarded the title of Marquis to King. [His title] says, "the King of Noble and Heroic." The King numinously helped to assist the Marquis of Reason. The Temple of the Heroic Duke of Tongying, which was the Dragon King Temple located at Village Yang of Miaozi tou."

順濟廟，元浙江里人馮氏，自侯加至王爵，曰英烈王。王封助 靈佐順侯，英顯通應公廟，即廟子頭楊村龍王廟是也。

were rented by noble families, the attendants in the inner palace, and so on to use as a place to watch the tidal bores.

十八日蓋因帥座出郊，教習節制水軍。自廟子頭直至六和塔，家家樓屋，盡為貴戚內侍等雇賃作看位觀潮。

The crone in the tea house says that the girl lives in the residential area near the pagoda, so her appearance among the crowds watching the tidal bore seems practical and reasonable. Meanwhile, this detail also provides a credible hint at her true identity – an otter demon in the Qiantang River.

As both the West Lake and the Qiantang river gathered a great number of tourists, the fact that Zhou Hao meets the two female demons at West Lake and the Qiantang River separately is appropriate to their true identities as water demons. These settings also help the reader to connect the fanciful textual narratives to authentic reality as they have experienced it, enhancing the narratives' credibility. The crone also points out that the girl with two hair buns is an orphan and single; lacking any family or local connection in Lin'an, the concubine is in the same situation as Zhou Hao's wife. In fact, both beauties have been transformed from water demons and almost kill the male protagonist. In revealing the true identities and terrifying natures of the two women, the account renders a typical admonition against the temptations of lust and sensual pleasure.

In conclusion, the Song narratives truthfully reflect different perspectives of the city of Hangzhou. From the Northern Song Dynasty to the Southern Song, while the

See *Meng liang lu*, 14.247. Also see Fig. 6. Here, “Mr. Feng” indicates Feng Jun 馮俊 (d. 1109), whose style name was Deming 德明. For a detailed account of Feng Jun, see Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (1503–1557), comp., *Xihu youlan zhi Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志 (The Tourist Gazetteer of the West Lake) (SKQS ed.), 19.7a–7b.

natural scenes and the landmarks changed little, the society had experienced unprecedented transformation. West Lake, the Qiantang River, and other attractions had been reshaped and reinterpreted in narratives written at different times. Scrutinizing the backdrop of the narratives' text, we can see how authors depict Hangzhou as a space of social complexity that mediated the experiences of people from different social classes.

In accounts of Hangzhou written during the Northern Song, Hangzhou was politically irrelevant. But it did serve as a haven for literati who felt frustrated or who had failed in their political careers. As such Hangzhou and the nearby region became a favorite destination for touring, relaxing, and pursuing alternative lifestyles. Although its picturesque, serene mountains and waters associated Hangzhou with secluded lifestyles, joyful trips, and encounters with the immortals, Southern Song narratives depict Hangzhou as a prosperous and overcrowded temporary capital city. Compared with the narratives of Hangzhou during the Northern Song, those of the Southern Song rather explored urban rather than nature's experience. The authentic depictions of geographical spaces suggested a feeling of familiarity to the readers, while stories taking place in the capital city also provided the readers with invaluable guides to better understand the urban society of Hangzhou. But when landmarks like the West Lake became a leisure space in which both the imperial family and the general public indulged, Hangzhou was also criticized as a land of unrestricted pleasure.

CHAPTER 3

GUI DONG: DATE, AUTHORSHIP AND THE CONFLUENCE OF MULTIFACETED URBAN EXPERIENCE IN LIN'AN

In the first month of the 44th year of the Qianlong 乾隆 reign (1779), Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716–1797) returned to his birthplace of Hangzhou. At that moment, the poet no longer merely wanted to leave his Garden of Contentment 隨園. Instead, he wanted to enjoy scenes and meet friends, but most importantly, he wanted to achieve his goal: collect material to compile a sequel to Hong Mai's massive collection of supernatural accounts from the Southern Song, *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Record of the Listener).¹⁶⁷ After a series of fruitful visits, Yuan Mei wrote a poem with the descriptive title, “My sequel has not been completed yet. Having acquired over one hundred anecdotes since I arrived in Hangzhou, I wrote a poem to record my joy” (“Yu xu wei cheng, dao Hangzhou de yishi bai yu tiao, fu shi zhi xi” 余續未成, 到杭州得逸事百余條, 賦詩志喜). It reads:¹⁶⁸

老去全無記事珠 After getting old, I had no “pearl of remembrance.”¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Zheng Xing 鄭幸, *Yuan Mei nianpu xinbian* 袁枚年譜新編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), 455.

¹⁶⁸ Yuan Mei, *Xiaocang Shanfang shiwen ji* 小倉山房詩文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), 652.

¹⁶⁹ According to *Kaiyuan Tianbao yishi* 開元天寶遺事 (The Remnant Affairs of the Kaiyuan and Tianbao Reigns), Zhang Yue 張說 (667–730) had a “pearl of remembrance,” which could help people to remember information:

During the Kaiyuan reign (713–741), Zhang Yue served as the Grand Councilor [in the court]. Someone gifted Zhang Yue a pearl, which had a deep purplish-blue color and dazzling radiance. The name [of the pearl] was “the pearl of remembrance.” In some instances, one had incomplete memory of some matters. One could hold the pearl, then he or she would feel enlightened in heart and mind. All matters, whether important or trivial, became vivid and clear. Nothing would be forgotten. Zhang Yue kept the pearl secretly and cherished as the most valuable treasure.

- 2 戲將小說志虞初 Playfully, I am going to use *xiaoshuo* to record [another] *Yu Chu*.¹⁷⁰
 徐鉉懸賞東坡索 Xu Xuan¹⁷¹ dangled a reward; [Su] Dongpo found it.
 4 載得杭州鬼一車 And was able to carry away a whole cartload of ghosts in Hangzhou.

開元中，張說為宰相，有人惠說一珠，紺色有光，名曰“記事珠，”或有闕忘之事，則以手持弄此珠，便覺心神開悟，事無巨細，渙然明曉，一無所忘。說祕而至寶也。

See Wang Renyu 王仁裕 (880–956) et al., *Kaiyuan Tianbao yishi (shizhong)* 開元天寶遺事十種, comp. Ding Ruming 丁如明 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 68.

¹⁷⁰ Yu Chu 虞初 (140?–87 BCE), a native of Luoyang 洛陽, served as the Attendant Gentleman of the Domain (*fangshi shilang* 方士侍郎) in the court of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 141–87 BCE) of the Han Dynasty. According to *Han shu* 漢書 (The History of the Han Dynasty), Yu Chu compiled *Yu Chu Zhou shuo* 虞初周說 (Yu Chu’s Tales of the Zhou Dynasty), which is a *xiaoshuo* 小說 (literally, “petty talk”) collection. The collection no longer exists. Zhang Heng 張衡 (78–139) suggests that Yu Chu was the originator of *xiaoshuo*: “*Xiaoshuo*, nine hundred in number, came originally from *Yu Chu*” (小說九百，本自虞初). See Zhang Heng, “Western Metropolis Rhapsody” (Xijing fu 西京賦) in *Wen xuan* 文選 (Selections of Refined Literature), ed. Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–31), comm. Li Shan 李善 (d. 689) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 2.45a. The translation is modified from David R. Knechtges, trans., *Wen xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature*, vol. 1, *Rhapsodies on Metropolises and Capitals* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 1.215. For the information on Yu Chu, see Igor Alimov, “The origins of Chinese narrative prose: fifteen collections from ‘The History of the Han Dynasty,’” *Manuscripta Orientalia* 17, no. 1 (June 2011): 25–26.

In this poem, Yuan Mei is most likely to compare his collection to *Yu Chu zhi* 虞初志 (Records of Yu Chu), which was compiled by Master Lu 陸氏. *Yu Chu zhi* was well received by Ming and Qing readers, and exerted a significant influence over men of letters throughout the centuries. Many later writers were inspired to compile sequels to *Yu Chu zhi*, including *Xu Yu Chu zhi* 續虞初志 (The Continuation of the *Records of Yu Chu*), attributed to Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (1550–1617), Deng Qiaolin 鄧喬林 (dates unknown)’s *Guang Yu Chu zhi* 廣虞初志 (Extensive Records of Yu Chu), Zhang Chao 張潮 (born in 1650)’s *Yu Chu xin zhi* 虞初新志 (New Records of Yu Chu), Huang Chengzeng 黃承增 (fl. 1803)’s *Guang Yu Chu xin zhi* 廣虞初新志 (New Extensive records of Yu Chu), Zheng Shuruo 鄭澍若 (fl. turn of the 19th century)’s *Yu Chu xu zhi* 虞初續志 (The Sequel to the *Records of Yu Chu*) and Hu Huaichen 胡懷琛 (1886–1938)’s *Yu Chu jin zhi* 虞初近志 (Recent Records of Yu Chu). See Qin Chuan 秦川, “Ming Qing Yu Chu ti xiaoshuo zongji de lishi bianqian” 明清虞初體小說總集的歷史變遷, *Ming Qing xiaoshuo yanjiu* 明清小說研究, no. 64, 2 (2002): 61–71.

¹⁷¹ Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916–991), style name Dingchen 鼎臣, was a native of Guangling 廣陵 (modern Yangzhou, Jiangsu). He first served in the Southern Tang court and then rose to prominence in the court of Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 939–997) of Song. Xu Xuan had also contributed to the compilation of *Wenyuan Yinghua* 文苑英華 (Fine Blossoms in the Garden of Literature) and *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping Era). For a discussion of the life of Xu Xuan, see Zhou Jun 周軍, “Xu Xuan qi ren yu Song chu ‘erchen’” 徐鉉其人與宋初貳臣, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究, no. 4 (1989): 120–32. For a more recent and balanced treatment of Xu see Jin Zhuandao 金傳道, “Xu Xuan sanci bianguan kao” 徐鉉三次貶官考, *Chongqing youdian daxue xuebao* 重慶郵電大學學報, no. 19, 3 (2007): 99–103.

For a poet who was already sixty-four, the more than one hundred stories collected from contemporary narrators are the “pearl of remembrance” of his life. Just as Hong Mai had enlisted informants, Yuan Mei listened to people’s stories, recorded the events, and eventually compiled them for his future sequel to the *Yijian zhi*.¹⁷² This was Yuan Mei’s gesture toward continuing the very first book of marvels by Yu Chu. In the last sentence of the poem, the reader encounters the name of Xu Xuan, who was known for his interest in collecting supernatural stories. According to *Songchao shishi leiyuan* 宋朝事實類苑 (The Categorized Garden of Historical Events of Song Dynasty), Xu Xuan “did not believe in Buddhism. Yet, he had been keen on the tales of ghosts and gods” (不信佛，而酷好鬼神之說).¹⁷³ Su Shi is also known for his love of stories about ghosts and the supernatural.¹⁷⁴ By mentioning figures famous for their self-professed love of extraordinary accounts, such as Yu Chu, the poem places Yuan Mei’s own collection

¹⁷² See Wang Biao 王標, *Chengshi zhishi fenzi de shehui xingtai—Yuan Mei jiqi jiaoyou wangluo de yanjiu* 城市知識分子的社會型態 – 袁枚及其交遊網絡的研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 2007), 239–43.

¹⁷³ For Xu Xuan’s love of collecting supernatural stories, see Jiang Shaoyu 江少虞 (fl. 12th century), ed., *Songchao shishi leiyuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 65.868. Here, Yuan Mei refers to Xu Xuan’s compilation of *Jishen lu* 稽神錄 (Records of Investigating the Spirits), which is a six-juan collection of supernatural accounts. For Xu Xuan and *Jishen lu*, see Xiao Xiangkai, “Xu Xuan jiqi xiaoshuo *Jishen lu*” 徐鉉及其小說《稽神錄》, *Yangzhou daxue xuebao* 揚州大學學報, no. 6.5 (2002): 28–31.

¹⁷⁴ In the preface to *Guixin za zhi* 癸辛雜識 (Miscellaneous Records from the *Gui-xin* year), Zhou Mi records:

Codger Dongpo liked to discuss [unusual matters] with his guests. For those who could not tell ghost stories, Dongpo forced them to talk about ghosts. If they declined by saying they did not know any [ghost stories], then [Dongpo] would say, “For the time being, just make something up and tell it.” None of those who heard that did not roar with laughter.

坡翁喜客談，其不能者強之說鬼，或辭無有，則曰，姑妄言之。聞者無不絕倒。

See Zhou Mi, *Guixin za zhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 1.

in an ancient tradition of recording fanciful tales. Also, Yuan Mei collected more than one hundred stories of ghosts and demons during his short stay in Hangzhou, which recordings he mentions in the above poem.¹⁷⁵

The poet's self-comparison to Xu Xuan—a widely-recognized scholar who was known for collecting such tales—together with the image of “a whole cartload of ghosts from Hangzhou,” remind the reader of Hangzhou and its tradition of stories about ghosts and otherworldly matters, especially the remarkably massive collection of anecdotes by Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*. But Yuan Mei is not the first writer willing to take up the mantle of Hong Mai.¹⁷⁶ Not long after the publication of *Yijian zhi*, a Southern Song writer, possibly a student from the Imperial Academy with the surname Shen 沈, also compiled a collection of supernatural accounts, called *Gui Dong* 鬼董 (Dong Hu¹⁷⁷ of Ghost Stories).

¹⁷⁵ During Yuan Mei's stay in Hangzhou, he became friends with Zhao Xuemin 趙學敏 (1719–1805), a scholar who was also fond of ghostly tales. Zhao Xuemin was an important informant for Yuan Mei's collection. The sub-note of Wan Fu 萬福 (dates unknown)'s poem “In Response to the Master of Simple Studio's ‘A Departing Poem on the Lake’ and a Sending-off” (He Jianzhai xiansheng ‘Hu shang liubie’ yun ji yi songxing 和簡齋先生《湖上留別》韻即以送行) remarks, “Schoolmaster Zhao, Yiji, often noted down the anomalies; the master loved to hear about them.” (趙秀才依吉多志怪異，公樂聞之). See Yuan Mei, *Xu tongren ji* 續同人集 (The Sequel to an Anthology of Fellow Writers), in *Yuan Mei quanji* 袁枚全集, eds. Wang Yingzhong 王英中 and Liao Kebin 廖可斌 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1993), 6.179. Zhao Xuemin is also mentioned in *Xu Zi bu yu* 續子不語 (The Sequel to *What the Master Does Not Speak Of*) as an informant. See “The Grand Wilderness in the Kingdom of Rākṣasa” (Luo cha guo dahuang 羅刹國大荒), in Yuan Mei, *Xu Zi bu yu*, in *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀 (A Great Compendium of *Biji* and *Xiaoshuo*) (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1983), vol. 3.5a–5b.

¹⁷⁶ *Yijian zhi* inspired many contemporary or later writers to collect supernatural and other newsworthy accounts; see Inglis, *Hong Mai's Record of the Listener and its Song Dynasty Context*, 4–5.

¹⁷⁷ Dong Hu 董狐 [dates unknown] was the renowned historian and official scribe of Jin 晉 (636–628 BCE); see page 10 for a detailed discussion.

Authorship and Composition Date

Gui Dong is a Southern Song collection of supernatural stories. All the surviving editions of *Gui Dong* contain five *juan* and forty-four accounts. Since there are no original prefaces or postscripts in the surviving editions, it is difficult to identify either the compiler or the exact compilation date. At the very end of the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (Collectaneum of the Insufficient Knowledge Studio) edition of *Gui Dong*, there is a postscript written by Qian Fu 錢孚 (date unknown) from Lin'an, in the third year of the Taiding 泰定 reign (1326) of the Yuan Dynasty.¹⁷⁸ Scholars have considered this postscript as important evidence regarding the authorship of *Gui Dong*. It reads:¹⁷⁹

There are five *juan* of *Gui Dong*, which I collected from the house of Yang Daofang (dates unknown) in Piling [modern Changzhou, Jiangsu]. This is simply a manuscript with a short postface attached. [The postface] is fragmentary and cannot offer any detail. The parts of it that can be verified says, “Shen, a student of the Imperial Academy.” Again, it reads: “[The compiler] was someone from the years of Xiaozong [r. 1162–1189] and Guangzong [r. 1189–1194] and [the text] is that transmitted by Top Candidate Guan.”¹⁸⁰ [I] like the way that its narration is arranged in a parallel manner. Although [its content] involves anomalies, it is based on evidence. Hence, I copied [the book] and placed it my bamboo hamper, to present to people with the same interests as I have.

¹⁷⁸ In fact, all the surviving editions of *Gui Dong* include Qian Fu's postscript. I will discuss these editions in more detail in the following pages.

¹⁷⁹ *Gui Dong*, in Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 (1728–1814) eds., *Zhi bu zu zhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (Shanghai: Shanghai gushu liutong chu, 1921), series. 12. 5.13b–14a. Except where other editions are indicated, in this dissertation, all footnotes regarding *Gui Dong* refer to the *Zhi bu zu zhai congshu* edition of 1921.

¹⁸⁰ As Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927) points out, most later scholars tend to believe that the “Top Candidate Guan” mentioned here is Guan Hanqing 關漢卿 (fl. 1219–1301). See Wang Guowei, *Song Yuan xiqu shi* 宋元戲曲史 (History of Drama During the Song and Yuan Dynasties) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), 72. Nevertheless, since there is no further evidence to reveal the identity of “Top Candidate Guan,” it remains unknown.

《鬼董》五卷，得之毘陵楊道芳家。此只抄本，後有小序，零落不能詳。其可考者，云：“太學生沈。”又云：“孝、光時人，而關解元之所傳也。”喜其敘事整比，雖涉怪而有據。故錄置於笥中，以貽同好。

Here, Qian Fu suggests that the compiler of *Gui Dong* was a student of the Imperial Academy with the family name of Shen, who lived in the reign of Xiaozong and Guangzong, but if one closely examines the text of *Gui Dong*, the dates mentioned also include the reign periods Chongning 崇寧 (1102–1106),¹⁸¹ Shaoxing 紹興 (1131–62),¹⁸² Chunxi 淳熙 (1174–1189),¹⁸³ Jiading 嘉定 (1207–1224),¹⁸⁴ Baoqing 寶慶 (1225–1227)¹⁸⁵ and Shaoding 紹定 (1228–1233).¹⁸⁶ The latest year mentioned in the accounts of the book appears in the third *juan*, “the *jichou* day of the third month of the Shaoding Reign [1229.4.23]” (紹定己丑三月二十八日).¹⁸⁷ Hence, it can be deduced that this

¹⁸¹ In “The daughter of Hao Sui” (Hao Sui nǚ 郝隨女) from the third *juan* of *Gui Dong*, it reads: “During the last years of Chongning, the daughter of imperial eunuch Hao Sui (fl. 1102), was bewitched by the ghost” (崇寧末年，大阉郝隨之女為鬼所魅). See *Gui Dong*, 3.9a.

¹⁸² In “Student Fan” from the fourth *juan* of *Gui Dong*, it reads: “This story happened during the last years of the Reign of Shaoxing. I only recently heard it” (此度是紹興末年事，余近聞之). See *Gui Dong*, 4.6b.

¹⁸³ In “Zhou Bao” (Zhou Bao 周寶) from the fifth *juan* of *Gui Dong*, it mentions “during the reign of Chunxi” (淳熙間) and “on the autumn of the 14th year of the Chunxi reign (1187)” (淳熙十四年秋). See *Gui Dong*, 5.2a–2b.

¹⁸⁴ In “Chen Sheng” (Chen Sheng 陳生) from the fourth *juan* of *Gui Dong*, it reads: “In the spring of the *wumao* year of the Jiading reign (1218), I was in the capital” (嘉定戊寅春，余在都). See *Gui Dong*, 4.10a.

¹⁸⁵ In “The Starving Vagrant Woman” (Liumin e’fu 流民餓婦) from the third *juan* of *Gui Dong*, it reads: “On the fourth night-watch of the eleventh night of the seventh month of the *dinghai* year of the Baoqing reign (1227.8.25.1am–3am), huge wind blew from the Southwest” (寶慶丁亥七月十一夜四更，大風起西南). See *Gui Dong*, 3.5b.

¹⁸⁶ In “The Daoist Priest from Qingyang” (Qingyang daoshi 青陽道士) from the third *juan* of *Gui Dong*, it mentions “the 28th day of the third month of the *jichou* year of the Shaoding reign (1229.4.23)” (紹定己丑三月二十八日). See *Gui Dong*, 3.2b.

¹⁸⁷ “The Daoist Priest from Qingyang,” in *Gui Dong*, 3.2b.

book, as it stands in this edition, was compiled sometime in the period of Lizong 理宗 (1224–1264) in the Southern Song, at the end of the Shaoding reign.¹⁸⁸

Meanwhile, no further biographical information is available about Qian Fu, Yang Daofang, or Student Shen of the Imperial Academy. As a result, current evidence is insufficient to prove that Student Shen compiled *Gui Dong*. Therefore, to know more about the compiler, it is productive to examine the places in *Gui Dong* where the anonymous compiler mentions personal information.

The compiler does not reveal much information about his own household, recording only the family's book collection: "My household stored a great number of Daoist books" (余家藏道家法書甚多).¹⁸⁹ As for his relatives, in "Nun Shanying" (Shanying ni 善應尼), the third story of the second *juan*, the compiler remarks:¹⁹⁰

As for Nun Shanying, I saw her when I visited my sister at [the county of] Yanguan (modern Haining 海寧, Zhejiang). Her appearance was ugly, and she was as muddle-headed as an ignorant village crone. Sometimes she spoke some alarmist words, but some of her words were elegant and sparked people's interest. I was extremely suspicious about her words, but I did not yet believe that she was able to achieve *Prajñā* (*dinghui* 定慧). Later, she came with several hundred paper bills and asked me to purchase some rice. I said: "Rice is not my business and it is not your business either." Ying said: "This is true. I did not know you yet." She took the money and entrusted [the matter] to Lu Wenzhi.

善應尼，余往在鹽官看姊見之，狀貌寢陋，意懵然村嫗耳。洎時出危言，迺有脫灑起人意者，頗疑之，亦未信其能定慧也。後攜數百錢券來，託以市米，余曰：「米非余事，亦非爾事也。」應曰：「誠然，我未知君爾。」持去屬之魯文之。

¹⁸⁸ For a detailed discussion, see Xiao Xiangkai, *Song Yuan xiaoshuo shi*, 224.

¹⁸⁹ *Gui Dong*, 3.9a.

¹⁹⁰ *Gui Dong*, 2.4a–5a.

In the above passage, we notice that the compiler considers himself a person not involved in such matters as “buying rice,” resisting inclusion in the group of vulgar commoners. Moreover, as for family and relatives, the compiler mentions a sister living in the county of Yanguan. Lu Wenzhi, the person Nun Shanying approaches for help, is a relative of the compiler, mentioned again in the account “The Offering of the Yellow Registers” (Huanglu jiao 黃籙醮)¹⁹¹ of the third *juan*: “My affinal kin member Judicial Commissioner Lu passed away; his son, the County Magistrate of Deqing 德清 (modern Deqing county in Huzhou, Zhejiang) followed him in death” (余姻家魯提刑捐館，其子德清知縣繼亡).¹⁹² This account also mentions another member of the Lu family: “The eldest lineal son of the Judicial Commissioner family, the District Magistrate of Yuhang (modern Yuhang district in Hangzhou, Zhejiang)” (提刑冢嗣余杭宰).¹⁹³

In a few places in the text, we catch a glimpse of the compiler’s social circle. In “The District Magistrate of Deqing” (Deqing zhai 德清宰) from the second *juan*, the author records an occasion on which two guests tell him a story about predestined sickness, saying, “In the autumn of the *guiwei* year of the Jiading reign (1223), while I was a retainer in the prefecture, I sat together with Aide Zhao to the Magistrate of Jiaxing [Military Prefecture] and Recorder Liu of [the county of] Deqing” (嘉定癸未秋，余在

¹⁹¹ For a detailed study on the offering of the yellow register in Song China, see Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 227–36.

¹⁹² *Gui Dong*, 3.8b.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 3.8b.

郡治客次中，與嘉興趙丞、德清劉簿偕坐).¹⁹⁴ In “Chen Sheng,” the compiler writes that the father-in-law of his friend, an official, had served as an informant for this account: “The father-in-law of my friend Lin Hengzhi, Director Qiu for Rendering Service, once told me a story” (友人林亨之之婦翁承務邱君為余言).¹⁹⁵ Given that the compiler also mentions his relatives serving as the County Magistrate of Deqing and the District Magistrate of Yuhang in “Nun Shanying,” it is reasonable to conclude that he socialized with the scholar-officials of nearby regions of Lin’an. Other informants and acquaintances mentioned in *Gui Dong* include a retainer of the District Magistrate of Huating 華亭 (modern Shanghai) county,¹⁹⁶ one of the compiler’s kinsmen,¹⁹⁷ a former concubine of Bao Cuiran 鮑粹然 (*jinshi*, 1181),¹⁹⁸ and monks.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 2.5b–6a.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 4.10a.

¹⁹⁶ In “Pei Duanfu” (Pei Duanfu 裴端夫) from the fifth *juan* of *Gui Dong*, it reads: “Chen, a native of Wenzhou [modern Wenzhou, Zhejiang] served as the District Magistrate of Huating county and had Pei Duanfu as his retainer” (溫州人陳知華亭縣，以裴端夫為客); “Duanfu composed a biography and showed me the detailed story” (端夫自作傳示余甚詳). See *Gui Dong*, 5.5b.

¹⁹⁷ In “People Haunted by Ghosts” (Gui miren 鬼迷人) from the fourth *juan* of *Gui Dong*, it reads: “One of my kinsmen attended upon his father to drink in a villa” (予族人侍其父飲別墅). See *Gui Dong*, 4.9a.

¹⁹⁸ In “Pearls Came Out of the Statue of Buddha” (Foxiang chuzhu 佛像出珠) from the fourth *juan* of *Gui Dong*, it reads: “After Lord Bao died, his concubines scattered. One of them, née Cui, told me the story” (鮑公死，侍姬散，有崔氏者為余道之). Here, Lord Bao is Bao Cuiran, who once served as the Prefect of Chuzhou 處州 (modern Lishui 麗水, Zhejiang) Prefecture. See *Gui Dong*, 4.3b. Bao Cuiran is also mentioned in *Song huiyao jigao*. See *Song huiyao jigao*, 103.4060.

¹⁹⁹ In “The Spiritual Lanterns of Mount Lu” (Lushan shendeng 廬山神燈) from the third *juan*, it reads: “I inquired with a friend who is a monk. The account I heard is no different than the one he told” (予叩之友禪人，其說不異). See *Gui Dong*, 3.4b.

Furthermore, the compiler is extremely familiar with the landmarks and streets of the city of Lin'an. In "Chen Sheng," the compiler writes, "In the spring of the eleventh year of the Jiading reign (1218), I was in the capital" (嘉定戊寅春，余在都).²⁰⁰ Additionally, many of the place names mentioned in the book, including Linping 臨平 (modern Yuhang district in Hangzhou, Zhejiang),²⁰¹ Jiahe 嘉禾 (modern Jiaying, Zhejiang)²⁰² and Deqing,²⁰³ are all names of places near Lin'an. From the above information, it is a reasonable assumption that the compiler is a literatus who lived during the reign of Lizong and mostly resided in Lin'an or a nearby region.

The other title of *Gui Dong* is *Gui Dong Hu* 鬼董狐, literally the "Dong Hu of [recording stories of] Ghosts." Dong Hu was the Grand Scribe (*Taishi* 太史) of the Hegemony of Jin 晉 under the rule of Duke Ling of Jin 晉靈公 (r. 620–607BCE),²⁰⁴ well-known for his "honest and forthright writings" (*zhibi* 直筆) about history. Being an outstanding historian, Dong Hu had once been praised by Confucius 孔子 (551–479BCE)

²⁰⁰ *Gui Dong*, 4.10a.

²⁰¹ In "Zhou Bao" from the fifth *juan* of *Gui Dong*, it reads: "Zhiqing discussed with his companions, then he went to Linping to arrest Zhou Bao" (直卿與其儕商略，即之臨平捕寶). See *Gui Dong*, 5.5b.

²⁰² In "Nun Shanying," it reads: "[I went to] cry for [the death of] Judicial Commissioner Lu at Jiahe" (哭魯憲章於嘉禾). See *Gui Dong*, 2.4b.

²⁰³ In "The District Magistrate of Deqing" from the second *juan*, it reads: "Someone governed Deqing" (某人治德清). See *Gui Dong*, 2.5b.

²⁰⁴ Du Yu 杜預 (222–285), and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648), comm. and ann. *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zheng yi* 春秋左傳正義 (Rectified Interpretations of the *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*), 21.6b, in *Shisanjing zhushu fu jiaokan ji* 十三經注疏附校勘記 (A Reprint of the Song Edition of Commentaries and Sub-commentaries on the *Thirteen Classics*), edited by Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) (1816 reprint, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1960).

as “the great historian in ancient times” (*gu zhi liangshi* 古之良史).²⁰⁵ Hence, the title of “the Dong Hu of recording stories of ghosts” implies “the distinguished historian of ghosts.”

Furthermore, in the section of “Taunting and Teasing” (*Pai tiao* 排調) of *Shishuo xin yu* 世說新語 (A New Account of Tales of the World), it records:²⁰⁶

Gan Bao (fl. 315) was relating to Liu Zhen the contents of his *Sou shen ji* 搜神記 (In Search of the Supernatural). Liu said: “You could be regarded as ‘the Dong Hu of the ghostly world.’”

干寶向劉真長敘其《搜神記》，劉曰：“卿可謂鬼之董狐。”

Here, by comparing Gan Bao to Dong Hu, Liu praises Gan Bao as an excellent historian who writes about supernatural events.²⁰⁷ Based on the name of the collection,

²⁰⁵ In the “Second year of Lord Xuan (607 BCE)” (*Xuan Gong er nian* 宣公二年) of *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (Zuo Tradition), it records:

On the yichou day (26), Zhao Chuan killed Lord Ling at Taoyuan. Zhao Dun returned before leaving the mountains of Jin. The scribe wrote: “Zhao Dun returned before leaving the mountains of Jin. The scribe wrote, “Zhao Dun assassinated his ruler,” and showed the record at court. Zhao Dun said, “This was not so.” He replied, “You are the chief minister. Yet fleeing you did not cross the domain border; upon returning you did not chastise the culprit. If you are not responsible, who would be?” Zhao Dun said, “Alas! As it says in the *Odes*, ‘I so cherished him, that I bring sorrow upon myself.’ That describes me indeed!” Confucius said, “Dong Hu was a worthy scribe of ancient times: he did not conceal anything in his rules of writing.”

己丑，趙穿攻靈公於桃園。宣子未出山而復。大史書曰：“趙盾弑其君。”以示於朝。宣子曰：“不然。”對曰：“子為正卿，亡不越竟，反不討賊，非子而誰？”宣子曰：“《詩》曰：‘我之懷矣，自詒伊感。’其我之謂矣。”孔子曰：“董狐，古之良史也，書法不隱。”

See *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zheng yi*, 21.6b. The English translation is from Stephen W. Durrant, Wai-ye Li and David Schaberg. See Stephen W. Durrant, Wai-ye Li, and David Schaberg, trans., *Zuo Tradition (Zuo zhuan): Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn Annals”* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 1.596–97.

²⁰⁶ See Yu Jiayi, ed., Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–44). *Shishuo xinyu jian shu* 世說新語箋疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 25.798. The English is based on the translation of Richard B. Mather. See Richard B. Mather, trans., *Shih-shuo Hsin-yu: A New Account of Tales of the World* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan Press, 1976), 25.409.

²⁰⁷ See Xiao Xiangkai, *Song Yuan xiaoshuo shi*, 224.

Gui Dong (*Hu*), it is reasonable to suggest that the anonymous compiler of *Gui Dong* implies the authorial intention of recording other-worldly matters like Gan Bao.

Thirteen pieces in *Gui Dong* are not new compilations, but are excerpted and adapted from *Taiping guangji*. These accounts are mostly collected in the first *juan* of *Gui Dong*. Most of these thirteen accounts are selected from the categories of “Ghost” (gui 鬼) and “Yakṣa” (Yecha 夜叉) sections in *Taiping guangji*.²⁰⁸

“Chi ding zi” (Chi ding zi 赤丁子), the first story in the first *juan* of *Gui Dong*, is adapted from “Mou Ying” (Mou Ying 牟穎) in *juan* 352 of *Taiping guangji*.²⁰⁹

“Zhang Han” (Zhang Han 章翰), the second story in the first *juan* of *Gui Dong* is adapted from “Geshu Han” (Geshu Han 哥舒翰) in *juan* 356 of *Taiping guangji*.²¹⁰

“Flying Celestial Yakṣa” (Feitian yecha 飛天夜叉), the third story in the first *juan* of *Gui Dong* is adapted from “Zhangchou Jianqiong” (Zhangchou Jianqiong 章仇兼瓊) in *juan* 356 of *Taiping guangji*.²¹¹

“The Woman Who Turned into a Yakṣa” (Fu hua yecha 婦化夜叉), the fourth story in the first *juan* of *Gui Dong* is adapted from “Student Wu of Jiangnan” (Jiangnan Wu Sheng 江南吳生) in *juan* 356 of *Taiping guangji*.²¹²

²⁰⁸ See Qi Lianxiu 祁連休, *Zhongguo minjian gushi shi Song Yuan pian* 中國民間故事史宋元篇 (Taipei: Xiuwei chuban, 2011), 231–32.

²⁰⁹ Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) et al., *Taiping guangji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 352.2784–2785. *Gui Dong*, 1.1a–2b.

²¹⁰ *Taiping guangji*, 356.2817. *Gui Dong*, 1. 2b–3a.

²¹¹ *Taiping guangji*, 356.2818. *Gui Dong*, 1.3a–3b.

²¹² *Taiping guangji*, 356.2818–2819. *Gui Dong*, 1.3b–4a.

“Wei Zidong” (Wei Zidong 韋自東), the fifth story in the first *juan* of *Gui Dong* is adapted from “Wei Zidong” in *juan* 356 of *Taiping guangji*.²¹³

“The Wife of the County Magistrate of Xinchang” (Xinchang ling qi 新昌令妻), the seventh story in the first *juan* of *Gui Dong* is adapted from “The County Magistrate of Xinfan” (Xinfan Xianling 新繁縣令) in *juan* 355 of *Taiping guangji*.²¹⁴

“Zhang You” (Zhang You 張有), the ninth story in the second *juan* of *Gui Dong*, is adapted from “Wang Wuyou” (Wang Wuyou 王無有) in *juan* 333 of *Taiping guangji*.²¹⁵

“Wang E” (Wang E 王萼), the tenth story in the second *juan* of *Gui Dong*, is adapted from “Wang Xuanzhi” (Wang Xuanzhi 王玄之) in *juan* 334 of *Taiping guangji*.²¹⁶

“Lu Zhonghai” (Lu Zhonghai 盧仲海), the first story in the fourth *juan* of *Gui Dong*, is adapted from “Lu Zhonghai” (Lu Zhonghai 盧仲海) in *juan* 338 of *Taiping guangji*.²¹⁷

“Wang Chui” (Wang Chui 王垂), the second story in the fourth *juan* of *Gui Dong*, is adapted from “Wang Chui” (Wang Chui 王垂) in *juan* 338 of *Taiping guangji*.²¹⁸

²¹³ *Taiping guangji*, 356.2820–2822. *Gui Dong*, 1.4b–6b.

²¹⁴ *Taiping guangji*, 355.2662. *Gui Dong*, 1.14a–14b.

²¹⁵ *Taiping guangji*, 333.2648–49. *Gui Dong*, 2.10a–10b.

²¹⁶ *Taiping guangji*, 334.2652–53. *Gui Dong*, 2.10b–11a.

²¹⁷ *Taiping guangji*, 338.2680–81. *Gui Dong*, 4.1a–2a.

²¹⁸ *Taiping guangji*, 338.2681–82. *Gui Dong*, 4.2a–3a.

“Chang Yi” (Chang Yi 常夷), the third story in the fifth *juan* of *Gui Dong*, is adapted from “Chang Yi” (Chang Yi 常夷) in *juan* 336 of *Taiping guangji*.²¹⁹

“Tang Xuan” (Tang Xuan 唐暉), the fourth story in the fifth *juan* of *Gui Dong*, is adapted from “Tang Xuan” (Tang Xuan 唐暉) in *juan* 332 of *Taiping guangji*.²²⁰

“Tian Dacheng” (Tian Dacheng 田達誠), the fifth story in the fifth *juan* of *Gui Dong*, is adapted from “Tian Dacheng” (Tian Dacheng 田達誠) in *juan* 354 of *Taiping guangji*.²²¹

Besides the accounts adapted from *Taiping guangji*, the book mentions *Yijian zhi* multiple times, revealing that the compiler was deeply influenced by Hong Mai and his collection. The story of “Zhang Shihou” (Zhang Shihou 張師厚) in the first *juan* of *Gui Dong* serves as an excellent example. This is a different narrative of the same event recorded in “Yiniang from Taiyuan” (Taiyuan Yiniang 太原意娘) in the ninth *juan* of *Yijian ding zhi* 夷堅丁志 (The Fourth Record of *Yijian*).²²² At the end of “Zhang Shihou,” it reads:²²³

The story “Yinang from Taiyuan,” found in *Yijian ding zhi* is exactly this story. But [the story in *Yijian zhi*] makes Yiniang a woman with the surname of Wang and Shihou with the given name, Congshan, so it is not as good as the story of Née Liu. Let me make a point: the novelty and marvel of the story lies precisely in the part about the remarriage, yet the venerable Hong did not know the

²¹⁹ *Taiping guangji*, 336.2665–67. *Gui Dong*, 5.6a–8a.

²²⁰ *Taiping guangji*, 332.2635–38. *Gui Dong*, 5.8a–12a.

²²¹ *Taiping guangji*, 332.2635–38. *Gui Dong*, 5.12a–13b.

²²² *Gui Dong*, 1.15b. Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, *Ding*: 9.608–09.

²²³ *Gui Dong*, 1.15b.

particulars; so, I have record this story once more to supplement what was left out of the *Yijian zhi*.

《夷堅丁志》載“太原意娘”，正此一事，但以意娘為王氏，師厚為從善，又不及劉氏事。案：此新奇而怪，全在再娶一節。而洪公不詳知，故復載之以補《夷堅》之闕。

This alerts us to the compiler of *Gui Dong*'s attempts to record the factually correct particulars of this story, evidently aiming for historical accuracy regarding the events he recounts.²²⁴

Another account that mentions *Yijian zhi* is “The Demon of the Stone Lion” (Shi shi yao 石獅妖) in the fourth *juan*. It reads:²²⁵

Yijian gui zhi (The Tenth Record of *Yijian*) records a story of how “The Patriarch Zhao Jian controlled mountain spirits through the Dharma Law.”²²⁶ [This account] says that things without emotions cannot transform into spirits—in all cases [they have feelings] because they are possessed by demons.

《夷堅癸志》載“祖趙堅以法治魑”。言物之無情者不能為精，皆妖憑之。

This statement is followed by an example of a lion carved from stone that was possessed by a demon and disturbed a household,²²⁷ and was subsequently exorcised through the destruction of the lion by a monk. The compiler further comments, “The stone has no consciousness and could not transform into a spirit; this is also because [the

²²⁴ Hanan suggests that “Yiniang from Taiyuan” is an important source for the *huaben* “Yang Siwen Encounters an Old Acquaintance in Yanshan” (Yang Siwen Yanshan Feng Guren 楊思溫燕山逢故人). For a discussion of the textual relationship between “Yiniang from Taiyuan” and “Yang Siwen Encounters an Old Acquaintance in Yanshan,” see Hanan, “Sung and Yuan Vernacular Fiction: A Critique of Modern Methods of Dating,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 30 (1970):181–82.

²²⁵ *Gui Dong*, 4.6b.

²²⁶ This account is already lost; it is not found in the current *Yijian zhi* corpus. See *Yijian zhi, gui*. 1221–1301.

²²⁷ *Gui Dong*, 4.6b–7a.

stone] was possessed” (石無知，不能神，是亦有憑焉爾).²²⁸ What is noteworthy here is that the compiler of *Gui Dong* certainly shares some common beliefs with *Yijian zhi*, and uses the story in his collection as evidence to support these ideas.

Moreover, at least one woodblock edition of *Gui Dong* may have existed during the Southern Song. In *Jie'an laoren man bi* 戒庵老人漫筆 (Discursive Notes of the Old Man of the Chamber of Admonition), Li Xu 李栩 (d.1637) writes, “I got a woodblock book named *Gui Dong*, which was printed during the Song dynasty in which there are two accounts that discuss ‘The Ten Kings [of Hell]’ (*shiwang* 十王) and ‘Recommending the Dead’ (*jianwang* 薦亡) (余得宋刻《鬼董》一書，中有論‘十王’‘薦亡’兩條).”²²⁹ It could be inferred that there was at least one woodblock edition believed to date to the Song period during the time of Li Xun. But regardless of whether the woodblock edition Li Xun kept was an authentic Southern Song production or a Ming forgery, it is now lost.

Printing History and Circulation

During the period of the Ming and Qing Dynasties, *Gui Dong* was mostly circulated in manuscript form. The earliest existing record of the manuscript can be found in *Zhao Dingyu shumu* 趙定宇書目 (Catalogue of Zhao Dingyu’s Book Collection), which was compiled by Ming bibliophile Zhao Yongxian 趙用賢 (1535–1596). In the

²²⁸ *Gui Dong*, 4.7a.

²²⁹ Li Xu, *Jie'an laoren man bi*, in *Yuan Ming shiliao biji congkan* 元明史料筆記叢刊 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 8.350. For the two accounts, see “The Ritual of the Yellow Registers,” *Gui Dong*, 3.8a–8b; “The Ten Kings [of Hells]” (Shiwang 十王), *Gui Dong*, 7a–9a.

“Comprehensive Sequel of the Unofficial Recordings” (Baitong xubian 稗統續編) of *Zhao Dingyu shumu*, it mentions a manuscript of *Gui Dong* in Zhao Yongxian’s family book collection.²³⁰ The “*xiaoshuo*” of *Xuanshang Zhai shumu* 玄賞齋書目 (Catalogue of the Arcane Appreciation Studio),²³¹ which was compiled by Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636), includes *Gui Dong*, but there is no information about the compiler or the number of volumes. *Jin’gu Tang shumu* 近古堂書目 (Catalogue of the Hall of Approaching the Past),²³² which was possibly compiled at the end of the Ming Dynasty,²³³ lists *Gui Dong* under “*xiaoshuo*.” During the Qing Dynasty, Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664) includes this work in his *Jiangyun Lou shumu* 絳云樓書目 (Catalogue of the Tower of the Crimson Clouds) under the title *Gui Dong Hu*.²³⁴ Cao Yin 曹寅 (1658–1712)’s *Lianting shumu* 棟亭書目 (Catalogue of the Chinaberry Kiosk) includes *Gui Dong Hu* in “The Section of *Xiaoshuo*” (shuobu 說部). The note under the title reads, “There is a manuscript [of *Gui Dong Hu*], which has a postscript by Qian Fu from Lin’an during the Yuan Dynasty. The collection has five *juan*” (抄本一冊元臨安錢孚跋

²³⁰ Zhao Yongxian, *Zhao Dingyu shumu* (Shanghai: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), 177.

²³¹ Dong Qichang, *Xuanshang zhai shumu*, in *Dong Qichang quanji* 董其昌全集 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1989), 8.128.

²³² *Jin’gu Tang shumu*, in *Congshu jicheng xubian* 叢書集成續編 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi, 1989), 3.359a.

²³³ Some scholars suggest that *Jin’gu Tang shumu* was compiled during the Qing Dynasty. See, for example, Lai Xinxia 來新夏, *Qingdai mulu tiyao* 清代目錄提要 (Shandong, Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1997), 380.

²³⁴ Qian Qianyi, *Jiangyun Lou shumu*, in *Yueya tang congshu* 粵雅堂叢書 (Collectaneum of the Hall of the Elegant Canton) (Taipei: Yiwen yishu guan, 1965), series 11, 2.13b.

尾五卷).²³⁵ In *Qianqing tang shumu* 千頃堂書目 (Catalogue of the Hall of a Thousand Acres), Huang Yuji 黃虞稷 (1629–1691) lists *Gui Dong* under “*xiaoshuo*”: “Five *juan* of *Gui Dong*, written by Guan Hanqing” (關漢卿鬼董五卷).²³⁶ In Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728–1804)’s *Yuanshi yiwen zhi* 元史藝文志 (Monograph on Arts and Literature of the Yuan Dynasty), he mentions the book thusly: “There are five *juan* of *Gui Dong*, which was inscribed “compiled by Guan Hanqing;” [This book has] survived [to now]” (鬼董五卷，舊題關漢卿撰，存).²³⁷

The earliest surviving printed edition of *Gui Dong* was not published until the 51st year of Qianlong (1786). In the seventh month of this year (1786.8), Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 (1728–1814) published the manuscript of *Gui Dong* in *Zhibuzu Zhai congshu*.²³⁸ He also wrote a postscript for this book. It reads:²³⁹

There are five *juan* of *Gui Dong*, which does not list an author’s name. According to the colophon written by Qian Fu during the Taiding years, it was probably written by someone named Shen during the reign of Xiaozong and Guangzong in the Song Dynasty. The person who especially contributed to its transmission was Guan Hanqing. Examining the fourth *juan* [of *Gui Dong*], it reads “I was in the capital during the *wumao* year of the Jiading reign.” Therefore, the author was still alive during the reign of Ningzong [r. 1194–1224]. In the Ming Dynasty,

²³⁵ Cao Yin, *Lianting shumu*, in *Liaohai congshu* 遼海叢書 (Collectaneum of the Vast Ocean) (Shenyang: Liaoshen shushe, 1934), 3.49.

²³⁶ Because Huang Yuji mistakenly lists *Gui Dong* as a work of Guan Hanqing, it is listed as a supplemental section under “Yuan Dynasty” (Yuan 元). Huang Yuji, *Qianqing Tang shumu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), 12.349.

²³⁷ Qian Daxin, *Yuanshi yiwen zhi jiben* (Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe, 1999), 18.438.

²³⁸ The printing of *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* made a great number of early manuscripts easily accessible. For Bao Tingbo and his *Zhibuzu zhai congshu*, see Zhou Shengjie 周生傑, *Bao Tingbo cangshu yu keshu yanjiu* 鮑廷博藏書與刻書研究 (Anhui, Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2011), 279–343.

²³⁹ See *Gui Dong*, 6.1a.

Jiang Yikui's *Yaoshan tang wai ji* (Record Outside of the Hall of Mount Yao) unexpectedly thought that Guan was the writer [of *Gui Dong*]. This was a mistake. The recordings in the book mostly involve the matters of ghosts, gods, and mirages and illusive matters, which makes it suitable to be censured by Confucian scholars. Yet [the book] contains within it the principles of moral admonition. I certainly would not dare not to look at it as groundless. So, I printed it again in order to circulate it; perhaps it will have some small support for moral teachings in society.

右《鬼董》五卷，不署撰人姓名，據泰定間錢孚跋語，似為宋孝光時沈某著，特傳之者關漢卿耳。考第四卷有“嘉定戊寅予在都”之語，則其人寧宗時尚存。明蔣一葵《堯山堂外紀》竟以為關撰者，誤矣。所紀多涉鬼神幻惑之事，宜為儒者所譏，而勸懲之旨寓焉，予固不敢以無稽目之，復梓以傳，庶幾於世教有少補云。

In this postscript, it is worth noting that many literati in the Ming or Qing dynasties mistakenly credited Guan Hanqing as the compiler of *Gui Dong*.²⁴⁰ Bao Tingbo clarified this common mistake by stating that Guan Hanqing was not the compiler but

²⁴⁰ A good example is in *Yaoshan tang waiji*, written by Jiang Yikui 蔣一葵 (fl. 1594). It reads:

Guan Hanqing, whose alias was “the Old man of the Ji studio,” was a native of Dadu (modern Beijing). During the end of the Jin Dynasty, he served as the Governor of the Imperial Academy of Medicine. After the collapse of the Jin court, Guan did not hold an official position any more. Guan was fond of discussing demons and ghosts. He had written a book named *Gui Dong*.

關漢卿，號已齋叟，大都人。金末為太醫院尹。金亡不仕。好談妖鬼。所著有《鬼董》。

See Jiang Yikui, *Yaoshan tang waiji* (Jinling Jiangshi Kanben 晉陵蔣氏刊本, 1605), 68.3b.

Again, Wu Mei 吳梅 (1884–1939) also mentioned Guan Hanqing in *Gu qu zhu tan* 顧曲塵談 (Idle Talks of Reviewing Songs). It reads:

Guan Hanqing, whose alias was “the Old man of the Ji studio” was a native of Dadu (modern Beijing). During the end of the Jin Dynasty, he served as the Governor of the Imperial Academy of Medicine. After the collapse of the Jin court, Guan did not hold an official position anymore. Guan was fond of discussing demons and ghosts. He had written a book named *Gui Dong*, which is extremely varied, extensive, and delightful.

關漢卿，號已齋叟，大都人。金末為太醫院尹。金亡不仕。好談妖鬼。所著有鬼董一書，極雜博可喜。

See Wu Mei, *Guqu zhu tan*, in *Gu qu zhu tan · Zhongguo xiqu gailun* 顧曲塵談 · 中國戲曲概論 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), 4.

simply contributed to the circulation of one manuscript of *Gui Dong*. Yet, as Li Jianguo points out, “Of all the authors in the ‘writing clubs’ (*shuhui* 書會)²⁴¹ of the Song and Yuan Dynasties, many of them regarded each other as ‘Top Candidates’” (宋元書會才人以解元相稱者甚多).²⁴² Current evidence is not sufficient to prove that the “Top Candidate Guan” mentioned by Qian Fu is Guan Hanqing, and whether Guan Hanqing participated in the transmission of *Gui Dong* remains unclear.

According to *Zhongguo guji zongmu* 中國古籍總目 (Catalogue of Antique Chinese Books), four editions are listed under the name of *Gui Dong*, including:²⁴³ 1. a woodblock edition by Bao Tingbo from the 51st year of the Qianlong reign, held in the National Library of Beijing; 2. a photographic reprint of the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition of the Qianlong reign (r. 1735–1796); 3. a Qing woodblock edition, held in the Liaoning library; and 4. a Qing manuscript, held in the National library of Beijing.²⁴⁴ As for the title *Gui Dong Hu*, there are three more editions, including: 1. a Qing manuscript, held in the National Library of Beijing, edited by Cai Tingxiang 蔡廷相 (fl. 1802),²⁴⁵ who also

²⁴¹ For the “writing clubs” of the Song and Yuan Dynasties, see Wilt L. Idema and Stephen H. West. *Chinese Theater, 1100–1450: A Source Book* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982), 130–31.

²⁴² Li Jianguo, *Songdai zhiguai chuanqi xulu*, 373.

²⁴³ *Zhongguo guji zongmu bianzuan weiyuanhui* 中國古籍總目編纂委員會 et al., *Zhongguo guji zongmu* 中國古籍總目 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), 5.2164.

²⁴⁴ Beijing tushuguan 北京圖書館 et al., *Beijing tushuguan guji shanben shumu* 北京圖書館古籍善本書目 (Catalogue of Antique and Rare Books of the Beijing Library) (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1987), 3.1510.

²⁴⁵ Cai Tingxiang is a Qing bibliophile from Wuxi (modern Wuxi, Jiangsu). See Li Yu’an 李玉安 and Huang Zhengyu 黃正雨, *Zhongguo cangshu jia tongdian* 中國藏書家通典 (Beijing: Zhongguo guoji wenhua chubanshe, 2005), 581.

wrote a postscript for the book;²⁴⁶ 2. a printed edition by the Commercial Press of Shanghai 上海商務印書館 from the reign of Xuanton 宣統 (1909–1912), held in the National Library of Beijing; and 3. a printed edition by the Commercial Press of Shanghai published in 1916, held in the libraries of Beijing University, Shanghai, Nanjing, Liaoning, Jilin, and Northeast Normal University.

In fact, one important manuscript of *Gui Dong Hu* is not mentioned by the *Zhongguo guji zongmu* and *Zhongguo guji zongmu* 中國古籍善本書目 (Catalogue of Antique and Rare Chinese Books).²⁴⁷ In the National Central Library of Taiwan, there is a Qing manuscript with the postscript by Qian Fu.²⁴⁸ This manuscript also includes a hand-written postscript penned by Zhang Rongjing 張蓉鏡 (fl.1811)²⁴⁹ and an inscription

²⁴⁶ *Beijing tushuguan guji shanben shumu*, 3.1510.

²⁴⁷ In “Petty talk” (*xiaoshuo* 小說) of *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu*, it reads:

There is a five *juan Gui Dong*. It is the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition, which was printed by Bao Tingbo in the 51st year of the Qianlong reign (1786) during the Qing Dynasty.

There is a five *juan Gui Dong*. It is a Qing manuscript.

There is a five *juan Gui Dong Hu*. Cai Tingxiang from the Qing Dynasty proofed [this manuscript] and wrote a postscript for it.

《鬼董》五卷，清乾隆五十一年鮑廷博刻《知不足齋叢書》本。《鬼董》五卷，清抄本。
《鬼董狐》五卷，清抄本，清蔡廷相校並跋。

See Guo Qunyi 郭群一, ed., *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), 19.10a.

²⁴⁸ Guoli zhongyang tushuguan 國立中央圖書館, ed. *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben shumu* 國立中央圖書館善本書目 (Catalogue of Rare Books of the Central National Library) (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1967), 3.670.

²⁴⁹ Zhang Rongjing was a member of the Zhang family from Changshu 常熟 (modern Changshu, Jiangsu). The family had a famous private book collection in the Blessing Space of Little Langhuan. For Zhang Rongjing and his family collection, see Ren Jiyu 任繼愈, ed., *Zhongguo cangshu lou* 中國藏書樓 (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 2001), 1388–1396; Fan Fengshu 范鳳書, *Zhongguo sijia cangshu shi* 中國私家藏書史 (Henan, Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2001), 364–65.

of his family library, the Blessed Space of Little Langhuan (*Xiao Langhuan fudi* 小琅嬛福地). The postscript reads:²⁵⁰

The writing style [of *Gui Dong Hu*] is lofty and concise; the narrative is precise and detailed. The book thoroughly inherits the bequeathed writing styles of the Tang short sketches. Manuscripts [of *Gui Dong Hu*] are rare. As for this copy, I like that there are few incorrect characters. I have seen a Ming manuscript [of *Gui Dong Hu*]. Compared with this copy, [the Ming manuscript] has larger characters but of inferior quality. By a close examination of the calligraphy, [I believe that] this should be the manuscript of the Hall of Transmitting the Past (*Shugu Tang* 述古堂).²⁵¹

On the 21st day of the second month of the *jiachen* year of the Daoguang period (1844.4.8), Zhang Rongjing, style name Fuchuan, recuperating at the Studio of Double Transparency (*Shuangqing shuwu* 雙清書屋), read [this manuscript] and discursively wrote this postscript.

筆意高簡，敘事精詳，深得唐人小品文字遺法。抄本甚稀。是冊喜其訛字少，曾見明人抄本，較此字大而劣，細審書法，此當是述古堂抄本也。道光甲辰二月二十一日，芙川張蓉鏡養疴雙清書屋，讀一過漫記。

As a bibliophile, Zhang Rongjing incisively recognized the value of this manuscript. Furthermore, the Blessed Space of Little Langhuan, his family library, was located in Changshu, the same district where Qian Fu found the Yuan manuscript of *Gui Dong* in 1326. It is not surprising that Zhang Rongjing mentions more than one surviving manuscript of *Gui Dong (Hu)* during his time; but the number was still extremely small. Additionally, as this citation shows, at least one Ming manuscript survived to Zhang Rongjing's time.

²⁵⁰ *Gui Dong Hu* (Xiao Langhuan fudi edition 小琅嬛福地抄本, 1844), 64.

²⁵¹ The Hall of Transmitting the Past was the renowned family library building of Qing bibliophile Qian Zeng 錢曾 (1629–1701). For Qian Zeng and his collection, see Fan Fengshu, *Zhongguo sijia cangshu shi*, 229–31.

Yet, since the Ming manuscript was of poor quality, Zhang preferred his manuscript and suggested that it originated from Qian Zeng's collection at the Hall of Transmitting the Past.

As I mentioned above, Qian Qianyi's *Jiangyun lou shumu* records one manuscript of *Gui Dong* that was held in the Tower of the Crimson Clouds (*Jiangyun lou* 絳云樓). As the great-grandson of Qian Qianyi, after the Tower of the Crimson Clouds burned, Qian Zeng inherited all the books that survived the fire and established his own library, the Hall of Transmitting the Past. Qian Zeng was known for his obsession with Song woodblock edition books.²⁵² Zhang Rongjing surmises that this manuscript of *Gui Dong Hu* was originally from the collection of the Hall of Transmitting the Past, which was famed for the fine quality of its books. According to the preface Qian Zeng wrote for *Shugu tang cangshu mu*, he sold many books from the Qian family collection to Ji Zhenyi 季振宜 (fl.1630),²⁵³ another collector from Taixing 泰興 (modern Jingjiang, Jiangsu).²⁵⁴ Zhang Rongjing suggests that this manuscript was once owned by the Qian family, but *Gui Dong Hu* is not included in Qian Zeng's *Yeshe yuan shumu* 也是園書目 (Catalogue of

²⁵² Ibid., 229.

²⁵³ For Ji Zhenyi, see Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)* (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), 118.

²⁵⁴ Qian Zeng, *Shugu tang cangshu mu* 述古堂藏書目 (Catalogue of the Hall of Transmitting the Past), in *Haiwang chun guji shumu tiba congkan* 海王邨古籍書目題跋叢刊 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 2007), 1.70.

Also see Guan Tingfen 管庭芬 (1797–1880) and Zhang Yu 章鈺 (1864–1934), eds., *Dushu min qiu ji jiaozheng* 讀書敏求記校證 (A Collation of *Notes on Reader's Diligently Sought*), in *Zhongguo lidai shumu tiba congshu* 中國歷代書目題跋叢書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 499.

This Also is a Garden),²⁵⁵ *Shugu tang cangshu mu*,²⁵⁶ and *Dushu minqiu ji* 讀書敏求記 (Notes on Diligently Researched Works).²⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the manuscript does not bear any seals from Qian Zeng or Qian Qianyi.²⁵⁸ Therefore, there is no evidence to back up Zhang Rongjing's assertion.

In addition, there is also a short hand-written colophon by Tang Hanti 唐翰題 (1816–1875) to this manuscript. It reads,²⁵⁹

On the *wang* day of the *Jiazi* third month of the third year of the Tongzhi period (1864.4.20), I read this book under a lamp. By the side of the Pond of Ten Thousand Willow Trees, a traveler, Tang Hanti, wrote this note.

同治三年甲子三月望日，燈下讀過。萬柳池邊旅人唐翰題記。

Tang Hanti was a distinguished painter and bibliophile from Jiaxing 嘉興 (modern Jiaxing, Zhejiang).²⁶⁰ His hand-written postscript further indicates that this manuscript may have been circulated among the bibliophiles in the south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River.

One additional manuscript of Gui Dong was kept in the Tower of Writing Lyrics (*Xieyun lou* 寫韻樓), the studio of Qing poet Wu Qiongjian 吳瓊仙 (1768–1803) in

²⁵⁵ Qian Zeng, *Yeshi yuan shumu*, in *Haiwang chun guji shumu tiba congkan*, 1.113–197.

²⁵⁶ Qian Zeng, *Shugu tang cangshumu*, in *Haiwang chun guji shumu tiba congkan*, 1.69–110.

²⁵⁷ Qian Zeng, *Dushu minqiu ji*, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 11.99.

²⁵⁸ The manuscript has a collector's seal from the Blessing Space of Little Langhuan. See *Gui Dong Hu* (Xiao Langhuan fudi edition, 1844), 64.

²⁵⁹ *Gui Dong Hu*, 64.

²⁶⁰ For Tang Hanti, see Fan Fengshu, *Zhongguo sijia cangshu shi*, 306.

Wujiang 吳江 (modern Wujiang, Jiangsu)..²⁶¹ This manuscript also includes Qian Fu's postscript as well as a postscript written by Zhou Qingcheng 周慶承 (fl.1809) in the 12th year of the Jiaqing 嘉慶 reign (1807).²⁶² In this postscript, Zhou Qingcheng remarks:²⁶³

The pity is that the original copy has a great many omissions and hiatuses. It is inappropriate to randomly fill up [these spaces]. For those parts that could be added and changed, I pruned them. [Then] I returned the manuscript to the Tower of Writing Lyrics to wait for a [future] woodblock printing. The name of the compiler [of *Gui Dong*] had been lost. Fortunately, since there are words of *xiao* 孝 [Xiaozong] and *guang* 光 [Guangzong], we know that it is a book written during the Southern Song Dynasty.

惜原本多闕失，不可妄補，意之所可增易者，塗乙之。歸於寫韻樓以待錄。撰者失其名，幸有孝光字，知為南宋人書。

Here, as we have seen in the above passage, there are many omissions in the manuscript of the Tower of Writing Lyrics. Even though this manuscript is already lost, it is available through the 1916 printed edition by the Tower of Conserving Fragrance (*Hanfen lou* 涵芬樓), a branch of the Commercial Press (*Shangwu yinshu guan* 商務印

²⁶¹ Wu Qiongqian was one of Yuan Mei's female students in the Garden of Contentment (*Sui Yuan nü dizi* 隨園女弟子). For Wu Qiongqian and the Tower of Writing Lyrics, see Zhou Xuegen 周雪根, *Qingdai Wujiang shige yanjiu* 清代吳江詩歌研究 (Ph.D. Diss. Suzhou daxue, 2010), 221–27. For her association with Yuan Mei, see Huang Yiguan 黃儀冠, “Yuanlin kongjian yu nüxing shuxie – lun Qing dai Suiyuan yu Yuan Mei nü dizi de shige chuanguo” 園林空間與女性書寫—論清代隨園與袁枚女弟子的詩歌創作, in *Di liu jie Zhongguo shixue huiyi lunwen ji* 第六屆中國詩學會議論文集, edited by Guoli Zhanghua shifan daxue guowenxi 國立彰化師範大學國文系 (Taipei: Wanjuan lou, 2002), 290–91.

²⁶² Zhou Qingcheng, style name Jiqian 繼千, was a State Student (*jiansheng* 監生) and calligrapher from Qiantang 錢塘. For Zhou Qingcheng, see the entry on Zhou Qingcheng in *Huang Qing shushi* 皇清書史 (History of Calligraphy from the Imperial Qing Dynasty), ed. Li Fang 李放 (1884–1924), in *Qingdai Zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985), series 84, 21.136.

²⁶³ See Sun Yuxiu collated, *Gui Dong Hu* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1916), 13.

書館) in Shanghai. Sun Yuxiu 孫毓修 (1871–1922), an editor of the Commercial Press, proofread this edition of *Gui Dong Hu* and wrote a postscript, in which he remarks:²⁶⁴

The 12th *ji* of *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* includes a five *juan* *Gui Dong*, which has a great many mistakes and hiatuses, yet other editions could help to correct it. The Tower of Conserving Fragrance stored a manuscript from the Tower of Writing Lyrics. The book is entitled *Gui Dong Hu*, which is different from the edition printed by Bao [Tingbo]. [The titles of the two editions] are already different. Comparing the two editions, then [I believe that] the manuscript edition prevails. The manuscript and the printed edition both have a postscript written by Qian Fu of Lin'an, who lived in the Taiding reign of the Yuan Dynasty. It can be known that the two editions came from the same source. The differences [between the two editions] are, one is entitled *Gui Dong*, one is entitled *Gui Dong Hu*.

《知不足齋叢書》第十二集載《鬼董》五卷，偽闕極多，然他本可以是正也。涵芬樓藏寫韻樓抄本，其書名題《鬼董狐》，與鮑刻不同，固已異之矣。取之相校，則鈔本為勝。鈔刻並有元泰定時人臨安錢孚跋，知其同出一源，所異者，一名《鬼董》，一名《鬼董狐》耳。

One important point Sun's postscript makes is that both the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition and the Tower of Conserving Fragrance edition of *Gui Dong* are based on the same source, since both include Qian Fu's postscript. And yet if we compare the three editions, we can see that some characters in the Tower of Conserving Fragrance edition of *Gui Dong* are different from the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition and the Qing manuscript with Zhang Rongjing's postscript. For example, in "Mou Ying" of the first *juan*, in the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition, it reads:²⁶⁵

In a moment, the blinding wind suddenly rose in the neighbor's household. The house was completely black.

須臾，鄰家飄風驟起，一宅俱黑色。

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 14.

²⁶⁵ *Gui Dong*, in *Zhibuzu zhai congshu*, 1. 2a.

In the edition of the Tower of Conserving Fragrance, it reads:²⁶⁶

In a moment, the blinding wind suddenly rose in the neighbor's household. The room was completely black.

須臾，鄰家飄風驟起，一室俱黑色。

In the Qing manuscript, it reads:²⁶⁷

In a moment, the blinding wind suddenly rose in the neighbor's household. The color was entirely black.

須臾，鄰家飄風驟起，一色俱黑色。

Here, as we have seen in this example, besides the titles, the main difference between these three editions of *Gui Dong* lies only in terms of minor variations²⁶⁸ which may have emerged during the transmission and transcription process. Yet the volume numbers, account numbers, and Qian Fu's postscript are the same for all three editions.

For the later printed editions, *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Supplement to the Complete Books in the Four Treasuries),²⁶⁹ *Longwei mishu* 龍威秘書 (Secret Books of the Dragon's Might),²⁷⁰ *Shuoku* 說庫 (Treasury of Stories),²⁷¹ and *Congshu jicheng*

²⁶⁶ *Gui Dong*, in *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀 (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1962), series 3, vol. 2.1316.

²⁶⁷ *Gui Dong Hu* (Xiao Langhuan fudi edition, 1844), 1. 2b.

²⁶⁸ Lu Guang-Ruei 陸光瑞 lists a few examples of the different characters in the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition and the Tower of Conserving Fragrance edition in his study. See Lu Guang-Ruei, "Nan Song zhiguai biji xiaoshuo yanjiu" 南宋志怪筆記小說研究 (MA thesis, Zhongguo wenhua daxue, 2011), 13–14.

²⁶⁹ See *Gui Dong*, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu, 1984).

²⁷⁰ See *Gui Dong*, in Ma Junliang 馬俊良 (fl. 1796), ed., *Longwei mishu* (Shide tang 世德堂, 1796), *wu*.

²⁷¹ The edition of *Gui Dong* in *Shuoku* includes Qian Fu and Bao Tingbo's postscripts. See *Gui Dong*, in Wang Wenru 王文濡 (1867–1935), ed., *Shuoku* (First printed 1915. Reprinted. Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1963), 2. 810–24.

chu bian 叢書集成初編 (A First Series of the Collectanea of the Completed Collection)²⁷² all adopt the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition of *Gui Dong*; *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀 (A Compendium of *Biji* and *Xiaoshuo*)²⁷³ uses the edition of the Tower of Conserving Fragrance. All above editions include the postscript written by Qian Fu.

“Zhou Bao”: the Vicissitudes of a Merchant in the Southern Song Lin’an

As discussed above, no matter through his academic legibility or being an affinal kin member of the officeholders such as Judicial Commissioner Lu, the author of *Gui Dong* is most likely a member of the local elite class in the adjacent areas of Lin’an. Hence, the text allows us to study how the region is represented in the retellings of a local elite member. By elucidating the social, spatial and historical meanings of “Zhou Bao” (Zhou Bao 周寶) in *Gui Dong*, this chapter sheds some lights on the study of the cultural landscape and social milieu of the Southern Song Lin’an as well as the adjacent areas.

The account of Zhou Bao was an intriguing story of the vicissitudes of a Southern Song merchant. It reads:²⁷⁴

The “fourteen-strings” was a northern foreign musical instrument that had not existed in old days the south of the Yangtze River. During the reign of Chunxi (1174–1189), Zhou Bao, a carpenter, traded things at Anfeng chang (modern Anfeng, in Dongtai County, Jiangsu) as a small peddler. He got the method of making [the ‘fourteen string’] at the enemy occupied territory and presented it to

²⁷² See *Gui Dong*, in *Congshu jicheng chu bian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991).

²⁷³ See *Gui Dong*, in *Biji xiaoshuo daguan*.

²⁷⁴ *Gui Dong*, 5.2a–2b.

the eunuchs. Consequently, this music instrument really became popular [in the south]. Bao was a quick thinker, and had long been a merchant in Huai (modern Anhui) and he mostly came into contact with gangs of bandits and strong men. When he returned to the south, he worked for the Attendant Lin of the Imperial Dispensary,²⁷⁵ who trusted him as a confidant.

In the autumn of the fourteenth year of the Chunxi reign (1187), another eunuch introduced a prognosticator²⁷⁶ Lin took his longtime acquaintances and put him through several tests and matching his words and the outcome he predicted were as easy as pointing to the palm of his hand. [The prognosticator] reached Zhou Bao and said, “This man will be a prisoner. In less than a year, he will certainly be sentenced to death.” Attendant Lin of the Imperial Dispensary believed [the words of the prognosticator] and called Bao to come, telling him: “I go in and out of the forbidden city. In all matters, I should be fearful and cautious. Should something unfortunate strike, I would prefer not to be implicated. You go back for a time to your old livelihood, and come back after a few years. Bao left with bitter regrets. Having been idle for such a long time, he could not make himself work again and he quickly became impoverished. Zhou Bao circled the West Lake in melancholy. When he passed by Mount Chi, Zhou Bao saw a military man trying to redeem his clothes from a pawnshop, but needed over ten strings of coins. [The military man] was short six coins, but the owner of the pawnshop demanded [the money]. They were cursing each other out.

Bao tried to solve the dispute for the military man. Looking inside his case, there were only five coins left. [Zhou Bao] paid the money for the military man, but the shop owner still demanded that one more coin. Bao then also grew resentful and angry. People on the sides sighed and were surprised, saying, “He is the so-called ‘Min Yilang [Mr. Has to Have the Last One]’!” That man acquired wealth by unwholesome means and cruelly exploited a region. How people wish they could make mince meat out of him! Bao cried out involuntarily and said: “If this man lived on the Huai River, some brave would have smashed him into a powder already! People in Zhe are too cowardly to allow some evil fellow like this to reach this point!” On the side, someone said: “How can you know that there are no braves here?”

²⁷⁵ Here the title “Imperial Medicine” (*Yuyao* 御藥) means that Lin served in the “Imperial Dispensary” (*Yuyao yuan* 御藥院), whose primary purpose was to provide medicine for the emperor. In the Song Dynasty, the Imperial Dispensary was a eunuch agency full of powerful palace attendants. See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Taipei: Nantian shuju, 1995), 595.

²⁷⁶ I suggest that the term *shuzhe* 術者 indicates a prognosticator in the Song context. For example, in “The Memorial for the Tomb in Shuanggang” (Shuanggang qianbiao 瀧岡阡表), Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) mentions, “The prognosticator said that my Year Star (Jupiter) travelled to *wu* and then I am about to die” (術者謂我歲行在戊，將死). See “The Memorial for the Tomb in Shuanggang” in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 25. 393.

十四弦，胡樂也，江南舊無之。淳熙間，木工周寶以小商販易安豐場，得製於敵中，始以獻群閹，遂盛行。寶有巧思，久商於淮，多與群盜壯士相識。後歸事閹尹林禦藥，委以腹心。淳熙十四年秋，他閹介術者來，林禦藥以親舊，廝役命雜試之，言驗如指掌。至周寶，曰：“此囚也，不逾歲當以刑死。”林禦藥信之，呼寶來，語之曰：“我出入禁省，事當畏謹，設不幸而中，寧不累我。汝姑歸治素業，遲歲月複來。”寶含恨去。久佚不能復勞，又驟貧，鬱鬱繞西湖而行。過赤山，見軍人取質衣於庫，為緡錢十餘，所欠者六錢而肆主必欲得之，相詬罵。寶為之解紛，視篋中才餘五錢，為代償，而主者又必欲得一錢。寶亦大恨怒。傍人相與歎訝，曰：“此所謂閹一郎也！”其人以不誼致富，虐取一方，人恨不膾其肉，寶失聲曰：“使在淮上，為壯士所齷粉久矣！浙民懦，容養惡奴至此！”傍有人曰：“寧知此無壯士？”

From the beginning of this account, we see a protagonist who has entirely different background and values than the literati protagonists in many previous tales. The Southern Song government established several “frontiers markets” (*quechang* 榷場) as the only commercial places for the trade between the Southern Song domain and the Jurchen domain.²⁷⁷ In *Jiyanan yilai chaoye zaji* 建炎以來朝野雜記 (Miscellaneous Records of the Important Events Since the Jiyanan Reign), it writes:²⁷⁸ “From the time peace was reached in the Shaoxing reign, [the Southern Song court] began to established frontiers markets.....Later, the court also established markets in Guangzhou, Zaoyang and the Huayan town in Anfeng military prefecture” (自紹興通和後，始置榷場.....其後又置場於光州，棗陽，安豐軍花厭鎮).

²⁷⁷ For a discussion of the frontier markets between the two domains, see Chan Hok-Iam, *Jin Song shi luncong* 金宋史論叢 (Hongkong: Chinese University Press, 2003), 87–90.

²⁷⁸ Li Xinchuan comp., *Jiyanan yilai chaoye zaji*, in *Tang Song shiliao biji congkan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), *Jia*: 20. 471.

Among the frontier markets, the Anfeng military prefecture frontier market was located on the bank of the Huai River 淮河. As a former carpenter from the district of Huai 淮 (modern Anhui), Zhou Bao was one of the merchants who sought fortune by trading with the enemy in Anfeng. From the Jurchen occupied territory, he obtained the foreign music instrument and used it to approach the eunuchs. His association with the bandits of Huai is a hint foreshadowing their later crime in the story. After Zhou Bao moved to the city of Hangzhou, he worked for the powerful eunuch, Attendant Lin of the Imperial Dispensary. Because of the prediction of a prognosticator, Zhou Bao is expelled by Attendant Lin of the Imperial Dispensary and begins to live as an idler near the West Lake.

Just as Ronald Egan suggests, the city gathered people together, connecting them closely as a society. Though the gaps between different social hierarchies are not removed in urbanization, the physical distances between people shortened—a trait unique to cities in imperial China. Moreover, the denseness of the city and the coexistence of different social classes remain largely uncelebrated in narratives until the Song Dynasty.²⁷⁹ Besides perigraphy such as *Dongjing meng Hua lu*, such celebration is also visible in the narratives of Song capitals. In the above account of “Zhou Bao,” readers can hear a sequence of voices of different people with a variety of identities: the eunuch who is worried about what could happen in the imperial palace; the prognosticator who has a miraculous ability to see the future; commoners like Zhou Bao who have arrived

²⁷⁹ Egan, “Songdai wenxian zhong de ducheng mianmian guan,” 106.

from rural areas to seek their fortunes; the impoverished soldier; the wicked and greedy owner of the pawnshops and terrified onlookers.

The incident of Zhou Bao in the West Lake represents a typical experience of the outsiders in the metrocapital, lost and puzzled. As a carpenter and merchant from the rural region outside of the city, Zhou Bao works hard to approach the class of the privileged by following a eunuch, but the appearance of the prognosticator implies that the fate of Zhou Bao has already been determined. As citizens of the metrocapital, Attendant Lin of the Imperial Dispensary and the onlookers protect only their personal interests above others. The efforts of Zhou Bao, no matter how great, only prove unavailing, leaving him to eventually become a city idler roaming West Lake. The soldier, a representative of military power deserving of respect, turns out to be underprivileged and downtrodden by the pawnshop owner, Mr. Has to Have the Last One. As Twitchett observes, the renovations in the medieval Chinese cities were “accompanied by a growth in the numbers, wealth, and power of merchants; and by a softening of social and official attitudes disparaging trade and the merchant class,”²⁸⁰ the fact that Mr. Has to Have the Last One has the courage to humiliate a soldier in public also suggests that the status of the merchant class had changed in a consumer society such as Hangzhou. The character of Mr. Has to Have the Last One provides the readers with an unprecedented image in the narratives of Hangzhou: a figure who lacks humanity and shows an excessive obsession with wealth. Zhou Bao’s angry accusation towards the local onlookers for not acting against Mr. Has to Have the Last One reflects a conflict between the different values of an outsider and the metrocapital’s citizens. Moreover, the

²⁸⁰ Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China*, 23.

passage collectively casts the people of Zhe as cowards, accusing them of easily yielding to threats.

Chishan 赤山 was located 10 *li* outside the city of Lin'an, to the southwest side of the West Lake.²⁸¹ As Skinner points out, one of the five significant features of the Medieval Urban Evolution, lies in “the rapid expansion of particular walled cities and the growth of commercial suburbs outside their gates.”²⁸² Furthermore, according to a study by Ning Xin 寧欣, throughout the transition from the Tang dynasty to the Song dynasty, the capital city's limited capacity of accommodating residents compels the development of suburban areas for a continuous growth. The gradually stronger economical functionality of the outlying suburbs of the capital city were especially apparent during the Northern and the Southern Song dynasties.²⁸³ Alongside the presence of a pawnshop outside of the city exemplifying the expansion of the commercial space of Lin'an during the Southern Song, there were numerous flourishing small towns in the suburban area of Lin'an. In *Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝 (Splendid Scenery of the Capital), it remarks:²⁸⁴

The three sides of the city, the south, the west, and the east, all [extended for] dozens of *li*, were densely populated. [One] cannot walk through the markets, wards, and alleys, even in multiple days. All of them are comparable to small prefectures in other Circuits, which endorses the prosperousness of the temporary capital.

²⁸¹ In *Chunyou Lin'an zhi*, it remarks: “Chishan was located outside of Qianhu Gate” (赤山，在錢湖門外). See *Chunyou Lin'an zhi*, 8. 3301b.

²⁸² Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China*, 23.

²⁸³ Ning Xin, “You Tang ru Song cheng guan qu de jingji gongneng jiqi bianqian” 由唐入宋城關區的經濟功能及其變遷, *Zhongguo jingji shi yanjiu* 中國經濟史研究, no. 3 (2002): 122–24.

²⁸⁴ Guanpu naide weng 灌圃耐得翁 (the Codger Who Irrigates the Garden), *Ducheng ji sheng*, in *Dongjing meng Hua lu (wai si zhong)*, 100.

城之南西北三處，各數十里，人煙生聚，市井坊陌，數日經行不盡。各可比外路一小小州郡，足見行都繁盛。

Apparently, the suburban areas, equally developed commercial-wise, made Mr. Has to Have the Last One a wealthy merchant even his pawn shop was located in the Chishan, outside of the city wall. To a substantial extent, the thrive of the outlying suburbs was largely attributed to the frequent visits of a great population of temporary residents coming from other regions,²⁸⁵ just as Zhou Bao.

In the above passage, the image of West Lake is drastically different from that in the Northern Song narratives. Similar to a literatus frustrated in his political career, Zhou Bao also roams around the West Lake and nearby districts to soothe his depression. But the author no longer limns picturesque natural scenery, but rather carefully records a scene of the quarrel of residents living at the very bottom of the social hierarchy. Obviously, the West Lake of “Zhou Bao” is no longer a space for romantic stories of the protagonists, nor is it a land governed by unseen divine power. On the contrary, the author focuses on commercial spaces such as the pawnshop. This region has become a place where city dwellers wander aimlessly or even quarrel and fight against each other. In such a public space, what grasps the reader’s attention is the encounter of people from various social classes and their conflicts. The actions and behaviors of protagonists in this account all remind us that the West Lake in this account was already an extension of Lin’an’s urban space with a mundane atmosphere devoid of its previous associations with the picturesque and divine. It reads:²⁸⁶

²⁸⁵ Ning Xin, “You Tang ru Song cheng guan qu de jinji gongneng jiqi bianqian,” 123.

²⁸⁶ *Gui Dong*, 5.2b–3b.

What was referred here was Li Sheng, who was good at equestrian and archery, being called as “Flag Li” in the army. These days, Li Sheng resided in the residence of Wu Xi, a Supreme Commandant of the Palace Command Department, teaching their sons riding horses and shooting arrows. [One day], when Zhou Bao and Li Sheng were drinking, Li Sheng told Zhou Bao: “As we shouldn’t tolerate the Min family, why don’t you go back to the Huai river to unite the heroic men to rob the wealth of the Min family?” Once hearing this, Zhou Bao became excited and headed north instantly in the same day. He passed the Yangtze river, arrived in Lu Zhou via Jiankang, found Lu Cai, and told him the situation. After hearing [Zhou Bao’s plan], Lu Cai said: “As it has to be done in the imperial city, is it achievable?” Zhou Bao would not stop to persistently explaining [that the plan was practicable]. Lu Cai pondered that as Zhou Bao was full of hatred and angry; if the scheme failed, he would also be affected. Thus, Lu Cai gave [Zhou Bao] twenty pieces of certificates,²⁸⁷ nicely advised: “My 24th Brother, it is better to keep doing the business about herbal medicine. Moreover, you should go to see Uncle Lin and inquire about the sources of the medicine.”

The so-called Uncle Lin was Lin Qing in the Anfeng Chang, whose home was a place for frequent gatherings of the outlaws. In fact, Lu Cai forwarded Zhou Bao to Lin Qing without admitting his intention explicitly. Zhou Bao arrived at An Feng and told the matter to Lin Qing. Lin Qing said: “Here, we have Peng Ba, Miu Xingguo, and Wang Xiaozhong. All of them are valiant fighters. They haven’t been to the north for a long time, so they became emaciated and had nothing to rely on. I could take them here to go with you.” Afterwards, Lin Qing called the three people. All of the three said: “This plan cannot be successful unless Mr. Gu San can participate. We are folks with solely strength, without any good ideas.”

After two days, Gu Xun was found from the Northern Pond of Lu Zhou. Gu Xun said: “Robbing in thousands of *li* away was extremely difficult to succeed. Moreover, being inside the capital city, it is just like visiting a cave of tigers, not only we cannot attain the cubs, but will definitely be torn apart in the mouths of the tigers.” The others strongly persuaded him to participate and Gu Xun determinedly refused. Xingguo and Xiaozhong were deeply annoyed, who took out their blades and said: “In the early days, we were sworn brothers, vowed to live and die together. After being trapped here for a long time, this is such a good opportunity that could improve our situation in life. But you, as our elder brother, refused to participate. Is there still any bonding for our brotherhood? We would like to die in front of you, our elder brother, and splash our blood on your clothes!” Seeing this, Gu Xun had no alternative but to reply: “Is it inside the city or outside?” Zhou Bao said: “It’s outside of the city wall.” Gu Xun followed: “How far is it from the city?” Zhou Bao said: “It’s about ten *li* (approx. 7 km).”

²⁸⁷ Here *quan* 券 (tickets) is likely to be *quanji* 券給 (certificates for living allowance), which was a type of certificate for the living allowance for the soldiers in the Song army.

Gu Xun asked: “I heard that there located the Temporary Encoffining Palace²⁸⁸ in Chishan. How far is it between the Temporary Encoffining Palace and the Min mansion?” Zhou Bao said: “It’s also about ten *li*.” Gu Xun said: “It’s indeed true. You should also write a pledge.” Zhou Bao wrote a pledge immediately. Afterwards, all the people marched south together.

Xun, Xingguo, and Xiaozhong took a boat from Jing Kou.²⁸⁹ Zhou Bao, Ling Qing, and Peng Ba traveled over land through Jiankang and Xuan Cheng.²⁹⁰ They met again in the Northern Pass [of Lin’an]. Previously, when Zhou Bao was a merchant for herbal medicines, he often rented Gu Ba’s boat, giving him additional fees in exchange of his help for the evasion of taxation. At that time, merchants and travelers mingled and crowded [in Lin’an], Gu Ba did not notice anything strange. This time, [Zhou Bao] hired Gu Ba’s boat again and told him: “I am going to the Southern Huai for business regarding herbal medicines with a few drapers. We are not planning to leave during the day. At midnight, all of us will gather at the boat. Once I arrive, we will depart immediately, leaving the region of Lin’an. I’ll double the payment for your boat.” Gu Ba agreed, and moored the boat near the New bridge, waiting for them.

蓋所謂李勝。勝善騎射，軍中號“李旗兒”，方客殿司統製吳曦家，教其子弟弓馬。相率草飲，勝謂寶：“此家不可容，君盍往淮澚結壯士掠之。”寶心躍如。即日行。渡江自建康至廬，見陸才告之故。才曰：“此輦轂下也，其可哉？”寶論說不已。才計寶恨怒，恐他日敗必污己，乃以二十券與之，好謂曰：“二十四郎獨可販藥耳，然當往見林姑丈，問藥所自。”林姑丈者，安豐林青也，素為盜囊。才實賣寶於青，而不肯明言之。寶至安豐，以事語青，青曰：“此有彭八、繆興國、王孝忠，皆健兒也。久不過北界，困悴無繆，我為君率之以行。”既召之，三人皆曰：“非古三官人莫能集事！我一夫耳，無以為也。”又兩日，得古訓於北廬塘。訓曰：“千里行劫，勢無達理；又在京輦，真探虎穴，虎子不得，必碎於虎口矣！”眾強之，訓拒益堅。興國與孝忠怒拔刀，曰：“始約為兄弟，死生以之。今困於此，幸有機便，待此甦旦暮，兄復拒之，寧有兄弟情耶？我將自殺，以血濺兄長衣矣！”訓迫不得已，乃曰：“城內乎？城外乎？”寶曰：“城外也。”“去城幾何？”曰：“十里。”訓曰：“我聞赤山有攢宮，去此幾裏乎？”曰：“亦十里。”“果爾，當以狀來。”寶書付之，乃皆南。訓與興國、孝忠自京口舟行，寶、林青、彭八自建康，宣城陸行，會於北關。寶先販藥時，嘗倩顧八船往來，多與之貲，使匿稅，又時商客雜沓，顧八不以為怪也。至是，亦用

²⁸⁸ In Southern Song, the imperial mausoleum were called *cuan'gong* 攢宮 (Temporary Encoffining Palace, while awaiting later burial in the North).

²⁸⁹ Modern Zhenjiang, Jiangsu.

²⁹⁰ Modern Xuancheng, Anhui.

之，謂曰：“我與數布客欲偕往淮南市藥，不欲晝行，夜分當集於舟。俟我來，即疾出臨安界，必倍酬汝。”顧艤舟新橋以待。

The route Zhou Bao took could be summarized as follows: Huai (Anfeng chang)—Lin'an—Jiankang—Lu Zhou²⁹¹—Anfeng chang—Jiankang—Xuancheng—Yuhang Water Gate—Chishan (The house of Mr. Has to Have the Last One). The reason why Zhou Bao and other bandits separated to two groups until finally meeting again in Lin'an was mostly likely to avoid the investigation of checkpoints along the routes and the attention of other travelers. The two routes from the Huai District to Lin'an were also noteworthy: one from the Jingkou along the river in a boat; another from Jiankang to Lin'an through Xuancheng on land. The two routes of their travel reveal the increasingly importance of the water transport during the Southern Song dynasty, which became comparable to conveyance on land.²⁹²

The city of Lin'an during the Southern Song had five water gates: the South Water Gate 南水門, the North Water Gate 北水門, the Bao'an Water Gate 保安水門, Tianzong Water Gate 天宗水門, and the Yuhang Water Gate 餘杭水門.²⁹³ In *Meng liang lu*, it remarks:²⁹⁴

There were three gates on the north side of the city: Tianzong Water Gate; Yuhang Water Water; Yuhang Gate, which had a former name of “the Northern Pass.” Probably, it was named since the North Gate connected to the West of Zhe,

²⁹¹ Modern Hefei, Anhui.

²⁹² As Mark Elvin suggests, the growth of river and canal transport served as a great economic momentum during Song Dynasty. See Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), 139.

²⁹³ *Chunyou Lin'an zhi*, 5.3259a. See Fig. 4.

²⁹⁴ *Meng liang lu*, 7.183.

Suzhou, Huzhou, Changzhou, Xiuzhou, as well as all the Circuits of the Yangtze River and the Huai River. Both the land and water ways were connected here.

城北門者三：曰天宗水門；曰餘杭水門；曰餘杭門，舊名“北關”是也。蓋北門浙西，蘇，湖，常，秀，直至江淮諸道，水陸俱通。

Among the five, Tianzong Water Gate and the Yuhang Water Gate connected the canals inside and outside of the city, harboring many boats.²⁹⁵ The Northern Pass (Beiguan 北關) of Lin'an where the two groups of people united was the popular name of the Yuhang Gate, which was located near the Yuhang Water Gate.²⁹⁶

As Shiba Yoshinobu pointed out in his research regarding the commercial transportation circle in the Southern Song Lin'an, Lin'an was one of the few main markets gathering and dispatching herbal medicines and spices throughout the country. Consequently, a transportation circle of medicines and spices was formed spreading out from Lin'an. Being light-weighted and in high demand, many merchants made a living by selling them. As the water transport was a cheap option, the Song merchants often resort such a means to transport goods like the herbal medicines.²⁹⁷ In this story, Zhou Bao was, apparently, once one of those herbal medicine merchants.

As there were a great number of merchants arriving and departing, the need in water transport fostered a flourishing service business for people like Gu Ba who operated boats mainly for merchants to hire. The arrangement of Zhou Bao indicated that

²⁹⁵ According to *Ducheng jisheng*, “Inside the Water Gate of the Northern Pass, there were dozens of *li* of water, which was called the Baiyang Lake” (北關水門內有水數十里，曰白洋湖). See *Ducheng jisheng*, 100.

²⁹⁶ See Fig. 4. In *Chunyou Lin'an zhi*, it was also called the Northern Pass Water Gate 北關水門. See *Chunyou Lin'an zhi*, 7. 1284b.

²⁹⁷ Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 336.

the Northern Pass could no longer enforce strict checks due to the great number of the mingled travelers and merchants, which allowed the existence of tax fraud, as Zhou Bao had once done. As a former merchant, Zhou Bao was acquainted with the means to swiftly leave Lin'an throughout a fast-private boat at night, bypassing the check of Northern Pass, which gave them an escaping plan after the robbery. It reads:²⁹⁸

In that day, it was the beginning of the twelfth month, with gusts and hails. Gu Xun first asked Zhou Bao to hit the Gate of the Military Inspectorates at the West of Chishan, shouting: "The Court of Judicial Review is arresting people under a secret order. You can command ten soldiers to wait at the gate. Do not move at will. Once the task is finished, we will need your assistance to escort us to go into the city." Gu Xun, with a bow on his back and four arrows, stood in front of the door of the Min mansion. Zhou Bao used an ax to smash the door-leas and hurried inside. At this moment, Gu Xun shot arrows into neighbors' doors, making loud sounds, and said: "We are soldiers of the Palace Command Department. We cannot tolerate the cruel treatment of the Supreme Commandants, and planned to escape towards the East of Zhe. As we don't have any money or food, we'd like to borrow some from the Min's. As this is not a business with the you neighbors, if any [of you] stubbornly rise or shout aloud, there is no mercy with our blades." The folks in Chishan had heard many stories about the cruel and harsh rulings of the Supreme Commandants. [Once they heard what Gu Xun said], they speculated this was a military rebellion. Being weak to even defend themselves and often despising the Min family, all the neighbors kept their doors closed and remained inside. Previously, Gu Xun asked everyone to pledge an oath of no killing and no raping women. When they entered the house, Lin Qing wrapped Mr. Has to Have the Last One to a wooden table and put the blade to his neck, intending to kill him more than once, which was strongly rejected each time by Gu Xun. The wife of Mr. Has to Have the Last One was an adopted daughter of the eunuch, famous for her beauty. Zhou Bao wanted to rape her. Gu Xun exploded about this, took his blade out and threatened to kill Zhou Bao, who retreated out of fear. Mr. Has to Have the Last One was appalled as a stunned and drunk person.

At dawn, the soldiers on patrol noticed the broken door-leafs [of the Min mansion] and shouted for the servants of Min's. They noted that the servants were tied under the hearth and family members were locked upstairs, all in shock, shaking and speechless. The soldiers released them and reported [the incident] to the Lin'an Prefecture. Governor of the Prefecture assigned the task to a Commissioner named Zhu Zhiqing. Zhu Zhiqing informed the case to his subordinates. Controller-general Hang Shiheng said: "[Among] the people in the

²⁹⁸ *Gui Dong*, 5.3b-4a.

south who steal like rats and dogs, none doesn't rape or kill. [As no one was killed or raped,] this crime must be the deed of those from the Huai River." When Zhu Zhiqing investigated the remains of the criminals, he found half of a match made of thin bamboo [sticks] cut by axes. Zhiqing put the match in a box and took it with him while traveling. While the Governor of the Prefecture was in haste with the case, Zhu Zhiqing was terrified and clueless.

After more than one month, his relative, Su Sheng, invited him for a drink in the city and asked him to take the matches out to have a look. [Once Su Sheng saw it], Su Sheng said: "A while ago, when I was in a paper shop, I saw that Zhou Bao, who was buying paper money, left a bundle of thin bamboo [sticks] that was similar to such thing. At the moment, I still kept it." While they were speaking, Zhiqing assigned someone to fetch [the left matches], which, upon examination, were the same [as what Zhu Zhiqing had]. As Zhu Zhiqing already knew that Zhou Bao's mother lived in the house of a family who sold bamboo combs near the Yan Bridge,²⁹⁹ he acted as a person from the Attendant Lin of the Imperial Dispensary and visited. [Zhou Bao's] mother said that she had some errands to run and left. Zhu Zhiqing waited upstairs. After a period of time for about one meal, [Zhou Bao's] mother returned. Zhu Zhiqing grabbed her and asked: "Where is Zhou Bao?" His mother said: "[He] went to the home of Zhou Laiping in Linping yesterday and would probably return tomorrow." In fact, Zhou Bao and Zhou Laiji were distant relatives. As Zhou Jilai had a wedding at home, so Zhou Bao went there. Zhou Bao was staying in the Chen Wine House outside of the Wulin Gate.

After Zhu Zhiqing discussed with his subordinates, they went to Linping straightaway to arrest Zhou Bao. When they arrived in a place twenty *li* (approx. 14 km) [from Linping], they met Zhou Bao, who was on his way back, by chance, arrested him and presented him the Prefecture. After numerous rounds of interrogations with flogs, Zhou Bao began to tell the happenings. Thus, [the officials] sent Zhou Bao to the jail and dispatched Zhu Zhiqing and his kind to Anfeng to arrest the other marauders. After one month, Peng Ba, Xingguo, Xiaozhong were all arrested. Once the case is concluded, Zhou Bao and others were all executed in public. It would be mentioned that what had been said by the necromancer was very ingenious and precise. For the whole case, Gu Xun was the only one who successfully escaped, never being arrested.

時十二月初，天大風雪，古訓先使寶扣赤山城西巡檢寨門，呼之曰：“大理寺有所捕，事甚密，可以十卒待於門，不得妄出。事畢當呼爾曹衛送入城。”訓臂弓挾四矢，立閔氏門。寶以斧挾扉而入，訓射著鄰戶上使有聲，曰：“我步軍司人也，一軍苦統製虐，相率叛去，欲往浙東，無裹糧，丐於

²⁹⁹ The region between the Yan Bridge where Zhou Bao's mother lived in the north to the Qingleng Bridge in the south was one of the economic centers of Lin'an in the Southern Song. Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 352.

閔氏，事不預君，若有強起或喧呼者，我必盡屠之。”赤山之人素聞其統製虐，疑必軍變，勢不可敵；又素惡閔，皆閉戶無出者。訓始與眾誓：毋殺人、毋奸污女婦。既而，林青縛閔生於木幾上，寘刀其頸，累欲殺之，訓苦禁乃免。閔妻中官養女，素號有色，寶欲淫之。訓怒，拔刀將斬寶，寶憚訓而退。閔驚懼如癡醉人。天將明，邏者見門扉不完，呼其僕，則僕繫於灶下，家人皆扃閉樓上，方股栗不能言，旋解縛言於府。府以付使臣朱直卿。直卿與其儕言之，總轄杭世亨曰：“江南鼠偷，皆無禮淫殺，此必淮人也！”直卿視盜所遺，得斧刃細竹縛為火燧者半枚，置篋中行以自隨。尹督之急，直卿惶惑無計。月餘，姻家蘇生邀與市飲，請出其物觀之，因曰：“前往某家紙鋪中見周寶買寓錢，遺細竹一束，正此類耶！今猶收得之。”命取諸其家，視燧所遺，無異也。直卿固知寶有母寓鹽橋賣竹篋人家，偽為林禦藥人往訪之，母以出告。上樓俟，飯頃，母歸而執之，曰：“寶安在？”曰：“寶昨過臨平訪周來吉，計明旦當還邸。”蓋周與寶有外親，周有姻會，故寶過之，而寶之邸在武林門外之陳酒家也。直卿與其儕商略，即之臨平捕寶。未至二十里餘，寶適旋，縛以獻府，拷訊再三，始述其事。於是械寶於獄，遣直卿輩往安豐捕諸寇。閱月，而彭八、興國、孝忠皆就縛，既而寶等咸論棄市。術者之言，可謂精而審矣。獨古訓逸去，終莫能得。

Due to the large population in Lin'an and the adjacent region during the Southern Song, more residential buildings were constructed to provide a sufficient amount of housing by using the vertical space. As *Meng liang lu* remarks, "The residents' houses were tall and dense; all the houses embraced each other and their eaves were connected. There was not one inch space left in between" (民居屋宇高森，接棟連檐，寸尺無空).³⁰⁰ The fact that the houses were tightly connected, allowing people to easily hear about the sound from neighbors. Here, Gu Xun skillfully utilized two possible chaotic conflicts in the Lin'an society. First, as I discussed in Chapter 2, as Lin'an was chaotic with many outlaws, Gu Xun told the Military Inspectorates that they were here to arrest people under an order from the Court of Judicial Review. Moreover, it could be inferred that the troops garrisoned at Lin'an was, on the one hand, internally unstable, and, on the

³⁰⁰ *Meng liang lu*, 10. 215.

one hand, still being respected and feared by the local residents. By disguising the action under the two possible chaotic situations, Gu Xun successfully planned and completed the robbery. Without leveraging the potential and acting under the name of the soldiers of the Palace Command Department to frighten the neighbors to stay inside, they might run into the risk of being seen by the neighbors, disclosing their identity.

The story seems to be a perfect crime as a vengeance of a lower-class to a shameless wealthy merchant. But the narrator chose to take a detached stance and honor the fact that the fast propagation of information in Lin'an, being an open metropolitan city, has functions on two folds. Zhou Bao can easily fetch information about Mr. Has to Have the Last One as well as the bandits who were willing to help him. On the other hand, Zhou Bao's personal information could also be easily discerned by others in the city, revealing his criminal act. While the official in charge of the case, Zhu Zhiqing, was clueless for a long time at the beginning, he was finally able to locate and arrest Zhou Bao with the help of his connections and gathered information.

The ending of "Zhou Bao" was both an echoing to the prediction of the necromancer at the opening of the story and an endorsement to the authority of the local government. It is worth noting that the author intentionally described the conversation between Gu Xun and Zhou Bao regarding the location of Min's mansion. The concerns of Gu Xun were focused on two regards: whether the mansion is inside the capital city and what is the distance from the imperial mausoleum. From such a conversation, it can be seen that Gu Xun's respect towards the defending force of the capital city. Such a concern might be a key piece of element, allowing him to be the only outlaw who had finally escaped. Thus, while this story seemingly described the chaos and crimes in the

society of the extended area of Lin'an during the Chunxi reign, we could still see a rule-governed underlying order beneath the chaotic world in the consistency of the author's narration, from the right beginning to the very last.

CHAPTER 4

“HE CARRIED AWAY A WHOLE CARTLOAD OF GHOSTS IN HANGZHOU”: GHOSTS, SPACE, AND LOCALITY IN “STUDENT FAN”

From its publication to the present, *Gui Dong* has never attracted much scholarly attention. The only exception to this is the oft-read and oft-used “Student Fan.” The story is noteworthy for other reasons; many scholars believed to be the original source of the later *huaben* “A Mangy Daoist Priest Exorcises a Grotto of Ghosts” (Yi ku gui lai daoren chu guai 一窟鬼癩道人除怪) from *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言 (Stories to Caution the World).³⁰¹ For example, Lu Xun mentions *Gui Dong* in *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe*. It reads:³⁰²

“A Grotto of Ghosts in the West Mountain” (Xishan yi ku gui 西山一窟鬼)³⁰³ tells the story of Cultivated Talent Wu who, once so seduced by a ghost that he

³⁰¹ See “A Mangy Daoist Priest Exorcises a Grotto of Ghosts” (Yi ku gui lai daoren chu guai 一窟鬼癩道人除怪), in Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574–1646), ed., *Jingshi tongyan* (Ming Tianqi Jinling Jianshan tang kanben 明天啟金陵兼善堂刊本, 1624), 14.1a–17a. For the English translation, see “A Mangy Priest Exorcises a Den of Ghosts,” in *Stories to Caution the World: A Ming Dynasty Collection*, compiled by Feng Menglong, translated by Shuhui Yang and Yunqin Yang (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005), 2. 212–25.

³⁰² Lu Xun, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe*, 116.

³⁰³ The story of “A Grotto of Ghosts in the West Mountain” can be found in *juan* 12 of *Jingben tongshu xiaoshuo* 京本通俗小說 (The Capital Edition of Popular Fictions). The contents of “A Grotto of Ghosts in the West Mountain” in *Jingshi tongyan* and “A Mangy Daoist Priest Exorcises a Grotto of Ghosts” in *Jingben tongshu xiaoshuo* are very similar. *Jingben tongshu xiaoshuo* is a collection published by Liao Quansun 繆荃孫 (1844–1919) in 1915. Miu Quansun claimed that he printed the stories in *Jingben tongshu xiaoshuo* from a partially preserved Yuan manuscript, which only had seven complete *juan* left. See Miu Quansun, ed., *Ying Yuanren xie Jingben tongshu xiaoshuo* 影元人寫京本通俗小說 (Jiangyin Miushi kanben 江陰繆氏刊本, 1915), 17.1a–1b. Liao Quansun’s claim was not accepted by the majority of scholars, who rather argue that the seven pieces are more likely Liao’s selections from *Jingshi tongyan* and *Xingshi tongyan*. See Li Jinxi 黎錦熙, “*Jingben tongshu xiaoshuo* kaoping” 京本通俗小說考評, *Nuli xuebao* 努力學報, no.1.1(1929): 9. Li Jiarui 李家瑞, “Cong suzi de yanbian shang zhengming *Jingben tongshu xiaoshuo* bushi ying Yuan xieben” 從俗字的演變上證明京本通俗小說不是影元寫本, *Tushu jikan* 圖書季刊, no. 2 (1935.6): 7.4. Su Xing 蘇興, 《京本通俗小說》辯疑, *Wenwu* 文物, no. 3 (1978): 71–74. Y. W. Ma 馬幼垣 and Tailai Ma 馬泰來, “*Jingben tongshu xiaoshuo* ge pian de niandai jiqi zhenwei wenti”

reached a point at which every person he met was a ghost. It is probably based on “Student Fan” from the *Gui Dong*, but has depicted the story with more details and twists. Therefore, even the *yanyi* of the Ming and Qing show nothing to surpass it.

《西山一窟鬼》述吳秀才一為鬼誘，至所遇無一非鬼。蓋本之《鬼董》之樊生，而描寫委曲瑣細，則雖明清演義亦無以過之。

Moreover, in the section on tea houses (*chasi* 茶肆) in the *Meng liang lu* 夢梁錄

(Dreaming Over a Bowl of Millet), it remarks:³⁰⁴

And there is, next to Zhang’s noodle restaurant, Pointy Mouth Huang’s Kicking Ball tea ward. Again, inside the Middle Pleasure Precinct, there are Madam Wang’s tea house, which is named as the tea ward of “a grotto of ghosts,” the tea house of the Grand Street Carriage, and the tea house of Editorial Examiner Jiang. All these tea houses are places where the literati invite their friends to gather.

更有張賣麵店隔壁黃尖嘴蹴球茶坊，又中瓦內王媽媽家茶肆名一窟鬼茶坊，大街車兒茶肆，蔣檢閱茶肆，皆士大夫期朋約友會聚之處。

Some scholars argue that the story of “A Grotto of Ghosts” was possibly told by the storytellers in the Madame Wang Tea Ward,³⁰⁵ but it is impossible to trace the textual relations between “Student Fan” and the story that may have been recounted in the tea ward, intended for a listening public. Moreover, given that the text of “Student Fan” does

京本通俗小說各篇的年代及其真偽問題, in *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shi jigao* 中國小說史集稿 (Taipei: Shibao wenhua chuban gongsi, 1987), 19–44; Patrick Hanan, “Sung and Yuan Vernacular Fiction: A Critique of Modern Methods of Dating,” 161–62.

³⁰⁴ *Meng liang lu*, 16. 262.

³⁰⁵ Besides the Madame Wang tea ward, *Meng Liang lu* records the “Skeleton Zhu Tea Loft in the North of Baoyou Ward” (Baoyou fang bei zhu kulou) 保佑坊北朱骷髏; See *Meng liang lu*, 16.262. *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 (Former Matters of Wulin) also records “The Tea Ward of Eight Immortals” (*Baxian chafang* 八仙茶坊); See *Wulin jiushi*, 6.441. Hence, Hu Shiyong 胡士瑩 (1901–1979) argues that these tea wards were named after the *xiaoshuo* narrated by the storytellers in the tea wards. He further suggests that the Madame Wang tea ward had possibly hired storytellers to narrate the story of “A Grotto of Ghosts.” See Hu Shiyong, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun* 話本小說概論 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 48.

As for the Madame Wang tea ward, the name “A Grotto of Ghosts” could also have referred to the physical layout of the building.

not demonstrate much formal affiliation with the text of “A Grotto of Ghosts in the West Mountain,” “Student Fan” is more plausibly a literary version of a popular ghost story in Lin’an of the Southern Song.³⁰⁶

“Student Fan” and Its Relation of Hangzhou’s Geographic Features

Being a typical example of stories that betray the theme of “fear sexual temptation as you would fear a ghost” (*wei se ru gui* 畏色如鬼), a concept evident since the ghost stories from the Six Dynasties, the story of Fan Sheng is not complicated:

In the years of Shaoxing (1131–1162) during Gaozong’s 高宗 (r.1127–1162) reign, a young gallant who runs a pawnshop, Fan Sheng, finds a lady’s shoe while ambling with his friend Li Sheng around the West Lake. Within the shoe, he finds a piece of paper says that the finder should talk to Crone Wang if he would like to discuss marriage. By overhearing the conversation of two elderly women on the street, Fan Sheng finds Crone Wang, invites her for tea, and inquires about this incident. Crone

³⁰⁶ The textual relationship of “Student Fan” and “A Grotto of Ghosts in the West Mountain” deserves a full, separate discussion; due to space constraints, here I make only general comments. As Hanan suggests, “the best measure of the two works’ relationship is gained not by counting the elements of the stuff-material they have in common, but by comparing their basic structure.” Through this structural comparison, it can be seen that both contain a series of similar scenes—“meet the matchmaker,” “meet the female ghost,” “marriage/sexual relationship with the ghost,” “an outing outside the city,” “revelation of the true identity of the ghosts,” “flight from the ghosts in a desolate area,” and “saved from the ghosts.” The compiler and authors of “A Grotto of Ghosts in the West Mountain,” in the midst of a flourishing of vernacular literature and storytelling, have intentionally added a degree of excitement or even seduction to the content. Many details also reflect the culture and traditions of the Southern Song, such as ceremonies and weddings, for the purpose of attracting general audiences who would read and listen to these stories for entertainment. More importantly, particulars such as the stories’ spatial and temporal settings diverge between the two texts. The two accounts we have are likely two adaptations of the same popular story developed in distinct periods: they are differentiated by the motivation and time of writing, the intended audience, and attitudes towards the accounts. See Hanan, “The Making of *The Pear-Sewn Shirt* and *The Courtesan’s Jewel Box*,” in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 33 (1973): 134.

Wang tells him that Lady Tao, once a favorite concubine of General Zhang, is very rich. Fan Sheng and Lady Tao meet each other in the wine house and have sex; but due to the strict family rules set by Fan Sheng's father, Fan Sheng does not have the courage to immediately bring Lady Tao back home. Lady Tao instead goes to Fan Sheng's storage room, where his servant realizes some strange things: Lady Tao's palanquin bearers wear clothes made of paper, her servant is nothing but a skeleton, the body of Lady Tao herself is cut into two parts at her waist. Nevertheless, Lady Tao moves into Fan Sheng's home and acts as a newly married wife. But, wishing to free their son from her wiles, Fan's parents invite Zhang Sheng, who knows how to harness mysterious powers, to treat Lady Tao. Subject to the persuasion of Zhang Sheng, Lady Tao decides to disappear.

More than a month later, Fan Sheng and Li Sheng offend an official when they tour outside the Jiahui Gate. As they escape together, they climb over Ciyun Peak and plan to enter the city through the Qianhu Gate. To their surprise, they encounter a rainstorm on Ciyun Peak, and in search of shelter, they go to the home of an old man, Gu Liu. Then they realize that both Gu Liu and his wife are ghosts. Out of fear, Fan Sheng and Li Sheng flee the home of Gu Liu, but run into officials of the underworld who are placing Gu Liu and Lady Tao on trial. Fan Sheng and Li Sheng continue to escape to the house of Yong San, a man selling pastries; but then, everyone—the palanquin bearers, Lady Tao, Crone Wang, Gu Liu—appears simultaneously. After Fan Sheng and Li Sheng are beaten to the ground by the ghosts, a Supreme Commandant of the Palace Command Department, together with his followers, sees them on his way to the Imperial Palace. They scare the ghosts away and save the beleaguered two.

The basic structure of “Student Fan” places the account in a tradition first seen in ghost stories from the Six Dynasties, in which a young man encounters an otherworldly female. It is also a Song example of what Patrick Hanan identifies as a typical “demon story”: a young man goes for an outing and meets a demon or a ghost who has transformed into a young woman. He becomes obsessed with her beauty and carries on a love affair with her, but eventually discovers her true nature, with fatal results.³⁰⁷ As I mentioned above, unfortunately, no authorial prefaces have survived in the corpus of *Gui Dong*. Hence, it is necessary to turn our attention to internal evidence in the text.

As discussed earlier, the author of *Gui Dong*, whether or not he was indeed a student at the Imperial Academy with the family name of Shen, intentionally describes his family, friends and other acquaintances as the sources of the unusual stories he collected. In some accounts, the author stresses his personal relation to the story. Examples mentioned earlier include “Nun Shanying,”³⁰⁸ “The District Magistrate of Deqing,”³⁰⁹ “The Ritual of the Yellow Registers,”³¹⁰ “Chen Sheng,”³¹¹ “Pei Duanfu,”³¹² “People Haunted by Ghosts,”³¹³ “Pearls Came Out of the Statue of Buddha,”³¹⁴ and

³⁰⁷ Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story*, 75–80.

³⁰⁸ For “Nun Shanying,” see my discussion on page 9; *Gui Dong*, 2.4b.

³⁰⁹ For “the District Magistrate of Deqing,” see my discussion on page 10; *Gui Dong*, 2.5b–6a.

³¹⁰ For “The Ritual of the Yellow Registers,” see my discussion on page 11; *Gui Dong*, 3.8b.

³¹¹ For “Chen Sheng,” see my discussion on page 11; *Gui Dong*, 4.10a.

³¹² For “Pei Duanfu,” see my discussion on page 11; *Gui Dong*, 5.5b.

³¹³ For “People Haunted by Ghosts,” see my discussion on page 11; *Gui Dong*, 4.9a.

³¹⁴ For “Pearls Came Out of the Statue of Buddha,” see my discussion on page 11; *Gui Dong*, 4.3b.

“The Spiritual Lanterns of Mount Lu.”³¹⁵ In “The Spiritual Lanterns of Mount Lu” from the third *juan*, the author even remarks that he attempted to verify the reliability of the materials: “I inquired with a friend who is a monk. His telling is no different.”³¹⁶

Considering the above examples, can we surmise that the author of *Gui Dong* requested his friends and other acquaintances who knew the stories well to recount them, then recorded them in his book? This is not an easy question to answer. Due to the narrative nature of the oral communication of these ghost stories, the same story could be told on different occasions or delivered to general audiences in tea lofts and streets. But for a deeper investigation, here I focus on a single story, “Temple of the Inaction Worth a Thousand Pieces of Gold” (Qianjin wuwei si 千金無為寺) from the third *juan*. It reads:³¹⁷

Among all the remote temples in the south of Zhacheng (modern Huzhou, Zhejiang), the Temple of the Inaction Worth a Thousand Pieces of Gold³¹⁸ was the most magnificent and flourishing one. There was a mansion that accommodated almost two hundred monks. [The temple also had] over a thousand *qi* of fertile farmland. Tradition has it that the temple used to be the mansion of Wang Yan [256–311].³¹⁹ I once said to the monks [in the temple]: “Wang Yan was a native of Langya [modern Linyi, Shandong], where is today’s Yizhou. [Langya] is several thousand *li* from Zhacheng. As for the places where Wang Yan took official posts during his lifetime, none were to the south of the [Yangtze] river. [Wang Yan] should not have a mansion here. And Yan was responsible for the downfall of Jin and lost his moral integrity to the Prince of

³¹⁵ For “The Spiritual Lanterns of Mount Lu,” see my discussion on page 11; *Gui Dong*, 3.4b.

³¹⁶ *Gui Dong*, 3.4b.

³¹⁷ *Gui Dong*, 3. 6b–7a.

³¹⁸ It is also possible that the temple’s name comes from its location in Qianjin hamlet (*li* 里). See Tan Yue, *Jitai Wuxing zhi*, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan*, 13.4752a.

³¹⁹ For Wang Yan, see Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579–648) et al., comp., *Jinshu* 晉書 (The Book of Jin) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 43.1235–38; Victor Cunrui Xiong, *Historical Dictionary of Medieval China* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 2.639.

Zhao [d. 301].³²⁰ If this person was still alive, he would be spurned by righteous men. Even if the temple was truly the former residence of Wang Yan, that is not a noble thing. Let alone [that the hearsay] is certainly not sure. Do not be so presumptuous as to attach the temple [to Wang Yan]. This would be laughed at by knowledgeable people.” Most of the monks were unhappy about my saying this. In the winter of the *wuzi* year (1228), the temple was destroyed by a huge fire which fell like rain. The raging flames rose from the shower room. In the blink of an eye, the temple turned into ashes. Not even a *chi* of wood survived. Before the fire, someone had dreamed of entering the temple, seeing that the two corridors were filled with large ghosts.

雪城之南諸野寺千金無為最雄盛，有房，居僧幾二百人，良田千餘頃。相傳王衍捨宅。余嘗為諸僧言：“王衍，琅琊人，乃今沂州，去雪數千里。衍平生曆官，亦不到江南，不應有宅於此。且衍亡晉而毀節於趙王，使其人尚在，乃義士所唾。真猶不足貴，況必不然，無妄攀援，貽識者笑。”群僧多不悅餘之言。戊子冬，毀於大火雨中。烈焰自浴室起，瞬息灰燼，尺木不存。先是，有人夢入寺，見兩廡皆大鬼。

Here, what is remarkable is how the author includes his personal experience within the context of this supernatural story. Clearly, the author is neither the one who had the visionary encounter of large ghosts in the dream, nor a witness to the huge fire. By focusing on a previous conversation with the monks, which may have taken place in the mysterious Temple of In-action, the author situates this story within the familiar context of his life. Here, instead of mentioning informants like in many other stories in the collection, the author focuses on a conversation: his challenge to the groundless tale of the temple's name through asserting his knowledge of the history of Wang Yan.³²¹ Here again, one is reminded of the author's identity as a member of the literati. According to the author, it is improper for the monks of the Temple of In-action to claim

³²⁰ Here Prince of Zhao refers to Sima Lun 司馬倫, who planned a coup and proclaimed himself emperor in 301. See *Jinshu*, 59.1597–1605.

³²¹ Given the circumstances of the Song-Jin conflict, there is possibly an insinuation in the comment on Wang Yan's disloyalty to the state.

the temple as the former residence of the infamous Wang Yan, but the reactions of the monks indicate that they do not take his advice. In the end of this story, the author highlights the monks' monetary greed: "In general none of the monks, who lodged scattered around the temple, upheld the precepts; the richer a monk was, the more bad karma he created" (凡星居僧無有持戒律, 愈富則愈造惡業).³²² This ending line hints that the author understands the disaster which befalls the temple in the context of karmic retribution — the temple burns down because of the bad karma created by the monks.

As a matter of fact, doubts regarding the validity of the Temple of Inaction's tale were possibly common among the local literati. We also observe a very similar argument in *Jiatai Wuxing zhi* 嘉泰吳興志 (Gazetteer of Wuxing in the Jiatai Era), a consummate gazetteer of the area. In the 13th *juan* of *Jiatai Wuxing zhi*, Tan Yue 談鑰 (*jinshi*, 1181) remarks:³²³

The Temple of Inaction was located in the Qianjin hamlet, Fuzeng Parish, and the southeast of the county. It was built on the former residence of Wang Yan of the Jin Dynasty. I saw the old illustrated guides and old guides³²⁴ say: "I saw the stele of the Temple of the Prosperous State and secretly believed its details about the tale. Wang Yan died after being taken captive by the barbarian. According to what did Wang Yan have a residence to the south of the Yangtze river? I do not know what is the source of the words on the temple stele.

無為寺在縣東南福增鄉千金里, 晉王衍舍宅建。見舊圖經及舊經云: 見興國寺碑, 竊詳。王衍在東晉時已死於夷虜, 何從有宅在江南? 不知寺碑之言何所據。

³²² *Gui Dong*, 3. 7a.

³²³ See Tan Yue, *Jiatai Wuxing zhi*, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan*, 13.31a.

³²⁴ During the Song Dynasty, prefectural and county governments commonly compiled illustrated guides and gazetteers. For Southern Song illustrated guides, see Fan Lin, "The Local in the Imperial Vision: Landscape, Topography, and Geography in Southern Song Map Guides and Gazetteers," in *Cross-currents: East Asian History and Culture Review*, no. 23 (2017): 10–39.

Jiatai wuxing zhi was compiled in the first year of the Jiatai (1201) reign. It records the tale of the temple's origin, but not its destruction by fire. The date “*wuzi* year (1228)” for the conflagration may be a reasonable inference. More importantly, the similarity between the record in *Jiatai wuxing zhi* and *Gui Dong* invites a closer look at the making of “The Temple of Inaction Worth a Thousand Pieces of Gold” as well as other accounts in the collection.

Tan Yue, the author of *Jiatai wuxing zhi*, passed the *jinshi* 進士 (presented scholar) examination in 1181. One of the “same-year degree recipients” (*tongnian* 同年) of Tan Yue, Bao Cuiran, the Prefect of Chuzhou, was also mentioned in “Pearls Came Out of the Statue of Buddha” from the fourth *juan* of *Gui Dong*.³²⁵ The author of *Gui Dong* even refers to a concubine of Bao Cuiran as his informant.³²⁶ It is possible to argue that the author of *Gui Dong* might have read Tan Yue's gazetteer, or that some suspicion about the tale of the Temple of Inaction was widely shared by the literati in the region. In other words, this subtle gesture gives us a peek at the author's “social affinities”³²⁷ as a literatus in *Gui Dong*.

As we have seen, the author does not provide the name of a trustworthy informant regarding the fire or the dream of ghosts; yet he still takes pains to link his personal

³²⁵ See note 35.

³²⁶ *Gui Dong*, 4.3b.

³²⁷ The term “social affinities” is borrowed from Hanan. According to Hanan, it refers to the lifestyle and supposed values of a certain social class in a story. It “denotes a kind of subject supposedly characteristic of a social class together with a certain kind of tone or attitude toward that subject.” See Hanan, “The Early Chinese Short Story: A Critical Theory in Outline,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27 (1967): 190–91, note 46.

experience with the tragic destruction of the temple. By doing so, the author successfully places the account in the familiar contextual trope of gathering stories from one's own life experience or acquaintances. Moreover, he also situates the story among the "social affinities" of the literati class.

Similarly, I have discussed the author's efforts to emphasize his personal relations to these anomalous stories. If we believe the internal evidence that shows the connections between the author's life experience and certain stories in the collection, a number of the accounts in *Gui Dong* may indeed have originated from the author's active research: hearing and telling the stories in gatherings, listening to an artist or storyteller narrate, and collecting them from different informants. But there is also no way to definitively exclude the possibility that the author derived stories from lost collections, or simply made them up himself and then put the accounts in the familiar contextual trope of gathering them from informants.

At the very end of the story of Fan Sheng, the author notes that "this story happened during the last years of the Reign of Shaoxing. I only recently heard it" (此度是紹興末年事, 余近聞之).³²⁸ This description implies that the author heard the story on a certain occasion similar to those mentioned in other accounts in *Gui Dong*, but still, this is difficult to prove.

Regardless of which possibility actually took place, for the narrator, the audience, and the author of *Gui Dong*, the story is an event that had concretely occurred in the city of Lin'an during the years of Gaozong. In this sense, the narrative procedure in "Student

³²⁸ *Gui Dong*, 4.6b.

Fan” also embodies Ian Watt’s idea of “formal realism.”³²⁹ According to Watt, “formal realism” is based on the premise that “the novel is a full and authentic report of human experience, and is therefore under an obligation to satisfy its reader with such details of the story as the individuality of the actors concerned, the particulars of the times and places of their actions.”³³⁰ Hanan further suggests that Chinese vernacular stories meet two of the three criteria of “formal realism.”³³¹ As for “Student Fan,” although it is written in literary Chinese, the story still displays a desire for completeness of detail. We find all types of details in the account,³³² including the pawn shops that Fan Sheng runs for a living, the time that the story happens, the places in Lin’an where Fan Sheng encounters ghosts, and the river snails the exorcist sells.³³³

Furthermore, it is worth observing the relationship between the story and the urban structure of the city of Lin’an. After Lady Tao is chased away by Zhang Sheng, who is “experienced at summoning and investigating” (考召有驗), the story can be roughly divided into two parts. In the first part, the primary stage is the city of Lin’an, including the public spaces frequently visited by its residents, such as wine houses, tea lofts, and so on. Appearing as common people and normal human beings, the ghosts

³²⁹ See Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), 9–34. Hanan suggests that Chinese vernacular stories meet two of the three criteria of “formal realism,” see Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 25.

³³⁰ Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, 28.

³³¹ See Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story*, 25.

³³² I will discuss these particulars in more detail in the following pages of this chapter.

³³³ The criteria of “formal realism” may shed light on the connection between “Student Fan” and “A Grotto of Ghosts in the Western Mountain.” But due to limited space in this dissertation, such a study awaits a future occasion.

seem similar to the living. But, just as Lady Tao is eventually forced to disappear, ghosts and spirits are generally controlled by the living.³³⁴ In the latter part of the story, the setting is mostly deserted hills and wilderness—places where the citizens of Lin’an bury the dead. Fan Sheng and Li Sheng have finally entered the true domain of ghosts.³³⁵ In this portion of the story, Fan Sheng and his friend are isolated and without assistance, walking one step after another toward death. Between the protagonist’s first encounter with a ghost and his flight, the two parts of the story cover a majority of Lin’an, both inside and outside the city walls. The story of the protagonist inside the city of Lin’an mostly occurs during the day, amid urban culture and atmosphere. Before Lady Tao and her servant appear as ghosts, the story is little differentiated from other urban stories. In contrast, what the protagonist experiences outside of Lin’an mostly takes place during the night, with an unnerving depiction of ghostly atmosphere. The landmarks and scenes both inside and outside of the city of Lin’an provide the story with a sweeping and varied setting, fully revealing the cultural character of the urban residents of Lin’an. As the city behind the text’s depiction, Lin’an provides a cultural backdrop that helps to complete the reinterpretation of the story.

After the Song court established a temporary capital at Lin’an in the year 1138, royal family members, military troops, officials, and a great number of northerners migrated to Lin’an, which demanded that the city develop a new main function: serving the army, royal family, and bureaucrats.³³⁶ The imperial palace was built to the southeast

³³⁴ See the quotation and detailed discussion on pages 63–65.

³³⁵ See the quotation and detailed discussion on pages 66–77.

³³⁶ Shiba Yoshinobu, *Chūgoku toshishi*, 28.

of Mount Phoenix; the wards and districts were scattered to the north of Mount Wu and Mount Phoenix as well. As many canals converged at the northern districts and then proceeded to the sea, a special character of the urban structure of Lin'an was the connection between streets and rivers. Starting from the Chaotian Gate, the northern gate of the imperial city, and stretching for 27 *li* from south to north, the area around Imperial Street was Lin'an's most booming commercial district, with many shops located in the area.³³⁷ The two most important canals, Salt Bridge Canal 鹽橋運河 and City River 市河, flowed near this region, naturally forming a narrow band which concentrated shops, stores, and places for all types of exchange, including of gold, silver, books, and silk, with entertainment spaces such as wine houses, tea lofts, brothels, and pleasure precincts squeezed among them.³³⁸

Beyond the booming development of the core commercial district, as Li Xiacong points out, the construction and expansion of the city of Hangzhou were not limited by the city walls. Many entertainment spaces such as the pleasure precincts were located beyond the city gate, along the river banks, or near the bridges over the canals.³³⁹ This dramatic change in the urban structure of Lin'an was reflected in the narrative works of the Southern Song, like "Student Fan," which is staged throughout the entire space of Lin'an, both the inner city and the outskirts. The prosperous business district near the Imperial Street where the protagonist wanders inside the city, the recently expanded

³³⁷ Li Xiacong, *Lishi chengshi dili*, 236.

³³⁸ Shiba Yoshinobu, *Chūgoku toshishi*, 28.

³³⁹ Li Xiacong, *Lishi chengshi dili*, 237.

entertainment space, and mountains like Ciyun Peak where the protagonist undergoes his adventure outside of the city, together with their related cultural landscapes, are all tightly associated with the story.

In general, the fundamental structure of the story “Student Fan” is closely associated with the urban infrastructure of the city of Lin’an. Besides the imperial palaces inside the city of Lin’an, there were various types of commercial, private, and public spaces. On one side of the city, there were the famous West Lake, pavilions, and other attractions frequented by urban residents. On the other side of the city, there were deserted mountains and graveyards. The encounters of the protagonists are also differentiated by the division of the suburban spaces outside the city of Lin’an. When inside the city, the ghosts can be affected by the living, and must pretend to be human beings in order to mingle with the crowds. While Fan Sheng does meet ghosts several times in the public spaces of Lin’an, such as in the streets in front of the Shengyang palace, tea lofts, and wine houses, he is never harmed. Even when Fan Sheng sleeps with Lady Tao in the wine house, there is no mention of any harm coming to him, but once he leaves the city and diverges from the typical route that would bring him back to Lin’an, he enters the domain of ghosts, where his life and that of his companion are direly imperiled.³⁴⁰

³⁴⁰ The fact that Fan Sheng meets the ghosts in the most bustling district of Lin’an and nearly dies in the southern woods outside the city wall is a plot little different from the earlier “demon stories” of *Taiping guangji*. In research on the stories in *Taiping guangji*, Seo Tatsuhiko points out that the places where the male protagonist first meets the ghosts or demons who transform into beauties are often flourishing urban spaces frequently visited by the wealthy and nobility; but when the life of the male protagonist is endangered by the ghosts or demons, this often happens in desolate areas. See Tatsuhiko Seo 妹尾達彦, “Tōdai kōhanki no Chōan to denki shosetsu—Ri Ai Den no bunseki o chūshin toshite” 唐代後半期の長安と伝奇小説—『李娃伝』の分析を中心にして”, in *Ronshū Chūgoku shakai seido bunkashi no shimondai: Hino Kaisaburō Hakushi shōju kinen* 論集中國社會・制度・文化史の諸問題：日野開三郎博士頌壽記念 (Fukuoka: Chūgoku sho-ten, 1987), 494–95.

The connotations of different localities of Lin'an in "Student Fan" greatly contribute to the development of the story. Based on the fact that the city and the literature it produced share the same textuality, this chapter studies the spatial settings of urban Lin'an in the Southern Song Dynasty as well as reflected urban culture and values through an analysis of the account of "Student Fan" in *Gui Dong*. Such a reading of "Student Fan" will also help us to better understand the Southern Song society of Lin'an.

Inside the City Walls

Similar to many narratives about Lin'an in the Southern Song, the story of Fan Sheng starts with the protagonist's outing along the West Lake. It reads:³⁴¹

Fan Sheng, a citizen of the capital and owner of a pawnshop, went wandering around at a temple pavilion on the [West] Lake with his follower Mr. Li. [At the pavilion, Fan] found a woman's shoe, which was extremely arched and tiny. Inside was a slip of paper that read, "I am a woman looking for a match. If you want to discuss marriage, please visit Crone Wang to ask her about this match."

Fan Sheng, a young man with an amorous heart, was wild with joy after finding it but he did not know who the shoe's owner was.

都民質庫樊生，與其徒李遊湖上某寺閣，得女子履，絕弓小，中有片紙，曰：妾擇對者也。有姻議者，可訪王老娘問之。樊生少年心蕩，得之若狂，莫知其何人。

The succinct and simple beginning of the story sketches the image of a typical young gallant in the city of Lin'an: he is young, single, and owns a pawnshop, probably a family business. When he goes for an outing, he takes along a companion who is not much older than himself. As a member of the wealthy merchant class, Fan Sheng has

³⁴¹ *Gui Dong*, 4.4a.

sufficient wherewithal to enjoy all the amusements of the city. Moreover, during the Southern Song, officials were usually prohibited, except for on holidays, from venturing out into public.³⁴² The fact that he does not hold any official post also gives Fan Sheng freedom in time and space to enter any place of entertainment inside and outside Lin'an. And it must also be noted that the author of *Gui Dong*, similar to the authors of the *zhiguai* during the Six Dynasties and his predecessor, Hong Mai, never neglected the didactic value of his writings.³⁴³ The text certainly reflects supposed moral values, although this is well hidden. By portraying Fan Sheng as “a young man with an amorous heart,” the author implies that Fan Sheng is not morally perfect. The reader can infer that due to their lack of social experience as well as to the moral discipline instilled by classical learning, young men like Fan Sheng were highly vulnerable to the temptations of the city. Similarly, the places where he is fond of traveling are also the same as those preferred by other young gallants: West Lake, nearby temples, gardens, and other entertainment spaces. The shoe of Lady Tao, her lure to attract men, has been placed in a pavilion of a temple near the West Lake. In addition to the urban expansion,³⁴⁴ all the possibilities and premises for these scenes are closely related to the changes in the city's cultural and social structures during the Southern Song dynasty.

³⁴² For example, Song legal compendium *Qingyuan tiaofa shilei* 慶元條法事類 (Topically Arranged Legal Paragraphs of the Qingyuan [1195–1120] Era) lists the legal restrictions on Song officials meeting guests in public places. See Xie Shenfu 謝深甫 (12th century) ed., *Qingyuan tiaofa shilei* (Beijing: Yanjing daxue tushuguan, 1948), 4.19b–22b.

³⁴³ For the didacticism in the *zhiguai* genre, see Leo Tak-hung Chan, *The Discourse on Foxes and Ghosts: Ji Yun and Eighteenth-Century Literati Storytelling* (Hawai'i, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 150–85.

³⁴⁴ For the expansion of Southern Song Hangzhou, see Fig. 1.

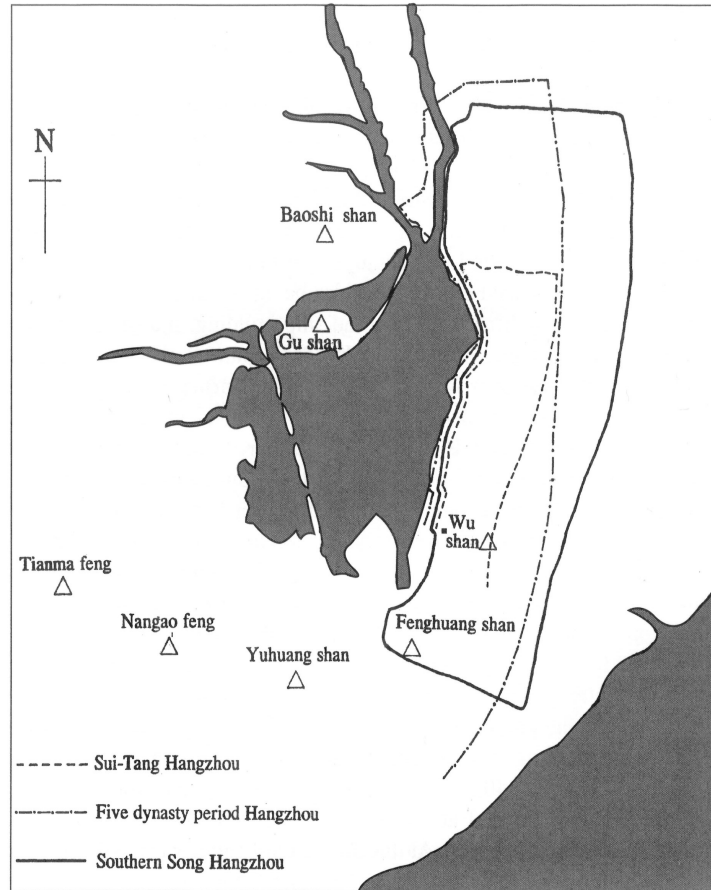


Figure 7. Contours of Hangzhou during various periods. From Heng Chye Kiang, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats*, 142.

For instance, as mentioned in Chapter 2, once the temporary capital was established in Lin'an by the Southern Song, a huge influx of immigrants greatly developed the material

space of the West lake, adding a great number of gardens, residences, and temples.³⁴⁵

Such expansion helped the West Lake to attract travelers. As *Wulin jiushi* remarks.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ In *Meng liang lu*, it reads:

There were three pavilions outside of Fengyu Gate for gazing at the lake and they have all been destroyed for a long time. Now the traces of the famous and worthy must be passed along so I will write them down in order to keep later worthies from losing their names.

Speaking of the parks and gardens on the lakeside, there were Yuhu Garden outside the Qiantang gate, Fishing Village outside the Fengyu Gate, Gathering-the-view Garden outside the Qingbo Gate, Qingle Imperial Garden at the Long Bridge, and the Temple of the Precious Hall of the Grand Buddha.

At the smaller lake by Leifeng Pagoda, there were the Purification Palace, Gan Garden, Southern Mountain, and Mount Nanping. All of these places have terraces, pavilions, kiosks, towers, flowers, trees, and marvelous rocks, the images of which are visible on the lake and in the mountains. Combine these with the mansions of the nobility and officials that have laid out their kiosks and houses on the water bank, the Buddhist temples and Daoist monasteries that have arrayed their halls and towers on mountain [islands] in the lake, and then to speak of the surpassing beauty of the surrounding scenery is hard to exhaust in words.

豐豫門外有望湖亭三處，俱廢之久，名賢遺跡，不可無傳，故書之使後賢不失其名耳。曰湖邊園圃，如錢塘玉壺，豐豫魚庄，清波聚景，長橋慶樂，大佛[寶殿寺]。雷峰塔下小湖齋宮，甘園，南山，南屏，皆台榭亭閣，花木奇石，影映湖山，兼之貴宅宦舍，列亭館於水堤；梵刹琳宮，布殿閣於湖山，周圍勝景，言之難盡。

See *Meng liang lu*, 12.230. For the Temple of the Precious Hall, see no.33 on Fig.8. For the Leifeng Pagoda, see no.106 on Fig.8.

In “The Purification Palace” (zhaigong 齋宮) of *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 (Gazetteer of Lin'an in the Xianchun Era), it reads:

There were Purification Palaces outside the Qianhu Gate. The two monasteries of Huizhao and Zhaoqing were both places for the court to perform cultic rituals and make propositions [to heaven]. The Huizhao Monastery had an altar hall as well as an altar for burning incense. On the Summer Solstice day, people made oblations to the Imperial Goddess of Earth; at the beginning of summer, people made oblations to the Glittering Deluder [Planet Mars]; at the beginning of autumn, people made oblations to the White Thearch in the Altar Hall. Alongside the hall, there was the Purification Palace.

The Zhaoqing Monastery had the Hall of Prospect Sacrifice [to the mountains and rivers]. At the beginning of summer, people made oblations to the marchmounts and marshes in the south; at the beginning of autumn, people made oblations to the marchmounts and marshes in the west. On the two porticos, there were cabinets of purification. During the reign of Chunyou [1241–1252], Zhao Yuchou [d.1260] renovated the monasteries. The Purification Palace of the Jingming Temple is already recorded in the “Sacrifice Altar to Heaven and Earth” section.

在錢湖門外。惠照，昭慶二院俱為朝廷祠祭奏告之所。惠照有壇殿，有燎壇，夏至日祭皇地祇，立夏祭熒惑，立秋祭白帝。旁為齋宮。昭慶有望祭殿，立夏祭南方嶽

The West Lake is the sight under heaven, in the morning or at dusk, sunny or raining, and in any of the seasons it is always just right.³⁴⁷ The people of Hangzhou make their outings at all times, but the spring outings are particularly popular.

西湖天下景，朝昏晴雨，四序總宜。杭人亦無時而不游，而春遊特盛焉。

It is possible to assume that Fan Sheng and his follower are among those tourists.

Ever since the Kingdom of Wuyue, Buddhism had become popular in the region of Hangzhou. The fifth *juan* of *Wulin jiushi*, “The Fine Scenery of the Lakes and Mountains” (Hushan Shenggai 湖山勝概), lists more than one-hundred temples, including the famous Lingyin Temple 靈隱寺,³⁴⁸ Chuanfa Temple 傳法寺,³⁴⁹ and Jingci Temple 淨慈寺.³⁵⁰ Religious sites are also mentioned in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, which states:³⁵¹

Nowadays, the temples of Buddha and Laozi are spread throughout the world, but they are particularly massed in Qiantang. The religions of Daoism and Buddhism are nowhere as popular as in Qiantang, but people who practice Buddhism comprise the greatest number.

瀆，立秋祭西方嶽瀆。兩廡為致齋閣子。淳祐間，守臣趙與憲重修。淨明寺齋宮已附見郊丘。

See *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 3.3377b. For Huizhao monastery, see no. 102 on Fig. 3. For Zhaoqing monastery, see no. 103 on Fig. 3.

³⁴⁶ *Wulin jiushi*, 3.376.

³⁴⁷ Here, Zhou Mi riffs on Su Shi's well-known poem “Drinking Wine on the Lake, Raining after Sunshine” (Yin Hu shang chu qing hou yu 飲湖上初晴後雨). In this poem, Su Shi compares West Lake and the legendary beauty Xi Shi 西施: “[I] would like to compare West Lake to Xi Shi. Lightly made up or thickly adorned, it always suits her” (欲把西湖比西子，淡妝濃抹總相宜). See Su Shi, “Drinking wine on the West Lake, raining after sunshine,” in *Su Shi shi ji*, 9.430.

³⁴⁸ See no. 16 on Fig.8.

³⁴⁹ See no. 99 on Fig.8.

³⁵⁰ *Wulin jiushi*. 409–39. For the Jingci Temple, see no. 105 on Fig. 3.

³⁵¹ *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 75.4026b.

今浮屠老氏之宮遍天下，而在錢塘為尤眾。二氏之教莫勝於錢塘，而學浮屠者為尤重。

These temples were spaces not only of religion, but also of public entertainment. A temple would have served as an entertainment space for the living, a place for funerary rituals, and also the dwelling place of ghosts.³⁵² The author of “Student Fan” does not mention a specific name for the temple where the protagonist discovers the shoe. But it is hardly necessary in such a religiously coded environment. But as the quote in note 140 remarks, these were part of routine outings of “men of worth” (*xianren* 賢人), and that popularity of place is exactly the reason why Lady Tao leaves her shoe there to await discovery.

³⁵² As for commoners, the Buddhist and Daoist temples of the Southern Song also kept those coffins without an owner. In *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, it reads:

Edict of the second month of the third year of Chongning (Mar. 6–Apr. 4, 1004): In the various prefectures, select high and brushfree areas for Mercy Graveyards. In general caskets that are stored there but have no one in authority over them, like the skeletons that have been exposed to the elements, should be buried there. In each place establish appropriate maps and documents, and mark each site [on the map] in order to record and mark the place. Go on to construct a hall as a sit for sacrifice and allow their relatives to honor them with sacrifice and offerings.

崇寧三年二月詔：“諸州擇高曠不毛之地置漏澤園。凡寺觀寄留柩櫨之無主者，若暴露遺骸，悉瘞其中，各置圖籍，立筆記識。仍置屋以為祭奠之所，聽親屬祭饗。”

See “Mercy Graveyard” (Louze yuan 漏澤園), in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 30.3638a. For another translation of this passage, see Silvia Freiin Ebner von Eschenbach, “Public Graveyards of the Song Dynasty,” in *Burial in Song China*. ed. Dieter Kuhn (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 1994), 229.

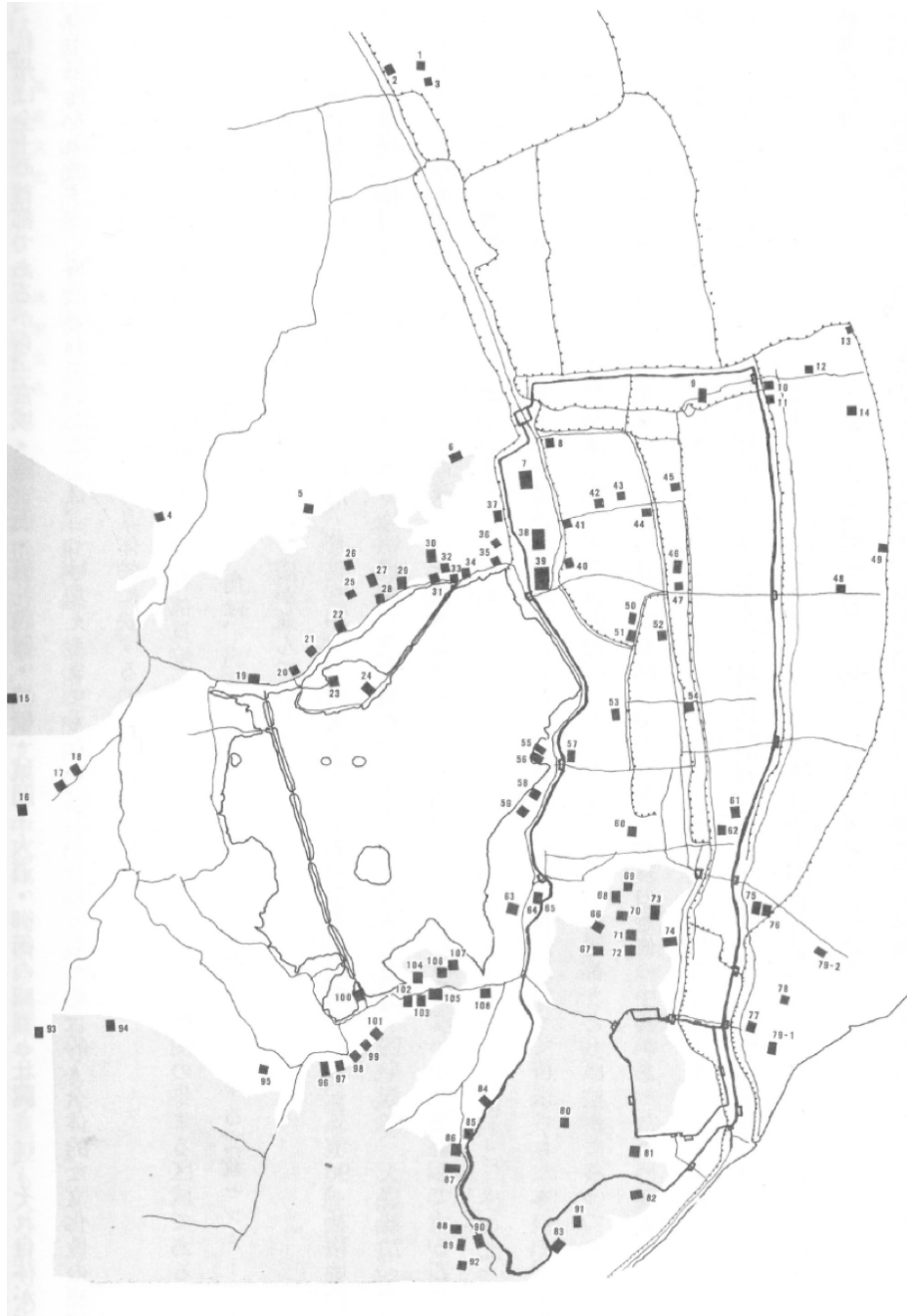


Figure 8. Main monasteries and temples in Hangzhou. From Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 354.

Scholars have pointed out that at the very beginning of his reign, Gaozong continued the preexisting policy of restraining the development of Buddhism. As a result, most of the temples built during the previous dynasties near Mount Phoenix and the West Lake were either destroyed or relocated.³⁵³ During the later period of his reign, however, due to the popularity of Buddhism among the imperial concubines and officials of the court, some new temples were built. But, since the city of Hangzhou was already extremely crowded, most of these were built near West Lake. During the Southern Song, the temples of Lin'an could be divided geographically into four regions, including: the Southern Mountain region (from Qianhu Gate to Mount Nanping 南屏山 along the Southern Mountains, from Mount Chi 赤山 to the region of Xiaomai Peak 小麥嶺); the Northwest region of the city (north of the canal from Qiantang Gate 錢塘門 to Yan Bridge 鹽橋); the Northern Mountain region (from Mount Qiantang 錢塘山 to the west of Mount Gu 孤山 via Baochu Tower 保俶塔³⁵⁴ and Ge Peak 葛嶺); and the Mount Lingyin 靈隱山 region (from Jiuli Song 九里松 to Tianzhu Temple 天竺寺 via Feilai Peak 飛來峰).³⁵⁵ While the story of “Student Fan” does not specifically name the temple, neighboring locations are mentioned when discussing the residences of Lady Tao and the other ghosts in the latter half of the story: Qianhu Gate 錢湖門, Jiahui Gate 嘉會門, and Ciyun Peak 慈雲嶺. Therefore, the main activity space of Lady Tao is most likely to be

³⁵³ Mou Zhenyu 牟振宇, “Nansong Lin'an cheng simiao fenbu yanjiu” 南宋臨安城寺廟分佈研究, *Hangzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao*, no. 1 (2008): 101.

³⁵⁴ See no. 30 on Fig. 3.

³⁵⁵ Mou Zhenyu, “Nansong Lin'an cheng simiao fenbu yanjiu,” 97.

somewhere near the southern region of the West Lake. We can further derive that the temple where Fan Sheng finds the shoe placed by Lady Tao may be located in the Southern Mountain region, which is also the region with the densest distribution of temples. This common perception of the monastery setting would have enabled a better understanding of plot development for audiences who lived in the region of Lin'an.

The most eye-catching element in this paragraph is the woman's shoe, which serves as a lure to ensnare the living, a material token of negotiation between worlds. The reason for Lady Tao to use a shoe as a medium to find a man is explained later in the text. In the tea loft, Fan Sheng eavesdrops on a conversation between two old women and Crone Wang, in which Crone Wang says that “[Lady Tao] used a shoe as a binding token, whoever picked it up would be a match for her” (且彼自以鞋約，得者諧之). For readers who are familiar with the *chuanqi* tradition, the connection between the shoe (*xie* 鞋) and harmony (*xie* 諧) will remind them of the renowned Tang tale “The Tale of Huo Xiaoyu” (Huo Xiaoyu zhuan 霍小玉傳). In the tale, Huo Xiaoyu is abandoned by her lover Li Yi. She becomes lovesick and takes to her bed, approaching death. One night, Huo Xiaoyu has a strange dream. It reads,³⁵⁶

[Xiaoyu] dreamed of a proper man dressed in a yellow robe who came to her with [Li] Sheng in his arms, and upon reaching the mat, asked Yu to take off her shoes. She woke up frightened and told her mother. She then went on herself to explain the dream: “The word *xie* 鞋 [shoe] is a homophone with *xie* 諧 [harmony]. It means the reunion of the husband and wife. The word *tuo* 脫 [take off] means ‘to separate.’ Once separated after joining together, this can only mean eternal separation by death.”

³⁵⁶ See Wang Meng'ou 王夢鷗 (1907–2002), *Tangren xiaoshuo jiaoshi* 唐人小說校釋 (Taipei: Zhengzhong Shuju, 1983), 199. For the English translation, see William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., “Huo Xiaoyu,” in *Tang Dynasty Tales: A Guided Reader* (Toh Tuck Link: World Scientific Publishing Company, 2010), vol.2. 253.

夢黃衫丈夫抱生來，至席，使玉脫鞋。驚寤而告母。因自解曰：‘鞋者，諧也。夫婦再合。脫者，解也。既合而解，亦當永訣。

Here, Huo Xiaoyu interprets the process of taking off one's shoes as a final farewell between a couple, by comparing the unity of a pair of shoes to the meeting and uniting of a man and woman. In *Yijian zhi*, which was written slightly earlier than *Gui Dong*, there is a comparable story, “The Dream of Li Bangzhi” (Li Bangzhi Meng 李邦直夢). Li Bangzhi dreams that he takes off the shoes of the daughter of his colleague Sun Juyuan and puts a flower on her head. Once the wife of Li Bangzhi hears about the dream, she cries loudly, “Sticking a flower into the hair is a symbol that speaks to the fulfillment [of my life's contract 定約] while the shoe suggests “harmony.” You will take Née Sun in marriage and I am going to die soon” (簪花者言定之象，鞋者諧也。君將娶孫氏，吾死無日矣).³⁵⁷ Eventually, this indeed comes to pass. From such descriptions, we know that at that time, shoes served as a conventional symbol of love between a man and a woman.³⁵⁸

In addition, another part of this paragraph that stands out is the description of the “extremely tiny and arched” shoes, which, by the standards of the day, suggests the beauty and status of the owner of the shoe.³⁵⁹ As shoes are a very intimate and sexually-

³⁵⁷ Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, *Jia*: 11: 94.

³⁵⁸ See An Guoliang 安國梁, “Xiezhe, xie ye” 鞋者，諧也, *Yuwen zhishi* 語文知識 6 (2000): 20–21.

³⁵⁹ According to Patricia Buckley Ebrey, the spread of footbinding during the Song Dynasty was related to changes in the cultural construction of gender at the time. See Patricia Buckley Ebrey, “Women, Marriage, and the Family in Chinese History,” in Paul S. Ropp ed. *Heritage of China, Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 220–21.

charged personal belonging of a woman, putting one in a public space implies potential access to a lady's sexuality. Together with the piece of paper inside, the shoe arouses the male protagonist's desire and seduces him into the ghostly trap.

The ghosts' second step in luring Fan Sheng into their clutches happens on the street of Lin'an city, in front of the wine house near Shengyang Palace. It reads:³⁶⁰

At another time, when he was passing in front of his pawnshop near the Palace of the Rising Sun, he heard two crones following him and talking and laughing, mostly about Crone Wang. [Fan Sheng] waited until they had gone into the teahouse and then followed them in.

These two old crones said to the tea-pouring servant: "Is Crone Wang here?" The tea servant replied: "She is." "Please tell her that we want to see her." The servant called an old crone out from the back, and a woman between her forties and fifties emerged. These two crones came forward to greet her and said, "Lady Tao sent us here to ask how her marriage arrangements were going." Wang said, "There is no one suitable to our wishes yet. Moreover, [Lady Tao] used a shoe as the token, so whoever picked it up will be the match for her."

他時過昇陽宮庫前，聞兩嫗踵其後相語笑，多道王老娘。伺其入茶肆，亦往焉。兩嫗謂澹茶仆曰：王老娘在乎？曰：在。為我道欲見。仆自後呼一嫗出，四五十矣。兩嫗迎語之，曰：陶小娘子遣我問親事何如？王曰：未得當人意者。且彼自以鞋約，得者諧之。

As in many other "demon stories," the author of "Student Fan" assumes a selective omniscience. The narrative mainly follows the protagonist; the narrator does not reveal the ghosts' imposture until the end. As a result, the revelation of the true identities of the ghosts serves as the climax of the story.³⁶¹ Here, the conversation of the two old crones that Fan Sheng overhears seems to be a complete coincidence. The richness of the

³⁶⁰ *Gui Dong*, 4.4a–4b.

³⁶¹ Hanan suggests that "demon stories" and "crime stories" are the two categories of stories that prefer to apply the "revelation" procedure. See Hanan, "The Early Chinese Short Story: A Critical Theory in Outline," 192–93.

scene's urban life resembles the stories taking place everywhere on the common streets of Lin'an. Only in reading the full narrative could the reader finally understand that the fact of Fan Sheng picking up Lady Tao's shoe was already well-known to all the ghosts. The sole purpose for which the two old crones would walk so closely behind Fan Sheng is to attract him to the trap. While Fan Sheng thinks that this is a simple coincidence, he is unaware that all his behaviors and actions are being monitored by ghosts. This hint that there is someone observing, concealed in darkness, enhances the story's uncanny atmosphere. For readers, what was initially a light, romantic, and even comic story of urban love is beginning to turn to shades of horror.

The place where the two old crones walk closely behind Fan Sheng and lure him into the trap is on a street in front of a wine house, the Shengyang Palace. Based on *Meng liang lu*, the Shengyang Palace wine house was also named the Southern Official Wine House 南庫, one of the official wine houses.³⁶² *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* records, "For the Southern Official Wine House, the wine house of the clear wine³⁶³ was located at the south of the Qinghe Ward; the wine loft is named "the Loft of Hele"; the wine house of the steamed wine is located at the South of the Earth God Altar" (南庫, 清庫在清河坊

³⁶² In *Meng liang lu*, it reads: "The Southern Official Wine House was originally named the Shengyang Palace" (南庫, 元名昇陽宮). See *Meng liang lu*, 10. 213.

³⁶³ For the difference between "steamed wine" (*zhujiu* 煮酒) and "clear wine" (*qingjiu* 清酒), Fang Hui 方回 (1227–1307) says in *Xu gujin kao* 續古今考 (The Supplementary of the Studies of Past and Present): "Today what people called 'steamed wine' is actually made from steaming. The one that is sealed with mud and stored over the winter is good; what people called 'clear wine' is the one that is not steamed" (今之煮酒, 實則蒸, 泥之季冬者佳。曰清酒, 則未蒸者). See Fang Hui, *Xu gujin kao* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), 30. 830a.

南, 樓曰和樂, 煮庫在社壇南).³⁶⁴ *Chunyou Lin'an zhi* records, “The relay-station of Youting, located outside of the Chaotian gate. It was once renamed as Tiance. At the current time, it is the Shengyang Palace” (郵亭驛, 在朝天門外。中間改名天策。今為昇陽宮).³⁶⁵ According to the attached map of the capital city of Lin'an in *Chunyou Lin'an Zhi*, the Chaotian Gate 朝天門 was located in a prosperous region of the city of Lin'an. In addition to the street's proximity to the famous wine house, the group of ghosts could therefore have chosen this location because of the prosperousness of the region and its closeness to the pawnshop of Fan Sheng. They may have also materialized to trap Fan Sheng after secretly following him in the other world.

Based on the attached map of Lin'an in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, the Shengyang Palace was located to the north of the Northern Gate of the imperial city, the Chaotian Gate, beside the Qianghe Ward 清河坊 and the Wushan Ward 吳山坊.³⁶⁶ The middle segment of Imperial Street 御街,³⁶⁷ from the Chaotian Gate to the Zhong'an Bridge 眾安橋, passed through the largest commercial space of the city of Lin'an.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁴ See *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 55. 3839b. In the “Notes on the Transcription” (Zhaji 札記) of *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, it also says, “The original name of the Southern Official Wine House is Shengyang Palace” (南庫元名聖陽宮). See “Notes on the Transcription”, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 4261a.

³⁶⁵ *Chunyou Lin'an zhi*, 2.3232b.

³⁶⁶ In *Meng liang lu*, it reads: “There are three gates inside the city, the Chaotian Gate, the Tanqiao Gate, and the Yanqiao Gate” (城中有門者三, 曰朝天門, 曰炭橋門, 曰鹽橋門). See *Meng liang lu*, 7.183.

³⁶⁷ For the modern archeological discovery of the imperial street, see Tang Junjie 唐俊傑 and Du Zhengxian 杜正賢, *Nansong Lin'an cheng kaogu* 南宋臨安城考古 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2008), 36–45.

³⁶⁸ Lin Zhengqiu even holds the opinion that this region is the only urban space of the whole city of Lin'an to have endured since the Tang Dynasty. See Lin, *Nansong ducheng*, 246. Also see Zhou

According to *Ducheng ji sheng*,³⁶⁹ the region from the Chaotian Gate to the Zhong'an Bridge was indeed a most prosperous commercial district.³⁷⁰ As Shiba Yoshinobu points out, inside the city of Lin'an, the large wine houses, the places with abundant food specialties, and the commercial center were roughly located in the same region.³⁷¹ The Shengyang Palace wine house, where Fan Sheng meets the two crones, is located in just such a commercial area.

Wei quan 周維權, *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi* 中國古典園林史 (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2010), 201.

³⁶⁹ In *Ducheng ji sheng*, it reads:

Begining from the outside of the Hening Gate of the Grand Interior, to the south and north of the New Road, in the morning, pearls, jades, precious items, curiosities, and flowers as well as fruits, fresh food, seafood, venison, rare vessels, the hardly-seen things of the world, all of them gathered here; hence, [in] the Chaotian Gate, Qinghe Ward, the front of the Middle Pleasure Precinct, Batou Market, the entrance of the Guan Alley, Pengxin, Zhong'an Bridge, [are all full of] food stores and shops and crowded with people.

自大內和寧門外，新路南北，早間珠玉珍異及花果，時新，海鮮，野味，奇器，天下所無者，悉集於此；以至朝天門、清河坊、中瓦前、灞頭、官巷口、棚心、眾安橋，食物店鋪，人煙浩穰。

See Guanpu naide weng, *Ducheng ji sheng*, in *Dongjing meng Hua lu (wai si zhong)*, 1.91.

³⁷⁰ In 2000, an archaeological excavation was carried out at the Chaotian Gate of the Southern Song. The remains were located to the east of Mount Wu, connected to the royal bridge. Today, one can still observe what is left from the Qing Dynasty to the west of the remains, including the western wall of the drum tower. See *Nansong Lin'an cheng kaogu*, 129–131.

³⁷¹ Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 333.

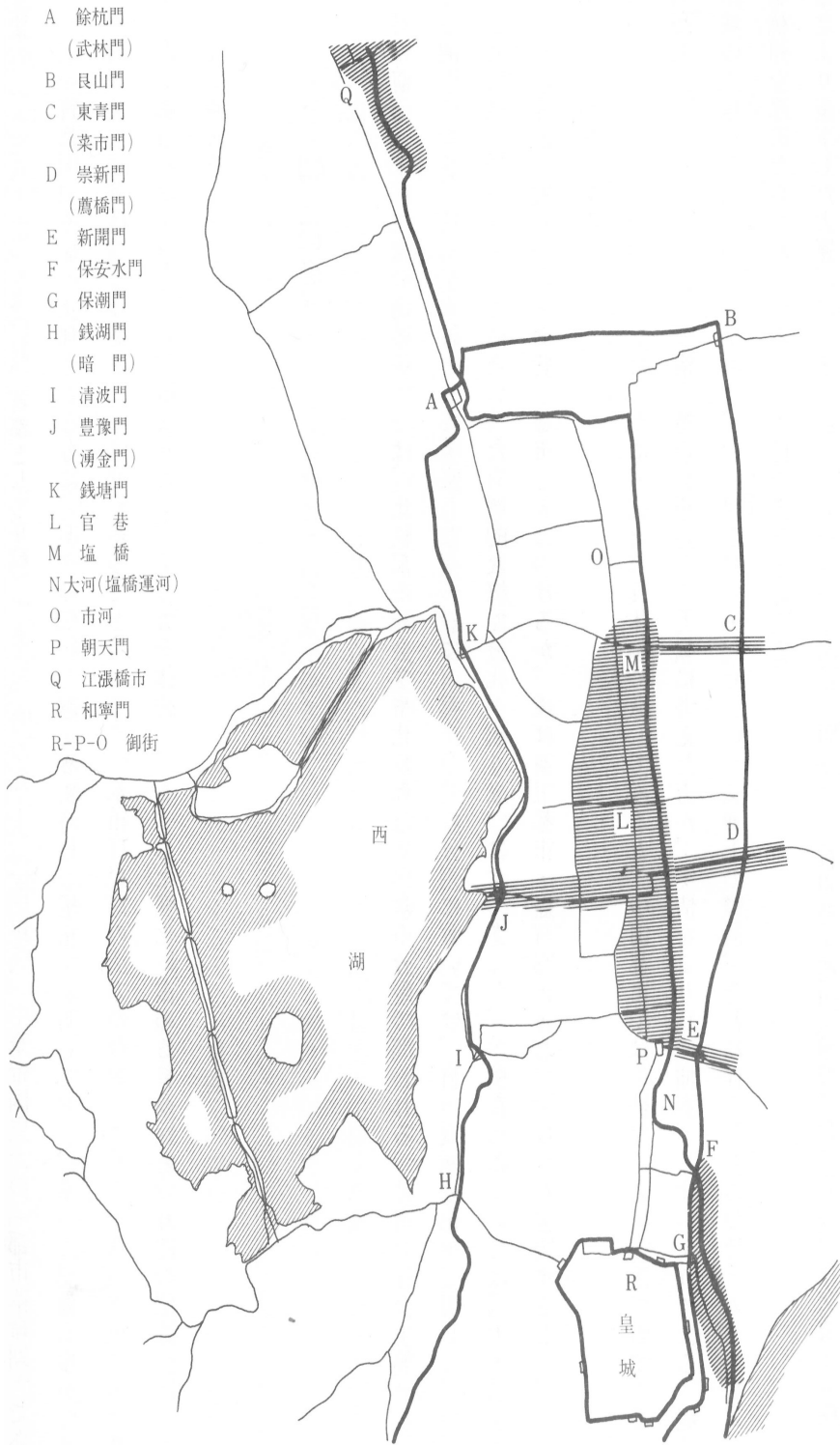


Figure 9. The major economic districts in Hangzhou. From Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 342.

At the beginning of the story, it is mentioned that Fan Sheng is the proprietor of a pawnshop. In the following text, he is called "young in age yet with a wealthy family" (少年而家富).³⁷² In the Southern Song, running pawnshops and gold and silver shops (*jinyin pu* 金銀舖) was a common business practice for the wealthy. As recorded in *Meng liang lu*, "Shops and Stalls" (Puxi 舖席), there were dozens of pawnshops inside and outside the city.³⁷³ In *Bintui Lu* 賓退錄 (Records after the Guests Have Retreated), Zhao Yushi 趙與時 (1172–1228) cites an event that took place during the years of Shaoxing:³⁷⁴

On the seventh month of the tenth year of the Shaoxing reign (1140.7), a huge fire happened in Lin'an and burned dozens of thousands of houses inside and outside the city. Pei was just settled and lodged [in Lin'an]. He had a pawnshop and a shop of gold and jewelry on a well-trafficked street. [Pei] did not take time to take care [of these properties].

紹興十年七月，臨安大火，延燒城內外室屋數萬區，裴方寓居，有質庫及金珠肆在通衢，皆不顧。

Moreover, *Meng liang lu* also remarks that:³⁷⁵

³⁷² According to Wu Zeng 吳曾 (fl. 1162), at that time, pawnshops were called "zhiku 質庫" to the south of the Yangtze river; to the north, they were called "jiekou 解庫." Moreover, pawnshops run by the temples were called "changsheng ku 長生庫;" see Wu Zeng, *Nenggai zhai manlu* 能改齋漫錄 (The Casual Notes of the Studio of Corrigibility) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1960), 2.28. For a detailed discussion of the pawnshops in Song narratives, see Luo Chenxia 羅陳霞, "Songdai xiaoshuo yu shangmao huodong," 宋代小說與商貿活動 (PhD diss., Nankai University 南開大學, 2009), 29–30. This detail further indicates that the author of *Gui Dong* was a literatus who lived in the South.

³⁷³ In *Meng liang lu*, it reads:

The pawnshops owned by the nobility and wealthy families, [there] were no less than tens of them inside and outside the city. The revenue and expenditure were counted as ten million.

府第富豪之家質庫，城內外不下數十處，收解以千萬計。

See *Meng liang lu*, 13.240.

³⁷⁴ Zhao Yushi, *Bintui lu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 9.110.

³⁷⁵ See *Meng liang lu*, 13.239.

The main street of Hangzhou, from the chevaux-de-frisé outside of the Hening Gate to Qinghe Ward outside the Chaotian Gate, to the north of the Southern Pleasure Precinct, was called *jiebei* 界北 [the Northern Border]. The front of the Middle Pleasure Precinct was called *Wuhua er zhongxin* 五花兒中心 [the Center of Five Flowers]. From the north of the Five Rooms Loft to the Southern Street of the Guan Alley, on the two sides of the street, most of the shops were gold and silver shops, salt and cash exchange shops.

杭州大街，自和寧門杈子外，一直至朝天門外清和坊，南至南瓦子北，謂之“界北。”中瓦子前，謂之“五花兒中心。”自五間樓北，至官巷南街，兩行多是金銀鹽鈔引交易。

A similar description is provided by *Ducheng ji sheng*: “From the north of the Five Rooms Loft to the Guan Alley of South Imperial Street, there were more than one hundred pawnshops and exchange shops for gold, silver, and cash” (自五間樓北，至官巷南御街，兩行多是上戶金銀鈔引交易鋪，僅百余家).³⁷⁶ Such accounts indicate that the region between the Five Rooms Loft and Guan Alley was the main place where pawnshops and exchange shops clustered.³⁷⁷ The Shengyang Palace was also located in this region, not far from the Five Rooms Loft. While the author does not explicitly mention the location of Fan Sheng’s pawnshop, the implication of the narrative would have been apparent for contemporary readers who were familiar with the urban space of Lin’an in the Southern Song: the Shengyang Palace wine house was located in the region of Lin’an in and around the pawnshops, which was, in turn, highly likely to be located along Fan Sheng’s commute to his pawnshop. It would therefore have been reasonable

³⁷⁶ See *Ducheng ji sheng*, 3.100.

³⁷⁷ Shiba Yoshinobu mentions that the concentration of financial stores such as pawnshops and exchange shops for silver and gold marked the most prominent commercial center of the city of Lin'an. See Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 341.

for a wealthy merchant such as Fan Sheng to frequent the area of the Shengyang Palace.³⁷⁸

Once Fan Sheng has overheard the discussion of the two old women about Crone Wang, he follows them to a tea loft, where he seizes the chance to get Crone Wang alone. The text reads:³⁷⁹

Fan was ecstatic [upon hearing this news]. He waited for the two crones to leave and asked Crone Wang to drink with him alone, and said, “Now, I am the one who picked up the shoe. Where is Lady Tao now? Could you, my old lady, help me with this matter?”

The crone was surprised and said, “This is a heaven-made match! She is 22 years old; she used to be the favorite concubine of the Commandery Prince Zhang. She was only 17 or 18 years old when the Commandery Prince died. She has been out seeking a match for four years already, but there was no one who caught her fancy. Therefore, she has never remarried to this day. In her vanity-case, there are ten thousand strings of coins. You are also young and rich. That’s exactly what she wants. Yet you have to meet each other before talking about marriage.”

樊大喜，伺兩嫗去，獨呼飲王嫗，言：鞋，乃我得之。陶今安在？嫗果能副吾事否？嫗吒曰：天合也！彼生二十有二年矣，張郡王之嬖也。郡王死時方十七八，出求偶已四年矣，無當其意者，故不嫁至今。奩中所有萬緡，君少年而家富，契彼所欲。然必令一見乃可。

The story does not elaborate on the character of Commandery Prince Zhang. This would have been Zhang Jun 張俊 (1086–1154), an influential general during the reign of the Gaozong as emperor. In the 12th year of the Shaoxing reign (1142), Zhang was awarded the title of Commandery Prince of Qinghe 清和郡王. Furthermore, he was also bestowed the posthumous title Prince of Xun 循王 in the 24th year of the Shaoxing reign

³⁷⁸ The Shengyang Wine House is also mentioned in “The Roast Chicken of Li Ji” (Li Ji ao ji 李吉爇雞) in *Yijian zhi* as the place where Fan Yinbin meets the ghost of his former servant; see Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, Yi: 9:443. I will discuss “The Roast Chicken of Li Ji” in more detail in pages 80–81.

³⁷⁹ See *Gui Dong*, 4.4b.

(1154). From the tone of Crone Wang, he was a well-known figure to the residents of Southern Song-era Lin'an. Though Zhang Jun was favored by the Gaozong emperor, he was renowned for being lubricious and brutal. To facilitate the analysis of “Student Fan,” the biography of Zhang Jun in *Song shi* serves as useful background. It reads:³⁸⁰

After [the Song court] migrated to the south, as the earliest person to control the army, his frequent military achievements made Jun a famous general, often mentioned together with Han Shizhong (1089–1151), Liu Qi (1098–1162), and Yue Fei, as the well-known Zhang, Han, Liu, and Yue. After the battles of Haozhou (modern Fengyang, Anhui) and Shouzhou (modern Shouxian, Anhui), Jun had a rift with Liu Qi and solely considered Yang Yizhong (1102–1166) as his trusted subordinate, which caused the incident of Haozhou and Liang River (modern Fengyang, Anhui).³⁸¹ When Yue Fei was wronged and unjustly arrested, while Han Shizhong attempted to rescue him, Jun only helped Qin Kuai to achieve the goal [of wronging Yue Fei]. How different were Jun's calculations [in this case]? The emperor treated Jun especially generously among all the generals; but the people who warned and admonished the emperor never shut their mouths. When the Pacification Commissioner of Huaixi³⁸² entered the court, the emperor made him read “The Biography of Guo Ziyi (697–781).”³⁸³ He was then

³⁸⁰ *Song shi*, 369.11475–76.

³⁸¹ In early 1141, the armies of Zhang Jun, Yang Yizhong and Liu Qi fought together in the battle of Zhegao 柘皋 (east of modern Hefei, Anhui) and defeated the Jin troops. The rest of the Jin troops retreated to Mount Zijin 紫金山 (east of modern Nanjing, Jiangsu). To prevent Liu Qi and Yue Fei from receiving credit for the victory, Zhang Jun told them not to come to the west of Huai. So Yue Fei stayed in Shuzhou 舒州 (modern Qianshan, Anhui). But the Jin Prince Wu Zhu 兀術 (also known as Wanyan Zongbi 完顏宗弼, d.1148) only pretended to retreat to the north. Prince Wu Zhu regrouped his troops and seized Haozhou, and as a result, the Song forces lost their victory. See Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730–1797) ed., *Xu zizhi tongjian* 續資治通鑑 (Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) (1957 Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 124.3275–3278; Tao Jing-Shen, “The Move to the South and the Reign of Kao-Tsung” in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 5, Part One: The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors 907–1279*, edited by Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 682.

³⁸² In 1141, Zhang Jun's title was Pacification Commissioner of Huaixi 淮西宣撫使. See *Song shi*, 369.11473.

³⁸³ Guo Ziyi 郭子儀 (697–781) was a powerful Tang general who was known for ending the An-Shi Rebellion 安史之亂 (December 755–February 763). Because of his loyalty to the court, Guo Ziyi survived the reigns of four emperors, including Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 685–762), Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762), Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779), and Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805). In 762, Guo Ziyi was also given the title Commandery Prince of Fenyang 汾陽郡王. For Guo Ziyi, see Liu Xu 劉昫 (888–947) et al., comps. *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old Book of Tang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 120. 3449–76; Ouyang Xiu and

summoned into the Forbidden Interior Palace and warned not to contest with the commoners for profit and not pursue large-scale constructions. In the sixth month of the 24th year [of Shaoxing] (1154.7), Jun passed away when he was 69 years old.

南渡後，俊握兵最早，屢立戰功，與韓世忠、劉錡、岳飛並為名將，世稱張、韓、劉、岳。然濠、壽之役，俊與錡有隙，獨以楊沂中為腹心，故有濠梁之劫。岳飛冤獄，韓世忠救之，俊獨助檜成其事，心術之殊也，遠哉！帝于諸將中眷俊特厚，然警敕之者不絕口。自淮西入見，則教其讀郭子儀傳；召入禁中，戒以毋與民爭利，毋興土木。二十四年六月薨，年六十九。

For the residents of the capital city, such as Fan Sheng, the life and death of Zhang Jun would have constituted part of their collective memory. As Zhang Jun died in the 24th year of Shaoxing (1154), the story of “Student Fan” would have taken place around the 28th year (1158), since, according to Crone Wang, four years had passed since

Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061), comps., *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New Book of Tang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 137.4599–4614.

Gaozong liked Guo Ziyi for his unquestioning obedience to the emperor and considered him an ideal, exemplary military general. In the fourth year of the Jianyan 建炎 (1130) reign, Gaozong transcribed “the Biography of Guo Ziyi” and showed it to his generals. In the 11th year of the Shaoxing (1141) reign, Gaozong summoned Zhang Jun. In *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, it remarks:

On the *gengwu* day [of the first month (February 18th, 1141) of the 11th year of the Shaoxing reign], Zhang Jun, Pacification Commissioner of Huaixi, entered the court. The emperor asked: “Have you ever read ‘The Biography of Guo Ziyi’ before?” Jun answered that he never knew about it. The emperor instructed him and said: “At that time, Ziyi had many worries. Although he was always garrisoned outside with powerful troops, his mind respected the court. Once an imperial edict arrived, he hit the road on that very day, without looking back at all. Therefore, he enjoyed abundant blessings; all his succeeding offspring received the endless favor of heaven. At present, the troops in your garrisons are the troops of the court. If you know how to respect the court as Ziyi did, then not only will you enjoy good fortune, your offspring will be as prosperous as you. If you repose your confidence in your military power and take little notice of the court, or if while there are orders [from the court] you do not report to the throne at once, then not only will your offspring not live in ease and comfort, you will also have unforeseen disaster. You should take precautions against [such behaviors].”

庚戌，淮西宣撫使張俊入見。上問：“曾讀郭子儀傳否？”俊對以未曉。上諭云：“子儀方時多虞，雖總重兵處外，而心尊朝廷，或有詔至，即日就道，無纖介顧望。故身享厚福，子孫慶流無窮。今卿所營兵，乃朝廷兵也。若知尊朝廷如子儀，則非特身饗福，子孫昌盛亦如之。若恃兵權之重而輕視朝廷，有命不即稟，非特子孫不饗福，身亦有不測之禍，卿宜戒之。”

See *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, 139. 2227.

the death of Zhang Jun. This timeline also matches the comment at the end of the narrative that “the event happened at the end of the Shaoxing years.”

Like Qin Kuai,³⁸⁴ Zhang Jun was publicly recognized as having been a prime mover in Yue Fei’s unjust death.³⁸⁵ In addition to “Student Fan,” *Gui Dong* also contains another story involving Qin Kuai. “The Golden Candle” (Jinzhu 金燭), from the second *juan*, tells the story of Qin Kuai receiving bribes from low-ranking officials.³⁸⁶ At the end of the story of “Student Fan,” it is revealed that the cause of Lady Tao’s death was a cruel and bloody stroke that severed the waist that was inflicted by Zhang Jun. Zhang’s brutal nature is suggested throughout the text by the author’s repeated emphasis on the halved body of Lady Tao. This implication also aligns the author’s attitude with that of the commoners in Southern Song society, who generally bore a deep contempt for Qin Kuai and Zhang Jun. Besides his brutality, Zhang Jun was also famous for his unrestrained lust. In *Huizhu lu* 揮塵錄 (Records of Waving the Duster), it is recorded that on the sixth month in the second year of Jianyan (1128.6) Zhang Jun even killed Zhao Shujin 趙叔近

³⁸⁴ For Qin Kuai, see M. Yamauchi, “Ch’in Kuei” in *Sung Biographies*, ed. Herbert Franke (Taipei: Nan Tien shuju, 1976), 1. 241–247.

³⁸⁵ For the death of Yue Fei, see M. Yamauchi, “Yüeh Fei” in *Sung Biographies*, ed. Herbert Franke 3. 1266–1271. Also see Helmut Wilhelm, “From Myth to Myth: The Case of Yüeh Fei’s Biography,” in *Confucian Personalities*, ed. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 146–61. Also see Toyama Gunji 外山軍治. *Gaku Hi to Shin Kai* 岳飛と秦檜 (Tokyo: Fuzanbo, 1939).

³⁸⁶ *Gui Dong*, 2.6a–7a.

(d.1128), a member of the imperial clan, to obtain a courtesan.³⁸⁷ The account from *Song shi* below demonstrates Zhang's inclination toward cruel killing.³⁸⁸

At first, when [Wang] Yuan (1076–1170) was at Bianjing, he became familiar with a courtesan, née Zhou. Afterwards, she married Shujin. Yuan bore a grudge for this; thus Yuan calumniated that Shujin colluded with the traitors. Shujin was divested of his position and detained at the prefectural administration. His post was filled by Zhu Fu [known to have been an official in Zhenjiang prefecture between 1141–1142], who was uncontrollably atrocious and brutal. The soldiers and commoners were filled with discontent and indignation. A petty foot-soldier, Xu Ming, led the crowd to imprison Zhu Fu, receiving Shujin as the leader of prefectural matters. Shujin was not allowed to decline [the offered position]. Hence, he complied with [the crowd] and pacified the situation. Then Shujin wrote to [the court] asking for the appointment of a new prefect [for Xiuzhou].

While the memorial of Shujin had not yet reached [the capital], the court ordered Zhang Jun to lead a punitive expedition to Xiuzhou. Jun, who was a subordinate of Yuan, went to bid farewell to Yuan. Yuan told [Jun]: “Shujin was at that place.” Jun understood his intention. When Jun took the troops to the county, Shujin came to receive him. Jun shouted to order Shujin to give his reply. When Shujin had just picked up the brush, many blades moved forward and cut off his right arm. Shujin cried out and said: “I am a member of the imperial clan.” Jun said: “You already followed the traitor. On what account do you speak of ‘the imperial clan’?” Before the words of Jun had even finished, the head of Shujin was cut to the ground.

初，淵在汴京，狎娼周氏，周氏後歸叔近，淵銜之，乃誣叔近通賊，奪職拘于州，以朱芾代之。芾肆殘虐，軍民怨憤，小卒徐明率眾囚芾，迎叔近領郡事，叔近不得辭，因撫定之，請擇守于朝。奏未達，朝廷命張俊致討。俊，淵部曲也，辭行，淵謂之曰：“叔近在彼。”俊諭意。領兵至郡，叔近出迎，俊叱令置對。方操筆，羣刀遽前，斷其右臂，叔近呼曰：“我宗室也。”俊曰：“汝既從賊，何云宗室！”語未竟，已折首于地。

³⁸⁷ Wang Mingqing, *Huizhu san lu*, in *Huizhu lu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 2.250–51. Also see “The Biography of Zhao Shujin” (Zhao Shujin zhuan 趙叔近傳), in *Songshi*, 247.8764. John W. Chaffee also uses Zhao Shujin as a typical example of the destinies of clansmen in the war; see John W. Chaffee, *Branches of Heaven: A History of the Imperial Clan of Sung China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 128–29.

³⁸⁸ “The Biography of Zhao Shujin,” in *Song shi*, 247.8764.

While “Student Fan” does not directly depict Zhang Jun as a ghost and a witness to history, Lady Tao’s beautiful, seductive, yet horrifying body attests to both Zhang Jun’s concupiscence and his brutality. In the above passage from *Song shi*, the way that Shujin’s body parts are cut off resemble the way Lady Tao’s body is cut into two pieces. The cruelty of Zhang Jun was certainly an essential part of his reputation.

Since he was the Commandery Prince of Qinghe, Zhang Jun lived in Taiping Alley 太平巷, to the west of Qinghe Ward.³⁸⁹ Hence, as a concubine of Zhang Jun, Lady Tao’s ghostly appearance in the nearby region of the Qinghe Ward is precisely appropriate. Shengyang Palace, where Fan Sheng encounters the two old crones, was also located in the Qinghe Ward, so contemporary readers living in the capital city—who would have possessed a vivid spatial understanding of the urban layout of Lin’an—could have found special meaning in how Fan Sheng is brought into the trap of ghosts in the Shengyang Palace.

As they execute their plot, the two old crones lure the protagonist into following them from the street in front of the Shengyang Palace wine house to a tea loft, where they ask a servant to invite Crone Wang for a conversation. This plot movement suggests that the tea loft is not far from the Shengyang Palace, as it can be easily reached on foot. The introduction of the tea loft would have special meaning for the contemporary reader, who

³⁸⁹ Xu Mengxin 徐夢莘 (1124–1207) et al., *Sanchao beimeng hui bian* 三朝北盟會編 (Compendium of Treaties with the Northern during the Three Reigns) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe), 212.4b. Also see *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, 10.3442b.

fully understood its social and cultural function. In the *Meng liang lu*, for instance, the diversity of the clientele is particularly highlighted in its description of such places:³⁹⁰

Most of the tea lofts are places where young men from rich families or lower ministers from various offices [of the government] gather to learn how to play musical instruments and are taught things like songs, and *zhuan*, which is called “hanging cards.” The tea lofts for social relationships, which do not consider serving tea or soup as the main business, earn great fortunes from tea due to its function [of facilitating social interactions]. Some of the tea lofts are places where panderers [from brothels] gather, and there are also guild heads from various guilds who sell their services there—they are called “marketing heads.”³⁹¹ On the main street, there are also three or five tea lofts with the upper floor dedicated to courtesans, which are called the Flower Tea Lofts, such as Pan Jiegan Tea Loft and Yu Qilang Tea Loft in the south of the West Ward of the city, Skeleton Zhu Tea Loft in the north of Baoyou Ward, Guo Silang Tea Loft in Taiping Ward, and Zhang Qi Xianggan Tea Loft at the very north end of Taiping Ward. Probably because that these five venues are often noisy and disturbing, they are not places for decent gentlemen to linger for long.

大凡茶樓多有富室子弟，諸司下直等人會聚，習學樂器，上教曲賺之類，謂之“掛牌兒”。人情茶肆，本非以點茶湯為業，但將此為由，多覓茶金耳。又是茶肆專是五奴打聚處，亦有諸行借工賣伎人會聚行老，謂之“市頭”。大街有三五家開茶肆，樓上專安者妓女，名曰花茶坊，如市西坊南潘節干，俞七郎茶坊，保佑坊北朱骷醜茶坊，太平坊郭四郎茶坊，太平坊北首張七相干茶坊，蓋此五處多有炒鬧，非君子駐足之地也。

Among the categories of tea lofts mentioned above, the tea loft where Fan Sheng and Crone Wang meet is most likely a “tea loft for social relationships” (*renqing chafang* 人情茶坊). Such tea lofts did not regard serving tea as the main business; instead, their main functions were the communication of information and exchange of services. Open to all classes in the Southern Song and often crowded with various types of people, these

³⁹⁰ *Meng liang lu*, 16.262.

³⁹¹ The “marketing heads crone” (*shitou po* 市头婆) is another name for a “procuress” or “madam” (*baomu* 鴇母). In *Chengwei lu* 稱謂錄 (Records of Terms of Address), it remarks: “The marketing heads crone is the name of the procuress in the brothels” (市頭婆，妓家鴇母之稱). See Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅 (1775–1849) ed., *Chengwei lu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 30.597.

tea lofts could be regarded as the spaces where messages and information was gathered and dispatched, received and delivered. The manner of Crone Wang's speech and behavior limns a typical Southern Song matchmaker, who might reasonably and frequently show up in such tea lofts to find people interested in the matches she could facilitate.

Serving similar functions as the tea lofts, wine houses were also widely and densely distributed in Lin'an. As places where people from different backgrounds and places in the social hierarchy could meet and gather, both tea lofts and wine houses were called, according to Yuan Cai, "spaces where little people lived in a confusing mess" (小人雜處之地).³⁹² In fact, due to the special structure of wine houses, they provided a greater degree of privacy for secret meetings, giving Fan Sheng and Lady Tao another reason to plan their first meeting in a wine house. It reads:³⁹³

They arranged to meet Lady Tao in Mister So-and-so's wine house the next day. Fan Sheng went according to the arranged time. He looked around and found that the crone was walking in the front. She was followed by a carriage that was borne by four porters, and a servant girl followed them along. Lifting the curtain to come out and bowed was a brilliant beauty. Fan Sheng had never seen anyone like her. They drank till the sunset and began to flirt with each other with intimate words. The crone left on some other pretext and the girl then had sex with Fan and was unwilling to leave him.

Fan Sheng's father was strict. Since it was an illicit sexual relation, Fan Sheng dared not to take the woman home. He had a storage room on Back Market Street that the girl already knew about, so on her own she ordered her carriage and went there with her maidservant. Fan Sheng had no choice but to follow so he followed her and went upstairs with her to sit, holding her hand. The porters kept watch at the door and the hired help, seeing that they wore paper clothing, and blurted out in alarm. The four porters then disappeared. Fan Sheng, sitting

³⁹² In *Yuanshi shifan*, it reads: "Markets, streets, alleys, tea lofts and wine houses, all of them are mingled spaces of little people" (市井街巷，茶坊酒肆，皆小人雜處之地). See Yuan Cai, *Yuanshi shifan*, 2.36.

³⁹³ *Gui Dong*, 4.4b–5a.

upstairs, knew nothing about it. In the middle of the night, Fan Sheng went back home and the servant escorted him. The servant told him what he had seen, yet Fan Sheng did not believe him. The next morning the servant took some hot water upstairs and saw that the servant girl was a skeleton. Lady Tao, who was sitting on the bed, was cut in half vertically below the waist and the two parts were in different places. Immediately, the servant rushed to report this to Fan Sheng's father. The father went to check on the situation, but he found it only an empty room with no one left inside.

約以明日會某氏酒肆中。樊生如期往，顧之，嫗走而先，四夫舁一轎，一女奴從其後，褰簾出揖，粲然麗人，目所未見。飲至暮，語浸褻狎，嫗以他故出，女遂與樊亂，不肯複去。樊生父甚嚴，以野合不敢攜女歸，有貯貨屋在後市街，女已知之，自呼車與女奴偕往，樊生不獲已，乃從之，相挽登樓坐。舁夫於門守，舍傭見其人衣紙衣，驚呼失聲，四夫皆沒，樊生坐樓上不知也。中夜樊歸，傭途送之，道所見，猶不之信。旦日，傭燂湯登樓，視婢乃一枯骸，女在床自腰以下中斷而異處，亟走報樊父，父往驗之，則蕩然空室，無複存者。

The appearance of Lady Tao, with her carriage porters and maidservant, resembles that of any upper-class lady in other narratives of the Song dynasty. Nevertheless, Fan Sheng sleeping with Lady Tao in the wine house would still have shocked most of the story's audience. Note that this plot takes advantage of the design and function of many wine houses in Lin'an during the Southern Song, which inherited Kaifeng's tradition of hosting secret wine chambers; some of the wine houses even provided hidden beds in these secret chambers. As described in *Ducheng jisheng*, it remarks:³⁹⁴

The Hut wine houses were those with courtesans available for sexual services. There were wine chambers with hidden beds as well. As a sign, in front of their main gates, there were always red gardenia lamps covered by bamboo regardless of rain or sun. In some of the other grand wine houses, the courtesans only provided services of companionship. For people who wanted to buy sexual services, they often needed to go to the residences of the courtesans.

³⁹⁴ *Ducheng ji sheng*, 1.92.

庵酒店，謂有娼妓在內，可以就歡，而於酒閣內暗藏臥床也。門首宏梘子燈上，不以晴雨，必用簷蓋之，以為記認。其他大酒店，娼妓只伴坐而已。慾買歡，則多往其居。

The “Student Fan” plot does not follow the etiquette and norms for the arrangement and discussion of marriage. According to *Meng liang lu*, the matchmaking (*xiangqin* 相親) between a man and a woman should happen either at the home of the woman, in a garden, or while boating on a lake, in the presence of both parties’ parents. It reads:³⁹⁵

Next, the man’s family would pick a date and bring wine and gifts to visit the woman’s family, in a garden, or in a boat on a lake. The meeting of close relatives of the two parties gave the name “*xiangqin* 相親 [matchmaking].” Next, the man would present four cups of wine and the woman would additionally prepare two cups. Such gifts suggested that the man was stronger while the woman was weaker. Once the new couple was satisfied, [people of the man’s family] would pin a golden hairpin into the hair bun of the woman, which was called “*cha chai* 插釵 [pinning the hairpin].” If not satisfied, they would give two *pi*³⁹⁶ bolts of colored silk, which was called “*yajing* 壓驚 [getting over a shock],” [which suggested] the inharmoniousness of the marriage arrangement.

然後男家擇日備酒禮詣女家，或借園圃，或湖舫內，兩親相見，謂之“相親。”男以酒四盃，女則添備雙盃，此禮取男強女弱之意。如新人中意，即以金釵插於冠髻中，名曰“插釵”。若不如意，則送彩緞二匹，謂之“壓驚”，則婚事不諧矣。

In contrast, in the story of “Student Fan,” the meeting of Fan Sheng and Lady Tao takes place privately and secretly in a wine house, which obviously violates societal norms and tradition, and is therefore called an “illicit sexual relation” (*yehe* 野合) by the author.

While Fan Sheng does not bring Lady Tao to his family’s home out of his fear of having

³⁹⁵ *Meng liang lu*, 20.304.

³⁹⁶ *Pi*, “bolt,” is a measure of length for silk. A *pi* is approximately 9.2 meters, or 30 feet.

breached normal practice, Lady Tao goes directly to Fan Sheng's storage room in Houshi Street 後市街 with her maidservant. The fact that Lady Tao already knows of the existence of the storage room might be the first detail to shock the reader, as it seemingly indicates that every one of Fan Sheng's moves is under surveillance by Lady Tao.

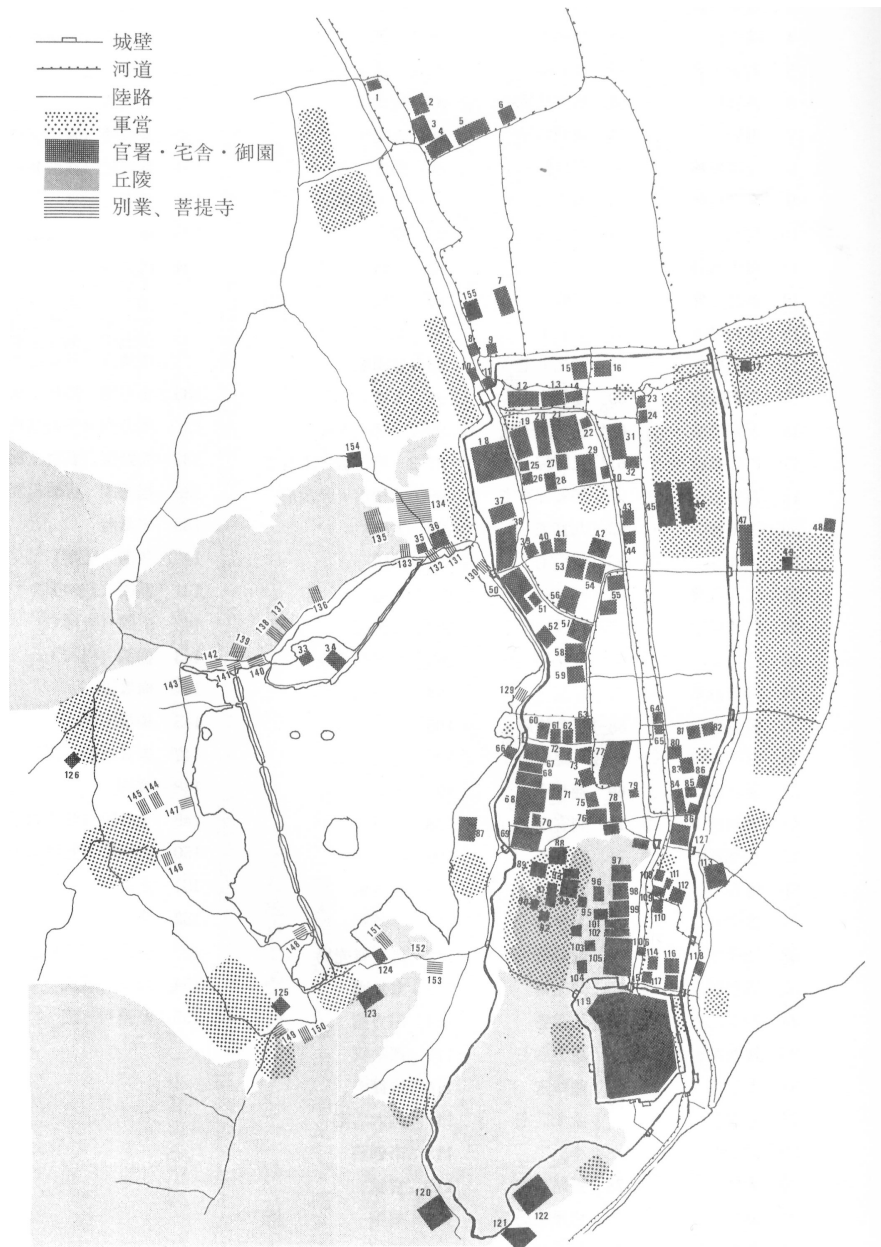


Figure 10. The military districts and the residential districts of the officials and gentry in Hangzhou. From Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 343.

Named according to the principle of “court in front and market behind” (*qianchao houshi* 前朝後市), to the rear of the imperial palace near Mount Phoenix, Houshi Street ran from Qinghe Ward to Fule Ward 富樂坊, parallel with the Imperial Street 御街.³⁹⁷ According to *Meng liang lu*, mansion of royal family members were common along Houshi street, including the residence of Empress Dowager Meng (1073–1131), who had pure intellect, compassion and the virtues of a sage 昭慈聖獻孟太后宅;³⁹⁸ the residence of Empress Li (1144–1200), who had compassion and reverential virtue 慈懿李皇后宅;³⁹⁹ the residence of Empress Dowager Xie (1210–1283), who had longevity and sagely prosperity 壽和聖福謝太后;⁴⁰⁰ the Palace of Longxiang 龍翔宮;⁴⁰¹ and others. Houshi Street, then, was a place where the upper class such as empresses and princes resided.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁷ Lin Zhengqiu, *Nansong ducheng Lin'an*, 89.

³⁹⁸ In *Meng liang lu*, it reads: “The residence of Empress Dowager Meng who had pure intellect, compassion and the blessings of a sage, was located at Houshi Street” (昭慈聖獻孟太后宅，在後市街). See *Meng liang lu*, 10.211. For the biography of Empress Dowager Meng, see *Song shi*, 243.8632–38.

³⁹⁹ “The residence of Empress Li who had compassion and reverential virtue was located at Houshi Street” (慈懿李皇后宅，在後市街 (*ibid.*)). For the biography of Empress Li, see *Song shi*, 243.8653–55.

⁴⁰⁰ “The residence of Empress Dowager Xie who had longevity and sagely prosperity was beside the Longxiang Palace” (壽和聖福謝太后宅，在龍翔宮側 (*ibid.*)). For the biography of Empress Dowager Xie, see *Song shi*, 243. 8658–60.

⁴⁰¹ “The Longxiang Palace was located at Houshi Street. It was originally the residence of Emperor Lizong [before he ascended the throne]” (龍翔宮，在後市街，元理廟潛邸 (*ibid.*, 8.199).

⁴⁰² Shiba Yoshinobu identifies this region as one of the three main areas where the royal family and prestigious officials lived, pointing out that this location had a unique advantage due to its adjacency to the Imperial Street. See Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 355.

Moreover, a flourishing commercial area existed to the east and southeast of Houshi Street, home to uncountable wine houses, brothels, and shops.⁴⁰³ Pingkang Ward 平康坊 of Lin'an was also located in this area. The mansion of Zhang Jun was also located to the west of Qinghe Ward,⁴⁰⁴ close to Houshi Street. Due to the abundance of wine houses on and near Houshi Street, it is reasonable to assume that Lady Tao and Fan Sheng would have arranged their meeting in one of these. As both the nobility and wealthy merchants lived and conducted business in this area, it would be logical for Lady Tao to shift her desire for marriage from the nobility to a wealthy merchant who shared the same urban space—such as Fan Sheng.

From the commercial center near the southern segment of the imperial palace to the tea lofts, wine houses, and subsequently Houshi Street, Fan Sheng wanders together with Lady Tao, Crone Wang, and other ghosts around Lin'an city's commercial area, the most prosperous and crowded region of the whole urban space. Except for the single incident in which a servant of Fan Sheng sees her true form, there is nothing visibly peculiar about Lady Tao, who behaves like any ordinary young woman in the city, just as Crone Wang and the other two old women behave as ordinary matchmakers, a common sight. As the story progresses, the conversation between Fan Sheng and Crone Wang appears to be well within the usual: a casual chat in a tea loft, in which Crone Wang's description of Lady Tao and compliments towards Fan Sheng suggest that she is nothing more than a typical matchmaker or a "literally, a marketing heads crone". Before the

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ In *Meng liang lu*, it reads: "The headquarters of Prince Zhang of Xun, who is loyal and fierce, are at the Qinghe Ward. [The emperor] granted him [to build] a family temple for sacrifice" (忠烈張循王府，在清河坊，賜廟祀). See *Meng liang lu*, 10.212.

servant discovers that the chair porters wear clothes made of paper and that Lady Tao has a broken and horrifying body, readers are limited by the author's selective omniscience; just like Fan Sheng, they do not realize that most of the characters of the story are in fact ghosts. Here, in the story, the porters wearing clothes made from paper marks the popularity of paper apparel in practices of worship toward the dead: a giveaway that the porters (and, by extension, the lady they serve) are not what they seem.⁴⁰⁵

When the identity of the ghost of Lady Tao is revealed, instead of choosing to leave, she comes to the house of the Fan family. In this shifted narrative space inside the mansion of Fan Sheng, every detail of Lady Tao's behavior and actions resembles that of a newly married wife.⁴⁰⁶

Then the ghost entered their house and stayed in the room of Fan Sheng. She put makeup on and bowed to the parents-in-law. She also presented gifts for her "in-laws" like a legitimate new wife. The Fan family only had one son. They were worried about [Fan Sheng] and looked for a practitioner who was skilled at exorcism. Someone told them a man named Zhang Sheng, who sold cooked river snails for a living, was effective for summoning and investigating. So they asked Zhang Sheng to bring the ghost under control. The woman had no fear in her face and remarked: "I am from a good family. After we had just talked about marriage, unexpectedly, he raped me in the wine house. If it was like that, whose fault is this? If I do not live here, where should I return?" Zhang Sheng talked and tried to pacify her for a long time. Then she said: "It is easy for me to leave, but I won't leave this man." Then she disappeared into a whirlwind.

⁴⁰⁵ The description of paper clothes for ghosts first appeared in "Wang Qi" (Wang Qi 王琦) from *Guangyi ji* 廣異記 (Extensive Records of the Anomalies). See Dai Fu 戴孚 (ca. 738–794), *Guangyi ji*, in *Gu xiaoshuo congkan* 古小說叢刊 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 2.27–28. *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 (Classified Conversations of Master Zhu) suggests that the custom originally derived from Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756) of the Tang Dynasty. It also uncovers alternative reasons why conveying messages of remembrance in worship using paper apparel gained in popularity at the beginning of the Song, drawing on multiple origins from local cultures as well as theological ideas about gods and ghosts. See Li Jingde 黎靖德 (fl. 1270) et al., *Zhuzi yulei*, in *Lixue congshu* 理學叢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 138.3287.

⁴⁰⁶ *Gui Dong*, 5a–5b.

鬼乃入其家，即子舍塗抹，出拜舅姑，上續命物，真若新婦。樊惟一子，憂之，訪善法者。或言賣爨羸張生，考召有驗。呼治之。女子無畏色，出語曰：我良家子，方有姻議，而彼遽奸汙我於酒肆中。若謂此，誰之罪？今不居此，將安歸？張為之勸解久之，乃曰：去易耳。然吾終不置此人！遂為旋風而滅。

As few clues are provided by the author, it is difficult to locate the residence of Fan Sheng. According to the research of Shiba Yoshinobu, in Southern Song Lin'an, wealthy immigrant merchants mostly lived near Mount Phoenix,⁴⁰⁷ while rich native residents lived in the commercial centers of the city such as the region to the north of the Yan Bridge.⁴⁰⁸ The story of "Student Fan" does not inform the readers about the origin of the protagonist's family; so, when Fan Sheng attempts to return through the Qianhu Gate, either situation is possible as to his family background, since Qianhu Gate was not far from Mount Phoenix and was also a necessary stop on the route to return to the city.

According to the research of Li Fengmao 李豐懋, conceptions of ghosts and spirits in traditional China can be divided into two opposing categories based on differences in death statuses and posthumous processes: natural (*ziran* 自然) versus unnatural (*fei ziran* 非自然), and normal (*zhengchang* 正常) versus abnormal (*fei zhengchang* 非正常). The difference in death status was based on the completeness of the body, the date and time of death, and the place where the person died. Moreover, as for posthumous processes, these could be judged based on the presence or absence of an appropriate burial and appropriate ancestral worship by descendants.⁴⁰⁹ As she died

⁴⁰⁷ Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 326.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 344.

⁴⁰⁹ Li Fengmao, *Wuru yu zhejiang* 誤入與謫降 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1996), 8–9.

brutally, through being cut in half at the waist after her adultery was discovered, and likely before the birth of offspring who could worship her later on, the ghost of Lady Tao would have undergone both an unnatural death and abnormal posthumous processes. This combination would have deprived the ghost's social order of an ordinary network of relationships, pushing him or her toward malice. In order to help a "malicious ghost" (*ligui* 厲鬼) restore order in the other world, his or her wishes needed to be fulfilled, which would help to revert abnormality to normality.⁴¹⁰ Lady Tao, killed brutally due to her love affair, therefore needs a young man like Fan Sheng to satisfy her sexual desire as well as to restore her role in the normal family hierarchy. In this account, the behavior of Lady Tao in the house of the Fan family is intriguing. She "stayed in the room of Fan Sheng, put makeup on, bowed to his parents and also presented gifts for her 'in-laws' like a real new wife." In behaving like a newlywed bride, the ghost is trying to obtain a place in Fan Sheng's family hierarchy in order to ensure her posthumous worship by descendants, which will allow her to no longer be a malicious ghost.

The first part of the story that has taken place within the city walls of Lin'an concludes upon this point. Clearly, the material world of the urban space inside the metropolitan city influences the relationship between the living and the supernatural. As a result, Fan Sheng lives securely without experiencing threats to his life even when he has intimate physical interactions with Lady Tao, who reveals herself to be a ghost but does not harm the protagonist or his family. Therefore, it is reasonable to claim that humans play a governing role in the city of Lin'an, where their lives are not endangered by

⁴¹⁰ Liu Yuanru 劉苑如, *Liuchao zhiguai de changyi xushu yu xiaoshuo meixue* 六朝志怪的常異敘述與小說美學 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu suo, 2002), 59.

ghosts. Such a narrative description reflects the general belief of Lin'an residents that the *yang* power of the living in the urban space dominated the power of *yin*, diminishing the influence of ghosts inside the city walls. Consequently, ghosts like Lady Tao and Crone Wang are even forced to accommodate and adapt themselves to the urban living space by behaving like ordinary people, indistinguishable from living human beings.

Outside the City Walls

The story of Fan Sheng could reasonably conclude once Lady Tao leaves the house of the Fan family following the persuasion of Zhang Sheng. But after the young and uninhibited protagonist escapes from sexual temptation, he still indulges himself in the entertainment spaces in and outside of the city. At the very beginning of the story, Fan Sheng first falls into the ghosts' trap during his tour of the temples near the West Lake with Li Sheng. Shortly after the disappearance of Lady Zhao, another trip of Fan Sheng and Li Sheng to the outskirts of Lin'an brings them back to the deserted hills outside of the city. Eventually, they have to enter the domain of ghosts:⁴¹¹

After over a month, together with Li, Fan Sheng went for an outing outside the Gate of Jiahui. Because he was drunk, Li was disobedient to Provincial Scribe Zhao Sheng. Zhao Sheng wanted to take revenge against him. Together with Fan, Li ran away. They dared not take the old path, so they climbed Ciyun Hill and arrived at the middle of the mountain ridges near Qianhu Gate. [On the mountain,] a heavy rain came, so they lodged at a small house.

月余，樊與李遊嘉會門外，李以酒忤省史趙生，趙生欲苦之，樊與並遁，不敢由故道，乃登慈雲嶺繞入錢湖門中嶺，雨暴至，舍小人家。

⁴¹¹ *Gui Dong*, 4.5b.

The narrative informs readers that Fan Sheng and Li Sheng have met Zhao Sheng outside of Jiahui Gate, the only gate to the south of the city.⁴¹² According to *Meng liang lu*, there were mountains outside of Jiahui Gate with forests of peach blossoms, popular tourist destinations. It remarks:⁴¹³

Outside of Jiahui Gate, there was a mountain named Mount Baojia,⁴¹⁴ which had the Prospect Garden of the Palace Attendant Zhang Houzhuang⁴¹⁵ and the Garden of Wang Baosheng. On the top of the mountain, there was a pass named Peach Blossom Pass. There used to be an old plaque, which reads: “The vapouring rosy clouds.” It was full of peach blossom on both sides. In spring, with uncountable residents of Lin’an visiting, it was a spectacular scene to the south of the city.

嘉會門外有山，名包家山，內侍張侯壯觀園、王保生園。山上有關，名桃花關，舊扁蒸霞，兩帶皆植桃花，都人春時遊者無數，為城南之勝境也。

Moreover, another notable landmark outside of Jiahui Gate was a famous garden, the Garden of Jade Ford 玉津園.⁴¹⁶ According to *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, a Jurchen

⁴¹² In *Meng liang lu*, it reads:

The only gate at the south of the city was called Jiahui. The [Jiahui] gate tower was beautifully embellished. It was above all other city gates. Presumably this gate was on the imperial route. [When the emperor] visited the southern suburb [to hold ceremonies to worship heaven], the five imperial wagons graced the outlying lands, terraces and roads with royal presence from this gate.

城南門者一曰嘉會，城樓絢彩，為諸門冠，蓋此門為御道，遇南郊，五輅從此幸郊臺路。

See *Meng liang lu*, 7.183.

⁴¹³ Ibid. 19.298. Also see *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, 30.3640b.

⁴¹⁴ In “The Wang Day of the Second Month” (二月望) from the first *juan* of *Meng liang lu*, it also mentions “Wang Baosheng Garden and Imperial Commander Zhang Garden on the Mount Baojia, outside of the Jiahui gate” (嘉會門外包家山王保生，張太尉等園) as popular tourist attractions for the Lin’an citizens. See *Meng liang lu*, 1.145.

⁴¹⁵ This likely refers to Zhang Zhixing 張知省 (dates unknown), a powerful eunuch. Zhang Zhixing was known for an anecdote about him playing a joke on the poet Ge Tianmin 葛天民 (late 12th century) in *Guixin zazhi*. See Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, 227.

⁴¹⁶ The Garden of Jade Ford was an important garden located to the south of Dongjing during the Northern Song. Ye Mengde also suggests it was one of the “Four Gardens” (*si yuan* 四園) in Dongjing. See

ambassador had once participated in banquets and archery contests in the Garden of Jade Ford.⁴¹⁷ In addition, both *Xihu laoren fansheng lu* 西湖老人繁勝錄 (Record of Luxuriant Scenery by the Old Man of West Lake)⁴¹⁸ and *Wulin jiushi* mention the presence of a pleasure precinct outside of Jiahui Gate, which was an important entertainment space to the south of the city.⁴¹⁹

Stephen H. West “Spectacle, Ritual, and Social Relations: The Son of Heaven, Citizens, and Created Space in Imperial Gardens in the Northern Song,” *Baroque Garden Culture: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion*, 294–99. During the Southern Song, Gaozong rebuilt a garden outside Jiahui Gate and named it the Garden of Jade Ford. See Zhou Weiqun, *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi*, 216.

⁴¹⁷ In *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, it reads:

Yujin Garden was located outside of the Jiahui Gate. It was constructed in the 17th year of Shaoxing (1147). In the next year (1148), the Jurchen ambassador, Xiao Bingwen (fl. 1148), who came to celebrate the Tianshen Festival [Gaozong's birthday, the 21st day of the fifth month, June 9, 1148], had banquets and shooting in the garden.

玉津園在嘉會門外，紹興十七年建。明年金使蕭秉溫來賀天申節，遂燕射其中。

See *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 13. 3490b.

⁴¹⁸ In *Xihu laoren fansheng lu*, it reads:

There were 20 pleasure precincts outside the city: the Pleasure Precinct inside the Qianhu Gate, the Pleasure Precinct outside the Goulan Gate, the Pleasure Precinct outside the Jiahui Gate, the Pleasure Precinct of the Houchao Gate, the Pleasure Precinct of the Xiaoyan Gate, the pleasure precinct of the Sitong Residency, the Pleasure Precinct of the Xin Gate, the Pleasure Precinct of the Jianqiao Gate, the Pleasure Precinct of the Caishi Gate, the Pleasure Precinct of the Genshan Gate, the Pleasure Precinct of the Zhu Market, the old Pleasure Precinct, the new Pleasure Precinct of the Beiguan Gate, the Pleasure Precinct of the Yangfang Bridge outside the Qiantang Gate, the Pleasure Precinct of the Wangjia Bridge, the Pleasure Precinct of the Xingchun Bridge, the Pleasure Precinct of Mount Chi and the Pleasure Precinct of Mount Long.

城外有二十座瓦子，錢湖門里，勾欄門外瓦子，嘉會門外瓦，候潮門瓦，小堰門瓦，四通館瓦，新門瓦，薦橋門瓦，菜市門瓦，艮山門瓦，朱市瓦，舊瓦，北關門新瓦，錢塘門外羊坊橋瓦，王家橋，行春橋瓦，赤山瓦，龍山瓦。

See *Xihu laoren* 西湖老人 (The Old Man of the West Lake), *Xihu laoren fansheng lu*, in *Dongjing meng Hua lu (wai si zhong)*, 124.

⁴¹⁹ In *Wulin jiushi*, it reads:

The Southern Pleasure Precinct was located at the Qingleng Bridge and the Xichun Loft; the Middle Pleasure Precinct was located at the Sanyuan Loft; the Big Pleasure Precinct was located at the Sanqiao Street; it was also named “the Upper Pleasure Precinct.” The Northern Pleasure Precinct was located at the Zhong'an Bridge; it was also named “the Lower Pleasure Precinct.”

According to the detail of Li Sheng getting drunk and provoking an official, the place where Fan Sheng and Li Sheng pass the time near Jiahui Gate could be a garden, wine house, or pleasure precinct, likely a common gathering place for officials or wealthy merchants. Such places for pleasures like drinking and touring beyond the city walls could be regarded as an extension of the entertainment space inside the city. As Li Sheng has offended an official, Zhao Sheng, Fan Sheng and Li Sheng must flee to escape his vengeance. Without the option of returning to the city of Lin'an directly through Jiahui Gate, they plan a detour through Ciyun Peak and Qianhu Gate. Ciyun Peak was located between Mount Phoenix and Mount Yuhuang 玉皇山, and hosted Zixian Temple 資賢寺, built during the reign of the King of Wuyue, Qian Chu 錢俶 (929–988), whose mother, the Respectful and Benevolent Lady Dowager of Wuyue 吳越恭懿太夫人 (913–

The Pleasure Precinct of the Pu Bridge was also named “the Eastern Pleasure Precinct.” The Pleasure Precinct of the Bian Gate was located outside the Bian Gate; the Pleasure Precinct of the Houchao Gate was located outside the Houchao Gate; the Pleasure Precinct of the Xiaoyan Gate was located in front of the Xiaoyan Gate. The Pleasure Precinct of the Jian Bridge was located in front of the Jian Bridge. The Pleasure Precinct of the Caishi Gate was located outside the Caishi Gate; the Pleasure Precinct of the Qianhu Gate was located in front of the Xingma compound; the Pleasure Precinct of Mount Chi was located in front of the back-military camp; there was the Pleasure Precinct of Xingchun Bridge; the Pleasure Precinct of the Northern Guo was also named “the Datong Precinct.” There was the Pleasure Precinct of the Mishi Bridge; the Old Pleasure Precinct was located at the entrance of the Shibai; the Pleasure Precinct of the Jiahui Gate was located outside the Jiahui Gate; the Pleasure Precinct of the Beiguan Gate was also named “the new Pleasure Precinct”; the Pleasure Precinct of Genshan Gate was located outside the Genshan Gate; there were the Pleasure Precinct of the Yangfang Bridge, the Pleasure Precinct of the Wangjia Bridge, and the Pleasure Precinct of Mount Long.

南瓦清冷橋熙春樓，中瓦三元樓，大瓦三橋街，亦名“上瓦”。北瓦眾安橋，亦名“下瓦”。蒲橋瓦亦名“東瓦”。便門瓦便門外，候潮門候潮門外，小堰門瓦小堰門前。薦橋門瓦薦橋門前。菜市門瓦菜市門外，錢湖門瓦省馬院前，赤山瓦後軍寨前，行春橋瓦，北郭瓦又名“大通店”。米市橋瓦，舊瓦石板頭，嘉會門瓦嘉會門外，北關門瓦又名新瓦，艮山門瓦艮山門外，羊坊橋瓦，王家橋瓦，龍山瓦。

See *Wulin jiushi*, 6.440–41.

952), was also buried on the mountain.⁴²⁰ As *Meng liang lu* remarks: “Ciyun Peak, to its west, there was the Valley of Fangjia; to its east, there was Jiaotan Road. There were stone carvings from the Later Tang Dynasty (923–937) on the peak” (慈雲嶺, 西在方家峪, 東往郊壇路, 有後唐石刻).⁴²¹ According to *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, there were grave temples like the temple of Lady Liu 劉娘子寺⁴²² and the temple of the Decent Imperial Consort Chen [of Xiaozong] 陳淑妃寺 in the Valley of Fangjia.⁴²³ *Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志 (The Tourist Gazetteer of the West Lake) remarks: “For Ciyun Peak, it was a branch range of Mount Long, so the famous temples on the mountain often have *long* 龍 [dragon] in their titles” (慈雲嶺者, 龍山支脈也, 故其山名寺額多以龍名).⁴²⁴ The region near Ciyun Peak was a vast area of land without many residents, as Shiba Yoshinobu suggests: “From Ciyun Peak, via the northwestern ridge of Mount Phoenix, to Wansong Peak 萬松嶺, was the sinuously extended area of southern outer city. Such an area in the south of the city of Hangzhou was a vast land with few people.”⁴²⁵ The

⁴²⁰ See Fan Jiong 范炯 (fl.907–954) and Liu Yu 林禹 (dates unknown), comp., *Wuyue beishi* 吳越備史 (The Supplementary History of Wu and Yue), in *Sibu congkan xubian* 四部叢刊續編, ed. Zhang Yuanji 張元濟 (1867–1959) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1936), 4.13a.

⁴²¹ *Meng liang lu*, 11.219.

⁴²² Here Lady Liu refers to the Consort Liu of Merit and Longevity 德壽劉妃 (d.1187) of Gaozong. For a biography of Consort Liu, see Li Xinchuan, comp., *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji*, 1.42.

⁴²³ *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 30.3638a. *Wulin jiushi* also remarks: “The Monastery of Guangfu in Ningqing was an Incense Fire Monastery of Decent Imperial Consort Chen; although the monastery was small, it was secluded, deep, and gratifying” (寧清廣福院: 陳淑妃香火院, 雖小而幽邃可喜). See *Wulin jiushi*, 5.414. For the biography of Decent Imperial Consort Chen, see *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji*, 1.43.

⁴²⁴ Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (1503–1557) comp., *Xihu youlan zhi*, *Siku quanshu* edition, 4.3b.

⁴²⁵ Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 320.

desolation of the area would have reminded Lin'an audiences of the underworld, providing an appropriate setting for the subsequent plot development in which the protagonist encounters a trial of ghosts by an official from the netherworld.

To a certain extent, the conflict between Li Sheng and Zhao Sheng is a moment of transition in the story. From this point forward, Fan Sheng and Li Sheng have no choice but to leave the prosperous area near Jiahui Gate and the city of Lin'an and enter the desolate scenery of Ciyun Peak. Lacking the assistance of family members, exorcists, and servants, the protagonist finally steps into the domain of the dead, where ghosts—including Lady Tao—are in full control. Here, the protagonist and his friend encounter unprecedented threats, rendering them vulnerable to the greatest horror and danger.

Over the hills, they find a small house in which to stay. Then the two young men soon realize that they have again been deceived by ghosts. It reads:⁴²⁶

The woman of the house came out in white clothes and said: "I am the wife of Gu Liu. He died less than a month ago."

After nightfall, the rain became heavier. The hostess arranged beds for the two guests and said: "In front of the Shengyang Palace you only offered drinks to Crone Wang. Now when you are in trouble, you come to me for help." Li said to Fan: "How could she know about this? Could it be that she is also a ghost?"

They were scared and dared not sleep. At midnight, they heard knocks on the door and someone frantically calling Gu Liu. The two young men spied runners in black dragging an old man from the bier and leaving. [The runners in black] returned to say to the crone: "Look after the two guests, do not let them leave." Fan and Li were more frightened. Therefore, they held each other's hands and ran away through the back door. Viewing the desolate hills, they found a dense stand of lanterns and candles. Nearby, a man wearing a green robe was delivering a verdict at the desk. Ghost clerks were surrounding Gu Liu and his wife, the old man and the crone. Moreover, there was a beautiful woman in the custody of the ghost runners. Her body was cut in half at the waist. Strings sewed together the two parts but the parts of her body were not quite connected. She was Lady Tao.

⁴²⁶ *Gui Dong*, 4.5b–6a.

主人母白服出迎，曰：顧六妻也。夫死未盈月。日暝雨甚，主人母以榻處二客，曰：昇陽宮前酒唯飲王老娘，今急乃投我。李謂樊曰：彼何自知之？得非亦鬼乎？懼不敢寐，中夜聞扣聞聲，呼顧六甚急。二生窺見皂衣卒自靈床上曳老叟去，回語嫗：善視二客，勿使去。樊李益恐，相攜自後戶而逸，望荒邱中燈燭森列，綠袍人據案決事，鬼吏擁顧六翁媪在旁；又有麗女，鬼卒守之，腰腹中絕，以線縫綴而不甚相屬，蓋陶小娘子也。

While the author has not, to this point, put specific time stamps on the story's plot developments, now the narrative for the first time explicitly mentions that "after nightfall, the rain became heavier" (日暝雨甚), with this environmental description contributing to the aura of looming threat. Once they locate the house, knock on the door, and wait for an answer, the opening comment of the hostess, Gu Liu's wife, and her white funeral dress imply an association between the house and the underworld. When she prepares beds for the two young men, she mentions the meeting of Fan Sheng and Crone Wang in the wine house as if she had also been also there. While Gu Liu's wife has never before appeared in the text, her omniscient view is able to monitor and inspect the protagonist free of the constraints of time and space; this characteristic appears similar to Lady Tao and, more importantly, is also a typical attribute of ghosts—a point which eventually indicates to Li Sheng his hostess's true supernatural identity.

This speculation by Fan Sheng and Li Sheng is soon confirmed by the subsequent appearance of the ghost runner in black, who asks Gu Liu's wife to keep an eye on the two young men while he takes away the body of the deceased Gu Liu. The appearance of the ghost runner recalls the domain of ghosts—difficult for the living to escape once they had carelessly entered it. This makes the deserted landscape at night, as Fan Sheng and Li Sheng subsequently flee, greatly resemble the horrifying underworld.

In the desolate hills, Fan and Li see “a dense stand of lanterns and candles,” “a man in a green robe who was delivering a verdict according to the case,” and ghost clerks standing beside him: all typical depictions of the underworld. As Richard Von Glah observes, even as ghosts, men of authority still possess their intimidating power, but most also face penal sentences in the underworld.⁴²⁷ In a similar sense, beautiful but wanton women such as Lady Tao retain in death their ability to threaten the vitality of living men, while also facing severe punishments in the underworld. Furthermore, it is important to note that in the majority of the *zhiguai* or later *huaben*, such sentences are carried out in the dark dungeons of the underworld. For example, in *Gujin xiaoshuo* 古今小說 (Stories Old and New), “Humu Di Chants Poems and Roams in the Netherworld” (You Fengdu Humu Di Yin Shi 游豐都胡母迪吟詩), Humu Di, who has been brought to Fengdu 豐都 by an ambassador from the underworld, catches sight of the following scene:⁴²⁸

The [Yama] King had an imposing appearance in the royal robe and crown, looking just like a statue of a deity in a temple of the mortal world. On the left and right sides, there were six spirit officials, wearing green robes, black boots, lofty caps, and wide belts. Each of the officials held a register. At the foot of the dais stood over one hundred servants, who were Ox-Heads and Horse-Faces with long muzzles and red hair. [They were] fearsome and terrifying.

殿上王者，袞衣冕旒，類人間神廟中繪塑神像。左右列神吏六人，綠袍皂履，高僕廣帶，各執文簿。階下侍立百餘人，有牛頭馬面，長喙朱髮，猙獰可畏。

⁴²⁷ Richard Von Glah, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 76.

⁴²⁸ Feng Menglong 馮夢龍, *Gujin xiaoshuo*, in *Feng Menglong quanji* 馮夢龍全集 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2007), 32.480. The English translation is modified from *Stories Old and New: A Ming Dynasty Collection*. See “Humu Di Intones Poems and Visits the Netherworld,” in *Stories Old and New: A Ming Dynasty Collection*, compiled by Feng Menglong, translated by Shuhui Yang and Yunqin Yang (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 564.

As can be seen here, ghost clerks serve the green-robed spirit officials, while the latter hold the recording book, just as human officials would, while putting ghosts on trial. The official in green robes in “Student Fan” similarly appears to be judging the ghosts—Gu Liu, his wife, and Lady Tao—according to their deeds before death, but in “Humu Di Chants Poems and Roams in the Netherworld,” the trial takes place in an area traditionally associated with the underworld.⁴²⁹ In contrast, in “Student Fan,” the ghost trial takes place in the deserted area of Ciyun Peak. Being ordinary residents of Lin’an and still sought by the ghost clerks, Fan Sheng and Li Sheng cannot help but realize that the space surrounding them is no longer an ordinary mountain, but rather a horrifying realm of ghosts. Instead of being located far away, the netherworld is here, near the everyday lives of many living people, in a sparsely populated area just outside the exceptionally prosperous city of Lin’an. For narratives of the underworld, it is uncommon for the sentencing to take place in a location such as the Ciyun Peak, close to a bustling city of the mortal world. It is possible, however, that the desolate lands near the Ciyun Peak, which contained graves and temples but was sparsely populated, would have been considered by Lin’an residents to be the juncture of the domain of mortals and the underworld.

It should be recalled once again that, in the first part of the story, the plot mainly unfolds inside the city of Lin’an during the daytime, where the *yang* power of mortals

⁴²⁹ Besides Fengdu, a variety of underworld bureaus were understood to direct the dead. As Stephen R. Bokenkamp suggests, though the Bureau of Mount Tai (*Taishan fu* 泰山府), Bureau of Five Sacred Peaks (*Wuyue fu* 五嶽府), and Fengdu (*Luofeng* 羅豐) refer to different geographical locations, the names were frequently used interchangeably. See Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 35–37.

dominates the urban environment. The author implies that, in this space, ghosts are only able to furtively and somewhat passively survey the movements of the protagonist from a position of concealment. But in the bleakness of Ciyun Peak, the positions of the spies and the spied-upon are exchanged, as this space is dominated by the *yin* power of the ghosts. Hence, Fan Sheng and Li Sheng in turn cautiously watch those who had previously watched them; now, the two secretly observe multiple scenes, of which the most shocking is the reappearance of Lady Tao with her true body—also the first time that she has appeared to Fan Sheng in her true form. Again, the author emphasizes her broken body through shifts in perspective, from a distant view to a close examination: Lady Tao initially appears as a "beautiful woman," but then comes a depiction of the cut at her waist and the attempt to suture her two halves back together. As mentioned earlier, though the author does not include much direct comment in "Student Fan," we can still trace implications of didacticism in the text. From a beautiful woman to a horrifying body, the depiction of the destruction of Lady Tao's body suggests that her physical beauty elicits lasciviousness, which must be destroyed to eliminate sexual desire. This telling recalls the Buddhist principle which equates the female body with the origin of desire. To enter the *buddhaksetra*, believers had to abandon the temptation of female sexuality forever.⁴³⁰

Terrified by the appearance of Lady Tao, Fan and Li run for more than a *li* but are still unable to reach the city of Lin'an. Suddenly, they hear a distinctive sound:⁴³¹

⁴³⁰ Li Yuzhen 李玉珍, "Fojiao piyu wenxue zhong de nan nu meise yu qingyu – zhuiqiu meili de zongjiao yihan" 佛教譬喻文學中的男女美色與情慾—追求美麗的宗教意涵, *Xin shixue* 新史學, no. 4.10 (1999): 31–65.

⁴³¹ *Gui Dong*, 4.6a.

The two young men hurriedly ran for over one *li*. They heard the sound of the pounding of grain. There was one house with lights coming from the cracks. They went to the small house for shelter, knocked on the door, and asked for the host's name. The host said: "I am Yong San and I sell pastry for a living. I am just pounding grain into flour." The two young men told him about the spirits they met. Yong smiled but did not say anything. While they were still out of breath, the four porters, Lady Tao, Crone Wang and Gu Liu gathered in the house. Fan and Li pummeled the ghosts with their fists. Their strength did not win the battle for them, so they fell to the ground. The ghost grouping was about to fulfill its desire.

二生疾走裏余，聞宿舂聲，人家燈光自隙出。投之，扣主人姓名，曰：雍三，鬻饅者。方搗粉耳。為言所遇之怪，雍笑而不答。喘未定，四夫輿陶小娘子並王老娘、顧六等坌集，樊李奮臂肆擊，力不勝而仆，群鬼將甘心焉。

Pastry shops were familiar sights to residents of Lin'an.⁴³² As the morning market of Lin'an started from the fifth *gu* (3am–5am), pounding grain and making pastry shortly before the dawn would have been part of the usual routine for a pastry maker such as Yong San.⁴³³ For Fan and Li, such sounds of pounding grain would have recalled to them a sense of the lively mortal world inside the city of Lin'an, easing their worried minds. Hence, they start to tell Yong San of their encounters with ghosts, but Yong San remains silent, merely smiling. Here, by closely following the experiences of the protagonists, the author renders a mysterious, uncanny ambience. The smile and silence of Yong San increases the insecurity and horror that Fan and Sheng feel in the domain of ghosts to an extreme. Soon afterward, the story's horrifying plot culminates in the arrival of many of the ghosts that Fan and Li have previously encountered. Just as the two men are in

⁴³² *Ducheng ji sheng* mentions multiple famous pastry shops such as "The Rice Pastry Shop near the Wangxian Bridge" 望仙橋糕糜. See *Ducheng ji sheng*, 1.94.

⁴³³ In *Ducheng ji sheng*, it reads: "After the fifth *gu*, the horses in the morning were about to move. Those who would like to sell in the morning market started to open their businesses again" 而五鼓朝馬將動，其有趁賣早市者，復起開張 (ibid., 1.91).

imminent danger of death at the hands of the ghosts, a savior passes by: a Supreme Commandant of the Palace Command Department (*dainqian si tongzhi* 殿前司統製).⁴³⁴

It reads:⁴³⁵

Suddenly, a Mister So-and-so, who was Supreme Commandant of the Palace Command Department passed by the place on his way to the government office. He arrived with over one hundred soldiers marching at the rear. The ghosts discarded the two young men and left.

The Supreme Commandant heard a groan in the grass and ordered his men to look for its source. The soldiers saw that Fan and Li were already unconscious so they were unable to recognize anyone. Several soldiers supported Fan and Li by their arms so they were able to go to a [noodle] soup restaurant. The soldiers spit hot water on them to treat them. After the [Qianhu] gate was opened, the soldiers called the patrolmen to send Fan and Li home.

At a different time, Fan Sheng traced the sources of the ghosts, and Lady Tao was indeed the concubine of the Commandery Prince Zhang. She was killed by her master because of adultery and cut through the middle of her waist with a sweep of his sword. Crone Wang lived outside the New Gate. She also was killed for fornication.

Old man Gu Liu, his wife, and Yong San were all the newly dead buried beside the mountain. This story happened during the last years of the reign of Shaoxing. I only recently heard it.

俄而殿前司某統製趨衙，從卒百許人嚙殿至，群鬼皆捨去。統製聞草中呻吟，命下視之，見樊李已昏不知人。數卒挾扶就湯肆喫治，門開呼徹者，遂之歸。異時，訪鬼所起，則陶小娘子，信張氏之嬖，以外淫為主所殺，中腰一劍而斷。王老娘居新門外，亦以奸被戕。顧六翁嫗、雍三，皆嶺邊新瘞者也。此度是紹興末年事。余近聞之。

In this part of the story, the darkness in which Fan Sheng and his friend escape and the dreadfulness of the subsequent beating by the ghosts remarkably and unforgettably contrast with the brightness of urban life in Lin'an in the first part of the

⁴³⁴ For “Supreme Commandant of the Palace Command Department,” see *Song shi*, 166.3929.

⁴³⁵ *Gui Dong*, 6a–6b.

story. Eventually, when soldiers rescue and cure Fan and Li in the noodle soup shop, the sky brightens and the Qianhu Gate opens. The adventure of Fan Sheng finally concludes with the return of Fan and Li to the city.

A closer examination of the two adventures of Fan Sheng connects the dots into a circle. The first time Fan Sheng is seduced by the female ghost happens near the West Lake, plausibly a temple in the mountains to the south of the Qianhu Gate. Subsequently, Fan Sheng steps into the most prosperous region of Lin'an, Imperial Street and Houshi Street, and temporarily escapes from the ghosts with the help of his family at his house in the city of Lin'an. In the second adventure, once again, the protagonist comes to a place of entertainment outside of the Jiahui Gate. This time, being unable to make a timely return to the city, he undergoes an adventure on Ciyun Peak, where he is chased and beaten by ghosts; he eventually returns to the city through Qianhu Gate. In the story, as the ghosts have a well-connected social network, an encounter with a single ghost introduces one to an entire world of ghosts. Moreover, the unstoppable behavior and activities of ghosts inside the city of Lin'an renders the capital city as an uncanny and dreadful space.

In a majority of “demon stories,” the men lured by female ghosts or demons often resort to religious adepts who are skilled at exorcism in order to counter the spirits’ threats.⁴³⁶ The exorcist, as one of the “three universal actors” in demon stories, has the function of saving the young man, reverting the demon to her real form, and punishing

⁴³⁶ Hanan observes that the most typical structure of the “demon story” includes “three universal actors and four universal actions.” The three universal actors are a demon or ghost, disguised as a young woman; an unmarried young man; and an exorcist. See Hanan, *Chinese Vernacular Story*, 44.

her. But in “Student Fan,” such a person, Zhang Sheng, upon the request of the family of Fan Sheng, only persuades Lady Tao to temporarily disappear, failing to reveal the terrifying true form of the ghost or to punish her. The one who eventually saves Fan Sheng is an official from the Imperial Army. A closer examination reveals an association of this seemingly minor plot point with the geographic feature of the Qianhu Gate. Note that the Palace Command Department (*dianqian si* 殿前司) was based on Bapan Peak 八盤嶺 of Mount Phoenix,⁴³⁷ comprising eleven garrisons that were called the Army of the Palace Command Department.⁴³⁸ Of these, the middle garrison had one camp inside the Qianhu Gate and three camps near it.⁴³⁹ Besides the middle garrison, the Left Camp of Huyi Army (*zuo huyi* 左虎翼)⁴⁴⁰ and the Camp of the Imperial Bellowing-Scout Army (*yuying hetan* 御營喝探)⁴⁴¹ were also located in the nearby region, which made the area around Qianhu Gate a location with a high concentration of military camps. Thus, that a Supreme Commandant of the Imperial Army could pass through desolate hills near the Qianhu Gate and save two people who had been beaten down by ghosts is faithful to the historical accounts and the geographical attributes of the city of Lin'an. Furthermore, the

⁴³⁷ See *Meng liang lu*, 9.206. Also see *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 10.3440a.

⁴³⁸ For a detailed discussion of the garrisons of the Imperial Army in Lin'an, see Takahashi Hiro'omi 高橋弘臣, “Nansō Nozomu-yasu ni okeru kin-gun no chūton to sono eikyō” 南宋臨安における禁軍の駐屯とその影響, *Ehime daigaku hōbungakubu ronshū (jinbun kagaku-hen)* 愛媛大学法文学部論集(人文学科編) 27 (2009): 75–107.

⁴³⁹ *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 14.3494b.

⁴⁴⁰ In *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, it remarks: “The left Camp of Huyi was located next to the [Imperial] Garden of Gathering Scenes, outside the Qianhu Gate” (左虎翼, 在錢湖門外聚景園側). See *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 14.3495b.

⁴⁴¹ In *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, it remarks: “The Camp of the Imperial Bellowing-Scout Army was located outside the Qianhu Gate” (御營喝探, 在錢湖門外). See *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 14.3496a.

fact that a high commander of the Imperial Army, the general of the of the Infantry Department of the Imperial Guards (*shiwei bujun si* 侍衛步軍司),⁴⁴² Zhao Mi 趙密 (1094–1165), was a subordinate of Zhang Jun,⁴⁴³ might also have exacerbated Lady Tao's fear of the imperial army.

In addition, at the very end of the story, the author's emphasis on how both Crone Wang and Lady Tao were killed because of adultery again reflects conservative moral teachings with a negative attitude toward lustfulness. By introducing the infidelities of Lady Tao and Crone Wang before their deaths, the author frames the women as abject sinners instead of pitiful ghosts as a result of fulfilling their earthly desires. These female bodies, symbolizing an objectification of sexual desire, have to be destroyed. As a result, the ghost official carries out a trial involving women with strong sexual desires, like Lady Tao; they are subject to judgement and punishment in the underworld. But unlike the text of “The Grotto of Ghosts in the Western Mountain,” the author of *Gui Dong* does not supplement his tale with a lengthy account of doctrine and religious propaganda. Rather than dissuading young gallants like Fan Sheng from the trap of temptation, the author's true motivation for recording and composing the story could be more reasonably described as the pursuit of horror and suspense. In the first part of the story, the ways ghosts like Lady Tao and Crone Wang talk and behave strikingly resemble those of ordinary Lin'an residents, which significantly strengthens the reader's uncanny and dreadful impression when their true forms as ghosts are revealed. Through what the protagonist sees, hears, and feels, as well as his journey with Li Sheng as he flees from

⁴⁴² For “Infantry Department of the Imperial Guards,” see *Song shi*, 166.3930.

⁴⁴³ For the biography of Zhao Mi, see *Song shi*, 370.11503–04.

ghosts out of fear, the audience is invited to experience a whole process of horror and tension. Consequently, the author refrains from breaking the fraught ambience through a long discussion of moral doctrine. Even though the story how of Fan Sheng's sexual obsession almost costs his life poses a clear didactic opportunity, the author restrains himself from making any comment.

Ghosts in the Space of the Mortal

Though the protagonist is from the merchant class, the author does not write extensively about the mercantile social milieu of Lin'an. The fundamental structure of "Student Fan" differs little from a typical "demon story." But what makes this account remarkably uncanny is the representation of the ghosts: throughout the story, other than Fan Sheng's family, his follower Li Sheng, the exorcist Zhang Sheng, the commander who saves Fan Sheng, and his subordinates, a majority of the strangers Fan Sheng encounters turn out to be ghosts who behave as mortals. Unlike most of the previous Six Dynasties *zhiguai*, in which ordinary people encounter suspicious ghostly apparitions and otherworldly punishments can be seen only during one's journey to the realm of the dead, in "Student Fan," ghosts are nearly indistinguishable from mortals. They walk and talk during daytime, while dreadful scenes like the trial of ghosts happen in a desolate landscape right outside the city. Yet the author later reveals their ghostly characteristics of being occulted in the dark and surveilling living humans. By breaking the boundary between the living and the dead, the story of "Student Fan" becomes a distinguished narrative of terror.

Just as in “Student Fan,” in multiple Song narratives, ghosts are visibly indistinguishable from living city residents. Able to freely and fearlessly navigate the city of Lin'an, entering and enjoying tea lofts and wine houses, sharing public spaces like streets and the West Lake, the ghosts are able to act and behave audaciously in spaces both inside and outside of the city. As they are indiscernible from living human beings, the ghosts behave in accordance with their wills and attempt to fulfill those of their desires which were unmet during life, which constructs a void that becomes the space of ghosts. Additionally, the association of names of places inside and outside of the narrative would have further horrified contemporary audiences. Similar stories where ordinary individuals encountered in one’s daily life turn out to be ghosts include “The Roast Chicken of Li Ji” and “Sun Jiuding” (Sun Jiuding 孫九鼎) in *Yijian zhi*, in which the ghosts, often portrayed as living in the dark, are able to watch every action of the mortals. In “The Roast Chicken of Li Ji,” it reads:⁴⁴⁴

Fan Yinbin (*jinshi*, 1132) was promoted [to an official post in] Lin’an from Changsha. [When he] was buying wine with a guest at the Shengyang Loft, a man who sold roast chicken bowed to Fan and presented him with all the things that the man had taken. Looking at this person, it was undoubtedly his old servant Li Ji who had been dead for many years. Fan was surprised and asked, “Aren’t you Li Ji?” The man said, “I am.” “You were dead and became a ghost. How could you be here again?” The man smiled and said: “In this world, there are quite a few people like me. But people cannot recognize them.” Pointing at someone sitting on the loft and someone travelling on the avenue, Li Ji said, “Those people were all my kind. They mingled with the mortal, worked for businesses, and were hired as servants. But they have not been done harm. Surely they are not only present here! Crone Zhao, the woman who does laundry and was often hired by your household, is also a ghost. My lord, when you return, you could try to ask her. She will surely avoid and refuse to answer your question. Then Li Ji reached to his waist and gave Fan two small stones and said, “Show this thing to Zhao. It should make her appear in her original form immediately.” Fan said, “Are the

⁴⁴⁴ Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, Yi:9.443.

chickens you cooked edible?” Li Ji said, “If they are not good to eat, would I dare to present them to you?” Li Ji did not leave for a good while.

Fan hid Li’s stones, returned home, and told his wife, Née Han. Han said, “Crone Zhao had been going out and coming in our house for 20 years. What is the explanation for treating her as a ghost?” Then another day, Zhao came [to their house]. Fan teased her with saying, “I heard you are a ghost. Is this true or not?” Zhao was angry and said, “I’ve been socializing with your family for a long time. Do not joke with me.” Fan said, “Li Ji told me that.” Fan showed Zhao the stones. The complexion of Zhao changed. Suddenly, there was a sound like tearing silk, then she disappeared. This thing was rather similar to those recorded in the *xiaoshuo*. It must be because the skills of the ghosts are the same. These two accounts were both told by Tang Shaoliu.⁴⁴⁵

范寅賓自長沙調官於臨安，與客買酒昇陽樓上，有賣爇雞者，向范再拜，儘以所攜為獻。視其人，蓋舊僕李吉也，死數年矣。驚問之曰：“汝非李吉乎？”曰：“然”。“汝既死為鬼，安得復在？”笑曰：“世間如吉輩不少。但人不能識。”指樓上坐者某人及道間往來者曰：“此皆我輩也，與人雜處商販傭作，而未嘗為害，豈特此有之？公家所常使浣濯婦人趙婆者，亦鬼耳，公歸，試問之。渠必諱拒。”乃探腰間二小石以授范曰：“示以此物，當令渠本形立見。范曰：“汝所烹雞，可食否？”曰：“使不可食，豈敢以獻乎？”良久乃去。范藏其石，還家，以告其妻韓氏。韓曰：“趙婆出入吾家二十年矣，柰何以鬼待之？”他日，趙至，范戲語之曰：“吾聞汝乃鬼。果否？”趙愠曰：“與公家周旋久，無相戲。”范曰：“李吉告我如此。”示以石，趙色變，忽一聲如裂帛，遂不見。此事與小說中所載者多同，蓋鬼技等耳。右二事皆唐少劉說。

The place where Fan Yinbin encounters the ghost is the Shengyang wine house, the same place where Fan Sheng meets the two old crones. The narration of Lin'an as a mixed space of people and ghosts is also connected to what was described in the *huaben* “Yang Siwen Encounters an Old Acquaintance in Yanshan.” “In a peaceful world, human beings and ghosts are separated. But in the contemporary world, human beings and

⁴⁴⁵ Tang Shaoliu is mentioned in *Qidong yeyu* as the Prefect 太守 of Wuxing 吳興 (modern Huzhou, Zhejiang); see *Qidong yeyu*, 20.366.

ghosts are mingled” (太平之世，人鬼相分，今日之世，人鬼相雜).⁴⁴⁶ The popularity of stories in which people and ghosts cohabit the same urban space relates to multiple factors, including the practice of Buddhism in Southern Song Society.⁴⁴⁷ Moreover, the large number of immigrants to Lin'an at the beginning of the Southern Song and the political instability of the time presumably escalated the insecurity of the residents and enlarged the distances within society. As Arthur Wolf points out, in the minds of the Chinese populace, the indigenous conception of ghosts related to people's anxieties towards strangers,⁴⁴⁸ if an unprecedentedly large number of recently-arrived strangers made the natives of Lin'an experience anxiety, this would have contributed to the narration and transmission of stories like “Student Fan.”⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁶ *Gujin xiaoshuo*, 24.375. For the English translation, see “Yang Siwen Meets an Old Acquaintance in Yanshan,” in *Stories Old and New: A Ming Dynasty Collection*, 430–449.

⁴⁴⁷ In *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (Jade Forest of the Dharma Garden), the 62nd *juan* quotes the *Dīrghāgama* (*Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經), it reads:

In the residences of all the people, there are ghosts and gods; none of the residences are empty. Along the streets, avenues, footpaths, butcher shops, and markets, the mountains and peaks, there are ghosts and gods; none of the places are empty.

一切人民所居舍宅，皆有鬼神，無有空者。街衢道陌屠膾市肆，及諸山塚，皆有鬼神，無有空處。

See Shi Daoshi 釋道世 (d. 683), *Fayuan zhulin jiaozhu* 法苑珠林校註, ed. and comm. Zhou Shuqie 周叔伽 and Su Jinren 蘇晉仁 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 62.1835.

⁴⁴⁸ Arthur Wolf, “Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors,” in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, ed. Arthur Wolf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 131–82.

⁴⁴⁹ In the preface of Luan Baoqun for *Gui Dong*, he suggests that these ghost stories reflect complex social and psychological factors of the Southern Song society. The emergence of the ghosts in the urban spaces in the narrative works reveals the growing tenseness and worry of the Lin'an residents for the recent wave of immigrants. See Luan Baoqun, *Gui Dong Ye hangchuang*, 2.

The *zhiguai* literature, just as Liu Yuanru mentions, reflects an attempt at reverting the state of abnormality (*fanchang* 反常) to that of normality (*chang* 常).⁴⁵⁰ By repeatedly narrating stories about ghosts, demons, and other abnormal events in varied literary forms, the authors successfully brought the originally horrifying ghost into a fixed narrative mode. In the process of reinterpretation from abnormality to normality, the anxiety and insecurity towards those who were originally abnormal were released, which also created fertile ground for the acceptance and popularity of such stories during the Southern Song.

In “Student Fan,” Lin’an is portrayed as a flourishing yet disordered place where ghosts can mix themselves into crowds of the living. The fact that these ghosts act like living humans and even harm the protagonist induces panic. By portraying the punishments of these ghosts for their evil deeds committed in the mortal world, “Student Fan” reminds the readers that such an abnormal disturbance of the natural order is still governed by inescapable moral rules over both the human world and the unseen realm.⁴⁵¹ In essence, the *zhiguai* story grants the existence of a series of surreptitiously abnormal occurrences, but defends a world governed by universal principles and patterns as the ultimate truth. By the end of “Student Fan” and “The Roast Chicken of Li Ji,” we see the ghosts disappear and the protagonists return to the normal world of human perception.

⁴⁵⁰ Liu, *Liuchao zhiguai de changyi xushu yu xiaoshuo meixue*, 54.

⁴⁵¹ The point is made by Robert Campany in his discussion of “the unseen principles” (*mingli* 冥理); see Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China*, 358.

Consequently, these accounts perform their crucial functions: reconciling the anomalous occurrences with inexorable, universal moral principles.⁴⁵²

Furthermore, once we place “Student Fan” in the Southern Song historical context, there are more implied political meanings to explore. Instead of a commonly seen religious adept, the exorcist, one of the important elements in the “demon story,” is a Supreme Commandant from the the Palace Command Department. This is a plot worthy of a thorough inquiry. It could be traced to the influence of the political power on the writing of *zhiguai* literature. Though *zhiguai* literature is often considered as a “private, personal art form for self-expression,”⁴⁵³ we still need to take the “implied reader” and its impact on the text into consideration. For *Gui Dong*, it is obviously not one of the *zhiguai* collections that were compiled under the order of the emperor. Prompting the state ideology is not likely its main purpose, but its way of the telling, the writing, and the selection of material, are still subject to the influence of the discourse of the political authority. In particular, if we consider Qian Fu’s postscript and believe that the author of *Gui Dong* is a student of the Imperial Academy, it follows that the author is presumably someone who endeavored to become a scholar-official and studied the official ideology. The impact of the political discourse on *Gui Dong* should not be ignored. By the end of “Student Fan,” it is a Supreme Commandant who expels the ghosts and eventually saves the lives of the two commoners. The ghosts are brought under control by the military

⁴⁵² My reading of these accounts owes a particular debt to the following works: Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China*; Liu, *Liuchao zhiguai de changyi xushu yu xiaoshuo meixue*.

⁴⁵³ Kenneth DeWoskin and J. I. Crump., trans., *In Search of the Supernatural: The Written Record* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), xxii–xxv.

authority. Essentially, the emergence of the Supreme Commandant could be considered as a sign of reversion to order. The anomalies are then tied to the powerful center and the legitimacy of the Southern Song court is justified.

Conclusion

The main stages of the story of “Student Fan” include the whole city of Lin'an, the extended entertainment space outside of the city constructed in the early years of the Southern Song, and the desolate hills to the south of Lin'an city. In Fan Sheng's multiple encounters with ghosts and his subsequent journey of escape, authentic places in Lin'an are mentioned throughout the narrative. The correctly-used names of the locations suggest that the author of the story, the target audience, and the informant who provided the story to the author were all familiar with the landscape of Lin'an both inside and beyond the city wall. For contemporary readers and audiences, the names of these places suggested special cultural implications. The plot progression is accompanied by shifts in location, which call upon the audience's memory, imagination, and visualization, producing in them an unfathomable feeling of ghostly presence. The structure of the story and its selective omniscience are skillfully executed by the author, requiring both the protagonist and audience to uncover the truth about ghosts through eavesdropping and peeping.

Moreover, “Student Fan” should not be examined as the source of “A Grotto of Ghosts in the Western Mountain.” Since scarcely any *huaben* are proven to be Song work, “Student Fan” should be valued for its new social and literary perceptions of the Southern Song. The characteristics of the female protagonist, Lady Tao, include

intelligence and beauty; as such, she inherits the portrayals of female characters in Tang tales like Huo Xiaoyu. But Lady Tao is also bold and manipulative, lacking any moral quality. Such a description recalls to a certain degree the female characters from the mercantile class appearing in later *xiaoshuo*. It can be seen that the narrative text produced by the metropolitan space of Lin'an has an intensified implication of social relationship in the Song urban environment. In fact, before the revelation of Lady Tao's true identity as a ghost, "Student Fan" is similar to an ordinary account of urban life and social relationships. Once the identities of Lady Tao and her maiden are revealed, the successive story develops based on common perceptions and implications of different locations in and around the city of Lin'an. Fan Sheng's experiences also reflect the thoughts of contemporary Lin'an residents. Upon this point, the belief in the netherworld was interwoven with the reality of the city of Lin'an in the mundane world. By casting a disturbing ambience over a familiar environment, the author indicates to his audience that the whole of Lin'an and its outskirts were a land where ghosts and human beings mixed, further reflecting the author's contemplation of "normal" (*chang* 常) and "order" (*zhixu* 秩序).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

As the wheel of history turns, the once-glorious cities and stunning landmarks that inspired a variety of texts vanish from the physical world. Nevertheless, from the fascinating Epang palace 阿房宮 in “Rhapsody on the Epang Palace” (Epang gong fu 阿房宮賦) to the 19th century replica of the Parthenon in Tennessee, no matter whether on paper or on the ground, human beings never stop their efforts to reconstruct the images of celebrated places. Through remembering these legendary landmarks, we also undertake an exploration of history.

Regrettably, even the most comprehensive writing is never a perfect replica of the space that it portrays. Instead, the author and narrator’s experiences of the spatiality of cities are transformed in the text’s retelling. Such writing is a retrospective process: the city is written from the present into the past. When in reality the splendid city has already fallen into ruins, the writings survive, serving as a window for us to glance at the vast panorama of posterity. Yet when we read the surviving writings and attempt to visit the spaces the text constructs, we are not so much visiting the ruins of the Parthenon in Athens, but rather wandering through its full-size reproduction in Nashville. When we witness the elegant figure of the statue of Athena Parthenos, we should never be so taken by the gleaming of her golden crown that we ignore the fact of her reconstruction from later standards. The image of Athena Parthenos was created based on contemporary scholars’ research into the original statue, along with artists’ interpretations. Moreover, it

embodied the collective imagination of 19th century American society about the nature of ancient Greek civilization.

An intricate relationship links geographical locales of historical concreteness and facticity and those built via the power of imagination through different accounts and varied narrative fabrics. Evolving along with the expansion, interplay, and collapse of physical spaces, associated memories, impressions, and stories were formed and changed in the conceptions of individuals, from humble townsfolk to elite literati. Personal experiences of informants, authors, and their acquaintances, past histories and distant stories, told and retold, written and rewritten, were mapped onto various accounts in narrative or historical spaces, spoken or literary, from compendia of tales to collections of memoirs. Recorded or written retrospectively from the present to the past, encompassing the near and the far, places bearing the same names were presented as shadows cast by lights from different angles of thought, deriving from the minds of merchants, peddlers, soldiers, officials, literati, outlaws, and people with complex, unclassifiable identities.

Correspondingly, when we read writings about cities, no matter how vivid and authentic the details we encounter, we should not forget that the text is a complicated production assembled from knowledge and imagination. It is constructed on the private experience of the informant or narrator, modified through the reiteration of the author and compiler. Eventually, the text becomes an imaginative construction of a particular kind of space. The world represented in the text, rather than the space in reality, is reconstructed through the narrator's rhetoric. According to modern archaeological discoveries, the Qin Epang palace was never burned down by Xiang Yu 項羽 (232–202 BCE) during war. Its destruction in fire existed only in the imagination of Du Mu 杜牧 (803–ca. 853) and his

followers. As a matter of fact, due to the unexpected Dazexiang uprising 大澤鄉起義 (July–December 209 BCE), the building of the Epang palace was never completed.⁴⁵⁴ But in “Rhapsody on the Epang Palace,” it is a magnificent space full of precious vessels, jade, gold, pearls and ravishing beauties from the six kingdoms. Du Mu constructs an imaginary Epang palace and deconstructs it with a visionary fire. This metaphorical writing then serves as the author’s criticism of the late Tang Dynasty’s political reality.

In addition, both abstract reflections of historical reminiscences and spatial localizations, recollections like *Meng liang lu* and *Ducheng jisheng* can hardly be regarded as less imaginative than narratives that have been labeled as *chuanqi* or *zhiguai*. From streets to markets, wine houses to tea lofts, Buddhist temples to Daoist monasteries, literary worlds are all imaginative constructions of certain kinds of spaces based on the authors’ creativity. With indeterminate degrees of inaccuracy permeating, distorting, and shifting authenticity and fact, the lack of absolute frames or references restricts our ability to attribute to them historicity or facticity. Each account is based on one’s own experience or the experience of someone with knowledge of the real events, played out within a tangible historical environment. Nevertheless, the way the space is reconstructed and the story told belongs completely to the writer, not to the setting or to history. The point of view of each story—not only the tale itself or the historical precursor of the tale—conveys the truth of the author and a particular group of people with whom the author shares a perspective.

⁴⁵⁴ Yang Dongyu 楊東宇 and Duan Qingbo 段清波. “Epanggong gainian yu Epanggong kaogu” 阿房宮概念與阿房宮考古, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2 (2006), 53.

Despite the relativistic quality of authenticity and historicity in the surviving corpus of texts belonging to any of a number of genres, the partiality of these accounts does not absolutely prevent us from restoring a rich world of distinct locations and a complicated yet flourishing urban space with diverse, characteristic individuals. The author's perspective, which may or may not faithfully reflect historical fact, delivers fragments of truth blended and enriched by a particular imagination. Social understandings, calculated reflections, and personal introspections embedded within tales shaped by the author reveal how particular individuals interact with society, each other, and the seen and unseen realms: in the imaginative world as well as in the real world.

In this dissertation, official historical documents, gazetteers, and perigraphies like *Meng liang lu* have all been taken as close references when reading the narratives, but such references are not regarded as exact replicas of the physical world. Quite the opposite: while these varied texts convey strikingly different imaginations and personal experiences, which can hardly be impartial and authentic, it is significant to examine how the same space is represented in accounts from different genres, authors, or periods. For example, the story of the "Temple of the Inaction Worth a Thousand Pieces of Gold" from *Gui Dong* and the tale of the temple and the renowned Eastern Jin scholar-official Wang Yan are astonishingly like the stories told in *Wuxing zhi*. Despite the correspondence of multiple sources, it is important to note that such harmonization does not necessarily imply the truth of the locations or events depicted, just as the similar descriptions of the Epang palace by Du Mu and many later poets do not imply historicity or facticity. The two authors' parallel perceptions, along with the shared experiences and

memories of urban residents, inflect the agreement of timelines and spatial descriptions in these overlapping texts.

In sum, this dissertation has aimed to accomplish two simultaneous goals. First, by elucidating the social, spatial, and historical meanings of a variety of accounts from the extensive Song narrative corpus, this study sheds light on how the development of urban space and cultural landscapes, the evolution of commerce, and the transformation of the political environment influenced Song narratives of Hangzhou. Most of the Song texts related to Hangzhou that are accessible and familiar to modern scholars are institutional texts, imperial rescripts, memorials, chronicles, official historical biographies, or prose and poetry written by the elite literati. Yet, as Stephen H. West suggests, the textual horizon of these writings is often constrained by the “convention associated with a long tradition of literary exchange” and veneration for imperial authority.⁴⁵⁵ Compared to these official historical writings, Song narrative texts, as contemporary impressions of Song urban lives, construct a resistant narrative corpus of the spatial and physical reality of the city drawn from the private experiences of Song authors.

Modern scholars agree upon the urbanization of Song capital cities as a significant aspect of the Song transitions. Hangzhou, as the residential and ritual spaces of the emperors, aristocracy, and scholar-officials, witnessed the rise of a burgeoning citizen stratum. In Hangzhou, the disappearance of the walled-ward system and enclosed markets greatly enlarged the public space for amusement, consumption, and religious

⁴⁵⁵ West, “Spectacle, Ritual, and Social Relation,” 298.

activities available to the city inhabitants. Such a fundamental structural transformation of the city contributed significantly to the formation of a dynamic society, which then served as an essential premise for the writing and transmission of Song narratives. In many ways, Hangzhou displayed salient features of the “medieval urban revolution” in traditional Chinese cities. In parallel with urban reconstruction, the social milieu and cultural landscape of Song urban society followed the transitions.

In fact, the dynamic Song society and such complex social interactions were fundamental premises for Song narrative writings. As a metropolitan city, the fluid social intermixing of Hangzhou provided space, infrastructure, and opportunity for the lives of people occupying different places on the social hierarchy. In addition, Hangzhou offered abundant space for social activities and public entertainment: streets, night markets, tea houses, wine lofts, publically accessible imperial or private reservoirs and gardens, Buddhist temples, Daoist monasteries, temple fairs, theaters, pleasure precincts, etc. Such urban spaces, especially public places of leisure and entertainment, served as sites of tremendous narrative production. The population density and the availability of public space jointly provided an ideal background for characters to encounter each other and plots to unfold, which made the city a popular setting for Song narrative.

All these changes and transformations, from urban spaces to personal lives, were delicately recorded and imagined by Song authors and reflected through their narratives. The stories use the city as the stage and background, with streets and public spaces serving as venues for different scenes. The functions of different urban spaces and cultural meanings implied by a wide range of varied locations shaped the textuality of stories and their reading for contemporary audiences. Through an interdisciplinary

methodology, this dissertation's analysis and interpretation of different localities in urban space enables us to examine how Song authors utilize geographical locations to facilitate the progression of imaginative plots in a visually and informationally abundant space. Through a close reading of these narratives, we are able to observe multiple facets of the contemporary experience of Song urban society in the transitional era.

Furthermore, one of the most important characteristics of Song urban society is the intercalation of the newly flourishing commercial culture of the commoners with elite culture. An analysis of urban structure in the narratives verifies the division and organization of urban space outlined in historical records. The accounts of Hangzhou further provide detailed descriptions that enable us to explore the socio-political, economic, religious, and cultural dimensions of urban space in the imaginative construction of Song authors. As a complicated space interleaving politics, culture, ritual and the mundane life its residents, Hangzhou provided the authors of narrative works with the opportunities to portray the city from different perspectives and develop fascinating plots within such a space. For contemporary readers living in the city, similarly to other works of literature of the same period, Song narratives resonated with their common cultural standpoints. Through reading and circulation, the literary creation of Hangzhou further shaped the vivid image of the city and its unique cultural identity.

In this study, I have examined how this metropolitan urbanization during the Song dynasty significantly shaped the textuality of the Song narratives. Through a close reading of representative accounts such as "Student Fan," I have also concluded that, compared with their predecessors, Song narrative works have an unprecedentedly close association with the emergence of urban culture in a consumption society. The authors of

the Song narratives construct works which genuinely represent their particular values and experience of urban living. This renders Hangzhou as a kind of coauthor, meaningfully responsible for producing the corpus of Song narratives and sharing their textuality. In the meantime, the city, as a space that produced a variety of discourses for audiences from different cultural backgrounds, encompassed the tales of the general public as much as the fine literature of the elite literati. The stories of Hangzhou, whether previously labeled *chuanqi* or *zhiguai*, were indeed underlain by this newly emergent urban culture.

For Hangzhou, in turn, as demonstrated through a close examination of sundry narratives written in the Northern and Southern Song, images of the city vary greatly between accounts. Since the region near Hangzhou is portrayed as a distant territory far from the reach of imperial authority and bureaucratic errands, existing accounts of Northern Song Hangzhou emphasize the natural beauty of the Qiantang region and exotic encounters with the immortals. Despite the flourishing of the developed city of Lin'an, Hangzhou remains a symbol of serenity detached from the center of political power. By contrast, the tendency to limn Lin'an as a secluded space of retreat for frustrated literati is not often seen in the corpus of narrative works by Southern Song authors. After the southward migration of the Song court and the northerners who followed, Lin'an rapidly expanded, becoming an even more prosperous metropolitan city, possessing numerous new constructions both in and outside of the city and increasingly expansive public spaces. A corresponding change can be traced in the corpus of Southern Song narrative, which becomes more inclined to delve into details of the cultural, social, economic, and religious landscape of the crowded metropolis. This gesture toward imagining the city as a thriving social space reflects noteworthy textual shifts toward redefining landmarks

such as the West Lake to reflect the fast-paced transition and expansion of Lin'an's public urban space.

In narratives of Hangzhou, one notable element is that the authors exert a considerable effort to construct and depict the locations adjacent to the West Lake and its neighboring regions, such as temples, wine houses, tea lofts, markets, streets, and gardens. The choices and descriptions of landmarks and locales further influence the background, causality, and evolution of intriguing yet plausible encounters as well as stories based on them. For contemporary residents of Hangzhou, either those who had lived there for many generations or new migrants from the north, outings near the West Lake were a common event enjoyed by many, regardless of class or vocation. Nevertheless, the fact that the West Lake became a preeminent site of such encounters was also productive for the Song authors. In fact, this imaginative construction may be related to the tradition of Tang tales.

In *The Image of the City*, Kevin Lynch has noted, “the contents of the city images so far studied, which are referable to physical forms, can conveniently be classified into five types of elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks.”⁴⁵⁶ The physical form of Hangzhou also left numerous traces of these five types of elements. In particular, prominent landmarks reminded observers of the greatness of the city. Well-known landmarks frequently appeared in narrative as the setting and background of the stories gradually emerged as recognizable features of the city for readers and writers. While the most distinctive landmark for Chang'an, was the Reservoir of Serpentine (*Qujiang chi* 曲

⁴⁵⁶ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960), 46.

江池), and for Dongjing, the Reservoir of Metal's Luster, West Lake also embedded such a preconception in writings. As is well-known, the authors of the Tang tales shaped a tradition that often set the Reservoir of Serpentine as the space where the encounter, relationship and story began and developed. For Song authors, the West lake constituted an important symbol of the city for Hangzhou.

Symbolizing the prosperity of the capital, the West Lake was a favorite setting in poems, narratives, and other literary forms for Song authors, who regarded the lake as representative of the beautiful landscape of the capital. Each spring, excursions near the lake were important activities for capital residents; such excursions often mark the beginning of plots. Settings such as the West Lake provide essential environs for the activities of the protagonists. While most narratives depict the West Lake as a breathtakingly scenic background, different authors weave their particular voices into these stories, making the imagined West Lake an observer of many and varied romantic encounters.

An attentive reading and close examination of a variety of Song narratives along with contemporaneous perigraphies and official historical documents enables rediscoveries that uncover complex meanings, diverse yet connected, of the same localities as they appear in various texts. Paradoxically, in composing and narrating the “paranormal” and the “extraordinary,” the stories record and faithfully preserve the most mundane details of daily life, both objectively, subjectively and imaginatively. Examining such a text as a mode of reading the account back into its contemporary world makes it possible to decode the particular hidden story of ordinary life in the author's

imagination: a tale of common urban dwellers during the Southern Song as they navigate the concrete, physical space of Lin'an.

Additionally, the readings of these texts disclose the discordant voice emanating from a substantial sector of the city's society, the "ordinary people" of the metrocapital: the mass of merchants, students, peddlers, and even idlers who are forced to remain soundless in the official historical texts.⁴⁵⁷ As discussed in chapter four, during the early years of the Southern Song, an unprecedentedly large number of recently-arrived immigrants created tension in Lin'an society. While the resultant unease is deeply hidden in the crime files, official documents, local chronicles, and other bureaucratic materials, this disturbing experience for Lin'an's inhabitants transmuted into a subtle anxiety buried underneath—and readable in—the contemporary writings of *Gui Dong* of the city.

Lastly, I have suggested that this study of Song narratives along with the experience of urban life in Hangzhou should be read as an example of analytical approaches to the Song narrative corpus, which often receives less attention than it deserves. The close examination of a variety of Song literary texts helps us to contextualize the narratives of the period in the rich history of Chinese stories written in classical language. Due to the limited scope of this dissertation, the texts are only approached from a handful of selected perspectives, and I have by no means exhausted the extensive corpus of Song narratives. Pre-existing assumptions about and generalized labels placed on Song narratives should be reevaluated; deep and complex engagement with the texts will more fully reveal their historical and literary values.

⁴⁵⁷ West, "Spectacle, Ritual, and Social Relation," 315.

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