

Disembodied Historicity: Southern Song Imperial Street in Hangzhou

JING XIE

University of Nottingham (Ningbo, China)

Southern Song Imperial Street (Yu Jie, 御街) is a historical street in Hangzhou, China, a former imperial capital in the Song dynasty.¹ As the major thoroughfare of the imperial capital, Imperial Street assumed a preeminent role in the Southern Song dynasty. After the 2006 discovery of archaeological evidence from the Southern Song period, the street underwent a process of redevelopment. Following renovation designed by celebrity architect Wang Shu, the street reopened to the public in 2009. With its preservation and rebuilding of historical forms, this redevelopment mirrors other extremely large heritage-led urban regeneration projects in China today. Ironically, this movement arrives at a time when historical buildings in many Chinese cities have been almost annihilated by the frenzied process of urbanization. So-called heritage or cultural preservation projects have become widespread and follow a standardized business model that has achieved a degree of success, particularly in the tourism industry. This essay offers a detailed history of Imperial Street in Hangzhou, through which the relations between the past and the present at this particular locus can be articulated and analyzed. This case study of Southern Song Imperial Street serves to shed light on a vexed question in historical preservation: What should be protected in urban regeneration projects?

The Historical Setting of Southern Song Imperial Street

In an ideal plan for a Chinese capital, the imperial street would be the central axis of the city, connecting the main

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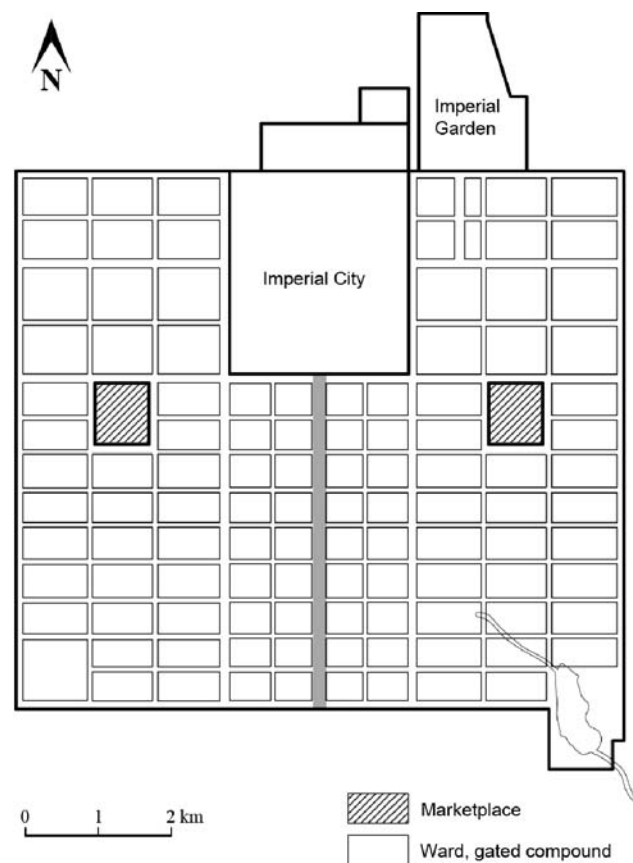


Figure 1 Schematic plan of Tang Chang'an; Imperial Street (Zhuque Street is gray; author's drawing).

(i.e., southern) gate of the imperial palace to the central city gate and dividing the whole city into two distinct halves. The imperial street (Zhuque Street) in Tang Chang'an (618–907 AD), for example, was 150 to 155 meters wide, with an additional 2.5-meter-wide drainage ditch on each side (Figure 1).

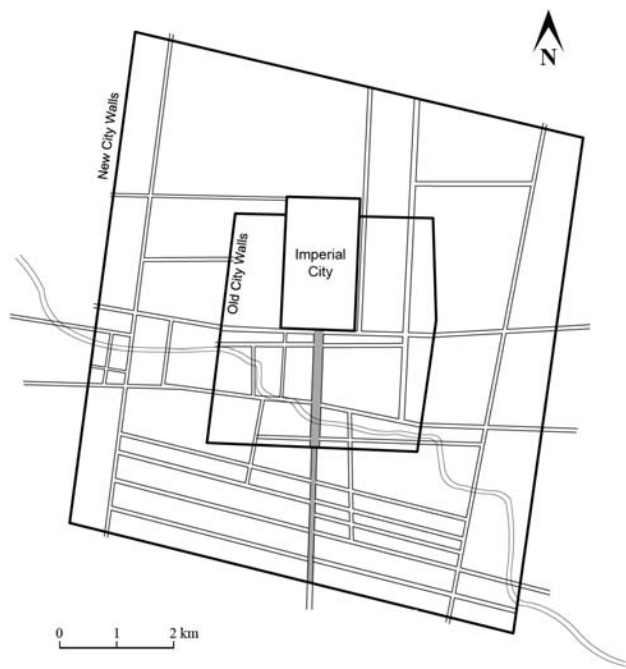


Figure 2 Schematic plan of Song Kaifeng; Imperial Street is gray (author's drawing).

The prominent position of the street manifests its prime social role as the site of imperial and ritual processions.²

The city of Tang Chang'an was geometrically partitioned by the streets into hundreds of wards (*fang* 坊), which were quadrangular compounds enclosed by walls with gates. Due to population growth and a building boom that led to the collapse of the ward system, the capital cities in Song times (Kaifeng and Hangzhou) exhibited a relatively open and organic pattern, in contrast to the rigid layout of Tang Chang'an (Figure 2). The Imperial Street of the Northern Song (960–1127 AD) capital Kaifeng, though lying in a centralized location similar to that of Tang Chang'an, exhibited more diverse social functions and activities. According to the Song writer Meng Yuanlao (孟元老), Imperial Street in Kaifeng had covered corridors on both sides for merchants to conduct their business. After the 1110s, however, mercantile activity was blocked by the government, which erected black barriers that denied merchants access to the corridors. In the middle of the street, two rows of red barriers were also installed to exclude traffic, since the street was reserved for the royal family, and pedestrians were allowed only in the corridors.³ Compared to Tang Chang'an, the drainage ditches on both sides of Imperial Street in Kaifeng seemed larger and offered a degree of aesthetic amenity in addition to their utilitarian function, as Meng explained:

There were two canals [drainage ditches] made of stones and bricks that ran alongside the red barriers. In the 1120s lotuses

were planted in the canals, together with all sorts of fruit trees on the banks, such as peach, plum, pear, and apricot. What a rich combination! Especially in the season between spring and summer, it presented a picturesque scene.⁴

Landscaping on the Imperial Street was initially introduced to emphasize the grandeur of imperial processions. Unintentionally, however, this refurbishment deflected social criticism by improving the aesthetic appeal of the public space. According to some Chinese scholars, the width of Imperial Street in Kaifeng as described by Meng, some 200 paces, or roughly 200 meters, sounds implausible. They argue that the description is most likely of a functioning plaza in front of the imperial palace rather than of the whole street, noting that the width of the main street in Kaifeng was between 40 and 50 meters.⁵

During the Song dynasty the function of the imperial streets was no longer limited to political and ritual procession; these streets were also devoted to business premises operated by individual households. After the abandonment of the highly enclosed, walled urban wards from Tang-era cities, according to E. A. Kracke, the “street-centered neighborhood” appeared in Song Kaifeng.⁶ In this regard, Meng Yuanlao offered detailed observations of Imperial Street in Kaifeng:

The Imperial Way continues toward the south across Zhou Bridge into the residential areas. There is the coal shop of the Che family and the tavern of the Zhang family on the eastern side of the street. Next to these premises, there is a food shop selling stuffed buns, the perfume shop of the Li family, a meat pancake shop operated by Grandmother Chao, and Li Si's teahouse.⁷

From this description, it is clear that individual households could freely engage with Imperial Street by selling services and goods. Driven by the common pursuit of commercial advancement, multiple social functions were evident on Imperial Street, where political and economic forces, governmental and individual affairs, intertwined. It is safe to assume that the barriers installed to eliminate traffic were limited to the front portion of the street connecting to the imperial palace, and that they hampered business activity only slightly.

The physical demarcation of social hierarchy in the public street—that is, the imperative of differentiating the members of the imperial court from the commoners—diminished further during the Southern Song period (1127–1279 AD). The court was forced to flee from Kaifeng after the city was conquered by the Mongols in 1127. In 1138, after prolonged struggle, Emperor Gaozong (高宗) officially denoted Hangzhou the capital city.⁸ Its name was changed to Lin'an (临安) which literally means a temporary settlement, reflecting the emperor's

desire to recover the lost territory. Lin'an was therefore deputized to act as the political, economic, and cultural center of the Southern Song dynasty for about 140 years.

Prior to becoming the capital known as Lin'an, Hangzhou was a prefecture city of the Northern Song dynasty as well as the capital of the Wuyue Empire during the Five Dynasties period (907–60 AD), enjoying a high degree of prosperity. After its designation as the capital the city became even more prosperous, achieving an unprecedented level of affluence.⁹ Hangzhou's commercial preeminence over other cities was acknowledged as the key factor leading to the imperial court's final decision to relocate from Kaifeng.

The Southern Song imperial palace in Hangzhou was built on the premises of an existing prefecture compound located in the southern part of the city. It was elevated and backed up by Phoenix Mountain. Compared to the capital cities of the preceding dynasties (e.g., Chang'an, Luoyang, and Kaifeng), the layout of Hangzhou was circumstantial. First and foremost, the city itself was shaped by the natural topography—that is, West Lake on the west and Qiantang River on the east—and thereby exhibited an irregular and slender shape, in striking contrast to the ideal quadrangular form (Figure 3). The extreme southern location of the imperial palace also indicates the court's fear of a military invasion from the north, but the literature of the time praised the selection of the site for its natural topography and layout. As Song scholar Zhao Yanwei (赵彦卫) stated:

The imperial palace is located to the left of the mountain and is supported by the mountain at its southern limits [as the first protection]. The second protection that surrounds the palace is the mansion of the prime minister. The third protection is the Ancestral Temple. The fourth is the prefecture government compound. The last is Chaotian Gate [朝天门], the gate toward heaven]. There is the big river [i.e., Qiantang River] to the southeast [of the palace], while West Lake is to the west. To the north is Ping Lake. The terrain causes access difficulties, yet it is spectacular and affirms a true metropolis.¹⁰

The Street's Layout

According to Chinese historian Lin Zhengqiu's research, Imperial Street was constructed along an official street that had been previously established in the Five Dynasties period and during the Northern Song dynasty.¹¹ Imperial Street of Hangzhou began at Hening Gate, the northern gate of the palace compound, and followed the existing street's path, extending into the narrow and crowded street, which was flanked by various premises (Figure 4).

Although Hening Gate (和宁门, the gate of peace; see B in Figure 4) was the back gate of the imperial palace, it was as magnificent as the front gate, Lizheng Gate (丽正门). Hening Gate consisted of three doors, which were secured

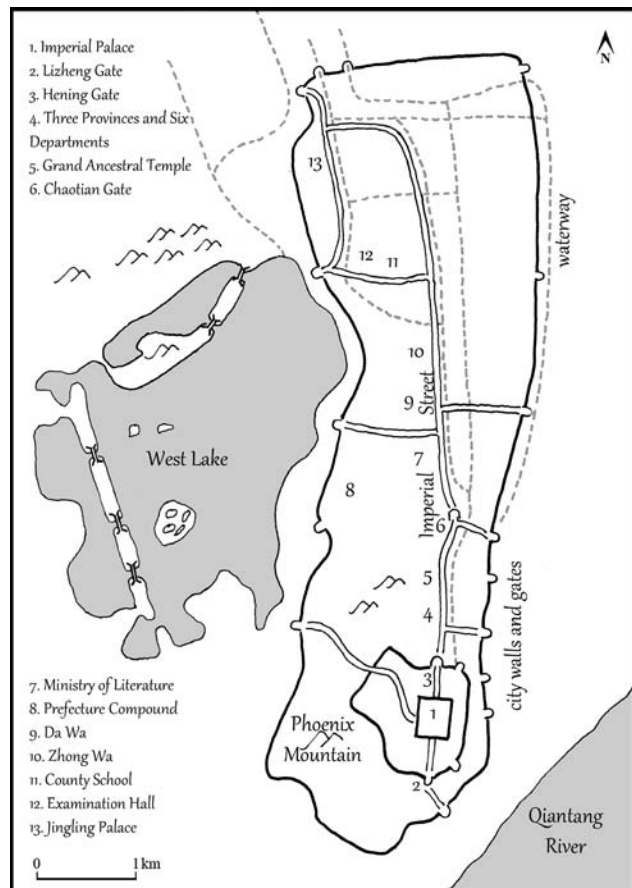
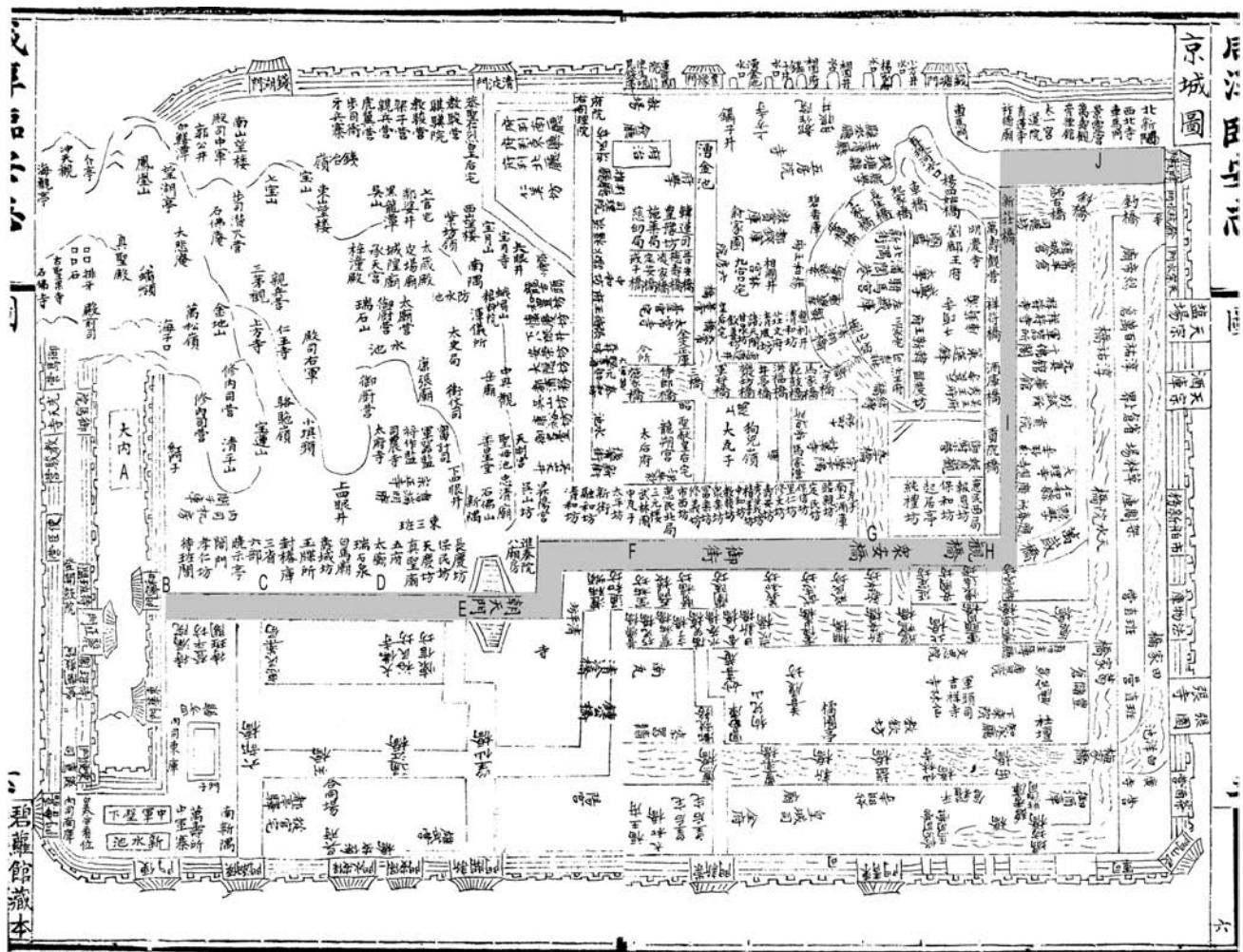


Figure 3 Plan of Hangzhou in the Southern Song dynasty (after Guo Moruo 郭沫若, ed., *History Atlas of China* 中国史稿地图集 [Beijing: SinoMaps Press, 1990], 2:51; author's drawing).

by guards. If officials passed through the gate, the gatekeepers announced their rank, indicated by their hats, which were decorated according to their places in the official hierarchy. Two reception areas for the officials attending the morning audience with the emperor were set up at Hening Gate, one on each side: Daiban Ge (待班阁, the pavilion of readiness) and other Dailou Yuan (待漏院, the courtyard of readiness).¹² At the front of Hening Gate, red barriers were installed on Imperial Street, following the Northern Song capital Kaifeng's custom of eliminating traffic, but the area was appropriated for an "early-morning market" that flourished with trade.¹³

Hangzhou's economic prosperity reached its peak in the Southern Song period. The capital had a number of marketplaces and hundreds of guilds. On Imperial Street, in particular, commercial activity reached its climax. According to the Song writer Wu Zimu's (吴自牧) account, from the periphery of the barricaded area at Hening Gate to Guan Bridge (观桥; see H in Figure 4), "all of the households on both sides of the street were engaged in business" along this long stretch of Imperial Street.¹⁴ Another Song writer, Xihu Laoren



A: Imperial Palace B: Hening Gate C: Three Provinces & Six Departments D: Grand Ancestral Temple E: Chaotian Gate F: Zhong Wa
G: Zhong'an Bridge H: Guan Bridge I: Examination Hall J: Jingling Palace

Figure 4 Schematic plan of Song Lin'an (Hangzhou); Imperial Street is gray (Qian Yueyou 潜说友 [Song], *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳临安志 [Hangzhou: Zhejiang Ancient Literature Press, 2012], 11–12; author's annotations).

(西湖老人, the old man of West Lake), confirmed this phenomenon, pointing out that “Imperial Street is literally a marketplace, on both sides of the street, there are more than three hundred astrologers who have set up their stalls.”¹⁵ The Italian traveler Marco Polo (1254–1323?) offered a similar account of ten principal markets: “Along their front passes the main street [i.e., Imperial Street], which is 40 paces in width, and runs straight from end to end of the city, crossing many bridges of easy and commodious approach.”¹⁶ These views were echoed by French sinologist Jacques Gernet: “But the districts where the briskest retail trade was done in Hangchow [Hangzhou] were those adjoining the Imperial Way. It was there the luxury trade, the best shops, and most of the big taverns and fashionable tea-houses were to be found.”¹⁷

The literature provides few descriptions of Imperial Street's physical appearance. The city biography *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*

(咸淳临安志), from the Southern Song dynasty, contains some information on the physical parameters of the street:

Imperial Street, from Hening Gate to the front of Jingling Palace [景灵宫, an imperial shrine], is dedicated to the imperial horse carriages. It has, however, not been maintained for a long period. In 1271, the Prefect Qian Yueyou [潜说友, 1216–88] received imperial orders to renovate the street. A total length of 13,500 *chi* [尺, about 4.5 kilometers] of the street was renovated, apart from the portion between the central administration departments and the Grand Ancestral Temple, which was given special treatment for the most important imperial ceremonies. The old pavement was quadrangular stones, more than 35,300 pieces in total, 20,000 pieces of which were replaced. The street therefore had an even surface. Riding in carriages thus was like water flowing on the ground. The street width could allow nine wagons to draw

abreast [approximately 16.5 meters wide], matching [the ancient standards].¹⁸

Imperial Street in Hangzhou, which Marco Polo noted had a width of “40 paces,” was narrower than Imperial Street in Kaifeng.¹⁹ Although Hangzhou’s heyday had passed when Marco Polo visited, the street still seemed worthy of mention:

The pavement of the main street of the city also is laid out in two parallel ways of ten paces in width on either side, leaving a space in the middle laid with fine gravel, under which are vaulted drains which convey the rain water into the canals; and thus the road is kept ever dry.²⁰

According to archaeological evidence and contemporaneous literature, Imperial Street was broadly divided into three portions: south, middle, and north. This division is legible in the diagrammatic map of Hangzhou from the Southern Song dynasty (see Figure 4). The southern part of Imperial Street began at the barricaded area of Hening Gate and extended to Chaotian Gate (see E in Figure 4), where the central administrative offices were concentrated (三省六部, the three provinces and six departments). The Grand Ancestral Temple was also located here, together with many mansions housing royal family members and high-ranking officials. These households formed the upper echelon of society and dictated the nature of nearby commercial activities. Many street vendors in this area sold luxury items in an early-morning market. The Song writer Nai Deweng (耐得翁) recorded that “pearls and jewels, treasures and rarities, fresh flowers and fruits, seafood and wild food, marvelous implements and utensils, all the unique commodities in the world are assembled here in the morning.”²¹

Archaeological findings indicate that this portion of Imperial Street was comparatively wider than the other parts of the street due to its political importance. The segmented Song pavements that have been discovered are too few to provide precise measurements. Song scholar Zhu Mu (祝穆) recorded that a city expansion project was carried out in 1158, and this part of Imperial Street was made of five *zhang* (丈), about 15.5 meters wide.²²

The middle part of the street started at Chaotian Gate and extended to Guan Bridge (see H in Figure 4). This was the central commercial area of Hangzhou and had been the only marketplace during the Five Dynasties and the Northern Song period.²³ As Nai Deweng described:

There are various food sellers, commodities, shops, and households densely packed together, particularly in the following locations along the middle street: Chaotian Gate [朝天门], Qinghe Ward [清河坊], the front area of Zhong Wa [中瓦, an entertainment quarter], Batou [灞头], the

entrance of Guan Lane [官巷口], Pengxin [棚心], and Zhong’an Bridge [众安桥].²⁴

This exuberant street scene was not confined to the daytime. As Nai Deweng added: “Night markets are everywhere, except in front of the imperial palace; the busiest one is in front of Zhong Wa, where people are selling products and gambling, with the prizes including ingenious utensils and various articles. It is identical to the daytime market.”²⁵ The night markets occurred right on the street, where temporary stalls were set up and then closed early the next morning.

Due to a devastating fire in the Zhong Wa district during the reign of Lizhong (理宗, 1224–64), the court considered expanding Imperial Street by widening it. However, both the public and officials strongly opposed the proposal because the street’s expansion would have destroyed many shops on both sides. A memorial to the emperor stated, “For fire protection, widening Imperial Street is a satisfactory objective, while the multitude of people responds in joy that [their buildings] are being built to celebrate the glory of the empire.”²⁶ This seems to be a good political pretext for defending buildings against demolition.

On Imperial Street, the front of Zhong Wa was called “the center of five flowers.” From the north of Wujian Tower (五间楼) to the south of Guan Lane, this portion of Imperial Street had more than a hundred upscale trading premises dealing in gold, silver, and securities (a primitive form based on tea and salt trading). The area north of Ronghe Ward (融和坊) to Shinan Ward (市南坊) was a market for pearls and jewels, where the amount of each trade often exceeded ten thousand guan (贯; one guan equaled one thousand copper coins, often threaded together). At intervals along the street, dozens of pawnshops were also operated by wealthy households. The amount of a pledge was often more than ten thousand guan.²⁷

Heading north, in the area between Peng Bridge (棚桥) and Guan Bridge (观桥), business activities mingled with a variety of entertainment venues. These included the largest entertainment quarter in Hangzhou, North Wa (北瓦), inside which were thirteen performance sheds established by artists.²⁸ The *washi* (瓦市), also known as *wazi* (瓦子) or *washe* (瓦舍), a special area for public entertainment, emerged during the Northern Song dynasty and became popular in the Southern Song dynasty. A *washi* was a large amusement quarter containing various sheds dedicated to all sorts of performances. Many *washi* were established inside and outside Hangzhou, recruiting prostitutes and musicians to provide entertainment for soldiers in their leisure time as well as to serve the general public.²⁹

The northern portion of Imperial Street extended from Guan Bridge to Jingling Palace (see J in Figure 4). In this area, the street was bordered by dense, compact residences and was comparatively narrow. The Song scholar Xiong Ke

(熊克) recorded that due to the condition of the street, the emperor considered changing his large carriage to a smaller one, stating that “for future visits to Jingling Palace, *nian* [辇, a type of imperial carriage] should be considered as a means of transportation. It was ten *li* [about 5 kilometers] from here. If I traveled by *lu* [辂, a large imperial carriage], then too many residential households would have to be removed.”³⁰ The Southern Song writer Wu Zimu also described the imperial processions toward Jingling Palace, mentioning the smaller *nian* (辇) carriage twice as their transportation mode.³¹

This northern section of Imperial Street contained countless private households and many institutional compounds, such as the county school, the examination hall, the weaponry factory, warehouses, and Buddhist and Taoist temples. The examination hall was the venue for thousands of scholars from all over the country who participated in the national examination. Accordingly, bookshops, wine shops, and tea-houses flourished around this area.³² Based on the street's condition in 1995, before recent expansion and widening, archaeologists assumed a street width of 3 to 9 meters.³³

The Emperor's Street

Imperial Street, named for the emperor and his entourage, was the primary travel route connecting the imperial palace to the outside world. It was also called “heavenly street” (*tian jie*, 天街) or “forbidden street” (*jin jie*, 禁街), suggesting its prestige in serving the imperial court exclusively. Before the emperor traveled on Imperial Street, the official in charge of the streets would enlist the help of the authorities (八作司, Bazuo Si) in charge of the eastern and western city districts to send more than two hundred soldiers to repair and clean the street, including the removal of sewage.³⁴

The most important imperial processions took place when the emperor paid his regular visits to the Grand Ancestral Temple, Jingling Palace, and an altar outside Hangzhou. Due to the Mongol invasion, the process of relocating the Grand Ancestral Temple from Kaifeng to Hangzhou was as complicated as that of reestablishing the imperial palace. In 1135, the Ancestral Temple was finally built to the north of the Imperial Palace, with access via Imperial Street.³⁵ Jingling Palace was an imperial shrine where the clothes and hats of imperial ancestors were enshrined from 1131 to 1162. The shrine was later expanded on a grand scale that resembled the layout of the imperial palace; the expansion provided proper buildings for the statues of the preceding emperors, empresses, and important loyal officials.³⁶ Imperial Street became the exclusive route connecting these three critical loci. Each procession had a rigid sequence of stops, as Southern Song scholar Shen Kuo (沈括) recounted: “The first stop was Jingling Palace, which was called *chao xian* [朝献, court sacrifice]; then [the

procession continued] to the Grand Ancestral Temple, which was called *chao xiang* [朝飨, court offering]. Finally, the procession would stop at the altar in the southern countryside.”³⁷

Four regular imperial processions were held in the first month of each season of the year. In advance of each, the official in charge of imperial ceremonial events conveyed a formal document to Hangzhou's prefecture office. The proclamation informed members of the public that they were not allowed to watch the procession from any elevated spot and that they must wear proper dress. On the day before the ceremony, the city gates would be closed, officials had to prepare themselves for their posts, and strangers were not allowed to enter the city. To ensure that each street of the city was kept in order and cleanliness, as many as 6,200 soldiers and officers were allocated to the ceremonial occasion. The number of soldiers and officers doubled for bigger events. On the day of the ceremony, at the fifth watch just before dawn, the heads of the different streets and neighborhoods walked from door to door expelling unauthorized people, after which the grand procession could proceed.³⁸

The Song scholars Meng Yuanlao and Zhou Mi (周密) provided detailed illustrations of the imperial processions in the Northern Song and Southern Song dynasties.³⁹ A long Northern Song hand scroll painting (14.8 meters long and 51.4 meters tall), *Dajia lubu tu* (宋大驾卤簿图, Illustration of the Imperial Guard of Honor), produced around 1053–65, vividly documents the grand procession in great specificity (Figure 5). In this painting, the procession consists of 5,481 officials and soldiers, 61 vehicles, 2,873 horses, 36 oxen, 6 elephants, 1,701 musical instruments, and 1,548 weapons, presenting a spectacular scene of the emperor and his retinue heading toward the altar located in the south of the city. A similar degree of grandeur was also evident in Southern Song-period processions, according to Zhou Mi's account, in which the positions, numbers, and paraphernalia of different members of the retinue were rigidly codified.⁴⁰

Patricia Ebrey points out that an imperial procession was not only a social display of strict order and hierarchy, but it also made the emperor more accessible to his subjects and pushed officials to be more conscious of their positions in the civil service.⁴¹ Song literature recorded the interactions between the emperor and his subjects during the processions. For example, in *Qingxiang zaji* (青箱杂记, Record of cyan box), Wu Chuhou (吴处厚) described how, during the procession to the altar, the Song emperor Zhenzong (968–1022) made an unplanned stop at the main hall of Prime Minister Wenmu's private mansion. Afterward, the people did not dare to sit on the spot that the emperor visited, balustrades were installed to secure the area, and a royal couch was enshrined there.⁴² *Tiewei shan congtan* (铁围山丛谈) mentions that Song emperor Huizong saw a man he knew along the procession on the

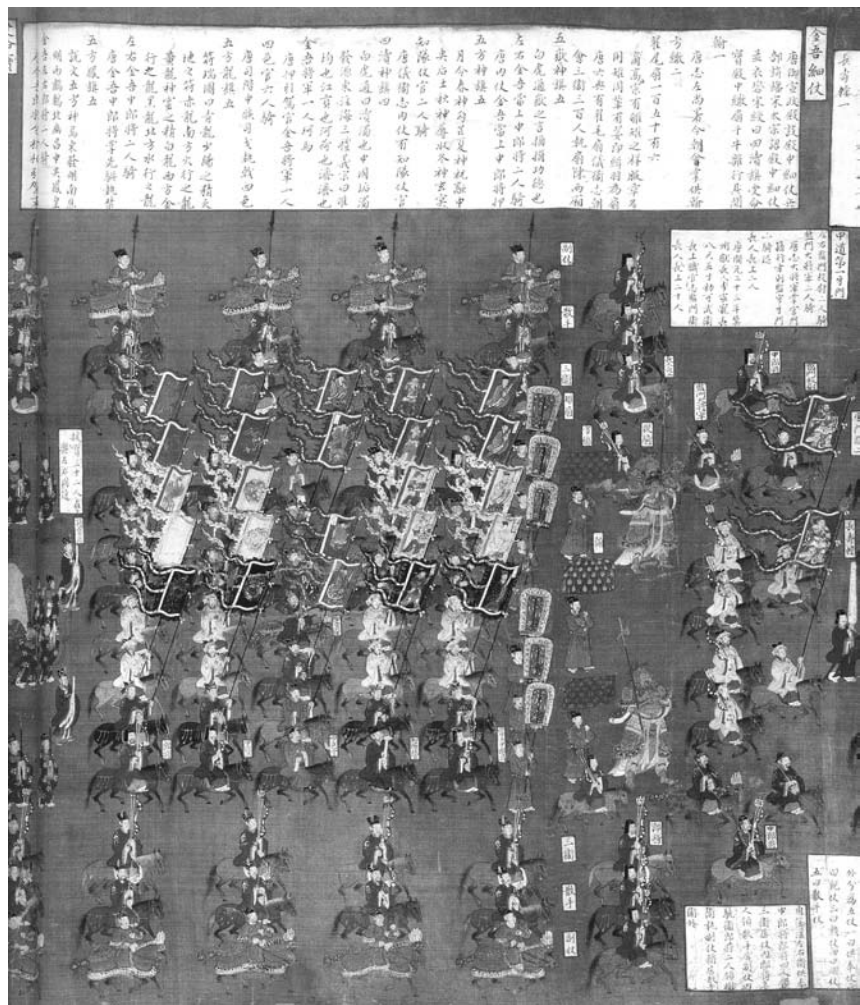


Figure 5 Detail from *Dajia lubu tu* (宋大驾卤簿图), Illustration of the Imperial Guard of Honor, Northern Song dynasty (National Museum of China, Beijing).

way back to the imperial palace from Jingling Palace. The emperor sent a eunuch to carry his greetings, and the man prostrated himself in response.⁴³

One Southern Song painting, attributed to Ma Hezhi (马和之), in a serial album titled *The Classic of Filial Piety* expressively recorded the interaction between the emperor and commoners (Figure 6). In this painting, the normally sizable retinue is represented by just a few officials, soldiers, waiters, and waitresses surrounding the jade carriage of the emperor. The traditionally large audience is reduced to three representative commoners—a child, an adult, and a senior—bowing to the emperor, who is sitting in the open carriage in direct contact with his subjects. The subjects of a kingdom in China are called *zimin* (子民), literally, the sons of the emperor. The painting emphasizes proper filial relations, in this case between ruler and subordinates, and the virtuous behavior of the emperor's subjects, which leads to a harmonious society.

The literary materials of text and painting offer a strikingly tangible picture of the historical landscape

upon which a certain understanding became possible. Ebrey uses two specific Song hand scrolls to illuminate her observation of the Song urban landscape: *Dajia lubu tu* and *Qingming shangbe tu* (Along the river during the Qingming Festival) (Figure 7). In terms of the artistic execution of the paintings, as Ebrey points out, the former is excessively colored, while the latter only occasionally uses light washes.⁴⁴ According to Ebrey, the paintings represent two quite distinct ways through which painters could convey messages demanded by the court:

One style was chosen when the goal was to capture the imperial creation of order and hierarchy. The other style was chosen when the aim was to show the results of perfect imperial institutions: a happy, prosperous population, able to regulate itself with minimal interference from the government.⁴⁵

Dajia lubu tu exemplifies the style conveying order and hierarchy, and *Qingming shangbe tu* displays the other style, depicting ideal imperial institutions. The paintings also articulate two distinctive streetscapes in their content.

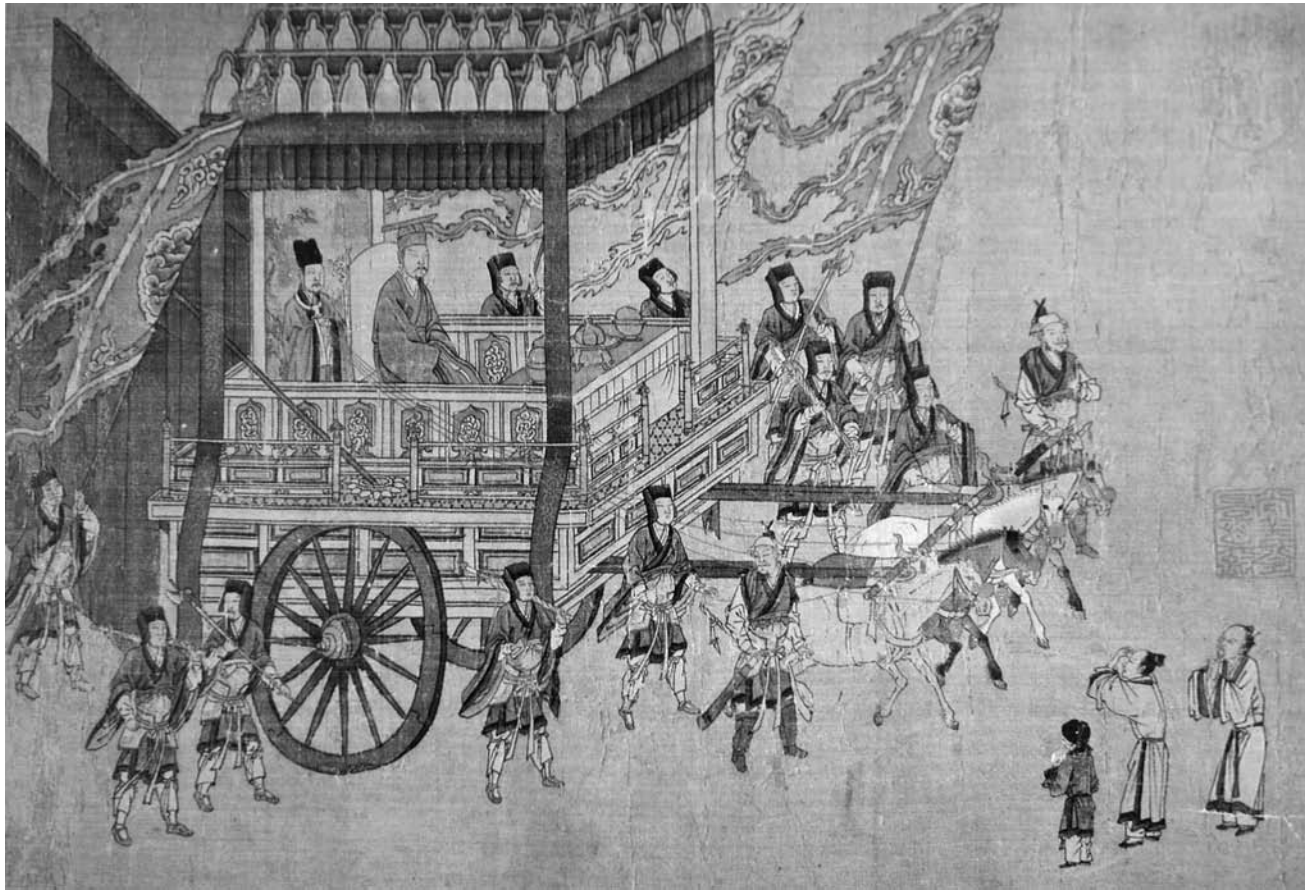


Figure 6 Painting from the album *The Classic of Filial Piety*, by Ma Hezhi, Southern Song dynasty (*Song Gaozong shu xiaojing Ma Hezhi huituce* 宋高宗书孝经马和之绘图册, ed. Deng Jiade [Chengdu: Sichuan Fine Arts Publishing House, 1998]).



Figure 7 Detail from *Qingming Shanghe tu* (清明上河图, Along the river during the Qingming Festival), by Zhang Zeduan in the Northern Song dynasty (The Palace Museum, Beijing).

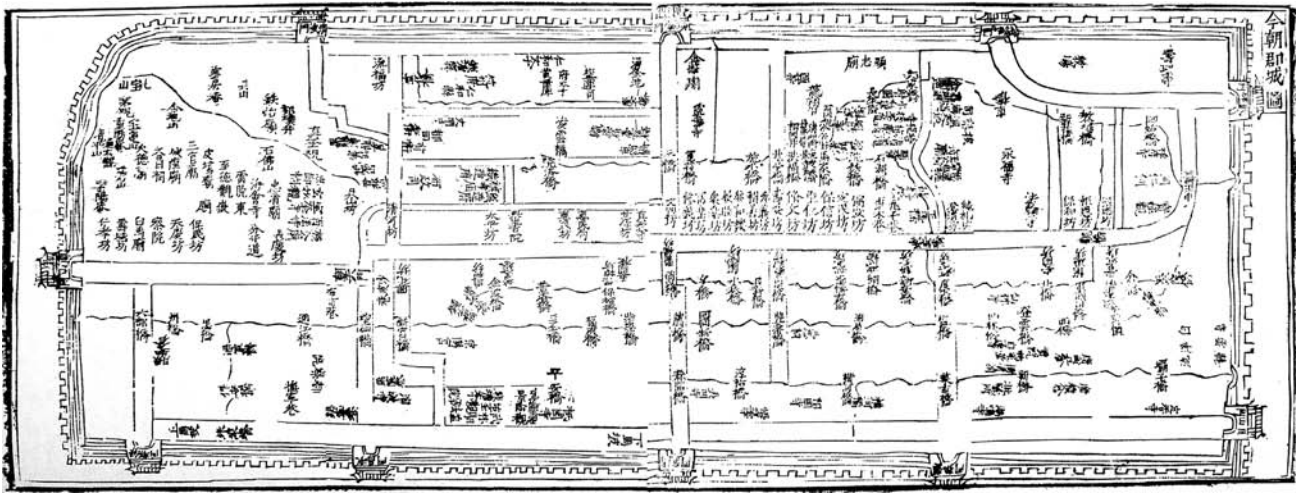


Figure 8 Schematic map of Hangzhou in the Ming dynasty; Imperial Street is in the middle, running horizontally across the whole city (recorded by Tian Rucheng in *Xihu youlan zhi* [1547]; Archives Bureau of Hangzhou, *Hangzhou gujiu ditu ji* 杭州古旧地图集 [Hangzhou: Zhejiang Ancient Literature Press, 2006], 18).

In *Dajia lubu tu*, the physical streetscape, as well as the public presence, is totally absent: the painting records in detail only the form of the procession, constituted by officials, guards, and soldiers in their rigid positions and particular dress and accoutrements, supplemented by text annotations. By contrast, *Qingming shanghe tu* focuses on the physical streetscape (shops, stalls, boats, river, and bridge) and the multitude of people (pedestrians, shopkeepers, artisans, and merchants), which combine to produce an exuberant urban scene. Most of the buildings in the *Qingming* painting are shops that flank the streets and the river. Even the prevailing form of the courtyard house, the traditional and legitimated living model, is not discernible in the painting. The government compound and other institutions are also absent. Does this streetscape suggest that the prosperous urban life was a deviation from traditional norms, or that it was a social product formed without much government intervention?

In his seminal collection of essays *The City in Late Imperial China*, G. William Skinner asserts that two orders prevailed in imperial Chinese urban space: one created and regulated by the imperial bureaucracy for field administration, the other shaped by economic transactions. Skinner terms the former structure “official” China and the latter “natural” society.⁴⁶ These two urban orders seem to be reflected in the two paintings discussed above. In reality, they mingled seamlessly, particularly on the imperial street. The social reality of the street had a dark side, too. Valerie Hansen argues that most of the scenes in *Qingming shanghe tu* contradict the historical records of Kaifeng. In reality, the painting illustrates an ideal city conceived by the artist; as Hansen notes, none of the shop names in the painting can be found in the literature of the period, and the painting lacks signs of poverty.⁴⁷

Further, the painting does not include other likely unpleasant aspects of the imperial street, such as offensive sights and odors from waste. These negative and yet unavoidable elements would have completed a holistic and authentic picture of the imperial street.

A Paradigm Shift

In 1271, the Southern Song dynasty was succeeded by the Yuan dynasty, ruled by the Mongols. The political role of Imperial Street ceased, and its commercial prosperity gradually declined. Yet the street remained the commercial center of the city during the succeeding dynasties. Its exuberant streetscape was portrayed by Yuan poet Sa Dula (萨都刺, ca. 1272–1355): “Like its epochal prosperity of yesterday, the lamplights of the imperial street are in riotous profusion.”⁴⁸ In *Xihu youlan zhi* (西湖游览志, Record of traveling to West Lake), Ming scholar Tian Rucheng (田汝成, 1503–57) also depicted Imperial Street of Hangzhou, confirming that its length (13,500 *chi*) remained unchanged from the period of the Southern Song dynasty.⁴⁹ A diagrammatic map of Imperial Street was produced in Tian’s book, published in 1547, verifying that the physical setting of the street remained unchanged during the Yuan and Ming dynasties (Figure 8). Its importance probably continued throughout the Ming-Qing dynasties, a stability assured by the waterways of the city, particularly the Grand Canal and Qiantang River, which served as major traffic routes for commerce. Large quantities of commodities were transported on waterways rather than on the street; therefore, there was no necessity to extend or widen it. Renovation and extension work occurred only on a few of the bridges.⁵⁰



Figure 9 Map of Hangzhou published in 1925 (Archives Bureau of Hangzhou, *Hangzhou gujiu ditu ji* 杭州古旧地图集 [Hangzhou: Zhejiang Ancient Literature Press, 2006], 225).

During the Republic of China period (1912–49), few changes were made to the urban fabric of Hangzhou, apart from the widening of some major streets (Figure 9). In 1928, Imperial Street was widened through the demolition of the walls of houses and wards. One year later, asphalt replaced gravel to accommodate automobiles.⁵¹ The renovation induced many time-honored companies to open businesses on the street, including Kuiyuanguan noodle shop, Shaozhiyan writing brushes shop, Tonghe department store, and Wuzhou medicine shop. These were followed by modern banks, such as Bank of China, Bank of Communications, Zhejiang Xingye Bank, Zhejiang Shiye Bank, and Zhejiang Chufeng Bank, which built office blocks on the street.⁵² After the victory against the Japanese invasion during World War II, most principal streets of the cities in China were renamed Zhongshan Road (中山路) as a memorial to Sun Zhongshan (孙中山, Sun Yat-sen), the founding father of the Republic of China. Hangzhou's Imperial Street was no exception. The street was divided into three segments, south, middle, and north, as reflected in their names, such as Zhongshan South Road. The street was the liveliest and most prosperous in Hangzhou during this period, as recalled by a hundred-year-old resident today: “[Zhongshan Middle Road] was the most boisterous place in Hangzhou in my childhood. There were shops, places to eat, places selling clothes, places for entertainment, for daily necessities, that is, a street full of

variety.”⁵³ During the Republican period, many of the pre-modern structures along the street were either demolished or replaced by modern structures. As in many places in China, there was a significant shift from Qing dynasty courtyard houses to multistoried commercial buildings whose appearance and structure were heavily influenced by the West.⁵⁴ Many of these commercial buildings have been well maintained to the present day (Figures 10, 11, and 12).

As elsewhere in China, economic development was somewhat stagnant in Hangzhou in the early socialist era, from the time of the dramatic political shift in 1949 to the late 1970s. The urban fabric was similarly dormant, as seen in a city map from 1954 (Figure 13). In the neighborhoods around Zhongshan Road, some new residential units and commercial buildings, normally five to six stories tall, appeared among the old structures along the street. After 1978, when the People's Republic of China shifted its political focus to economic development, Hangzhou, like many other major cities, embraced the popular campaign *jiucheng gaizao* (旧城改造, renovation of the old city), which continued through the 1980s and 1990s. This redevelopment process completely removed the historical fabric, altering the urban landscape of the whole city by widening streets, constructing new highways, and building high-rise structures. Due to their central location and historical importance, the neighborhoods of Zhongshan Road, however, remained a major technical challenge for redevelopment. While the area avoided

Figure 10 Buildings from the Republic of China period, preserved and renovated on Southern Song Imperial Street, Hangzhou (author's photo, 2014).



Figure 11 The former premises of Wuzhou medicine shop, built in the 1920s, preserved and renovated on Southern Song Imperial Street, Hangzhou (author's photo, 2014).



Figure 12 The former premises of Shengchang department store, built in the 1920s, preserved and renovated on Southern Song Imperial Street, Hangzhou (author's photo, 2014).





Figure 13 Map of Hangzhou published in 1954 (*Hangzhou gujiu ditu ji* 杭州古旧地图集 [Hangzhou: Zhejiang Ancient Literature Press, 2006], 206); image courtesy of Archives Bureau of Hangzhou, 本地图由杭州市档案局提供).



Figure 14 Southern Song Imperial Street, Hangzhou (author's photo, 2014).

the redevelopment fever, many businesses that occupied old shops on the street moved to newly developed centers. With only a few old shops and scattered residences remaining, the street showed conspicuous signs of decay. Nevertheless, this status of underdevelopment provided an exciting opportunity for the later renovation and preservation effort.

In light of lessons learned from the many urban redevelopment projects that had been conducted elsewhere with a lack of respect for historical values, the need for an agenda to restore Imperial Street properly to its former glory became urgent. In 2005, the municipal government of Hangzhou formulated a conservation plan for the historical neighborhood of Zhongshan Middle Road. The plan designated Zhongshan Middle Road as a traditional commercial zone, aiming to bring together its long-standing businesses as well as restore the former urban structure with shops facing the street and residences behind.⁵⁵ In 2008, the Hangzhou government started to implement the urban regeneration of Zhongshan Middle Road. The goal was, as Mayor Wang Guoping stated, to create “the number one street embodying the qualities of the Chinese lifestyle . . . suitable for living, suitable for commerce, suitable for tourism, and suitable for culture.” All efforts should be put forth to “build an international tourism complex based on the Southern Song imperial street.”⁵⁶

The design commission went to Wang Shu, an influential architect based in Hangzhou. He was well known for his ardent pursuit of the new spirit in Chinese architecture; in 2012, not long after he gained the commission, he became one of the laureates of the Pritzker Architecture Prize. Under Wang Shu's design philosophy, every building as well as its

residents should be retained for the sake of demonstrating the continuity of history.⁵⁷

The redevelopment of Zhongshan Middle Road has touched the façades of the buildings lightly, with, for example, new shading panels and repainting. The renovation works are, nevertheless, heavily concentrated at ground level. The asphalt has been replaced by new stone pavement, and vehicle access is blocked. A new waterway, decorated with plants and ornamental stones and featuring stone seats, forms a major element of the site (Figure 14). The waterway was probably influenced by literary descriptions of the North Song Imperial Street in Kaifeng rather than the South Song in Hangzhou. Nevertheless, it resembles the waterways in many existing rural villages of the Zhejiang region. New pavilions and canopies, designed in Wang Shu's recognizable style, are dispersed along the street (Figure 15). The highlight of the new architecture is the museum, which displays a small fragment of the archaeological remains of the Southern Song Imperial Street. The museum also houses a permanent exhibition of the design and renovation of the street, which is well documented through plans, drawings, photos, and a large physical site model (Figure 16).

The business premises on the street can be generally divided into three major categories (Figure 17). The first comprises jewelry stores, silversmiths, and goldsmiths, whose wares exactly match the literature's descriptions of the luxury goods exchanged in Southern Song times. The second category is middle-rank hotels, of which there are currently seven in total, converted from the previous residential and commercial blocks. The third category consists of coffee shops, teahouses, food stores, and restaurants



Figure 15 Southern Song Imperial Street, Hangzhou (author's photo, 2014).

catering to leisure needs. There is also a miscellaneous group made up of fashion shops, craft shops, a bookshop, other small retail outlets, a cinema, and a Muslim temple. In 2013 and 2014, I noticed that many premises remained vacant. This observation was corroborated by a tourist, who wrote in 2013:

Surprisingly, the street doesn't seem to be very prosperous despite its imperial status. There are a lot of shops along the way but I would say 70% of them are closed. The remaining 30% that are open mostly deal with jewelry, gold and other high end items—I guess the rental must be really high [and] only these shops are able to afford the rent.⁵⁸

Since the grand opening ceremony for the street on 30 September 2009, the Southern Song Imperial Street has become an important attraction in Hangzhou. To bring some “Southern Song” flavor to the street, the maintenance staff dress in Song style, and the electric carts they use are specially manufactured to resemble certain features of the premodern carriage. Approximately every 100 meters, the street is marked by a freestanding archway emblazoned with the words “Southern Song Imperial Street” in Chinese characters. The city organizes regular parades of people in colorful Song (or premodern) dress who carry tea sets and play music instruments (Figure 18). In accordance with the street's name, these programs strive to offer scenes reminiscent of its past heyday. Yet visitors can hardly gain any sense of Song times because of the modernity of the pavement and water elements, as one visitor noted in her blog.⁵⁹ The street lacks visual reference to the Song dynasty, as none of the structures



Figure 16 The museum (on right), Southern Song Imperial Street, Hangzhou (author's photo, 2014).

are from the Song period, or the late imperial period. Even if Song structures had been preserved, or had been rebuilt to an “authentic” standard, it would still be impossible for visitors today to gain an authentic experience of Song life.

The Street as an Urban Stage

In the Southern Song period Imperial Street assumed prestigious social status because of its role as the civic center of the capital. Geographically, the street sat on the centralized axis of the city, acting as both a divider and a connector. On one hand, it divided the city into two halves, thereby demarcating eastern and western administrative zones, each of which was overseen by its own official (Bazuo Si). On the other hand, it was the prime link between the imperial palace compound and the city gate and served as a major traffic route for the city. Politically, the street was declared by law as “imperial,” serving the imperial court exclusively. It was also a public theater where imperial power could directly penetrate into the urban neighborhoods. Socially, Imperial Street was not only the commercial center but also the cultural heart of the city, full of religious places, entertainment quarters, and scholarly institutions.

Imperial Street rose to such civil importance both because it was at the very center of the capital and because it accommodated multiple users; it was a location where the powerful and wealthy as well as commoners could negotiate certain rights to the street. For example, street vendors, who were financially unable to establish their own business premises, could participate in the morning market on the most important section of Imperial Street. Many wealthy households were concentrated on the southern part of Imperial Street. The vendors who lingered in front of those wealthy households engaged in a form of commercial exchange that was common at that time. Even the most powerful urban institution—the prefecture court of Hangzhou—was unable to maintain its solemn image and became submerged in the flood of business. According to Wu Zimu, the front yard of the prefecture court was transformed into a venue for trade and amusement.⁶⁰ Marco Polo also portrayed the urban diversity and richness of Imperial Street in Hangzhou:

All along the main street . . . both sides are lined with houses and great palaces and the gardens pertaining to them, whilst in the intervals are the houses of tradesmen engaged in their different crafts. The crowd of people that you meet here at all hours, passing this way and that on their different errands, is so vast that no one would believe it possible that victuals enough could be provided for their consumption.⁶¹

In the Southern Song period, therefore, Imperial Street truly achieved a sense of the “civic” through its multitude of

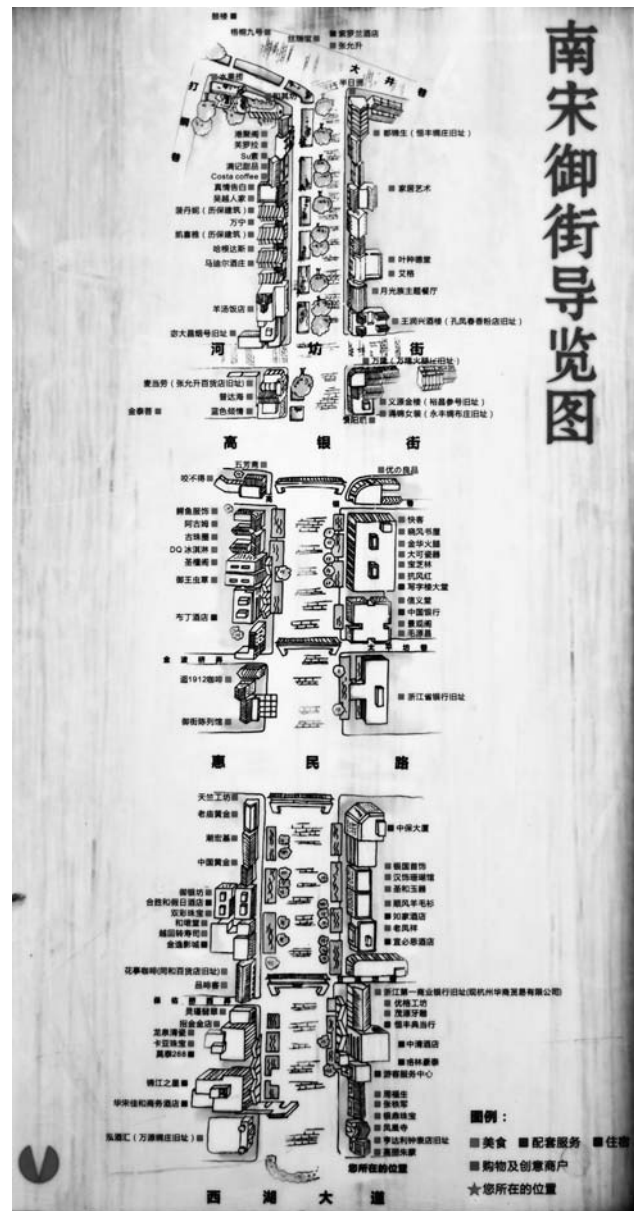


Figure 17 Tourist map of Southern Song Imperial Street, Hangzhou (author’s photo, 2014).

participants, from the emperor, officials, and wealthy merchants down to lesser shopkeepers and street vendors, though all were subject to the emperor’s order and the rigid social hierarchy.

Moreover, as indicated by sources such as Meng Yuanlao’s description of the imperial street in Kaifeng, many members of the Chinese urban merchant and artisan classes lived in houses on the street, where residential and commercial quarters were mixed. Many family businesses from Kaifeng relocated and reopened their shops in Hangzhou, such as Grandmother Li’s thick soup, the Zhang family’s dumplings, the Zhi family’s lamb rice dishes, and the Peng family’s rain boots.⁶² The shops’



Figure 18 Procession, Southern Song Imperial Street, Hangzhou (author's photo, 2014).

names, each including a family name and the type of business, revealed the intense personal bonds that people felt to the places where family life was interlaced with the family business. Limited in social mobility, both rich and poor Song city dwellers, like those in many preindustrial cities throughout the world, lived compactly together without conscious separation or withdrawal. This spatial proximity contributed fundamentally to the rich social texture on Imperial Street.

Regardless of the efforts of the modern municipal government to promote the culture and history of Hangzhou on this particular street, and the multiple activities promoted by street planning and design, the resurrected Imperial Street today seems unable to facilitate the rich social interactions it once hosted. The role of the street as an “urban stage” is much reduced in modern society due to shifting social paradigms. The processions currently featured on the street, for example, fail to attract large audiences as theatrical shows. Only a few passersby take casual photos of the processions, and there is little involvement in these events on the part of the shops along the street. For many Hangzhou residents, even the daily necessity of shopping for essential goods has been largely replaced by online shopping. Today, neither political force nor the compelling power of the old hierarchy can draw people to Imperial Street.

Although the Song-era Imperial Street was planned and constructed by political dictate, its actual development was always intertwined with the spontaneous forces of many everyday actions, some of which were illegal street encroachments. The wealthy and powerful took the lead in building roadside structures for speculative gain, while the commoners could claim a small share of urban space by erecting their humble stalls and homes. The street accommodated disparate indi-

vidual actions, in opposition to the consistent style and rigid regulation of modern times. Today, individual households have been replaced by commercial tower blocks or by residential blocks with ground-floor commercial spaces and residential upper floors. Each floor caters to a different tenant, and businesses and residences are totally separated. The household's engagement with the street has largely vanished, partly because informal trading has diminished and partly because of the vertical and horizontal separation of functions.

Unlike most conventional urban renovation projects, the new Imperial Street has tried to avoid removing local residents and has attempted to maintain mixed uses. Changing social paradigms, however, have rendered such mixed-use planning somewhat unproductive. For example, allocating spaces to exclusively pedestrian use by blocking vehicle access conflicts with the current penchant for possessing an automobile, both as a symbol of social status and as a household necessity. By contrast, Imperial Street in Hangzhou once teemed with vehicles, as described by Marco Polo:

In the main street of the city you meet an infinite succession of these carriages passing to and fro. They are long covered vehicles, fitted with curtains and cushions, and affording room for six persons; and they are in constant request for ladies and gentlemen going on parties of pleasure.⁶³

The widespread construction of gated communities in cities—a desirable living model for the Chinese middle and upper classes—indicates that living on a lively street is no longer a social norm. Due to increasing mobility, neither the visitors nor the shopkeepers need to live on or near Imperial Street. Lack of street involvement is dictated not only by

prevailing living preferences but also by the cost of living and the degraded state of the urban fabric, which make the street no longer suitable for residential occupation.

The government's determination to turn Imperial Street into the most attractive place in Hangzhou or even in China has succeeded in marking it as a tourist destination, and, indeed, the street draws a large number of visitors. Paradoxically, tourism brings both benefits and adverse impacts, such as the exposure of local residents' lives to the gaze of strangers.

The creation of a socially interactive and healthy urban environment remains a contentious problem in architecture and urban planning, particularly in regard to whether the key influences are social or physical or both. Many practitioners believe that thoughtful physical planning strategies can yield rich social experiences in urban neighborhoods, while others reject such environmental determinacy. Yi-Fu Tuan, for example, argues:

A complex urban fabric is the product of political, social, and economic forces that extend far beyond a particular place or time. No individual or group has the power to call these large diffuse forces into being and direct their paths toward the re-creation of a richly textured society.⁶⁴

The contextual difference between the past and the present suggests that mere physical restoration of historical forms does not necessarily lead to productive social outcomes. Conversely, the challenge remains: If new physical fabric is created to accommodate contemporary needs, how can the historical and cultural aspects of the place be integrated as an essential element of heritage-led urban regeneration?

Disembodied Historicity

Through an examination of the historical and social context, we could almost draw the conclusion that reviving the past glory of Hangzhou's Imperial Street is impossible. Considering the dearth of literary records illustrating the historical streetscape, particularly for the building structures flanking Imperial Street, any attempt to restore that glory seems to be faced with an insurmountable barrier. As to the Western philosophy that architecture is the material embodiment of social ideology, the new Imperial Street is completely lacking in physical references from which a visitor might obtain a glimpse of the Song landscape. Charged with modern structures, modern commercial arrangements, and modern marketing propaganda, this urban regeneration project clearly fails to present an authentic picture of the historical fabric, either in physical form or in living content.

Nevertheless, I would argue that the newly renovated Imperial Street has achieved a certain success specifically because of the absence of Song (or traditional Chinese) architecture. Because of the strong official promotion of the place

as the "Southern Song Imperial Street," visitors might have some knowledge of the site and its associations with the Song era. They might start a search for its physical reference points, but their efforts would certainly be in vain. Even to a layperson, the lack of premodern Chinese architecture on the street is a sign conspicuous by its absence. Such disconnection between topic and content is, however, provocative, in that some people will ponder the disconnect while others may be disenchanted.

I would note that construction methods employed in premodern China—including building materials, forms of architecture, structural frames, and joinery details—followed a strict and universal norm. The segmented section of a structure, embracing the pedestal, column, and bracket system up to the roof rafters, was sufficient as a prototype for constructing almost every building type, including houses, pavilions, and covered walkways. This is evident in two classical construction manuals, one from the Song dynasty, *Yingzao fashi* (营造法式, 1100), the other from the Qing dynasty, *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli* (清工部工程做法则例, 1734), and in many archaeological remains.⁶⁵ The systematic and enduring nature of Chinese architecture suggests the potential for rebuilding the Song structures based on historical texts. Bearing in mind the many historical preservation projects already achieved, it does not appear that it would be difficult to produce a simulacrum landscape of the Song dynasty. By virtue of its opposite outcome, the physical divorce from the past of the Song dynasty, however, the street draws us toward awareness of the thing that is *not* there.

The major characteristic of traditional Chinese architecture essentially lies in its inherent property of adaptability and renewability. In premodern China, it was common practice to shift the function of the same structure among houses, temples, schools, and government compounds.⁶⁶ Building renewal was exercised not only through surface renovation (e.g., regular painting of the wooden structure), internal rearrangement, and building extension but also through complete rebuilding. In the process of renewal, buildings could be dismantled, relocated, and reassembled without much difficulty, due to their modularity and elaborate structural components.

Permanence in building structures never seemed to be an earnest concern of builders and patrons in premodern China. Physical structures decayed and were demolished and rebuilt. The fluctuating life of a building is evident in many literary accounts. The structures on Southern Song Imperial Street, for example, did not persist due to frequent fires. On 6 March 1231, a huge fire rampaged through Imperial Street. The Grand Ancestral Temple, the central administration office, the offices of the Ministry of Supervision (Yushi Tai, 御史台) and the Ministry of Literature (Mishu Sheng, 秘书省), the Institute of Imperial Genealogy (Yudie Suo, 玉牒所), and

about ten thousand private households were damaged.⁶⁷ In September of the same year, another calamitous fire totally destroyed the Grand Ancestral Temple, the central administration office, the offices of the Ministry of Supervision and the Ministry of Literature, and the Institute of Imperial Genealogy, as well as many households.⁶⁸ In response to the disaster, a building regulation was formulated requiring the use of tiles instead of thatching for roofs in the capital city.⁶⁹ Although rebuilding was guided by the same traditional construction principles, variations between the original forms and the rebuilt ones often occurred during restoration. The question therefore arises for the new Imperial Street: How can a sense of “authenticity” or “originality” be claimed in the process of historical revival? The very word *authenticity* seems to have become a guiding principle in the practice of heritage conversation today.⁷⁰

Taking different perspectives, both Arthur F. Wright and Frederick W. Mote assert that the Chinese intended to lodge their urban history not in buildings but rather in text as a form of accumulated memories.⁷¹ Historical monuments in the Song dynasties often collapsed or burned and were razed to the ground, but they could be replaced or restored. According to Mote, the “imperishable elements are moments of human experience.”⁷² Swati Chattopadhyay argues that the material durability insisted on by architects and city authorities might be a cliché of Western cultural traditions, that such durability “has not always been regarded in China as indicating either authenticity or originality.”⁷³

In the literary description of the imperial street in Song times, few texts portray the physical appearance of the street, with the exception of its length, width, and pavement. The appearance of the buildings flanking the street remains unknown. Was it because the buildings conformed so strictly to construction standards that one could assume their nature and form without the need for records? Judging from the vivid and detailed street life portrayed by the literature, the physical structures were appropriate for their multiple functions and as the backdrop for lively neighborhood living. Like Wright and Mote, Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt notes that there is a conscious minimization of reference to physical form in Chinese texts.⁷⁴ I would argue that the narrative of premodern Chinese architecture is essentially literary rather than physical.

The regeneration of Southern Song Imperial Street was intended to bring the street national and international prominence. Such an ambition rests on the belief that architecture is a promulgator of social ideology—a belief stemming from the assimilation of Western traditions. The regeneration’s “cavalier forgetfulness” of the historical forms of imperial China also reveals an underlying sorrow. Relentless modernization eliminates historical traces, and raging urbanization violates the city fabric, extinguishes nostalgic longing, and makes a romantic return to the distant past impossible.

Considering the complexity of Chinese heritage-led urban redevelopment projects in the context of globalization, the challenge remains how to articulate heritage values systematically, an effort to which architecture contributes only a very small amount.

Jing Xie teaches architectural history and design studio, and his primary research interest is in the history of the built environment in China. Currently he is working on two monographs, one concerning urban form and life in Tang-Song China and one on heritage-led urban regeneration in China.

Notes

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Located on the southeast coast of China, the city of Hangzhou was originally a county established during the Qin dynasty (221–206 BC). The imperial capital was known as Lin’an in the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279 AD), and it remains the capital of Zhejiang Province today.

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3. Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 [Song], *Dongjing Menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (Beijing: China Commercial Press, 1982), 12. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

4. *Ibid.*

5. See, for example, Liu Chunying 刘春迎, *The Research on the Song Capital Dongjing* 北宋东京城研究 (Beijing: Science Press, 2004), 15; Dong Jianhong 董鉴泓, “Comparative Research on Chang’an and Northern Song Capital Dongjing” 长安城与北宋东京(汴梁城)的比较研究, *Tongji University Journal* (Humanities and Social Science Section) 2, no. 2 (1991), 1–9.

6. E. A. Kracke, “Sung K’ai-feng: Pragmatic Metropolis and Formalistic Capital,” in *Crisis and Prosperity in Sung China*, ed. John Winthrop Haeger (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975), 49–78.

7. Meng, *Dongjing Menghua lu*, 13.

8. Zhou Cong 周淙 [Song], *Qiandao Lin’an zhi* 乾道临安志 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1990), 3214.

9. During 1127–30, as a prefecture city, Lin’an was not so prosperous, according to the literature. See Li Xinchuan 李心传 [Song], *Jiyan yilai xinyan yaolu* 建炎以来系年要录 [Annals from the Jiyan period onward] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1988), 2858.

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12. Wu Zimu 吴自牧 [Song], *Mengliang lu* 梦粱录 (Changsha: Commercial Press, 1939), 61.

13. *Ibid.*, 62.

14. *Ibid.*, 112.

15. Xihu Laoren 西湖老人 [Song], *Xihu Laoren fansheng lu* 西湖老人繁胜录 (Beijing: China Commercial Press, 1982), 18.

16. Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, 2 vols. (New York: Dover, 1992), 2:201.

17. Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China, on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion 1250–1276*, trans. H. M. Wright (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1970), 47.
18. Qian Yueyou 潜说友, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳临安志 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Ancient Literature Press, 2012), 3:863–64.
19. Marco Polo, *Travels of Marco Polo*, 2:201.
20. *Ibid.*, 2:189.
21. Nai Deweng 耐得翁 [Song], *Ducheng jisheng* 都城纪胜 (Beijing: China Commercial Press, 1982), 3.
22. Zhu Mu 祝穆 [Song], *Fangyu shenglan* 方輿胜览, in *Siku quanshu* (1773–), chap. 1, 9–10.
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24. Nai, *Ducheng jisheng*, 3.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Yang Shiqi 杨士奇 [Ming], *Lidai mingcheng zhouyi* 历代名臣奏议, in *Siku quanshu* (1773–), chap. 312, 19.
27. Nai, *Ducheng jisheng*, 14.
28. Zhou Mi 周密 [Song], *Wulin jiusi* 武林旧事 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2012), 158.
29. Wu, *Mengliang lu*, 178.
30. Xiong Ke 熊克 [Song], *Zhongxing xiaoji* 中兴小记 (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Literature Press, 1987), 370.
31. Wu, *Mengliang lu*, 5.
32. Lin, “History of the Southern Song Imperial Street,” 50.
33. Hangzhou Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, *The Site of the Imperial Street of the Southern Song Dynasty* 南宋御街遗址 (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2013), 256.
34. Tuotuo 脱脱 et al. [Yuan], *Song Shi* 宋史, cited in Lin Zhengqiu 林正秋, “The Achievements and Characteristics of Hangzhou’s Urban Construction in Southern Song Dynasty” 试探南宋杭州城市建设的成就与特点, *Journal of Hangzhou Normal University*, no. 5 (2008), 110–15.
35. Tuotuo 脱脱 et al. [Yuan], *Song Shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2000), 1733.
36. For details, see Wu, *Mengliang lu*, 64–65.
37. Shen Kuo 沈括 [Song], *Mengxi bitan quanyi* 梦溪笔谈全译 (Guiyang: Guizhou People’s Press, 1998), 1.
38. Zhou, *Wulin jiusi*, 8.
39. For details, see Meng, *Dongjing Menghua lu*, 63–68; Zhou, *Wulin jiusi*, 8–18.
40. Zhou, *Wulin jiusi*, 8–18.
41. Patricia Ebrey, “Taking Out the Grand Carriage: Imperial Spectacle and the Visual Culture of Northern Song Kaifeng,” *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 12, no. 1 (1999), 33–65.
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44. Ebrey, “Taking Out the Grand Carriage,” 64.
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47. Valerie Hansen, “The Mystery of the Qingming Scroll and Its Subject: The Case against Kaifeng,” *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 26 (1996), 183–200.
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49. *Ibid.*, 238.
50. Hangzhou Municipal Institute, *Site of the Imperial Street*, 255.
51. Local Chronicles Compilation Committee of Hangzhou, *The Biography of Hangzhou* 杭州市志 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1999), 4:177.
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