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Cultural Interactions and Competitions: The Case of the Song Dynasty (960–1279) and the Southern Tang (937–965)*

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This article aims to elaborate on an overarching sense of competition in the area of cultural achievement (*wenhua jiaoliang*) that existed between the Song and the Southern Tang. By adopting a conceptual framework characterized by regional significance and dynamic interactions in interpreting historical events and issues, the article intends to emphasize that cultural achievement in Song China did not emerge overnight; instead it involved a long process of assimilation and accommodation that led to the new alignment. In this sense, the various expressions of contempt, rejection, and even confrontation that took place during Song Taizu's reign seemed an inevitable stage that would lead to adaptation and finally, assimilation. Ultimately, all cultural interactions and competitions with the Southern Tang were undertaken by the Song literati for the purpose of establishing dynastic-political legitimacy and strengthening cultural identity. This article also discusses the use of anecdotal information (*biji*) in historical studies. Historians have long disregarded anecdotal information: it amounted to nothing more than hearsay in its ability to provide meaningful information while the standard histories are perceived to unveil actual historical events. However, exploration of both categories can uncover contradictions, necessitating explanation about the circumstances under which such hearsay can be useful. The author emphasizes that despite their structural defects, anecdotes being recorded in the *biji* are of particular significance to social and cultural studies. As such, the functions of anecdotal information should not be totally neglected.

Keywords: Competition in the cultural domain (*wenhua jiaoliang*), legitimate dynastic succession (*zhengtong*), reinstated officials from the defeated Nan Tang (*Nan Tang peichen*), literary sketches (*biji*), the Southern Tang

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I. Introduction

This article, by making use of standard histories, miscellaneous histories, collected works, and literary sketches (*biji* 筆記), aims to elaborate on cultural interactions and competitions between the Song Dynasty 宋朝 (960–1279: Northern Song 北宋 , 960–1127; Southern Song 南宋 , 1127–1279) and the Southern Tang 南唐 (937–975).[1] When the Song launched its military campaign to achieve national unification, the Southern Tang was not strong enough to compete, thus leading to the regime's collapse. But to Song literati, with their strong sense of cultural pride, the victory was neither complete nor thorough.[2] Despite the fact that Southern Tang territories were entirely overtaken by the Song, the defeat of the Southern Tang was solely confined to political and military aspects, while its cultural edge remained intact. Contrary to the cultural splendor that scholars tend to portray, the Northern Song, immediately following its founding, still clung culturally to traditions characterized by simple, unadorned, militant, and unrestrained styles that originated in the late Tang and the Five Dynasties 五代 (907–960);[3] these

1 On details of primary sources for the study of the Song and the Southern Tang, see Chen Gaohua 陳高華 and Chen Zhichao 陳智超 , *Zhongguo gudai shi shiliao xue* 中國古代史史料學 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1983). Among western scholars, Johannes L. Kurz has been known for his painstaking efforts dedicated to this regard, and his contributions are well reflected in the following articles: Kurz, "Sources for the History of the Southern Tang (937–975)," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 24 (1994): 217–35; idem, "The Invention of a 'Faction' in Song Historical Writings on the Southern Tang," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 28 (1998): 1–35; idem, "A Survey of the Historical Sources for the Five Dynasties and Ten States in Song Times," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 33 (2003): 187–224.

2 This article at times uses the term "literati" instead of "scholar-officials" on the grounds that the latter commonly refers to civil servants recruited by the civil service examinations while the former is always vaguely defined as an educated class or individuals interested in literature or the arts. The definition of literati in some cases fits the article better, as some involved in descriptions were intellectuals but not necessarily bureaucrats; regardless, most of those in question held both identities.

3 For descriptions of the cultural splendor in Song China, consult Liu Pei-chi 劉伯驥 , *Songdai zhengjiao shi* 宋代政教史 (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1971), 2 vols.; Yao Yingtin 姚瀛艇 [et al.], ed[s]., *Songdai wenhua shi* 宋代文化史 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1992); Yang Weisheng 楊渭生 , *Songdai wenhua xin guancha* 宋代文化新觀察 (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2008). Since 1993, major academic institutions affiliated with Sichuan University, namely Sichuan daxue guji zhengli yanjiu suo 四川大學古籍整理研究所 and Sichuan daxue Songdai wenhua yanjiu ziliao zhongxin 四川大學宋代文化研究資料中心 , have collaborated to edit a series of publications titled *Songdai wenhua yanjiu* 宋代文化研

traditions not only prevailed in the military, but also in the manner and style favored by literati.[4] If erudition, literary cultivation, and refinement were considered key components in defining great culture, then the advantages possessed by the Southern Tang over the early Northern Song in this aspect proved outstanding.[5] With the exception of certain Song literati who, in

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究 . Scholars in general are inclined to highlight the greatness and tremendous impact of the Song culture, as Zhang Shunhui 張舜徽 titles his article: "Lun Songdai xuezhe zhixue de boda qixiang ji ti houshi xueshujie suo kaipi de xin tujing" 論宋代學者治學的博大氣象及替後世學術界所開闢的新途徑 , in idem, *Zhongguo shi lunwen ji* 中國史論文集 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1956), 78–130. Peter K. Bol makes an appropriate translation: "On the broad character of the scholarship of Sung period scholars and the new road they opened for later Sung scholarship" ; see *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992), 458. Besides the cultural developments in Song China, the impact of the Song cultural impact on neighboring states has also drawn scholarly attention. Korean scholar Kim Wi-hy n 金渭顯 , for instance, has published a book on the topic. See *Songdai wenhua zai Gaoli de chuanbo ji qi yingxiang* 宋代文化在高麗的傳播及其影響 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Zhongshan renwen shehui kexue yanjiusuo, 1995).

4 Focusing on the life events of Liu Kai 柳開 (948–1001), Ng Pak-sheung 伍伯常 has studied Liu Kai's double role of literati and knight-errant during the early Northern Song. Liu Kai's double role provides a good example in indicating a trend that men of letters in North China generally acquainted themselves with martial arts as well as military strategy and tactics. See "Bei Song chunian de beifang wenshi yu haoxia: Yi Liu Kai de shigong ji zuofeng xingxiang wei zhongxin" 北宋初年的北方文士與豪俠 —— 以柳開的事功及作風形象為中心 , *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 36, no.2 (2006): 295–344.

5 On cultural achievements of the Southern Tang and their significance, consult Kang-i Sun Chang, *The Evolution of Chinese Tz'u Poetry: From Late T'ang to Northern Sung* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980); Daniel Bryant, ed. and trans., *Lyric Poets of the Southern T'ang: Feng Yen-ssu, 903–960, and Li Yü, 937–978* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982); Murakami Tetsumi 村上哲見 , "Nantō Ri Gōshu to bunbō shumi" 南唐李後主と文房趣味 , in idem, *Chūgoku bunjin ron* 中国文人論 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1994), 119–57; Chen Pao-chen 陳葆真 , *Li Houzhu he tade shidai: Nantang yishu yu lishi lunwenji* 李後主和他的時代 —— 南唐藝術與歷史論文集 (Taipei: Rock Publishing International, 2007); and Xie Xueqin 謝學欽 , *Nan Tang erzhu xinzhuan* 南唐二主新傳 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 2007). See also Lin Jui-han 林瑞翰 , "Nantang zhi wenfeng" 南唐之文風 , in idem, *Dushi oude* 讀史偶得 (Taipei: Youshi wenhua shiye gongsi, 1977), 160–76; Liu Ping 劉萍 , "Nantang wenhua zhengce tanxi" 南唐文化政策探析 (Master thesis, Nanjing Normal University, 2011). Sun Chengjuan 孫承娟 adopts a unique approach in discussing the highly mediated perception of Southern Tang culture by scholars of subsequent periods, who applied selective appropriation and coloration of that past culture for the purposes of the present; see her dissertation "Rewriting the Southern Tang (937–975): Nostalgia and Aesthetic Imagination" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2008).

pursuit of social transformation, embraced Southern Tang culture and wished to incorporate it into its own dynasty, others brooded over such unconquered cultural domain. Such a sentiment remained fresh and sufficiently agitated the second group of Song literati over time; they had always managed to outmatch Southern Tang literati, their long-standing rival, via persistent competition in the domain of culture (*wenhua jiaoliang* 文化較量). *Wenhua jiaoliang* in the context of this article is defined as the competition between the Song and the Southern Tang primarily in the domains of literary expression, cultural attitude, erudition, ruler's acumen, and ruling pattern.

This article adopts a conceptual framework characterized by regional significance and dynamic interactions in interpreting historical events and issues. The article agrees with the notion that the Song succeeded in achieving a cultural uniqueness and prosperity closely associated with and sufficiently nourished by Confucianism;[6] likewise major religions such as Buddhism and Daoism also played significant roles in shaping the culture and society in Song China.[7] The article intends to emphasize that cultural achievement in Song China did not emerge overnight; instead it involved a long process

6 Among scholarship on Song China, the impact of Confucianism always seems a significant perspective taken by scholars. Dieter Kuhn, for instance, highlights the change in ruling elites in Tang-Song China: a new class of scholar-officials recruited through the meritocratic examination system in Song China replaced the old aristocratic families that had prevailed in the Tang; Song scholar-officials who were educated with Confucianism made efforts to impart what they had learned in officialdom. As a result, the Song transformation that took place was characterized by a reshaping of Chinese culture and tradition in compliance with Confucian principles. For details, see Kuhn, *The Age of Confucian Rule: The Song Transformation of China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009). Surely Kuhn was not alone in his assertion; almost twenty years earlier, Patricia Buckley Ebrey had published a book with an emphasis on the impact of Confucianism in social and cultural domains. See Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991). Even though the present study does not seem to be directly related to Confucianism, this school of thought sometimes plays its role in conceptualizing and framing the scope of discussion here. While focusing on law-enforcement apparatus and practices, Brian E. McKnight also explores the nature of Song criminals in relation to their place in society and to the background of Confucian values in Song China. Consult McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

7 The significant roles played by Buddhism and Daoism in Song China were visible in many ways. For details, consult Huang Min-chih 黃敏枝 , *Songdai Fojiao shehui jingji shi lunji* 宋代佛教社會經濟史論集 (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng shuju, 1989); Gu Jichen 顧吉辰 , *Songdai Fojiao shi gao* 宋代佛教史稿 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1993); You Biao 游彪 ,

of assimilation and accommodation that led to the new alignment. Whether through confrontation, admiration or adoption, dynamic cultural interactions between Northerners and Southerners occurred routinely in imperial China; such interactions that took place during Song China comprised merely a part of a larger whole.[8] Discussions on how Southeast China played its role in shaping Chinese culture are not new. Hugh R. Clark, for instance, attributes Fujian 福建 with having played a significant role in this regard; in addition, he theorizes that cultural innovation often began at a local level.[9] Since Fujian represented only one part of Southeast China, a study on the Southern Tang would necessitate wider geographical coverage. An expanded scope would facilitate a more comprehensive view of how regional legacy helped shape the

Songdai siyuan jingji shi gao 宋代寺院經濟史稿 (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2003); Liu Changdong 劉長東 , *Songdai Fojiao zhengce lungao* 宋代佛教政策論 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2005); Run Mengxiang 閏孟祥 , *Songdai Fojiao shi* 宋代佛教史 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2013); Morten Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen: The Dispute over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan Buddhism in Song-dynasty China* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); Robert Hymes, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002); Kong Linghong 孔令宏 , *Songdai Lixue yu Daojia, Daojiao* 宋代理學與道家、道教 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 2 vols.; Matsumoto Kōichi 松本浩一 , *Sōdai no Dōkyō to minkan shinkō* 宋代の道教と民間信仰 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2006); Azuma Jūji 吾妻重二 , *Sōdai shisō no kenkyū: Jukyō, Dōkyō, Bukkyō wo meguru kōsatsu* 宋代思想の研究 ——儒教・道教・仏教をめぐる考察 (Suita-shi: Kansai daigaku shuppanbu, 2009); Lai Chi Tim 黎志添 , ed., *Daojiao tuxiang, kaogu yu yishi: Songdai Daojiao de yanbian yu tese* 道教圖像、考古與儀式 ——宋代道教的演變與特色 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2016).

8 For details, consult Hugh R. Clark, *Portrait of a Community: Society, Culture, and the Structures of Kinship in the Mulan River Valley (Fujian) from the Late Tang through the Song* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2007); idem, *The Sinitic Encounter in Southeast China through the First Millennium CE* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016). For further discussions on the relations between Northern Chinese cultures and those of the South, See Victor H. Mair and Liam C. Kelley, eds., *Imperial China and Its Southern Neighbours* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015). Recently, Clark published two articles with an emphasis on regional transformation in South China during the Tang–Song interregnum. See Clark, "Why Does the Tang–Song Interregnum Matter? A Focus on the Economies of the South," *Journal of Song–Yuan Studies* 46 (2016): 1–28; idem, "Why Does the Tang–Song Interregnum Matter? Part Two: The Social and Cultural Initiatives of the South," *Journal of Song–Yuan Studies* 47 (2017–2018): 1–31.

9 Besides the two books listed in the previous footnote, Clark has published another book about Fujian: *Community, Trade, and Networks: Southern Fujian Province from the Third to the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Song culture.[10]

10 This article, however, does not intend to assert that the Southern Tang was the only state to play a significant role in shaping Song culture, as some scholars have also identified Tang culture as a source of inspiration. For instance, how Song Zhenzong 宋真宗 (born Zhao Heng 趙恆 , r. 997–1022) defined the origin of Song culture and institutions has been a topic of scholarly study. Generally speaking, the emperor tended to associate the Song's cultural origin with the Tang. Lou Jin 樓勁 , for instance, discusses efforts made by the emperor to downplay the impact of the Five Dynasties on the Song, but highlights the cultural and institutional continuity during the Tang-Song era. For details, see his article "Songchu lizhi yange ji qi yu Tang zhi de guanxi: Jianlun 'Song cheng Tang zhi' shuo zhi xing" 宋初禮制沿革及其與唐制的關係 ——兼論「宋承唐制」說之興 , *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究 (2008: 2): 57–76. The emperor's sentiment was echoed by some literati, as demonstrated by their praise of Tang scholar-officials for advocating family rules (*jiafa* 家法). For details, consult Qian Yi 錢易 (968 or 976–1026), *Nanbu xinshu* 南部新書 , in *Quan Song biji. Di yi bian* 全宋筆記・第一編 , vol. 4 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003), 4.43; Ma Yongqing 馬永卿 (*jinshi* 1109), *Lanzhen zi* 懶真子 , in *Quan Song biji. Di san bian* 全宋筆記・第三編 , vol. 6 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2008), 2.166. Su Song 蘇頌 (1020–1101) held a similar viewpoint, shown through his praise of the *Liushi xuxun* 柳氏敍訓 by Liu Pin 柳玭 (d. 895). See Su Song, *Chengxiang Weigong tanxun* 丞相魏公譚訓 , in idem, *Su Weigong wenji (fu Weigong tanxun)* 蘇魏公文集（附魏公譚訓）(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 2.1129–30. The cited historical events prove that admiration for the Tang practice prevailed among some scholar-officials in Song China. Interestingly, positive comments on Tang practices affronted certain Song scholar-officials, who prided themselves in their own culture; they had managed to remove themselves from the shadow of Tang cultural domination. Because of this mindset, these individuals suggested that the Song Dynasty observe the policy of acting according to circumstances rather than rigidly adhering to outdated practices. The issue of assuming official duties while still in mourning (*moshuai congshi* 墨縗從事) was used to substantiate the argument. The practice was adopted during the chaotic era in the late Tang: civil officials above the ranks of Supervising Secretary (*ji shizhong* 給事中) and Drafter (*sheren* 舍人) as well as military officials above Prefect (*cishi* 刺史) should follow the practice of *moshuai congshi* upon their parents' death. The practice was continued in the Song. Those who valued the principle of filial piety argued that officials whose parents died should relinquish their official responsibilities and observe mourning for three years, as there was no military urgency in their time. From their perspective, *moshuai congshi* was only an expediency for warring era while violation of the principle of filial piety would be an inevitable consequence; the Song should not blindly follow the outmoded convention left by the Tang. For details, see Wang Pizhi 王闢之 (b. 1026), *Shengshui yantan lu* 渑水燕談錄 , in *Shengshui yantan lu. Guitian lu* 渑水燕談錄・歸田錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 4.35. Another defect used by Song scholar-officials was the process of officials selection adopted during the Tang era. Four criteria were used in selection, namely stout appearance (*timao fengwei* 體貌豐偉), eloquent and correct words (*yanci bianzheng* 言

Since part of the discussion is placed on the issue of dynastic legitimacy and political propaganda that was substantiated by the cultural competition between the Song and the Southern Tang, supporters of either side tended to spin their stories to their own advantage, the practice that Western historians sometimes name "historical revisionism" or "historical negationism." Taking *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944* as an example, Henry Rousso details the issue concerning the political and cultural psychology of post-war France. Haunted by the bitter memory of the Vichy period that was characterized by defeat, occupation, and repression, the French had to choose what to remember and what to conceal and forget. The selection involves a complex interplay between history and collective memory: collective memory might not be created by what really happened in history, but in many cases is shaped by a series of highlighting, forgetting, distorting, and dramatizing endeavors. Although such a dilemma happened in France, part of the events can be used to strengthen the conceptual framework of this article, particularly about what was highlighted, what was neglected, and what was elaborated when the Song scholar-officials discussed the issue of cultural interaction and competition between the Song and the Southern Tang.[11]

As this article deals with the practice of legitimizing and delegitimizing the other regime, historiography might inevitably cloud what really took place in such a competitive process. Many of the primary sources quoted by this article intend to serve praising or blaming purposes. Under the circumstances, the nature of primary sources used by this article is an issue that warrants

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辭辨正), forceful and beautiful calligraphy (*kaifa qiumei* 楷法遒美), and outstanding unity and coherence in writing (*wenli youchang* 文理優長). Together these qualities were summarized as "Shen yan shu pan" 身言書判 . Besides handwriting, the others were criticized as inappropriate: the art of parallelism (*pianli* 駢儷) had become the style of court verdict, which turned out to be too flowery and overstated for its purpose, and the officials enjoyed incorporating trivial and unrelated descriptions. Luckily such bad custom was eliminated in the Song after a considerable period of time. Recruitment based on appearance also did not seem adequate for appointing the right people to officialdom. See Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202), *Rongzhai suibi* 容齋隨筆 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 10.127. Obviously Lou's interpretation might explain part of the dynamics during the period in question, but not enough to depict the full picture; in no doubt there is still ample room for diverse perspectives and interpretations in this regard.

11 For details, consult Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991). The author of the present study wishes to extend profound appreciation for the inspiring advice given by the reviewer in this regard.

clarification. To begin, the author intends to highlight the point that the matter of veracity might not be satisfactorily addressed. The dilemma is caused by controversy over the validity of anecdotes in historical studies. Overall consensus about the usefulness of anecdotal information is that it produces interesting, if not conclusive, results. In other words, this sort of historical evidence merely suggests, but does not prove much outright owing to the nature and origin of anecdotes. Generally defined as interesting or amusing accounts of particular, largely biographical, incidents, reliability of anecdotes as valid historical evidence is always open to question; most anecdotes are recorded in the *biji*, whose value has been considered inferior to standard histories (*zhengshi* 正史).[12]

From the Tang Dynasty (618–907) onwards, the office of historiography assumed responsibility for compiling the preceding dynasty's history, a practice that every succeeding dynasty was obliged to follow. The imperial government supported compilation of standard histories; historians and officials serving at the office of historiography were given easy access to official records and archives that were closed to independent historians. In contrast, *biji* was considered privately compiled history (*yeshi* 野史), and methods adopted by the authors of *biji* for collecting and documenting information had been relegated to informality due to a lack of access to systematic documentation and standardized verification.

One major issue in relying on anecdotes is that the origin tends to be obscure; it could be real or fictional, but potentially impossible to authenticate by using alternative sources. Another problem is that anecdotes are always described in a literary form intended to entertain readers, and exaggeration and dramatization are structurally inevitable; consequently, anecdotes are regarded not reliable enough or simply hearsay that probably had never happened. Under the circumstances, reliability of the anecdotes must entirely depend on the credibility of those who composed the *biji*.[13] Due to these limitations, some historians have shown much reservation about the value of anecdotes. In short,

12 On details of primary sources consulted in studies of Chinese history, see Chen Gaohua and Chen Zhichao, *Zhongguo gudaishi shiliao xue*.

13 *Sushui jiwen*《涑水記聞》compiled by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), for example, has been highly credited for the value of the collected information. For details, consult Feng Hui 馮暉 , "*Sushui jiwen* de shiliao jiazhi"《涑水記聞》的史料價值 , *Journal of South China Normal University (Social Sciences Edition)* 華南師範大學學報（社會科學版）(1997: 6): 133–35, 137; Si Quan 思泉 , "Cong *Sushui jiwen* kan Sima Guang de zhushi yuanze" 從《涑水記聞》看司馬光的著史原則 , *Yuedu* 月讀 (2015: 8): 21–25. *Chunming tuichao lu* 春明退朝錄 compiled by Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019–1079) also enjoys high reputation. As a high ranking official,

biji can supplement standard histories for their insufficiencies, but historians need to exercise caution when using it.[14]

Basically the author has no objection to the notion that anecdotes in some cases are not reliable enough to substantiate historical credibility, but notes that such resources can play a significant role in replicating prevailing contemporary perspectives and aspirations. As such, the goal and purpose of citing anecdotal material warrant explanation. One of the major advantages enjoyed by anecdotes over standard histories is that anecdotal information covers a wide range of events, and substantial portions were not recorded by standard histories. Theoretically, standard histories record major events in political, military, social, economic, cultural, and scientific domains; however, because all of the compilers were scholar-officials, their social backgrounds and affiliations certainly shifted their focus in handling historical compilation according to protocol.

As evidenced by the essential content of the standard histories, the events concerning *diwang jiangxiang* 帝王將相 , a general term that refers to the emperor as well as military and political elite in the ruling class, played a predominant role. In contrast, anecdotes collected by *biji* preserve rich information on the ups and downs of life in the worldly existence and tend to be more closely connected with people's daily activities as compared to official historical archives, thus providing more information on cultural and social life. Despite the literary embellishment in description, anecdotes often provide information on life events of the historical figures in question, thus enabling the readers to have a better understanding about their personalities. Due to such advantages, anecdotes have been used by some historians in social

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Song Minqiu was familiar with institutions and national affairs. This explains why *Chunming tuichao lu* has been credited for its valuable information. See Guo Lingyun 郭凌云 , "Bei Song dangzheng yingxiangxia de lishi suowen biji chuangzuo" 北宋黨爭影響下的歷史瑣聞筆記創作 , *Journal of Yunnan Nationalities University (Social Sciences)* 雲南民族大學學報（哲學社會科學版）30, no. 5 (2013): 144–45. Another example is *Rulin gongyi* 儒林公議 compiled by Tian Kuang 田況 (1005–1063). This *biji* has been considered relatively reliable, as the author's viewpoints have been credited as just and fair. See Feng Shan 封閃 , "Cong *Rulin gongyi* kan Bei Song keju zhidu fazhan qingkuang" 從《儒林公議》看北宋科舉制度發展情況 , *Journal of Dehong Teachers College* 德宏師範高等專科學校學報 27, no. 4 (2018): 27–31. Despite some *biji* are known for their reliability, many more contain records that are exaggerated and even ungrounded.

14 Xue Fanhong 薛繁洪 , "Biji xiaoshuo zai lishi yanjiu zhong de shiliao jiazhi yu yingyong—Yi *Shishuo xinyu* weili" 筆記小說在歷史研究中的史料價值與應用——以《世說新語》為例 , *Wenhua xuekan* 文化學刊 (2018: 9): 227–29.

and cultural studies.[15] Taking the "four treasures of the study" (*wenfang sibao* 文房四寶) that originated in the Southern Tang as an example, *biji* comprises a substantial portion of the cited primary sources from the Song dynasty; *biji* preserves many anecdotes about society and culture and thus plays a significant role in the study on related issues.[16]

Besides extending the scope of primary sources, anecdotes embody the wishes and expectations of the people. The value of anecdotes in this context does not lie in their historical credibility, but in the contemporary perspective and aspirations they offer. Cultural memory, or, a means by which present society uses selectively in its recollection of the past, heavily depends on anecdotes collected by *biji* as a primary source. Jan Assmann elaborates upon the function of memory in shaping cultural identity, in addition to serving as a means of retaining information.[17]

Anecdotal information can also be viewed as political propaganda. In

15 Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890–1969) has been well recognized for his use of *biji* in historical studies; his book *Yuan-Bai shi jianzheng gao* 元白詩箋證稿 has long been reputed to be a masterpiece in this regard. Interestingly, Chen Yinke highlights the usefulness of *biji* but also states that this sort of information is not comparable to standard history. Consult Yao Chunhua 姚春華 , "Chen Yinke biji xiaoshuo zhengshi de fangfalun" 陳寅恪筆記小說證史的方法論 , *Journal of Changchun University of Science and Technology* 長春理工大學學報 5, no. 12 (2010): 72–73, 118. Concerning a comprehensive study on his profound contributions to the research on medieval China, consult Wong Yong-tsu 汪榮祖 , *Shijia Chen Yinke zhuan* 史家陳寅恪傳 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1984).

16 For details, see Ng Pak-sheung, "A Regional Cultural Tradition in Song China: 'The Four Treasures of the Study of the Southern Tang' ('*Nan Tang wenfang sibao*,')" *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 46 (2016): 57–117.

17 For details on Jan Assmann's theory, consult his *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006); idem, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). The concept has been adopted by scholars concentrating in Chinese studies. As interpreted by Martin Kern, "the cultural memory in this sense is a social construction that comprises those parts of the past that are fundamentally meaningful to the present society, and it depends entirely on institutionalized mechanisms of communication. Not the past as such which is preserved in this memory, but a selective reconstruction and reorganization of events to be remembered now and in the future." Consult his article, "*Shi jing* Songs as Performance Texts: A Case Study of 'Chu ci' (Thorny caltrop)," *Early China* 25 (2000): 67. When making the conceptual framework in dealing with the study of the Southern Tang, Sun Chengjuan argues that representations of the Southern Tang in Song texts can be understood as to how the recent past is commemorated and memorized, thus becoming a kind of cultural memory in the broad sense. The assertion again highlights the validity of the cultural memory in dealing with the related issue; see Sun Chengjuan, "Rewriting the Southern Tang," 8.

some cases, writers of anecdotes, in attempt to motivate readers to reflect on a particular issue, managed to portray the associated historical events from their own perspectives and aspirations. In this case, anecdotal information not only adds depth to the text, but it also reflects the mindset of those who presented the information.[18] The approach, with an emphasis on contemporary values and perspectives, provides a conceptual framework for this article. Instead of merely discovering what the *peichen* 陪臣 (officials from a subjugated state reinstated by the new government) from the Southern Tang really achieved in cultural domain in early Song China, this article examines the context in which anecdotal information can be useful in historical study.

However, substantially counting on anecdotal information in this article does not imply that the importance of official histories and annals (*biannianshi* 編年史) should be downplayed; as such, primary sources provide comprehensive, chronological details of historical events. In this sense, anecdotal information and official histories (and annals) supplement each other within the analytical framework for historical issues explored in the following sections.

18 Study on this issue has already begun. Based on the anecdotes recorded in *biji*, Luo Changfan 羅昌繁 categorizes the images of monarchs and officials and how they interacted with each other during the period of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms. For details, consult Luo Changfan, "Bei Song chuqi biji xiaoshuo zhong de Wudai Shiguo junchen xingxiang" 北宋初期筆記小說中的五代十國君臣形象 , *Journal of Xuchang University* 許昌學院學報 (2012: 4): 59–62. Additional research of this kind manifests in the portrayal of the images of officials during the Tang and the Five Dynasties. See Cai Jingbo 蔡靜波 , "Lun Tang Wudai biji xiaoshuo zhong de guanli xingxiang" 論唐五代筆記小說中的官吏形象 , *Shehui kexuejia* 社會科學家 (2006: 6): 171–74. Here are two more examples that demonstrate elaborate collection of anecdotal information made by Song literati to present their perspectives on how neo-Confucianism should shape the future of the dynasty with its potential to benefit the new generation through the education of history with successful historical compilation, in addition to the implementation of the civil service examinations: Ding Haiyan 丁海燕 , "Songren shiliao biji guanyu shishu caizhuan de jidian renshi" 宋人史料筆記關於史書采撰的幾點認識 , *Journal of Liaoning University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)* 遼寧大學學報（哲學社會科學版）41, no. 5 (2013): 48–53; Gong Yunwei 宮云維 , "Cong shiliao laiyuan kan Songren biji zhong keju shiliao de jiazhi" 從史料來源看宋人筆記中科舉史料的價值 , *Journal of Minnan Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)* 漳州師範學院學報（哲學社會科學版）(2001: 4): 79–85.

II. Cultural disparities between the Southern Tang and the Central Kingdom during the Five Dynasties period

From the perspective of Song literati, the era of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (Wudai Shiguo 五代十國 , 907–979) was full of war and disturbance that resulted in a sharp decline in music and ritual.[19] But thanks to the implementation of the "sacred dynastic administration" (*shengzheng* 聖政) during the Song, cultural development in China could once again reach a zenith. The significant role played by the Song in achieving such a dramatic change was elaborately illustrated by Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052),

> The royal family emerged at the end of the Five Dynasties period; it quelled the huge upheaval and outraced the group of powerful leaders. The territory was expanded on all sides to border ten thousand states. The dynasty then set up rites and regulations and applied them to all-under-

19 According to the "Treatise of Rites" (*Li zhi* 禮志) of *Songshi* 宋史 , during the chaotic period, "the rituals were formulated out of rush creation, and could not serve as an example for the posterity." *Songshi*, comp. Tuotuo 脫脫 (1313–1355) et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 98.2421. As for the loss of musical acumen as well as the method for reciting ceremonial court music (*yayue* 雅樂) during the Five Dynasties, see *Jiu Wudaishi* 舊五代史 , comp. Xue Juzheng 薛居正 et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 144.1923. Nevertheless, Tang regulations and methods of administration did not entirely vanish in the beginning of the Five Dynasties; people could still abide by some institutional regulations in spite of war and chaos. Therefore, Fei Gun 費袞 (fl. 1192) wondered: if contemporaries could comply with the Tang institutions, why could they not prolong dynastic existence? See *Liangxi manzhi* 梁谿漫志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 5.56. Moreover, some customary practices that did not involve detailed regulations and rule also survived in the Five Dynasties. Wang Pu 王溥 (922–982) achieved the honor of Principal Graduate, while Wang Renyu 王仁裕 (880–956) served as a chief examiner; Wang Pu then followed the custom observed by disciples (*mensheng* 門生) traditionally required during the Tang to pay respects to the chief examiner. Even after Wang Pu became prime minister, he did not forget Wang Renyu: when Wang Pu was on vacation, he would visit his former chief examiner, and they would chat all day. See Ye Mengde's 葉夢得 (1077–1148) *Shilin shihua* 石林詩話 , cited by Hu Zi 胡仔 , *Diaoxi yuyin conghua* 苕溪漁隱叢話 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1962), vol. 1, *Qianji* 前集 , 24.166; also Ye Mengde, *Shilin shihua jiaozhu* 石林詩話校注 , coll. and comm. Lu Mingxin 逯銘昕 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2011), 3.202. On the study of Wang Renyu and his time, see Glen Dudbridge, *A Portrait of Five Dynasties China: From the Memoirs of Wang Renyu (880–956)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). However, the small portion of ritual and music preserved by the Five Dynasties was incomparable to those being lost during that period.

> Heaven impartially. Countless individuals followed the rules submissively without resorting to violence and revolt. There was no more war in the Central Plains (*zhongyuan* 中原) for ninety years.
> 皇家起五代之季，破大昏，削群雄，廓視四表，周被萬國，乃建禮立法，與天下畫一。而億兆之心帖然承之，弗暴弗悖，無復鬬兵於中原者登九十載。[20]

The term "ninety years" covers the period from the beginning of the Northern Song to the reign of Song Renzong 宋仁宗 (born Zhao Zhen 趙禎 , r. 1022–1063). But some "honest" literati pointed out that cultural achievement was not actually obtained in North China during this period. According to a description made by Zhu Bian 朱弁 (d. 1144), whose hometown was Wuyuan 婺源 , Chao Yidao 晁以道 (personal name Yuezhi 說之 , 1059–1129) mentioned that his observations concerning the dynasty's cultural prosperity, from its founding to the reign of Zhaoling 昭陵 (i.e. Song Renzong), were all derived from Jiangnan.[21] Thus, while the Northern Song's brilliant military strategies were instrumental in restoring national unification to China, its achievements in instituting rites, music and other kinds of cultural continuity were limited.

Since the Northern Song was founded long after the Tang's downfall, the "old way" of administrating and practicing rituals had already receded into oblivion. Therefore, the majority of Song scholar-officials were ignorant of the antecedent conventions.[22] Examples of the absence of official ceremonial (*guanyi* 官儀) were abundant during the reign of Song Taizu 宋太祖 (born Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 , r. 960–976).[23] For instance, no court attendants were present during imperial audiences held on the first and the fifteenth days of every month wherein officials were received.[24]

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20 Fan Zhongyan, "Song gu taizi binke fensi Xijing Xiegong shendao beiming" 宋故太子賓客分司西京謝公神道碑銘 , in *Quan Song wen* 全宋文 , comp. Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊 and Liu Lin 劉琳 et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe; Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006), vol. 19, 388.22. Regarding the passage's meaning, the term *zhongyuan* seems to cover the entire Song domain rather than North China exclusively.

21 Zhu Bian, *Quwei jiuwen* 曲洧舊聞 , in *Shiyou tanji. Quwei jiuwen. Xitang ji qijiu xuwen* 師友談記・曲洧舊聞・西塘集耆舊續聞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 1.97.

22 Ding Wei 丁謂 (966–1037), *Ding jingong tanlu*, in *Ding jingong tanlu (wai sanzhong)* 丁晉公談錄（外三種）(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), 28–30.

23 Yue Ke 岳珂 , *Kuitan lu* 愧郯錄 , in *Quan Song biji. Di qi bian* 全宋筆記・第七編 , vol. 4 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2016), 4.46–47.

24 Tian Kuang, *Rulin gongyi* 儒林公議 , in *Quan Song biji. Di yi bian*, vol. 5 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003), 111.

Soon after Song Taizu came to the throne, when he worshipped in the ancestral hall, ritual ceremonies had not yet been restored; even the traditional writing style of invocation was lost.[25] When the emperor performed the sacrifice to Heaven, there were few ceremonial protocols to follow. Though some ceremonies had been revived and implemented, they still severely lacked in quantity and quality, very much in contrast with the practices adopted by preceding dynasties.[26]

In the North, an overwhelming emphasis on bolstering military strength to unify the nation further diminished literati's potential contributions to culture. According to *Songchao shishi leiyuan* 宋朝事實類苑 , Song Taizu restored tranquility to heavens and earth by military accomplishment; thus he was not eager to appoint literati to office.[27] Much to the embarrassment of literati, Song Taizu also enjoyed making fun of them. When he was about to extend the outer wall of the capital Kaifeng 開封 , he went to the Gate Zhuque (Zhuque men 朱雀門) and drew up the construction plan in person. Zhao Pu 趙普 (921–991) accompanied him on the imperial visit. The emperor pointed at the sign over the gate, and asked Zhao, "Why was it not written simply as 'Zhuque men,' and what is the use of *zhi* 之 ?"

Zhao replied, "It is an auxiliary word (*yuzhu* 語助)."

The emperor laughed and remarked, "*Zhi hu zhe ye* 之乎者也 , what kind of affairs could they help?" [28]

The four words listed in the conversation are all auxiliary words. The emperor then ordered the auxiliary word *zhi* be removed, as he did not see the reason why something useless should occupy space on the sign for the gate.[29] The anecdotal information shows that the emperor was unadorned and rustic and seemed to have reservations about the usefulness of literary

25 Song Taizu ordered officials to compose a model prayer for the Grand Altar of Soil and submit them to the court for consideration. Authors' names were concealed while the texts were transcribed by clerks. For details, see Wenying 文瑩 , *Yuhu qinghua* 玉壺清話 , in *Xiangshan yelu, Xulu. Yuhu qinghua* 湘山野錄・續錄・玉壺清話 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 1.5–6.

26 Wenying, *Yuhu qinghua*, 2.15–16. Wenying does not describe previous ceremonies in detail, nor does he specify how subsequent ceremonies fell short and defied earlier practices. Surely this is a topic worthy of additional scrutiny.

27 Jiang Shaoyu 江少虞 (fl. 1145), *Songchao shishi leiyuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 1.3.

28 Wenying, *Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄 , in *Xiangshan yelu, Xulu. Yuhu qinghua*, 2.35.

29 Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛 (ca. 1140–ca. 1210), *Yunlu manchao* 雲麓漫鈔 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 2.31.

embellishment. He was, however, an outstanding ruler; and his style, quite flexible. Even though the emperor ridiculed literati, he was aware of their decorative and embellishing enhancement to the cause of dynastic credibility.[30] One event in particular that might demonstrate the emperor's flexibility and appropriateness concerning worshipping rites:

"What are these?" asked the emperor when he worshipped in the ancestral hall, upon noticing some strange utensils like *bian* 籩 , *dou* 豆 , *fu* 簠 , and *gui* 簋 .

"They are ritual containers," replied the courtiers.

"How could my ancestors know about these?" asked the emperor.

He ordered the containers be put away when presenting ordinary food. After having the food offered to his ancestors, the emperor instructed the officials to set up the ritual containers once again and let the Confucian scholars practice the ceremony. At the time, protocol for worshipping in the imperial ancestral hall dictated that ordinary dishes (*yapen* 牙盆) be presented first, and the ritual performed afterward. Master Kangjie 康節先生 (Shao Yong 邵雍 , 1011–1077) praised the emperor's deeds, stating, "The way Song Taizu dealt with rites could be said to have met the appropriateness of balancing the ancient and the present." [31] This example effectively illustrates the emperor's

30 For example, when Song Taizu performed the sacrifice to Heaven, Lu Duoxun 盧多遜 (934–985), who served as Academician of the Hanlin Academy (*Hanlin xueshi* 翰林學士) and concurrent Chief Minister of the Court of the Imperial Stud (*taipu zheng* 太僕正), was his advisor on ceremonial matters. Lu was able to give detailed and appropriate answers to questions of procedure and precedence. The emperor, pleased with Lu's erudition, said, "Prime ministers ought to be a man of letters." Afterwards, Lu was promoted to a prominent position. See Li Tao 李燾 , *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 , vol. 2, *Juan* 1–16 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 7.171; the book is abbreviated as *Changbian* hereafter. Also see Jiang Shaoyu, *Songchao shishi leiyuan*, 1.10. Translation of official titles in this article is primarily adopted from Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985).

31 "太祖皇帝其於禮也，可謂達古今之宜矣 ." Shao Bowen 邵伯溫 (1057–1134), *Shaoshi wenjian lu* 邵氏聞見錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 1.5. According to Paul W. Kroll, *bian* is a "bamboo tazza, to contain dry food-offerings in ritual sacrifice" ; *dou* is a "tazza; stemmed bowl for food, sometimes with cover or with annular handles" ; *fu* is a "pannier, trencher, grain-hamper; square or oblong with steeply sloping sides forming a round interior, to hold boiled grain for sacrificial offering or banquet" ; *gui* is a "round pannier, grain-hamper, usu. with 2 or 4 handles, sometimes with cover, mounted either on 3 small feet or a square base, to hold boiled grain for sacrificial offering." See *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 20, 91, 122, 147. Concerning the significance of ritual containers in the ancestry worship process in ancient China, see Li Xiandeng 李先登 , *Shang Zhou qingtong wenhua* 商周青銅文化 , rev. and extended ed. (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1997).

adoption of flexibility in dealing with cultural traditions, a tactic that stemmed from political motivation aimed at highlighting the regime's legitimacy.

Besides sacrificial rituals, Song Taizu also paid attention to ceremonial and court music; restoration of which had begun in previous dynasties. Traditionally Chinese politicians stressed practicality, a virtue fully manifested in activities pertaining to dynastic existence and its perpetuation. When considering political systems to adopt, they were most concerned about a system's applicability toward and potential efficiency in addressing political and social issues. While changes were introduced in institutions throughout different periods, examples of gratuitous restoration of the past were quite rare. Putative cases of the restoration of ancient systems, in this sense, were basically superficial propaganda.

Conversely, however, Chinese rulers did exhibit great interest in restoring traditional rites and music, which seemed to have no obvious bearing on either current political or military administration. The rationale behind this practice was that restorations of the ancient systems were not used purely to fulfill rulers' personal satisfactions and fantasies. Rather, they were deliberate maneuvers designed to demonstrate the continuity of legitimacy (*zhengtong* 正統). Xue Juzheng 薛居正 (912–981) mentions in the preface of the "Treatise of Music" (*Yuezhi* 樂志) in *Jiu Wudaishi* 舊五代史 , "The emperors in ancient times promulgated ritual and music, after imperial rule and accomplishments had been achieved. It was a way to serve both Heaven and earth, as well as to harmonize relationships between human beings and their God. After the passing of multitudinous generations, traditional rules were still maintained." [32] Evidently, successive adoptions of and changes in ritual served to validate dynastic legitimacy.

Before the founding of the Northern Song, restoration of traditional rites and music had already begun. Hou Zhou Shizong 後周世宗 (born Chai Rong 柴榮 , r. 954–959), for example, entrusted Wang Pu 王朴 (905–959) with the mission of establishing rites and music (*zhili zuoyue* 制禮作樂). One of his tasks, to examine and reconfigure the keyed tones, did not produce the expected results: when Song Taizu came to the throne, he felt that the keyed tones of ceremonial court music were both too high and unharmonious.[33] He then ordered Ho Yen 和峴 (933–988) to refit the keyed tones. The effect,

32 "古之王者，理定制禮，功成作樂，所以昭事天地，統和人神，歷代已來，舊章斯在 ." *Jiu Wudaishi*, 144.1923.

33 Wang Zhi 王銍 (fl. 1130–43), *Moji* 默記 , in *Moji, Yanyi yimou lu* 默記・燕翼詒謀錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 1.7.

however, was again quite limited, because Ho's adjustments were still high by five tones compared with that of the Tang.[34]

In the process of restoring cultural traditions, Song Taizu always faced a number of obstacles and thus unable to achieve optimal results. Compared with Song Taizu, efforts made by Song Taizong 宋太宗 (born Zhao Guangyi 趙匡義 , r. 976–997) to promote cultural traditions seemed more impressive. One of his achievements was to "restore the traditional official costume for officials, so as to serve as an example for posterity." [35] As a matter of fact, numerous Song scholar-officials had already identified different roles played by these two emperors. Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061), for instance, asserts that Song Taizu unified the country by military force, while Song Taizong, by patronizing literature and the arts, promoted culture and education.[36] Despite oversimplification on the emperors' roles, this assertion reflects the general impression held by Song contemporaries.[37]

As a whole, even though the emperors in early Song China attempted to restore cultural traditions, a decline in development of rites and music continued through the mid-Song, signifying that imperial efforts did not yield effective results. As Han Chi 韓琦 (1008–1075) states, "From the late Tang and the Five Dynasties, there were successive wars and perpetual chaos; rites and music were abandoned. Therefore, when the families of scholar officials practiced annual worship in the ancestral hall, they just performed whatever was convenient and could not slightly restore the traditional way." [38]

In order to remedy the situation, Song people sought lost traditions

34 *Songshi*, 126.2937; Jiang Shaoyu, *Songchao shishi leiyuan*, 19.223.

35 The adoption of the fish pocket (*yudai* 魚袋) as a symbol of rank was an example. See Yue Ke, *Kuitan lu*, 4.46–50.

36 Song Qi, "Xiaozhi pian" 孝治篇 , in *Quan Song wen*, vol. 23, 488.206.

37 The assertion does not accurately reflect what truly occurred in early Song China. First, the Northern Han was militarily conquered by Song Taizong. Second, Song Taizu, in reality, actively maintained a good balance of cultural promotion and military support in his lifetime: the emperor tremendously valued the military for their irreplaceable contributions to national unification; at the same time, he did not overlook the significance of literary measures in achieving dynastic perpetuity. As *Rulin gongyi* records, he was mindful of promoting education and frequently visited the site designed for Directorate of Education (*guozijian* 國子監) to look at its construction work. Those who were insightful observed in him a gradual realization of great peace (太平 *taiping*). See Tian Kuang, *Rulin gongyi*, 87.

38 "自唐末至於五代，兵革相仍，禮樂廢缺。故公卿大夫之家，歲時祠饗，皆因循便俗，不能以近古制 ." Han Chi, "Hanshi canyong gujin jiajishi xu" 韓氏參用古今家祭式序 , in *Quan Song wen*, vol. 40, 853.26.

everywhere. As illustrated in the *Songchuang baishuo* 松窗百說 , "In the nine prefectures of Yanyun 燕雲 , the style of capping and coat was similar to that seen in the Tang. There were many things unchanged, like *chaupar* (*shupu* 樗蒲) and backgammon (*shuanglu* 雙六), but this sort of game had already gone through many changes in China." [39] The prefectures in Yanyun, however, had been dominated by the Liao, a tribal regime with such formidable military strength that the Song had no chance of recovering its lost territories.

Another enclave of traditional culture was the Southern Tang. The *Nan Tang shu* 南唐書 compiled by Ma Ling 馬令 (preface dated 1105; hereafter abbreviated as *Mashu* to differentiate it with the work written by Lu You 陸游 [1125–1210] of the same title) provides a vivid description of this aspect:

> Alas! When the Western Jin 西晉 (265–316) fell, barbarism prevailed in North China while the traditional costume and ritual were all preserved in the South. During the chaotic period of the Five Dynasties, the rites and music were abandoned and literary works lost. But Confucian costumes and books were prevalent in the Southern Tang. Was it the case that the cultural heritage was not actually terminated, and that Heaven had arranged a place for it to have a continued existence? Otherwise, the rites and music of the sage kings would have become extinct. Under successive rulers in the Southern Tang who were fond of Confucianism, the Confucian school showed a splendid record of prosperity.
> 嗚呼！西晉之亡也，左衽比肩，雕題接武，而衣冠典禮，會于南史。五代之亂也，禮樂崩壞，文獻俱亡，而儒衣書服，盛於南唐。豈斯文之未喪，而天將有所寓歟？不然，則聖王之大典，掃地盡矣。南唐累

39 Li Jike 李季可 (fl. 1157), *Songchuang baishuo*, in *Quan Song biji. Di liu bian* 全宋筆記・第六編 , vol. 3 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2013), 31. On the sense of identity of ethnic groups in the regions under the rule of Khitan 契丹 , see Naomi Standen, *Unbounded loyalty: frontier crossing in Liao China* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

世好儒，則儒者之盛，見於載籍，燦然可觀。[40]

Certainly the focus was overly placed on Southern Tang cultural achievements, but this might reflect how Song literati viewed the issue.[41] Zhang Fangping 張方平 (1007–1091) also states, "In the chaotic period of the Five Dynasties, China disintegrated into pieces. Jiangnan was a small domain of usurpation

40 Ma Ling, *Nan Tang shu* 南唐書 , in *Wudai shishu huibian* 五代史書彙編 , ed. Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 et al. (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2004), vol. 9, 13.5347. Although originally from Yixing 宜興 , the family of Ma Ling resided in Jinling 金陵 , capital of the Southern Tang, for generations. Ma Yuankang 馬元康 , grandfather of Ma Ling, was reputed as well-read and familiar with Southern Tang history. During his lifetime, Ma Yuankang was unable to finish chronicling the Southern Tang; Ma Ling decided to fulfill his grandfather's mission. Based on his grandfather's collection of historical records and anecdotal information, Ma Ling completed the compilation of *Nan Tang shu* in 1105. Although Ma Ling tended to positively describe the history of the Southern Tang, he had made it clear in his preface that he recognized the legitimacy of the dynasties founded in the Central Plains and thus would not avoid mentioning usurpatory acts committed by the Southern Tang.

41 As a matter of fact, the role played by the Southern Tang in Chinese history was not confined exclusively to cultural preservation. In 1040, a Transport Commissioner-in-chief (*du zhuanyunshi* 都轉運使) of Shaanxi 陝西 , whose name was not known, sent a memorandum to the court, requesting that he be allowed to manufacture twenty to thirty thousand suits of paper armor (*zhijia* 紙甲) based on the Southern Tang pattern. Soldiers defending the region's walled cities under his jurisdiction were to be equipped with this armor. The court, ratifying the request, ordered him to use the outdated account notes and books (*yuannian zhangji* 遠年帳籍) in production. Sima Guang, *Sushui jiwen* 涑水記聞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 12.240. Further, the Southern Tang played a brilliant diplomatic role in dealing with the Khitans. "When the Later Jin 後晉 (936–947) served the Khitan [ruler] as father, the Khitan [ruler] served the Southern Tang [ruler] as an older brother, for even barbarians recognized the Tang's splendor. Therefore, when the Khitans heard that Tang descendants were in Jiangnan, they still treated them courteously, and dared not dismiss the Southern Tang as equal to other states [which submitted to the Khitans]. The Southern Tang was very proud of this treatment." See Lu You, *Nan Tang shu*, in *Wudai shishu huibian*, vol. 9, 18.5607. In other words, the Southern Tang enjoyed a diplomatic superiority over the dynasties in North China, particularly that of the Later Jin, which had been forced to serve the Khitans as its vassal. On Liao-Southern Tang relations, Johannes L. Kurz argues that the Liao nurtured the Southern Tang ruler's imperial ambitions to keep the Northern dynasties in check. Consult his article, "On the Unification Plans of the Southern Tang Dynasty," *Journal of Asian History* 50, no. 1 (2016): 23–45. All in all, to most Song people, the conspicuous achievements of the Southern Tang still rested on its preservation and continuation of traditional culture, despite the above achievements.

where there were many literary officials." [42] Due to continuing efforts of the Southern Tang rulers, its level of cultural achievement exceeded that of other states. Initiating the endeavor was Xu Zhigao 徐知誥 (aka. Li Bian 李昇 , 889–943). During the Later Tang, Xu invited northern literati to emigrate en masse to the South. By that time, the Tang had been defunct for almost twenty years. Among those cultural purveyors to the South, two were instrumental in shaping the cultural features of Jianghuai 江淮 , another name for the region of Jiangnan:

A. Han Xizai 韓熙載 (902–970)

A native of Beihai 北海 , Han Xizai lived as a recluse on Mount Song in his earlier years. During the reign period Tongguang 同光 (923–926), he obtained his *jinshi* 進士 (a presented scholar) degree. His father Han Guangsi 韓光嗣 (d. 926) served as Vice Military Commissioner (*jiedu fushi* 節度副使) of Pinglu 平盧 . When the garrisoned army expelled Fu Xi 符習 (d. 933), the incumbent Military Commissioner, Guangsi was requested for appointment to the position of Deputy Commander (*liuhou* 留後). When Later Tang Mingzong 後唐明宗 (born Li Siyuan 李嗣源 , r. 926–933) took the throne, he suppressed the military revolt and put Guangsi to death. Han Xizai soon fled to Jiangnan in 926.[43] Since he had served in officialdom for some time, he

42 "五季積衰，王土剖分，江南區區，為多才臣 ." Zhang Fangping, "Song gu taizhong dafu shangshu xingbu langzhong fensi Xijing shangzhuguo ci zijinyudai leizeng mouguan Diaogong muzhiming bing xu" 宋故太中大夫尚書刑部郎中分司西京上柱國賜紫金魚袋累贈某官刁公墓誌銘並序 , in *Quan Song wen*, vol. 38, 826.280. Among the numerous literary officials of greater and lesser distinction in the Southern Tang, Han Xizai 韓熙載 , Jiang Wenwei 江文蔚 , Xu Kai 徐鍇 , Xu Xuan 徐鉉 , Gao Yue 高越 , Pan You 潘佑 , Tang Yue 湯悅 , and Zhang Ji 張洎 were undoubtedly the most outstanding. Because of the abundance of famous literary officials in Jiangnan, some Song scholar-officials could not help but praise, "Within the period of thirty years (referring to the reign period of the Li regime) in Jiangzuo 江左 (i.e. Jiangnan), the culture reflected the aura of the Yuanhe 元和 (806–820) era." See Ma Ling, *Nan Tang shu*, 13.5347. Yuanhe, the reign period of Tang Xianzong 唐憲宗 (born Li Chun 李純 , 778–820), had long been regarded as the dynasty's prime time. For details on ways in which Jiangnan rulers promoted and preserved culture, see Shi Wen 史溫 (fl. 998–1022), *Diaoji litan* 釣磯立談 , in *Wudai shishu huibian*, vol. 9, 5016; Liu Chongyuan 劉崇遠 , *Jinhuazi* 金華子 , in *Yuquanzi. Jinhuazi* 玉泉子・金華子 (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1958), 1.35.

43 Lu You, *Nan Tang shu*, 12.5558. Concerning the life events of Later Tang Mingzong and his administration, see Richard L. Davis, *From Warhorses to Ploughshares: The Later Tang Reign of Emperor Mingzong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014).

was familiar with the rules of administration and etiquette in the North. Thus, in Jiangnan, most of his opinions were valued by the rulers: "Whenever the breach of etiquette in ceremonies and regulations pertaining to weddings and funerals took place, he would correct them. The imperial edicts and rescripts composed by him was elegant and refined, which reflected the aura of the reign period of Yuanhe." [44] *Mashu* also records Han Xizai's familiarity with rules of etiquette and formality, noting that at the funeral of Xu Zhigao, Li Jing 李璟 (916–960) appointed Han, who had originally served as Vice Director of the Bureau of Forestry and Crafts (*yubu yuanwailang* 虞部員外郎) and Senior Compiler of the Historiography Institute (*shiguan xiuzhuan* 史館修撰), to take charge of the rituals by serving as Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*taichang boshi* 太常博士). At that time, Jiang Wenwei headed the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*Taizhang si* 太常寺). Han and Jiang shared certain views, but the posthumous title as well as the name of the late emperor's temple were decided by Han.[45]

B. Jiang Wenwei 江文蔚 (b. 901)

A native of Jianzhou 建州 , Jiang Wenwei was renowned for his erudition and literary work. He traveled to the North and received his *jinshi* degree during the reign of the Later Tang Mingzong, and was appointed Inspector of the Postal Relay Stations (*guanyi xunguan* 館驛巡官) of Henan Prefecture 河南府 . His service experience in the capital of the Later Tang afforded him sufficient opportunity to observe ritualistic performances; consequently he acquired considerable knowledge of etiquette and ceremony. Dismissed due to a coup involving Li Congrong 李從榮 (904–933), the son of Mingzong, Jiang fled to Jiangnan.[46] Contrary to cultural superiority in the form of literary achievement, the Southern Tang at that time had only rudimentary rules for etiquette and ceremony. From the knowledge gained during his tenure with the Later Tang, Jiang formulated ceremonial protocols relating to imperial audience, ancestral worship, and banquets, and submitted these to the court. Ceremonial regulations were thus locally established. When Xu Zhigao died, Li Jing, deferential to Jiang's familiarity with rites and knowledge of funerals, appointed the latter Vice-director of the Ministry of Works (*kongbu yuanwailang* 工部員外郎) and Supervisor of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices

44 "吉凶儀制不如式者，隨事稽正，制誥典雅，有元和之風 ." Wenying, *Xiangshan yelu*, 3.55.

45 Ma Ling, *Nan Tang shu*, 13.5347–48.

46 Lu You, *Nan Tang shu*, 10.5545.

(*pan Taizhang si* 判太常寺), in order to implement standardization of funeral ceremony. The funeral rite was accordingly determined by Jiang and his colleagues.[47]

The Later Tang always presented itself as attempting to revive the imperial Li family's rule during the Tang and tried its best to restore Tang ceremonies and institutions. However, by the time the Later Tang took control of North China, nearly twenty years had elapsed since the Tang dynasty's collapse, thereby making complete restoration of the authentic Tang system of rite and music nearly impossible. Moreover, the royal family of the Later Tang practically originated from the Shatuo 沙陀 , a Turkic tribe. After a long period of structural changes and developments aimed at catering to practical needs, the polity of the Later Tang became a mixture of barbaric customs and military autocracy.[48] Therefore, although the Later Tang claimed to restore the Tang's prior system, the only element it truly restored was court etiquette, which could never affect the existing political and military infrastructure. In other words, the restoration of rituals and institutions was more decorative than functional for the administration. When the Later Tang former officials served in the South, their only contributions to the region included distorted imitations of etiquette rules created by the Later Tang.

47 Ma Ling, *Nan Tang shu*, 13.5350.

48 While the Later Tang took pride in continuing former institutions as well as other traditional Tang rites and music when most traditional forms were either corrupted by contemporaries or lost. As recorded in the *Jiu Wudaishi*, when Zhuangzong of the Later Tang 後唐莊宗 (born Li Cunxu 李存勖 , r. 923–926) emerged from the frontier wilderness, his entertainment repertoire included nothing other than the barbaric, lewd songs of the Cheng that prevailed in frontier regions (*bianbu zhengsheng* 邊部鄭聲). Authentic court music was almost non-existent. During the reigns of Emperors Zhuangzong and Mingzong, no musician was successful in replicating the traditional rhythms of musical instruments played in the ancestral hall. See *Jiu Wudaishi*, 144.1923. In addition, the court ceremony had become corrupt. In 928, a change in imperial audience ceremonies stipulated that all officials, including Prime Ministers Supervising the Array (*yaban zaixiang* 押班宰相), Secretariat Receptionists (*tongshi sheren* 通事舍人), and attendants taking arms beyond the gate, be required to bow in the imperial audience. See *Wudai huiyao* 五代會要 , comp. Wang Pu 王溥 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 6.93. But in 944, the change, contradictory to traditional ceremony, was criticized by Zhang Zhao 張昭 (894–972), an expert on ritual and ceremony. According to Zhang Zhao, the responsibility of the prime minister who supervised the array was to stand in place, solemnly watching the practice of the court ceremony, checking for breach of etiquette. If required to bow, how could an official carry out this task? See ibid, 6.93–94. Therefore, it is comprehensible that the rites and music Southern Tang obtained from the Later Tang were not necessarily practiced in previous dynasties.

Since Xu Zhigao's territory was confined to the area around the Yangzi river, he was oblivious to how the Tang dynasty administration actually functioned. Unable to judge the validity of the accounts presented by northern scholar-officials, he gave credence to what they reported by adopting their opinions as guidelines in running his institutions. Under these circumstances, the distorted and contrived "old system of the Tang dynasty" obtained a foothold in the South and eventually served as the basis of the "rejuvenation of the Tang dynasty" advocated by Xu Zhigao.

Although the Southern Tang did not inherit truly authentic traditions or uncorrupted ceremonies, the resulting hybrid of traditional rules with new elements was still better than nothing at all. Following the Southern Tang's collapse, Jiangnan immediately became the resource from which the Song could complete its own ritual protocols and ceremonies.

Jiangnan also contributed culturally to the collection and collation of books. The Southern Tang's excellence in book collection resulted from, in addition to the efforts exerted by the rulers, the assiduity in literary initiatives by both sojourning and indigenous literati.[49] By contrast, the collection of books in the North, due to civil war and foreign invasion, was far inferior to that of Jiangnan.[50] As recorded in *Chunzhu jiwen* 春渚紀聞 , "Since the chaos in the Chin, the Khitans transported valuables and books from North China

49 For example, Zhu Zundu 朱遵度 , a well-rounded scholar from Qingzhou 青州 , liked to collect books. On sojourning in Jinling 金陵 , he wrote 1,000 *juan* of the *Hongjian xueji* 鴻漸學記 , 1,000 *juan* of the *Qunshu lizao* 群書麗藻 , and a few *juan* of the *Qishu* 漆書 , all of which were widely circulated. See Zheng Wenbao 鄭文寶 , *Jiangbiao zhi* 江表志 , in *Wudai shishu huibian*, vol. 9, 2.5086.

50 Cheng Ju 程俱 (1078–1144), *Lintai gushi jiaozheng* 麟臺故事校證 , coll. and comm. Zhang Fuxiang 張富祥 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), 1.19.

to the North." [51] Therefore, the official collection of books was scanty in the early period of the Northern Song, while its counterpart in Jiangnan remained substantial.[52]

The Southern Tang, which had dedicated itself to book procurement, eventually lost its collection to the North. After Jinling was occupied, Song Taizu of the Song ordered Lü Guixiang 呂龜祥 , who served as Librarian of the Heir Apparent (*taizi xima* 太子洗馬), to go procure the Southern Tang's book collection, and send it to Kaifeng.[53] Some primary sources compiled by Song scholars avoided mention of this event or diluted the fact as a way to preserve their own cultural pride. According to *Lintai gushi* 麟臺故事 ,

> Song Taizong was fond of Confucian learning, and issued successive imperial edicts searching for books. Books from the four corners reappeared and they were collected for the national library in just a few years. By 988, Song Taizong had filled up the Imperial Archives (*Mige* 秘閣), which was newly established in the Historiography Institute (*Shiguan* 史館), with more than ten thousand *juan* of books chosen from the Three Institutes (*Sanguan* 三館).
> 上崇尚儒術，屢下明詔，訪求羣書，四方文籍，往往而出，未數年間，已充牣于書府矣。至是，乃于史館建祕閣，仍選三館書萬餘卷以

51 Ho Yuan 何薳 (1077–1145), *Chunzhu jiwen* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 5.74–75. Here the "North" refers to the domain of Khitan. Of course, it is unfair to assert that the Central Kingdom had done nothing worth mentioning here in regard to book circulation. Prior to the Tang, there was no woodblock printing (of the Five Confucian Classics), and the books were transcribed copies. In 932, however, "Feng Dao 馮道 (882–954) and Li Yu 李愚 (d. 935), prime ministers, requested that Tian Min 田敏 (879–971), who was serving as Supervisor of the Directorate of Education (*pan guozijian* 判國子監), be appointed to supervise the editing, collation and printing of the Nine Classics, as preparation for their sale. The court approved the request. Therefore, even in the chaotic period, circulation of the classics was very wide." See Shao Bo 邵博 , *Shaoshi wenjian houlu* 邵氏聞見後錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 5.36. But the contribution was only confined to the circulation of the classics, and it could not solve the problem concerning the scattering and loss of many different book genres.

52 Hong Mai, *Rongzhai suibi*, *wupi* 五筆 , 7.884–85.

53 Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 16.354. Also consult Johannes L. Kurz, "The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilations Project," *T'oung Pao* 87, nos. 4–5 (2001): 296–97.

實其中。[54]

As for the sources of books collected from the Three Institutes, the *Lintai gushi* claims vaguely that they were obtained through Song Taizong's search, but does not mention books plundered from various states.[55] *Lintai gushi*'s description, however, distorts the real historical fact; *Changbian* records that during the Jianlong 建隆 (960–963) period,

> The books collected in the Three Institutes were only around 12,000 *juan*. The Song suppressed various states and acquired all of their books. Most of these books came from Shu and Jiangnan; the Song obtained 13,000 *juan* from Shu, and more than 20,000 *juan* from Jiangnan. In addition, Song Taizong officially encouraged people to contribute their books. Therefore, the books scattered under Heaven were again gathered in the Three Institutes, and the official collection of books was relatively complete.
> 三館所藏書僅一萬二千餘卷。及平諸國，盡收其圖籍，惟蜀、江南最多，凡得蜀書一萬三千卷，江南書二萬餘卷。又下詔開獻書之路，於是天下書復集三館，篇帙稍備。[56]

Obviously, the major source of books was from various subjugated states. In 978, when Song Taizong visited the Institute for the Veneration of Literature (*Chongwen yuan* 崇文院) to the collection,

> He allowed princes and prime ministers to read and make inquiries. He also summoned Liu Chang 劉鋹 (942–980, Nan Han Houzhu 南漢後主 , r. 958–971) and Li Yu 李煜 (937–978, Nan Tang Houzhu 南唐後主 ,

54 Cheng Ju, *Lintai gushi jiaozheng*, 1.19. On the establishment and significance of the Three Institutes, see Chen Lesu 陳樂素 , "Songchu sanguan kao" 宋初三館考 , in idem, *Qiushi ji* 求是集 , vol. 2 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1984), 1–14. Kurz also discusses how the books taken from the conquered libraries facilitated establishment of the early Song imperial libraries; see *Das Kompilationsprojekt Song Taizongs (reg. 976–997)* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2003), 39–46.

55 Cheng Ju, *Lintai gushi jiaozheng*, 1.19.

56 Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, vol. 3, *Juan* 17–32 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 19.422. Johannes L. Kurz details Lü Guixiang's contributions to book collection when Song Taizu sent him to Jinling in 976. Lü took inventory of books housed in Southern Tang libraries. "His count produced more than 20,000 *juan*, which he shipped directly to the Historiography Institute in Kaifeng." See Kurz, "The Politics of Collecting Knowledge," 296–97.

> r. 961–975) to participate, and asked them to read whatever they liked. The emperor asked Li, "I heard that you liked reading when you were in Jiangnan, and many books here were originally your property. So what have you read lately?"
> 恣親王、宰相檢閱問難。復召劉鋹、李煜令縱觀，上謂煜曰：「聞卿在江南好讀書，此中簡策多卿舊物，充近猶讀書否？」[57]

Such account further proves that these books, originally stored in Jiangnan, played a significant role in the assembling of the Song collection. In the minds of Song scholars, the value of books from Jiangnan was much higher than that of those from other states: "After the conquest of Jiangnan, Song Taizu granted the Hanlin Academy 3,000 *juan* of books, all published using excellent paper and calligraphy. Most were old editions, published prior to the Tang, and some were collated by Xu Kai 徐鍇 (920–974)." [58] *Mashu* also states,

> Most of the books collected from Jinling were precisely collated and perfectly edited. They were quite different from those stored in other states. In the past when Han Xuanzi 韓宣子 (d. 514 BC) traveled in Lu, he realized the essence of the Zhou rites was preserved there. Lu was not expected to have been able to maintain the Zhou rites, yet the rites had been preserved pristinely by Lu. One could claim that Lu's deeds were close to the path of principle (*dao* 道); how was the Southern Tang's collection of books different from that?
> 其書多讐校精審，編帙完具，與諸國本不類。昔韓宣子適魯，而知周禮之所在。且周之典禮，固非魯可存，而魯果能存其禮，亦為近於道矣。南唐之藏書，何以異此？[59]

In summary, Song culture, in terms of book collection, flourished after the conquest of various states, particularly those of the Southern Tang.[60]

In addition to rites and music as well as books, the Southern Tang also

57 Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 19.423.

58 "太祖平江南，賜本院書三千卷，皆紙札精妙，多先唐舊書，亦有是徐鍇手校者 ." Jiang Shaoyu, *Songchao shishi leiyuan*, 50.653, see also ibid, 30.389, 31.393–94.

59 Ma Ling, *Nan Tang shu*, 23.5407.

60 Cao Shimian 曹士冕 , "Puxi zashuo" 譜系雜說 , *Fatie puxi* 法帖譜系 , in *Baichuan xuehai (fu suoyin)* 百川學海（附索隱）(Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1969), vol. 2, 1.697; Chen Gu 陳鵠 , *Xitang ji qijiu xuwen* 西塘集耆舊續聞 , in *Shiyou tanji. Quwei jiuwen. Xitang ji qijiu xuwen*, 3.318..

preserved miscellaneous forms of arts and crafts (*zayi* 雜藝) not generally found in North China, such as the royal Tang cookery.[61] In terms of food variety and exquisite preparation methods, the imperial banquet of the Five Dynasties could not even compare to the routine household banquet offered by officials, let alone that of the Southern Tang court, which inherited the legacy of Tang royal cookery.[62]

Food, drink and lifestyle from Jiangnan were appreciated and imitated by Song scholar-officials. Tao Gu 陶穀 (903–970), a Song official, was extremely fond of *yunying chao* 雲英麨 , literally "mixture of cloud and flower," which refers to a variety of pastry made of steamed ground melon and fruit mixed with honey. This confection was introduced by Zheng Wenbao 鄭文寶 (953–1013), a former Southern Tang official.[63] Since tea was favored by scholar-officials and had already become a daily beverage in Jiangnan, knowledge about it was further refined. For instance, Tang Yue 湯悅 (fl. 940–983), another former Southern Tang official, composed "Senbo Song" 森伯頌 (Eulogy for tea), in which *senbo* is an analogy to the tea: "When drinking, there is pure and rich taste (*senran* 森然) in one's teeth. After a long time, the pure and rich taste spreads to the four limbs." The description implies that the pure and aromatic taste of tea leaves an after-effect (*yuyun* 餘韻) that overwhelms the tea drinker. Tao Gu praised Tang Yue's description, stating, "If his combination of two senses in one term doesn't inspire a transcendent state about tea, who

61 For example, a royal chef in the late Tang accompanied an eunuch to Jiangnan. The eunuch fled when he heard that Cui Yin 崔胤 (853 or 854–904) massacred eunuchs in Chang'an 長安 . The royal chef then stayed in Jiangnan and served the Wu. When Xu Zhigao set up the Southern Tang, he relied upon the chef for preparation of imperial dishes; all his dishes reminiscent the Central Kingdom's prosperity. See Lu You, *Nan Tang shu*, 17.5599; also *Jiangnan yuzai* 江南餘載 , in *Wudai shishu huibian*, vol. 9, 2.5119.

62 Tao Gu 陶穀 , *Qingyi lu* 清異錄 , in *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 , vol. 2845–46 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 3.226.

63 According to the recipe, the refined part of lotus, water caltrop, taro, fox nut barley, water chestnut, tubers of the arrowhead, and lily bulbs were steamed, then dried out in the wind. Shortly after, the steamed product was pounded in a stone-mill to refine it. Sugar from Sichuan (*chuantang* 川糖) and honey were added, and the product was pounded again to mix the ingredients thoroughly. It was then taken out and shaped into a globular mass, which after being cooled and hardened, could be cut and served. It would be better to add more sugar; honey, if added, should be of an appropriate amount, for it would turn watery if too much were added. See ibid, 2.117–18.

else can?" [64]

Displays of splendor manifested in extravagant banquets (*paichang* 排場) in which officials in Jiangnan enjoyed dishes held by servants (*rou taipan* 肉臺盤), a custom widely imitated by the Song.[65] Fashion in the Song was still influenced by the Southern Tang more than a hundred years after the conquest of Jiangnan. At the end of the Li regime, both officials and commoners in Jinling favored green-colored clothes. During the dyeing process, cloth was exposed to night dew, a treatment believed to brighten the color. Contemporaries refered to the resulting hue as the "cyan-blue color of heavenly water" (*tianshui bi* 天水碧).[66] Curiously, approximately one hundred and fifty years after the Southern Tang's collapse, this bright shade regained popularity in the Song, as "contemporaries were eager to imitate Southern Tang lifestyle." [67]

Since the cultural development of the Southern Tang was far superior to that of the North, Southern rulers and scholar-officials always held the Central Kingdom in disdain. Li Jing once revealed his contempt before Wang Zhonglian 王仲連 , a Northerner serving in Jiangnan, arguing, "From ancient

64 "二義一名，非熟夫湯甌境界，誰能目之 ." Ibid, 4.297. According to a general understanding, *senran* 森然 in the context of tea drinking means "tasting pure and rich" (*wei chunzheng nongyu* 味純正濃郁). Owing to the importance of tea, the Southern Tang government assigned Xu Li 徐履 , a prominent courtier, to take charge of the tea bureau established in Jianyang 建陽 .

65 Sun Sheng 孫晟 (d. 956) served in Jiangnan for twenty years, and was promoted to Minister of Works (*sikong* 司空). Being wealthy, he lived an extravagant lifestyle. His food was not served on a table, but from maidservants holding dishes individually, waiting around him in a circle. Many contemporaries imitated his way, which was known as *rou taipan*. See *Xin Wudaishi* 新五代史 , comp. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 , comm. Xu Wudang 徐無黨 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 33.365; *Jiu Wudaishi*, 131.1733. Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031–1095) records that Shi Manqing 石曼卿 (994–1041) once drank with a wealthy neighbor. In the banquet, there were more than ten maidservants holding dishes, fruits and musical instruments. Their costumes and appearance were beautiful and splendid. One maidservant poured wine and presented. After wine was served, there was performance of music while the maidservants stood in front holding dishes. When the meal was done, they stood on the sides. "Those living in the capital called this *ruanpan*" 京師人謂之「軟槃（盤）」; *ruan* in this context refers to the soft female body. See Shen Kuo, *Mengxi bitan jiaozheng* 夢溪筆談校證 , coll. and comm. Hu Daojing 胡道靜 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 9.350. Zhao Yushi 趙與時 (1175–1231) associates the record in the *Xin Wudaishi* with the one in the *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 , and asserts that *ruanpan* was originated from *rou taipan*; see *Bintui lu* 賓退錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 2.22.

66 Long Gun 龍袞 , *Jiangnan yeshi* 江南野史 , in *Wudai shishu huibian*, vol. 9, 3.5176.

67 Cai Tao 蔡絛 , *Tiewei shan congtan* 鐵圍山叢談 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 3.44.

times to now, the number of literati in Jiangbei 江北 (i.e. the region north of the Yangzi River) was not as great as the number of gifted scholars (*caizi* 才子) presiding in Jiangnan." According to a common understanding in the context of Chinese culture, *caizi* always refers to those who distinguished themselves in literary composition. In response, Wang agreed, but also pointed out the historical fact that Confucius was born in Qufu 曲阜 . Since the status of Confucius was unchallengeable, Li Jing could not help but feel ashamed.[68] Perhaps Li Jing seemed unprepared for Wang's reply, as Li had been so focused on literary ability in his efforts to promote culture that he neglected to consider Confucian learning. Li Jing's pride, however, remained intact due to remarkable cultural contributions overall by the Southern Tang.

Even after the loss of the Huai region and sharp decline in national strength, scholar-officials in Jiangnan did not lose faith in their cultural superiority. In fact, they were ashamed of adopting the reign titles (*nianhao* 年號) of the Later Zhou 後周 (951–660) and the Northern Song. Jiangnan's adoption of the Central Kingdom calendar was merely a nominal diplomatic gesture. Rather, sexagenary cycle (*jiazi* 甲子) as a unit for recording years was widely pervasive in Jiangnan. Evidence of this is seen in the Toutuo Temple 頭陀寺 of Ezhou 鄂州 , where a stone tablet, erected in 718, of Wang jianqi 王簡栖 (d. 505) of the Southern Qi 南齊 (479–502) is located. Han Xizai composed the inscription on the back of the tablet (*beiyin* 碑陰), and Xu Kai wrote an inscription on the obverse. The end of the latter's inscription states that it was written "in the year of *jisi* 己巳 of the Tang." [69] *Jisi* refers to the second year of Kaibao 開寶 (969), the reigning period of Song Taizu.

In yet another example of condescension, some scholar-officials in Jiangnan slandered the North's natural geography. Zhang Ji 張洎 (934–997), who had been sent on a tributary mission to Kaifeng, returned to Jiangnan

68 Zheng Wenbao, *Jiangbiao zhi*, 2.5084. Also see Sun Chengjuan, "Rewriting the Southern Tang," 67–68.

69 Lu You, *Ru Shu ji* 入蜀記 , *juan* 46 of *Weinan wenji* 渭南文集 , in *Lu You ji* 陸游集 , vol. 5 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 2441–42. Abstinence from the use of the Central Kingdom reign title was also apparent in the prefectures, which were previously under Southern Tang rule. As recorded in the *Lanzhen zi*, in a picture of Bodhisattva (*Xuputi* 須菩提) found in the Donglin Temple 東林寺 of Luzhou 盧州 , an inscription states that it was "printed by Wang Han 王翰 , a woodman, in the year of *wuchen* 戊辰 ," which refers to the first year of the reign period Kaibao (968). *Lanzhen zi* further states that scholar-officials were ashamed of using the reign title of the Central Kingdom. Therefore, most of the tablets in temples located in Jiangnan did not reference the title, but only the sexagenary cycle. See Ma Yongqing, *Lanzhen zi*, 2.152.

where he composed ten poems slandering the scenery of the Song Capital. Among the poems, a sentence was inserted to please Li Yu, depicting Kaifeng as a mass of ash (*yidui hui* 一堆灰).[70]

After the downfall of the Southern Tang, some former scholar-officials, who were still proud of their perceived cultural superiority, despised the Song. When Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916–991) moved to Kaifeng, he laughed heartily at scholar-officials wearing fur in winter, musing, "After the war and chaos, the Central Kingdom did not change its fashions. There were many people covering themselves with blankets and wearing furs; it was really horrible." One day, when he went to the court, he saw Wu Shu 吳淑 (947–1002), his son-in-law, also wearing a fur. When Xu returned, he summoned Wu, reprimanding: "You were a scholar-official, why did you imitate that?"

"There was heavy frost and it was bitter cold in the morning; many people in the court were wearing furs," Wu replied.

"Scholar-officials who maintain their integrity do not wear them," replied Xu. (He was referring to himself.)

Xu Xuan was later demoted to Xinping 新平 , a county of Binzhou 邠州 . Although the place was cold, Xu stubbornly insisted on maintaining his fashion principles. Consequently, in cold weather he died of diarrhea. Yang Yi 楊億 (974–1020) recorded Xu's case by adding, "Xu's will and integrity were pitiable." [71] Definitely Xu's persistency had so much to do with his strong faith

70 Jiang Shaoyu, *Songchao shishi leiyuan*, 74.984.

71 Ye Zhi 葉寘 , *Airizhai congchao* 愛日齋叢抄 , in *Airizhai congchao*. *Haoranzhai yatan*. *Suiyin manlu* 愛日齋叢抄・浩然齋雅談・隨隱漫錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 5.108. Xu Xuan also revealed his disgust with the bustling noise outside the place where officials waited for the imperial audience (*dailou yuan* 待漏院) caused by the sales of noodles and porridge by peddlers. He frowned and said, "It was really like an encampment!" For details, see Ding Wei, *Ding jingong tanlu*, 13. On Xu Xuan (Hsu Hsuan)'s life events and career in the Northern Song, see Bol, *"This Culture of Ours,"* 156–57; Zhou Jun 周軍 , "Xu Xuan qiren yu Songchu erchen" 徐鉉其人與宋初「貳臣」, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (1989: 4): 120–32; Li Wenze 李文澤 , "Xu Xuan xingnian shiji kao" 徐鉉行年事跡考 , in *Songdai wenhua yanjiu (di san ji)* 宋代文化研究（第三輯）, ed. Sichuan daxue guji zhengli yanjiusuo 四川大學古籍整理研究所 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1993), 98–112; and Jin Chuandao 金傳道 , "Xu Xuan sanci bianguan kao" 徐鉉三次貶官考 , *Journal of Chongqing University of Posts and Telecommunications (Social Science)* 重慶郵電大學學報（社會科學版）19, no. 3 (2007): 99–103. Xu Xuan's career experience in Song officialdom and sense of loyalty toward his home country also draw scholarly attention in Western academic circles. Nathan Woolley has a detailed discussion on Xu Xuan's perspective and stance in dealing with the issue of *zhengtong*. Consult his article titled "From Restoration to Unification: Legitimacy and Loyalty in the Writings of Xu Xuan (917–992)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77, no. 3 (2014): 547–67.

in traditional culture that manifested itself in his preference for clothes.

III. Cultural admiration by the Central Kingdom

Prior to the downfall of the Southern Tang, the highly esteemed Jiangnan scholar-officials enjoyed widely circulated literary reputation in the North. For example, Tang Yue, serving as secretariat drafter, was ordered by Li Jing to compose the inscription on a tablet erected in the Xiaoxian Temple of Yangzhou ("Yangzhou Xiaoxiansi bei" 揚州孝先寺碑). Hou Zhou Shizong, stopping at that temple during his expeditionary campaigns against the Southern Tang, praised the inscription. Further, during the war, imperial edicts of the Southern Tang, for the most part composed by Tang Yue, were particularly redolent of literary refinement, and situationally appropriate. Whenever Hou Zhou Shizong read them, he showed admiration. At that time, literary courtiers of the Later Zhou, like Shen Yu 沈遇 and Ma Shiyuan 馬士元 , were transferred to other posts due to unsatisfactory performance. After the war, Tang Yue, sent as an envoy to present tribute, was treated with additional courtesy by the emperor as a gesture to pay respect to the former's exceptional literary ability.[72]

While the Later Zhou definitely obtained military victory over the Southern Tang, it met complete cultural defeat. Even the military men of the Later Zhou had a similar observation. When told by Hou Zhou Shizong of the victory in Mount Zijin 紫金山 , a general by the name of Qi Cangzhen 齊藏珍 replied, "The military merits of Your Majesty are incomparable in recent times, but the literary virtue is not yet glorified." Upon hearing this, the emperor nodded, signifying his imperial agreement with the comment.[73]

Scholar-officials of the Southern Tang, already well respected in the North, gained the same degree of popularity and respect during the early Song. When sent as an envoy to Jiangnan, Song official Li Mu 李穆 (928–984) met

72 Yang Yi, *Yang wengong tanyuan* 楊文公談苑 , in *Yang wengong tanyuan. Juanyou zalu* 楊文公談苑・倦遊雜錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 99. Another scholar-official appreciated by the north was Feng Yanlu 馮延魯 (aka. Feng Mi 馮謐 , d. 971). After he became captive, he was appointed as Chief Minister of the Court of the Imperial Treasury (*Taifu qing* 太府卿) by the Later Zhou. During his three years' service in Kaifeng, he often amused himself with wine and the exchange of poems with scholar-officials. Frequently, he composed literary works, all of which gained wide circulation. See Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 , "*Fengshi jiaji* qianxu" 馮氏家集前序 , in *Quan Song wen*, vol. 8, 154.23.

73 *Jiu Wudaishi*, 129.1705.

with Xu Kai, Xu Xuan's brother. Impressed by Xu Kai's scholarly appearance, Li Mu could not help but sigh, "He was the kind of 'Er Lu' 二陸." [74] The literary reputation of Feng Yansi 馮延巳 (903–960) had also spread to the North. His lyric poems (*ci* 詞) were extolled as "refined and elegant, rich and graceful. Even if they were placed in the ancient collection of tunes (*gu yuefu* 古樂府), he would not feel abashed." [75] Diao Kan 刁衎 (945–1013) was also among those appreciated by Song scholar-officials: "Though he served in an usurped regime (i.e. Southern Tang), his name was widely known in the North because of his refinement and personal integrity." [76] Once Song Taizu ordered Li Yu to write a letter persuading Liu Zhang to surrender to the Song; Li Yu then ordered Pan You 潘佑 (938–973), his intimate subordinate, to draft the reply letter. Pan wrote several thousand words in a very persuasive and refined style.[77] As a result, the letter was praised by Song scholar-officials as "definitely a contemporary masterpiece." Apart from wide circulation in Jiangnan, copies of Pan's letter were collected and valued highly by many literati in the Central

74 Lu You, *Nan Tang shu*, 5.5501. "Er Lu" refers to the brothers Lu Ji 陸機 (261–303) and Lu Yun 陸雲 (262–303), renowned men of letters in the Western Jin 西晉 (265–316). It is also recorded in the *Tingshi* 桯史 that the "San Xu" 三徐 (Three members of the Xu family) impressed the denizens of the Central Kingdom tremendously with their erudition. See Yue Ke 岳珂, *Tingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 1.3–4. By that time both Xu Yanxiu 徐延休, his father; and Xu Kai, his brother, had already passed away. As for Xu Yanxiu's erudition, see Wu Chuhou 吳處厚, *Qingxiang zaji* 青箱雜記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 7.72; Zhao Yanwei quotes this record but mistakes Xu Yanxiu for Xu Xuan in describing the latter's erudition, see his *Yunlu manchao*, 9.155. Xu Xuan's reputation seemed higher than that of his younger brother in the minds of Song scholar-officials, as Xu Kai passed away prior to the Southern Tang's downfall while Xu Xuan served in the Song. Subsequently, many scholar-officials became Xu Xuan's disciples and they thus praised his reputation. Ye Mengde 葉夢得, *Shilin yanyu* 石林燕語 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 10.155–56.

75 Wu Zeng 吳曾 (fl. 1127–1160), *Nenggai zhai manlu* 能改齋漫錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1979), 17.499. With regard to the translation of Feng Yansi (Feng Yen-ssu)'s works, see Bryant, ed. and trans., *Lyric Poets of the Southern T'ang*.

76 "雖處偽庭，而儒雅清素，名重中朝." See Zhang Fangping, "Song gu taizhong dafu shangshu xingbu langzhong fensi Xijing shangzhuguo ci zijinyudai zeng mouguan Diaogong muzhiming bing xu," 826.278. For Diao Kan's biographical information, consult Kurz, *Das Kompilationsprojekt Song Taizongs*, 193–95.

77 Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126–1204), *Erlao tang zazhi* 二老堂雜志, in *Quan Song biji. Di wu bian* 全宋筆記・第五編, vol. 8 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2012), 2.341. Pan You composed the letter in 970, one year prior to the collapse of the Southern Han 南漢 (917–971). See Johannes L. Kurz, *China's Southern Tang Dynasty, 937–976* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2011), 98–99.

Kingdom.[78]

Contrarily, indigenous scholar-officials of the early Song in general were, compared with those from the Southern Tang, insufficiently educated in literature and the classics; the dialogue among prominent officials, full of vulgarity and ignorance, sometimes embarrassed Song Taizu.[79] Among the Northern scholar-officials in the early Song, there was a general belief that Tao Gu and Dou Yi 竇儀 (914–966) ranked first and second nationally in literary fame.[80] But these two esteemed persons could not match most Southern scholar-officials in terms of erudition. Prior to the Southern Tang's downfall, Tao Gu and Dou Yi participated unknowingly in simultaneous competition with scholar-officials in Jiangnan on the extent of their erudition. When asked about matters such as reign titles, Tao and Dou knew only that Qiande 乾德 had been used in the Later Shu 後蜀 (934–965), while the scholar-officials of the Southern Tang traced back to the period of Fu Gongyou 輔公祐 (d. 624).[81]

After the collapse of the Southern Tang, scholar-officials from the South exerted an even greater cultural impact on the Song. Though frequently frustrated in their new careers due to discriminatory measures initiated against *peichen* from subjugated regimes, some scholar-officials from Jiangnan gained the respect of their Song counterparts on the strength of their personal

78 Jiang Shaoyu, *Songchao shishi leiyuan*, 40.522.

79 Cai Tao 蔡絛 , *Xiqing shihua* 西清詩話 , in *Zhongguo shi hua zhenben congshu* 中國詩話珍本叢書 , comp. Cai Zhenchu 蔡鎮楚 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004), 1:328. Certainly not all scholar-officials in the Central Kingdom were entirely ignorant of cultural traditions and successive changes in rites and music. For instance, Zhang Zhao 張昭 was familiar with the traditional sacrifice of captives. See Wenying, *Yuhu qinghua*, 2.16. Han Pu 韓溥 , descendent of Han Xiu 韓休 (673–740), was erudite and familiar with the matter of courts and institutions, as well as of the great clans in the Tang. Because he was so well-informed, he was praised as a "contemporary living encyclopedia" (*jindai roupu* 近代肉譜). See Jiang Shaoyu, *Songchao shishi leiyuan*, 59.783. Dou Yi 竇儀 was known for his strict compliance with traditional familial discipline measures. See Fang Peng 方鵬 (b. 1470), *Zebei yutan* 責備餘談 , in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu. Shibu* 四庫全書存目叢書・史部 , vol. 282 (Jinan: Qi-Lu shushe, 1996), 2.37–38. Also some clans continued to observe the traditional way of rites. The clan of Lady Li was famous for familial discipline since the Tang. It also adopted the traditional worship ritual and ceremony. See Li Zhi 李廌 (1059–1109), "Limu Wangshi muzhi ming" 李母王氏墓誌銘 , in *Quan Song wen*, vol. 132, 2853.194–95. However, only a few scholar-officials were versed in these practices.

80 Ding Wei, *Ding jingong tanlu*, 17.

81 Chen Gu, *Xitang ji qijiu xuwen*, 8.370. For further elaboration on this historical event, see Ye Mengde, *Shilin yanyu*, 7.99–100; also ibid., Appendix I: *Shilin yanyu bian* 石林燕語辨 by 汪應辰 (1118–1176), 211–12.

integrity, virtue and exemplary behavior. Along with the Song appreciation for and imitation of good customs that prevailed in Jiangnan, some Song scholar-officials frequently admitted a need to follow those examples in order to carry out reform in society.[82]

Without question, proficiency in exquisite diction and literary allusion were obvious signs of cultural achievement, but from an administrative standpoint, social decorum and personal conduct that aligned with Confucian values proved far more useful in transforming social customs and raising moral standards in the country. This might explain why Nan Tang *peichen* were highly valued, as they were well known precisely for those attributes the Song needed in achieving social transformation and enhancing ethics; these merits were indispensable to the establishment of civil administration.

Out of such practical intentions, some of the Nan Tang *peichen* were eulogized for their discretion in conduct and adherence to moral principles, as such merits were beneficial in serving exemplary functions. Among Southern Tang scholar-officials, Xu Xuan was always the focus of attention. Once re-assigned to the Song court, Xu Xuan found himself respected by Song scholar-officials for his essays and personal integrity. Prominent officials like Wang Pu 王溥 and Wang You 王祐 (923–986) befriended him while Li Zhi 李至 (947–1001) and Su Yijian 蘇易簡 (957–995) regarded him as a teacher. Li Mu 李穆 (928–984), known for sound judgement of character, told others, "As I observed the scholar-officials from Jiangnan, only Xu Xuan was close enough to be called an upright and moral gentleman." Frugal in his personal expenditures, Xu Xuan did not even eat heavy meals. His explanation was that his standard of living "was already too high for a mere scholar-official from a subjugated state." [83] *Ding jingong tanlu* 丁晉公談錄 also states that Xu told various scholar-officials, "The families of scholar-officials could raise chicken, pigs, fish and turtles, and plant fruits and vegetables." In accordance with this reference to homegrown food, Xu avoided wine and meat from outside, which was a desirable behavioral norm set by the Confucian canon; Xu held

82 The reference does not imply that scholar-officials in North China did nothing in this regard. Li Fang 李昉 (925–996), Li Hang 李沆 (947–1004) and Zhao Linji 趙鄰幾 (922–979) were also known for their kindness and dignified integrity. See Wenying, *Xiangshan yelu*, 3.56; Wang Pizhi, *Shengshui yantan lu*, 3.29. This article posits that the constant focus on the Southern Tang is due to the high acclaim substantially enjoyed by this regime.

83 Tian Kuang, *Rulin gongyi*, 124.

Confucianism in high esteem.[84]

In addition, Xu Xuan's uprightness was highly regarded. *Guolao tanyuan* 國老談苑 records that after he was escorted to Kaifeng, Xu purchased a home. A year later, upon meeting with the former owner, who was living in extreme poverty, Xu asked, "Was the poverty caused by a loss of money when selling your residence? I recently obtained 200,000 cash as payment for writing an epitaph; I will give it to you in compensation for your loss." The former owner attempted to decline the offer, but did not succeed, as Xu later ordered his servants to deliver the money to him.[85]

Xu Xuan's loyalty to Li Yu was also highly praised by some Song scholar-officials. In the face of Jinling's impending capture, Li Yu wished to send an envoy to plead for the withdrawal of the Song army. Most of his prominent officials, however, did not want to take such risk. When Xu volunteered for the mission, Li Yu, moved to tears, replied, "The true loyalty of subordinates manifests in risky times; you most definitely possess this quality." Later, Song Taizong ordered Xu Xuan to compile the *Jiangnan lu* 江南錄 (Record of

84 Ding Wei, *Ding jingong tanlu*, 13. Xu Xuan's frugality in daily life pervaded other endeavors. As Yang Yi mentions, when Xu was home, he simply ate vegetables and recited the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 , a Daoist sutra, in his studio. See Yang Yi, *Yang wengong tanyuan*, 160. Xu also compiled a collection of stories with an emphasis on *guaili luanshen* 怪力亂神 , which refers to extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings. For details, see Xu Xuan, *Jishen lu* 稽神錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996). Obviously Xu adhered to Confucian norms and values, but at the same time showed much interest in Daoism and even *guaili luanshen*. For more details on religious and social implications of *Jishen lu* and its impact on fictional composition in Song China, consult Xiao Xiangkai 蕭相愷 , "Xu Xuan ji qi xiaoshuo *Jishen lu*" 徐鉉及其小說《稽神錄》, *Journal of Yangzhou University (Humanities and Social Sciences)* 揚州大學學報（人文社會科學版）(2002: 5): 28–31; Ma Jueping 馬珏玶 , "Shehui xingbie xushi shiye xia de *Jishen lu*" 社會性別敍事視野下的《稽神錄》, *Sixiang zhanxian* 思想戰線 (2004: 5): 39–43; Jiang Wei 蔣偉 , "Zongjiao shengui guannian dui *Jishen lu* chuangzuo yingxiang qiantan" 宗教神鬼觀念對《稽神錄》創作影響淺談 , *Journal of Yichun University* 宜春學院學報 (2007: 3): 95–97.

85 Wang Junyu 王君玉 , *Guolao tanyuan*, in *Ding jingong tanlu (wai sanzhong)*, 2.78. Another historical figure worthy of attention is Diao Kan. A prominent official during the reign of Li Yu, Diao was extravagant in his consumption of clothing and food when he served in Jiangnan. His lifestyle changed drastically after his move to Kaifeng: "He became renowned for uprightness, placidity and refinement among his contemporaries. Also, he excelled at conversing pleasantly and playing chess, as well as showing sincerity to acquaintances. Most scholar-officials valued him highly." See *Songshi*, 441.13054. Diao Kan's family had wealth because Kan's father, Diao Yanneng 刁彥能 (ca. 890–ca. 957), had served as Military Commissioner for many years.

Jiangnan). At the end of the book, Xu did not criticize Li Yu's administration, but ascribed the downfall of the Southern Tang exclusively to the moving of the Mandate of Heaven to the Song, which was beyond redemption of human effort.[86] The reason Xu Xuan stated thus was that "those who were not loyal to the former master would not hold the new master in respect." [87]

As a whole, Xu Xuan's frugal, simple lifestyle and moral fortitude were not pretentious but rooted in his moral conscience and faith in culture; the scope for demonstration was not just confined to daily life, but extended to behavior and conduct. The characteristics of the refined gentleman shaped by integrity deeply influenced his disciples: Zheng Wenbao was praised by Song contemporaries for his unreserved adherence to ethics.[88]

Apart from fostering personal integrity, Confucian ethical norms were believed to have played a significant role in shaping honest and simple social customs, which would in turn create what was considered a perfect administration according to the legendary ideal era in ancient China. According to the belief of traditional scholar-officials, cultivating oneself and bringing order to the family (*xiushen qijia* 修身齊家) always seemed an indispensable basis for governing the country and bringing peace to all (*zhiguo ping tianxia* 治國平天下). This sort of belief can trace back to *Liji* 禮記 (Book of rites), a Confucian classic that collects texts elaborating on governance and ceremonial rites of the Zhou Dynasty. In the chapter titled "Daxue" 大學 (Great learning) of *Liji*, the correlation between personal behavior and administration is clearly

86 Tian Kuang, *Rulin gongyi*, 124. With regard to how Xu Xuan handled the complicated situation caused by the issue of loyalty as well as ideology surrounding legitimate dynastic succession (*zhengtong*) when serving the Northern Song, consult Kobayashi Kazuo 小林一男 , "Nantō kanryō Jo Gen to Sō Taisō chō: *Kōnanroku* to seitōron wo megutte" 南唐官僚徐鉉と宋太宗朝 ——『江南錄』と正統論をめぐって , *Waseda daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka kiyō* 早稲田大学大学院文学研究科紀要 42, no. 4 (1997): 101–13; Woolley, "From Restoration to Unification," 547–67. On the implementation of the policy designed to promote a sense of loyalty to the throne and how the policy affected the *peichen* as part of the Song bureaucracy, see Ng Pak-sheung, "Bei Song xuanren peichen de yuanze-lun caifang zhengce xia de Nan Tang peichen" 北宋選任陪臣的原則：論猜防政策下的南唐陪臣 , *Journal of Chinese Studies* 中國文化研究所學報 41 (New Series 10)(2001): 1–31.

87 Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1308), *Zhiya tang zachao* 志雅堂雜鈔 , in *Haoranzhai yatan. Zhiya tang zachao. Yunyan guoyanlu. Chenghuai lu* 浩然齋雅談・志雅堂雜鈔・雲煙過眼錄・澄懷錄 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 2.43. Literally meaning "south of the Yangzi River," Jiangnan 江南 in this context instead refers to the territory of the Southern Tang after the loss of Jiangbei to the Later Zhou.

88 Cai Tao, *Tiewei shan congtan*, 3.46.

outlined: after becoming righteous and earnest can one become cultivated; after becoming cultivated can one bring harmony to the family; after being able to bring harmony to the family can one rule the state; after being able to rule the state can one bring peace to the world.[89] Following this logic, for all members of a clan to live together (*hezu tongju* 合族同居) was surely the mark of successful *xiushen qijia*, while promoting *hezu tongju* was considered the force instrumental in stabilizing the administration.

The concept of *hezu tongju* perfectly served the interest of the Song Dynasty in its effort to achieve dynastic perpetuation. To achieve full compliance with Confucian principles among subjects, mere reliance on reward and penalty would not have sufficed; a more meaningful motivation for shaping social customs, albeit imperceptibly, was always derived from Confucian norms. The trend would sufficiently explain why *hezu tongju* had been so vigorously implemented since the founding of the Song Dynasty. In the eighth year of the reign of Kaibao (975), Song Taizu handed down an imperial edict ordering local officials in the Sichuan and Shaanxi regions to impose the death sentence on those who committed family dissolution by establishing separate households or dividing the family property (*bieji yicai* 別籍異財) while their parents were still alive.[90]

When Song Taizong came to the throne, he emphasized the point to his officials that the principle of filial piety and fraternal duty was the primary basis for morals and decency. Should anyone disobey his parents and older brothers by breaking apart the family unit through separating the home or dividing the family's assets, Censorate (*yushi tai* 御史臺) and local officials would prosecute the individual. Song Taizong elaborated on such rationale: over twenty years he adopted precautionary measures to hold undesirable behaviors in check. Once protocols had been set, matters of social conduct could be handled in a proper way; the people should simply comply with prescribed laws and regulations. The emperor also reminded his officials

89 With regard to the role of Confucianism in shaping family rituals in Song China, see Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China*; Yamane Mitsuyoshi 山根三芳 , *Sōdai reisetsu kenkyū* 宋代禮說研究 (Hiroshima-shi: Keisuisha, 1996); and Hui Jixing 惠吉興 , *Songdai lixue yanjiu* 宋代禮學研究 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2011). Concerning the impact of Confucian classics on society and administration in imperial China, see Michael Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001). On methods adopted by various groups to perpetuate their clans and families in Song China, consult Tao Jing-shen 陶晉生 , *Bei Song shizu: Jiazu, hunyin, shenghuo* 北宋士族 ——家族・婚姻・生活 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 2001).

90 Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 10.231.

to have his intention appreciated.[91] Song Taizong had so emphasized his determination to maintain his brother's policy; dynastic administration could be strengthened if good social customs such as filial piety and fraternal affection could be maintained.[92]

In order to establish a paradigm of social transformation, good social ethos practiced in the Southern Tang were to be followed. As stated by Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 (954–1001), traditions and customs in the North had been so interrupted during the Five Dynasties that "in order to dissipate the despicable customs of the past hundred years, only an invocation of filial piety could help to establish a new sense of principle, and only official praise could cause the people to reform." Accordingly, the Song government conferred an honor on the gate of the Hu 胡 clan in Hongzhou 洪州 , a prefecture that had been administered by the Southern Tang, whose members had lived together for four generations in compliance with Confucian norms and values.[93] The Song administration praised the norms of filial piety and righteousness observed by the Hu clan in Hongzhou highly with the intention that the people in North China would pattern on such good practice, eliminate all wrongdoings prevalent in chaotic periods, and establish a social custom to return to honesty and simplicity. In addition to the Hu clan, the Chen 陳 clan inhabiting Jiangzhou 江州 , again a prefecture governed by the Southern Tang, also deserved to be modeled out of its earnest compliance with Confucian norms in

91 Ibid, 17.382.

92 Besides following the policy initiated by Song Taizu, Song Taizong also adopted his own way of encouraging morality in a society which, during the chaotic period spanning late Tang and the Five Dynasties, had received scant moral teaching. In the early reign period Yongxi 雍熙 (984–987), the government ordered officials to observe an official mourning period. During the reign period Zhidao 至道 (995–997), there was an official who could not support his mother. Realizing this, Song Taizong granted him money and ordered him to support her. Another report indicated that an official from Shu 蜀 served in North China, but his father, left at the native place, could not support himself. The emperor, astonished, issued an imperial rescript blaming unfilial officials and ordered the officials to report those unable to support their parents to the court. Consequently, the imperial rescript became a law. See Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019–1083), "Benchao zhengyao ce. Mingjiao" 本朝政要策・名教 , in *Quan Song wen*, vol. 58, 1258.84. Apparently, promoting filial piety was an effort aimed at bolstering societal awareness of the moral obligations and teachings of the sages (*mingjiao* 名教).

93 The Hu clan also promoted education, establishing a private school and book collection. For details, see Wang Yucheng, "Yan chaoxian ji ti Hongzhou yimen Hushi Hualin shuzhai xu" 諸朝賢寄題洪州義門胡氏華林書齋序 , in *Quan Song wen*, vol. 8, 154.19.

perpetuating the *hezu tongju* practice.[94]

The approach of using historical events of the Southern Tang to promote social ethics could be seen even in the late era of the Northern Song. Composed by Wei Tai 魏泰 in the late Northern Song, *Dongxuan bilu* 東軒筆錄 , a work written more than a century after the end of the Southern Tang, signifies that some remaining Song literati continued to favor elaboration of such meritorious deeds. *Dongxuan bilu* records how a magistrate surnamed Zhongli 鍾離 responded to a situation involving the daughter of a deceased magistrate. Out of pity, he married the orphaned girl to the son of his colleague in place of his own daughter.[95] Learning moral behavior through good example was surely no novel concept; the significance was to show how the Song scholar-officials used the historical events of the Southern Tang to promote social morality.

IV. Vindictive reactions from the Song Dynasty

In response to the Southern Tang's cultural refinement, Song Taizu reacted vindictively. In most cases, an "imperial aura" (*diwang qixiang* 帝王氣象) based upon imperial grandiose spirit and chrisma instead of literary capability seemed to be the focus of competition (*jiaoliang* 較量). The image of Li Yu was reputed as refined and cultured (*wenya* 文雅), while the image of Song Taizu was totally different:

> The celestial appearance of Song Taizu was magnificent! He had dark brown skin and buxom cheeks, and those seeing him dared not look up. When Li Yu dominated Jiangnan, a person drew the imperial countenance and brought the portrait to the usurped state. After Li saw the depiction, he was much worried and afraid day by day, for he knew that the authentic ruler (*zhenren* 真人) was in rule.
> 太祖天表神偉，紫黶而豐碩，見者不敢正視。李煜據江南，有寫御容至偽國者，煜見之，日益夏懼，知真人之在御也。[96]

Surely intended to portray an image of Song Taizu as an authentic ruler, the quoted event describes blatant propaganda by the Northern Song. Although himself handsome and of extraordinary countenance (*qixiang* 奇相), Li Yu

94 Wenying, *Xiangshan yelu*, 1.16.

95 Wei Tai, *Dongxuan bilu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 12.138–39.

96 Tian Kuang, *Rulin gongyi*, 86.

remained subdued psychologically by the depiction of an idealized imperial aristocrat whom he had not yet even seen in person. Even when literary skill was involved, *xiongcai dalüe* 雄才大略 —generally referring to great talent, bold vision, farsightedness, and strategic wisdom, rather than writing skill and erudition—were still the key factors in deciding the result of *jiaoliang*. When Jinling was besieged, Li Yu sent Xu Xuan as an envoy to Kaifeng. Xu, counting on his gift of eloquence, tried to persuade Song Taizu to withdraw the troops. During the imperial audience, Xu Xuan inferred that the emperor was unrefined, while highly praising Li Yu's erudition, versatility, and sagacity. After Xu recited Li Yu's widely circulated poem titled "Qiuyue" 秋月 (The moon in autumn), the emperor laughed and said, "Those words were from a poor scholar, and I would not say such." Xu Xuan did not bow to this taunting. Instead, he realized that the emperor simply drew a long bow and could be pushed to extremes. Xu Xuan then asked the emperor to present his own literary work. Officials standing in the hall were startled and exchanged horrified glances. The emperor said,

> When I was still in obscurity, I returned from Qinzhong and passed by the foot of Mount Hua. I was drunk and slept in the field. When I awoke, I saw that the moon was coming out, and I composed a verse about the moon: "Before departing from the bottom of the sea, a thousand mountains were still dark; just as it reached the sky, ten thousand states were brightened." Xu Xuan was greatly frightened [by its magnificent aura], and spoke in high terms of the imperial longevity in the hall.
> 吾微時自秦中歸，道華山下，醉卧田間，覺而月出，有句曰：「未離海底千山黑，纔到天中萬國明。」鉉大驚，殿上稱壽。[97]

Xu Xuan might not have dared verbalize his trepidation. Obviously the event was dramatized to highlight the heroic image for the emperor. Praising the aforementioned verse by the emperor, Chen Yanxiao 陳巖肖 (fl. 1151) commented, "What grandiose words are these! The spirit of denying rebellion

97 Chen Shidao 陳師道 (1053–1102), *Houshan shihua* 後山詩話 , in *Lidai shihua* 歷代詩話 , comp. He Wenhuan 何文煥 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 1:302. It was said that *Houshan shihua* modified the poem's contents when he recorded the poem. For a different version of the poem, see Chen Yu 陳郁 (1184–1275), *Cangyi huayu* 藏一話腴 , *Jia ji* 甲集 , in *Quan Song biji. Di qi bian*, vol. 5 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2016), 1.6.

and restoring order is manifested in this poem." [98] Song scholar Chen Shan 陳善 (fl. 1169) made a comparison between Song Taizu and Li Yu and concluded with the colloquial expression "cuo dajia kongyan" 措大家孔眼 , saying Li Yu was no more than a worthless scholar with an "eyelet-like vision." The conclusion implied that Li Yu's circle of vision was as narrow as a bean, because he behaved like a poor scholar aimed only at luxurious living with no regard for national crisis.[99] These two comments highlight the point that even though Song Taizu's considerable literary skill could hardly be compared to Li Yu's erudition, the imperial grandiose spirit and extensive scope far surpassed that of his Southern Tang analogue.

Because the Song possessed such political and military preponderance, even eminent officials from Jiangnan visiting Kaifeng were subdued in spirit and unable to utilize their diplomatic skills. When Xu Xuan went to Kaifeng begging to delay military operations, Zhao Pu, weighing Xu's reputation for eloquence, asked Song Taizu several times to select an erudite official to receive Xu. But the emperor assigned only a military officer from the Bureau of Lesser Military Assignments (*sanban shichen* 三班使臣) to the task. Since the officer was illiterate, Xu's eloquence was superfluous.[100]

Some Song scholar-officials tried to magnify this imperial act. As Yue Ke 岳珂 (1183–1234) mentioned, it was not merely the case that the emperor dared not send scholar-officials to compete with Xu Xuan in eloquence, for Tao Gu and Dou Yi, who still served the court, both had the ability to surpass Xu. But the emperor chose otherwise because he wished to preserve what he considered the dignity and decency of his great dynasty. Also, his deed accorded with his principle of defeating the enemy without actual fighting, a way regarded as good strategy.[101]

As Xu Xuan was preparing to meet with Song Taizu, Song officials, still worried about being taken advantage of by Xu, requested that the emperor prepare well for the private audience. But the emperor merely adopted a practical, straightforward strategy to deal with Xu's persuasiveness, arguing, "Would you say it is alright to separate father and son into two households?"

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98 Chen Yanxiao, *Gengxi shihua* 庚溪詩話 , in *Lidai shihua xubian* 歷代詩話續編 , comp. Ding Fubao 丁福保 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 1:162.

99 Chen Shan, *Menshi xinhua* 捫蝨新話 , in *Quan Song biji. Di wu bian*, vol. 10 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2012), 7.59–60.

100 Chen Changfang 陳長方 (1108–1148), *Buli ketan* 步里客談 , in *Quan Song biji. Di shi bian* 全宋筆記・第四編 , vol. 4 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2008), 1.4.

101 Yue Ke, *Tingshi*, 1.3.

His way was effective, as Xu was unable to answer.[102] Shortly thereafter, Xu Xuan returned to Kaifeng. Time and time again he argued with Song Taizu about withdrawing troops from Jiangnan until finally, the enraged emperor, placed his hand on his sword, saying,

> "You need not be loquacious, what crime did Jiangnan commit? But all under Heaven we are destined to be united into one family; how would I allow the others to sleep snoring next to my side of the bed!" Having heard those words, Xu Xuan, speechless, departed in fear.
> 「不須多言，江南亦有何罪，但天下一家，卧榻之側，豈容他人鼾睡乎！」鉉皇恐而退。[103]

The quote serves as a good example to show how Li Tao 李燾 (1115–1184), a historian, managed to legitimize the Song emperor. When commenting on the case, Li Tao surmised that the emperor had tried initially to reason with Xu Xuan, but became impatient with the scholar's inexorable discourse. The emperor then "formally imposed his fury upon Xu, and his rebuke was perhaps appropriate in response to the circumstances." [104] Yue Ke praised Song Taizu's response, remarking, "How great are his imperial words! Compared with the debate of Xu Xuan, Xu's words were like the glow of a firefly trying to compete with the radiance of the sun." [105] Luo Bi 羅璧 (1244–1309) also exclaimed that the imperial deed was honest and direct, and did not engage in avoidance or embellishment. Therefore, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) judged the emperor's response appropriate, fair and square.[106] No doubt, the emperor's words entirely articulated the principle "might makes right." Under the premise of "a weak state has no diplomacy," it was anticipated that Xu Xuan, extremely gifted in eloquence and interpersonal versatility, could do nothing to save his country from inevitable extinction.

Following the Southern Tang's collapse, Li Yu was captured and sent to Kaifeng; this created an opportunity for Song Taizu to mock Li's literary work. The emperor once said, "If Li Yu had spent as much time governing the state

102 Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 16.348.

103 Ibid, 16.350.

104 "初猶以理折鉉，後乃直加威怒，其時勢或當然也 ." Ibid, 16.348.

105 Yue Ke, *Tingshi*, 1.3.

106 Luo Bi, *Shiyi* 識遺 , in *Quan Song biji. Di ba bian* 全宋筆記・第八編 , vol. 6 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2017), 10.152–53.

as he did in composing poems, how would he end up being my captive?" [107] Another target of criticism for Song literati was Li Yu's extravagant lifestyle.[108] Surely cultural superiority could do nothing to promote national strength if the ruler's lifestyle was just too profligate.

Once in a banquet, Song Taizu told Li Yu, "I heard you liked composing poems in your country," then mockingly ordered him to recite the parallel sentences that Li regarded as his favorite composition. After a long hesitation, Li chanted his "Yongshan shi" 詠扇詩 (Poem on fan): "When folding the arms, there was a moon in hand; when shaking, fresh breeze was full in the bosom" 揖讓月在手，動搖風滿懷 . The emperor then asked, "How much fresh breeze was full in the bosom?" 滿懷之風，卻有多少 .[109] The question "How much" actually implies "How could such trivial description be adorned?" This signifies the imperial contempt for Li Yu's inferior acumen. From the emperor's perspective, a ruler should concern himself with state affairs rather than on such trifling skills. With this remark, Song Taizu's pervasive *diwang qixiang* once again captivated an admiring court, not a single one was not at awe (*wu bu tanfu* 無不嘆服).[110] Obviously, in the mind of the emperor, Li Yu totally lacked kingly qualities, and was at best only an eminent Academician of the Hanlin Academy.[111]

Interestingly, such militant, heroic, and undaunted images of a man, for

107 Cai Tao, *Xiqing shihua*, 1:336–37.

108 The rate of taxation in the period of Yang Xingmi 楊行密 (852–905) was low, as Yang was able to get popular goodwill by his benevolence and sincerity. The people thus wept on the day Yang died. Zeng Minxing 曾敏行 (1118–1175) scrutinized the taxation cards issued by the Yang and Li regimes respectively, and discovered that the taxation rate in the period of Yang was less by several times than that of Li. Elderly residents recalled that when Li Yu ruled, he raised taxes repeatedly in order to fund his excessive extravagance. For details, see Zeng Minxing, *Duxing zazhi* 獨醒雜志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 1.3. *Moji* records another aspect of Li Yu's extravagant activities: when an imperial consort of Li Yu was obtained by a general, she closed her eyes when she saw his lamp, and said, "Smoke!" After switching to candlelight, she reacted similarly, adding, "The present smoke is even stronger than before." The general then asked her, "Did the palace never light candles?" She replied, "In my chamber within the palace, there was a big pearl hanging at night, and its light illuminated the whole home making it as bright as day." The author then commented, "Seeing this, then the extravagance of Li was comprehensible." See Wang Zhi, *Moji*, 2.28.

109 Ye Mengde, *Shilin yanyu*, 4.60.

110 Wang Tao 王陶 (1020–1080), *Tanyuan* 談淵 , in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, vol. 2855 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 4.

111 Ye Mengde, *Shilin yanyu*, 4.60.

some, were the points of admiration and even the criteria used to judge one's acumen and career prospects in early Song. When Zhang Qixian 張齊賢 (943–1014) was still a commoner, he was broad-minded and free spirited. Both his appetite and gluttony were so impressive, however, that even bandits couldn't help but sigh, "You were really a stuff for the prime minister. Otherwise, how could you not be restricted by trivial affairs of deportment as such!" [112] Because Zhang's immense appetite for food continued after he entered officialdom, people said in astonishment, "The rich and powerful should behave differently than ordinary people." [113]

Among the "militarized" scholar-officials in early Song, Liu Kai 柳開 (948–1001) was most notorious for his insolent and barbaric antics. Because his family was wealthy, he had developed a penchant for making acquaintances by means of sharing his wealth. Perpetually restrained by his paternal uncle who managed the household expenses and meddled in his affairs, an enraged Liu attempted to burn down the family residence one night. His uncle, appropriately frightened, dared not restrict him any longer.[114] Liu Kai's recalcitrance did not subside once he became an official: besides forcing his colleague's sister to marry him, he also developed an insatiable craving for human liver. Ironically, Liu Kai was included in the "Biography of Literary Circles" (*Wenyuan zhuan* 文苑傳) of *Songshi* 宋史 .[115]

Song literati clearly admired and respected the Southern Tang's cultural

112 Liu Fu 劉斧 , *Qingsuo gaoyi* 青瑣高議 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), *houji* 後集 , 2.124–25.

113 Ouyang Xiu, *Guitian lu* 歸田錄 , in *Shengshui yantan lu. Guitian lu*, 1.12. Another intellectual with a militant and heroic reputation admired by the his contemporaries was Zhang Yong 張詠 (946–1015). He was popular in his youth and learned the art of fencing and valued impeccable comportment. Driven by his pursuit of perceived righteousness, Zhang killed a traitorous servant who, knowing his master embezzled public money to serve personal purpose, blackmailed him to marry his eldest daughter to that very servant. See Wenying, *Yuhu qinghua*, 4.39–40; Wang Gong 王鞏 (1048–1117), *Wenjian jinlu* 聞見近錄 , in *Quan Song biji. Di er bian* 全宋筆記・第二編 , vol. 6 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 21.

114 Wu Chuhou, *Qingxiang zaji*, 6.63–64.

115 Peng Cheng 彭乘 , *Moke huixi* 墨客揮犀 , in *Houqing lu. Moke huixi. Xu Moke huixi* 侯鯖錄・墨客揮犀・續墨客揮犀 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 4.320; Cai Tao, *Tiewei shan congtan*, 3.46. Surely substantial parts of Liu Kai's life events were simply rumors or gross exaggerations, but the tendency to fabricate and dramatize his activities suffices to reflect how Song people viewed the figure in question. For further details of the life events of Liu Kai, see Ng Pak-sheung, "Bei Song chunian de beifang wenshi yu haoxia," 295–344.

achievements. In addition, *wenhua jiaoliang* was a major component in cultural interactions between Song literati and their Southern Tang counterparts. Wang Yucheng, for example, attempted to capitalize on the cultural advantage in North China. When Zhang Ji, whom Song Taizong admired, was appointed Participant in Determining Governmental Matters (*canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事), he gifted Wang Yucheng, who served as Academician of the Hanlin Academy, two scrolls of poems written by Zhang. Wang replied Zhang in a thank-you note (*qi* 啟), which states, "Following in the footsteps of Jizha 季札 [ca. 590–ca. 510 BC], you took leave of Wu by thoroughly embracing national customs (*guofeng* 國風); following Han Xuan 韓宣 , you came to Lu 魯 with a clear perception of the diagrams of the *Book of Changes* (*yixiang* 易象)." The statement implies that Zhang Ji could be culturally transformed only after he came to the North.[116] In the eyes of intelligent and erudite Southern scholar-officials, such boasting made by Wang was definitely a mockery amounted to nonsense. All in all, *wenhua jiaoliang* with the Southern Tang during the early period of the Northern Song was a matter not easily dealt with by the Central Kingdom literati.

The Song Dynasty achieved cultural maturity during its middle period; cultural maturity reflects in a strong pride in cultural achievements and identity that prevailed among literati, due to the long term prosperity and significant cultural achievements.[117] Their strong pride had remarkably demonstrated in the domain of *wenhua jiaoliang* with a culturally glorious era, which was

116 Wang Zhi 王銍 , *Wanggong siliu hua* 王公四六話 , in *Baichuan xuehai (fu suoyin)*, vol. 5, 2.2499. On the career of Zhang Ji during the time he served the Northern Song, see Jia Chunchao 賈春超 , "You Zhang Ji ru Song kan Songchu yongren fanglüe" 由張洎入宋看宋初用人方略 , *Journal of Aayang Normal University* 安陽師範學院學報 (2007: 4): 66–68.

117 On the cultural mindset of the Song literati and its significance, consult Yang Lilun 楊理論 and Luo Xiaoqian 駱曉倩 , "Songdai shidafu de ziwo yishi yu shenfen rentong: Cong Su Shi shige shuokaiqu" 宋代士大夫的自我意識與身分認同：從蘇軾詩歌說開去 , *Journal of Southwest University (Social Sciences Edition)* 西南大學學報（社會科學版）44, no. 3 (2018): 132–44.

Tang China.[118] Nevertheless, the Tang Dynasty was not the only target, as the Southern Tang had drawn attention of some literati. Faced with the obvious cultural superiority of Jiangnan and yearning to establish a more northern cultural supremacy, some Song literati pursued an almost vengeful campaign against the Southern Tang's cultural credibility. Besides generally downplaying the influence and disposition of traditional institutions, rites and music, humiliating literati of Jiangnan culturally was a device utilized in neutralizing the Southern Tang's cultural advantage.

In order to substantiate charges against their rivals, some Song literati scrutinized Southern literary works, aiming to excavate defects worthy of criticism. Jiang Wei 江為 , for example, had long been regarded as a descendent of Jiang Yen 江淹 (444–505), a famous writer in the Liu-Song 劉宋 period (420–479). When studying at White Deer Grotto Academy (Bailu dong shuyuan 白鹿洞書院), Jiang inscribed a poem upon a wall. Stopping by the Academy, Li Jing held Jiang's poem in high regard and exclaimed: "The

118 Richly recorded by *biji*, the Song literati had shown keen interest in proving their cultural superiority over the Tang Dynasty. On the one hand, Song literati praised the well-disciplined Tang scholar-officials. On the other, they pointed out defects and problems in the Tang system and customs, stressing that the Song need not follow old patterns blindly. During the chaotic period of the late Tang, higher ranking civilian officials and military officers were allowed to remain in office by wearing mourning garments. The Song patterned itself on Tang mourning practices. Such practices gave rise to controversy, for "the disputants realized that there was no more war at that time, and that it would be acceptable to have scholar-officials released from office to undergo their period of mourning." See Wang Pizhi, *Shengshui yantan lu*, 4.35.

one who wrote this poem was very likely a noble!" [119] But the Song people countered first that Jiang Wei was not a descendent of Jiang Yen, adding further, "The one who composed the poem was most certainly not a noble!" [120] Such comments were tantamount to an indictment of Li Jing's literary skills and aesthetic standards of judgment.

Song literati, eager to detect any indication of cultural impropriety, meticulously sifted Southern Tang's literary archives for even the slightest evidence of plagiarization or otherwise counterfeit composition. Renowned for his literary composition, Li Yu was accused by a Song scholar of outright copying his works from those of the previous dynasty. A line from *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 states, "It is easy [for people] to separate from each other, but never easy for them to meet together again" (*bie yi hui nan* 別易會難). Li Yu adopted the sentences for his own verse by modifying its syntax, thus opening to speculation his reputation for literary creativity.[121]

Han Xizai likewise endured Song criticism for borrowing popular literary allusions excessively. For example, he was accused of repeatedly inserting allusions to a lover's rendezvous "yangtai" 陽台 and the mystical island

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Possessing a magnificent physical appearance as a criterion for selecting officials in the Tang was also criticized, because bodily appearance had no bearing on one's administrative talent nor personal integrity. See Hong Mai, *Rongzhai suibi*, 10.127. The excessive conferment of titular office (*xunguan* 勳官) was another point attracting criticism: as Hung Mai mentioned, his ancestors were granted honorable titles, starting from the rank of Grand Master of Imperial Entertainments Embellished with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon (*yinqing guanglu dafu* 銀青光祿大夫) to Acting Minister and Chancellor (*jianjiao shangshu jijiu* 檢校尚書祭酒); All those named in the placard issued by Leping 樂平 , however, were imposed corvée labor and taxation equivalent to that of the Village Elder (*lizhang* 里長). The Song continued this ill practice, as shown in the period of Yuanfeng 元豐 (1078–1086) through Li Qingchen's 李清臣 (1032–1102) account of the official system, cited in *Rongzhai xubi* 容齋續筆 : Li stated that the Song heedlessly followed the routine of excessive titular conferment, a petty Military Officer (*wherein yazhao* 牙校) possessed the distinguished rank of Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon (*yinqing* 銀青階) while a Captain (*zuzhang* 卒長) held the honorable title of the Marquis of Dynasty-founding (*kaiguo hou* 開國侯) with fief. See Hong Mai, *Rongzhai suibi*, *xubi* 續筆 , 5.275–76. Song literati were evidently in conflict with each other on this topic and never unified their viewpoint. As a whole, casting doubt on Tang practices manifests a strong faith in cultural identity and uniqueness among Song literati.

119 Long Gun, *Jiangnan yeshi*, 8.5215–16.

120 Huang Chaoying 黃朝英 (fl. 1101), *Jingkang xiangsu zaji* 靖康緗素雜記 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 9.76–77; *Mansou shihua* 漫叟詩話 , cited by Hu Zi, *Diaoxi yuyin conghua*, vol. 1, 26.175.

121 *Fuzhai manlu* 復齋漫錄 , cited by Hu Zi, *Diaoxi yuyin conghua*, vol. 2, *Houji* 後集 , 39.318.

Penglai 蓬萊 in the Yellow Sea (i.e. *Pengdao* 蓬島), both images hinting at a love affair, in the same poem. As commented by Song scholar Hu Zi 胡仔 (1110–1170), "Why should he cite allusions again and again as such!" [122] Therefore, Song literati judged the poem not as good as was commonly regarded due to its repeated use of similar allusions.

Even Xu Xuan was included in the list of those criticized by Song literati for his disparate interpretation of stylistic format. Chen Shan's description serves as a good example. Liu Zongyuan's 柳宗元 (773–819) "Shouzhou Anfeng xian xiaomen ming" 壽州安豐縣孝門銘 was collected by Xu into a literary anthology called *Wencui* 文粹 . The essay's preface begins with a memorial: "Chengsi 承思 , the servant who was serving as Prefect of Shouzhou." According to the stylistic format, "using the memorial as a preface, then, was a kind of writing style." Being ignorant of this tradition, the complier reversed the order and placed the inscriptional *ming* 銘 in the beginning instead, affixing the memorial to the end of the engraved inscription. This suggests some Song literati cast doubt on Xu Xuan's erudition.[123]

Xu Xuan's learning was further questioned because of his lack of understanding of the clothing culture in ancient times. Zhang Lei 張耒 (courtesy name Wenqian 文潛 , 1054–1114) violently criticized Xu Xuan in this regard. As shown in his remark on Xu's disdain for wearing fur, "Since

122 Hu Zi, *Diaoxi yuyin conghua*, vol. 2, 18.127.

123 Chen Shan, *Menshi xinhua*, 6.55. But it should be noted that the *Wencui* probably refers to the *Tang wencui* 唐文粹 (Liu Zongyuan's stelae inscription can be found in *juan* 67), which was actually compiled by Yao Xuan 姚鉉 (967–1020). Concerning the editorship of the anthology, the all-inclusive bibliography *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 criticizes Chen Shen for mistaking Xu Xuan as the editor. That is to say, the original text of the *Menshi xinhua* took Xu Xuan for Yao Xuan, and as we know this error is corrected in most modern editions like the *Quan Song biji*. However, the problem seems more complicated; the issue about who was the editor recorded by the *Menshi xinhua* has very much to do with textual variants. The concerned *Siku quanshu* bibliographer referenced an edition that uses Xu Xuan such as the *Jindai mishu* 津逮祕書 , but other collectanea like the *Ruxue jingwu* 儒學警悟 read Yao Xuan instead. Since the author of the present article is not able to tell which one is correct at this point, leaving the issue to open discussion is surely a way to bring the outcome that the more truth is debated, the clearer it becomes. Regarding the textual transmission of the *Menshi xinhua*, consult Li Hongying 李紅英 , "*Menshi xinhua* banben yuanliu kao"《捫虱新話》版本源流考 , *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中國典籍與文化 (2007: 3): 61–66. For further information on this literary sketch and the life events of its author Chen Shan, see Wang Linzhi 王林知 , "*Ruxue jingwu* yanjiu"《儒學警悟》研究 (Master thesis, Nanjing University, 2017), 36–47.

Xu Xuan was not pleased about being captive of a subjugated state, he used profane language to revile the scholar-officials in the Central Kingdom." To substantiate his statement, Zhang Wenqian cited examples from the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of odes) as well as from the commentaries of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), documenting that wearing fur was a tradition dating back to the *sandai* 三代 , referring to the Three Dynasties, namely, Xia 夏 (ca. 2070–ca. 1600 BC), Shang 商 (ca. 1600–1046 BC), and Zhou 周 (1046–256 BC).[124] As a whole, whether or not fur garments could be appropriately considered the attire of barbarians is a controversial issue, making related discussions a matter in *wenhua jiaoliang* between the Song and the Southern Tang.

Song critics also targeted what they perceived as an intellectual decadence of the Southern Tang, which manifested in a dispirited, weak literary spirit and style (*wenfeng* 文風). Chen Gu 陳鵠 (fl. 1184–1215), a Song scholar, commented that a lyric poem, "Linjiang xian" 臨江仙 , composed by Li Yu, was desolate, repining and hankering, really bearing a tone of being in a subjugated state (*wangguo zhiyin* 亡國之音).[125] This weak writing style was not merely confined to Li Yu. Li Tan 李坦 , a confidant and official of Li Yu, privately presented erotic poems to Li Yu. This was surely an omen for impending extinction, for the demarcation between the sovereign and the subject had already vanished.[126]

Further, the ruling class of the Southern Tang were criticized for not paying particular attention to the enrichment or military strengthening of their country, but instead, even in critical moments, prominent officials like Han Xizai and Xu Kai preoccupied themselves with the composition of *pianwen* 駢文 , a style in which sentences run in pairs. Thus, Song critics deduced that the Southern Tang ruling elites, oblivious to obvious portents of disaster, pursued what Song literati construed as a weak and frivolous literary style. Lu You transcribed part of the inscription on the back of the stone tablet erected in Toutuo Temple, which states,

> The emperor (i.e. Li Yu) revived the cultural relic (*wenwu* 文物), and his instruction had spread to China and foreign states. The key of the Buddha was already understood thoroughly, while the literary composition of various periods was not without being integrated. Therefore, the reason

124 Zhang Lei, *Mingdao zazhi* 明道雜誌 , in *Quan Song biji. Di er bian*, vol. 7 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 11.

125 Chen Gu, *Xitang ji qijiu xuwen*, 3.315.

126 Tian Kuang, *Rulin gongyi*, 131.

> for erecting the stone tablet in the temple was comprehensible without saying a word.
> 皇上鼎新文物，教被華夷，如來妙旨，悉已遍窮，百代文章，罔不備舉，故是寺之碑，不言而興。[127]

Lu You commented that in 969, the time of the stone tablet's being erected, the Southern Tang was in grave peril and within a mere six years of collapse. Apparently, Han Xizai, who frequently boasted of Li Yu's cultural achievements, did not seem concerned about the country's impending devastation, however. Critics believed it was absurd for Han Xizai to have conveyed such exaggeration and falsehood; his act was definitely a mockery for succeeding generations. When Han died, Li Yu regretted that he had been unable to appoint Han Prime Minister. Lu then commented, "Both the ruler and the subordinates were absurd as such. Even if they desired to prolong the regime for long, could they have succeeded?" [128] For the Song literati, the thorough transition from the Southern Tang's weak and base writing style to the Song style could be materialized only after the appearance of Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061), and Song Xiang 宋庠 (996–1066).[129]

Regarding historical works, ex-officials from Jiangnan were also criticized. For instance, the *Rulin gongyi* 儒林公議 praises Xu Xuan's morality, but points out that when Xu participated in the compilation of the *Jiangnan lu*, he failed to mention that Pan You was forced to commit suicide due to Pan's remonstrance to Li Yu. Instead, Xu brought shame on Pan in the book, attributing his death to a personal feud. Consequently, those familiar with the historical facts of the event postulated that Xu held out on important information like the remonstrance that cost Pan You's life, and thus did not apply an unprejudiced pen as a historian.[130] Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) commented on the case, claiming that Xu Xuan feared committing the crime of being unable to admonish Li Yu as Pan had, thus indirectly bringing the country to its end. Revealing jealousy of Pan's uprightness and a desire to hide his own faults, Xu's historical account both concealed Pan's loyalty and

127 Lu You, *Ru Shu ji*, 46.2442.

128 Ibid.

129 The preface of Wang Zhi, *Wanggong siliu hua*, 2473–74.

130 Tian Kuang, *Rulin gongyi*, p. 124. Concerning how the Song contemporary viewed the defects of *Jiangnan lu*, see Chen Xiaoying 陳曉瑩 , "Jiangnan lu xiantian buzu de qiangu xinshu"《江南錄》：先天不足的「千古信書」, *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊 (2014: 2): 51–57.

disgraced him with contrived offenses. If this were true, one might argue that Xu Xuan not only maligned a loyal minister, but also cheated the emperor.[131]

In brief, *wenhua jiaoliang* engaged by Song literati signifies their robust faith in cultural identity, uniqueness, and superiority. Also apparent, however, was a vindictive nature, especially when the main goal was to assume a cultural advantage over the Southern Tang. Against this background, in order to consolidate the image of cultural uniqueness and superiority and consequently strengthen their own cultural identity, Song literati resorted to sharp criticism of Southern Tang culture.

As time went by, Song contemporaries gradually removed this agenda when commenting on the historical events of the Southern Tang, and instead used the criticizing tone to express their discontent against current affairs; accordingly, there is no distinction between those who supported the Song and those who supported the Southern Tang, as what they intended was to use past events as a basis for argument. During the Tang, idols erected in the temples of Dagu Shan 大姑山 (Mount Elder Aunt) and Xiaogu Shan 小姑山 (Mount Younger Aunt) were beautiful female deities, as people believed that the character *gu* referred to lady.[132] Southern Tang scholar-officials understood the meaning of *gu* more correctly: Rather than *gu* 姑 which means "aunt," the word should be written as *gu* 孤 ; its meaning was generally understood as solitude, as most contemporaries associated the legend with a lady. Instead of anything sentimental, the correct meaning for this word is *dushan* 獨山 , literally the lonely mountain or the only mountian that exists in the area. After clarifying the issue, the Southern Tang government replaced the beautiful idols with the ordinary statue of the locality deity (*tudi* 土地). However, the Song once again returned the female idol to the temple in Xiaogu Shan.[133] In this case, even Song scholar-officials admitted that the stupidity and carelessness of the Song "were worse than that of the Southern Tang." [134] Without question, this event demonstrates the intolerance that Southern Tang scholar-officials displayed in dealing with superstition. Unlike their more gullible northern counterparts, Southern Tang scholar-officials were quick to demystify superstition.

Another example that shows the gradual dissipation of "*wenhua jiaoliang*" is the shared belief that emerged regarding the notion, "The Heaven possesses

131 Wang Anshi, "Du *Jiangnan lu*" 讀《江南錄》, in *Quan Song wen*, vol. 64, 1398.279–80.

132 Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 (d. 968), *Beimeng suoyan* 北夢瑣言 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 12.94.

133 Ouyang Xiu, *Guitian lu*, 2.35.

134 Wu Zeng, *Nenggai zhai manlu*, 5.112–13.

the virtue of a fondness for life" (*Shangtian you haosheng zhide* 上天有好生之德). Li Yu was well known for his benevolence. He had once hunted in Qinglong Shan 青龍山 (Mount Green Dragon), where a female monkey laid trapped in a net. When the monkey saw Li, her eyes were in tears. She touched her forehead to the floor and repeatedly pointed at her own belly. Her behavior gave Li a strange feeling, and he thus ordered the hunting officers not to kill the monkey. The monkey gave birth to two infants that night.[135] This story was used to promote the virtue in sparing animal life in imperial China. Reluctant to embrace the more militant and grotesque elements of their culture, rulers during the mid-Song era seemed to be more influenced by the humane and gentle attributes of their Southern Tang counterparts. Song Renzong showed benevolence towards animals, as did Li Yu. When the emperor read the story from the *Jiu Wudaishi* about of Hou Zhou Taizu 後周太祖 (Guo Wei 郭威 , r. 951–954) who killed a pair of water birds with one arrow as they were happily playing on water, he felt sorrow for the birds and reprimanded Guo Wei for "showing off his skill at the expense of lives." [136]

Curiously, in the native place of the Song royal family, Zhending 真定 , a county within the domain of Chengde 成德 during the Tang, it was recorded that Wang Wujun 王武俊 (735–801), Military Commissioner of Chengde, was skilled in hunting and also able to "kill two birds with one arrow." [137] Since the region of Hebei 河北 , which encompassed Chengde, had been highly militarized and influenced by the nomadic cultures of the Hu 胡 peoples (Hu was a generic term for ethnic groups that were not of Han Chinese descent) during mid-Tang, its local people were adept in martial arts such as horseback riding and archery. A fellow native of the Hebei region from the county of Yaoshan 堯山 , Guo Wei also excelled in the martial arts. Thus, although sharing geographical proximity and cultural backgrounds, it is interesting to note that Song Renzong did not share a joy of hunting with the founding emperor of the Later Zhou (Hou Zhou), but rather seemed to identify with the last ruler of the geographically more distant Southern Tang in his respect and sympathy for living creatures.

135 Wenying, *Xiangshan yelu*, 2.37.

136 Wenying, *Yuhu qinghua*, 5.45.

137 Pi Rixiu 皮日休 (ca. 834–ca. 883), *Pizi wensou* 皮子文藪 (Beijing: Zhunhua shuju, 1965), 4.42.

V. Conclusion

This article explores the use of anecdotal information in historical accounts. Since anecdotal information is commonly considered limited in value owing to its structural weaknesses, whether or not anecdotal material is worthy of citation always proves controversial. The author posits that in spite of general consensus that the genre lacks credibility and reliability in substantiating historical events, anecdotes record a substantial number of social and cultural events and can sufficiently supplement standard histories for their over-emphasis on political and military issues directly related to dynastic survival. This nature enables anecdotes to play a significant role in identifying the ways in which contemporary perspectives and aspirations glorified and romanticized the historical past. In this sense, anecdotes may make suggestions, but these suggestions are not conclusive enough to be viewed as actual events in history; instead, they are mere representations of wishes, or even fantasies, among contemporaries. In other words, parts of the description might just sound too dramatized, but dramatization can be interpreted as an indicator on how Song literati viewed the cultural interaction and competition with the Southern Tang.

In studying the relations between the Song Dynasty and the Southern Tang and their perceptions of each other, this article focuses on the *wenhua jiaoliang* and why the issue deserves scholarly attention concerning the shaping of the Song culture. Through discussions conducted herein, several key points assess the extent to which scholarly goals may be achieved as follows:

In order to establish a conceptual framework in dealing with the interactions of regional legacy during the Song Dynasty, this article points out the cultural advantage and performance of the Southern Tang. Song Taizu and some of his scholar-officials, who were well aware that unadorned and militant fashions that generally prevailed among them during the initial period of the dynastic founding, could not match the Southern Tang in the cultural and literary domains. Instead they had to count on their superior political and military strength to surpass their opponent in terms of *wenhua jiaoliang*. Under the circumstances, the key tone of the goal in early Song China was to overwhelm the Southern Tang's cultural advantage by militancy. This orientation perfectly suited the political and military setting of early Song China: Song Taizu was a military man and he surrounded himself with military men whom he knew and worked with on his path to sovereignty.

The course of *jiaoliang* changed once cultural deposits made by the

Song had accumulated enough wealth. Consequently Song rulers and literati switched the contest from a military to a cultural one as a way to secure a thorough victory. From then on, *wenhua jiaoliang* remained ongoing, but the focus shifted to cultural refinement and erudition, two aspects that were previously predominated by the Southern Tang. The new trend emerged particularly during the reign of Song Zhenzong 宋真宗 (r. 997–1022). The emperor was a cultured man and he surrounded himself with men of culture, a good number of whom were Southerners.

This article also points out how Song culture was shaped. Instead of inventing its style exclusively on its own, the Song took a blended approach. The cultures that prevailed in the early Northern Song and the Southern Tang necessarily endured a run-in period (*mohe* 磨合) before a merge (*ronghe* 融合) could occur. In this sense, the various expressions of contempt, rejection, and even confrontation that took place during Song Taizu's reign seemed an inevitable stage that would lead to adaptation and finally, coalescence. Ultimately, all of the cultural interaction and competition with the Southern Tang were undertaken by the Song literati for the purpose of establishing dynastic-political legitimacy as well as cultural uniqueness and identity.[138]

As a whole, in the scope of *wenhua jiaoliang*, many more noteworthy literary and artistic items remain worthy of discussion but one article simply cannot encompass all. This article posits that the examination of *wenhua jiaoliang*, with an emphasis on the elements discussed in this article, provides a sound approach to exploring the role of regional legacy in shaping Song culture.

138 The author again wishes to extend deep thanks to the reviewer for his/her advice on refining this part of the conclusion.

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文化互動與較量 —— 以宋朝和南唐為例

伍伯常
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本文的寫作要旨，是探討宋朝與南唐之間的文化較量以及相關的歷史文化意義。採用突顯地域特點及互動關係的理念架構，本文強調宋代的文化成就並非驟然出現，而是經歷融合調和進而締造新陣容的漫長過程。在這個理念之下，宋太祖時代出現宋代士大夫對南唐文化所作的諸種輕視鄙棄，甚至對抗態度，皆可理解為不同文化在初遇時互相適應以至最終融合的必經階段。與南唐所進行的文化互動及比拼，皆由宋代士大夫倡導，目的是建立朝代正統以及強化文化認同。本文亦探討筆記資料應用於歷史研究的可行性。歷史學者一直不重視軼聞資料，將之貶抑為欠缺事實根據的傳聞；相對而言，正史的記載翔實得多。本文強調軼聞雖然存在結構性問題，但對於社會及文化研究而言，史料價值不容忽視。

關鍵詞：文化較量　正統　南唐陪臣　筆記　南唐