

Silent Revolution in Northern Song: The power logic behind Zunwang Rangyi

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Research Article

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the formation logic behind the principle of Zunwang Rangyi in early Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) of China. A common interpreting mode for the formation of the theory of Zunwang Rangyi is the externality approach that it's the threat of military lords and "barbarian" invasion that promoted the formation of the institutional devices based on the principles of Zunwang Rangyi in the Song dynasty. I propose another internality approach by studying how Zunwang Rangyi theory has been transformed in early Northern Song by internally driven factors caused by the Shidafu crisis and how its core principles were mirrored in early Northern Song's institutional design and state building. With a historical and documentation methodology with a focus on the work of several thinkers of early Northern Song, this research would enrich the current scholarship on the formation and evolution of institutional and state building of early Northern Song and its intellectual background.

Keywords: Zunwang Rangyi, early Northern Song, Shidafu, Confucianism, Yi-Di

Kuzey Song'da Sessiz Devrim: Zunwang Rangyi'nin Arkasındaki Güç Mantığı

Araştırma Makalesi

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ÖZ

Bu makale Çin'in erken Kuzey Song hanedanlığında (960-1127) Zunwang Rangyi ilkesinin ardındaki oluşum mantığını incelemektedir. Zunwang Rangyi teorisinin oluşumuna yönelik yaygın bir yorumlama biçimi, Song hanedanlığında Zunwang Rangyi'nin ilkelerine dayanan kurumsal aygıtların oluşumunu teşvik eden şeyin askeri lordların tehdidi ve "barbar" istilası olduğu yönündeki dışsallık yaklaşımıdır. Zunwang Rangyi teorisinin erken Kuzey Song'da Shidafu krizinin neden olduğu içsel faktörler tarafından nasıl dönüştürüldüğünü ve temel ilkelerinin Kuzey Song'un erken dönem kurumsal tasarımına ve devlet inşasına nasıl yansıdığını inceleyerek başka bir içsellik yaklaşımı öneriyorum. Erken Kuzey Song'un çeşitli düşünürlerinin çalışmalarına odaklanan tarihsel ve belgeleme metodolojisi ile bu araştırma, erken Kuzey Song'un kurumsal ve devlet yapılanmasının oluşumu ve evrimi ile entelektüel arka planına ilişkin mevcut bilgi birimini zenginleştirecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zunwang Rangyi, erken Kuzey Şarkısı, Shidafu, Konfüçyüsçülük, Yi-Di

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Introduction

Under the context of Tang-Song transition of ancient China, the theory of *Zunwang Rangyi* (Honor the King and drive off the barbarians 尊王攘夷) of the Song dynasty is an important but also illusive issue in the intellectual and institutional research of the Song dynasty. *Zunwang Rangyi* was not a new concept, which could be traced back to the time of *Spring and Autumn Annals* (春秋). Sima Qian (司馬遷 145–86 BC) said “in order to expound the kingly way of government by justice...Confucius drafted the *Spring and Autumn Annals* based the history of State Lu...for the making of basic principles and laws 孔子明王道...興於魯而次春秋...以制義法”¹. From Sima Qian’s narration, the purpose of *Annals* was to “expound the kingly way”, for which an important route was “*Rangyi*”, and the narration of the *Annals* was largely based on this logic. Duke Zhuang of State Zheng (*Zheng zhuanggong* 鄭莊公 757–701 BC) and Duke Huang of State Qi (*Qi huangong* 齊桓公 ?–643 BC) both reinforced their purpose of *Zunwang* by victory military actions against the “barbarians” threatening the Central Lands (*Zhongguo* 中國). Ouyang Xiu (歐陽脩 1007–1072) in the Northern Song also said “Confucius drafted the *Annals* to honor Zhou court, and we could understand where *Zhengtong* to be found 仲尼作《春秋》，區區於尊周而明正統之所在”².

In early Northern Song, *Zunwang Rangyi* become an important concept to understand the unique institutional devices of the Song dynasty. In the Song dynasty, *Zunwang Rangyi* was given the meaning of honoring the superior status of Song China and fortifying Song China not only against other tribal regimes established by “barbarians”³, but also against other intellectual theories other than Confucianism. It laid the foundation of the two pillars of the neo-Confucianism in the Song dynasty, the first one is *Daotong* (道統), the genealogy tradition of Confucianism thoughts or ideas, proposed by Han Yu (韓愈 768–824)⁴ in the Tang dynasty. The second one is *Zhengtong* (正統)⁵, the standard succession line of the legitimate dynasties which could solely represent the Central Lands.

In the theoretical matrix of *Zunwang Rangyi*, *Daotong* functioned as the intellectual tool for *Shidafu* (士大夫 scholar-official who believed in and practiced Confucianism)⁶ in the Song dynasty to protect the dominating status of Confucianism, which was threatened by other ideologies during the chaos from later Tang dynasty to the Five Dynasties. These non-Confucianism theories, such as Buddhism and Taoism, were all categorized as the ideologies of “Barbarians”. On the other hand, *Zhengtong* functioned as the political tool for the Song

¹ Sima Qian, *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian). (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2009), 12.

² Ouyang Xiu, *Ouyang Xiu quanji* 歐陽修全集 (Collected works of Ouyang Xiu). (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2001), 2:281.

³ Such as the Liao (遼, 916–1125), the Western Xia (西夏, 1038–1227) and the Jin (金, 1115–1234) dynasties.

⁴ Chen Yinke, *Jinming guan conggao chubian* 金明館叢稿初編 (The Initial Collection of Articles of Jinmingguan). (Shanghai: Sanlian Bookstore, 2015), 319-333.

⁵ *Zhengtong* was defined by Ouyang Xiu (歐陽修 1007-1072) as follows: “*Zheng* is to correct the injustice in China; *Tong* is to unify the inconformity in China 正者，所以正天下之不正也；統者，所以合天下之不一也”，so “assuming the justice of China and unifying China into One shall be called *Zhengtong* 居天下之正，合天下于一，斯正統矣” (see Ouyang 2001, 2.269). Song Xiang (宋庠 996-1066), who used to be the Prime Minister, in his *Jinian tongpu* 紀年通譜 (The Complete Chronology of Annals) which five categories: *Zheng*(正)、*Run*(閏)、*Wei*(偽)、*Zei*(賊)、*Manyi*(蠻夷) (Ma 2011, 9.5599). It’s clear that in official *Zhengtong* theory, the Yi-Di had been considered.

⁶ The meaning of *Shi* was also transforming in the history. In the Tang dynasty, “Those steeped in literary knowledge or martial skills constitute so-called scholar-officials. 諸習學文武者為士”. In the Song dynasty, the *Shi* only denoted to the people with literary knowledge.

dynasty to claim the legitimacy of Song China against other tribal regimes coexisting and competing with the Song dynasty. The common social background of the two pillars was frequent military defeats of Song China against neighboring regimes, and the role of *Daotong* or *Zhengtong* were also transformed from time to time, but the two concepts constituted the essential nucleus of the *Zunwang Rangyi* theory across the Song dynasty.

A commonly accepted interpreting mode for the formation of the theory of *Zunwang Rangyi* of the Song dynasty is the social-political explanation mode that it's the threat of military lords and "barbarian" invasion that promoted the formation of the institutional devices based on the principles of *Zunwang Rangyi* in the Song dynasty. This approach could be called as an externality approach. However, the emphasis of external influences is not sufficient for a comprehensive understanding of the transformations of the principles of *Zunwang Rangyi* in early Northern Song.

From a broader historical view, the military disadvantage against neighboring tribal regimes was not the only factor to the state governing thoughts and policy in previous Chinese dynasties. On the other hand, some new features of the *Zunwang Rangyi* theory in early Northern Song were not fully explained by the externality approach. Rao Zongyin noticed that in the Northern Song only *Zunwang* was emphasized and the element of *Rangyi* was less important⁷. The issue that how element of *Rangyi* was transformed in early Northern Song was still not fully discussed. In addition, both Rao and Yang Shaoyun pointed the odd phenomenon within the *Daotong* theory that major proponents of *Daotong* categorized domestic Taoism and alien Buddhism together to be the opposite side of the orthodox tradition of the Confucianism Sages in the Central Lands. It's also worth to note that the narrators of the *Zunwang Rangyi* theory in the Song dynasty were mostly the *Shidafu*, who, different from modern professional scholars or politicians, always had double identities of the both and their academic opinions would directly influence and guide political and institutional practices of the state. So, the transformation of *Shidafu*'s attitudes on *Zunwang Rangyi* was the mirroring of the deep evolution logic of the institutional devices of early Northern Song. All of the above dispersive but closely connected factors in early Northern Song seem to point to an unnoticed but important internal transformation of *Zunwang Rangyi* theory in early Northern Song.

This article aims to bring this internal transformation to the agenda, so that the nature of the principles of *Zunwang Rangyi* can be understood more deeply. In specific, this article will study how the *Zunwang Rangyi* theory has been transformed in early Northern Song by internally driven factors caused by the *Shidafu* crisis and how its core principles were mirrored in early Northern Song's institutional design and state building. In the following discussions, after a brief literature review, I first, briefly, describe the Yi-Xi distinction before the Song dynasty. Then I review the internality of the *Zunwang Rangyi* theory in early Northern Song. Following this review, I continue to examine how the internality of *Zunwang Rangyi* theory was mirrored with the institutional building in early Northern Song. I conclude by considering several implications of the arguments of this article for current research on the institutional building of early Northern Song.

1. The Question and Literature Review

In view of the above introduction, the matrix of *Zunwang Rangyi* theory in the Song dynasty was not only an intellectual theme, but also featured with strong social and political

⁷ Rao Zongyin, *Zhongguo shixue shang zhi zhengtonglun* 中國史學上之正統論 (*The Zhengtong theory in Chinese historiography*). (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2015), 81.

implications. It was echoed in the unique power evolution logic of early Northern Song, when the *Neo-Confucianism* theory, supported by the newly rising *Shidafu* class, was formed. Simply speaking, this article mainly addresses two closely connected issues: the first one is the transformation logic of the *Zunwang Rangyi* theory in early Northern Song, and the second one is the relationship between the transformed *Zunwang Rangyi* theory and the institutional building of early Northern Song.

Academic research has studied the nature and the social-political implications of the matrix of *Zunwang Rangyi* theory in the Song dynasty. For example, Rao Zongyin used to systematically review the *Zhengtong* theory in Chinese intellectual history. Yang Shaoyun conducted a similar work by analyzing the nature and development of *Daotong* theory from later Tang to early Northern Song. But these researches were limited in the isolating investigation on the theory of *Daotong* or *Zhengtong* and henceforth paid few attentions on the holistic relationship between the *Zunwang Rangyi* theory and the institutional building in early Northern Song. Then it would be insufficient to explain why in early Northern Song, a unique state building and institutional design were established under the background of the newly formed *Zunwang Rangyi* theory.

Regarding the transformation scheme of *Zunwang Rangyi* theory in early Northern Song, modern literature is replete with pro-externality justifications, that it's the external factors, especially the military disadvantage compared with the Khitan Liao (遼) and Tangut Western Xia (西夏), played an important factor in the transformation of the *Zunwang Rangyi* theory in early Northern Song. Chen Yingke asserted that the *Guwen* (Ancient style prose 古文) movement was the response to the stimulation of An Lu Shan Rebellion which was a turmoil caused by "Barbarian" and therefore the core content of *Guwen* movement was that *Zunwang Rangyi* shall be conditioned with *Rangyi*⁸. Chen's externality interpretation had become a popular approach in later scholarship on this issue. For example, Wang Gungwu used to analyze the dynamic evolution of the relationship between the imperial rhetoric to the neighboring states and reality in early Song⁹. Tao Jing Shen directly addressed the issue between the legitimacy of the Song dynasty in the discourses of Song thinkers and the relationship with "Barbarian" states¹⁰. Although already noticing the "the belief that the 'barbarian' menace was not as serious as internal problems" in the Song dynasty¹¹, he again emphasized the externality by stating that "circumstances forced them to concede that there was little hope of conquering the Khitan"¹² and "reevaluate the international situation"¹³. In addition, Deng Xiaonan asserted that Hua-Yi distinction in the Song dynasty was the response to the external "barbarian" regimes of Khitan and Tangut regimes by describing a transformation from the internal Hu-Han rhetoric in the Tang dynasty to the external Hua-Yi rhetoric in the Song dynasty¹⁴.

⁸ Chen, *The Initial Collection of Articles of Jinmingguan*, 329.

⁹ Wang Gungwu, "The Rhetoric of a Lesser Empire: Early Sung Relations with Its Neighbors" in *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries*, edited by Rossabi, Morris. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 47-45.

¹⁰ Tao Jing Shen. "Barbarians or Northerners : Northern Sung Images of the Khitans" in *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries*, edited by Rossabi, Morris. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 72.

¹¹ Tao, "Barbarians or Northerners: Northern Sung Images of the Khitans", 75.

¹² Tao, "Barbarians or Northerners: Northern Sung Images of the Khitans", 76.

¹³ Tao, "Barbarians or Northerners: Northern Sung Images of the Khitans", 81.

¹⁴ Deng Xiaonan. "Lun wudai songchu huhan yujing de xiaojie 論五代宋初'胡/漢'語境的消解 (The dissolution of the Hu/Han context from Five Dynasties to early Song)", *Journal of Chinese Humanities*, 5, (October 2005):57-64.

Besides above hard externality approach, another soft externality approach is becoming popular recently, which emphasized the civilization and culture elements and some scholars have noticed some more complicated factors unmentioned by hard externality approach. Fu Lecheng's opinion, that a feeling of deep national and culture crisis nurtured the Song Chinese culture featured with conservativeness with a strong national spirit¹⁵, was also a similar observance. Peter K. Bol analyzed the theories of *Daotong* theorist within the political background of Qingli Reform¹⁶. Jiang Mei observed that a feeling of civilization crisis became a deep cause of more intense and stricter Yi-Xia distinction in the Song dynasty¹⁷. Cheng-Hua Fang attributed the revival of Confucianism to the active adoption and assimilation of the ruling groups including the emperor and military magnates in order to reinforce their authority¹⁸. These discussions touched the dynamic relationship between the institutional building of early Northern Song and the culture elements, but they still did not clarify the nature of the "national crisis" in their discourse and its source, whether from the external neighboring regimes or internal *Shidafu* group?

Despite of the mainstream externality approach, some scholars have moved a step forward to address the abovementioned problem. Alan T. Wood, although not specifically discussing *Zunwang Rangyi* theory, has analyzed the connection between the natural law principle of Neo-Confucianism and the limitation of Monarch power in the Song dynasty. He noticed that Song exegesis on the *Annals* "was a response to the particular configuration of internal and external threats that confronted the Sung dynasty"¹⁹. He continued to elaborate that *Shidafu*'s "preoccupation with moral issues led them to the conclusion that, if the goal of a moral and centralized government were realized in China proper, the barbarians would not have the military strength to threaten China... The practical consequences of such a view are to be found in the policy of assigning a lower priority to strictly military solutions to the barbarian problems"²⁰. Charles Hartman indeed noticed that Han Yu's time was a period that the Confucian tradition was in moribund as the society was "dominated by Buddhist and Taoist values and institutions" and the neo-Confucianism was in fact more new than revival (citing Jacques Gernet)²¹. Yang Shaoyun analyzed the internal logic of the formation of *Daotong* theory in early Northern Song and this is indeed an internality approach. But these researches did not pay enough attentions on the internal social and political elements in the formation of *Daotong* theory and its implication towards the State building of early Northern Song. A new research from James Gordley²² demonstrated the feasibility on investigating the connection between the Confucianism thought and the Constitutional building in the Song dynasty. What all the researches did not consider was the difference between the "Yi-Di" (meaning

¹⁵ Fu, Leicheng. *Hantang shilun ji* 漢唐史論集 (The Collection of Essays on Han-Tang History). (Taipei: Linking Publishing Company, 1997), 380.

¹⁶ Peter K. Bol, "Reconceptualizing the Order of Things in Northern and Southern Sung" in *The Cambridge history of China. Volume 5. Part 2, The Sung Dynasty and its precursors, 907-1279*, edited by Twitchett et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 678-679.

¹⁷ Jiang, Mei, "Songren de huayi zhibian yu zhongguo yishi 宋人的"華夷之辨"與"中國"意識 (The Hua-Yi Distinction of Song people and China consciousness)", *Sociology of Ethnicity*, 243. (November 2017):25.

¹⁸ Fang, Cheng-Hua. *Power Structures and Cultural Identities in Imperial China: Civil and Military Power from Late Tang to Early Song Dynasties (a.d. 875--1063)* Ph.D. diss. (Providence: Brown University, 2001), 315-316.

¹⁹ Alan T. Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 78.

²⁰ Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights*, 84.

²¹ Charles Hartman, "Sung Government and Politics" in *The Cambridge history of China. Volume 5. Part 2, The Sung Dynasty and its precursors, 907-1279*, edited by Twitchett et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 32.

²² See James Gordley. *The Eclipse of Classical Thought in China and The West*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

“Barbarians”) under Confucianism *Daotong* theory and the “Yi-Di” in national perspective. This would not only cause the obfuscation of transformation of *Zunwang Rangyi* theory in early Northern Song, but also the misunderstanding on the situation of *Shidafu* class.

In view of above literature review, a clearer counterpart of the externality approach to interpret the *Zunwang Rangyi* theory and its relationship with the State building of early Northern Song was still yet established. All the above-mentioned academic endeavors suggest that it's time for a more complete internality approach to debut.

2. *Rangyi* as an intellectual revolution of *Shidafu*

In the following section, it would be argued that, in early Northern Song, Yi-Xia distinction was elaborated by *Shidafu* to justify the unique legality of Confucianism in the Central Lands in response to the *Shidafu* crisis and this conceptual transformation determined the basis for the internality of the *Zunwang Rangyi* theory. The internal driven *Zunwang Rangyi* theory further caused the concept of Yi-Di to be slowly transformed into a bundle of conceptual objects rather than actual tribal people. This was an intellectual revolution initiated and conducted by *Shidafu* class besides the conflicts between the Central Lands and neighboring tribal regimes.

2.1 *Shidafu* crisis before the Song dynasty

Since from the Sui and Tang dynasties, *Shidafu* class had slowly developed to be an important part in the central power structure after the implementation of the national bureaucratic examination system. Along with the rising of the new *Shidafu* class was slow but continuous declining of dominant families (*Menfa* 門閥). “The aristocrats had accepted the newly distinguished literati on their terms and many of the distinctions between the two groups had been removed”²³. But the *Shidafu* class soon encountered their first serious crisis since from later Tang after An Lu Shan rebellion, especially during the Five-dynasties due to the chaos in both social and intellectual levels. Charles Hartman had pointed that “the eleventh century saw not only a rise in the political relevance of literati culture but also an immediate crisis in the viability of that culture”²⁴, despite his emphasis was about the administration rather than intellectual issues.

The *Shidafu* crisis was directly caused by the rising of military officials and their personal officials²⁵ due to the *Fanzhen* (藩鎮) structure established across the Central Land after An Lu Shan rebellion. It was also the critical period when *Shidafu* began to encounter their crisis. During this period, *Shidafu* class was not taken as important in the society. Yang Bin (楊邠 ? –950) said that the “literary works, rituals and music...were all impractical crafts, not worthy of attention 至於文章禮樂，並是虛事，何足介音耶”²⁶. Shi Hongzhao(史弘肇 ? –950) belittled the civil affairs as writing brush not as powerful as spears and large swords²⁷. It was also claimed that “major affairs of court should not be decided in consultation with men of

²³ Wang Gongwu, *Divided China: Preparing For Reunification 883-947*. (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Pte, 2007), 83.

²⁴ Charles Hartman, “Sung Government and Politics” in *The Cambridge history of China. Volume 5. Part 2, The Sung Dynasty and its precursors, 907-1279*, edited by Twitchett et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 44.

²⁵ Wang, *Divided China: Preparing For Reunification 883-947*, 65,85-86.

²⁶ Xue Juzheng et al., *Jiu wudai shi* 舊五代史 (*Old History of the Five Dynasties*). (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1976), 107:1408. Translated by Fang Cheng-Hua in *Power Structures and Cultural Identities in Imperial China: Civil and Military Power from Late Tang to Early Song Dynasties (a.d. 875--1063)* Ph.D. diss. (Providence: Brown University, 2001), 114.

²⁷ Xue, *Old History of the Five Dynasties*, 107:1406.

book-learning. Their cowardice would cause others to be misled 朝廷大事不可謀及書生，懦怯誤人”²⁸. One personal officials of Guo Wei (郭威 904-954) used to say that “Zhongni [Confucius's personal name] was just a servant at court. Your Majesty should not bow to him 仲尼，人臣也，無致拜.”²⁹ This common contempt against *Shidafu* class was also accepted by some literati. “Your subject, as a bookish man, I’m unfit to discuss important affairs, for I cannot appreciate the larger enterprise. Nor am I suitable for exploiting the strategic moment. I trust that Your Majesty will forgive me 臣書生也，不足以講大事，至於不達大體，不合機變，惟陛下寬之”³⁰.

Furthermore, the *Shidafu* crisis was exacerbated when non-Confucianism thoughts became popular across the Central Lands in the intellectual level. Under this situation, the *Ru* (儒 Confucianism literati) became a minority group and the Confucianism also declined to a disadvantageous status. The development of Buddhism threatened the domestic social and political environment and this conflicts culminated into four famous “Buddhist Persecution (滅佛)” movements, two of which happened during the period from later Tang dynasty to Five Dynasties. But the political movement to devastate the Buddhism was mostly temporarily and they did not stop the spreading of Buddhism in the society. The reason why Buddhism was so popular could be inferred from Zhou Xingfeng (周行逢 ? –962)’s explanation: “I have killed too many people, without the mental power of Buddhism, how to dissolve the injustice they suffered? 吾殺人多矣，不假佛力，何以解其冤乎”³¹. The social problem caused by the spreading of Buddhism also existed in early Northern Song, which could be observed in some policy discussion of government officials. Chen Xiang (陈襄 1017–1080) said that “if they were not prohibited, the ignorant people in the state would rush to be Buddhist monk and Taoist priest within less than ten years, and there would be no people to work, this is not trivial affairs 若遂行不禁，臣恐不数十年，天下无知之民竞为僧道，转令失业，非细事也”³².

It’s clear that the status of *Shidafu* class had been seriously threatened before the Song dynasty and this strong sense of *Shidafu* crisis continued to exist in early Northern Song. Shi Yannian (石延年 994–1041) used to mention the withering of *Ru* in early Northern Song: “now the scholars professionalizing with *Wen* and being familiar with ancient principles were extremely few and not popular 今業文好古之士至鮮且不張”³³. Li Gou (李覯 1009–1059) said that “*Ru* faltered in its defense and the education fell onto the earth...meanwhile, the adherents of Buddhism propagated its way successfully 儒失其守，教化墜於地...當是時也，釋之徒以其道鼓行之，焉往而不利”³⁴.

²⁸ Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (*Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance*). (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2011), 289:9431. Translated by Fang Cheng-Hua in *Power Structures and Cultural Identities in Imperial China: Civil and Military Power from Late Tang to Early Song Dynasties (a.d. 875--1063)*, 147.

²⁹ Xue, *Jiu wudai shi*, 112:1482. Translated by Fang Cheng-Hua in *Power Structures and Cultural Identities in Imperial China: Civil and Military Power from Late Tang to Early Song Dynasties (a.d. 875--1063)*, 158.

³⁰ Xue, *Jiu wudai shi*, 128:1681. Translated by Fang Cheng-Hua in *Power Structures and Cultural Identities in Imperial China: Civil and Military Power from Late Tang to Early Song Dynasties (a.d. 875--1063)*, 147.

³¹ Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 (*Extended Continuation to Zizhi Tongjian*). (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1979), 2:72.

³² Ding Shouhe et al., *Zhongguo lidai zouyi dadian* 中國曆代奏議大典 (*The Grand Collection of Memorials to Emperors in Chinese History*). (Harbin: Harbin Press, 1994), 3:158.

³³ Tuotuo, *Song shi* 宋史 (*History of Song*). (Shanghai: Hanyu Dacidian Press, 2003), 9381.

³⁴ Li Gou, *Li Gou ji* 李覯集 (*The Collections of Li Gou*). (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2011), 273.

Confronting this social and intellectual crisis, Han Yu's opposition against Buddhism supported by the Emperor Xianzong (憲宗) of the Tang dynasty was among the earliest responses to such *Shidafu* crisis. But this crisis was further reinforced in the Five-dynasties. This nurtured the revival of *Guwen* movement in early Northern Song, when *Shidafu* readopted *Zunwang Rangyi* as the weapon to fight against other thoughts to overcome the *Shidafu* crisis and consequently the concept of "Yi-Di" experienced the transformation from an externality concept to an internality concept.

2.2 *Zunwang Rangyi* as an intellectual power approach

The formation of *Daotong* theory, originated from Han Yu, was the response to the crisis of *Shidafu* from later Tang to early Northern Song. A feeling of crisis from *Shidafu* can be vividly sensed in the works of *Daotong* theorists in early Northern Song despite the Central Lands had been unified again. The common feature of main *Daotong* theorists was that they unanimously equated non-Confucianism thoughts, including but not limited to Buddhism, with Yi-Di and therefore, "anti-Yi-Di" was transformed to "anti-non-Confucianism" ideologies, vice versa. Han Yu first equated Buddhism and Taoism with Yi-Di. In *Tracing the Way* (*Yuan dao* 原道), he asserted that "now we are elevating a law of the barbarians above the teachings of the former [sage-]kings—how much longer [can this go on] before we all become barbarians? 今也舉夷狄之法，而加之先王之教之上，幾何其不胥而為夷也!"³⁵. In Han Yu's mind, the "law of the barbarians" was "the way of Taoism and Buddhism 老與佛之道".

It had been commonly accepted that since from early Northern Song, the literati had been supported by the Monarch. But the motivation of the support from the emperor was not to respect *Shidafu* class, but to select a less harmful alternative to the turbulent military magnates. Emperor Taizu (太祖 927–976), the first emperor of the Song dynasty, said that "in choosing prime ministers, I must appoint only men of book learning 宰相須用讀書人"³⁶, because "men with book learning lacked ambition, even the occasional corrupt civil official... could not cause serious disruption, like his military counterpart"³⁷. Therefore, with mere Monarch support was obviously not enough as the Monarch was only interested in Bookish men, not solely limited to Confucian *Shidafu*.

At early Northern Song, the standard of reviewing literati was still not yet fixed. Confucianism was not the dominating ideology and it's not uncommon that other ideologies were favored by Monarch. The tradition in the time of Emperor Xuanzong (玄宗 685–762) of the Tang dynasty to receive advices from Taoism priests was also maintained in early Northern Song, as Peter K. Bol has noticed³⁸. As Sun Fu (孫復 992–1057) criticized the Tang and Sui dynasties by saying that "our dynasty followed Tang institutions, and selected the officials by *Ci-Fu*, so the literati devoted all their efforts in the literature and very few of them would probe the principles of Sages 國家踵隋、唐之制，專以辭賦取人，故天下之士皆奔走致力於聲

³⁵ Translated by Yang Shao-yun in *The Way of the Barbarians*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019), 8.

³⁶ Li, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 7:171. Translated by Fang Cheng-Hua in *Power Structures and Cultural Identities in Imperial China: Civil and Military Power from Late Tang to Early Song Dynasties (a.d. 875–1063)*, 179.

³⁷ Fang, *Power Structures and Cultural Identities in Imperial China: Civil and Military Power from Late Tang to Early Song Dynasties (a.d. 875--1063)*, 179.

³⁸ Charles Hartman, "Sung Government and Politics" in *The Cambridge history of China. Volume 5. Part 2, The Sung Dynasty and its precursors, 907-1279*, edited by Twitchett et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 44.

病對偶之間，探索聖賢之闔奧者百無一二”³⁹。Furthermore, military officials no need to follow the Confucianism principle of “mourning for believing that all men must offer morning duty to their parents”⁴⁰. Guided by Taosim, Emperor Zhenzong(真宗 968—1022), the third emperor of the Northern Song, embarked the event of *Fengshan* (封禪), the most high profile ritual a Monarch could conduct in ancient China. Zhenzong explained this event to “hold grand ceremony of worship of heaven on mountain Taishan, offer sacrifices in Fenying, visit the grave and offer sacrifice for Laozi 封泰山，祠汾陰，上陵，祀老子”⁴¹. Zhenzong’s *Fengshan* was widely criticized by Confucian *Shidafu* at the time. Sun Shi (孫奭 962—1033) criticized that “(Zhenzong was) misled by heterodoxy, the administration and the classics were disordered 既惑左道，既紊政經”⁴².

It’s clear till early Northern Song, the status of Confucianism was still not dominant and it’s the internal and active endeavor by several *Rus* to establish a more important status of Confucianism in the power structure by equating other non-Confucianism with *Yi-Di* through the revival of Han Yu’s *Daotong* theory. The first of these Confucianism theorists was Liu Kai (柳開 948—1001), the forerunner of the *Guwen* Movement in the Song dynasty, who revered Han Yu and declared himself to be the successor of Confucianism *Daotong* after Han Yu. Liu Kai connected the two ideologies of *Yi-Xia* distinction and *Daotong*. Most of his discussions on the *Daotong* focused on competition between Confucianism and other schools of thoughts, which he categorized into the scope of the thoughts of *Yi-Di*. He asserted that “To Learn” is necessary to be Human being and “Lack of Consciousness” is what made “*Yi-Di*” to be “*Yi-Di*”. The chaos caused by *Zhuzi* (the different philosophers 諸子) and confusion caused by Buddhism and Taoism would not be tolerated at the time of Sages⁴³. In Liu Kai’s discourse, the only way of avoiding to become “*Yi-Di*” was to learn the Way of Confucianism Classics and abjuring other thoughts, including not only alien Buddhism, but also domestic thoughts of *Zhuzi*. On the other hand, no sufficient influence of external conflicts between the Song dynasty and Khitan Liao could be found in Liu Kai’s theory even though he actively participated in the military actions against Khitan Liao. This demonstrated that it’s the crisis of Confucianism rather than the Central Lands that Liu Kai worried about. Entrenched into the internal justification logic of Confucianism, the discussion of *Yi-Xia* distinction had become the route to fight against other competing thoughts and then to regain the dominating status of Confucianism.

After Liu Kai, Shi Jie (石介 1005—1045) reinforced the internality of *Daotong* theory by connecting *Daotong* with the improvement of the state institutions of the Central Lands. He said “the devastation in later Tang and the evil in the Five Dynasties were both purged by Emperor Taizu. Emperor Zhenzong improved the institutions and clarified the law”, and then what was the problem of his time? Shi Jie pointed that it’s the *Wen* (文) as “*Wen* is very important 文之時義大矣”⁴⁴ and it’s the basis for “the King’s Way 王道”⁴⁵. In his mind, the

³⁹ Huang Zongxi, *Song yuan xue’an* 宋元學案 (*History of Chinese Thought in Song and Yuan*). (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1986), 1:99.

⁴⁰ Fang, *Power Structures and Cultural Identities in Imperial China: Civil and Military Power from Late Tang to Early Song Dynasties (a.d. 875--1063)*, 298.

⁴¹ Tuotuo, *Song shi*, 9363.

⁴² Tuotuo, *Song shi*, 9363.

⁴³ Liu Kai, *Liu Kai ji* 柳開集 (*The Collections of Liu Kai*). (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2015), 69-70.

⁴⁴ Shi Jie, *Cu lai shi xiansheng wenji* 徂徠石先生文集 (*The Collection of Shi Jie*). (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1984), 143.

⁴⁵ Shi, *Cu lai shi xiansheng wenji*, 144.

revival of Confucianism shall be the inevitable and final stage of the state building after correcting the chaos since from later Tang dynasty. It's also clear that, in Shi Jie's discourse, there was no imminent crisis of the Central Lands, only *Wen*, which was closely connected with Confucianism, was still in danger.

Shi Jie's strong feeling of crisis for Confucianism was demonstrated in his theory on *Zhongguo* (China 中國), under which there were two specific types of non-Chinese "Yi-Di" thoughts, one was Buddhism from the Occidental India, another one was the Taoism from the *Hu* people. Shi Jie here first expanded the scope of Confucianism to represent the whole Central Lands. But actually, in modern perspective, Confucianism alone was not able to represent the whole China, other thoughts, even including Buddhism which had been localized in the Song dynasty, was capable to claim that they were one of domestic thoughts in the Central Lands. Shi Jie's effort to exclude other thoughts from China by doubting the origin of their founders was to compete for the dominating intellectual status of Confucianism by categorizing these thoughts to be alien "Yi-Di".

Secondly, Shi Jie also expanded the scope of the "Yi-Di" thoughts, initially including only Buddhism and Taoism. Shi Jie asserted that following the Way of Confucius, the people would be people in the Central Lands, if departing from the Way of Confucius, then people in the Central Lands would be either Yi or Di, either Buddhist or Taoist, either Zhuang or Han⁴⁶. So the thoughts of Zhuangzi (莊子)⁴⁷ and Han Fei (韓非)⁴⁸ were also categorized into the scope of "Yi-Di" thoughts. It's clear that he judged other thoughts with the criteria of Confucianism and decided whether they were "Yi-Di". From this elaboration of Shi Jie, "Yi-Di" became a conceptual object encompassing all ideologies incompatible with the principle of Confucianism and consequently, an internally entrenched concept of the neo-Confucianism.

It's clear that the strong hostility against other competing thoughts lay the foundation to the formation of *Daotong* theory in early Northern Song, and this was the outcome of the revival of Confucianism, driven by internal crisis, in both theoretically and social-politically levels. On the other hand, few evidence can be found about the direct external influence from the conflict between the Central Lands and Khitan or Tangut regimes established by previously named "Yi-Di" ethnic groups. Therefore, *Rangyi* in the *Daotong* theory had been internalized to support the revival of Confucianism against the non-Confucianism thoughts rather than being the justification to the military actions against neighboring 'barbarian' states.

Furthermore, this internality was also directly demonstrated in the *Zhengtong* theory, another pillar of neo-Confucianism, which had been reformed by Ouyang Xiu. If Shi Jie defended Confucianism by categorizing all non-Confucianism thoughts to be "Yi-Di" thoughts, Ouyang Xiu reinforced the dominating status of Confucianism by purifying Confucianism through his *Zhengtong* theory.

The concept of *Zhengtong* was "neither expressed in the Six Classics nor said by the Sages 不见于六经·不道于圣人"⁴⁹. As Chen Fang-ming proposed, it's only in the Song dynasty when a theory of "*Zhengtong*" was formed⁵⁰ and Ouyang Xiu was the first one to discuss

⁴⁶ Shi, *Cu lai shi xiansheng wenji*, 189.

⁴⁷ Another domestic theorist of Taoism.

⁴⁸ Another domestic theorist of *Fajia* (the legalist).

⁴⁹ Ouyang, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 2:274.

⁵⁰ Ch'en Fang-ming, "Songdai zhengtong lun de xingcheng beijing ji neirong宋代正統論的形成背景及其內 (The Background and Content of the Theories of Legitimacy in Song Dynasty)", *Shihuo Yuekan*, 1/8 (November 1971): 418.

Zhengtong as a theory. Therefore, it can also be viewed as an interpretive theory derivative from the classical narratives in the *Annals*. Ouyang Xiu's *Zhengtong* theory paralleled with the internality of *Daotong* theory as he judged whether a dynasty was the *Zhengtong* not by its external ethnic background, but by the criteria of *King* in the *Annals*: "either by the utmost justice, either by the great principle of right and wrong 或以至公，或以大義"⁵¹, an approach taken by *Daotong* theorists. It's clear that Ouyang Xiu's criteria to identify whether the *Zhengtong* was terminated was not the external ethnic Yi-Xia distinction, but the more purifying Confucianism theory by eliminating the elements of non-Confucianism from his *Zhengtong* theory.

It can be inferred that Shi Jie and Ouyang Xiu took Yi-Xia distinction as the tool to justify the exclusive legitimacy of Confucianism and therefore they, on one hand, transformed "Yi-Di" into a theoretical concept, and, on the other hand, enlarged the scope of the "Yi-Di" as the bundle of all the thoughts not compatible with Confucianism. One difference is that more confidence could be found in Ouyang Xiu's theory. Ouyang Xiu did not agree with the approach to "expel it by weapon...exclude it by theory 操戈而逐之...有說以排之"⁵², instead he proposed that the underlying cause of the flourish of Buddhism was the spoilation of *Liyi* (etiquette禮儀), therefore, "*Liyi* is fundamental to prevail over Buddhism...if all people under the haven know *Liyi*, then (Confucianism) would succeed 禮義者，勝佛之本也...使天下皆知禮義，則勝之矣"⁵³. Further, he said that "even before the Buddhism was introduced, China was still encroached by Yi-Di! Therefore, the trouble of Yi-Di arose if the King's way became unclear and *Renyi* was abandoned 佛雖不來，中國幾何其不夷狄也！以是而言，王道不明而仁義廢，則夷狄之患至矣"⁵⁴. Ouyang Xiu compared the Buddhism with previous invading Barbarians to justify the internality nature of the problem of Buddhism. The reason is that in Ouyang Xiu's time, the *Shidafu* crisis has been solved or at least eased and the Confucianism had prevailed over other thoughts, so there was no urgent need to attack the Buddhism by treating it as "Yi-Di". One landmark milestone was the imperial civil examination in 1057 in which Ouyang Xiu failed all the candidates using the old style of examination⁵⁵. Modern scholars inclined to viewed this incident to be an aesthetic redirection of the literary *Guwen* movement, but this landmark incident also demonstrated the ease of the *Shidafu* crisis, and people supporting the neo-Confucianism had already ascend to the position with real power to implement their ideologies.

Briefly speaking, the priority consideration of the *Zunwang Rangyi* theory in early Northern Song was how to build the legitimacy of Confucianism compared with its competing thoughts, most of which originated from the Central Lands. As a powerful concept with strong justification, Yi-Di was used by theorists of neo-Confucianism to fight against other thoughts to save *Shidafu* class from deep crisis since from later Tang dynasty. With the development and maturity of neo-Confucianism, the concept of "Yi-Di" had been entrenched within the neo-Confucianism and further the real "Yi-Di" in the ethnic perspective was replaced with intellectual objects.

Along with the entrenchment of "Yi-Di" within Confucianism, the real "Yi-Di", neighboring "barbarian" states, were removed from the scope of Yi-Di concept under *Zunwang Rangyi* in

⁵¹ Ouyang, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 2:279.

⁵² Ouyang, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 2:290.

⁵³ Ouyang, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 2:290.

⁵⁴ Ouyang, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 2:292.

⁵⁵ Tuotuo, *Song shi*, 7158.

early Northern Song. For example, Fu Bi expressly proposed that Khitan and Tangut regimes shall no longer be treated to be “Yi-Di”, and he used “Di敵”⁵⁶ to describe the two regimes. Before Fu Bi, Hu Dan (胡旦 955-1034), in his *Discussion on Pacifying Yan* (平燕議) to Emperor Taizong, had called Khitan as “Kou 寇”⁵⁷. It demonstrated a policy change toward the attitude on the neighboring regimes and the dissolution of “Yi-Di” concept in the military and political perspective.

3. *Zunwang* and the State Building in early Northern Song

Without the military and political justification, *Rangyi* was transformed to be an intellectual concept rather than a social-political concept. This could be viewed as a shield of *Shidafu* to solve the crisis of them, but this was not the final stage for their ascending to the power center. Scholars have noticed the priority of *Zunwang* over *Rangyi* in Northern Song dynasty. Rao Zongyin observed that the study on the *Annals* in Northern Song more emphasized *Zunwang*⁵⁸. Alan Wood said that there was a “change in emphasis”⁵⁹ and “in the Northern Song, the question of how to deal with the barbarians (jang-i) was regarded by most of the Ch’un-ch’iu commentators as subordinate to that of obeying the ruler (tsunwang)”⁶⁰. With the element of *Zunwang* becoming the priority of principle “*Zunwang Rangyi*” in institutional level, *Shidafu* further used *Zungwang* as the sword to strengthen their power in institutional structure within Central Lands.

3.1 “The Three Kings’ Demeanor” and Sages’ Lessons

Alan T. Wood asserted that regarding neo-Confucianism in the Northern Song, “fundamental concern was to form a view of authority that would constitute a basis for civil order and national unity but would also contain within it an acknowledgment of the moral purposes of human social life, serving indirectly to restrain the arbitrary exercise of imperial power and prevent government from degenerating into tyranny”⁶¹. The scheme to limit the “arbitrary exercise of imperial power” is not limited to moral principles, but widely extended in the institutional theories. The “Three Kings’ Demeanor 三王之風”⁶² was frequently revered to be the model for “*Zungwang*”. For example, Liu Kai’s theory is featured with two levels of dichotomy: the dichotomy between China and “Yi-Di” and the dichotomy between Grand Way (大道) and other thoughts⁶³. Liu Kai treated the two dichotomies with different orders and after “the State being governed 國治”, the policy priority shall be switched to develop and maintain the tradition of ancient Sages and Kings.

Shi Jie further connected the constitutional practice in the Song dynasty with ideal ancient period in his theory. In three essays on Han Dynasty (漢論), he tried to prove the feasibility of the “Way of Three Kings 三王之道” in his time⁶⁴. Here, the “Way of Three Kings” was viewed by Shi Jie as the basic institutional principles the Central Lands government shall follow. He said that “the policies such as lower taxes, deterring the corruption and roughness, stopping the bewitching custom, forbidding the idle people, eradicating the temples of witchcraft, ceasing

⁵⁶ Meaning enemy, see Ding Shouhe et al., *Zhongguo lidai zouyi dadian*, 3:113.

⁵⁷ Meaning Bandit.

⁵⁸ Rao, *Zhongguo shixue shang zhi zhengtonglun*, 81.

⁵⁹ Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights*, 14.

⁶⁰ Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights*, 84.

⁶¹ Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights*, 16.

⁶² The three kings include: Yu the Great (Dayu 大禹) of Xia dynasty, Tang (湯) of Shang dynasty, and the Kings Wen (文王) and Wu (武王) of Zhou dynasty.

⁶³ Liu, *Liu Kai ji*, 158.

⁶⁴ Shi, *The Collection of Shi Jie*, 111-115.

the magical techniques, are all teaching of the Three Kings 若夫寬賦役，遏貪暴，止妖俗，禁浮民，去淫祠，息幻法，皆三王之教也”⁶⁵.

3.2 The interpretation of “*Zhuan*”

By contrast of revering the ancient Kings and Sages, *Shidafu* in early Northern Song frequently criticized the failing institutional building of the Tang dynasty and took Tang’s lesson to justify their support of the authority of the Monarch based on Confucianism. In the above *Shidafu*’s discourse, the Tang dynasty was normally referred as a lesson of failing dynasty like Shang (商) dynasty, rather than a learning object for the Song dynasty. The message is that “the destruction of civil order that caused Han Yü to reassert the importance of a strong ruler”⁶⁶ and Song China’s institutional building shall no longer undervalue the dignity of Emperor and Central Government. Consequently, *Shidafu* proposed a different set of basic principles based on Confucianism as abovementioned, first belittling the power of other competing groups and second controlling the power of interpreting the authority of the Monarch.

Only by promoting the status and the authority of the Emperor shall these basic principles to be implemented and consequently “*Zhuan*專”⁶⁷ of the Emperor became another important features of *Daotong* theory. What most of modern scholarship misunderstood about the institutions of the Song dynasty is the nature of *Zhuan*, which could be easily equated with absolute Monarch power. This is because they ignored the distinction between power and authority. Instead, in the Song dynasty, “Confucian thinkers promoted the authority of the emperor even as they hoped to divert some of his power into their own hands”⁶⁸.

Shidafu’s support of the super authority of Monarch by proposing the “*Zhuan*” was to limit the power expansion of the aristocrats and the military magnates and therefore establish a more stable power structure between the Monarch and *Shidafu*. As Shi Jie said: “minister can slight the Monarch, the Monarch cannot direct the minister, how could the order of Emperor could be implemented? ... if someone like Confucius emerged, he would equate these ministers with rebelling vassals in the Spring and Autumn 是臣得以慢君，君不能以使臣也，天子之命，豈不行乎...若有如孔子者出，則當以與春秋亂臣同論矣”⁶⁹. Shi Jie’s assertion indicated that in his time, the actual power of the emperor was limited and was far from Monarch absolutism and instead, *Shidafu* called for more power for the emperor.

From the lessons of the Tang dynasty, it’s clear that to achieve the *Zunwang* with the Feudalism model of the Zhou dynasty was proved to be infeasible, even disastrous to the Central Lands. Naturally, *Shidafu* in early Northern Song proposed the opposite mode by weakening the power of ministers. In his “*Uncovering the Intricacies of Respecting the King in the Annals* 春秋尊王發微”, Sun Fu stated that in the period of Spring and Autumn, “the vassals were granted with power in their states by the Son of Heaven, not by the people in the state 諸侯受國於天子，非國人可得立也” (Huang 1986, 1.75), this means that the source of vassal power was the Monarch, rather than the people in the Vassal’s state. He further emphasized that the vassals shall not have the power “to monopolize the execution (*Zhuanzhi*專執)”⁷⁰ and “to monopolize

⁶⁵ Shi, *The Collection of Shi Jie*, 156.

⁶⁶ Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights*, 13.

⁶⁷ Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights*, 7.

⁶⁸ Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights*, 7.

⁶⁹ Shi, *Cu lai shi xiansheng wenji*, 86.

⁷⁰ Huang, *Song yuan xue’an*, 1: 85-86.

the Killings (*Zhuansha* 專殺)⁷¹. This assertion could be easily interpreted to support the Monarch absolutism, however, the emphasis of this proposition was to weaken the power of Vassals by improving the authority of Monarch.

In Sun Fu's theory of *Zunwang*, the people was not viewed as the source of power, this allegation could be viewed together with Wen Yanbo (文彥博 1006–1097)'s opinion that the emperor co-ruled “with *Shidafu*, not with the people 與士大夫治天下，非與百姓治天下”⁷². So, the purpose was not only to “to warn against the dangers of usurping officials and foreign invasion”⁷³, but also to strengthen the power of *Shidafu* with the help of “*Zhuan*” of the Monarch. Then it would not be difficult to understand that despite of supporting *Zhuan* of the emperor to enhance the authority of Monarch, *Shidafu* continued to propose many limitations on the power of the Monarch. To enhance the authority of the Monarch was not to establish the Monarch absolutism of the emperor. As Wood said, “the purpose of the Ch'un-ch'iu was to exalt the authority of the ruler, but always in the context of a higher authority, to which the ruler was clearly subordinate”⁷⁴ and there is “dual function of both legitimizing and limiting the authority of the emperor”⁷⁵.

One important scheme proposed by *Shidafu* to effectively avoid the power abuse of emperor in the operation of the “affairs of the Son of Heaven” was the *Taijian* (台諫)⁷⁶ institution. Shi Jie advised Emperor Renzong that “we shall expect the Three Kings' Demeanor...our emperor today to...increase the number of *Taijian* officials, broaden the routes of speech, dismiss the evildoer...trust the man in charge and condescend to listen advices. Therefore, the *Taijian* officials would not suffer terror and the speaker would not suffer penalty...only the Censors shall carry their duties through to the end, which is the fortune of the state 三王之風，延頸可待...今人主...增諫員，廣言路，黜檢人...任人不疑，聽納如流。諫者不懼，言者無罪...惟御史能有其初，能有其終，社稷幸甚”⁷⁷. Here Shi Jie connected the institutional *Taijian* with “the Three Kings' Demeanor” which was the core spirit of his theory. He continued to propose that “today's emperor...broaden routs of speech...all of these are the policies of the Three Kings...Censors, the eyes and ears of emperor...the order and law of the nation depend on the rightness of Censorate 今天子...開言路也...其三王之舉也...御史，天子之目也...天下綱紀，在一臺之正”⁷⁸. It's clearly that Shi Jie provided the theoretical support for enlarging the power of *Taijian*. He continued to state that “the emperor set the Censorate, honor its status, venerate its responsibility, and does not merge it into other departments...even though Censorate seems to be in an inferior status in view of Central Secretariat Council and Bureau of Military Affairs, the two councils would also dare not to oppose it, rather are in awe of it and respect it. The importance of Censorate is unparalleled 且天子之設御史府，尊其位，崇其任，不與他府並...御史府視中書、樞密雖若卑，中書、樞密亦不敢與御史府抗威爭禮，而反畏悚而尊事之。御史府之重，其無與比”⁷⁹. Sun Fu also said “the demise of the

⁷¹ Huang, *Song yuan xue'an*, 1: 83.

⁷² Li, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 16:5370. The background of this famous assertion was the debate between Emperor Shenzong and Wen Yanbo about the reform implemented by Wang Anshi and Shenzong. It indicated that the power of *Shidafu* was not always compatible with the power of the emperor.

⁷³ Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights*, 73.

⁷⁴ Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights*, 76.

⁷⁵ Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights*, 78.

⁷⁶ *Taijian* includes *Yushitai*御史臺 (Censorate) and *Jianyuan*諫院 (Remonstrance Bureau), two major supervising departments in Song dynasty.

⁷⁷ Shi, *Cu lai shi xiansheng wenji*, 134-135.

⁷⁸ Shi, *Cu lai shi xiansheng wenji*, 161.

⁷⁹ Shi, *Cu lai shi xiansheng wenji*, 147.

Liang dynasty is due to not using the Wise men 梁亡，惡不用賢也”⁸⁰. Therefore, the *Taijian* institution became a route for *Shidafu* to gain solid power to strengthen the power of *Shidafu* and check the emperor power.

Under this institutional design by granting power to *Taijian*, the “affairs of the Son of Heaven” would be practiced following the principle of “the Three Kings’ Demeanor”. In this view, the highly developed *Taijian* system in the Song dynasty could be viewed as the institutional demonstration of the transformed *Zunwang Rangyi* theory which emphasize the element of “*Zunwang*” and in practice, it played an important function of check and balance in the power structure of the Song dynasty. From this perspective, the more “*Zhuan*” of the Monarch, the more separating of the power, the more limitation was set upon on the Monarch.

Conclusion

From above analysis, it’s clear that it was the *Shidafu* crisis, not the national crisis of China in early Northern Song, promoting the transformation of the *Zunwang Rangyi* principle as it was a response of the *Shidafu* class to remold their position in the power structure of the newly established government by the revival of Confucianism. On one hand, they transformed the scope of *Rangyi* by categorizing other thoughts into “Yi-Di” as a shield for *Shidafu* crisis. On the other hand, they emphasized the principle of *Zunwang* by reinterpreting the authority of emperor and *Shidafu*’s power in the power structure under Confucianism, as a sword against other competing power groups in the state building of early Northern Song. Essentially, the entrenchment of Yi-Di within Confucianism demonstrated *Shidafu*’s intellectual strategy that using a concept in the previously national policy context to justify and strengthen the status of Confucianism and consequently reinforce the status of *Shidafu* in the national power structure. The revival of the *Daotong* theory, which was the beginning of the neo-Confucianism, was the sign of the ending of the *Shidafu* crisis.

This internality transition of *Zunwang Rangyi* in early Northern Song was in essence a trend of religionization of Confucianism in confronting with other competing thoughts, or a metaphysical turn of the Confucianism⁸¹. As Shi Jie asserted “there shall be only one Monarch under the Central Lands, and only one religion in the Central Lands, no other Ways 引夷狄之人,加於二帝三王之上也, 欲引夷狄之道, 行於中國之內也,天下一君也, 中國一教也, 無他道也”⁸². Later, Li Gou began to rebut the rationality of Buddhism by analyzing its approach to implement its region. He asserted that its due to the Buddhism “being good at propagating its theory 善自大其法”⁸³, and Confucianism shall learn this approach. This evolving trend was later reinforced in the Southern Song until *Lixue* (理學, the moral theories of the Neo-Confucian scholars) was set to be official ideology in the Central Lands during the reign of Emperor Lizong (理宗 1205–1264).

Furthermore, *Shidafu*’s double status of government officials and scholars paved the way, to some extent, for *Shidafu* to justify the institutional design guided by the new *Zunwang* theory. The emphasis of “*Zhuan*” of the Monarch was to strengthen the authority of the emperor rather than enlarging the power of the emperor. This is the reason why the “*Zunwang*” in the Song dynasty did not demonstrate strong feature of Monarch despotism which maybe observed in the

⁸⁰ Huang, *Song yuan xue’an*, 1: 87.

⁸¹ Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights*, 46.

⁸² Shi, *Cu lai shi xiansheng wenji*, 153.

⁸³ Li, *Li Gou ji*, 252.

institutional practices in previous dynasties due to the limitation from *Taijian* composed by *Shidafu* officials.

The above findings regarding *Zunwang Rangyi* in early Northern Song could not be sufficiently explained by the common externality approach, and this is the reason why an internality approach is important. Essentially, this contributed to the formation of the unique separate of power structure in the Song dynasty. This article is not to deny the popular externality approach but contribute to current scholarship by emphasizing another important angle to interpret the intellectual elements of the formation of the unique institutional design of the Song dynasty, correct some over-reaching opinions of the national crisis and extend the already existing theories to make the evolution logic of the institutional building in early Northern Song dynasty clearer.

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