YA-HWEI HSU

ANTIQUITIES, RITUAL REFORM, AND THE SHAPING
OF NEW TASTE AT HUIZONG’S COURT

Renowned for actively promoting art creation at court, Emperor Huizong (1082–1135, r. 1100–26) of the Song dynasty (960–1279) has inspired a rich body of scholarship, ranging from close examination and authentication of the artworks purported to be created by him, to reconstruction of the institutions and curricula he established to promote artistic creation, to an exploration of the ways he utilized various cultural and artistic forms to facilitate his rule, achieve his political goals, and thereby formulate a unique emperorship in Chinese history. Patricia Ebrey’s comprehensive work on the three catalogues that record his painting, calligraphy, and bronze collections has further deepened our knowledge of the megacollecting of Huizong, who deftly employed these holdings, unsurpassed both in quantity and quality, in court politics. Among the emperor’s various collecting activities, his involvement with ancient bronze ritual objects datable to the Shang and Zhou dynasties (c. 1600–256 BCE) deserves our special attention. For the first time, objects buried in graves and pits since high antiquity – and regarded as auspicious omens (xiangru) when exposed accidentally – were dug out and presented to the emperor for imperial appreciation and acquisition. This new trend was begun by scholar-officials of the preceding generations, from Ouyang Xiü (1007–1072), to Liu Chang (1019–1068), to Lü Daling (c. 1047–1093), traditionally regarded as the pioneers of epigraphy, the study of inscriptions on metal and stone (jinubixue), in China. Contrary to earlier collectors of antiquities, these antiquarian scholars treated ancient objects in an empirical way, viewing them as direct, concrete remnants of the remote past that embodied political and ritual systems of the Shang and Zhou. By researching them, they could gain a better understanding of the classical texts and perhaps recon-

struct the ideals of ancient sages in the present. With this purpose in mind, Song scholars fervently collected and studied ancient bronzes.6

Huizong inherited and brought this scholarly pursuit to a new height. The unprecedented number of bronzes Huizong collected since ascending the throne were neither put away in imperial storehouses nor secretly studied by a few court scholars behind closed doors but brought out to shed light on current rituals and to guide the wholesale refashioning of ritual artifacts at court. Ancient bronzes were cherished as collectibles; moreover, they were invested with a larger significance to instruct current ritual. With the emperor’s sponsorship, ancient bronze forms were revived, exerting an immense impact not just on ritual artifacts, but also on the decorative arts at Huizong’s court. They would also have an enduring influence on the later development of Chinese material culture.

Scholars have been fascinated with the ways in which Huizong exercised his power for artistic and cultural purposes at court. Drawing on new discoveries in the material realm, particularly bronze and porcelain artifacts, this study will examine how Huizong’s bronze collection, as exemplified in his imperial catalogue, Xuanhe bogu tu (Illustrated Catalogue of Antique Treasures from the Xuanhe Hall; hereafter Bogu tu),7 was used in his ritual reform. In addition, I will demonstrate how that interest in ancient bronzes eventually went beyond the ritual domain to stimulate a new aesthetic and cause a dramatic change in other court arts during the first quarter of the twelfth century. This change was not merely a formal one. Deliberations on Huizong’s imperial compilations allow us to fathom the meanings or connotations of the ancient forms in their new incarnations and to see how Huizong and his officials’ historical and allegorical readings transformed decorative objects into things with cultural significance.


7 The earliest surviving edition of the Xuanhe bogu tu is the Zhida (1308–11) edition from the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). It is of unsurpassed quality, with opulent, oversized pages on which images of the objects are finely drawn. This edition was most likely repaired from the Southern Song imperial edition and, based on an analysis of the printers’ names marked at the central bottom of the page leaves, it was probably printed in Hangzhou. Until 2005, there was no complete modern reproduction of the Zhida edition. For this research, I primarily consulted the copy housed in the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei. For a modern reproduction of the Zhida edition, see Wang Fu et al., Zhida chongxiu Xuanhe bogu tu (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2005). For a discussion of the different editions of the Xuanhe bogu tu, see Rong Geng, “Songdai jijin shuji shufeng,” in Rong Geng xuanji, comp. Zeng Xiantong (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1994), 18–27; and Ebrey, Accumulating Culture, 356–70. For a study of the Zhida, see Ya-hwei Hsu, “Zhida chongxiu Xuanhe bogu tu de ban yin tujuan yu liuchuan,” Gujin lunbeng 18 (Oct. 2008): 76–96.
THE COMPILATION OF THE BOGU TU
AND EMPEROR HUIZONG’S RITUAL REFORM

Comprising line-drawn illustrations of more than eight hundred objects, each accompanied by a rubbing-like image of the inscription (if present), the imperially sponsored Bogu tu provides the most vivid and comprehensive documentation of Huizong’s collection of ancient bronzes. But the inception of the Bogu tu is obscure; its compilation date and author have also been under debate. Twelfth-century writers and bibliophiles left accounts of reading the Bogu tu, but the information they provide is inconsistent. An official account attributed the compendium to Emperor Huizong, which has some foundation for the work does in fact incorporate the emperor’s own remarks. For instance, in one entry, Huizong designated a lei-vessel as the most appropriate model for making ritual vessels. In another, he admired a small inlaid ding-cauldron neither for its early date nor for its ritual significance, but for its fine craftsmanship and pedigree; that is, his ancestors had possessed the object for generations. One private account related the Bogu tu to a scholar-official named Huang Bosi (1079–1118), who compiled a work entitled Bogu tushuo (Remarks on Illustrations of Antiquities) between 1107 and 1110 to record some five hundred bronze objects in the imperial collection. A considerable part of its content was incorporated into the Bogu tu at a later time, according to this twelfth-century author. Still another account attributed the Bogu tu to a certain Wang Chu, probably a mistake in copying the name Wang Fu (1079–1126), one of Huizong’s favorite officials. Wang Fu’s commentaries can be found at the end of a few entries in the Bogu tu. All indented, these must be the final touches of the book and suggest that Wang Fu, on behalf of the emperor, must have overseen the completion of the work. This explains why some twelfth-century bibliographic accounts attribute this work to Wang Fu.

Piecing together these fragmented and inconsistent materials, scholars have concluded that under Huizong’s sponsorship, the court initiated the project of compiling the Bogu tu in the late 1100s. The job was completed in the 1120s. The final work relied on Huang Bosi’s earlier book extensively, but the author was more likely Wang Fu, who scholars believe led the project to completion after Huang Bosi died in 1118. The Xuanhe in the title refers to the Xuanhe Hall where the emperor’s treasured ancient bronzes were housed, rather than to the Xuanhe reign period (1119–1125), during which the work was completed. This reconstruction is generally sound, but some questions puzzle us: What was the pur-

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8 The introduction to the Siku quanshu provides a brief account of these inconsistencies; see Wang Fu, ed., Chengxiu Xuanhe bogu tu, in Wenyuange siku quanshu (hereafter SKQS) (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983–), 840:371–72.
10 Zhida chengxiu Xuanhe bogu tu, 7, 7.39a–b.
11 Ibid., 5.51b.
12 Chen Zhensun, Zhidai shibai ji (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 234.
13 Chao Gongwu, Junzhai dai shi zhi jiao, annot. Sun Meng (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 171–72.
14 See the Qing officials’ discussion in Chengxiu Xuanhe bogu tu, 371–72.
15 Zhida chengxiu Xuanhe bogu tu, 6.28–29a, 10.14a, 17.9a, 26.20a.
pose of compiling the *Bogu tu*? Why do all accounts of the *Bogu tu* come from a later time, rather than being contemporaneous? Even the celebrated antiquarian Zhao Mingcheng (1081–1129), who was simultaneously compiling his own work, *Jinshi lu* (Records of Bronze and Stone Inscriptions), during the 1110s and 1120s, made no mention of the *Bogu tu*, even though he consistently recorded the same events documented in the emperor’s compendium. Because the *Bogu tu* is such a comprehensive work, its laborious compilation must have warranted some contemporary recording, so why is there no record? To fully understand the *Bogu tu* and the circumstances under which it was compiled, we must turn to Huizong’s ritual reform project.

Huizong was the first emperor to show a deep interest in ancient bronzes. Yet this interest was coupled with a practical concern for ritual reform from the very beginning of his reign. To continue the reform policy of his father, Emperor Shenzong (r. 1068–85), and his brother Zhezong (r. 1086–1100), Huizong took severe measures to purge anti-reform conservatives and their relatives and friends from the court, while expanding the reform to include a wholesale restructuring of imperial rituals. In 1103, the need for ritual reform was expressed in an edict, inaugurating the era of ritual reform:

> The ruler is the source of politics, and he always considers ritual and music the most urgent matters because designing the Five Rites demonstrates to people the significance of regulation, and harmonizing the Six [Types of] Music tells people the value of harmony. Therefore, establishing ritual and music is the first thing for good government and must be done by evaluating the pros and cons. How can it be delayed? The officials in the Discussion Department should research the evolution of ritual and music from previous dynasties, discuss what would be suitable for contemporary use, and compose a model system to be passed down to posterity eternally. This work is not merely a study of rhetoric, a description of some court ceremonies, or a restoration of musical sounds. Rather, the ritual and music must be adjusted according to current customs so that they can gradually enhance the harmony [of society]. Eventually, the goal is to achieve the utmost virtue of governing people, to change their customs and to cultivate goodness in them. Only then can it be said that Our intention is fulfilled.

[TEXT A]

Huizong’s determination to reform ritual and music in his empire is clearly expressed in this edict. Through ritual and music, Huizong intended to become an omnipresent ruler who was able not only to change people’s customs but also to “mold” them into ideal types.⁹

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In the following years, the ritual reform measures were fervently carried out, inaugurated with the casting of the Nine Tripods and continued by the design of a new bell set and the construction of Bright Hall. All occurred between 1104 and 1105, when the purge of anti-reform conservatives was at its height. When the new bell set was completed, it was named “Dasheng,” Great Brightness, to celebrate the clear politics of the new era.

These acts claimed to revive the Golden Age of the Three Dynasties through visible, concrete ritual objects and performances. Moreover, they were aimed at recreating a set of political myths around the emperor: following the standard attributed to the mythic ruler known as the Yellow Emperor, the lengths of the emperor’s fingers were used as the standards for measurement; in imitation of the ancient sage-ruler Yu, soil from nine different regions of the country was gathered and put into the Nine Tripods to symbolize the omnipotence of the Son of Heaven; and the playing of the new music even summoned what were regarded as auspicious cranes to come and dance in the sky. These rituals were designed by the emperor and his high officials, and the appropriation of the ancient political symbolism was meant to solidify, if not sanctify, the emperor’s power.

In the midst of these developments, it did not take long for officials to bring ancient ritual bronze objects to Huizong’s attention. In 1108, the court official Xue Ang of the Discussing Ritual Bureau (yiji ju) stated the need to remodel contemporary ritual objects based on the unearthed ancient bronzes. In a memorial to the throne, he wrote:

I found that ritual objects used in government offices, such as zun, jue, fu, and gui, are different from the antiquities in scholar-officials’ collections. Those antiquities were mostly found in ruins and graves dating back more than a thousand years. They must be based on certain ritual systems and could not be forged. The annotation to the Confucian classics says: lost rituals can be retrieved from the outskirts [of the empire]. Since the imperial court now intends to rectify ritual ceremonies, if any of the collections could serve as references, the court should visit and consult them. I humbly beg Your Majesty to command local officials to visit scholar-officials and collectors to gather information, and then dispatch people to their houses to draw the likeness and dimensions of the objects. After careful inspection and elimination of errors and mistakes, the drawings should be sent to the Discussing Ritual Bureau of the Department of State Affairs. Regarding the pigments and supplies

22 On the casting of the nine tripod, see Yang Zhongliang, Xu zhibi tongqian changbian jishi benmo, 128.3982–90, 135.4225–38; see also Huang Yizhou et al., Xu zhibi tongqian changbian shibao (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1961), 23–5.
23 On the project of the new bell set, see Yang Zhongliang, Xu zhibi tongqian changbian jishi benmo, 135.4225–38.
24 Ibid., 125.3877–88.
26 For a study of the political performance of Dasheng music, see Joseph S. Lam, “Huizong’s Dashengyue: A Musical Performance of Emperorship and Officialdom,” in Ebrey and Bickford, Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China, 395–452. On the first playing of the new music at court, see Yang Zhongliang, Xu zhibi tongqian changbian jishi benmo, 135.4231, 4235–37. For a study of this event and the related painting, see Sturman, “Cranes above Kaiteng.”
for painting and coloring, the government should provide all of them, so as not to borrow supplies or cause any inconvenience to the collectors. Those who violate the rule should be punished.\textsuperscript{27}

[TEXT B]

In preparation for the ritual reform, later known as “The New Five Rituals of the Zhenghe Reign [1111–1118]” (Zhenghe wuli xinyi, hereafter The New Five Rituals), Xue proposed that the court survey and paint the ancient bronzes collected by scholar-officials, which would be of great help in correcting the “wrong” ritual artifacts currently in use. As the supplies of the “pigments for coloring” are mentioned, we may infer that the paintings must have been colored, perhaps to catch the vivid likeness of the unearthed objects, many of which were covered with a red or green patina. This memorial very likely marked the inception of the \textit{Bogu tu} because numerous paintings of ancient bronzes were made and they may have become the basis of the \textit{Bogu tu} at a later time.

This memorial also reveals that when the court launched the ritual reformation in the 1100s, Huizong probably had not yet devoted himself to collecting ancient bronzes. The court therefore had to rely on scholar-officials’ collections. Although Xue Ang did not name the individuals to whom the court turned, it is not hard to imagine that many were the owners of the bronzes recorded in \textit{Kaogu tu} (Illustrations for the Study of Antiquity) and \textit{Xu Kaogu tu} (Illustrations for the Study of Antiquity, the Sequel), the two most representative works at the time. Each contained drawings of objects and ink-rubbed images of inscriptions (when present), providing detailed information on bronzes in private hands. The \textit{Kaogu tu} included more than two hundred bronze and jade objects owned by thirty-seven collectors, while the \textit{Xu Kaogu tu} consisted of bronzes in the hands of twenty-nine collectors. Together with other catalogues,\textsuperscript{28} illustrated or not, these compilations must have served as convenient tools for the court to locate private collectors and their collections.

It is likely that the court seized this opportunity to start appropriating objects in private hands. An anecdote relates that once Emperor Huizong paid a visit (more likely performed by emissaries) to the celebrated antiquarian Li Gonglin (c. 1042–1106) to inquire about a “stone pond” that Li, then already passing away, used to wash his jade collections. Carved from a block of gorgeous stone, it had an inscribed epithet given by Su Shi (1036–1101): “Pond for Washing the Jade” (Xiyu chi). Li’s son, after secretly erasing Su Shi’s inscription (as Su was proscribed then), had to give the stone pond to the emperor.\textsuperscript{29} The story is hard to verify, but it opens the possibility that many objects in scholar-officials’ collections entered the court in a similar fashion. Indeed, more than thirty pieces in the \textit{Kaogu tu} and some twenty in the \textit{Xu Kaogu tu} also appear in the \textit{Bogu tu},\textsuperscript{30} indicating that Huizong was able to procure those bronzes during the 1110s and 1120s.

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Zhenghe wuli xinyi}, 10–11.

\textsuperscript{28} It was a common practice for Northern Song antiquarians to compile catalogues of their collections, sometimes with illustrations, sometimes only listing the objects; for a slightly later discussion of these catalogues, see Zhai Qinian, \textit{Zhou shi}.

\textsuperscript{29} This is a twelfth-century account, later interpolated into the \textit{Kaogu tu}. Lü Dalin, \textit{Kaogu tu}, in \textit{Siku quanshu cuanmu congshi} (Tai'an: Zhuangyan wenhua, 1993), 37 77:716.

\textsuperscript{30} For a comprehensive list of ancient bronzes in Song catalogues, see Wang Guowei, \textit{Sandai Qin Han Liangong jinwen zhubanhiao}, expanded by Luo Fuyi (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2003).
The survey project Xue proposed must have spanned several years. In the early stages, Huizong did not seem particularly engaged. In a memorial to the emperor dated 1110, the ritual office again addressed the urgency to remodel ritual objects, for although the musical instruments had been remade, "the ritual vessels are still made according to the old system." The emperor agreed but made no further comment on this occasion.

In the seventh month of 1113, the survey project of ancient bronzes had accumulated more than five hundred illustrations. Around this time, a work of the same scale by Huang Bosi appeared, referred to by Huang’s contemporaries as Xuanbedian guqi tu or Xuanbedian bogu tu (Illustrations of Antiquities from the Xuanhe Hall; hereafter Illustrations of Antiquities). Since these are similar in title, content, and scale to the Bogu tushuo in twelfth-century bibliographic accounts, they must all be names for the same book. Not coincidentally, Huang Bosi was serving as an assistant in the Palace Library (bishi lang), and his job included studying imperial collections for use in the ritual reform. It is plausible that the drawings made in the survey became the foundation for Huang’s book, which he compiled as part of his job. Although this book does not survive, Huang’s collected writings include commentaries on some ancient bronzes in the imperial collections; these are very likely excerpts from Illustrations of Antiquities.

As a product of the court’s survey project from 1108 to 1113, Illustrations of Antiquities probably played a crucial role in kindling Huizong’s zeal for designing his own ritual artifacts. After viewing the illustrations, the emperor expressed his dissatisfaction with the ritual objects that were then in use: “None of them [the unearthed objects] bear any resemblance to the ritual vessels now used for offering to Heaven, Earth, and the ancestors.” He then executed an order to found the Ritual Bureau (lizhi ju) in the Office for the Compilation by Categories of Imperial Pronouncements (bianlei yubi suo). Under the emperor’s direct command, this bureau was to take charge of fashioning new ritual implements. During this time, Huizong further established himself as the authority for ancient bronzes in front of his officials. In the tenth month of 1113, he gave a show of his ancient bronze collections to the court officials. Later that year, an unusual jade zun-wine vessel was presented to the court but no one recognized it except the emperor, who identified the vessel as the guanzun for pouring libations and dated it to the Western Zhou period.

Huizong’s zeal for ancient bronzes reached another height when a gui-vessel was discovered and presented to the court in the spring of 1114 as an auspicious sign sent down by Heaven to confirm the emperor’s rule. This occurrence, or pretext, further sustained Huizong and his high officials’ faith.

32 Ibid., 114.4193–94.
34 Cai Tao, Tienweishan congtao, vol. 3.36, 679, 661.
35 Huang Bosi, Dongguan yudian, in Shihe shiliu xinhian, vol. 3.40, 659, 661.
36 See Huang Bosi, Dongguan yudian. From a contemporaneous writing, we know that much of this work was later incorporated into the Bogu tu. See Cai Tao, Tienweishan congtao, 79–80.
37 Yang Zhengliang, Xu zizhi tongjian changbian jishi benmo, 133.4193–94.
38 Ibid., 114.4200.
39 Zhai Qinian, Zhou shi, 1–3.
40 Zhai Ruwen (fl. twelfth century), Zhonghui ji, in SKQS, 1129:296; Zhai Qinian, Zhou shi, 4.
in carrying out a large-scale remodeling of ceremonial ritual bronzes, the majority of which were made during 1114 and 1116 according to the inscriptions cast on them.\(^{41}\) By making offerings to ancestors and deities using ritual vessels that imitated examples from the Three Dynasties, Huizong and his high officials again reenacted the sage-ruler myth from antiquity to construct a pious, sage-like image for the emperor.

Nothing was mentioned about the survey project of ancient bronzes after the founding of the Ritual Bureau in 1113, but the court eventually built up its bronze collections to more than six thousand pieces, an astonishing number that had been unimaginable before. So devastating was this to ancient tombs and ruins that a contemporary writer reported that all antiquities in the country were plundered to such a degree that nothing was left.\(^{42}\)

The imperial craving for ancient bronzes must be viewed together with the intensive ritual reform measures undertaken during the 1110s, which must also have kept the officials in the two ritual bureaus busier than ever. Here only the most relevant are listed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year/Month</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1113/04</td>
<td>Five New Rituals compiled(^{43})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1113/05</td>
<td>Dasheng music issued to the provinces(^{44})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1113/07</td>
<td>Ritual Implement Bureau founded to make new ritual vessels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1113/10</td>
<td>Ancient bronzes displayed to court officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1114/05</td>
<td>Offering to the Earth made with new ritual vessels(^{45})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1115/07</td>
<td>Construction of Bright Hall resumed(^{46})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1116/01</td>
<td>The Five New Rituals dispatched to the provinces(^{47})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1116/10</td>
<td>New ritual vessels bestowed on high officials(^{48})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1117/03</td>
<td>New ritual vessels granted to Korea(^{49})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1117/04</td>
<td>Bright Hall completed(^{50})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from these efforts that the imperial interest in and demand for unearthed bronzes was meant to serve the urgent need for ritual reform. To Huizong and his high officials, no doubt, the archaic-looking ritual vessels would be the kind of furnishings most suited to Bright Hall, newly constructed but designed according to ancient prototypes.


\(^{44}\) Ibid., 135.4237.

\(^{45}\) Zhai Qinian, *Zhou shi*, 4.

\(^{46}\) Yang Zhongliang, *Xu zizhi tongqian changbian jishi benwo*, 125.3883–85.

\(^{47}\) Ibid., 133.4192.

\(^{48}\) Ibid., 134.4211.


\(^{50}\) Yang Zhongliang, *Xu zizhi tongqian changbian jishi benwo*, 125.3887.
Huizong's interest in reviving ancient ritual and ritual artifacts seems to have waned in the late 1110s and the 1120s. In 1120, the emperor closed down the Ritual Bureau and thereby declared the end of the ritual reform era. The compilation of the Bogu tu must have occurred around this time, when all previous surveys, investigations, and studies of ancient bronzes, including Illustrations of Antiquities of 1113, were organized into a systematic book after the close of the ritual office. A more precise estimation of the compilation date would be between 1120 and 1123, as a set of bells discovered from Shandong in 1123 is still included in the Bogu tu, giving a terminus ad quem of the Bogu tu. This proposal would explain why references to the Bogu tu only began to appear in the early Southern Song – because prior to that, there were only scattered materials, records, and illustrations in the Ritual Bureau, which, albeit abundant, had only been turned into a systematic text at the very end of the Northern Song.

Because the Bogu tu was completed at the end of the dynasty, it is questionable whether it was printed in the Northern Song. In 1125, on the eve of the Jurchen invasion, the Dasheng Music Bureau was closed. Later that year, Emperor Huizong abdicated and Qinzong (1101–1161, r. 1126–27) succeeded to the throne. Finally, in 1127, the Jurchen sacked the capital Kaifeng, looted the imperial treasures, including antiquities, new ritual implements, and the Bogu tu, and took Emperors Huizong and Qinzong, along with numerous court officials and members of the imperial family, to the north as hostages. In such turmoil, it is hard to imagine that the court was able to supervise a printing project of such grand scale. The systematic printing and circulation of the Bogu tu must have been sidelined until the Song dynasty had reestablished itself in the south during the mid-twelfth century.

REVIVAL OF ANTIQUITY IN HUIZONG’S NEW RITUAL BRONZES

Huizong and his officials viewed the new ritual bronzes they devised as the most “correct” successors to those of the Three Dynasties, better than any previous ones, as recorded in a slightly later account by the son of a leading figure in Huizong’s ritual reform:

[T]he new system of ritual bronzes corrected the flaws of scholars’ guesses, which had dominated for numerous generations from the Han to the Tang, and enabled us to truly recognize the system of ritual vessels from the Three Dynasties. It also proved that records in the Six Classics were not empty words. This is all because of our Emperor Huizong, who wisely undertook such a magnificent work. The artifacts made at the time were comparable to those of the Three Dynasties. How supreme and perfect they were.

[TEXT C]

Even though Huizong was seen as responsible for the loss of northern China to the Jurchen, this early Southern Song writer still esteemed Huizong’s new ritual bronze system, speaking of it as something unprecedented and perfect. When the Song dynasty relocated to the south, it strove to recover Huizong’s

51 Ibid., 134.4224.
52 The Bogu tu does not record the year of discovery, but the Jinshi tu does. See Zhida chongxin Xuanhe boga tu, 22.11–16; and Zhao Mingcheng, Songben jinshi tu, 308–9.
53 Zhai Qian, Zhou shi, 4.
new system, which was on the brink of collapse after the war.\textsuperscript{54} What qualities of Huizong's ritual artifacts caused them to be considered comparable to the models of the Three Dynasties? How had they earned such high status?

One feature distinguishing Huizong's bronzes is their fidelity to the ancient prototypes. Unlike earlier ritual artifacts, which were fashioned according to illustrated ritual handbooks such as the Sanli tu (Illustrations to the Three Ritual Classics),\textsuperscript{53} Huizong's ritual bronzes were made to emulate unearthed bronzes; they thus could "correct" the flaws of earlier ritual artifacts. The ways in which Huizong's bronzes differ from the traditional ones can be demonstrated with a comparison of bronze bells cast at two different times: a bell from 1053, made during the reign of Renzong, and Huizong's Dasheng bell set from 1105. Patricia Ebrey correctly points out that intensive consultation of excavated bells allowed Huizong's officials to achieve such fidelity to the ancient models.\textsuperscript{56} However, using excavated bronzes in the design of ritual implements did not begin with Huizong. If we look carefully at Renzong's bells, it becomes clear that Renzong's officials were not ignorant of excavated artifacts, but they relied more on traditional ritual deliberations. As a consequence, their incorporation of antiquarian knowledge into their design was rather rudimentary.

The design of the 1053 bells survives in a drawing recorded in Illustrated Records of the New Musical Instruments Made during the Huangyou Reign (1049–1054) (Huangyou xinyue tuji)\textsuperscript{57} (fig. 1). It states that in 1050, in view of the discrepancies found between the bells then in use and the ancient bells unearthed and stored in the palace, the court launched a project to correct these musical instruments.\textsuperscript{58} One of the ancient bell sets discovered in the 1030s was consulted; these ancient bells are illustrated in the Kaogu tu and the Bogu tu (fig. 2).\textsuperscript{59}

The 1053 bells have an elongated body with concave contours, on which a cross shape divides the surface into four quarters, each decorated with alternating rows of geometric patterns and bosses (fig. 1). The handle is shaped like a stick, with a circular plaque attached. Dimensions are given, and terminologies of specific parts are clearly marked. For instance, the horizontal blank band is called zheng, the small circle in the lower body is termed sui-striking point, and the middle of the handle is labeled yong.

Upon comparison with the bells discovered in the 1030s, the 1053 bells indeed show some traces of influence from excavated bronzes. For instance, the elongated body and the handle are shaped like those

\textsuperscript{54} For developments in Southern Song antiquarianism, see Ya-hwei Hsu, "Nansong jinshi shoucang yu zhongxing qingjie," \textit{Guoli Taiwan daixue meishushi yanjiu jikan} 31 (2011): 1–60.

\textsuperscript{55} For a discussion of the historical context in which Nie Chongyi compiled the Sanli tu, see François Louis, "Representing Rulership in the Northern Song Era: Nie Chongyi's Sanli tu," paper presented at the conference "Representing Things: Visuality and Materiality in East Asia," Department of Art History, Yale University, April 2009.


\textsuperscript{57} Ruan Yi and Hu Yuan, \textit{Huangyou xinyue tuji}, in SKQS, 211:12. In Korea, a bronze bell of this type survives that is datable to the Choson dynasty (1392–1910); see Kunghn Kogung Pangmulgwan, ed., \textit{Kunghn Kogung Pangmulgwan kaegwan torok} (Seoul: Kungwhn Kogung Pangmulgwan, 2005), 112, fig. 66.

\textsuperscript{58} Flaws in the existing bells that had to be rectified included: the mouth should have been oval instead of round; the handle should have been stick-like rather than shaped into a spade; and there should have been a zheng-separator and sui-striking point on the exterior. On the initiation of the new bell project, see Ruan and Hu, \textit{Huangyou xinyue tuji}, in SKQS, 211:3–4.
of the unearthed bells, and the surface is divided into bands with bosses and geometric patterns arranged alternately, a decorative scheme typical of ancient bells. Even more astonishing is the geometric, angular dragon patterns that fill the bands, showing a direct borrowing from ancient bronzes. Judging from these details, we may infer that the designers of the 1053 bells did consult unearthed ancient bells, but their end products still look different from those ancient examples in overall style.

The 1053 bells were made before the antiquarian trend that started in the latter half of the eleventh century, whereas Huizong's bells benefitted from this scholarly tradition. Huizong and his officials' appropriation of antiquarian knowledge contributed to the fidelity of their new bronzes to ancient prototypes. They thus looked very different from their forerunners. This is already apparent in the Dasheng bells of 1105 (fig. 3), the earliest as well as the largest group of Huizong's new bronzes surviving to date, with some twenty bells scattered in collections worldwide.60

The Dasheng bells were cast to celebrate an auspicious omen that occurred in the early years of Huizong's reign. As recorded in many Song-dynasty texts, a set of bells was discovered in the area of the ancient Song state with inscriptions identifying the owner as the Duke of Song from the Zhou period. Since they bore the name of the Song dynasty, the discovery of the bells was considered a highly auspicious event.61 The emperor thus decreed, 'the Dasheng Bureau should use this bell set as the model [for casting new bronze bells].'62

The Duke of Song bell set comprises six pieces, all illustrated in the Bogu tu.63 Although inscribed with matching texts, they have slightly different shapes and decorative patterns (fig. 4). Comparing the illustrations of the Song bells with the surviving Dasheng bells shows that the latter only resemble the former in their general shape. With respect to the decorative patterns and the shape of the handle, the two are utterly different. In fact, the direct model for the Dasheng bells must be another ancient bell or bells in the palace collection very similar to the Nengyuan bell in Beijing (fig. 5);64 the original model, however, is not extant. Obviously, Huizong's officials adopted another excavated bell or bells as their model.

59 Ouyang Xiu recorded in 1063 that these bells were discovered in the 1030s and then sent to be stored in the ritual department, the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (taichang), in case they might be of some use. When Ouyang took office in the ritual department, he often struck these bells in order to get their pitches. He also compared them with the contemporary bells cast by Wang Pu (a previous ritual official), which led him to conclude that the bells cast by Wang Pu had some foundation. Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072), Ouyang Wenzhengong ji, in Siku congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1984–89), 126.39a–b, 134.8a. For images of the bell set, see Lü Dalin and Zhao Jiucheng, Kaogu tu, Xu kaogu tu, Kaogu tu shiwen (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 130; and Zbida chongxin Xuanhe bogu tu, 22.23a, 24a, 25a.

60 They are in the National Palace Museum, Taipei; the National Palace Museum and the China Conservatory in Beijing; the Henan Provincial Museum; the Liaoning Provincial Museum and the Jianping County Museum in Liaoning; the Hebei Provincial Museum; the Xi'an Cultural Relics and Archaeology Institute; the Hunan Provincial Museum; the Shanghai Museum; the Confuciuses Museum in Shandong; and the Royal Ontario Museum in Canada. For a complete list of the extant Dasheng bells, see Chen, "Song guqiuxue," 95–99.

61 The discovery of this set of bells is recorded in many Song texts; see Huang Bosi, Dongguan yulan, 660–61; and Dong You, Guanghuan shuba, 700–1.

62 Zbida chongxin Xuanhe bogu tu, 22.33b.

63 Ibid., 22.27–33.

64 For a comparison of the similarities, see Chen, "Song guqiuxue," 73–74.
Despite having captured the vessel shape and decoration of the ancient models, the Dasheng bells reveal their Song origin by the type of seal-script characters used in their inscriptions. On each side, an inscription is carved: one is the name of the bell set, “Dasheng,” and the other the pitch of each individual bell. The inscriptions on Zhou-dynasty vessels are generally in the so-called large seal script (da zhan), which was superseded by the so-called small seal script (xiao zhan) in the Qin dynasty (221–207 BCE). Small seal script had a continuous tradition into Song times. For instance, the most influential dictionary, *Meanings and Interpretations of Words* (*Shuowen jiezi*) by Xu Shen of the Eastern Han period (25–220 CE), has characters of the Three Dynasties written in small seal script. Song authors further compiled dictionaries for “ancient characters,” *shuowen*, based on the words that appeared on stone steles from the Han to the Tang dynasty (618–907). The most significant work, *Sweating Bamboo Slips* (*Hanjian*), was compiled in the mid-tenth century by an epigrapher, Guo Zhongshu (d. 977), and further expanded into a more comprehensive work by Xia Song (985–1051) in 1044. Since the “ancient characters” in these books were put together from various received materials, most of them Han and later, rather than from unearthed, firsthand sources from the Shang and Zhou, there are discrepancies from the large seal-script characters found on bronze vessels.

When antiquarian study flourished in the eleventh century, an epigraphic work based on unearthed writing came into being, entitled *Interpretations of Words in the Kaogu tu* (*Kaogu tu shiwen*). Attributed to Lü Dalin, this work put together words appearing on the bronzes recorded in the *Kaogu tu* and was probably meant to append the book. Yet books were not the only source for learning excavated writing; ink rubbings of bronze inscriptions, with the advantage of easy reproduction and wide circulation, provided Song scholars another means to learn ancient characters.

Despite turning to unearthed bells for formal design, the designers of the Dasheng bells did not consistently consult excavated objects for the inscriptions. The majority of the seal-script characters on the Dasheng bells resemble the small-seal characters preserved in *Meanings and Interpretations of Words* and *Sweating Bamboo Slips*. Their resemblance to the characters in those books can be demonstrated through several comparative examples:

**TABLE I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dasheng bells</th>
<th>Seal script</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Dasheng bell" /></td>
<td>Shuowen 213</td>
<td>大 da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Dasheng bell" /></td>
<td>Shuowen 139</td>
<td>恭 sheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Dasheng bell" /></td>
<td>Shuowen 213, Hanjian 28b</td>
<td>夹 jia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Dasheng bell" /></td>
<td>Shuowen 297</td>
<td>鍾 zhong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Dasheng bell" /></td>
<td>Shuowen 22</td>
<td>直 rui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Dasheng bell" /></td>
<td>Shuowen 130</td>
<td>賓 bin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65 Xu Shen (c. 38–c. 147), *Shuowen jiezi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963).
67 Xia Song, *Guwen shiengyuan* (1044; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983).
68 Zhao Jiucheng, *Kaogu tu, Xu Kaogu tu, Kaogu tu shiwen*, 271–89.
The obvious irreconcilability between the object and the inscription as seen on the Dasheng bells was fixed ten years later when Huizong became more committed to the "revival" of the ancient ritual system. Huizong established a Ritual Bureau to take charge of the new ritual objects; he further equipped the bureau with a workshop so that it could independently carry out their design and manufacture without outside intervention. The Ritual Bureau was set up in 1113 and closed in 1120, corresponding to the period when the new ritual bronzes were made. Under close monitoring from Huizong and his ritual officials, the new ritual bronzes had to be "correct" in both outer appearance and inscription; that is, both had to be modeled after genuine antiquities from the Shang and Zhou periods.

A large group of the new ritual objects was made during 1114 and 1115, when the construction of the legendary Bright Hall resumed after a decade-long hiatus. The hall was annexed to the Great Ancestral Temple for worshipping the deceased Song emperors. To deck the two newly reconstructed buildings and serve in the ceremonies held within, the following types of ancient bronze vessels were copied: the ding-cauldron, fu-grain vessel in square shape, gui-grain vessel in round shape, dou-dish, zun-wine vessel, lei-water vessel, and xi-basin. These constituted the major vessel types for state ceremonies and set a standard for later dynasties until the Qing.^[69]

This period marked the height of Huizong's ritual reform, yet though the number of newly made ritual bronzes must have been large,^[70] few survive. These include two identical xingding-cauldrons, one in the National Palace Museum in Taipei^[71] and the other in the National Museum of China in Beijing.^[72] Their inscriptions indicate that they were made by Huizong to grant to his favorite eunuch and general, Tong Guan (1054–1126), in 1116. The practice of a ruler giving ritual vessels to his subordinates was believed to have origins in antiquity.^[73] In addition, three shanzun-wine vessels with the mountain motif survive: a transmitted one is housed in the National Palace Museum in Beijing,^[74] the one excavated in Hangzhou is in the Zhejiang Provincial Museum,^[75] and the one unearthed in Sichuan is in the Pengzhou County Museum.^[76] The Beijing piece has an inscription saying it was cast in 1121 for use in Bright Hall. Recently the Musée Cernuschi in Paris published a dou-dish made in 1118 for offering to a Daoist deity; a similar dou cast in 1125 for granting to an official is housed in the Shangh hai Museum.^[77] These bronzes provide examples to examine the relationships between Huizong's bronze collection and the new bronzes made under his sponsorship.

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^[69] For regulations on the state ceremonies of the Ming and the Qing, including illustrations of ritual implements, see Xu Yikui, ed., Ming jili, in SKQS, 649, 650; and Yun Lu, ed., Huangzhuo luqiu tuishi, in SKQS, 656.


Tong Guan’s xingding-cauldrons of 1116, of which two identical ones survive, have three ostentatious animal masks covering the entire vessel surface (fig. 6). This decorative pattern is reminiscent of the ding dedicated to Father Yi (fig. 7) and the ding dedicated to Father Jia (fig. 8) in the imperial collection and recorded in the Bugu tu. Although Tong Guan’s cauldrons look very similar to the ancient ones at first glance, upon close scrutiny, it turns out that they defy ancient principles of decoration. In antiquity, the flat-bottomed ding, which was the standard, would have tripartite decorative units, such as animal masks, divided along the three legs, as seen on a tripod in the Bugu tu (fig. 9). A frontal view of the object is thereby clearly defined, with handles and feet on both sides and an animal face looking out from the center. But for the variant ding with three lobed-legs constituting a groin base, the decorative units were divided among the legs (rather than along the legs), which thus positioned the center of the animal mask directly above the legs, making the legs appear to be springing out from the mouth of the animal (figs. 7, 8). These two types are mixed in Tong Guan’s cauldrons: they have a flat bottom but are decorated like a groin-based ding, with the decorative units divided among the legs. This creates an odd space between the animal’s mouth and the leg, a void that neither can fill.

Such alteration, seemingly slight and insignificant, could not have been caused by carelessness or negligence. It would also be naïve to assume that Huizong and his officials did not know this ancient principle of decoration, because arranging three decorative units on a tripartite structure with two symmetrical handles is complicated and needs experimentation. In ancient China, it took generations of artisans to achieve balance between the three legs and two handles, and some photographs of examples from the early Shang period are taken from such an angle as to show a notable lack of balance (fig. 10). Huizong and his officials must have known this ancient principle and decided to change it on purpose. In their new design, the vessel acquires a different front view, which allowed not only the decorative motif but also the vessel shape to be best revealed to its viewer without hiding a third leg behind or cutting the decorative pattern into halves.

Another example showing the adaptation of ancient bronze types is the shanzun-wine vessel with mountain motif (fig. 11), which finds its parallel in the zun-wine vessel dedicated to Grandfather Wu (fig. 12). The former resembles the latter in vessel shape, tripartite structure, protruding flanges, and composition of the decorative patterns, but their details differ vastly. The animal mask on the Song copy, no longer a complete frontal face, dissolves into angular parts, as do the patterns on the ring foot. Above the animal masks, the cicada pattern replaces the bird motif. Further above on the sprouting mouth, the flanges, cutting the blade patterns into halves, become somewhat irregular and comical, like small fang teeth. The decorative patterns on different parts are carefully orchestrated so that they resonate with each other in their linear and angular qualities— as seen on the hooks inside the blades on the upper part and the abstracted animal faces on the middle and bottom sections—and constitute a harmonious whole. The shanzun was cast in 1121, one year after the close of the Ritual Bureau and relatively late among Huizong’s bronzes. Together with those cast during the 1110s, it presents a style

78 Zhida chongxiu Xuanhe boga tu lu, 1.7a.
79 Ibid., 1.42a.
80 Ibid., 1.35a.
81 Ibid., 6.7a.

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that, while skillfully blending in contemporary elements, was by and large faithful to the ancient models in appearance.

The three surviving shanzun are very much alike in their shape and decoration, but the one excavated in Hangzhou bears a remarkable casting detail that evinces a close observation of ancient bronzes. On the joint between the upper and middle sections, a small bronze chip is visible. It appears to be poorly fused with its surroundings so we may conjecture that it was inserted separately into the vessel during casting (fig. 13). This kind of chip, not usually found on post-Han bronzes, is often visible on Han and pre-Han bronze artifacts. It was used in the piece-mold casting process prevalent in that period, in which clay molds and cores were prepared in sections and assembled together for casting. To maintain an even amount of space between the inner cores and the outer molds, into which the melted bronze would be poured, small bronze chaplets were inserted between the mold and core. If the chaplets did not blend with the molten bronze, they sometimes were visible. On one Shang bronze, there is even a chaplet bearing some decorative pattern, suggesting it was recycled from an earlier bronze object.83 On Han bronzes, chaplets were commonly used and sometimes arranged in regular order (fig. 14), indicating the caster's awareness of the visual effect chaplets might cause and subsequent efforts to regulate their placement.

Bronzes made after the Han dynasty normally did not have chaplets because they were produced by the lost-wax method. This method required the caster to first prepare a clay model of the object, cover it with a layer of wax (the thickness of which had to be equal to the thickness of the intended bronze), carve the intended decorative patterns on the wax, and then wrap the entire thing with clay, leaving only a channel for pouring in melted bronze and a conduit for conveying the wax, which would melt away when the molten bronze was poured in.84 Because the space between the inner core and the outer mold was filled with wax, which was then replaced with bronze during casting, no chaplets were needed.

The piece-mold method of casting bronzes disappeared as the Chinese Bronze Age ended. The Song antiquarians had no knowledge of it, nor did Huizong's ritual officials and artisans. What they were familiar with was the lost-wax method, as indicated in an entry in the Bogu tu: "This ritual vessel has the print of five fingers, so when one holds it, it will not slip away, which shows the ancients' precaution in ritual. Now since wax is used for modeling [during casting], this fingerprint must have been done with fingers pressing on it."84 Although Huizong's officials and artisans had no idea what chaplets were for, the orderly arrangement of small squares on some ancient bronzes did not escape them. They faithfully depicted them in the drawings of the Bogu tu (fig. 15)85 and, more strikingly, strove to imitate them in their own bronze copies, as exemplified in the shanzun and perhaps also other Song bronzes.86 That Huizong's artisans, both painters and casters alike, were able to copy this minute detail suggests that the imperial collection must have been open to them to study.

83 For a description and illustrations of the lost-wax casting process used in later imperial China, see Song Yingxing (1587–1666?), Tiangong haiwu, in Zhenggu gudai banhua congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), 3:39–61.
84 Zbida congxiu Xuanhe bogu tu, 6.33b.
85 Ibid., 7.12a–b, 13.25a.
86 Another later bronze also has chaplets visible at the exterior bottom. It is dated to the Song, but this dating is still open to discussion. See Cheng Changxin et al., Tongqi bianweui qianshao (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), 5–6.
The inscriptions on the Tong Guan ding and the shanzun are remarkable, too. Their formula mimics inscriptions from the Western Zhou, the golden age of bronze inscriptions: it begins with the year and date of the event, gives the reason for casting the object, cites its maker and recipient, and ends with a eulogizing phrase such as "May sons and grandsons treasure this object forever." The inscription on Tong Guan's cauldron, for example, reads: "On the jiawu day of the eleventh month in the sixth year of the Zhenghe reign, the emperor commanded this cauldron to be made and granted it to Tong Guan, the Concurrent Controller of the Bureau of Military Affairs, for him to make offerings to his ancestors. May sons and grandsons treasure this vessel forever" (fig. 6). Its formula and phrasing are very similar to those of Western Zhou inscriptions, except for the inclusion of some obvious Song titles, such as "emperor" (di) and "Concurrent Controller of the Bureau of Military Affairs" (ling Shumi yuan shi). Many of the inscriptions on the bronzes made in the 1100s were composed by Zhai Ruwen (1076–1141), then a co-chair of the Ritual Bureau.87 Some read so much like the ancient ones that scholars from the Ming and Qing periods often misdated them to antiquity.88

While this formula is indeed reminiscent of Western Zhou inscriptions, the characters also look like the words on excavated ancient bronzes as understood by the Song antiquarian scholars and exemplified in the Kaogu tu shiwen. The comparable characters are listed here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tong Guan's cauldron</th>
<th>Kaogu tu shiwen</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>廣</td>
<td>年</td>
<td>nian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>桓</td>
<td>賜</td>
<td>ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>事</td>
<td>事</td>
<td>shi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>鼎</td>
<td>鼎</td>
<td>ding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>午</td>
<td>午</td>
<td>wu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Obviously Huizong's officials were now able to detect the incongruity of the seal script on the Dasheng bells cast ten years before, so the transmitted seal script was largely abandoned and the excavated writing system adopted. The fidelity to ancient inscriptions testified to the mounting interest in antiquities at court, prompting the court officials to look closely at bronze inscriptions and to make use of them. As a result, Huizong's new ritual objects copied the unearthed ancient bronzes not only in such formal similarities as vessel shape and decoration but also in the inner content, i.e. the writing cast on them.

The new ritual bronzes and their inscriptions, when viewed individually, conform to a high degree to the ancient prototypes. Just a few decades after their casting, many were mistaken as genuine ancient

87 Many of the inscriptions are included in Zhai's collected writings; see Zhai Ruwen, Zhonghai ji, 296–97. For a study of Zhai's bronze inscriptions, see Yan Yiping, "Beisong guwenzi guqi zuohe Zhai Ruwen jiqi suo zuoqi," Zhongguo wenwu 8 (June 1962): 1–8.
88 The misattribution of Song bronzes and their inscriptions is discussed in Sun Yirang, "Song Zhenghe liqi," 48–57.
89 For examples, see ibid., 48–49; and Zhou, "Guan xingding kao," 129–34.
Fig. 1 Bell designed in 1053. Illustration from Huangyou xinyue tuji. After Ruan Yi and Hu Yuan, Huangyou xinyue tuji, in Wenyuan suke quanshu (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 211:12.

Fig. 2 Bell discovered in the 1030s. Bogu tu, 22.23a, 30 × 23 cm. Academia Sinica, Taipei. Photograph © Academia Sinica.
Fig. 3 Dasheng bell, 1105 (with 18th-century mounting). 28.1 × 18.4 cm.
Fig. 5  Nengyuan bell, 5th century BCE, found at Jiangxi in 1890. 40.8 x 31.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Beijing. After Gugong bowuyuan, ed., Gugong qingtuqiji (Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 1999), 255.
Fig. 4. Bell set of the Duke of Song. *Begu te*, 22.27–33, 30 × 23 cm. Academia Sinica, Taipei. Photograph © Academia Sinica.
Fig. 6 *Xing ding* granted to Tong Guan with inscription, 1116.
Photograph © National Palace Museum, Taipei.
Fig. 7 *Ding*-cauldron dedicated to Father Yi. *Bogu tu*, 1.7a, 30×23 cm. Academia Sinica, Taipei. Photograph © Academia Sinica.

Fig. 8 *Ding*-cauldron dedicated to Father Jia. *Bogu tu*, 1.42a, 30×23 cm. Academia Sinica, Taipei. Photograph © Academia Sinica.
Fig. 9 Ding-cauldron. Boga tu, 1.35a, 30 × 23 cm. Academia Sinica, Taipei. Photograph © Academia Sinica.

Fig. 10 Ding-cauldron showing the imbalance between the two handles and three legs, 16th–14th century BCE. H. 18.4 cm. After Bianji weiyuanhui, Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), 1:26, fig. 27.
Fig. 11 Shouzu^-wine vessel with the mountain motif, 1121. H. 27.7 cm, Ø of mouth 20 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. After Du Naisong, ed., Qingtong shenghuo (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2006), 212.

Fig. 12 Zun^-wine vessel dedicated to Grandfather Wu, Bogu tu, 6.7a, 30 x 23 cm. Academia Sinica, Taipei. Photograph © Academia Sinica.
Fig. 13 *Shouzan* with a chaplet, excavated at Hangzhou, Zhejiang, c. 1121. Zhejiang Provincial Museum. Photograph by the author.

Fig. 14 *Zun*-wine vessel with chaplets, 2nd–3rd century. H. 29.8, ø. 18 cm. Guangzhou Municipal Museum. After Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji, 12:47, fig. 45.
Fig. 15 Fu-zam—wine vessel in the shape of a goose. *Boo-siu, 7.12a—b, 30×23 cm.*
Academia Sinica, Taipei. Photograph © Academia Sinica.
Fig. 16 Ewer with gilt silver mounting, Ding ware, excavated at Dingxian, Hebei, c. 995. H. 19.3 cm. After Zhang Bo, Zhongguo chuandai ciqi quanji (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2008), 3:111.

Fig. 17 Stick-neck vase, Ru ware, early 12th century (metal rim mounted later). H. 22.6 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. Photograph © National Palace Museum, Taipei.
Fig. 18 Plate fragment with incised decoration, Ru ware, excavated at Baofeng, Henan, 11th century. ø 8.7 cm. After Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Baofeng Qingliangsi Renwan (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2008), col. pl. 31.1.

Fig. 19 Narcissus basin, Ru ware, excavated at Baofeng, Henan, early 12th century. ø of mouth 26 × 18.5 cm. After Baofeng Qingliangsi Renwan, col. pl. 128.1.
Fig. 20 *Hu*-vase. Ru ware, excavated at Baofeng, Henan, early 12th century. H. 17.8 cm. After *Baofeng Qingliangsi Raynn*, col. pl. 162.1.

Fig. 22 Long neck vase. Ru ware, excavated at Baofeng, Henan, early 12th century. H. 24 cm. After *Baofeng Qingliangsi Raynn*, col. pl. 114.1.

Fig. 21 *Hu*-wine vessel. *Bogu tu*, 12.34a, 30 × 23 cm. Academia Sinica, Taipei. Photograph © Academia Sinica.

Fig. 23 *Hu*-wine vessel with mountain and dragon motifs. *Bogu tu*, 13.34, 30 × 23 cm. Academia Sinica, Taipei. Photograph © Academia Sinica.
Fig. 24 Square vase, Ru ware, excavated at Baoji, Henan, early 12th century. H. 25.6 cm. After Baoji Qingshuanggai Ruyan, col. pl. 159.1.

Fig. 25 Fang-wine vessel, excavated at Xi’an, Shaanxi, 46 BCE. H. 36, mouth 11×11 cm. After Zhongguo qingtongqi quanj (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), 12:55, fig. 53.

Fig. 26 Gui-incense burner, Ding ware, early 12th century. H. 10.9 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. Photograph © National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Fig. 27 Plate, Ding ware, 1199. H. 7 cm, ø 17.3 cm. Nanjing Museum. After Bianji weiyuanhui, Zhongguo tuoci (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishi chubanshe, 1983), vol. 9, pl. 88.
Fig. 28 Stele inscribed with Emperor Huizong’s edict, 1119. 315 × 117 cm.
After Li Zhigang, Zhongguo yudai beitie tuben (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2001), 129.
A NEW STYLE OF CERAMICS AT HUIZONG’S COURT

The shapes and decor used in the revival of bronzes were expanded to other artistic fields at court. Though information on the decorative arts at Huizong’s court has been extremely rare, recent discoveries in archaeology have added crucial data for re-examining the development of fine porcelains at Huizong’s court, especially the decline of Ding ware and the emergence of Ru celadon (both Ding and Ru ware were named after the prefecture where they were produced). Such a change, I will argue, was contingent on the emperor’s promotion of ancient bronzes.

In the history of Chinese ceramics, it has been a centuries-old observation that the much admired white ware of the Ding kilns gave way to Ru celadon because of its bare lip; Ru ware thereafter became the new favorite at Huizong’s court. Such a notion first appeared in the notes of the Southern Song writer Lu You (1125–1210), who stated that “In the former capital, Ding ware was not to enter the inner court. Only Ru ware was used.” Lu further added, “this is all because Ding ware had bare lips.” A similar but more detailed story was recorded by Ye Zhi (fl. 12005):

As Ding ware had unglazed, bare rims and could not be used, the imperial court ordered Ru prefecture to make green-glazed porcelains. Even though the prefectures of Tang, Deng, and Yao in the north of the Yellow River all produced such porcelains, those from the Ru kilns were the best. South of the Yangzi River, there was Longquan kiln in Chu prefecture. Its products, however, were thick and coarse. During the Zhenghe period, a kiln was then founded in the capital and named “Official Kiln.”

During the Five Dynasties (907–960) and early Northern Song, Ding ware was the finest porcelain, available mainly to the imperial family and those of high status. Many Ding wares have the character guan (“official”) engraved on the bottom, which reveals their close association with the government. Ding ware has often been found with other luxuries such as silverware, whether in graves or in crypts at the bases of Buddhist pagodas. That such fine porcelain had to yield its status to Ru ware simply

90 Lu You, Laxuean biji (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 23.
91 This appears in a later quote; see Tao Zongyi, Chuqeng lu, in Bashu congshu jicheng, 29.11a.
because of the "bare lip" seems scarcely credible. The "bare lip" refers to the unglazed rim of the ceramic vessel. In the case of Ding ware, because it was fired upside down, the lip had to be left unglazed; otherwise the object would stick to the sagger. After firing, the unglazed lip was then bound with a gold or silver rim. The question is whether the bare lip was regarded as a defect to be covered with a precious metal binding, or whether the lip was left unglazed for the purpose of mounting a metal rim onto it. Scholars used to take the Southern Song accounts at face value, but as more and more counterexamples have been brought to light by archaeology, their validity becomes questionable. Jessica Rawson argues that since enriching the bare lips with gold or silver binding was then a fashion, the bare lips "were unlikely to be a cause of regret as it would have been natural anyway to bind high quality porcelains." Ts'ai Mei-fen elaborates on this point, listing ceramics from other kilns that were fired upright but whose lips were left unglazed to allow for a metal rim. This observation makes it clear that the bare lip was not considered a defect in the Northern Song because mounting gold and silver on the lips was then a fashion and widely practiced at other kilns. Therefore, the bare lip theory cannot explain the shift from Ding to Ru ware at court. The cause must be sought elsewhere.

The formal differences between Ding ware and Ru ware are striking. Ding ware features whiter and purer clay, very thin walls, and a layer of clear, glassy glaze (fig. 16), while Ru ware is renowned for its ash-grey clay, thick walls, and creamy, greenish glaze (fig. 17). Moreover, Ding ware often has delicate surface decoration, whether engraved or in bas-relief; in contrast, Ru ware stresses solely the placid, elegant green tones of the glaze, as if decorative patterns were a disturbance to the viewer. Also revealing are the differences in their vessel types. Ding ware comprises mostly everyday utensils, such as bowls and plates, whereas Ru ware, in addition to these daily utensils, includes vases, basins, and incense burners, many adopting the shapes of ancient bronze vessels. Since these new types have never appeared in the tombs of commoners, they must have been monopolized by members of the imperial family and high status elites and therefore can be designated as "imperial types."

A similar change of style at the turn of the twelfth century can also be found in ceramics from the Ru kiln site at the Qingliangsi area in Baofeng, Henan. After six seasons of excavation after the discovery of the kiln site in 1986, archaeologists were finally able to locate the area where the imperial-type porcelains were fired. This kiln, however, did not produce the imperial-type porcelains from

98 Before 1986, many thought the Linru kiln in Hebei was the site of Ru ware production, but Linru did not yield shards with quality comparable to that seen in the transmitted Ru wares. The Ru kiln site was finally found in 1986. For the excavation report, see Wang Qingzheng, Fan Dongqing, and Zhou Lili, Ruyao de faxian (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987).
the beginning. Evidence from different strata suggests that in the earlier periods, it manufactured primarily everyday utensils such as plates and bowls with incised decorative patterns (fig. 18) like Ding ware. It only began to fire the undecorated imperial types, such as narcissus basins (fig. 19), flower vases, and artifacts in the shape of ancient bronzes, at a later time. Lying right above the stratum that contained a coin bearing the Yuanfeng (1078–1085) reign name, the imperial-type porcelains must have been fired after that and can be dated to Zhezong’s and Huizong’s reigns.\textsuperscript{100}

Because of the fine quality of Ru ware, some identify Ru kiln with the Official Kiln mentioned in the text,\textsuperscript{101} while others hold that the Official Kiln was located at the capital, a site that has yet to be revealed.\textsuperscript{102} The latter view is not without foundation, for there is a group of very fine green-glazed porcelains without provenance in museum collections, whose unsurpassed quality, some believe, could only have been achieved in the Official Kiln.\textsuperscript{103} From 2000 through 2004, discoveries made at Zhanggongxiang, Ruozhou, Henan, further complicated the debate. From this kiln site, a type of celadon very similar to the specimens found at the Ru kiln site was disclosed; the pieces were fired using techniques similar to those used for Ru ware but have a finer quality.\textsuperscript{104} Some scholars have begun to associate the site with the Official Kiln, but solid evidence is still lacking.\textsuperscript{105} The debate about the Official Kiln has yet to be resolved, but it is obvious that products from Qingliangsi and Zhanggongxiang belong to the same style group with similar formal characteristics and technical details.

Both the textual and archaeological evidence points to a change in porcelain style during the last few decades of the Northern Song, which seems to have stemmed from a fundamental change in the taste of the imperial sponsor. How is this shift in imperial taste to be defined? What did the imperial beholder look for in a piece of fine porcelain? As many scholars have pointed out, Ding ware, with its sharp contours, thin walls, and bas-relief patterns, was intended to imitate gold and silver wares, then the most valuable luxuries.\textsuperscript{106} Interestingly, imperial Ru wares seemed to pursue the very opposite: their contours were round, their walls thick, their glazes creamy, and they had no surface decoration.

\textsuperscript{100} For information on the strata, see Henansheng, "Baofoeng Qingliangsi Ruyaozhi 2000 nian fajue jianbao," \textit{Wenwu} (2001-11): 4-22; and Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, \textit{Baofoeng Qingliangsi Ruyao (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2008).}


\textsuperscript{103} See Li Minghua, "Li Sheng Song guanyao youguan wenti yanjiu," in \textit{Nansong guanyao wenji} (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004), 140-61.


\textsuperscript{105} Some date the Zhanggongxiang specimens to the Jin dynasty; see Tang Junjie, "Ruoya, Zhanggongxiang yao yu Nansong guanyao," \textit{Hokusei Joji seiki no naaro ni temaru} (Osaka: Osaka shiritsu rōjō tōji bijutsukan, 2010), 64-77.

They thus presented a new aesthetic. Some scholars have observed an Islamic influence based on the adoption of a certain glass vessel shape in Ru ware, but in light of recent discoveries at the kiln site, I argue that ancient Chinese bronzes played a crucial role in stimulating the new style.

The imperial types of Ru ware were shaped after ancient bronzes, such as the hu-wine vessel, lian-cosmetic box, and pan-basin with three feet. Bronze antiquities collected at court were ready sources for imitation. In comparing Ru ware examples with the bronzes illustrated in the *Bogu tu*, it appears the hu-vase (fig. 20) must have copied similar Han wine vessels (fig. 21), while the long neck vase (fig. 22) was an imitation of Han bottles (fig. 23). The potters of Ru ware even strove to copy the square fang-wine vessel (fig. 24) from the Han dynasty (fig. 25), an unusual vessel type with a square shape and sharp corners and edges that is inherently unfit to be shaped on a potter’s wheel. Yet with the same sharp angles at the four corners, the wide, flat lip, and the dense, yellowish-green glaze, the porcelain copy mimics its bronze original in every respect. It is hard to imagine that the potter could grasp such a degree of likeness without firsthand observation of the bronzes.

In addition to the vessel shape, the thick walls and creamy glaze of Ru ware also betray the influence of ancient bronzes. Where the thin walls and translucent glaze of Ding ware worked well for imitating the repoussé décor of gold and silver wares, the thick walls of Ru ware imitate the thicker walls of cast bronze objects to create the stable, weighty, and grand feel of ancient bronze vessels. By making the glaze thicker and creamier, Ru ware potters succeeded in recreating to a certain degree the weight and grandness of ancient bronzes. With this new aesthetic, Ru ware won favor at Huizong’s court.

Some characteristics highlight the archaic Ru ware. First, the types copied were chosen primarily from the Eastern Zhou, Qin, and Han, rather than the Shang and Western Zhou. In addition, the makers of Ru ware seem to have been more interested in the vessel’s shape than in its decorative pattern – never did they imitate the typical ceremonial animal patterns of the Shang and Western Zhou. Unlike the heavily decorated new ritual bronzes made for Huizong, the surface of imperial Ru ware is often left undecorated or given only minimal relief bands or lines.

Why did the decorative patterns have to be abandoned so abruptly and thoroughly on imperial-type Ru ware? What was the association or connotation of ancient decorative patterns as understood by Huizong and his court officials? As repeatedly stressed in the imperial compilations by Huizong’s officials, the origin of the patterns can be traced back to the ancient sages, who, by observing nature, invented different patterns and invested in them their teachings and warnings for posterity. An often cited story in the *Bogu tu* relates that after regulating the devastating flood and subduing evil creatures in the nine territories, the sage Yu cast their images onto the Nine Tripods so that people could rec-

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108 Zhida chongxin *Xuanhe bogu tulu*, 12.34a, 13.31a, 32a, 33a.
109 Ibid., 13.3a.
110 Some unglazed pottery shards do have archaic animal patterns, but they were discovered from the strata of the Jin (1115–1234) and Yuan dynasties. These examples are much later and will not be discussed in this article. On the unglazed shards, see Henansheng, *Baofeng Qingliangyi Ruyao*, 130–33.
111 Zhao Ji, *Xuanhe haoju*, in *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993), 2:60; Zhida chongxin *Xuanhe bogu tulu*, 1.3a.
ognize them when they entered wilderness areas. Therefore, decorative patterns manifested the sages’ intentions and bore some allegorical significance. As explained in the *Bogu tu*, the *taotie* animal pattern admonished against gluttony;¹¹³ the mountain pattern reminded the viewer to have benevolence (*ren*);¹¹⁴ the nipple-like protruding knobs on the bells symbolized nourishment from ritual and music;¹¹⁵ even the circular and angular patterns on the background, recognized as clouds and thunder, represented nature’s blessing of sending rain.¹¹⁶ This allegorical reading justified the court’s promotion of artistic creation because art was not merely a way to show genius, but an embodiment of the wisdom of the sages, which sought to shed light on the morality of human behavior and society.

Stripped of these magnificent patterns, Han bronzes were plainer and simpler in decoration and bore less ritual significance.¹¹⁷ They became everyday artifacts that were “closer to humanity” (*qieju renqing*), as described in the *Bogu tu*.¹¹⁸ Likewise, we may infer that the unadorned Ru porcelains, deprived, like Han bronzes, of allegorical patterns, were emancipated from the heavy burden of ritual to function as decorative pieces for the palace interior—a most suitable adjustment for court arts that were archaic looking but served profane purposes.

Eventually, the Ding ware potters adjusted to the new trend, as seen on a *hu*-vase and a *gui*-incense burner (fig. 26), which both appear to be modeled on ancient bronzes.¹¹⁹ Some ancient decorative patterns also became incorporated into the design of Ding ware at a later time, the most obvious being the angular thunder pattern. Widely used in the background on ancient bronzes but almost falling into extinction from the Han to the Tang, it now took the shape of a narrow band circling around the rim of the vessel (fig. 27).

**SHAPING NEW TASTE: HUIZONG AND HIS WORKSHOPS**

In the Northern Song, the workshops in the imperial court included the Crafts Institute (*wenzi yuan*) and the Palace Workshop at the Rear Garden (*hongyuan zaozuosuo*).¹²⁰ They covered an enormously wide range of crafts in different materials, such as gold, jade, pearl, mother of pearl, rhinoceros horn, amber, lacquer, wood, and bamboo.¹²¹ With many of the crafts overlapping, the two offices sometimes had to reallocate their jobs.¹²² Differentiating the two is the fact that the Palace Workshop at the Rear Garden, as the name suggests, was located in the inner court and took charge of the domestic needs of the imperial family. Overseen by court eunuchs, it was more like the emperor’s private workshop. The

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¹¹² *Zhida zhongxin Xuanhe bogu tu*, 4.28b–29a.
¹¹³ Ibid., 8.38a–b.
¹¹⁴ Ibid., 5.13a, 24.25b.
¹¹⁵ Ibid., 24.18b.
¹¹⁶ Ibid., 5.10b–11b.
¹¹⁷ Ibid., 12.4b–5a, 13.9a–b, 13.10b, 13.25b.
¹¹⁸ Ibid., 13.10b.
¹²⁰ Song shi, 165, 3918, 166.3940.
¹²¹ Xu Song, *Songhuiyao jiqiao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), *zhiguang* 29, 2988a; *zhiguang* 36, 3107b–9b.
¹²² Ibid., *zhiguang* 29, 2988a.
Crafts Institute, however, headed by appointed officials and located outside the inner court, mainly produced artifacts for ceremonial use, such as carriages, costumes, and other implements. This distinction was clearly expressed in the government organization of the time; the former belonged to the inner offices (nei zhushi) and the latter to the outer offices (wai zhushi).123

After ascending to the throne, Huizong established a bureau in the south, the Imperial Workshop at Suzhou and Hangzhou (Su Hang zaozwoju), to make use of local materials and craftsmanship.124 Little is known about this institution except that it levied such a heavy burden on the locals that they eventually revolted and forced the government to close it.125 Another workshop that is often neglected in modern scholarship but must have played a significant role during Huizong’s ritual reform is the Office for Manufacturing Ritual Implements (zhizao su), which was appended to the Ritual Bureau. Unlike other permanent government institutions, the Ritual Bureau and the attached Office were founded specifically as part of the ritual reform. Curiously, the official history is rather vague about their positions in the government structure, noting only that they were established in 1113 and belonged to the Office for the Compilation by Categories of Imperial Pronouncements.126 A private writer, however, tells us that the latter was in fact founded by Cai Jing (1047–1126) with Huizong’s consent.127 Hence, the Ritual Bureau was probably a semi-private agency for the purpose of carrying out the ideas of the emperor and his prime minister.

Once founded, the Office took over many significant jobs from the Crafts Institute, becoming the main workshop for making ritual implements during the 1110s and the early 1120s. One account relates that after the ritual reform, students at the Imperial Academy started wearing new costumes in school ceremonies, but those in the provincial schools still wore old ones. To remedy the problem, Huizong ordered the Ritual Bureau to fabricate sets of sample costumes so that those in the provinces could make their own copies. Accordingly, the Ritual Bureau delegated the work to the Office for Manufacturing Ritual Implements, rather than to the Crafts Institute.128 Another account records that the Office also took charge of casting the nine Daoist tripods for the emperor in 1117 and 1118.129 Needless to say, the Office was also responsible for making most of Huizong’s new ritual bronzes,130 as evinced in an inscription naming two officials, Liu Bing and Zhai Ruwen,131 then the heads of the Ritual Bureau and the workshop.132

The reason that Huizong needed a separate workshop in addition to the regular, permanent Crafts Institute is clear: he and his high officials could then have full control over the workshop, from design to end product. Indeed, the emperor was deeply involved in the design of the new ritual objects, as revealed in an edict of 1113: “I shall view the design [of the ritual objects] myself, and appraise their

125 Song shi, 179.4361; Anonymous, Xinkan Daqiong Xuanbe yishi (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1958), yuan 34–35.
126 Song shi, 98.2423.
127 Yang Zhongliang, Xu zizi tongqian changbian jishi beumo, 134.4109–99.
128 Xu Song, Songshehui, yufa 4, 1804b–5a.
129 Ibid., P 51, 1555b.
130 Yang Zhongliang, Xu zizi tongqian changbian jishi beumo, 134.4207, 4210–11.
131 Zhai Ruwen, Zhonghai ji, 296.
132 Yang Zhongliang, Xu zizi tongqian changbian jishi beumo, 134.4199.
strengths and flaws. I shall make the conclusion cogently so as to eliminate the faults that have been transmitted for a thousand years and thereby establish a model for this dynasty and for later generations.  

To resonate with this claim, inscriptions on the new bronze ritual objects, composed by Huizong's high officials, sometimes start with: "The emperor investigated antiquities and made Song ritual vessels anew." Another comment on a lei-water vessel made by Huizong and recorded in the Bogue tu suggests the same level of commitment by the emperor:

This lei-water vessel, among antiquities, is especially elaborate and archaic and can serve as a model for posterity. Therefore, I issued an edict decreeing that the ritual officials should make ritual objects based on it, whether for making offerings to Heaven, Earth, or the ancestors, so the ideal of the Three Dynasties can be revealed to the contemporary. This too is a benefit of investigating antiquities.

A vivid picture of an antiquarian emperor is presented before our eyes: the emperor examined his ancient bronzes, decided that some provided better examples than others, and then ordered his officials to reproduce the chosen specimens.

Though it cannot be proven that Huizong was as personally committed to the decorative arts as he was to painting, calligraphy, and ritual bronzes, the activities he engaged in at court undoubtedly steered the officials and other members working at the court to look closely at antiquities. Among various cultural events, the most remarkable was the public viewing of antiquities in the tenth month of 1113, which inaugurated the era of wholesale refashioning of ritual vessels. On this occasion, Huizong opened his collections of antiquities for the court to view. This stimulated numerous discussions and conversations among his officials, many of which were recorded in the miscellaneous writings of Dong You (fl. early 1100s). Dong, an experienced senior scholar working in the Imperial Archives (mi ge), often met and discussed painting, calligraphy, and antiquities with other court officials, especially those in the Palace Library (bishu sheng) because they were then entrusted with the duty of studying antiquities for ritual reform and therefore had to devote themselves to the research of ancient bronzes.

Officials in other departments and offices were also pulled into this trend of antiquarianism, even though their jobs sometimes had little to do with antiquities. For instance, Li Jie (d. 1110), then director of the Directorate for the Palace Buildings (jiangzuo jian) who authored the Building Standards (Yingzao fashi) in 1103, once turned to Dong for a bronze ox-shaped vessel he had collected. In addition to ancient bronzes, Li also collected ancient jade objects. Hence, we may infer that with the emperor leading the way, the entire court was infused with an antiquarian spirit.

133 Ibid., 134.4191–94.
134 Zhai Ruwen, Zhongbui ji, 297.
135 Zhida chongxin Xuanhe bogu tu, 7.39a–b.
136 Yang Zhongliang, Xu zishi tongjian changhai jishi henmo, 134.4200.
137 Huang Bosi, Dongguan yulen, 659, 661.
138 Dong You, Guangchuan shuba, 687.
139 For a jade piece in Li Jie's collection, see Xu kangu tu, 5.13–14.
Court officials were not the only ones who came to Dong for advice; craftsmen serving at court also turned to him for consultation. In one account, Dong relates that a workman-officer (gongguan) once showed him a drawing of an ancient cauldron and wanted to know its function; Dong identified it as a container for sacrificial oxen.140 What is remarkable is that this unnamed officer was able to draw up the image of the cauldron during a public viewing at court, indicating that when such activities were held, not only court officials but staff of lesser status had access to the objects as well. The higher officials may have participated in the emperor's party and received gifts from the emperor, as recorded in an account of a viewing in 1122,141 while the lesser staff may have had the opportunity to view the imperial treasures, make drawings of them, and then keep the drawings as tokens of the event.142 This would partly explain why the artisans were able to imitate some obscure physical details, such as the chaplet in their bronzes.

Hence, even though Emperor Huizong could not have presided over the offices of the minor arts in person, his taste, well mediated and communicated through his agents as well as through the fluid interactions among members at court during various events and activities, was able to penetrate different corners of the court. Even halls in the imperial palace were reported to have been named with the suffix "-gu" (antiquity), such as the Chambers of Researching Antiquity (jigu), Profound Antiquity (suigu), Exalting Antiquity (shanggu), Appreciating Antiquity (jiangu), Making Antiquity (zougu), Visiting Antiquity (fanggu), Studying Antiquity (bogu), and Secret Antiquity (migu).143 Huizong's taste further shaped the style of the court arts, the shift from Ding ware to Ru ware in ceramics being the most prominent phenomenon. Examples of other decorative arts are sporadic and scattered, such as a stone stele dated 1119, on which one of Huizong's edicts is carved, with archaic cursive and running dragons set against a thunder-patterned ground (fig. 28).144 Abstracted from ancient bronzes, the dragon and thunder patterns migrated to stone steles for the first time, bearing witness to the strong current of antiquarianism at Huizong's court.

140 Dong You, Guangchuan shuba, 685.
141 In a viewing of imperial collections in 1122, Huizong gave out his own paintings as gifts to the officials. See Deng Chun, Hua ji, in Zhongguo shubua quanshu, 2:704.
142 Dong You, Guangchuan shuba, 684.
143 Anonymous, Xinhan Da Song Xuanbe yihi (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1998), yuan 30.
144 Li Zhigang, Zhongguo guadai heitie tuwen (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2001), 128–29.
CONCLUSION

Emperor Huizong exploited different capacities of art, incorporating arts and crafts into statecraft to rectify culture and to bring order to his country. The notion that Huizong and his high officials’ exploitation of the arts was only a diversionary tactic to draw attention away from the empire’s disorder has been discredited. Indeed, the arts were an inseparable part of Huizong’s governance. In contrast to eleventh-century scholar-officials, whose advocacy for a revival of past ideals was mainly an intellectual movement, Huizong put his ideas into practice, initiating a radical transformation in the cultural and material world at his court.

The antiquarianism at Huizong’s court injected a historical depth to the newly cast bronze ritual artifacts while adding an intellectual dimension to the decorative art of porcelain. The bronzes embodied the Shang and Zhou ideals at once in their shapes, decorative motifs, and inscriptions. When used in court ceremonies, the ritual bronzes evoked the ancient sage-rulers, who had presumably performed similar rituals with similar utensils thousands of years before, and allowed Huizong to equate himself with the ancient sage-rulers through ritual reenactment.

Meanwhile, the porcelains that decorated the palace interiors were charged with an intellectual overtone. Ru ware was elegant, but it did not win the emperor’s favor simply with its outer appearance – it was the intellectual, cultural dimension invested in these fine porcelains that the emperor sought. Unlike ritual bronzes, the vessel forms of Ru ware were intended not so much to evoke the ancients, but to communicate the owner’s cultivation in the classical culture of China. Ru ware was suitable for aesthetic contemplation, and with its archaic look, it called for cultural reflection. Rooted in Chinese antiquity, this new aesthetic was intrinsically intellectual and could only be fully appreciated by a trained eye that was familiar with this cultural tradition and sensitive to its forms and metamorphoses.

Text A
王者政治之端，咸以禮樂爲急。蓋制五禮則示民以節，諧六樂則道民以和。夫隆禮作樂，實內治外修之先，務損益述作，其敢後乎！宜令講議司官詳求歷代禮樂沿革，酌今之宜，修爲典範，以貽永世。非徒考辭受登降之儀，金石陶匏之音而已也，在博究情文，漸熙和民，致安上治民至德，著移風易俗美化成，通稱朕咨諭之意焉耳。

Text B
臣竊見有司所用禮器，如尊、爵、簠、簋之類，與大夫家所藏古器不同。蓋古器多出於墟墓之間，無慮千數百年，其規制必有所受，非僞爲也。傳曰：「禮失則求諸野」，今朝廷欲訂正禮文，則必须可以備稽考者，宜博訪而取資焉。臣愚欲乞下州縣，委守令訪問士大夫或民間有收藏古禮器者，遣人往詣所藏之家，圖其形制，點檢無差誤，申送尚書省議禮局。其采繪物件，並從官給，不得令人供借及有騷擾，如違並以違制論。取進止。

Text C
於是洗漢唐諸儒臆説之陋，萬世而下始識三代尊彝之制，使六經所載不爲空言，共惟徽宗皇帝聖明述作之盛，一時文物比隆三代，可謂昭盡美矣，又盡善也。

Text D
本朝以定州白磁器有芒，不堪用，遂命汝州造青窯器，故河北唐、鄭、耀州皆有之，汝窯爲魁。江南則處州龍泉縣窯，質頗頑厚。政和間，京師自置窯照行，名曰官窯。

Text E
此壻在諸器中特爲精緻高古，可以垂法後世，於是詔禮官其製作之楷式，以襯之天地宗廟，使三代之典，炳然還醇見於今日，亦稽古之效也。
Baofeng 寶豐
bianlei yubi suo 編類御筆所
bischu lang 祕書郎
bischu sheng 祕書省
bogu 博古
Bogu tushuo 博古圖說
Cai Jing 蔡京
da zhuang 大篆
dasheng 大晟
di 帝
ding 鼎
Ding 定
Dong You 董逹
dou 豆
gang 銚
fang 訪
fanggu 訪古
fu 富
gongguan 祐官
guan 官
guanzun 祐尊
gui 畿
Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕
guwen 古文
Hangjian 汗簡
Hangzhou 杭州
houyuan zaozuoruoh 後苑造作所
hu 壶
Huang Bosi 黃伯思
Huangyou xinyue tuji 皇祐新樂圖記
Huizong 徽宗
jiazhuo 監古
jiazhuo jian 將作監
jiawu 甲午
jigu 穀古
Jinshi lu 金石錄
Jinshixue 金石學
Kaogu tu 考古圖
Kaogu tu shiwen 考古圖釋文
lei 僕
Li Gonglin 李公麟
Li Jie 李説
lian 當
ling shumiyuan shi 領樞密院事
Liu Bing 劉炳
Liu Chang 劉敞
lizhi ju 禮制局
Lü Dalin 呂大臨
Lu You 陸游
mi ge 秘閣
migu 秘古
nei zhushi 內諸司
Nengyuan 能原
Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修
pan 盤
qiejin renqing 窮近人情
Qingliangsi 清涼寺
Qinzhong 欽宗
ren 仁
Renzong 仁宗
Ru 汝
Ruzhou 汝州
Sanli tu 三禮圖
shanggu 尚古
shanzun 山尊
Shenzong 神宗
shoushen ti 素金體
Shuwen jiezi 說文解字
Su Hang zaozuor 蘇杭造作局
sui 隧
suigu 邑古
Su Shi 蘇軾
Suzhou 蘇州
taihang 太常
taotie 蟹蟹
Tong Guan 童貫
wai zhushi 外諸司
Wang Chu 王楚
Wang Fu 王馥
Wang Pu 王朴
wenyi yuan 文思院
xi 洗
Xia Song 夏竦
xiangrui 祥瑞
xiao zhan 小篆
xingding 釬鼎
Xiyu chi 洗玉池
Xu Kaogu tu 續考古圖
Xu Shen 許慎
Xuanhe bogu tu 宣和博古圖
Xuanheidian bogu tu 宣和殿博古圖
Xuanheidian guqi tu 宣和殿古器圖
Xue Ang 薛昂
Ye Zhi 葉真
yili ju 講禮局
Yingzao faxi 營造法式
yong 雨
Yu 禹
Yuanfeng 元豐
Yuanyou 元祐
Zhai Ruwen 翟汝文
Zhanggongxiang 張公巷
Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠
zheng 銓
Zhenghe wuli xinyi 政和五禮新儀
Zhezong 哲宗
zhizao suo 製造所
zun 尊
zuogu 作古