

State Sacrifices and Daoism during the Northern Song

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Preamble

The Chinese institution of emperor, or 'Son of Heaven' (*tianzi* 天子), has as its philosophical background the ideas of Confucianism, which include the notion of a 'heavenly mandate' (*tianming* 天命). These ideas were, moreover, embodied in the various sacrifices based on the Confucian system of rites which were performed by the emperor. Confucianism came to provide the ideas underpinning the institution of emperor from the Han 漢 dynasty onwards, and at the same time the sacrifices presided over by the emperor came to be regulated by the content of the Confucian classics. Furthermore, as greater importance came to be placed on Confucianism by successive dynasties from the Han onwards, various sacrifices gradually took root as part of the Confucian system of rites. However, these sacrifices forming part of the Confucian system of rites were continually being institutionally modified, and they did not necessarily remain fixed and unchanging. In other words, a system of sacrifices suited to the times evolved in accordance with contemporary demands. In extreme cases, these modifications even went beyond the bounds of Confucianism. In the following, I wish to adduce some such examples from the Northern Song 宋 period and consider their significance.

I. Suburban Sacrifices and the Imperial Ancestral Temple

Among the different kinds of sacrifices performed by the state in successive Chinese dynasties, those deemed to be the most important were the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth and the sacrifices to the ancestors. For instance, according to the *Datang Kaiyuan li* 大唐開元禮, a representative work describing the system of rites during the Tang 唐 dynasty, contemporary sacrifices were divided in order of importance into three grades—major, middling and minor sacrifices—and, needless to say, the more important sacrifices were included in the 'major sacrifices'.

Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven, Supreme Emperors of the Five Directions, August Terrestrial God, Divine Continent, and Clan Temple: these are all [the objects of] major sacrifices.

昊天上帝、五方上帝、皇地祇、神州、宗廟、皆爲大祀。(Datang Kaiyuan li 1, "Xuli" 序例 1)

The Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven (Haotia Shangdi 昊天上帝) was the supreme deity, also known simply as 'Heaven' (*tian* 天). The Supreme Emperors of the Five Directions (Wufang Shangdi 五方上帝) were the deities allocated to the five celestial cardinal points—centre, east, west, north and south—in accordance with the philosophy of the five elements (*wuxing* 五行). The August Terrestrial God (Huangdiqi 皇地祇) was the supreme deity of the earth who in *yinyang* 陰陽 thought served as a counterpart to the Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven. The Divine Continent (Shenzhou 神州) was one of the terrestrial gods which had originally been one of the nine regions into which China was divided; later it came to be held in higher regard than the other eight regions and was deified, with the associated rites being ranked among the 'major sacrifices' on a par with those for the August Terrestrial God. Because these sacrifices to Heaven and Earth were generally performed on the outskirts of the capital, they were called 'Suburban Sacrifices' (*jiaosi* 郊祀), with Heaven being worshipped on the southern outskirts and Earth on the northern outskirts. Lastly, the Clan Temple (*zongmiao* 宗廟) was a building housing the memorial tablets of the ancestors of the imperial family of the Tang dynasty and of deceased emperors and empresses, and it was here that the emperor's ancestral rites were performed. The clan temple of the imperial family was specifically referred to as *taimiao* 太廟 (hereafter: Imperial Ancestral Temple).

In the *Datang Kaiyuan li* the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth and to the ancestors were thus regarded as the most important among the various kinds of sacrifices. This was, moreover, basically the same for the sacrifices performed by other dynasties too,¹⁾ including the state sacrifices of the Northern Song with which we are here concerned.²⁾ That is to say, the Suburban Sacrifices carried over from the previous dynasty and the rites performed at the Imperial Ancestral Temple were the most important sacrifices performed during the Northern Song too. In the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀, a work describing the system of rites in the final years of the Northern Song, the Suburban Sacrifices and the ceremonies performed at the Imperial Ancestral Temple are ranked as 'major sacrifices', and the ritual procedures for these ceremonies are set out in great detail.

The Suburban Sacrifices and the rites performed at the Imperial Ancestral Temple underwent considerable institutional changes during the one hundred and sixty-odd years of the Northern Song. This was because the views of authorities on ritual theory such as Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 and Wang Su 王肅 which had been institutionalized during earlier dynasties, as well as existing systems of rites such as that described in the *Datang Kaiyuan li*, were subjected to reexamination, and in addition completely new theories were also propounded and in-

stitutionalized at different points in time. Debates occurred among government officials about the pros and cons of selecting any one formulation from among these various theories and systems of rites and adopting it as an institution, and these debates were not infrequently linked to political disputes as well. State sacrifices, forming one part of the system of Confucian rites, were an important point of contention among the political cliques that flourished during the Northern Song.

However, what must not be forgotten with regard to the state sacrifices of the Northern Song is that alongside the Suburban Sacrifices and the rites performed at the Imperial Ancestral Temple (traditional ceremonies, as it were, inherited from the previous dynasty), there also appeared new sacrifices that had previously been completely unknown, namely, Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth (*gongxie tiandi* 恭謝天地) and sacrifices centred on a new imperial ancestral temple called Jinglinggong 景靈宮.³⁾ Furthermore, whereas the institutional changes that occurred during the Northern Song in the Suburban Sacrifices and the rites performed at the Imperial Ancestral Temple remained contained within the bounds of Confucianism, these two new sets of sacrifices show in the very process of their evolution strong evidence of the influence of Daoism, then an object of state worship.⁴⁾ This means that with regard to sacrifices to Heaven and Earth and ancestral rites, the most important state sacrifices during the Northern Song, there were being performed concurrently sacrifices inherited from the previous dynasty and based on Confucianism—the Suburban Sacrifices and the rites performed at the Imperial Ancestral Temple—and newly established sacrifices based on Daoism—the Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth and the rites performed at Jinglinggong.

II. The Jade Emperor and the Sacred Ancestor

The reason for the strong influence of Daoism on state sacrifices during the Northern Song is that Daoism was closely related to the ideas associated with the concept of 'heavenly mandate', which were given concrete expression through the performance of sacrifices. During the reign of Zhenzong 眞宗 (r. 997-1022) there occurred an incident in which a divine being said to be the progenitor (*shizu* 始祖: 'first ancestor') of the imperial family of the Song descended to earth. Called 'Progenitorial Heavenly Worthy' (Shizu Tianzun 始祖天尊) or 'Sacred Ancestor' (Shengzu 聖祖), he was said to have been sent down to earth by the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang 玉皇), the supreme deity of Daoism. The Jade Emperor, also known as Yuhuang Dadi 玉皇大帝 or Yuhuang Shangdi 玉皇上帝, was revered in the popular cults of early modern China as the supreme deity and was believed to preside over a pantheon of gods, including city gods (*chenghuang shen* 城隍神), heavenly worthies (*tianzun* 天尊), immortal officials (*xianguan* 仙官), and so on, just as the terrestrial emperor employed a bureaucracy

of government officials. The appellation 'Jade Emperor' is found already in the *Zhengao* 真誥, composed by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 in the Six Dynasties period,⁵⁾ but it was only during the Tang that he came to be conceived of as the supreme deity, holding sway over all other gods, and during the Five Dynasties period he became the principle underpinning state power in southern China, especially in the Southern Han.⁶⁾

The above-mentioned incident involving the descent of the Sacred Ancestor, progenitor of the Song imperial family, at the behest of the Jade Emperor was occasioned by the Treaty of Shanyuan 澶淵 (1005). This treaty concluded between the Song and Khitan defined the relationship between the two nations as that between an elder brother and his younger brother, thereby just barely allowing the Song to save face, but in actual fact it was a humiliation for the Song, since not only did it expose the Song's military inferiority, but the Song also incurred an enormous financial burden in the form of annual dues to be paid to Khitan. There is no way in which this would have been agreeable to Zhenzong, who professed to be emperor of the peerless Middle Kingdom, and on the recommendation of Wang Qinruo 王欽若 he decided to perform the *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 sacrifices to Heaven on Mt. Tai 泰山 in an attempt to raise national prestige.

In order to perform the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices, it had since ancient times been deemed necessary that a celestial omen or some unprecedented auspicious event occur, and on this occasion a celestial sign conveniently appeared in the form of a heavenly writ (*tianshu* 天書) called *Dazhong qiangfu* 大中祥符 (Favourable Spell of Great Success). In the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 68, in the entry for the cyclic day *yichou* 乙丑 of the first month in the spring of the first year of the *Dazhongqiangfu* era (1008), the incident is described in the following terms:

... The Emperor said, "... Last year, on the seventeenth day of the eleventh month, when it was near midnight and I was going to bed the room was suddenly lit up. As I looked on in surprise, I suddenly saw a divine being with a glittering crown and crimson robes who addressed me, saying, 'You are to set up a Yellow Register Altar [for worshipping the ancestors] in the Principal Hall for one month, whereupon a heavenly writ, the "Favourable Spell of Great Success" in three sections, will be sent down. Be sure not to let this heaven-sent opportunity slip.' Terrified, I stood up, but the divine being disappeared immediately. I promptly had this recorded, and from the first day of the twelfth month ... I set up the altar [and performed the requisite rites for one month]. Thereupon the Capital Security Office responsible for surveillance reported that in the south corner of the palace roof there was a length of yellow silk on top of the corner tile. I ordered a commissioner to go to inspect it and he reported back, saying that the silk

was about twenty feet long, enclosed what appeared to be a written scroll, Thinking about it carefully, [I thought that] it was probably the writ from Heaven about which the divine being had spoken” On the silk there was writing, which said: “The Zhao [clan] received a [heavenly] mandate and established the Song [dynasty]”

大中祥符元年春正月乙丑、上召宰臣王旦·知樞密院事王欽若等、對於崇政殿之西序、上曰、……去年十一月十七日、夜將半、朕方就寢、忽一室明郎、驚視之次、俄見神人、星冠絳袍、告朕曰、宜於正殿建黃籙道場一月、當降天書大中祥符三篇、勿泄天機、朕悚然起對、忽已不見、遽命筆誌之、自十二月朔、即蔬食齋戒、於朝元殿、建道場結綵壇九級、又雕木爲輿、飾以金寶、恭佇神貺、雖越月未敢罷去、適觀皇城司奏、左承天門屋之南角、有黃帛曳於鴟吻之上、朕令中使往視之、同奏云、其帛長二丈許、緘一物如書卷、纏以青縷三周、封處隱隱有字、朕細思之、蓋神人所謂天降之書也、……帛上有文曰、趙受命、興於宋、付於恆（割註、按原本作付於諱、蓋恆即眞宗諱也、……）、居其器、守於正、世七百、九九定、既去帛啓緘、命堯叟 [陳堯叟] 讀之、其書黃字三幅、辭類尚書洪範·老子道德經、始言上能以至孝至道紹世、次諭以清淨儉儉、終述世祚延永之意、讀訖藏於金匱、旦等稱賀於殿之北廡、

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Subsequently several more heavenly writs appeared, and Zhenzong changed the era name from Jingde 景德 to Dazhongqiangfu in commemoration of these heavenly writs. Then, in the tenth month of Dazhongqiangfu 1, he performed the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices on Mt. Tai in grand style as prearranged. Furthermore, in the second month of Dazhongqiangfu 4 (1011) he performed a sacrifice to Earth at Fenyin 汾陰 as a counterpart to the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices to Heaven.

In this manner Zhenzong achieved his objectives. But the following year there occurred another incident, and on this occasion the Sacred Ancestor, progenitor of the Song imperial family, descended to earth. In the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 79, in the entry for the cyclic day mouwu 戊午 in the tenth month of Dazhongqiangfu 5 (1012), it is described as follows:

The Emperor had a dream of the divine being that he had seen during the Jingde era, who delivered an order from the Jade Emperor, which said: “Previously I ordered your ancestor Zhao So-and-So to grant you a heavenly writ; now I will have him meet you, and so do as the Tang dynasty did when it revered [Laozi as its progenitor] the August Emperor of the Mysterious Origin.” On the following night he again dreamed that the divine being delivered the words of the Heavenly Worthy (i.e., Sacred Ancestor) to him: “Let my seat be in the west, and install six additional seats!” Thereupon [the Emperor] set up a [Yellow Register] Altar in the Hall for the Extension of Mercy. During the fifth watch of the night first a

strange fragrance was noticed, and shortly afterwards a yellow light appeared from the southeast, causing the lamps and torches to go dim. Then suddenly the Heavenly Worthy appeared, with Numinous Immortals as escorts holding shining utensils. His headgear and robes were the same as those of the Heavenly Worthy of the Original Beginning. The other six figures all held ceremonial tablets; four of them were dressed as Immortals, while the other two had headgear like that worn by the Son of Heaven and crimson robes of gauze The Heavenly Worthy said, "I am one of the nine Humane Emperors. I was the First Ancestor of the Zhao clan, and when I descended a second time I became the Yellow Emperor During the Later Tang I descended again on the first day of the seventh month in order to govern this world below and lead the Zhao clan. Now one hundred years have passed, and you are governing the people well; continue to do so diligently." With these words he immediately left his seat, mounted a cloud, and went away.

[大中祥符五年十月戊午] 先是八日、上夢景德中所觀神人、傳玉皇之命云、先令汝祖趙某、授汝天書、將見汝、如唐朝恭奉元元皇帝、翌日夜、復夢神人、傳天尊言、吾坐西、當斜設六位、即於延恩殿、設道場、是日五鼓一籌、先聞異香、少頃黃光、自東南至、掩蔽燈燭、俄見靈仙儀衛、所執器物、皆有光明、天尊至、冠服如元始天尊、又六人皆乘圭、四人仙衣、二人通天冠絳紗袍、上再拜於階下、俄有黃霧起、須臾霧散、天尊與六人皆就座、侍從在東階、上升西階再拜、又欲拜六人、天尊令揖不拜、命設榻、召上坐飲碧玉湯、甘白如乳、天尊曰、吾人皇九人中之一人也、是趙之始祖、再降乃軒轅黃帝、凡世所知少典之子、非也、母感電夢天人、生於壽邱、後唐時、七月一日下降、總治下方、主趙氏之族、今已百年、皇帝善爲撫育蒼生、無怠前志、即離坐乘雲而去、
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During the Tang dynasty the imperial family had tried to flaunt the majesty attached to the throne by venerating Laozi 老子, who had the same clan name as the imperial family (Li 李), identifying him as the dynasty's 'first ancestor' and granting him honorific titles such as 'Great Sacred Ancestor, August Emperor of the Mysterious Origin' (Dashengzu Xuanyuan Huangdi 大聖祖玄元皇帝). Zhenzong of the Northern Song followed suit, giving the Progenitorial Heavenly Worthy the honorific title 'Sacred Ancestor, Supreme Numen, Eternal Morality, Nine Heavens, Director of Destiny, Protector of Life, Heavenly Worthy, and Grand Emperor' (Shengzu Shangling Gaodao Jiutian Siming Baosheng Tianzun Dadi 聖祖上靈高道九天司命保生天尊大帝), as well as bestowing on him the posthumous name 'Xuanlang' 玄朗 and even composing a biography,⁷⁾ and his veneration of the Progenitorial Heavenly Worthy exceeded even the Tang's veneration of Laozi. Furthermore, unlike in the case of the Tang, the Jade Emperor, believed to have the authority to appoint the immortal officials and so on, was ranked above the Progenitorial Heavenly Worthy as the supreme deity. The Northern

Song's system of rule, which established an autocracy centred on the emperor that was more centralized than that of the Tang, was thus also reflected in the world of the gods who lent majesty to it.

The Jade Emperor had associations with the imperial family of the Northern Song that predated the reign of Zhenzong. The accession of his predecessor Taizong 太宗 had been preceded by the descent of the Black Killer General (Heisha Jiangjun 黑殺將軍), one of the Jade Emperor's aides, who entered into a local inhabitant and recommended that Taizu 太祖 make Taizong his successor. In a passage from the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* quoted in the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 12308, in an entry for the cyclic day *gengzi* 庚子 of the tenth month in the winter of Kaibao 開寶 9 (976), we read as follows:

First a god descended upon Zhang Shouzhen, an inhabitant of Zhouzhi District, saying that he was a god from Heaven called the Black Killer General and that he was an aide of the Jade Emperor. [Thereafter] whenever Shouzhen purified himself and prayed, this god would invariably descend His pronouncements on misfortune and happiness often came true, and Shouzhen eventually became a Daoist priest. When the Emperor (Taizu) fell ill, Shouzhen was summoned, ... , the Yellow Register Offering was performed, and they had Shouzhen make the god (i.e., Black Killer General) descend. The god said, "The celestial palace [for Taizu] has been completed and the jade lock has been opened; Prince Jin (the later Taizong) has a benevolent mind." After he had finished saying this, he was never to descend again Upon hearing these words, the Emperor summoned Prince Jin that night and entrusted him with affairs after his death.

〔開寶九年冬十月庚子〕初有神降罄屋〔罄屋〕懸民張守真、自言我天之尊神、號黑殺將軍、玉帝之輔也、守真每齋戒祈請、神必降室中、風肅然、聲若嬰兒、獨守真能曉之、所言禍福多驗、守真遂爲道士、上〔太祖〕不豫、驛召守真至闕下、壬子、命內侍王繼恩、就建隆觀設黃籙醮、令守真降神、神言、天上宮闕已成、玉鑰開、晉王〔太宗〕有仁心、言訖不復降、……上聞其言、即夜召晉王、屬以後事、

〈「續資治通鑑長編」「永樂大典」卷一二三〇八所收〉

The circumstances surrounding Taizong's accession to the throne are so shrouded in mystery that it has even been suggested that he killed Taizu and usurped the throne, and it is possible that this story was invented in order to gloss over this regicide and justify Taizong's accession. In other words, the Jade Emperor was invoked whenever the Northern Song dynasty felt a need to emphasize the majesty of its imperial power.

The sacrifice that was newly devised for the worship of the Jade Emperor was the Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth, while the rites developed for honouring the Sacred Ancestor sent down to earth by the Jade

Emperor and his descendants—that is, the emperors of the Northern Song and their forebears—were the rites performed at Jinglinggong. In the next two sections I wish to consider the content of these new sacrifices, especially their ritual format, by comparing them with the existing Suburban Sacrifices and rites performed at the Imperial Ancestral Temple.

III. The Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth

A comprehensive account of the Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth, one of the new sacrifices introduced in the Northern Song, appears in the *Taichang yinge li* 太常因革禮, a work describing the system of rites during the Northern Song. According to the section entitled “New Rites” (“Xinli” 新禮) 1, the dates and sites of the performance of the Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth (in each case by the emperor himself) were as follows:

- (A) 3rd day of 11th month, Dazhongqiangfu 5 (1012): Respectful Thanksgiving to the Jade Emperor, at Hall for Paying Court to the Primes (Chaoyuandian 朝元殿).
- (B) 16th day of 2nd month, Dazhongqiangfu 7 (1014): Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth, in Eastern Suburbs.
- (C) 11th day of 1st month, Tianxi 天禧 1 (1017): Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth, in Southern Suburbs.
- (D) 6th day of 11th month, Tiansheng 天聖 10 (Mingdao 明道 1; 1032): Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth, in Hall of Heavenly Peace (Tianandian 天安殿).
- (E) 12th day of 9th month, Zhihe 至和 3 (Jiayou 嘉祐 1; 1056): Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth, in Hall of Great Felicitations (Daqingdian 大慶殿).

The first performance of this sacrifice (A) was occasioned by the descent of the Sacred Ancestor in the tenth month of Dazhongqiangfu 5, and it was performed in the audience hall (Hall for Paying Court to the Primes) as a thanksgiving to the Jade Emperor. On the other four occasions it was performed for Heaven and Earth, but of these two Heaven (i.e., Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven) was the more important.

Meanwhile, during the Northern Song sacrifices to Heaven (i.e., Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven) inherited from previous dynasties were performed four times annually. These were the Sacrifice of Praying for Crops (*qigusi* 祈穀祀), performed on the first *xin* 辛 day of the first month; the Sacrifice for Rain (*yusi* 雩祀), performed in the first month of summer; the Sacrifice in the Hall of Enlightened Rule (*mingtangsi* 明堂祀), performed in the third month of autumn; and the Sacrifice in the Southern Suburbs (*nanjiaosi* 南郊祀), performed on the

day of the winter solstice. Among these four sacrifices, the Sacrifice of Praying for Crops, the Sacrifice for Rain, and the Sacrifice in the Southern Suburbs were performed at an altar on the southern outskirts of the capital, while the Sacrifice in the Hall of Enlightened Rule was performed in the audience hall (Hall of Enlightened Rule) inside the imperial palace. The chief deity for whom these sacrifices were performed was the Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven, who shared the sacrifices with former emperors, and in addition the gods of the sun, moon, stars and planets were also worshipped. However, these four annual sacrifices were not conducted by the emperor himself, and his representatives were dispatched to perform them on his behalf. The emperor himself made sacrifices to Heaven only on special occasions, and during the Northern Song this usually occurred about once every three years. Although there were exceptions, the August Terrestrial God and other gods of the earth were also worshipped on these occasions in accordance with *yinyang* thought, which stressed the balancing of pairs. In other words, Heaven and Earth were worshipped together, but the time and place of the sacrifices accorded with what was appropriate for Heaven (i.e., Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven) rather than for Earth.

The Jade Emperor and the Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven represented the supreme deities of Daoism and Confucianism respectively, but in early modern China they were generally believed to be one and the same divinity. For instance, Ren Shi 任式, who taught at a local school in the Ming 明 dynasty, wrote as follows:

That portion of the vital force that is light and pure and rises upwards is called 'Heaven', and that which presides over it is called 'Emperor'. We Confucianists call him 'Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven', while Daoists, in deference to his name, call him 'Jade Emperor and Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven'. What are generally called Daoist temples are all for worshipping him.

會真宮……國朝重建玉皇殿、學正任式記（割註、記略、會真宮玉皇殿成、當有碑刻以紀其歲月、式齋沐拜手言曰、一氣之分而輕清上浮者、謂之天、主宰乎其間者、謂之帝、吾儒曰、昊天上帝、彼道家者流、尊其名曰、昊天玉皇上帝、世之曰宮觀、皆奉香火之地也）

(Wang Ziqing 汪子卿 *et al.*, *Taishan zhi* 泰山志 2)

Confucianists clung to the term 'Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven' appearing in the Confucian classics, but they nonetheless acknowledged that this was the same deity as the Jade Emperor found enshrined in Daoist temples. It is difficult to determine when these two divine entities came to be regarded as one and the same deity. The oldest source known to date is the Daoist ritual manual *Daomen kefan daxuan ji* 道門科範大全集, thought to have been compiled

by the Daoist Du Guangting 杜光庭 of the late Tang and Five Dynasties period, in which in a section on rites for praying for rain and snow (fasc. 12)⁸⁾ we find the appellation 'Most Honoured Jade Emperor and Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven' (Haotian Zhizun Yuhuang Shangdi 昊天至尊玉皇上帝), equating the Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven with the Jade Emperor.

The Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven and the Jade Emperor were officially recognized as a single object of state veneration representing one and the same deity during the reign of Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100-26), the last ruler of the Northern Song. In the fourth month of Zhenghe 政和 6 (1116) Huizong conferred upon the deity invoked in the Sacrifice in the Hall of Enlightened Rule, one of the sacrifices to Heaven, the title 'Most High, Creator of Heaven, Bearer of the Sceptre, Regulator of the Calendar, Embodiment of Truth, Incarnation of the Way, Jade Emperor and Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven' (Taishang Kaitian Zhifu Yuli Hanzhen Tidao Haotian Yuhuang Shangdi 太上開天執符御曆含真體道昊天玉皇上帝).⁹⁾ With the exception of 'Exalted Heaven' (Haotian 昊天), the same title had been conferred on the Jade Emperor in a rite performed in the first month of Dazhongqiangfu 8 (1015) during the reign of Zhenzong, and on this occasion the ritual implements, music, dance and so forth had been exactly the same as those employed when worshipping the Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven.¹⁰⁾ This means that, even though their names had not yet been formally combined, the Jade Emperor and the Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven were in practice regarded as one and the same deity. When considered from the standpoint of the worshippers, there could only be one supreme deity. Therefore, the sacrifices of Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth, performed a total of five times (with the first being dedicated to the Jade Emperor), would also have been tacitly premised on the identity of the Jade Emperor and the Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven as objects of state sacrifices.

'Heaven' (i.e., Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven), which was the most important object of state sacrifices performed by successive Chinese dynasties, was a divinity originally appearing in Confucian classics such as the *Shijing* 詩經, *Shujing* 書經 and *Zhouli* 周禮. Although it may have been considered to be endowed with a real sense of presence when these works were first compiled, it is to be surmised that with the passage of time 'Heaven' was gradually transformed into an abstract entity, and in each dynasty the deity generally worshipped at the time as the supreme deity was identified with the Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven. Deities equated with the Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven included the God of the Grand One (Taiyishen 太乙神) and the Heavenly August Great Emperor (Tianhuang Dadi 天皇大帝), and this was often reflected in the theories of different authorities on ritual theory. Thus, although the name of 'Heaven' as worshipped by the emperor in accordance with the concept of 'heavenly mandate' was ostensibly given as 'Supreme

Emperor of Exalted Heaven' on memorial tablets and in prayer texts, in actual practice it would have been God of the Grand One, Heavenly August Great Emperor or some other divinity depending on the period.¹¹⁾

In the Northern Song, had Zhenzong wished to perform a rite making explicit mention of the Jade Emperor in order to offer thanks to him for the descent of the Sacred Ancestor, he would have had to devise a new rite, and this presumably corresponded to (A) Respectful Thanksgiving to the Jade Emperor. In (B)-(E), on the other hand, rather than bringing the name of the Jade Emperor, a Daoist deity, to the fore, it was decided to use instead the term 'Heaven' (i.e., Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven), essentially identical to the Jade Emperor and invoked in earlier state sacrifices.

In conjunction with this change in the name of the presiding deity from Jade Emperor to 'Heaven' (i.e., Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven), the format of the rite also reverted to the traditional format followed in earlier times. In the case of (B), the sacrifice was performed in the Eastern Suburbs as opposed to the Southern Suburbs, where such sacrifices had traditionally been performed, but the ritual procedures and the implements, music and dance were identical with those of earlier sacrifices.¹²⁾ Next, in the case of (C), the site too was shifted to the Southern Suburbs, and it became indistinguishable from earlier sacrifices.¹³⁾ With regard to ritual format, (B) and (C) followed the format of the Sacrifice in the Southern Suburbs among the earlier sacrifices dedicated to 'Heaven' (i.e., Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven), performed on the day of the winter solstice, whereas (D) and (E) were based on the Sacrifice in the Hall of Enlightened Rule performed in the third month of autumn. Insofar that they were performed in the audience hall (Hall of Enlightened Rule), they could just as well have been referred to as 'Sacrifice in the Hall of Enlightened Rule', and during the Yuanyou 元祐 era in the late Northern Song Zhao Rui 趙叡 submitted a memorial to the throne in which he did in fact equate (D) and (E) with the Sacrifice in the Hall of Enlightened Rule.¹⁴⁾

Thus in the sacrifices of Respectful Thanksgiving in which the name of the chief deity was altered from 'Jade Emperor' to 'Heaven and Earth' ((B)-(E)) as recorded in the *Taichang ying'e li*, the ritual format of (B) and (C) was based on the Sacrifice in the Southern Suburbs, while that of (D) and (E) was based on the Sacrifice in the Hall of Enlightened Rule. As the chief deity invoked in this new sacrifice inaugurated in the Northern Song became assimilated with the deity worshipped in earlier sacrifices, its ritual format was also strongly influenced by that of earlier sacrifices and eventually assimilated with it. (E) represents the final performance of Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth, and it was never again performed. This was probably because, as an object of state sacrifices, the Jade Emperor had become identical with the Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven, and there was no longer any special need to perform a separate sacrifice in addition to that already being performed for

'Heaven' (i.e., Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven). Then, in the late Northern Song, the fact that the Jade Emperor and the Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven were one and the same deity was officially recognized by Huizong through the conferment of a title acknowledging this identity.

IV. Jinglinggong

During the Northern Song there existed two types of facilities in which the imperial family worshipped its ancestors. One was the traditional Imperial Ancestral Temple housing the wooden memorial tablets (*muzhu* 木主) of the imperial ancestors, and the other was a building generally called *shenyudian* 神御殿 (hereafter: Imperial Image Hall), which housed portraits or statues (*shenyu* 神御) of deceased members of the imperial family. Images of the emperor, empress and so on had been produced since ancient times, but during the Tang dynasty shrines for housing these were erected in Buddhist and Daoist temples, or alternatively special buildings were constructed for this purpose, and memorial services were often performed. This could be regarded as an amalgamation of ancient customs relating to ancestral temples and practices associated with image-worship in Buddhism and Daoism.¹⁵⁾

During the Northern Song this Imperial Image Hall housing imperial images came to hold considerable importance as a second Imperial Ancestral Temple. In the *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 93 ("Zongmiao kao" 宗廟考 3: "Tianzi zongmiao" 天子宗廟) it is stated that "the Imperial Image Hall corresponds to the *yuanmiao* of ancient times" (凡神御殿者、古之原廟). According to a gloss added by Yan Shigu 顏師古 to the biography of Shu Suntong 叔孫通 in the *Hanshu* 漢書 43, *yuan* 原 here means 'to repeat, add', and *yuanmiao* 原廟 signifies a clan temple erected in addition to the Imperial Ancestral Temple, where the regular ancestral rites were performed. During the Northern Song, Imperial Image Halls were built not only in the capital Kaifeng 開封, but also in the provinces, and consequently they were identified with the regional temples (*junguo miao* 郡國廟) of the Han dynasty too. However, the *yuanmiao* and regional temples of the Han dynasty were not for housing imperial images, and the drawing of parallels between these and the Imperial Image Halls was of course no more than a result of classicist thinking.

Large numbers of Imperial Image Halls were erected in the Northern Song during the reigns of Zhenzong and Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022-63). As well as being expressions of the emperor's own filial piety, it may be assumed that they were also intended to foster unity of public sentiment through protection by the imperial ancestors. In addition to the Imperial Image Hall in the imperial palace, they were also established one after another in Buddhist and Daoist temples in the capital and in the provinces. The imperial images were considered to be of similar value to the memorial tablets enshrined in the Imperial Ancestral

Temple, and rites based on those conducted in the Imperial Ancestral Temple were performed in the Imperial Image Halls. At the same time, Buddhist and Daoist services were also performed on, for instance, the anniversary of an emperor's death, when a portrait of the emperor would be placed in front of a Buddhist or Daoist image and offerings made to it.¹⁶⁾

However, by the time of the reigns of Yingzong 英宗 (r. 1063-67) and Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067-85) the construction of new Imperial Image Halls more or less ceased. Starting in the final years of Renzong's reign, there had been calls to economize across the board because of financial difficulties, and the Imperial Image Halls were no exception. But financial problems were not the only reason for the halt in the rising number of Imperial Image Halls. Another factor was the emergence of the view that since imperial images were of similar value to memorial tablets, their supervision and the performance of associated rites should not be entrusted to subordinates, but should be overseen personally by the emperor himself. For example, a proposal was made to erect an Imperial Image Hall in the grounds of the Residence for the Friendly Treatment of Relatives (*muqin zhai* 睦親宅), a hostel for imperial clansmen, but this proposal was eventually abandoned, as is explained in the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 187, in the entry for the cyclic day yichou 乙丑 of the fourth month in the summer of Jiayou 3 (1058).

The establishment of an Imperial Image Hall for the ancestors in the Residence for the Friendly Treatment of Relatives was suspended. First of all, the Hanlin Academician Ouyang Xiu said that the imperial image should not be in the private possession of subjects, and if it be argued with reference to the example of [the hostel for imperial clansmen called] the Residence for the Expansive Treatment of Relatives that [an Imperial Image Hall] should be erected [in the Residence for the Friendly Treatment of Relatives too], then this would be equivalent to repeating a breach of etiquette that should never have been committed in the first place. It was decreed that the rites officials of the Two Drafting Boards and of the Censorate and Remonstrance Bureau should discuss the matter in detail. They said that in the Han dynasty "the principle of the Spring and Autumn [period]" had been used to abolish regional temples, and because the Imperial Image Hall now to be erected in the Residence for the Friendly Treatment of Relatives did not conform with established etiquette, all [Imperial Image Halls] should be abolished. The Emperor did not wish to dismantle that in the Residence for the Expansive Treatment of Relatives because it had been established some time ago, but the construction [of an Imperial Image Hall] in the Residence for the Friendly Treatment of Relatives was suspended.

[嘉祐三年夏四月] 乙丑、罷修睦親宅祖宗神御殿、初翰林學士歐陽脩言、神御

非人臣私家所宜有、若援廣親宅例、當得興置、則是沿襲非禮之禮、詔送兩制及臺諫禮官詳定、言、漢用春秋之義、罷郡國廟、今陸親宅所建神御殿、不合典禮、悉宜罷、上以廣親宅興置已久、不欲毀、陸親宅遂罷修營、

〈「續資治通鑑長編」卷一八七〉

The abolition of regional temples during the Han dynasty in accordance with “the principle of the Spring and Autumn [period]” refers to the following words of Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成 quoted in his biography incorporated in the biography of Wei Xian 韋賢 in the *Hanshu* 73:

The principle of the Spring and Autumn [period]: a father does not sacrifice at the home of a concubine’s child; a lord does not sacrifice at the house of a servant; and the king does not sacrifice at [the homes of] feudal lords of the countryside.

春秋之義、父不祭於支庶之宅、君不祭於臣僕之家、王不祭於下土諸侯。

In other words, officials in the Northern Song considered that the establishment of an Imperial Image Hall even in a residence of imperial clansmen would be a breach of etiquette since it would become the object of sacrifices performed by people other than the emperor, and they therefore argued that this institution should be abolished. This does not mean, however, that the imperial images located in different parts of the empire were all returned to the safekeeping of the emperor, and later at the start of Shenzong’s reign only those in the residences of imperial clansmen were gathered together. Subsequently Imperial Image Halls were no longer built in the same numbers as they had been during the reigns of Zhenzong and Renzong, and it also became generally accepted that the emperor himself should perform the rites conducted in the Imperial Image Hall. Then during the Yuanfeng 元豐 era in Shenzong’s reign Jinglinggong was incorporated into the system of state institutions as a second Imperial Ancestral Temple, and as a result it came to assume an important position in state sacrifices.

After the descent of the Sacred Ancestor, Zhenzong had established Daoist temples dedicated to the Sacred Ancestor both in the capital Kaifeng and in other parts of the empire. In the capital he had built two imposing Daoist temples: Yuqing Zhaoyinggong 玉清昭應宮, dedicated to the Jade Emperor and the Sacred Ancestor, and Jinglinggong, dedicated to the Sacred Ancestor. Every year Zhenzong would worship at Yuqing Zhaoyinggong on the fifteenth day of the first month and at Jinglinggong on the fifteenth day of the tenth month, and he visited them on other occasions as well. State rites of praying for rain and snow were also frequently performed at these two temples. Meanwhile, government-sponsored Daoist temples called Tianqingguan 天慶觀 and dedicated to the Jade Emperor and the Sacred Ancestor were built throughout the rest of

the empire. These could be said to have integrated the functions of the government-sponsored Daoist temples and temples dedicated to Laozi that had been built during the Tang. Local officials invariably worshipped at the Tianqingguan when they arrived at a new post and when they later left it, and they were also obligated to make regular visits throughout their tenure.

The centre of Jinglinggong was occupied by a hall called Tianxingdian 天興殿 in which the Sacred Ancestor was enshrined, but there were also several Imperial Image Halls. At the start of Shenzong's reign these numbered four:

Fengzhendian 奉真殿: dedicated to Zhenzong and built in Tiansheng 1 (1023).

Guangxiaodian 廣孝殿: dedicated to Zhenzong's empress Zhangyi 章懿 and built in Mingdao 2 (1033).

Xiaoyandian 孝嚴殿: dedicated to Renzong and built in Zhiping 治平 2 (1065).

Yingdedian 英德殿: dedicated to Yingzong and built in Xining 熙寧 2 (1069).

Following the practice in the Imperial Ancestral Temple of worshipping meritorious ministers side by side with the emperors under whom they had served, the walls of the above halls were adorned with portraits of civil and military ministers.¹⁷⁾ Then in the years Yuanfeng 3-5 (1080-82) Shenzong had an additional eleven halls erected within the precincts of Jinglinggong, and the majority of imperial images scattered throughout the capital were gathered together here and enshrined in these halls. According to the *Wenxian tongkao* 94 ("Zongmiao kao" 4: "Tianzi zongmiao"), the eleven new halls were as follows:

Tianyuandian 天元殿: dedicated to Xuanzu 宣祖.

Taishidian 太始殿: dedicated to Empress Zhaoxian 昭憲.

Huangwudian 皇武殿: dedicated to Taizu.

Lijidian 儷極殿: dedicated to Empress Xiaoming 孝明.

Dadingdian 大定殿: dedicated to Taizong.

Huitedian 輝德殿: dedicated to Empresses Yide 懿德, Mingde 明德 and Yuande 元德.

Xiwendian 熙文殿: dedicated to Zhenzong.

Yanqingdian 衍慶殿: dedicated to Empresses Zhangmu 章穆, Zhangxian Mingsu 章獻明肅 and Zhangyi.

Meichengdian 美成殿: dedicated to Renzong.

Jirendian 繼仁殿: dedicated to Empress Cisheng 慈聖光獻.

Zhilongdian 治隆殿: dedicated to Yingzong.

According to the "Jingling xigong ji" 景靈西宮記 included in the *Songchao*

shishi 宋朝事實, the halls dedicated to the emperors were arranged to the east and west of the central Tianxingdian in accordance with the order of precedence used for the arrangement of memorial tablets in the Imperial Ancestral Temple, while the halls dedicated to the empresses were situated to the north of the Imperial Image Hall of the corresponding emperors.¹⁸⁾ Thus the Imperial Image Halls of the successive emperors of the Northern Song from Xuanzu (father of Taizu and Taizong) to Yingzong (father of Shenzong) and of their empresses were disposed around the Tianxingdian, dedicated to the Sacred Ancestor, progenitor of the Zhao clan. Shenzong established an office called *xiuding Jinglinggong i zhusuo* 修定景靈宮儀注所 for determining the ritual procedures of the ceremonies to be conducted in these Imperial Image Halls, and it was decided to perform special ceremonies four times annually, in the first month of each season, as in the case of the Imperial Ancestral Temple. Care was taken so that they did not coincide with the rites performed at the Imperial Ancestral Temple, and the following dates were chosen: the eleventh day in the first month of spring, an auspicious day in the first month of summer, the fifteenth day in the first month of autumn, and the fifteenth day in the first month of winter.¹⁹⁾ These four seasonal ceremonies were invariably performed by the emperor himself, and when one considers that the four seasonal ceremonies at the Imperial Ancestral Temple were conducted by proxies dispatched by the emperor, it is evident that Jinglinggong surpassed the Imperial Ancestral Temple in importance and had intimate associations for the emperor.

As was pointed out earlier, towards the end of Renzong's reign it began to be argued that the Imperial Image Halls should be supervised by the emperor himself and that he should conduct the requisite ceremonies too. It is to be surmised that the construction of eleven Imperial Image Halls in the precincts of Jinglinggong by Shenzong in the Yuanfeng era took this view into account and that the imperial images scattered throughout the capital were gathered together in one place so that the emperor could personally oversee them and worship them. It was at this point that the second Imperial Ancestral Temple of the Northern Song imperial family, which regarded the Sacred Ancestor who had descended to earth during Zhenzong's reign as its progenitor, was brought to completion in name and in reality with regard to both its formal aspects and its ceremonial rites. With each new emperor, a further Imperial Image Hall was added, and this practice continued until the end of the Southern Song dynasty. It was also to exert influence on the institutions of later Chinese dynasties and of Koryŏ 高麗 and the Yi 李 dynasty on the Korean peninsula.

Concluding Remarks

During the Northern Song, Daoism was an object of state worship, and it also exerted considerable influence on state sacrifices, which originally had

their basis in Confucianism. This influence was typified by the Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth, a new ceremony for worshipping Heaven that was dedicated to the Jade Emperor, the supreme deity of Daoism, and by Jinglinggong, which served as a second Imperial Ancestral Temple dedicated to the Sacred Ancestor, the imperial family's progenitor. Both of these had their origins in the descent of the Sacred Ancestor during Zhenzong's reign, an event that was designed to restore some of the national prestige that had been lost on account of the Treaty of Shanyuan. As a result, the concept of 'heavenly mandate' was reinvigorated, and the new sacrifices exemplified by the Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth and the rites performed at Jinglinggong could be seen to have been devised to give concrete expression to this revitalized concept of 'heavenly mandate'. It could be considered, in other words, that these two sets of rites, dedicated to the worship of the Jade Emperor and the Sacred Ancestor and to the worship of imperial images respectively, practices that were originally completely unrelated to Confucianism, were incorporated into state sacrifices based on Confucianism through the medium of the concept of 'heavenly mandate'. However, once these new ceremonies came to be recognized as state sacrifices, and as the Jade Emperor came to be equated with the Supreme Emperor of Exalted Heaven and the imperial images assumed the same value as wooden memorial tablets, the ritual format of these ceremonies gradually began to resemble the earlier ceremonies and eventually assimilated with them.

When considering the religion and thought of China, we are prone to attach great importance to established sectarian divisions represented by Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. It goes without saying that these distinctions are certainly important, but not necessarily all Chinese religion and thought can be categorized in this manner, and there is also a need to always bear in mind that these various divisions together constitute a harmonious whole that allows for infinite interfusion. The relationship between state sacrifices and Daoism during the Northern Song would seem to provide an excellent example of this interpenetration in the realm of religion.

Notes

- 1) See Qin Huitian 秦蕙田 *et al.*, *Wuli tongkao* 五禮通考; Kaneko Shūgchi 金子修一, "Chūgoku kodai ni okeru kōtei saishi no ichi kōsatsu" 中國古代に於ける皇帝祭祀の一考察 (A Consideration of Imperial Rites in Ancient China), *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌 87, no. 2 (1978); id., "Gi-Shin yori Zui-Tōni itaru kōshi, sōbyō no seido ni tsuite" 魏晉より隋唐に至る郊祀・宗廟の制度について (On the Institution of Suburban Sacrifices and Ancestral Temples from the Wei and Jin to the Sui and Tang), *Shigaku Zasshi* 88, no. 10 (1979).
- 2) See Yamauchi Kōichi 山内弘一, "Hokusō jidai no kōshi" 北宋時代の郊祀 (Suburban Sacrifices in the Northern Song period), *Shigaku Zasshi* 92, no. 1 (1983); Kojima Tsuyoshi 小島毅, "Kōshi seido no hensen" 郊祀制度の變遷 (Changes in the Suburban Sacrifice System), *Tōyō*

- Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 108 (1989); Yamauchi Kōichi, “Hokusō jidai no taibyō” 北宋時代の太廟 (The Imperial Ancestral Temple in the Northern Song Period), *Jōchi Shigaku* 上智史學 35 (1990).
- 3) See Yamauchi Kōichi, “Hokusō jidai no kokka to Gyokukō—shinrei kyōsha tenchi o chūshin ni— 北宋時代の國家と玉皇—新禮恭謝天地を中心に— (The State and the Jade Emperor in the Northern Song Period: With a Focus on the New Rite “Respectful Thanksgiving to Heaven and Earth”), *Tōhōgaku* 東方學 62 (1981); id., “Hokusō jidai no shingyoden to keireikyū” 北宋時代の神御殿と景靈宮 (Imperial Image Halls and Jinglinggong in the Northern Song Period), *Tōhōgaku* 70 (1985).
 - 4) See Sun Kekuan 孫克寬, *Song-Yuan Daojiao zhi fazhan* 宋元道教之發展 (The Development of Daoism in the Song and Yuan; Donghai Daxue Yanjiu Congshu 東海大學研究叢書, 1965).
 - 5) *Zhengao*, “Qishen shu” 稽神樞 4.
 - 6) See Miyakawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志, “Dōkyō shijō yori mitaru Godai” 道教史上より見たる五代 (The Five Dynasties seen from the History of Daoism), *Tōhō Shūyō* 東方宗教 42 (1973).
 - 7) *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 103, biography of Yisheng Baode Zhenjun 翊聖保德真君.
 - 8) *Daozang* 道藏, “Zhengyi bu” 正乙部 976.
 - 9) *Song huiyao jiben* 宋會要輯本, “Li” 禮 51: “Huihao” 徽號.
 - 10) *Ibid.*
 - 11) See Fukunaga Mitsuji 福永光司, “Kōten Jōtei to Tenkō Taitei to Genshi Tenson—Jukyō no saikōshin to Dōkyō no saikōshin” 昊天上帝と天皇大帝と元始天尊—儒教の最高神と道教の最高神 (Haotian Shangdi, Tianhuang Dadi and Yuanshi Tianzun: The Supreme Deity of Confucianism and the Supreme Deity of Daoism), *Chūetsu Bungaku Kaihō* 中哲文學會報 2 (1976); id., *Dōkyō shisō shi kenkyū* 道教思想史研究 (Studies in the History of Daoist Thought; Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1987).
 - 12) *Song huiyao jiben*, “Li” 25: “Jiaosi gongxie” 郊祀恭謝.
 - 13) *Taichang yin’ge li* 68, “Xinli” 1: “Gongxie tiandi” 恭謝天地 1.
 - 14) *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 462, entry for cyclic day jiashen 甲申, 7th month, Yuanyou 6.
 - 15) Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖, *Shina bijutsu shi, chōso hen* 支那美術史・彫塑篇 (The History of Chinese Art: Sculpture and Clay Statuary; 佛書刊行會圖像部, 1915年, 1972年國書刊行會覆刊).
 - 16) *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 113, entry for cyclic day dingchou 丁丑, 9th month, Mingdao 2; *Song huiyao jiben*, “Li” 42: “Guoji” 國忌.
 - 17) *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 200, entry for cyclic day dingyou 丁酉, 3rd month, Zhiping 1.
 - 18) *Songchao shishi* 6, “Miaozhi” 廟制.
 - 19) *Songshi* 宋史 109, “Lizhi” 禮志 12, “Jili” 吉禮 12: “Jinglinggong.”