Deal with the Supreme

Authoritative Space and Commercial Space in Sung Dynasty Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is motivated by the recent trend of comparative urbanism aimed at achieving a more dynamic and critical understanding of the world of ordinary cities through provincializing scholarly interpretations dominated by theorization or generalization based on a limited vision of urban experiences. It intends to extend our understanding of cities and to challenge some stereotypical misconceptions of European cities as well as Asian cities through comparing the city of Kaifeng during the Sung dynasty, and the city of Florence around the Renaissance period. Under the broad context of a near-global urban expansion and commercial revolution ranging from Asia to Europe during the 10^{th} to 14^{th} century, this thesis questions the socio-political implication of commerce in urban space through observing relation between authoritative space and commercial space in the two cities.

This thesis, beginning with a brief introduction to the subject matter and ending with a conclusive part, is arranged into four main chapters: the first chapter for clarifying major conceptual and methodological issues; the second for articulating commercial revolution in the regional systems; the third identifies major social and material changes with a focus on the order of space; the fourth chapter focuses on the commercial expansion, the entangled relationship imprinted in the urban spaces, and the power negotiated with the supreme authority. This thesis finds out that to Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence, the commercial space, which gradually integrated into the urban space, was appropriated by ruling elites. However, the authoritative space in Kaifeng showed less resistance to commercial space, while in Florence the opposite seems to be true, as was also shown by the spatial measures of legitimization of the two groups of elites.

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PREFACE

This project, comparing a Chinese city, Kaifeng, with a European city, Florence, has been conceived for years by a discontent urban planner. The motivation is surely not to make our world of cities simpler; maybe the opposite is true. Generally speaking, a European scholar might easily recognize a city in square form with a broad central street, grid pattern, and symmetric spatial arrangement as Asian, while, as far as I know, among Chinese urban planners with decent training in his field, everyone can easily name such essential components of the European city as church, square, palace, even their spatial relations. To break these conventional interpretations, even stereotypes, is one essential goal of this thesis.

I have been motivated to give such a comparison, but occasionally depressed by many problems, especially the following three. Firstly, there have been enormous theoretical constructions made about European cities, while very few about Asian ones. This made the course of comparing especially hard and unease since even the basic understanding of space and time taken in this thesis is somehow "western". This is a deficiency I cannot conquer at this moment. Secondly, the images of both cities, especially Florence, have evolved with the increasing knowledge and direct experience. Being a man of East Asian culture, though not exclusively, I do not want to deny my understanding of European history and cultures is more limited than that of Asia. Last but not least, the major methodological challenge of this thesis is that a silent assumption exists—comparing in such a grand manner is not possible at all, or, perhaps more pointedly, any comparison must wait until a broad temporal framework was established, so any comparison before that must from the outset be otiose and meaningless. Were I to share that view there would have been no occasion to write this

thesis. Therefore, this thesis might only be recognized as an attempt to compare cities spatially and temporally distant from each other with the audacious assumption that this is more meaningful than problematic.

In the context of cross-cultural studies, this thesis holds the belief that the mythic *other* must be abandoned, and our limits in understanding diverse cultural phenomena must be constantly reminded in the course of writing. Herein, this would, perhaps necessarily, create an author of contentious argument from the East, especially given the presence of a rigid dichotomy in the debate and its particularly close relationship with recent social and political reality. As Zhang Longxi has pointed out, in this respect one can only helplessly point to the predominance of the relativist paradigm in matters concerning China and the West. Indeed, "Not that I am particularly argumentative, but I have no other choice," as the ancient thinker Mencius said in response to a similar charge.[1]

Briefly, the mission this thesis has taken is to understand—what Bruce Trigger declares as "The most important issue confronting the social sciences" in his *Understanding Early Civilizations: A Comparative Study*—"the extent to which human behavior is shaped by factors that operate cross-culturally as opposed to factors that are unique to particular cultures".[2] The comparison of Kaifeng and Florence in pre-modern time could by no means bring about a significant change of our imagination of cities in Europe or in Asia. Nevertheless, this endeavor could be seen as a rudimentary attempt to find the way towards a more profound and extensive understanding of cities in world history.

[1] Longxi Zhang, *Mighty Opposites: From Dichotomies to Differences in the Comparative Study of China*, First edition (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 18.

[2] Bruce G. Trigger, *Understanding Early Civilizations: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 3.

ABBREVIATIONS

of titles of primary sources in Chinese

Abbreviation	Latin alphabet	Chinese	English Translation
CFYG	*Cefu Yuangui*	冊府元龜	Archival palace as the great oracle
CAZ	*Chang'an Zhi*	長安志	Annals of Chang'an
DDZL	*Dongdu Zhilue*	東都志略	Historical Geography of Eastern Capital
LFLWJ	*Luofan Lou Wenji*	落帆樓文集	Luofang pavilion collection
SS	*Suishu*	隋書	Nook of Sui
SS*	*Sungshi*	宋史	History of Sung
SHYJG	*Sung Huiyao Jigao*	宋會要輯稿	Sung Dynasty Manuscript Compendiu
TPGJ	*Taiping Guangji*	太平廣記	Extensive records in the Taiping era
THY	*Tang Huiyao*	唐會要	Institutional history of Tang
(J/X)WDS	*Jiu/Xin Wudai Shi*	舊/新五代史	Old/new history of the Five Dynasties
XZZTJCP	*Xu Zizhi Tongjian Changbian*	續資治通鑑長編	Extended Continuation to Zizhi Tongjian
ZZTJ	*Zizhi Tongjian*	資治通鑒	Comprehensive mirror in aid of governance
ZZYL	*Zhuzi Yulei*	朱子語類	Sayings of Zhuzi

INTRODUCTION

The general, near-global force of urbanization ranging from Asia to Europe during the tenth to fourteenth centuries has been of fundamental interest among historians. This raises some important questions concerning regional differentiation, driving forces, and historic trends in urban growth, and demands comparative understanding that highlights both plurality and parallelism, as Peter Clark has pointed out.[3] Nevertheless, given the complexity and specificity of regional changes over time, only relatively small numbers of scholars have been actively involved in.[4] The difficulty is further enhanced by challenges in a comparative approach, such as languages, sources, literature, and conceptualization. Moreover, in order to compare in a world-historical scale, some of the basic conventions in comparative analysis needs to be challenged, especially a synchronized comparison following chronological order should not be expected. After all in pre-industrial world, spatial flow is rather slow, even sluggish compared to the industrial. With certain fortune and skills, it took years, even decades, to communicate in a Euro-Asia span, just think about the mission of the Italian Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) to China.

To understand the urbanization in world scale during the 10th to 14th century, to compare cities and regions distant in time and space are what this thesis intends to do. To be

[3] Peter Clark, *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, First Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2–6.

[4] Max Weber's work has made a contribution in comparing Asian and European cities, but his approach of constructing 'ideal types' intends to conceptualize an Oriental city based on power and a Western city based on citizenship rather than examining historical trends in urban growth. Another work worth a mention is Mark Elvin's *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, where he discusses the urban revolution in Tang-Sung dynasties China and makes some comparisons with the urban revival in late medieval Europe. The recently published *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History* is devoted to compare in a world scale focusing on some key variables—power, population and migration, representations, environment, commercial networking, and so on.

realistic, although it will be helpful to emphasize the approach of contextualization and provide a big picture of each region, this thesis has no idea of offering an overall comparison between Asian and European urbanizations during the time concerned, or attempting to explain their inscrutable connectivity. Rather this work will be done in a city-historical scale and focus on variables of two individual cases in a comparative manner. This introduction will first identify some important questions this thesis raises and a number of the core themes that need to be explored; and then set out a brief conspectus of the main trends and problems in comparative studies between East Asia and Europe in the medieval world, with an introduction to the chapters that follow.

It has been generally observed that dramatic changes took place in Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence in contrast to what had been before, especially through the disintegrated city-wards in Kaifeng and the reduced towers in Florence. From the theory on the rise of modern capitalism in the "West", one might reason that spaces became more open to commerce rather than being closed and controlled by the old elites, and conventionally the basic drivers of this process would be the merchants. As will be discussed, such statement is specious and problematic not because its economy with words, but the predefined perspective and developmentalism. Being dissociated itself with such preference, this thesis tries to understand the role of merchants and of commerce in pre-industrial cities by making a comparison between Kaifeng and Florence.[5] The comparison is set according to the *commercialization of agriculture and intensification of trade* in their respective regional history: the Northern Sung dynasty (c.960-1127) for

[5] Kaifeng had many names during the Tang-Sung dynasties, such as Daliang, Bianzhou, Bianjing, Bianliang, Junyi, Dongdu, Dongjing, and so on. In this thesis, I will mostly use the name, Kaifeng.

Kaifeng, and the late Middle Ages or Renaissance for Florence.[6] Moreover, thinking about commercialization, this thesis will specifically focus on its transforming forces on the order of space, which embodied socio-political power and authority, and the respective neo-authoritative spaces integrated merchants and commerce into the city. As what will be shown by the two cases later, this was not just about setting up one or several markets in the city, nor simply a problem about finding or building residences for merchants. After all even the proper living spaces of merchants had been under threat, and those commercial activities had experienced strong resistance as well. It involved various agents in space, their relations with existing elites, and the overall changes in social hierarchy. In other words, conflicts in contested spaces.

Besides revealing salient phenomena that occur in different settings, this research will highlight the critical differences emerging in the course of comparison. Although in terms of geography, culture, and scale the two cities were rather different, were there any similar changes *in* and *of* space when they faced the similar question of how to integrate merchants and commerce into urban space, and what were different? One can easily find out that following a period when urban spaces were highly contested in commercial expansion, the established neo-authoritative spaces presented an intentional agreement or disagreement with previous cityscape, but were transformed largely according to new social hierarchies and had quite different significances. While in order to achieve a deeper understanding of this issue comparatively, this thesis will also develop a framework based on

[6] In this thesis, the Renaissance period stands for the period roughly between the fourteenth century and the fifteenth century. The two terms 'Sung dynasty' and 'Renaissance' are employed to inform general historiography and to stimulate ideas from boarder contexts, rather than to limit historical changes to clear-cut periodization. For convenience, later in this thesis I will use 'Sung Kaifeng' rather than its full name.

multi-functionality of space, and focus on the two most significant and revealing spaces, they are, *authoritative space* and *commercial space*. Therefore, the basic inquiry of this thesis is the influences of commercialization of agriculture and intensification of trade on Kaifeng and Florence comparatively. For this I will focus on the evolving relationship between authoritative space and commercial space, and only then this thesis will discuss the newly established order Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence in a comparative manner. Before entering detailed discussion on the subject-matter, and methodology, it is of great value to portray an outline of the two regions during the time concerned.

The span of time between the tenth and thirteenth century, and between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century, which may well be characterized as one of the greatest ages in East Asian and European history respectively, have formed an interesting parallel in recent historiography. The American sinologist John K. Fairbank (1907-1991) points out that "The century and a half of the Northern Sung is…in some ways like the Renaissance that would begin in Europe two centuries later."[7] In his articulation of "China's Greatest Age", general similarities can be found in the two aspects. In terms of *material growth*, the Sung dynasty was a time of high commodification of agriculture, growing (inter-)regional commerce, rapid urbanization, and technological innovations (printing, gunpowder and compass, etc.). With regard to *social and intellectual dynamics*, one can find the rise of literati through state examination, the reconfiguring social hierarchy, and the revival of Confucianism.

Fairbank's contemporary, the Japanese historian Ichisada Miyazaki (1901-1995) presented a more explicit comparison between the two renaissances in the West and the

[7] John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History*, Second Edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2006), 88–107.

East.[8] In terms of philosophy and religion, both cases showed a strong investment in classics of antiquity (the Zhou dynasty and Greco-Roman world) with certain deliberations to fight against, or reform the established religious authorities (the Tang dynasty Buddhism and medieval Papacy). With regard to literature and language, there was the revival of classical genres (promoted by Ouyang Xiu and Francesco Petrarca), and the rise of vernacular languages. Besides the great inventions mentioned above, Ichisada also points out that the contribution in science made by Shen Kuo in his *Dream Pool Essays* is also comparable to that of Leonardo da Vinci. Last but not least, the advancement in arts and cultural representation can hardly be overlooked in both contexts.

Moreover, historically and culturally, the Sung dynasty and the Renaissance are also interpreted controversially as distinguished historical periods. The observation on the Sung dynasty of the Japanese historian Naito Konan (1866–1934) and the canonical interpretation of the Italian Renaissance by the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897) both postulate "early modernity" (*jinshi*) within their respective contexts.[9] Though those ambitious statements have received strong critique about their ignorance of historical continuity and notions of linear and universal development of human history, their observations of the two eras as particular historical processes have continued to be major threads of inquiry.[10] Besides holistic historical characterization, scholars have found their

[8] Ichisada Miyazaki, *Gongqi'shiding Lunwen Xuanji (Selections of Ichisada's Writings)*, vol. 2 (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1965), 37–42.

[9] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (Courier Dover Publications, 2012)., Naito Konan, *Zhong'guo Shi Tong'lun (General Discussion on Chinese History)*, ed. and trans. Yingyuan Xia, vol. 1 (Social Sciences Academic Press, 2004), 223–32.

[10] A major critique on Burckhardt's interpretation of the Italian Renaissance, see Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense Of The Past* (New York: Edward Arnold, 1970). A collection on scholarly discussion about Tang-Sung transitions, see Xiangqian Lu, ed., *Tang'Sung Bian'ge Lun (Discussion on Tang-Sung Transition)* (Huang'shan Shu'she Press, 2006).

interest in various revolutionary changes, like ideas, commerce, urbanization and technology.[11] Particularly, Mark Elvin's research on social and economic development of Tang-Sung dynasties consciously shows strong parallels with late medieval Europe.[12] The distinguished historian of Renaissance studies, Peter Burke also points out a "global turn" in recent rise of global history and provincializing Europe, and speaks of 'renaissances' in the plural, or recognizing the term to refer to "a family of movements of revival", including the Confucian revival in Sung dynasty China.[13]

Overall, one can see exceptional contributions made by generations of intellectuals in this respect on the one hand, but also the unsolved issue about *connectivity*, which keeps coming back in these plurality as well as parallelism in comparison between pre-industrial Asia and Europe. The recent research on "the pre-history of globalization" also demands us to question the connection between the East and West in medieval world. There are some attempts, such as Robert Tignor and his colleagues' idea that it was during 1000-1300 that the world became more interconnected through trade, together with religious conflict, colonization, migration, and global exchange,[14] however, a broad framework or discourse is

[11] Several prominent writings on these revolutionary changes in Tang-Sung dynasties China and Renaissance Europe. In European context, Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350* (Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976)., and Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (Martino Fine Books, 2014)., and Lynn White, *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1966)., and In Chinese context, Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sungdai Shangyeshi Yanjiu (Commercial History of the Sung Dynasty)*, trans. Jinghui Zhuang (Daoxiang press, 1997)., Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China. Volume 1: Introductory Orientations* (Cambridge England: Cambridge University Press, 1954)., and Peter K. Bol, *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in Tang and Sung China* (Stanford University Press, n.d.).

[12] Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past: A Social and Economic Interpretation* (Stanford University Press, 1973).

[13] Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*, 3rd Edition edition (Polity Press, 2013), 12–4.

[14] Robert Tignor et al., *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart: A History of the World from the Beginnings of Humankind to the Present*, Second Edition (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 110–9.

still missing. Though research on connectivity and communication between pre-industrial Asia and Europe is still wanting, it does not substantially preclude a comparison based on variables, such as power, trade, technology, literature, representation, and so on.

This review on past comparisons about medieval China and Europe is expandable, and the recent growth in this topic also indicates that novel contributions will keep coming out.[15] Yet, it is necessary to stop at this point and turn to the core issues addressed in this thesis. This thesis will explicate its methodology and conceptual frameworks in the following chapter. In the second chapter, the reflections of commercial revolution on regional space and the basic conditions of the growth of the two cities will be discussed. The third chapter will be devoted to the social transformation, and their material manifestation, which suggests a disintegration of significant authoritative components in each city, namely the fang-system in Kaifeng and tower-societies in Florence. Last but not the least, the neo-authoritative spaces in Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence will be characterized, especially the entangled relationship between the authoritative space and commercial space. This further reflected an intentional appropriation of commercial space for legitimization, but concerning the two cases, the ways of appropriating were rather different: while the authoritative space in Kaifeng showed less resistance to commercial space, in Florence the new elites seems to be more sensitive toward commercial identity of their hold s of power.

[15] Most recently, several international conferences have been organized to move toward Euro-Asia comparative studies in medieval world. Such as "Perspectives on Medieval Social Dynamics and Contacts (Real and Imagined) in China and the West" jointly organized by Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, and Department of History, Beijing Normal University, 12-14th Nov, 2014; and "Political Communication in the Medieval World, 800-1600" jointly organized by the ERC-research group "Communication and Empire: Chinese Empires in Comparative Perspective" (Leiden University) and the Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome (KNIR), 27-29th May 2015.

CHAPTER 1. METHODOLOGY AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

"Cities are so common today that we cannot imagine a world without them,"[16] however, the understanding of the city and its changes over time is still rather limited, partly due to the massive accumulation of scholarship with a paradoxical interest in worldwide generalization, if not universalism, as well as parochial research. Given this crisis in urban studies, it is indeed necessary to understand the city through comparison regardless of categorical interpretations of world cities (like the Occidental and Oriental divide, classification according to world system theory, etc.). This chapter is devoted to understanding some core conceptual and methodological issues this thesis is involved with: begin through asking the question of 'what is a city' and emphasizing the needs of cross-cultural comparative analysis in urban studies, continue with an identification of the specialty of comparative historical analysis, and end by developing a comparative framework according to the above discussions.

Quite possibly in a colloquium on urban history, the only convention about the concept of 'city' turns out to be that the term is notoriously hard to define.[17] Ironically, as Horace Miner suggests, "Everyone knows what a city is, except the experts"[18]. In fact, not many scholars have realized that 'what constitutes a city?' is not necessarily *the right question* to ask, or it is not always a good idea to create an ideal category called *the* city. There are so many different kinds of cities, which can hardly be defined in general terms, and those

[16] Joyce Marcus, *The Ancient City: New Perspectives on Urbanism in the Old and New Worlds*, ed. Jeremy A. Sabloff (Santa Fe, N.M.: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008), 3.

[17] Jaroslav Miller, ed., "Urban History—Trends, Debates, Issues," *Colloquia. Journal for Central European History*, no. 18 (2011): 81–97., and Marcus, *The Ancient City*, 12.

[18] Horace Miner, ed., *The City in Modern Africa*, First edition (London: Pall Mall Press, 1967), 3.

extremely diverse human settlements are by no means easy to be conceptualized into just a few terms, including 'city', Chinese '*chengshi*', Italian '*citta*', and Japanese '*toshi*'. Translating these terms into other languages are by nature questionable, not just because enough investigation has not been done, but also for the reason that one sometimes would naturally assume there is a necessity to translate, or things are translatable.

Historically how such expressions within and among cultures became generalized is a very revealing question and asks for scholars' attention. Expressions of these not necessarily similar human settlements have become increasingly homogenized, together with the changes of languages and writing systems, inter-culture communications (if not impositions), and more recently influences brought by "modernization" and "globalization". In Latin and Classical Chinese, terms associated with 'city' are diverse: *urbs*, *arx*, *murus* and *civitas*, and *guo*, *du*, *yi*, *cheng* and *guo* respectively. Either becoming less employed universally, enjoying better and general reception, or serving only in certain kinds of literary productions, these terms also have their own history. These conceptual changes over time could be very reflective and reveal some fundamental conceptual issues in current research on cities, and scholars should pay much more attention in this regard.

Translating diverse human settlements that are previously not labeled as 'city' using this expression can be seen as immediately hegemonic, unless accompanied by a reconceptualization of 'city', which does not seem to be the case. Indeed, nowadays one's understanding of the city is significantly constrained by scholarship on the city (in history, sociology, geography, etc.) that has a parochial focus yet claims to research *the* city in a world-scale generalization. Jon Pierre, and Jan Nijman strongly argue against law-like explanations of the city only based on observations of some Euro-American cases, which

have guided general hypothesis formation in urban studies.[19] Moreover, another important source of knowledge about cities, namely urban theories are mostly parochial, and according to Jennifer Robinson, "requires de-provincializing, even as theory that falsely claims to have universal status needs to be provincialized."[20] Many scholars (including scholars from China) who picked up the thesis, namely "the rise of modern (if not western) capitalism" from Weber to analyze Chinese cities may have asked wrong questions since very few of them actually has questioned why the historical trend of China should be modern capitalism.[21] Scholars should be aware of the problematic side of general statements and theories, and the power, thus importance of concepts, which cannot be over-emphasized in (but not limited to) research on settlements in world history.

Moreover, comparative research based on qualitative variation-finding is also partly responsible for homogenized image on the city, because it encourages scholars to think comparatively across the experiences of relatively similar societies. As Chris Pickvance remarks, the emphasis on "most-similar" approach is foreshadowed by assumptions of universal causality, while a 'relativist' model of plural causality that similar outcomes might

[19] Jon Pierre, "Comparative Urban Governance Uncovering Complex Causalities," *Urban Affairs Review* 40, no. 4 (March 1, 2005): 446–8., and Jan Nijman, "Introduction—Comparative Urbanism," *Urban Geography* 28, no. 1 (February 1, 2007): 2–3.

[20] As Robinson writes, "The very fact that cities exist in a world of other cities means that any attempt at a general or theoretical statement about cities either depends upon or invites comparative reflection." See Jennifer Robinson, "Cities in a World of Cities: The Comparative Gesture," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, no. 1 (January 1, 2011): 16., and Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[21] Max Weber has provided a major stimulus in comparative urban studies since the translation of his *The City* into English. Weber's ideal European city of citizenship based community, property rights, self-government, etc., which is mainly influenced by Henri Pirenne's *Medieval Cities*, and his interpretation of Chinese cities based on limited and questionable sources has provoked on-going debate. Nevertheless, Weber's work pioneers in worldwide comparison, and provides important momentum to understand cities outside Europe. For an evaluation of Weber's comparative analysis in *The City*, see in William T. Rowe, *Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford Univ Press, 1992), 1–16.

have quite different causes is seldom considered.[22] The universal project of modernity and the notion of developmentalism that have dominated urban studies since the 20th century could serve as an evident case in point.[23] With this intellectual pre-determination, comparative methods often came to be seen as part of the modernist project in the ascent of postmodern trends in the late 1970s and early 1980s.[24] What Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels highlighted about the capitalist destruction of space and domination of time over spatial differences in modern society is also telling in our homogenizing understanding of cities. Eventually, as Marshall Berman cautions about the self-destructive nature of modernism, "all that is solid melts into air";[25] lessons on geography (of urban theory, modernity, capitalism, etc.) are necessary, and a post-colonial approach is in need.

So rather than assuming that there is an insuperable problem in comparing societies far removed from each other in space and time, comparing "in the grand manner", actually provides scholars an opportunity to find out some fallacies in conventional "wisdom" concerning the assumption of universal causality. As in *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience*, Roy Bin Wong sharply argues the world outside Europe had its own "historical dynamics of change", and highlights that (a part of) his goal was to understand how economic and political change in Chinese history is different from the European experience, though he also seeks connections and similarities.[26]

[22] C.G. Pickvance, "Comparative Urban Analysis and Assumptions about Causality," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 10, no. 2 (June 1, 1986): 179.

[23] M. Shamsul Haque, *Restructuring Development Theories and Policies: A Critical Study* (Albany, N.Y.: State Univ of New York Press, 1999).

[24] Nijman, "Introduction—Comparative Urbanism."

[25] Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*, Reissue edition (New York, N.Y., U.S.A.: Penguin Books, 1988), 5–12, 88–90.

[26] Roy Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Cornell University Press, 1997), 1–8.

In comparative studies, awareness of plurality would force one to bring some theoretical assumptions into the open, which indicates that there is, in fact, much to be learned across seemingly very different social systems.

Indeed, as Jennifer Robinson remarks, both the methodological resources and the prevalent intellectual and theoretical landscape have tended to limit and even undermine comparative research across different contexts and diverse urban experiences.[27] Saskia Sassen proposes *cityness* in order to open up the meaning of urbanity that developed in a limited universe of cases to a far broader range of empirical instances.[28] The conceptual divide between "Western" and "Third World" cities and urban ideology imposed by existing scholarship demands an assumption of "ordinary cities" rather than "cities in a world system", and a revitalized and *experimental international comparativism* that will enable urban studies to stretch their resources for appreciation of the world of cities.[29] Therefore, understanding what constitutes a city, how cities are organized, and what happens in them invokes a comparative gesture, yet without being limited by parochialism or universalism and falling into the entrenched assumptions of incommensurability across the wider socio-political systems.

Such a huge want of comparative urbanism takes us back to the question about 'what constitutes a comparative analysis'. Firstly, it differs from *comparative perspectives*, or *parallel*, which mostly provides comparable cases in order to improve familiarities of readers and stimulate comparative interest (such as Fairbank's statement that Sung dynasty

[27] Robinson, "Cities in a World of Cities."

[28] Saskia Sassen, "Cityness. Roaming Thoughts about Making and Experiencing Cityness," *Ex Aequo*, 2010, 14–15.

[29] Jennifer Robinson, *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development* (London; Routledge, 2006).

China is similar to Renaissance Europe and Elvin's reference to European economic changes when discussing the pattern of the Chinese past mentioned in the introduction). Rather, comparative analysis is a social scientific method.[30] It is driven by a clear research question, and aims to solve this question by means of testing empirical hypotheses in a social scientific way. Comparative methods, therefore, are predominated by logics of social science, and involve systematic research designs (of research units, data collection, measurement, and so forth) that enable one to translate empirical questions into observations, which allow for drawing systematically generalizable conclusions.

In addition to the revealed social-scientific nature of comparative methods, however, there are important peculiarities going beyond the conventional understanding of social science. Distinctions of comparative methods, according to Charles Ragin, are in fact obscured by the tendency of almost all (social) scientists to claim that they study societies, or that social science is the study of society.[31] To those non-comparativists, since they work within a society whose holistic complexity seems not of their concern, marcrosocial units or cases usually remain unreplicable myths or mere abstractions. By contrast, since comparativists recognize the comparative value of every single case selected, the complexity of every case is an issue they must deal with in order to involve them in one overall course of comparison, which demands well variable-defined cases. In short, comparativists face a problem of *comparability* that is defined through variables, which goes beyond the direct concern of non-comparativists. Of course, phenomena do not have a

[30] Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry* (Wiley-Interscience, 1970), 3–5.

[31] Charles C. Ragin, *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies* (University of California Press, 1989), 5–7.

property of being comparable or not; this problem is mostly predominated by the research question under review, and its solution, as Teune and Przeworski put it, depends on the level of generalization of the language applied to express the observations.[32]

In this sense, there is a demand for proper research design specifically for comparative inquiry, which is not just to reduce the complexity of reality to feasible concepts within a case as that in a social science, but more importantly to identify, define and operationalize units of variation among cases in the course of comparison. Comparative analysis is not merely juxtaposition of facts, but a designed course of explanation causally orienting to explain and interpret a phenomenon; identifying similarities and differences is meaningful only if they contribute to the comparative inquiry. Comparative analysis shares the epistemological view of positivism that social scientists can understand or gain general knowledge about the real world by using social scientific methods, but differs in the way of understanding or methods, which is driven by its comparative inquiry that intends to gain insight from a set of cases by controlling them in a proper research design.[33]

The term 'historical' in comparative-*historical* analysis cautions its employer of its *context-sensitivity*; as Raymond Aron reminds that "Natural science seeks for law, history for the particular."[34] In other words, historical inquiries are always specified by spatio-temporal contexts that qualify social science of *moderate* nomothetic insights, and *compromisingly* socio-scientific statements encompassing many cases can only be made if

[32] Przeworski and Teune, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*, 10.

[33] Here I distinguish single-case studies that benefits about research questions in comparative thinking from comparative research simply because they do not involve a research design for comparative analysis.

[34] Raymond Aron, "Relativism in History," in *The Philosophy of History in Our Time*, ed. Hans Meyerhoff (Doubleday, 1959), 157.

those cases share syndromes of historical, cultural and social matrix.[35] Moreover, in this respect Matthew Lange suggests that within-case/ideographic methods (notably historical approaches and ethnographic ones) constitute the "historical" in comparative-historical analysis. Combining comparative and nomothetic methods, which compare multiple cases in an effort to highlight causal determinants among cases, and within-case/ideographic methods, which study one case in pursuit of insight into the determinants of a particular phenomenon in the domain of one case, comparative-historical analysis therefore presents itself in a middling position within the ideographic-nomothetic continuum.[36] Orientations of comparative-historical inquiries are neither of pure facts concerning a single case, nor law-like generalizations applied to the universe of cases, but involve both. Most commonly, comparative methods employed in comparative-historical analysis are 'many variables, small-N (number)' comparisons,[37] which explore similarities and differences of causal processes and, in so doing, pay attention to causal mechanisms with context-sensitivity.

To go further in this inquiry, a challenge to enable the comparison is conceptual formations. In fact, comparative-historical researchers have been leading conceptual innovation in social science, because of their affinity with empirical facts and contexts. The typology of Max Weber should not be forgotten in dealing conceptual, particularly for its production of concepts with both historical and cultural sensitivity. This thesis will adopt Weber's methods of *clear concepts* that reduce social reality to typological proportions and are achieved by comparing similar historical cases to figure out "clear concepts", and *rules*

[35] Przeworski and Teune, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*, 6–8.

[36] Matthew Lange, *Comparative-Historical Methods*, 1st edition (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2012), 4–5, 13–8.

[37] Arend Lijphart, "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method," *The American Political Science Review* 65, no. 3 (September 1, 1971): 686.

of experience that formulate clear historical types and are gained by empirical observations.[38] Since "historical reality always existed in mixed form", statements like society is constituted by a set of all sets (cultural, political, and economic, etc.) become less interesting to comparatists because it is not so helpful to set up a comparative framework based on variables, not to mention conceptualize them into meaningful dimensions. For Weber, to reduce social reality to intelligible typological proportions according to historical judgment and rules of experience are thus not only useful but also necessary in order to make a valid comparison.

In addition, as it has been noted by many scholars doing comparative research, secondary sources are widely and necessarily used in many comparisons, not only because of the amount of work of analyzing multiply cases, but also the problem of sources, which are mostly not intended for comparison. Therefore, this thesis mainly relies on data from secondary sources, taking the form of monographs, composite works, and articles from academic journals in and translated into English and Chinese,[39] and uses less historical methods to collect and assess data the way in primary within-case historical studies do. With the potential issues in their generalization, analysis, synthesis, interpretation, or evaluation of the original information, I will employ the *documentary research method* that focuses on four aspects of sources in the evaluation: authenticity, credibility, representativeness and

[38] Guenther Roth, "Max Weber's Comparative Approach and Historical Typology," in *Comparative Methods in Sociology: Essays on Trends and Applications*, ed. Ivan Vallier (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 82–5., and Max Weber, *The Methodology Of The Social Sciences*, trans. Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch (Glencoe Ill.: Free Press, 1949), 90, 103.

[39] A comprehensive comparison of Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence based on secondary sources should reply on languages, including English, Chinese, Italian, and Japanese. Besides the fact that many prominent works in Japanese and Italian have been translated into Chinese and English respectively, the abundance of English and Chinese literature in various topics already provides a solid ground for a MA work dedicated to Euro-Asian distance comparison.

meaning.[40] Nevertheless, given the importance of primary sources, especially in visual support, their values should not be neglected.

In brief, this thesis compares Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence with spatio-temporal remoteness in response to the initiative to compare urban experiences across different social systems, in order to observe and interpret the critical differences between evolving spatial order in urban spaces under the transformative power of commercialization mainly based on secondary sources by means of Weber's typology.

Hereafter, I will clarify the comparative framework of this thesis based on the above discussion on general conceptual issue on 'city' and methodology. The idea of socio-political *order* (opposed to disorder and chaos) will be adopted to understand the city and urban space. Through a combination of the socio-political structures ordering the city, and the material features of the urban setting, this approach is unavoidably simplified in understanding urban societies. However, especially by avoiding ideologically biased approach of the old theories, and the de-structured approach of the more recent trends, as Mario Liverani has also noted,[41] it also enables one to evaluate the relationship between power and urban society that characterized the specific periods and cultures more objectively and clearly.

In fact, there has been a growing interest in social history in spatial terms, and this demands understanding space not merely in physical and functional dimensions. In terms of the urban history of medieval Europe, the volume *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the*

[40] John Scott, ed., *Documentary Research*, vol. 1 (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2006), 23–6.

[41] Mario Liverani, "Power and Citizenship," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, ed. Peter Clark, First Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 172–7.

Early Modern Age derived from "the Fifth International Symposium on Medieval and Early Modem Studies" has made a huge contribution in understanding the urban space in medieval as well as early modern Europe, its continuity, transition, paradigm shift, etc. through impressive historical, mental, cultural, and social-economic investigations.[42] Concerning Florence, Roger Crum and John Paoletti has edited a volume on the social history of the city from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, and offered an overall review of discussions on the dynamics of space in the Renaissance city, which integrates research on patronage, visual arts, material culture, and public rituals. To them, spatially, "Florence was not rigidly bounded, despite the severity of the city's architectural forms, but rather that it constituted an urban theater where human activity was as much a definer of space as was architecture…"[43]

With regard to the urban history of pre-industrial China, there is Chye Kiang Heng's monograph *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats: The Development of Medieval Chinese Cityscapes*, which talks about "paradigm shift" of the urban space during the Tang-Sung dynasties.[44] The political space of capital cities in the pre-modern period, according to Hirata Shigeki and Yang Kuan, should be associated with performative aspects of rituals,

[42] For a comprehensive evaluation of traditional and recent ideas about cities and urban space in medieval and early modern Europe, and challenges in approaches and interdisciplinarity, see Albrecht Classen and Albrecht Classen, "Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: Historical, Mental, Cultural, and Social-Economic Investigations," in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age* (Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 1–146.

[43] Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti, *Renaissance Florence: A Social History* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1–5.

[44] Heng Chye Kiang, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats: The Development of Cityscapes in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998).

and institutional changes (especially in the relationship between emperors and officials).[45] Christian de Pee finds direct expression of the spatial dynamics of Sung Kaifeng in literary form, voices the incomplete understanding of Kaifeng solely through inaccurate geographical information, and promotes literary geographies.[46]

Indeed, in this growing interest in space, the French philosopher and sociologist Herni Lefebvre has become more and more quoted, though mostly by scholars on the European urban history.[47] Lefebvre thinks of space in its role of (social) production, through critically expanding the vision of society from Karl Marx's production of things *in* space to the production *of* space itself with his special interest in human settlements, and thus "every society…produces a space, its own space."[48] Moreover, Lefebvre's interest in the social property of materialized urban lives alerts us "that an already produced space can be decoded, can be read. Such a space implies a process of signification."[49] *History* does matter in Lefebvre's interpretation of space, because space is produced in a productive process, and the moment a code in space is established is when

> 'people'—inhabitants, builders, politicians—stopped going from urban messages to the code in order to decipher reality, to decode town and country, and began instead to go from code to messages, so as to produce a discourse and a reality

[45] Shigeki Hirata, "Songdai Zhengzhishi Yanjiu de Xinde Kenengxing (New Possibilities in Rearching the Political History of the Sung Dyansty)," in *Songdai Shehui Kongjian Yu Jiaoliu (Social Space and Communication in the Sung Dynasty)* (Kaifeng: Henan daxue Press, 2008), 13–27.

[46] Christian de Pee, "Purchase on Power: Imperial Space and Commercial Space in Sung-Dynasty Kaifeng, 960-1127," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53, no. 1 (January 1, 2010): 149–84.

[47] Inn his writing, Lefebvre appears to be very aware of the difference in understanding representation in Chinese culture. Given figurative or ideographical Chinese characters, Lefebvre suggests that they might combine "representations of space" and "representational spaces" so that they convey the order of the world (space-time), and lay hold of that concrete (practical and social) space-time inextricably. See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, First edition (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992), 42–3.

[48] Ibid., 31.

[49] Ibid., 16–7.

> adequate to the code. This code thus has a history, a history determined, in the West, by the entire history of cities. Eventually it would allow the organization of the cities, which had been several times overturned, to become knowledge and power—to become, in other words, an *institution*. This development heralded the decline and fall of the autonomy of the towns and urban systems in their historical reality.[50]

Besides offering his epistemology of space, Lefebvre's approach also cautions one that to understand the cityscape of a specific period, it is necessary to extend one's attention back to its preceding period and be aware of the productive process concerned. In this sense, I will extend the temporal frame beyond the Sung dynasty and the Renaissance period according to the respective periods of commercial revolution: for Kaifeng to the late period of the Tang dynasty roughly from An-Shi Rebellion (755–763), and for Florence to the High Middle Ages (c. 1000-1300).[51] As widely noted by historians, the most dramatic changes in the cityscape of Kaifeng and Florence took place around the periods of commercial revolution, which liberated more population from the agricultural production, improved the social status of merchants, and laid the foundation for a space of exchange and communications.

[50] Ibid., 46–7.

[51] The conventional time frame of the Renaissance Florence is roughly 1300 to 1600, which is "admittedly arbitrary". There has been a tendency of looking back and emphasizing the connection between the "golden" Renaissance and the "dark" Medieval period. Similarly, Richard A. Goldthwaite has pointed out in his work on economic history of the Renaissance Florence that "I have focused on a narrow period." See Crum and Paoletti, *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, 9–10.; and Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), xiii. Scholars studying Sung Kaifeng have been mostly focusing on Northern Sung (960-1127), but the Five Dynasties, even earlier as well; especially with an emphasis on comparison with other capital cities like Chang'an, Luoyang and Lin'an. See Kazuo Kubota, *Sungdai Kaifeng Yanjiu (Sung Dynasty Kaifeng)*, trans. Wanping Guo (Shanghai: Shanghai guji press, 2009).; and Baozhu Zhou, *Sungdai Dongjing Yanjiu (Sung Dynasty Eastern Capital)* (Henan: Henan daxue Press, 1992), chapter 1.

With regard to the core theme of this thesis, namely the space defined by the socio-political order, I will use the term 'authoritative space' rather than social space, political space, or imperial space. The three terms this thesis is not involved with are either too broad to signify the idea of order, subject to the secular-ecclesiastical debate, or fall to consider the character of both cases. Instead, authoritative space is not merely buildings or architectures, such as palaces, temples, altars, and fortifications, constructed by governments or elites to meet the needs for their public representation, but also the spiritual ideal for the earthly city as its natural counterpart represented the supreme power and the cosmic order for the urban dwellers. The other important term, 'commercial space', from a modern perspective, basically denotes marketplaces for mundane exchange and communication. But in Kaifeng and Florence during the time concerned in this thesis, the commercial space presented an 'ambiguous' relationship with the authoritative space: it not only witnessed some of the most dramatic conflicts between public and private interests, but also was heavily appropriated by elites for power representation and legitimation.[52] This will be substantially discussed in the following chapters.

[52] Concerning physical size of the two cities, this thesis mainly explores the *relationship* between the two kinds of space revealed within each urban system rather than discussing concrete scale, and population.

CHAPTER 2. COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION

The period from the 10th to 14th centuries witnessed an overall trend of urbanization reaching from Asia to Europe. The advanced technology, productive agriculture, improved transportation, and developed local markets and extensive regional networks of trade was a set of dynamics that gave impetus to urban expansion in Tang-Sung China as well as Medieval Europe. Albeit especially equivocal, another important factor could be added is the social turmoil caused by wars or disasters that benefited fortune and talent rather than blood and hierarchy. This chapter is devoted to the so-called "commercial revolution" that covers the period of dramatic trade-led growth—the intensification and expansion of trading activities supported by an increasingly commercialized agriculture—in the East Asian as well as the European context (not necessarily synchronously). While it is indeed debatable whether they were revolutionary, or rather the acceleration of a process already under way, one can see during the centuries both in Asia and Europe, resources increasingly mobilized, social hierarchy greatly shaken, political regime changed, conventional beliefs challenged, landscape transformed, and so on.

This chapter intends not only to introduce basic information about commercial revolutions, but provide general statements with a grain of salt, and comparative interpretations. Taking a long-term perspective and regional approach, this chapter will first discuss broad frameworks of historical changes before having specific analysis of Kaifeng and Florence, and point out that political and ecclesiastic authority in fact provided significant driving forces to urban expansion in the commercial revolutions. Then tracing the rise to predominance of Kaifeng and Florence, it will conclude that some of the most

important components in rapid urbanization of Kaifeng and Florence during the time concerned.

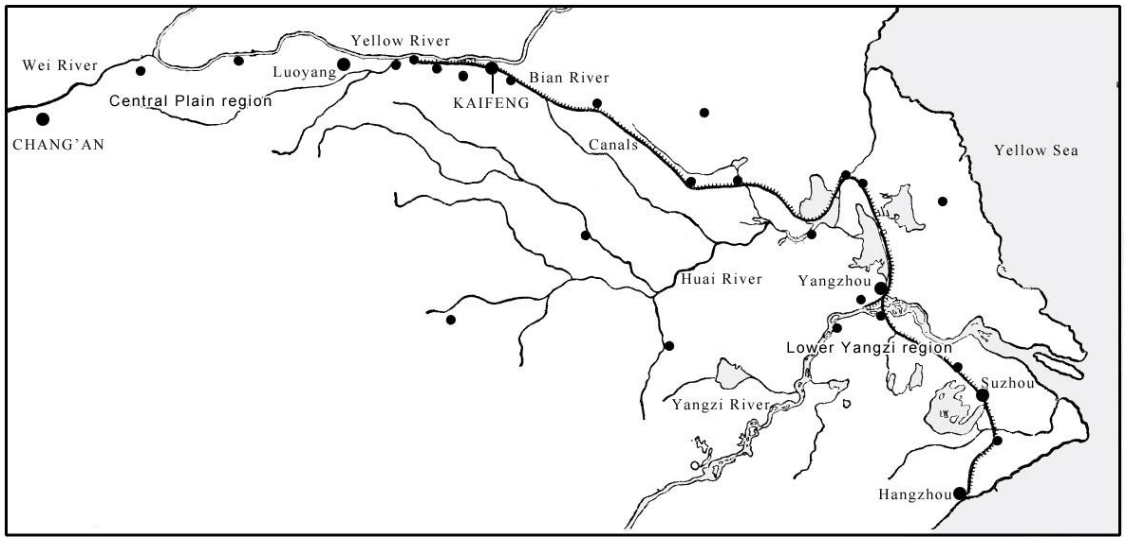
2.1. Commercialization of Agriculture and Intensification of Trade

In the Sui-Tang-Sung dynasties China, the existence of a relatively unified empire was rather important to the commercial revolution in terms of the spread of information and technology, organization of production, unification of currency and repair of transportation or communication routes.[53] Seas, criss-crossing rivers (especially the Sui-Tang canals) and official land routes lay down the channels of transportation for commercial activities in an enormous geographical space. As generally received, the most remarkable phenomenon during this period was the shifting relationship between the traditional political center of an agriculture-based economy (the Central Plain around the Yellow River) and the growingly explored southern land and commercialized economy (the Lower Yangzi region in the south).[54] Particularly after the An-Shi Rebellion (755–763), which greatly disturbed regular productions in the north, damaged the agricultural base of the empire, and furthered the migration in order to escape from the unrest conditions in the Central Plain, the importance of the growingly explored and populated southern land became vital to the Tang Empire. The increasingly misaligned political stronghold and the southern economic center of flourishing commerce led to substantial cross-regional commercial activities. Though temporally disturbed by wars (especially during the Five Dynasties period), this trend went further afterwards in Northern Sung dynasty. Tremendous amounts of goods and

[53] Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, 113–5, 131–6, 146–9.

[54] Jiannong Li, *Zhongguo Gudai Jingji Shigao: Sung-Yuan-Ming (Economic History of Ancient China: Sung-Yuan-Ming Dynasties)*, vol. 3 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue press, 2005), 3–6.

commodities carried by countless vessels on the canals nurtured the surrounding regions, especially Yangzhou, Chuzhou and Kaifeng.

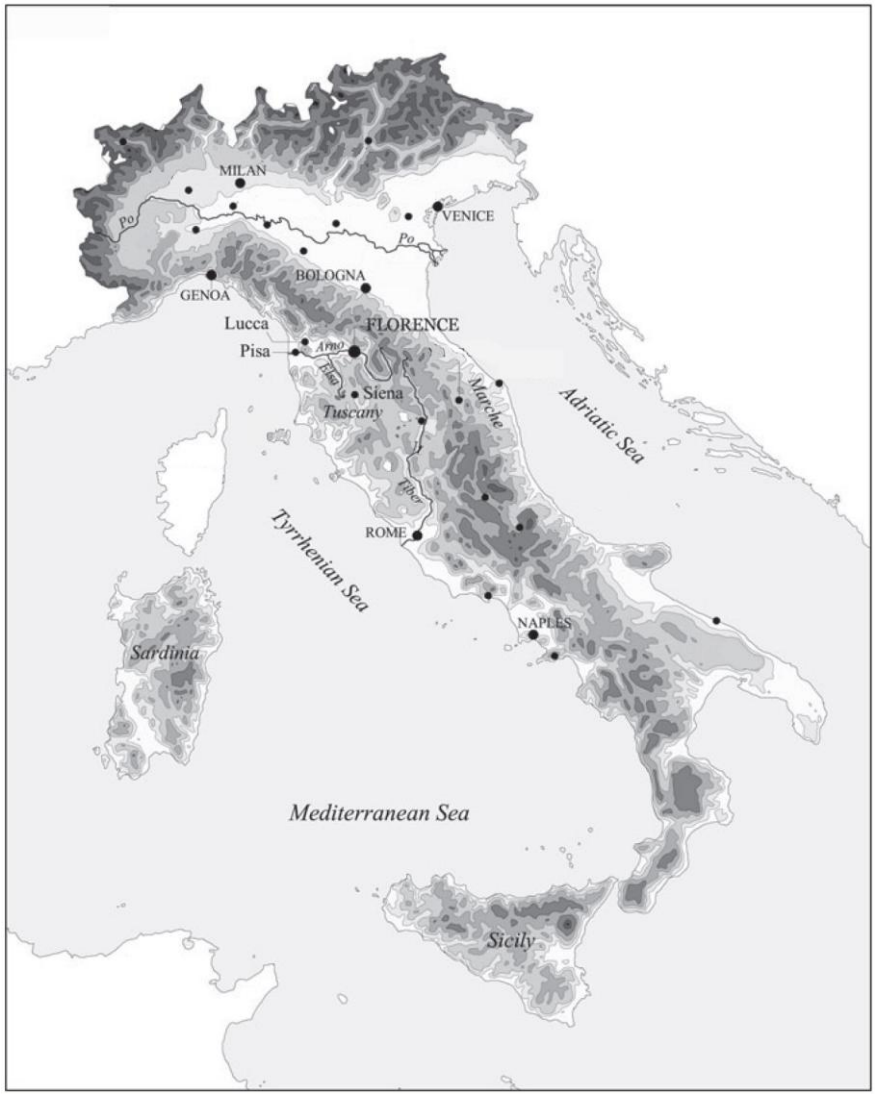


Map.1 Sui-Tang-Sung dynasties Canals, with major cities and rivers. Source: reproduced based on map in Hansheng Quan, Sui-Tang Diguo Yu Yunhe (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshu Guan, 1946), i.).

In the medieval European commercial revolution, the *intermediary* role of Italian merchants could hardly be overlooked. A basic contribution was made by the Mediterranean. As Fernand Braudel remarks, "the Mediterranean is the sum of its routes, land routes and sea routes".[55] The sea routes, which allowed cheap long-distance carriage of goods in large quantities, together with the Roman roads ("all roads lead to Rome" and connect northern Italy with the broad Mediterranean world) laid the foundation of the nerve of Italian merchants' extensive trade around the Sea. This transportation complex witnessed Italian merchants' ventures almost in every direction, especially Northern Europe, the Low Countries, and the Byzantine and Muslim East. In the commercial revival, towns like Genoa,

[55] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 1 (University of California Press, 1995), 276.

Pisa, and Venice developed early all showed particular strength in transportation, while the relatively isolated Florence appeared to be a late comer.[56]



Map.2: The Apennine peninsula, with major rivers and cities. Source: reproduced from Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), xiii.

Moreover, the political and ecclesiastical landscapes also had their significance in the medieval commercial revolution. The confrontation between Christendom and Islam, the Crusades running from the West to the (near) East offered the Italian merchants

[56] It is debatable to say Florence was a late comer in this commercial revival, some historians believe it is because of the silence of sources. See Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, 23–4.

profit-making chances, not to mention the assertion of ecclesiastical authority over the European and the growing church papal bureaucracy, which privileged Italian merchants of tax-collection and commercial success.[57] The political ambitions of rulers, ranging from Otto I in the 10th century to Charles V in the 16th century, directed at Italy, the papacy or the threats from the Near East with their wealth and power also had their role in reawakening northern and central Italian economy.[58] In the above accounts on the two commercial revolutions, the basic idea of dynamics of course came from the imbalanced production, these driving forces, however, were not purely economic, the ability of the political and ecclesiastical authority in mobilizing resources was also crucial to stimulate inter-regional exchange and communication.

Magnifying the view to a city-regional scale, one can observe emerging *networks* in the commercial revolutions. The web of markets usually organized by settlements like towns and cities spelled out one fundamental aspect of the commercial revolutions, namely the *urban nature of growth*: surplus rural labors, growingly populated towns and cities, increasingly structured market networks, intensive regional trades, and steadily growing industrial productions. In the early period of Tang dynasty, the city was still mostly recognized through its walls and role in administration, which approximately followed a hierarchical arrangement mainly connected by various official routes from the central to the regional then to the local.[59] The hierarchical networks promoted a ("nationally" as well as

[57] Ibid., 10–2.

[58] Ibid., 11–2.

[59] Nianhai Shi, "Sui-Tang Shiqi De Jiaotong Yu Duhui (Transportation and Cities during Sui-Tang Period)," *Tangshi Luncong*, no. 00 (1995): 6–22. For a ten volume comprehensive study on roads in Tang dynasty, see Genwang Yan, *Tangdai Jiaotongtu Kao (Research on the Maps of Tang Dynasty Transportation)*, vol. 1–10, 10 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 2007).

regionally) centralized as well as specialized production and economy, and later a market-oriented urbanization when commercial freedom was promoted by the Sung government.[60] During the commercial revolution, cities and towns were not merely military strongholds, stations for taxation, or centers of consumption, their endeavor in organizing maintenance of routes, transferring and preserving goods and materials also partly guaranteed their economic success.

In the Sui dynasty and early period of the Tang dynasty, the state also presented its extremely conservative side against promoting commercial freedom. A paragraph from *Suishu* (Book of Sui, the official history of the Sui dynasty) compiled in Sui-Tang dynasties well presents the state's preference of agriculture over commerce:

> Jingzhao is the seat of imperial capital. [Here] customers of five directions all exist, people and goods are mixed and confused, the civil and uncivil are interweaved and hybrid. [Once] the agriculture is removed and commerce is followed, people would contest for interests day and night, handle affairs without engaging in proper work, compete for meager profits. The noble would advocate luxury and extravagance, [while] the humble belittle righteousness and benevolence; the wealthy and powerful would behave recklessly, [while] the poor and impoverished act in distress. Warning drums would alarm repeatedly, robbers and thieves not be prohibited. This is the same either in the ancient or present.[61]

Commerce was seen as a cause of moral and social disorder and agriculture was supposed to be the ideal economic foundation for ordering the everyday life in the city. Not surprisingly, markets were only set in cities above the administrative level of *Zhouxian* (county of

[60] Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, 166–7.

[61] Zheng Wei, *SS*, Siku quanshu edition, 85 vols., 636.

prefecture) and in specific areas of these cities, where market offices were arranged.[62] Non-residential markets outside city-walls were also supposed to operate under official supervision. Though this was partly for protecting merchants from threats like robbery, and ensuring fair transactions, the contempt for commerce as well as merchant profession was widely documented. By the later part of the Tang dynasty, the urban economy and non-residential markets grew extensively, and the official control over markets was also slackening together with the increasingly challenged state power.[63]

With regard to medieval Italy, the network of towns and cities enabled Italian merchants to set up extensive sedentary operations—a strategic action of their commercial success—and contributed to their international trade and banking system largely following the growing papal bureaucracy in the late medieval period.[64] The Roman *municipia* had never altogether disappeared; Florence, Milan, Lucca, and Pisa were all of Roman origin. In medieval northern Italy, the city or town was a world of its own, and basically stood for the legal status of being free from customary rural lordship. The productive agriculture generating surplus by rural population and the wherewithal for "being urban", the formation of regional fairs (like the Champagne fairs), the dissolution of manors centered agriculture, the erosion of customary dependence upon servile labor, and the replacement of tenant

[62] Shige Kato, *Zhongguo Jingji Shi Kaozheng (Research on Economic History of China)*, trans. Jie Wu, vol. 1 (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshu Guan Press, 1962), 239–40, 278–279.

[63] The Tang official Du Mu writes in his report about pirates' robberies in village markets around 850: "Non-residential markets extensively existed at the confluence of rivers in the region of the *Jiang* (Lower *Yangtzi* River) and the *Huai* (River). In them live many wealthy and large families." See Du Mu, "Shang litaiwei lun jiangze shu" (Reports to Officer Li on pirates) in *Fanchuan wenji*, 11, (Siku quanshu edition).

[64] John Kenneth Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy: The Evolution of the Civil Life, 1000-1350* (London: Macmillan Press, 2008), 74–9., and Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, 63–7.

leases by money,[65] all contributed to this rapid growth of urban population in Northern and Central Italian towns and cities around 1200. Moreover, rather similarly to cities in Tang-Sung China, the (city-)states had also a general policy to improve and maintain roads and rivers, to regulate market standards, to police traffic, and, of course, to expand its tax base. As Fernand Braudel remarks vividly, "[in medieval Europe] the town consolidated its future with its roads, its markets, its workshops and the money that accumulated within its walls,"[66]

The existence of a powerful state seems to make a major difference between the two. Disregard the strong bourgeois antagonism toward feudal lordship constructed by nineteenth-century historians, one must recognize significant the tremendous role of the central authority. The absence of a dynastic state has long been believed to be one of the most important factors in the urban revival of medieval northern Italy. As Wim Blockmans and Marjolein 't Hart point out,

> While Chinese emperors, like the sultans in the Islamic world, could impose commercial taxes at will, and imposed state monopolies on the production of iron and weapons, salt, liquor, and tea, European rulers were unable to establish a monopoly of violence and most were bound to customary law that, at least in principle, protected even communities of serfs against arbitrary exploitation.[67]

However, the state's role was not just coercion and monopoly. As shown above, the state of the Sui-Tang dynasties played significant part in opening up wasteland, organizing

[65] See Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, 5, 29.; and Tom Scott, *The City-State in Europe, 1000-1600: Hinterland, Territory, Region* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4.

[66] Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century: The Perspective of the World* (University of California Press, 1982), 93–6.

[67] Wim Blockmans and Marjolein 't Hart, "Power," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, ed. Peter Clark, First Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 426.

agricultural productions, establishing efficient communication networks, and building and maintaining infrastructure, which altogether contributed to the commercialization of agriculture and intensification of trade. In terms of the preference of agriculture over commerce in the Sui dynasty and early period of Tang dynasty,[68] this on the one hand was because of the strong resistance from the land-based aristocratic power; on the other, came from the motivation of ensuring agrarian productions, livelihood of the commoners, and state revenue.

Although in the medieval period, the absence of state power gave northern Italy certain degree of self-government and commercial freedom, the region of fragmented powers occasionally fell into internal wars and seemed always under "foreign" threats. Without an established administrative network, their oversees activities were truly adventurous since they were not only exposed to general trading troubles such as length of the voyage, the season, the storage of materials, but also problems such as uniformity of weights and measure, currencies (gold florins) and dangers along transport like the presence of pirates and the state of war. Merchants identified usually by their home cities had to negotiate their interests and make various treaties by themselves with other cities for rights like protection of their property, free passage, and port usage.[69] Moreover, thanks to the Mediterranean and the routes of Roman legacy, the medieval commercial revolution faced fewer troubles in transportation than that in Tang-Sung China, where the state initiative in official roads, and canals were of life and death to (cross-)regional exchange and communication.

[68] See Jiannong Li, *Zhongguo Gudai Jingji Shigao: Nanbeichao-Sui-Tang (Economic History of Ancient China: The Northern and Southern -Sui-Tang Dynasties)*, vol. 2 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue press, 2005), 104–13.

[69] Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, 26–8.

Having an overall comparison of the role of state in the two contexts will necessarily generate a set of revealing questions, but this not only goes far beyond the scale of this thesis, but also is not the core concern here. But a brief comparison made above is still telling in terms of reminding the author as well as the readers that again some "conventional wisdom" must be challenged in this comparison. An alternative way to deal with this issue is bypassing the question about state itself, especially those involved mainly "event-history" (as Fernand Braudel used it), and instead one could take *longue durée* perspective, which understates events, politics and people and finds more interest in mental and environmental structures.

2.2. Kaifeng and Florence: Rise to Prominence

The sketch of the two commercial revolutions inevitably leads to the question where Kaifeng and Florence were situated in these contexts. Though the rise to prominence of Kaifeng and of Florence were rather responsive to their regional systems, it will still be helpful to profile both cities and figure out some important factors of their urban growth, before entering into the detail discussion of their transformation.

Located at a confluence of rivers and a convergence of roads, the city of Kaifeng became an important commercial city during the Sui-Tang dynasties, basically due to its strategic position in the Grand Canal and agricultural base.[70] Meanwhile, similar to most other cities in Sui-Tang China, Kaifeng was always part of a larger jurisdiction, which had been strengthening (though unevenly) its role of regional administrative center since the

[70] Ziliang Cheng and Qingyin Li, *Kaifeng Chengshi Shi (Urban History of Kaifeng)* (Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Press, 1993), 40–4.

Northern & Southern Dynasties (316–589).[71] Two sources from the biographical information about the two provincial governors (*cishi*) can give a general impression about Kaifeng under the Sui-Tang dynasties. One of them, Fan Shulue was appointed to defend Kaifeng in the warfare of 580, and after defeating his enemy, was assigned as the governor of the Bian prefecture, promoted to county-duke (*jungong*) in 581 when his master ascended the throne, and developed his own fame as well as the renown of the imperial court, until his service the imperial office of agriculture around 590.[72] The information about commerce is not mentioned in his biography (of the official history of the Sui dynasty) at all, while in the year of 594 when passing the Bian prefecture, the emperor strongly belittled its excessive prosperity, and ruffians were in great numbers. A new official, Linghu Xi was then appointed, and upon his arrival he immediately "ordered to ban those who lived not depending on agriculture, suppress commerce and industry, close those doors opened toward streets, ships must be docked outside city-walls, those living sporadically to live in assembly."[73]

The two sources from biography of prefectural governors in official history are very telling: Kaifeng already showed its prosperity in commerce and industry around the seventh century; the imperial court belittled this prosperity; local officials of Kaifeng not necessarily always behaved according to the principles of the empire. During the office of the first prefectural governor, Kaifeng must have developed into prosperity in agriculture, commerce, and industry. Though it is not clear how long he served in Kaifeng, but the duration between the two events are less than fourteen years, it is thus conceivable to assume Kaifeng's

[71] Ibid., 46–8.

[72] Wei, *SS*, 73.7a, 73.7b.

[73] Ibid., 56.5b.

prosperity as early as the 580s, and that the biography of Fan Shulue stays silent about this because the basic idea is to praise the official when mercantilism is condemned. The widespread assumptions that merchants were heavily suppressed were right, but probably more in the imperial ideology, as tested by Kaifeng, a city of prefectural seat not so far away from the capitals gained its wealth beyond agriculture. However, once checked, the development of Kaifeng was strongly managed, and in the early years of the seventh century, Kaifeng was degraded in administration level,[74] probably also because of the disobedience of its residents and officials towards imperial ideology.

When it came to the Tang dynasty, the commercial prosperity of Kaifeng became unquestionable. A powerful and unkind bully, Li Hong, in Kaifeng borrowed money of tens of thousands from merchants without paying back, collected protection racket, and created a huge disturbance among traders and craftsmen. Again a new prefectural governor was sent, and the bully was put to death. This was welcomed by people from far and near, and celebrated by the traders and craftsmen.[75] In the year of 781, the *jiedushi* (Military Commissioner) of Bian-Sung Prefectures moved his seat to Kaifeng, renovated the *yamen* (government buildings), and expanded the city-walls. In 907, the founding emperor of the Later Liang dynasty (907-23) made Kaifeng his Eastern Capital with two *guo* ("castle towns") embraced and other fifteen counties under administration; and converted the *yamen* into his palace, and renamed the main gates and buildings.

Although the Later Tang (923–36) did not choose Kaifeng as its capital, for being motivated to recover the Tang institution, pursue the sacredness of cityscape, and turned

[74] Ibid., 30.3a, 30.3b.

[75] Fang Li, *TPGJ*, Siku quanshu edition, 978, 263.63ab.

back to the survived old capital Luoyang, Kaifeng remained a prefectural center, and was believed to be strategically important with prosperous land and enormous population, which would consolidate the foundation of the dynasty.[76] The Later Jin (936-46), again, chose Kaifeng as its capital for "Bian Prefecture [Kaifeng], now, lies at a vital node of roads and waterways, in a powerful configuration of mountains and rivers. It is the land of a myriad warehouses and a thousand regions; it is the crossroads of the four thoroughfares and the eight directions."[77] The Later Zhou dynasty was a period when the status of Kaifeng as an imperial capital received less doubt. While the Emperor doubt if he should offer sacrifice in Luoyang as it was routine since the Later Liang, his advisory said, "The capital founded by the Son of the Heaven is the place to offer sacrifice to a hundred *shen* (god or deity), why it should be Luoyang!" Indeed, since Later Zhou, fragmented regimes were gradually unified, and to Kaifeng, an overall transformation of Kaifeng as an imperial capital was initiated with successive endeavor.

In contrast to Sui-Tang Kaifeng, the geography of Florence was less favorable to its commercial growth. As Goldthwaite points out, the medieval city was huddled against the foothills of the Apennines, far inland from the Mediterranean Sea and the port of Pisa, with few trade routes to other large Italian cities, even other Tuscan cities, and no natural resources nearby to support its growth.[78] One might blame the Roman founders who were mainly concerned with the military consequence of their choices, but from a modern

[76] Guang Sima, *ZZTJ*, Siku quanshu edition, 1084, 273.23a.

[77] Qinruo Wang and Yi Yang, *CFYG*, Siku quanshu edition, 1013, 14.30a.

[78] Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, 23–4. Though Arno provided a way toward the Sea, as Gene A. Brucker points out, the river was not ideal for communication, and the routs, though hilly and difficult to transit, they were better than most alternate paths. See Gene A. Brucker, *Renaissance Florence* (University of California Press, 1969), 3–4.

perspective, they were at least right about one thing, namely the river *Arno*. The wide flood plain of the Arno provided an agricultural potential for population growth; and the river itself not only offered Florence a way out of its geographical isolation, but also a plentiful water supply for daily life and industrial production.

While the major obstruction of Sui-Tang Kaifeng was to maintain imperial intervention in local affairs, the main challenge to medieval Florence was the fragmented local powers after the decay of Roman institution. In the Early Middle Ages (the 5th century to the 10th century), the Lombards played the greatest role in accelerating the regressive state of the Italian peninsula since the fall of the Roman Empire. With their strong attachment to the emphasis of property in state organization and military obligations, the Lombard kingdom did not exert central and hegemonic power over its territory, rather produced centrifugal force that allowed city-states to develop extremely local influence with an armed class sustained by its landed property.[79] Albeit lacking in the idea of juridical uniformity, the Lombards, often rather falsely identified as 'barbarians', played significant role in cultivating this agricultural base during the occupation of medieval Italy (568-774).[80]

After Charlemagne superseded the Lombard kingdom in 774, there were several (nominally achieved) attempts to establish the imperial supremacy and regional authority in (the kingdom of) Italy. Franks did not take over or modify Lombard society, but instead they integrated themselves within the dominant noble elite of the Lombards—the

[79] Giovanni Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule*, trans. Rosalind Brown Jensen, First edition (Cambridge England ;New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 59–60, 91, 95–7, 107.

[80] As Zangheri also points out, the badly researched Italian medieval agriculture is partly due to Italian medievalist of the old school have been fascinated by urban history, R. Zangheri, "The Historical Relationship between Agricultural and Economic Development in Italy," in *Agrarian Change and Economic Development: The Historical Problems*, ed. E. L. Jones and S.J. Woolf (Routledge, 2013), 31, 35.

characteristics of power did not change, and the Carolingians maintained the Lombard politics of land.[81] Jurisdictionally Florence became a county of the Holy Roman Empire belonging to the Marquisate of Tuscany, until Florence became the capital of Tuscany in the early eleventh century. After this promotion, Florence began to seek the control over its jurisdiction. Coupled with the nominal imperial authority, the city began to behave as a commune, and to expand its political power to the surrounding county, traditionally under the authority of the Bishop of Florence, since the eleventh century. With the internal political struggles, the gradual establishment of civil government based on guilds in the thirteenth and fourteenth century witnessed intense building activities internally, while another aggressive political expansion until 1450 when its territory extended to almost every corner of modern Tuscany. Meanwhile, the weakness and disintegration of seigniorial power in Tuscany, enabled people migrate to the cities without legal barrier when there was an increasing surplus of rural labor. Florence's population also grew remarkably, and the commune enlarged the walls more than once, in expectation of a continuing high rate of urban growth during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

This political move of Florence toward juridical uniformity, as early as the twelfth century, was vital to its ongoing urbanization and commercial success in international trade, which not merely made the web of different jurisdictions in the immediate vicinity less complicated, but also the city's complete dependence on its network in order to feed its growing population, and the raw materials (especially wool from the Low Countries) for the industry that subsisted much of its population, markets abroad where it could sell the

[81] See Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400-1000* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 48., and Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy*, 118.

products of that industry.[82] In Florence as well as Kaifeng, one can see some important components of urban growth in the commercial revolutions: a productive and commercialized agriculture, a relatively unified currency, an effective (cross-)regional transportation network that enable the extraction of resources, an rapid urbanization gave rise to steadily increasing industrial production and intensive regional trade, and a civil government that could exert its power over its jurisdiction.

[82] For a complete discussion on the importance of its network to Florence, see Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, 114–20.

CHAPTER 3. CITYSCAPE IN TRANSFORMATION

Together with their socio-political landscape, the cityscape of Kaifeng and that of Florence also experienced significant transformation, and their appearances would be very different from their respective counterparts one or two centuries before. While nowadays the entity of Sung Kaifeng is buried underground, modern Florence still boasts great accomplishments of the Renaissance, but a panoramic view of the modern city tells us very little about its pre-Renaissance past. One would be very much surprised to see the dramatic contrast, if the thirteenth century view of Florence was available. What would be received is not a city of magnificent public buildings embodying civic spirit, but rather a crowded, haphazard, and chaotic mix of private and ecclesiastical structures: dominated by houses, churches, and most obviously in vertical, towers. With regard to Kaifeng, the contrasting feeling could not be less, especially considering the walls of the fang (ward) system opened up extensively, and narrow and bending streets replacing of the straightforward road system regulated by those wards.

Following the idea that "historically each society has its own space", this chapter is devoted to understand commercial transformation of cityscape with the two cases through comparing their changed social structures, and identifying the most phenomenal changes in both cities. However, it turns out that the two spatial elements disintegrated in respective city, namely the fang-system in Kaifeng, and the tower-societies in Florence, are the very essential components in ordering their respective "urban society" in the Tang dynasty and in the High Middles Ages.

3.1. Social Transformation: the Emergence of New Elite

As it has been generally observed, social mobility and dynamics were evident in Tang-Sung China as well as Late Medieval Italy. Yet rather than developing an overall account or comparison of the transforming social structures in the two contexts, the focus here will be, not surprisingly, on merchants. The social stratum of merchant has been interesting to urban historians for long. Even in the recently published *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*,[83] merchant appears to be a core theme in Wim Blockmans and Marjoleint Hart's examination of the variances in urban power throughout pre-industrial Europe, China, and the Islamic world, where Weber's model of the Oriental City is still accepted without qualifications.

In the Sui and the early period of the Tang dynasty and the Middle Ages, the contempt toward merchants could be easily observed. There was little doubt that they were believed to be socially lower than officials, in some cases even beneath craftsmen and peasants, for their endless pursuit of petty profits, and chaotic activities disturbed the orderly society.[84] Merchants were not only legally excluded from official candidates, but also forbidden to develop close relationships with officials. With regard to officials of high ranks, their appearance in markets was not allowed and their contact with merchants would also be disdained. In terms of Kaifeng, as quoted above, the suppression of commerce by the prefectural governor was also a clear testimony of official attitudes towards merchants. In terms of medieval Italy, the dominating concept, the three divinely ordained

[83] Clark, *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, 422–35.,

[84] See Wei, *SS*., Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, 59–60, 105–6, 108., and Liping Lin, "Tang-Sung Shangren Shehui Diwei Yanbian (The Evolution of the Social Status of Merchants in Tang-Sung Dynasties)," *Lishi Yanjiu*, no. 1 (1989): 130.

orders—knights for defense of the realm, clergy for maintenance of the soul of society, and peasants for the growing of foodstuffs—discriminated merchants for not contributing to these essential duties; and the Christian morality and Franciscan doctrine of poverty clearly were another two essential ideology went against the vice of materialism.[85] Compared to those who had their blood and glory tested, of sincere faith to God, and of industrious work, the merchant only aimed to become wealthy himself, his pursuit of gain was considered against the laws of God, and himself was not a producer of real goods, but rather a usurer.

However, in Sung dynasty China, and Renaissance Italy, besides their enlarged population, the social status of merchants was also improved, with weakened constrains and negative attitude toward their profession. In the Sui and early Tang, many of the registered merchants were strictly managed by the government, and actively discriminated by officials. By contrast, some of them, especially the unregistered, patronized the private inns on the post roads while trading to other cities and "foreign" countries, and grew rich and gained power. They developed (secret) connections with officials, obtained privileges in markets and trade, became bold landowners, hoarded goods, speculated, and gained huge profits by exporting gold and silks to other parts of the world. However the "evil" of commerce tended to suborn the officials, and the covert participation of some officials and aristocrats in commerce also grew remarkably.[86] As shown above, Kaifeng, a regional capital in the Sui dynasty, managed to develop its merchant class to an intolerable degree to the emperor.

[85] Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence an Economic and Social History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 77.

[86] For a discussion about the relationship between money and power, merchants and officials in the Tang dynasty, see Dexin Zhao, *Zhongguo Jingji Tongshi (The Comprehensive Economic History of China)*, First edition (Changsha: Hunan Renmin Press, 2002), 696–702.

Similarly, the merchants also explored chances of social climbing in the powerful, namely the knighthood (*milites*) of a military life and a rich base of landed property who were cultivated in the Early Middle Ages. When it came to the twelfth century, there was a gradual immigration of rural lords into Florence, either because of the communal motivation to bring them under control or their understanding of the advantages of "being urban". On the one hand, this reinforced the power of the landed elites, on the other their struggles to obtain power in the commune, and seeking popular support and wealth gave chances for the social group dominated commerce in goods and money to enter into the elite group.[87] For this, one needs only to consider Uberti's rise against the long domination of the coalition led by the Donati in the 1170s. But what unmistakably confirms the presence of a substantial commercial class in the twelfth century, as J. K. Hyde has pointed out, is the emergence of merchant guilds and their strong association with the public affairs of their communes.[88] One thus can notice that merchants by varied means had already grown and integrated into traditional social structures before the Sung dynasty and Renaissance, respectively. Nevertheless, the fundamental changes did not occur until, in Asian context the late period of the Tang dynasty, and in Europe, the end of the High Middle Ages.

Coupled with the rise of *fanzhen* (buffer town) after the An-shi Rebellion, many local governors of buffer towns, especially those *jiedushi* (Military Commissioners), hired merchants as their advisors, and helped their management of wealth and solution of fiscal

[87] Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy*, 225–6.

[88] In Florence the consuls moratorium first appear in 1182, but with the emergence of the Calimala guild of textile importers and finishers in 1182, the bankers and moneychangers in 1202 and the textile retailers of Por S. Maria in 1216, the original merchant guild was breaking up into a number of more specialized associations, a sign of the unusual commercial and industrial future. See Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy*, 73–4.

crisis during wartime.[89] In a time of military chaos when regular trade was not possible, serving the army and fighting for military success turned out to be a great opportunity for the wealthy to enter the elite groups.[90] As presented in the biography section of the two versions (old and new) of *History of the Five Dynasties* complied in the Sung dynasty, many merchants became important officials, even rulers.[91] The discrimination toward them was gradually reduced, and in Sung dynasty the traditional hierarchy of *shi* (elite), *nong* (peasant), *gong* (craftsman), *shang* (merchant) tended to be combined and mixed, no longer neatly following a sequence from high to low.[92]

Similarly, the history of Florence since the thirteenth and fourteenth century was by no means peaceful. Elite factionalism coupled with crisis like costly wars, bankruptcies, huge government indebtedness, and so on, forced (if not allowed) the *popolo* to institute their own governments, and reduce elite power. During the second half of the thirteenth century of the sifted fractions between Guelphs (supports of the ecclesiastical) and Ghibellines (supporters of the imperial),[93] exiles, restores, and battles finally witnessed the victory of Guelphs with the allied merchants and bankers in 1267. The Ghibellines, who were

[89] Lin, "Tang-Sung Shangren Shehui Diwei Yanbian (The Evolution of the Social Status of Merchants in Tang-Sung Dynasties)," 132–3.

[90] Men from a wide range of backgrounds rose to high political positions through various routes: personal and family connections, military service, wealth, local dominance, administrative expertise, and education were all used by those who wanted to share in political authority. Warfare and frequent changes in power, both at the level of military governor and at the center, helped keep offices open and ensured some mobility among powerful families.

[91] Lin, "Tang-Sung Shangren Shehui Diwei Yanbian (The Evolution of the Social Status of Merchants in Tang-Sung Dynasties)," 132–3.

[92] See Lien-sheng Yang, "Government Control of Urban Merchants in Traditional China," *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 8, no. 1/2 (August 1970): 186–206., Yao Shen, *LFLWJ*, Siku quanshu edition, c. 1830s, 24.11b–13b.

[93] Popolo, roughly speaking, was the name of a middle class of more modest merchants, notaries, shopkeepers, and independent artisans in medieval Florence.

predominantly land-based elites, ended exiling from the city with their property confiscated. Later the establishment of a Guelf government followed by the merchant and trading giants gradually became the core of the newly configured elite, and established their own government, not without the "contribution" of the epidemics in the fourteenth century.[94]

Indeed, the decline of the old elite was also phenomenal in Asian context. One bloody case of the substantial decline of Tang dynasty aristocracies and officials was that of the founder of Later Liang dynasty, who exterminated hundreds of officials without mercy in 903, murdered one of the chancellors, and an emperor of Tang in 904, slaughtered another tens of high officials in 905, and in 907, dethroned the last emperor of Tang and claimed his receive of the mandate from Heaven.[95] When it came to the relatively stabilized Sung Empire, the social structure differed from the Tang very much, especially concerning the elite in Kaifeng. As the preeminent scholar on Confucianism, Peter K. Bol remarks,

> The Tang dynastic order was built upon pre-existing interests and imposed upon them the hierarchies of political, social, and ritual authority necessary to create a unified system and preserve the dynastic house. The fracturing of political authority in the eighth and ninth centuries, however, brought with it new administrative structures, different relations between political power and private wealth, and a new array of participants in struggles for power…When the *shi* [scholar-official] re-emerged as the social and political elite in the Northern Sung, they were no longer an aristocracy.[96]

[94] The great epidemics that began in the 1340s, especially the lethal Black Death of 1348, reduced contado population by one-half to two-thirds, and recurrences of the epidemic kept it low for a long time: between 100,000 and 140,000 in the second half of the fourteenth century, 125,000 in 1427, and 110,000 in 1470. From John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, First edition (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 96–7.

[95] Yangxiu Ou, *XWDS*, Siku quanshu edition, 1053, 1.7ab, 1.8ab, 1.9a.

[96] Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, 32–3.

Those new elites rose from various backgrounds and were identified by virtue of their culture and education, or literary men with ability, yet consolidated power base. They would be loyal to the idea of civil government that increasingly promoted Confucian learning through the examination system, rather than clan or wealth. The aftermath of the re-emergence of the shi group in later centuries, the use of established privileges to secure promotions for relatives already in the bureaucracy made the elite partly self-perpetuating.[97] Though at the outset they were willing subordinates, their role in negotiating power was significant. Members of shi-elite compiled official histories informing principles of imperial rule exemplified by *Zizhi Tongjian* (The Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance), Wang Anshi's blueprint, introducing radical reforms aiming at the classical antiquity with complete instruction, "a self-contained, and self-perpetuating system."[98] With the creation of neo-Confucianism, the shi, though assumed the imperial "autocracy" was the origin of all political power, it was their duty to keep the chaotic world in place, and exercise the unified power represented by the emperor who received his mandate from supreme Heaven.

With regard to Florence, the formal institution serving the function of qualification was not an examination system, but electoral procedures (draw, nomination, vote, etc.) based on the "guild regime" after the end of the thirteenth century. To those who lacked powerful families, guilds increasingly were understood as "an assumed right of any professional collectivity": merchants, manufacturers, craftsmen, and artisans who did not come from strong lineages found belonging, security, political rights, and cultural identity, not unlike

[97] Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, 93–5., and Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, 55–8.

[98] Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, 217–8.

elite Florentines sought similar things in their families.[99] As the distinguished historian of Florence John M. Najemy puts it, the thirteenth and early fourteenth century presented,

> a transformation of the elite from a predominantly (but never exclusively) warrior class characterized by its knighthoods, city enclaves, and countryside strongholds into a class increasingly (although still not entirely) defined by far-flung mercantile activities across Europe and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the rise to unprecedented political strength through their guilds of a coalition of local merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers, artisans, and notaries.[100]

With regard to authority, the constant struggle between the Holy Roman Empire and the papacy, the political fragmentation was gradually pacified by the notion that there was something unique and superior about Florence, and its people, with the increasing wealth and power of the new elite. Faced with this political issue, Dante found it necessary to create a political unity of mankind under one superior leader (albeit his preference of a revived empire), later "Renaissance humanists" chronicled the past of the city, as Leonardo Bruni, constructed as an ideal community of a single collective will, and anchored them in the historical consciousness of its Roman republicanism. Nevertheless, there was little doubt that in late medieval Italy Christianity found its fulfillment in heaven by the grace of supreme God, and when Savonarola's millenarian message came to Florence, most of the Florentines were already ready to see themselves as the chosen ones, or the fifth element, as Boniface VIII called them.[101] The statecraft of the fifteenth century Florence can be seen as a nominally independent "democratic" elite government on the basis of its guild system with the legitimation from its patron saint San Giovanni, and the transcendent authority of Christ.

[99] About Florentine guilds, see Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, 39–44.

[100] Ibid., 76.

[101] Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence an Economic and Social History*, 75.

The term still 'elite' deserves clarification. Najemy successfully employs this term (instead of 'nobility', and 'aristocracy') to depict the complicated social transformations in late medieval and early modern Florence; similarly Bol generally uses this term to indicate the ruling group, the *shi*, but also specifically refers to those who were influential not in locality, and thus named "local elite", or literati.[102] Both scholars agree on the merit of this term in expressing a relatively mobile group of socio-political power, but without an emphasis on the dominant quality, until being involved in specific historical context, where possessing qualities thought appropriate to membership would be necessary (Table I).

TABLE I

Transformations of the Shi in Tang-Sung Kaifeng & the Elite in Late Medieval Florence

	Agrarian Society		Mercantile Society	
	Tang	Medieval	(Northern) Sung	Renaisance
Social title (quality)	Aristocrats (birth)	Knighthood and Landowners (ownership and army)	Scholar-officials (service)	Priors & consuls (service)
Societal element	Great clans	Powerful lineages	Civil-bureaucratic families	Guild & mercantile family

3.2. Material Manifestations: Kaifeng and Florence in Transformation

Besides the fact that intense building activity was also a physical manifestation of their rise to prominence, the spatial changes of Kaifeng and Florence over time could also attest dramatically different responses toward their commercializing urban economy. In Kaifeng, confronting the undesired old palace city, limited space for government buildings, insufficient houses and markets, narrow streets, fire threats, etc., the founding emperor of

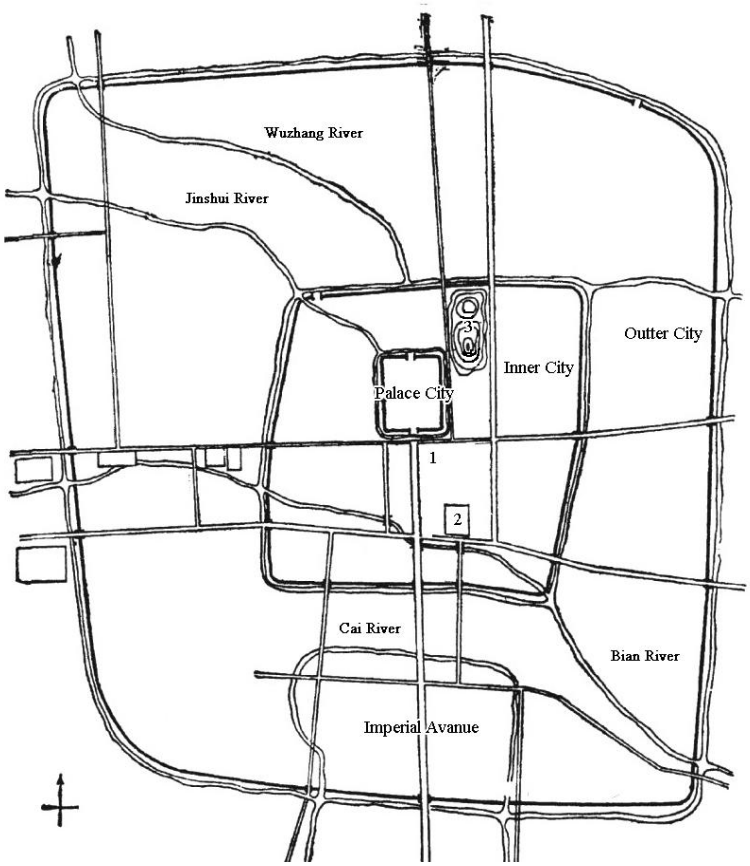
[102] SeeNajemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, 2008, 5–6., and Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, 32–5.

Later Zhou (r. 954-959) initiated a round of innovation. Therefore, an overall city-plan aiming to provide more space for public offices and private buildings was made first, a new wall, some twenty-eight kilometers, was begun in 955 (completed in 958), about 58 surplus and unauthorized Buddhist temples were demolished in 955, disordered activities like non-residential markets, cemeteries, furnaces, etc. were kept away from the city, streets were regulated, and huge warehouses were built along the river.[103] In terms of the palace city, an overall innovation program according to *the* institution of a *wang* (king) was made and implemented in 962 during the reign of Emperor Taizu (r. 960–76) and Taizong (976–97) of Sung dynasty. Successive repairs and fortifications were constructed, until the reign of Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125), when a more substantial pursuit of sacred landscape of palace city was initiated: new groups of palace buildings and the Genyue Pleasure Park were constructed, with a botanical and zoological collection of exotica.

Beyond the Palace City, the Imperial Avenue was imposingly maintained and beautified. Government buildings had been growing before Shenzhen Emperor's particular commitment to their construction in Inner City (called 'imperial city' in the Tang dynasty). Various temples, monasteries and other religious settings also experienced remarkable growth in size and number during the Northern Sung dynasty, especially the *Daxiangguo* Temple. Emperor Zhenzong initiated imperial patronage towards constructions of Daoist temples in Kaifeng, with successive investment, especially the Emperor Huizong who even commented one of the canonical text of Daoism, *Daodejing*. Moreover, another imposing element was the elevation of "skyscrapers" for private use, which burgeoned and occupied

[103] See Wang and Yang, *CFYG*, 14.33ab, 14.34a., and Juzheng Xue, *JWDS*, Siku quanshu edition, 947, 115. 6b, 115.7a. General discussions about building activities around Northern Sung, see Sicheng Liang, *Zhongguo Jianzhu Shi (Architectural History of China)*, First edition (Beijing: Baihua Wenyi Press, 1998), 133–49.

commercial centers, were set even in sections immediate to the Palace City, and enabled one to peer into it.[104] Besides enlarged private houses and shops, some family gardens were also built beyond the Palace City, with four imperial ones immediately outside the outer city wall. Before the end of the Northern Sung dynasty (1127), the skills and experiences of building had so impressively accumulated that an architect had to revise many older treatises on architecture from 1097 to 1100, and write a book on architectural work, *Yingzao Fashi* (Treatise on Architectural Methods), which was published by the government in 1103.



Map.3 Kaifeng in the 12th century showing: three circles of wall; the Palace City; the Inner City; the Outer City; the Imperial Avenue; and (1) the Xuande Gate, (2) the Daxiangguo Temple, and (3) the Genyue Pleasure Park; and major rivers. Source: Reproduced based on the map from Dong Jianhong, *Zhongguo Chengjian Shi* (Beijing. Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Press), 102.

[104] Xin Ning, "You Tang Ru Song Ducheng Liti Kongjian de Kuozhan (The Three-Dimensional Expansion in Capital Cities during the Tang-Sung Dynasties)," *Journal of Chinese Historical Studies*, no. 95 (March 2002): 96–102.

With regard to Florence, the construction was no less impressive.[105] A primary goal of the Florentine government was also to deal with the urban chaos but caused by fragmented powers in the city, especially those dangerous towers with the support from their societies. Though these towers decreased in number, greatly due to their destruction by Ghibellines in 1248 and by the Guelphs in the 1250s, but the problem was according to Villani' chronicle, that because of constant warfare in thirteenth century Florence, "many towers were newly fortified…and the city was barricaded in many places."[106] In the 1290s, the government of the *secondo Popolo* issued *the Ordinances of Justice* aiming at those who were of ungovernable nature, ordered them to lop off their towers (to 29 meters). At the same time, a new seat of government for itself, Palazzo della Signoria (today's Palazzo Vecchio) was built, and later with a vast square around two sides of the palace setting off the inherent architectural grandeur and brought the entire surroundings under its dominance with its tower. Moreover, to clear out an effective road system over the network of secondary streets and alleys in private possession, the Florentine government (re)built some streets and squares to beautify Florence and facilitate its trade. The Mercato Vecchio (the Old Market, today's Piazza della Repubblica) located on the ancient Roman forum kept witnessing the traders from outside with their grains, oil, meat, vegetables, and a new grain market was built in 1377 (converted to Orsanmichele later) to satisfy the needs of a growing population.

[105] For a general discussion on the changing face of Renaissance Florence, see Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, 25–38.

[106] Giovanni Villani, *Villani's Chronicle: Being Selections from the First Nine Books of the Croniche Fiorentine of Giovanni Villani* (Adegi Graphics LLC, 2011), Book V.9.

Map.4 Florence in the sixteenth century showing: walls of 1173-75 and 1284-1333; (1) the Mercato Vecchio, (2) the grain market (Orsanmichene), and (3) the Mercato Nuovo; and major churches. Source: Richard A. Goldthwaite, The Building of Renaissance Florence an Economic and Social History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 77.

From 1282 the government initiated one major project after another: the reconstruction of the old Badia and the third set of walls in 1284 (completed in 1330s), a new cathedral, *Il Duomo di Firenze* (over the previous cathedral Saint Reparata), in 1296, the palace of the Signoria in 1299. Mainly patronized by the guild of wool merchants, the nave of the new cathedral was finished by 1380, while the dome was not until 1436. Besides the cathedral, the number of religious institutions in Florence was roughly tripled in two centuries, with financial support from pious Florentines, and occasionally the commune; and the construction or transformation of the Baptistery, the cathedral campanile, the loggia of Orsanmichele (originally built as a grain market), Santa Maria Novella, Santa Croce, San Lorenzo, and San Marco were all carved into the Trecento and Quattrocento of the Italian

Renaissance. In addition, the construction of those palaces—characterized by the classical principles of order, symmetry, and proportion—marked Florentine history in the fifteenth century. Some of them, such as the Medici, the Pitti, and the Rucellai palace are still standing in the city nowadays with their established renown. Of course, after centuries of intense building activities, Florence was never in lack of great architects, especially Brunelleschi, and Michelangelo, and even the ruler of Florence Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-1492) found interest in architecture.

Besides the formation of such imposing cityscapes, as presented above, one significant concern of urban authority was the establishment of public order with the destructive as well constructive forces brought by the commercialized urban economy. However, did establishment of public order mean the same thing in the courses of their transformations, and did they bring the same outcome? The answer tends to be negative. To understand the relationship between authoritative space and a commercial space in Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence, it is necessary to look into the order that had characterized their immediate past: fang-system and tower-societies—in fact, exactly the two elements that almost physically disappeared in Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence.

Among modern scholarly interpretations, the city-wards and towers have largely been perceived as obvious obstacles to the commercial development in Kaifeng as well as in Florence respectively. Their disintegration or collapse has been largely appreciated. To researchers interested in transforming cityscape in China of Tang-Sung dynasties, the fang-system might not necessarily be a sign of being conservative or backward, but it was indeed anachronistic to reestablish the system in Sung Kaifeng. The rapidly growing population into crowds in residential-wards, the lack of new land to receive increasingly

developed regional commerce, and especially, the residents' intensifying behaviors of violating curfew and *qinjie* (literally encroaching the street) for running commercial activities beyond closed fang-wards appear to be direct demonstrations of these scholarly arguments against the existence of fang-system in Sung Kaifeng.

Zhou Baozhu sees that these closed walls were "obviously not necessary" to be recovered in Sung dynasty Kaifeng because the commoners had already opened their shops toward the streets and their actions had received the recognition from the government in the Later Zhou dynasty.[107] In his research on the administration system of ancient Chinese capitals, Yang Kuan also claims that the recovery of Tang dynasty street-bell system (a part of fang system) to regulate activities at night was doomed to be a short lived return and predetermined to fail.[108] Compared to modern scholars like Kato Shige, Umehara Kaoru, and Wu Tao, who focused on documents, many scholars have gone further in generalizing this process. Many of them ambitiously try to integrate them into the thesis of historical materialism, and adopt a developmental and progressive perspective. Only a few of them, such as Heng Chye Kiang have made excellent analyses on this transition of capital cities in Chinese history with detailed and contextualized examination of various documents, especially the edicts concerning administration and construction.[109] Another remarkable exception is Kida Tomoo. Identifying major issues among scholarly interpretations of Chinese cities in the Sung dynasty, he has pointed out that it has been a clich é to consider that the development of commerce was always under the suppression of government. To

[107] Zhou, *Sungdai Dongjing Yanjiu (Research on the East Capital in the Sung Dynasty)*, 16–7.

[108] Kuan Yang, *Zhongguo Gudai Ducheng Zhidu Shi Yanjiu (The Institutional History of Capital Cities in Acient China)* (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 1993), 325–7.

[109] Kiang, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats*, 87–90.

him, attributing the phenomenon that successful operations of commerce were always coupled with the presence of government to a (oversimplified) absolute monarchy seems a bit indolent.[110] Indeed, it has been long since the time to question this perspective emphasizing direct conflicts between clear-cut social stratifications.

A similar situation can also be found among scholars interested in Florentine "tower societies." As Paul R. Harrison has pointed out, historians have mistakenly argued that the towers and their societies were a major agent of discord and chaos in Florence.[111] This in fact coincides with the general opinion of nineteenth century Italian historiography. According to Ferdinand Schevill, scholars of great renown, such as Saigny, Leo, Hegel and Troya, were rather ideology driven, and the superiority of documents over chronicles with inevitable errors and personal bias should be emphasized.[112] It is rather partial and inappropriate to follow the French model of revolutionism, and the notion of class struggles, and thus perceive medieval Florence commune simply as a revolutionary force against the antiquated configuration of power. Indeed, the demolition of towers was not merely a result of the conflict between the *popolo* and the "feudal class".

The process of demolishing of towers was not as simple as progressive revolution. It was very true that, as John M. Najemy points out, the elite's ability to conduct urban warfare indeed threatened the civil harmony, and there had to be a systematic reduction of

[110] Tomoo Kida, "Guanyu Sungdai Chengshi Yanjiu de Zhu Wenti (Major Issues among Scholarly Interpretations of Chinese Cities in the Sung Dynasty)," trans. Zuozhe Feng, *Journal of Henan Normal University*, no. 02 (1980): 45–6.

[111] See Paul Harrison, "The Tower Societies of Medieval Florence," *Master's Theses of San Jose State University*, January 1, 2005, 5–8., and Marvin B. Becker, "A Study in Political Failure: The Florentine Magnates," in *Florentine Essays: Selected Writings of Marvin B. Becker*, ed. Carol Lansing and James R. Banker (University of Michigan Press, 2002), 94–159.

[112] Ferdinand Schevill, *History of Florence from the Founding of the City through the Renaissance*, First edition (Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1961), xxvii.

the towers.[113] However, this actually did not follow the intention of the *Primo Popolo*, and their various actions from 1250 to *the Ordinances of Justice* in 1293 did not bring the order to Florence as they wished. The period turned out to be one of the most violent times in the history of Florence, and the deduction of towers should be blamed (of course not completely). Rather than rejecting that the notion of "pre-history" was important to both cities, the last section of this chapter will focus on the fang system and tower-societies.

3.3. The Order of Space: the Fang-system and Tower-societies

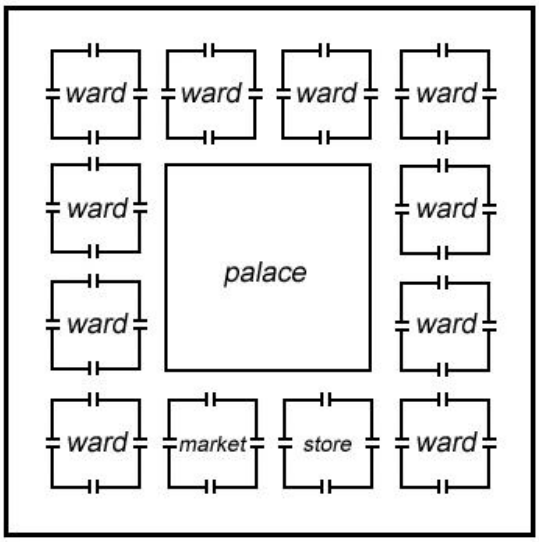


Fig.1 An ideal settlement of li-fang. Source: Mingwei Liu and Guangbang Lai, "Fangshi Geming Yiqian Fengbi Xing Lifang Shizhi Yu Chengshi Tezhi," *Journal of Building and Planning*, no. 15 (June 1, 2010): 51.

The fang-system and tower-societies had respectively defined the basic urban order, and hence authoritative space before their disintegration in Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence. In the Zhou and Han dynasties, the *fang* system was widely implemented in towns and cities. Each *fang* combined inhabitants and land into a self-sufficient military and

[113] Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, 20–1, 68–9.

economic community defending their property and organizing agricultural production (see Fig.1). [114] Later fang further developed into a basic unit of the city that integrated fortification, administration (such as taxation, household registration and security), and its residents' everyday lives (such as farming, trading, entertainment and worship).

To see the role of the fang-system in defining essential order of a medieval imperial capital, the best example is no doubt Chang'an in the Sui-Tang dynasties.[115] Within the area separated from the palace city and imperial city guarded by the imperial Jinwu Guard, two administrative divisions within the city were set in charge of the administration of the East and the West part. In each side there were about 50 highly disciplined residential-wards, each of which was assigned a ward headman (*fangzheng*) who kept the keys of the gates and was responsible for maintaining law and order within the wards after the nightfall (Fig.2). Unless a permit was issued, no one was allowed out in the avenues outside the residential wards at night. A residential-ward also had its role in introducing communal lives because it was there that disputes were discussed and revolved, moral obligation functioned, religious worships were performed, and above all, the social pattern of reciprocity and mutual responsibility was maintained. Except the houses of privacy and alleys, there were shops, office buildings, and religious institutions satisfying the everyday life of its residents.

[114] See Jiaju Hou, *Zhouli Yanjiu (Research on the Rites of Zhou)* (Taibei: Linking Publishing, 1987), 183., and Shiqun Yang, *Dongzhou Qinhan Shehui Zhuanxin Yanjiu (Social Transformations during the East-Zhou and Qin-Han Dynasties)* (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 2003), 221, 226, 230.

[115] Here the discussion centers on Tang Chang'an for three reasons: firstly no sources are available to recover the cityscape and administration of Kaifeng in the Tang dynasty; secondly, when it came to Sung dynasty, there was a strong trend to transform the city according to the institution of Tang Chang'an supported by the imperial court; thirdly, the reason to choose Chang'an is also for its well-established *fang* system. For a comprehensive study on administration of Chang'an, see Kiang, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats*, 23–8.

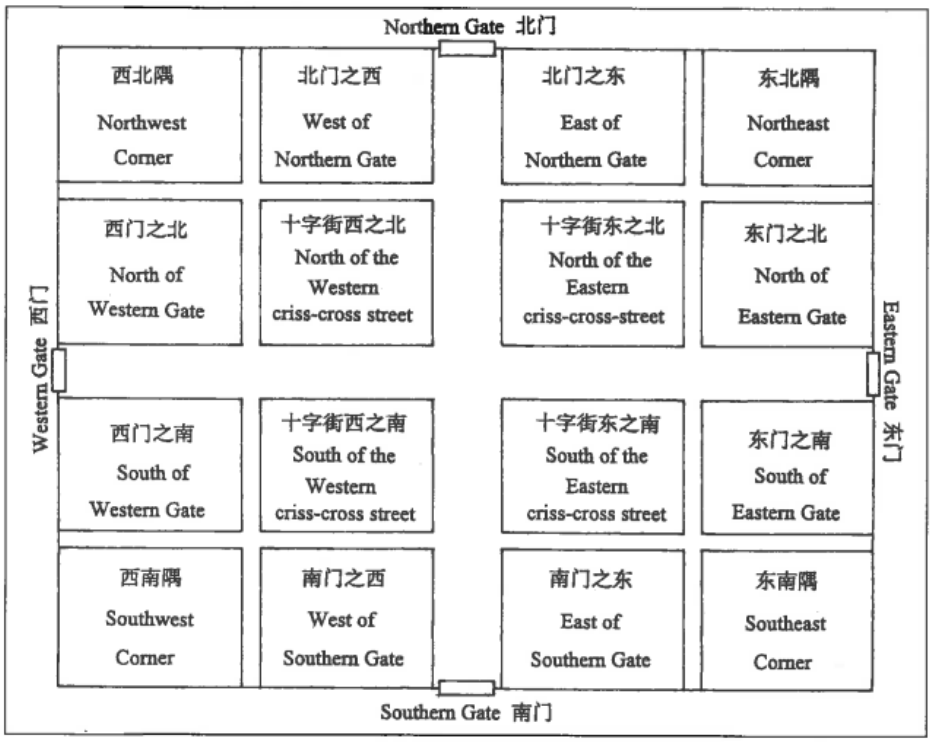


Fig.2 A residential-ward in Tang dynasty Chang'an. Source: Heng Chye Kiang, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats: The Development of Cityscapes* in Medieval China (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 28.

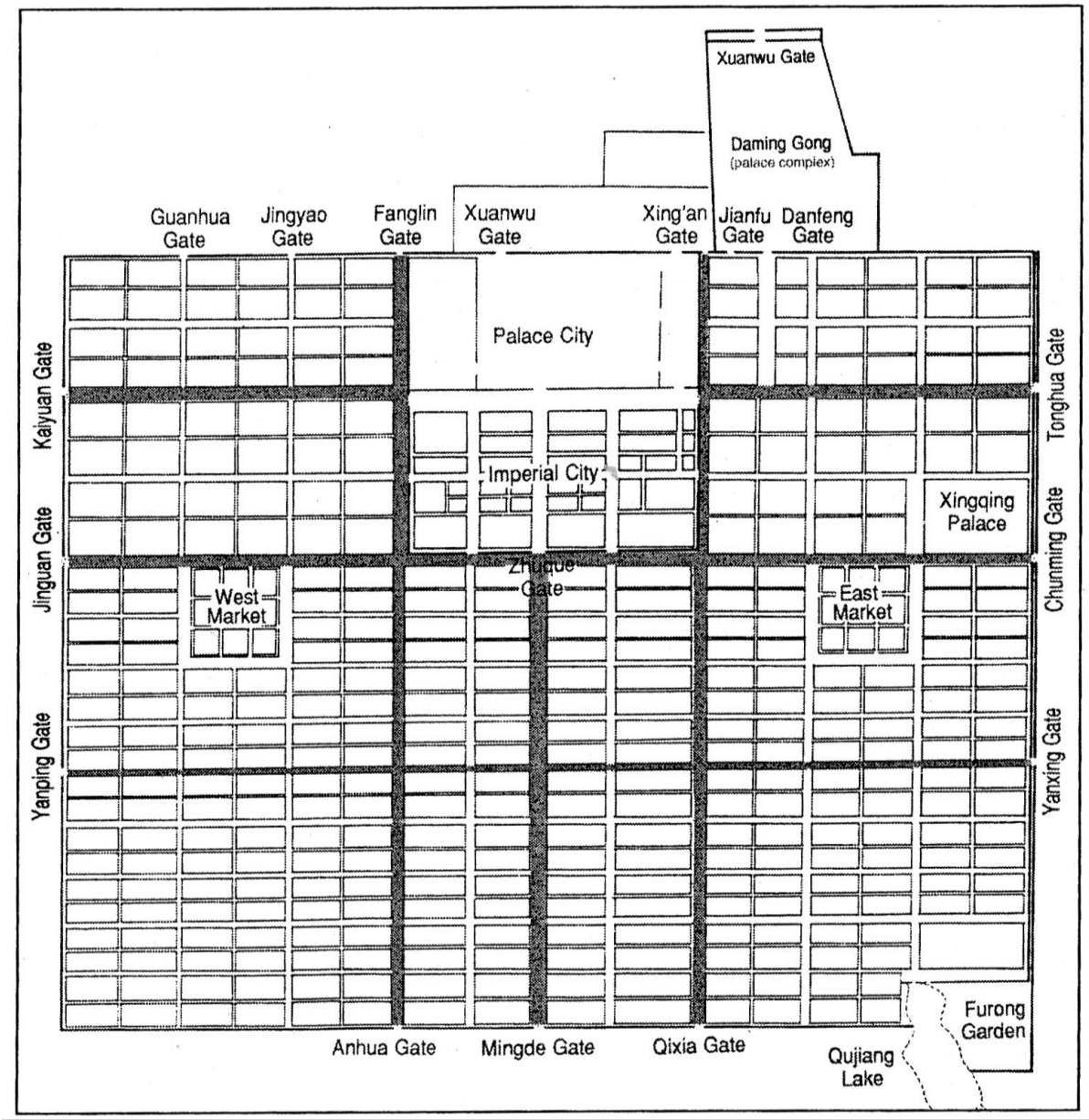
In the space left open by the fang-system (mostly streets and avenues) in the city, individual constructions were forbidden (Map.5). They were not merely reserved for infrastructures such as irrigation, but more importantly had ritual significance. In Tang Chang'an, the *yujie* or Imperial Avenue that measured 150 to 155 meters wide and provided the central axis linking the imperial complexes to the main south gate, or Middle Gate, was also commonly called as *Tianjie* (Heavenly Road). It highlighted the sacredness of the Palace City and Imperial City that housed the Son of Heaven and its advisors by penetrating the whole outer city and going toward the Temple of Heaven outside the city. Besides the Palace City, the Imperial City and the Temple of Heaven were two foremost places for emperors to perform imperial rituals—praying for the Heaven's blessing of the empire (especially its production and warfare), and legitimacy of his authority. The bond of the two

most sacred spaces was confirmed through the Imperial Avenue encompassing the whole outer city and symbolizing the empire's authority received from Heaven. As Liu Mingwei writes, this system was a way of "social-spatial control" that defined the basic order and spatial character of Medieval Chinese cities.[116]

An institutional discussion on the fang-system appears rather ideal, and it is indeed easy and meanwhile dangerous to think that was reality in Tang Chang'an. In a "metropolis" of a population of about one million, the envisioned map would be better interpolated as a need for order. From 634, the construction of a new palace was begun in the north-west because the old palace city was threatened by flood, and two residential-wards were cut through by a very broad avenue in order to emphasize its connection with the city center. Illegal transactions of land took place, shops were opened in forbidden manners, curfew was broken, social composition was complicated, the eastern county was more populated than the western one, not to mention those powerful rivals brought in the capital and controlled by the state, widely documented criminals, and political conspiracies. For example, in the year of 815, the *zaixiang* (chancellor) of the Tang government, Wu Yuanheng was assassinated by his political rivals on his way to the court when the ward-gate was opened in the early morning, and injured his colleague in another residential-ward. This incident astonished the capital, and the government ordered that chancellors must be accompanied by Jinwu Guards with their "bows set and blade revealed."[117] The disorder grew remarkably in the late period of the Tang dynasty. One might begin to understand why the official Linghu

[116] Mingwei Liu and Guangbang Lai, "Fangshi Geming Yiqian Fengbi Xing Lifang Shizhi Yu Chengshi Tezhi (The City Characters of the Institution of Enclosure Li-Fang Walled-Ward and Warden-Market before the Chinese Medieval City Revolution)," *Journal of Building and Planning*, no. 15 (June 1, 2010): 48.
[117] Sima, *ZZTJ*, 239.22ab.

Xi (p.32-3) in Sui Kaifeng recovered the fang-system, not only for the role of fang-ward in defending people and their interests against the bully like Li Hong (p.33), but also because it was indeed questionable whether it was worthwhile to promote commerce at the cost of a more general order.



Map.5 the matured fang-shi system exemplified by Tang dynasty Chang'an. Source: Heng Chye Kiang, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats: The Development of Cityscapes* in Medieval China (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 18.

In contrast to the fang-system in the territory-based Sui-Tang dynasties regional capital cities located in Central China, the tower-societies in medieval Florence exemplified a rather different order of space, especially the fragmented or pluralistic power structure presented in the city (Fig.3). The absence of any legitimate, comprehensive, and effective governmental hegemony in medieval Northern Italy since the collapse of Rome forced as well as gave chance to the cities to maintain civil order by their own means. This need could indicate the significance of the tower-societies in maintaining balance of conflicting powers of pre-Renaissance Florence. In the twelfth century, most of those towers in Florence were not the legacy of Roman or Byzantine fortification, but introduced by those rural lords who were brought in the city by the ambitious commune for the purpose of ensuring their loyalty.

What was transplanted into the city also included their way of expressing power, namely *rocche* (castles or forts) in their *contado* (county),[118] whose excessive cost in building, managing and maintaining those towers obligated them to pool resources and labour, and as Jacques Heers argued, asked for communal action. This also demanded explicitly detailed tower pacts on the organization and management of these towers, especially about ownership and membership (either based on kinship or partnership).[119] Lastly, the inclusive feature in acquiring more real estate also provided shops and market stalls with secure space for rental income, and later befitted the role of wealthy merchants in

[118] The *rocche*, owned by the rural lords and characterized by its military self-help, were also managed by his peasantry in *vicinia* (neighbourhood), who were socially and spiritually organized around their parish with kin-based solidarity, especially in the face of anarchy. Schevill, *History of Florence*, 65.

[119] Heers. 237.Jacques Heers, *Parties and Political Life in the Mediaeval West*, trans. D. Nicholas (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1978), 237.

these societies.[120] Indeed, it is easy to understand how the power of these family lineages would present a potential danger and challenge to civic order. However, the existence of multiple rival lineages would be forced to negotiate detente between each other and thus secure a relative degree of harmony is also possible, especially when the commune was not effective and strong enough to ensure the basic order of Florence with sufficient economic base and military power.

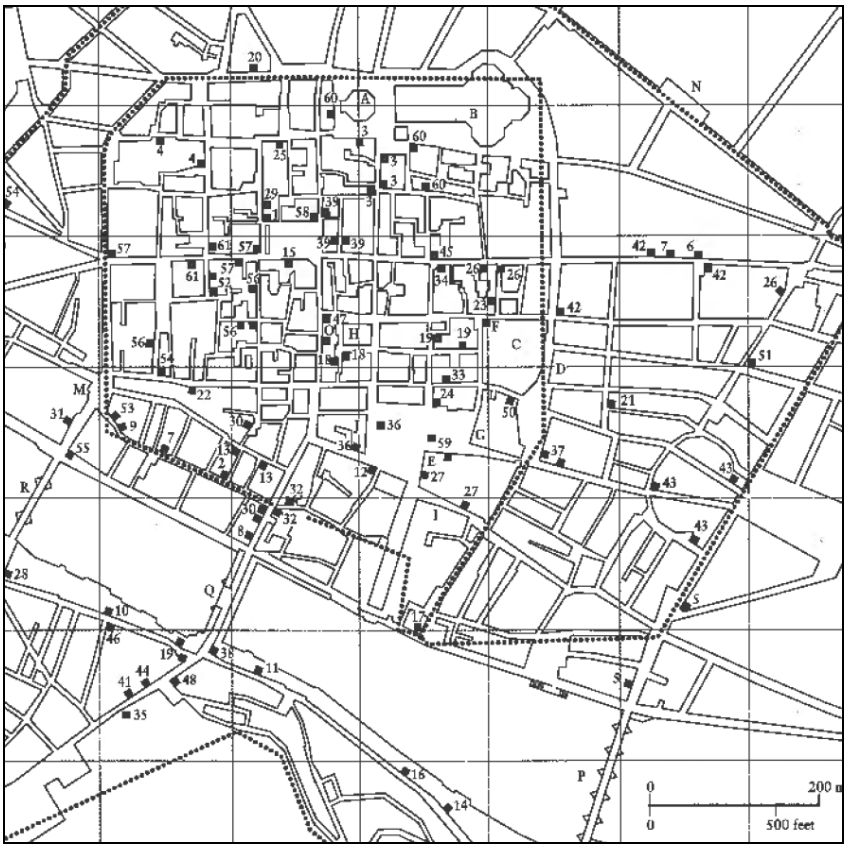
Fig.3 Towers in San Gimignano around 1300. Source: from Discover Tuscany, San Gimignano in the year of 1300: the reconstruction of the medieval city http://www.discovertuscany.com/san-gimignano/san-gimignano-1300.html)

Not unlike the city-ward in Medieval Chinese cities, each tower-society in Florence began life with an attempt to give order, protection, and assistance to their own neighborhood. After all, the towers were not solely intended for private interests, but they also served a very important role in public defense against foreign invasion.[121] But one must also concur that although they were more successful in addressing the concerns of a

[120] Pietro Santini, *Documenti Dell'antica Costituzione Del Comune Di Firenze* (Firenze: G. P. Vieusseux, 1895), 519. Quoted from Harrison, "The Tower Societies of Medieval Florence," 91–2.

[121] Harrison, "The Tower Societies of Medieval Florence," 87.

specific neighborhood in the city, they were not well equipped or efficient enough to address emergencies that concerned the entire city. In this situation, larger municipal societies were expected to emerge, namely the Florentine commune. As Jacques Heers remarks, "The government of the commune was merely the result of agreements among family powers, in all a sort of very fragile compromise."[122] Indeed, the tower-societies played important role in ensuring security of the residents, and providing the basic political order of Florence in the 12th century when a more overall interest was mostly achieved within negotiated private ones.



Map.6 Location of towers and/or palaces of prominent Florentine families (numbered) in the 13th and 14th centuries. Source: John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, First edition (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 8.[123]

[122] Heers, *Parties and Political Life in the Mediaeval West*, 18.

[123] Unfortunately, towers and palaces are not differentiated in the original map. For a full list of the names of these families, see Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, 8.

The tower-societies also played its role in social organization of the city during the High Middle Ages, much more than the commune (Map.6). With the institutional vacuum, as Phillip Jones has pointed out, people looked at neighborhood and proximity in space not only as "the natural scene and center of most social life, a virtual extension even replacement of the kin or 'domestic company of the family' (Dante, *Convivio*, iv.4), but also [as] a forum of politics, government, and public life, city-states in miniature."[124] The elites and the mass of people met in a similar manner as the rural *vicinia*, which performed ecclesiastical functions connected to their parish church "with solemn ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and burial gave spiritual strength and moral sanction to the primal social unit, the family."[125] Indeed, it is important to note that in the twelfth century, the Florentine commune did not yet have a public building like its Palazzo del Popolo later. In brief, the economic diversity within the tower societies, and their organization of membership in fact was also driven by concerns for protection, brotherhood, familial bond, and neighborhood allegiance.

Considering towers simply as symbols of arrogance and violence, exaggerating tower-societies as origins of political suppression, and hence believing they necessarily brought about a revolution based on straightforward class division seem too "bourgeois". Indeed, to understand medieval Florentine society, one must not simply take the political and historical discourse of the popolo, which spawned a stirring chronicle literature. In the light of this perspective, one is not supposed to be misguided by the motivation of installing a revolutionary popular government, presumptuously claiming the intimidation and violence

[124] Philip Jones, *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria: From Commune to Signoria* (Clarendon Press, 1997), 404.

[125] Schevill, *History of Florence*, 65.

of the old elite and its contempt for all those 'laws' and 'ordinances' of the popolo, and overlook socio-political function of tower-societies. Interestingly, in this respect to the fang-system in Tang dynasty China, sources available to articulate the disintegration of this system, are mostly from the so-called "official history", which are very different from the political discourse of the Florentine popolo in terms of the perspective taken (more often supporting the government and the order of the city) where government usually appeared to be complainers, even victims; but still manage to whitewash elite endeavor in ordering the city, and very exclusively talk about class struggles. Besides the reveled power of literacy in the Sung dynasty as well as the Renaissance respectively, it also announces the strength of interpretation and ideology in the modern historiography.

Moreover, under the dominance of this political configuration, the medieval mentality of idealistic Christian harmony was imperative to be achieved (as mentioned earlier in p. 43, this later became a fundamental part of the legitimation of Florentine elites during the Renaissance). In the anti-Florentine polemic of the *Divina Commedia*, this sin of fraction was attacked by Dante as (in the voice of the glutton Ciacco) "so full of envy", and the city is a place where "pride, envy, and avarice are the three sparks that had inflamed their hearts".[126] Spatially, the rural *vicinia* providing a space to discuss neighborhood concerns could also be seen as a model for communal affairs (infrastructure, diplomacy, debts), "by the grace of God" church was an important place representing unity in medieval Italy,

[126] The influence from the popolo was rather superficial, for under Dante's pen (yet in his antecessor Cacciaguida's voice), a utopian Florence should be "Within her ancient circle, from which she still takes tierce and nones, abode in peace, sober and chased. She had no bracelet, no tiara, no embroidered gowns, no girdle that should be seen more than the wearer." See Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: Inferno* (Simon and Schuster, 2005), 28., Alighieri, Dante. *The Divine Comedy: Paradiso*. Simon and Schuster, 2005, 219-21., and John M. Najemy, "Dante and Florence," in *The Cambridge Companion to Dante*, ed. Rachel Jacoff, Second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 239, 250–1.

though hardly achieved before the fourteenth century. With regard to Chang'an, the disintegration of fang-system was coupled with the intensification of trades as well as the declining authority of the Tang government. When the government of Sung began to think about this issue, the situation in Kaifeng was already unmanageable. A new means of ordering space would became a struggling question in Sung Kaifeng with certain nostalgia: the great Southern-Sung dynasty intellectual Zhu Xi appreciated the fang-system because the security ensured for its residents; the shi-elite Song Minqiu phrased the fang-system in offering the "straightness", "orderliness", and thus convenience and majesty.[127]

[127] See Jingde Li, *ZZYL*, Siku quanshu edition, 1270, 136.9b., and Minqiu Sung, *CAZ*, Siku quanshu edition, 1076, 7.8b.

CHAPTER 4. ESTABLISHING NEO-AUTHORITATIVE SPACE

The prefix 'neo' in a sense could be interpreted as a bit conservative rather than revolutionary (in popular connotation), and do not intend to introduce something completely novel, and thus modernity. If ever an era can be distinguished from its immediate past, it is neither Sung dynasty in the East, nor Renaissance in the West, as generally conceived. As one will see in this chapter, the 'neo-authoritative spaces' in Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence can be seen as direct products of previous power structure transformed, yet not without significant changes and revealing indications.

Taking a brief observation of the Sung Kaifeng, and Renaissance Florence respectively, one can easily find: doors and windows were opened in those (seemingly decayed) fang-walls, and either reduced or demolished private towers largely disappeared in the skyline of the city. Though physical walls enclosing each unit of fang was opened up, and curfew was abandoned (once a short return), fang in Kaifeng retained most of its role of administration and daily life, and their names were widely mentioned in official records and everyday usage during the Northern Sung period.[128] The outstanding position of the Palace City, in which the power of emperor rested, was maintained, yet its size limited and form distorted, and its structural orientation toward the four essential sacred places outside the city remained, but in an irregular fashion with constant struggles with encroaching structures and buildings of its unruly masses. The office buildings used to inhabit in a place called 'Imperial City' together with institutions of imperial significance, were now arranged along the broad avenue barely in symmetry and mostly inside a place generally recognized

[128] Tao Wu, *Beisong Ducheng Dongjing (The Northern Sung Capital Dongjing)* (Henan: Henan Renmin Press, 1984), 12–3.

as the Inner City (*licheng*), where houses were built, shops were opened, and traders peddled.

To Florence, the place of negotiated political powers, the magnificent Palazzo della Signoria, embraced by a spacious square intentionally went beyond the pressure, or grandeur produced by the Duomo of sacredness. With the understated center of mercantile life, Orsanmichele and Mercato Vecchio, Renaissance Florence produced a distinguished plural centrality in contrast to the dominating structure of Kaifeng. In addition, the palaces of the new Florentine elite, taking over some socio-political characters from the preceding tower-societies of Florence, politically ordered the urban space by prominent families, occupying particular districts, each with a mélange of palace and house, factory and shop, parish church and monastery.[129] For instance, the Strozzi, one of Florence's largest families, established itself in a zone near the Arno, surrounding the monastery of S. Trinita, and the Medici lived in the parish of San Tommaso close to the Old Market with some members owning property around the church of San Lorenzo.

However, what characterized the transformed landscape is more than a physical description, especially given the mobile and expansive nature of commercial activities. The inquiry of this chapter is how new orders of Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence were born from the previous ones respectively, and comparatively describe the distinctive nature or features in the course of transformation. So the chapter will firstly follow the phenomena of commercial expansion in the two cities; then how authoritative space and commercial space were related to each other; and lastly, figure out what kind of neo-authoritative space was established.

[129] Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, 23.

4.1. Commercial Expansion in Urban Space

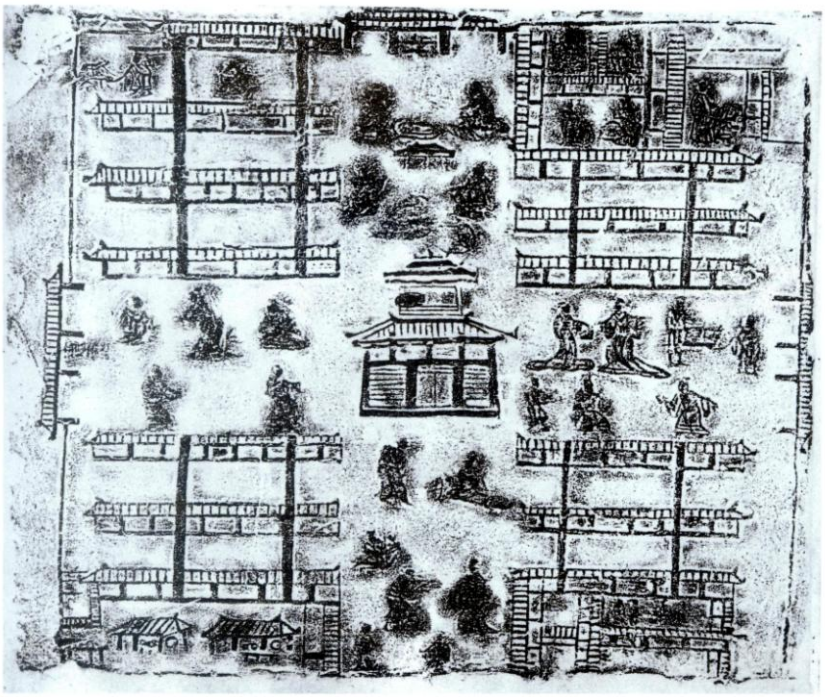


Fig.4 An idea of the market and the organization of shops within can be obtained from a relief tile from the Eastern Han period. (Now in Museum of Sichuan Province. Figure collected from National Dynamic Atlas, http://www.webmap.cn/essencemap/am_012_i.htm)

One of the major commercial spaces in both cities was the *market* (Fig.4), which were clearly separated from authoritative space before commercial expansions. In Tang dynasty Chang'an, there were two official markets—the East and West markets.[130] Though connected to the system of broad streets available for commercial activities, operations were limited within walled market-wards and opening hours regulated only for a few hours a day. Market offices (*shishu*) were arranged in the markets in order to ensure normal operation and taxation, supervise weights and measures, and the quality of money in circulation, and the quality of goods on sale, issue certificates for some particular goods, and prevent unfair

[130] See Denis Twitchett, "The T'ang Market System," *Asia Major* 12, no. 2 (1966): 202–48., and Kiang, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats*, 19–23.

trading practices. Moreover, presence in the markets was subject to moral criticism, and to officials above certain levels, punishment for their appearance there was recorded in legal codes. Two execution grounds were also placed in the neighboring area to perform sentences among the mass population.

In Florence after the thirteenth century, Mercato Vecchio, a rectangular square corresponding to the ancient Roman forum, located at the geographical center was the chief market. The presence of several towers of the medieval elite families, such as the Caponsacchi (Gerardo Caponsacchi was the first *podestà*), surrounding the market not only indicates importance, but also the control imposed. Although records about its operation are lacking, the market was clearly under the control of the commune government of the landowning elite. The intervention from the commune can also be traced from the general theoretic and theological debate on the relationship between "just price" and market price, and legal and fair operation in a public place.[131] Another market, mercatum de porta S. Mariae probably faced the same dominance from the commune. Even in in the early fourteenth century, this control was no weaker as exemplified by the grain market (later the loggia of the Orsanmichele, Fig.5), the core of the market system of Florence. The chronicle of the Florentine commoner Domenico Lenzi gives clear examples that in order to keep prices on the grain-market low and orderly operation, there was a strict, even terrible control: the presence of a block and an axe in the middle, the *podestà* of the market, and guards.[132]

[131] Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, 363., and John W. Baldwin, *The Medieval Theories of the Just Price;: Romanists, Canonists, and Theologians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (American Philosophical Society, 1959)..

[132] Arnoux Mathieux, "Medieval Markets: Economic Institution and Social Implication" (Markets and their Rules, 4th Meeting of the Caltech Early Modern Group, California Institute of Technology: Unpublished conference paper, 2011), http://people.hss.caltech.edu/~jlr/Meetings/Meet-11.htm.

During the years of plague when grain became almost "priceless", the ruling families had to rely on physical violence to "uphold the law".

Fig.5 The grain market in Orsanmichele during the years of plague, Libro del Biadaiolo, from Gene A. Brucker, *Florence, the Golden Age, 1138-1737*.[133]

Three similar aspects can be figured out from above discussion. Firstly there was little doubt about the essential role of markets in the feeding population in both cities during the time concerned, but their profession, way of life, and pursuit of wealth without real work together with the marketplaces was distrusted, watched, regulated, and constrained by the elite in the name of common good. Secondly, given the evil or sin of their behavior, the

[133] Gene A. Brucker, *Florence, the Golden Age, 1138-1737* (University of California Press, 1998), 76.

presence of a symbol of justice and punishment in those markets was an imperative response from the old elite (noble, aristocratic, or clergy). Lastly, as the place of mass gathering that may easily fall into disorder and collective violence (either from the merchants inside or outside commoners and mobs), markets in the two cities were fortified by wall, tower, or loggia, not merely for conservative reasons against wealth, yet to secure its normal operation.

According to Villani, "official[s] for commune…by the grace of God…pacified the people and calmed their fury", and as he explains that the reason why he expansively discusses this subject (ordering market during the years of famine) is to make sure that when the city faces such dangerous famine, out of reverence for God, the city can be saved and…does not descend into madness or rebellion.[134] The market could also be recognized as a dangerous place for the government of Chang'an. In the late period of Tang dynasty, in fear of the dispatch of the imperial army against him, a powerful warlord required his associations to react by gathering hundreds and thousands of people in the market to appeal against the decision of the imperial court that "the commander is not guilty, [it is] not proper to go war against him, [as it will] lead to the loss of lives among the common."[135] Though this record is obviously taking the perspective from the government, the market of mass gathering is believed to be threat to imperial officials can be confirmed.

Besides resemblance, but a significant *difference* lay on the location: the two markets in Chang'an, their symmetric arrangement, were constructed according to the sacred need of the imperial capital, whose location for commerce was rather disadvantageous in contrast to

[134] Katherine L. Jansen, Joanna Drell, and Frances Andrews, eds., *Medieval Italy: Texts in Translation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 20–2.

[135] Sima, *ZZTJ*, 259.27ab.

the markets in Medieval Florence, and this arrangement of markets would largely lose its effect in Sung Kaifeng, where a different logic dominated. Moreover, the early formation of guilds in both cities could not leave out the role played by marketplace. In Chang'an under the Tang dynasty, the term '*shi*' (market) was not just reserved for the West and East markets, but also associated with guilds. As indicated in many sources, shi in fact could be associated with different goods and meant a place for exchanging certain kinds of products, in other words close to the form of merchant guild. But more often, guilds were called 'hang', which also means line or row and suggests the form they were organized in markets. The name of these guilds were usually combined with goods sold or service provided, and thus highly divided—the East market, was said to have 120 guilds.[136] Late medieval Florentine guilds also showed similarities in spatial closeness in the markets either for fostering proper corporate spirit, protecting collective interest, or asking for a uniformed management.[137] In contrast to the guild system in Florence, which has been referred throughout this thesis because of their social and political significances, the many guilds in Chang'an were not institutionalized socio-political units rather a form of commercial organization, and more probably were also strengthened by the government for its administrative convenience.[138] Their leaders were not privileged for political eligibility, but were in a position to assist officials to manage their guilds in terms of price, currency, measurement, and so on.

[136] Sung, *CAZ*, 8.15a.

[137] For guilds related to craftsmen see Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence an Economic and Social History*, 262., for guilds related to cloth, see Carole Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, & Fine Clothing* (JHU Press, 2002), 15–9.

[138] Kato, *Zhongguo Jingji Shi Kaozheng (Research on Economic History of China)*, 1:338–42.

Regardless of all constraints imposed on these markets, when commerce became increasingly flourishing later, shops, stores, warehouses went beyond the marketplace in both cities. This leads one to another kind of commercial space, namely *commercial streets or blocks*. Their significance in the processes of transformation cannot be understated, although they are not so visible as marketplace in maps seeing from above because of their attachment to buildings, and thin linear form—especially when commerce was still under-development and the overall plan for this kind of activity was not considered. In fact, they were the very way that commerce expanded in both cities. In the late period of Tang Chang'an, the commercial activities increasingly went beyond the capacity of the two markets, especially the East Market, which enjoyed better connection with the three socio-political centers (See Figure 3). The result could be reflected by the "outflow" of commerce: shops and stores were more and more opened within the residential-wards close to the markets where merchants and craftsmen usually lived; new stalls were arranged on "place of convenience" (streets near the market); and those institutions of popular worship nearby witnessed the growth of temple fairs, and their grounds inside were also used as warehouses in some cases.[139] Commercial expansion in Chang'an soon became increasingly unmanageable—on the one hand, because the growth of commerce and population participated this profession, one the other, the weakened central authority.

Similarly, the Mercato Vecchio in the fourteenth century became one of busiest and most congested area in Florence (Map.7), according to the portrait made by poet Antonio Pucci (c. 1310-1388): the enormous variety of products sold, and also by the bustling crowd

[139] Tianhong Zhang, "Cong 'Shi' Dao 'Chang' (from 'Market' to 'Ground')," *Journal of Capital Normal University* 197, no. 6 (2010): 30–6.

which filled the square.[140] According to Villani's account on the damage during the conflicts between Black and White Guelfs in the early fourteenth century, "the whole of via Calimala (the road connecting major markets) with its many shops" was among the many destroyed sections in Florence.[141] In 1258 during the fraction between Ghibellines and Guelfs, 103 palaces, 580 smaller houses, 85 towers, and a large number of shops and warehouses were destroyed, according to *the Book of Damages*.[142] Moreover, as earlier mentioned, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the commercial expansion was also aided by the excessive cost in building, managing and maintaining towers, because, as Pietro Santini observed, some documents like tower pacts, and property contracts gives explicit discussion of construction and management of shops and market stalls.[143] When it came the Renaissance period, such commercial space as shops could be found almost over Florence.

Overall, complains from officials of administration in Tang dynasty Chang'an about broken fang-walls, and defied curfew hours that troubled the guards to handle criminals would last until the final years of the dynasty. When it came to Kaifeng in Sung dynasty, this behavior became somehow legally recognized. For Florentine government in the fourteenth century, the troubling but reduced (in size and height) towers became much easier to handle, basically because of the weakened influence of the landed strata, completed new fortification, and relatively reduced foreign threat. It was also around this time when

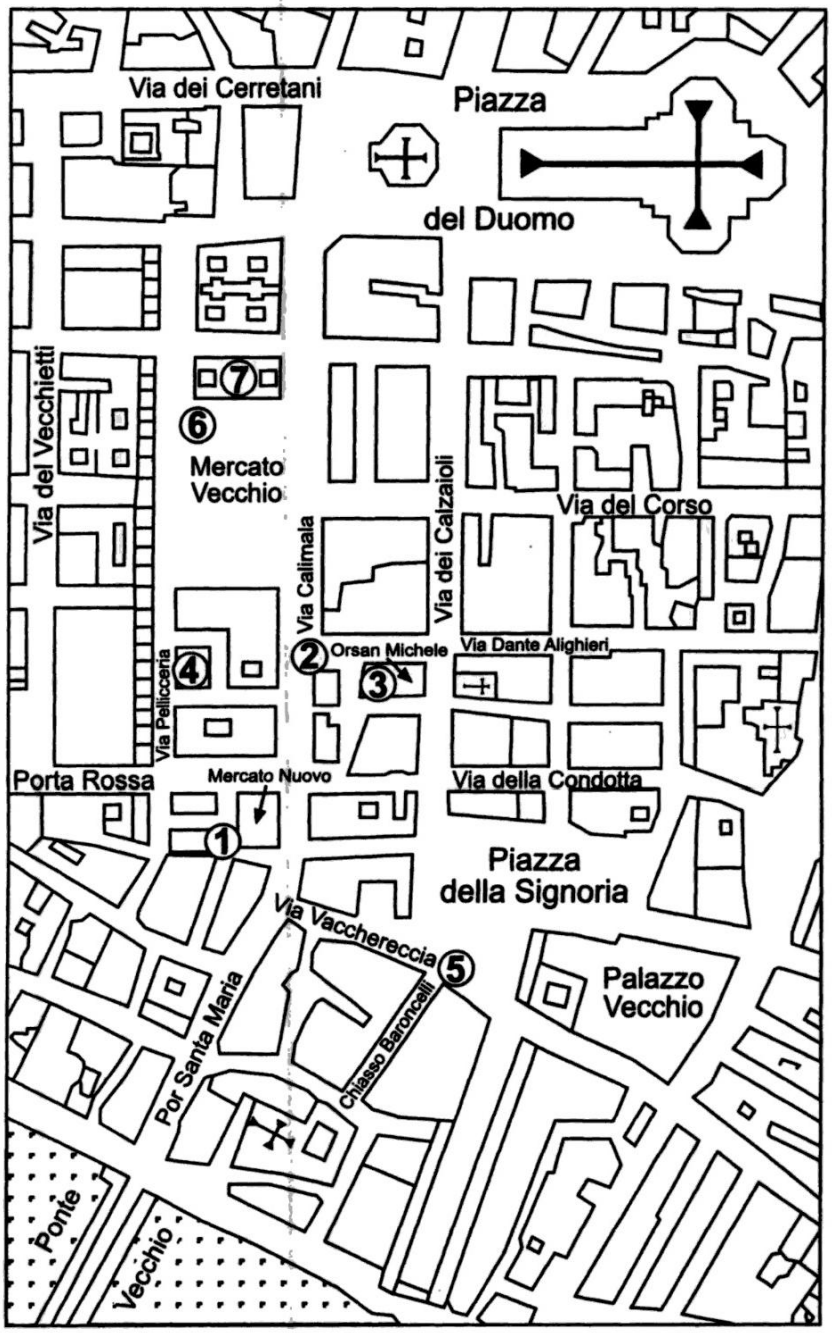
[140] Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, 40–1.

[141] Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, 93–4.

[142] The destruction of these somehow uncountable shops might not be intentional, but due to their attachment to those buildings outside markets that generated enmity. Quoted from Ibid., 71.

[143] Santini, *Documenti Dell'antica Costituzione Del Comune Di Firenze*, 519, 530–5.. Quoted from Harrison, "The Tower Societies of Medieval Florence," 92.

governments of the two cities began to deal with the somehow unmanaged commercial space seriously.



Map.7 Location of guilds residence in the center of Florence (Quarter of San Giovanni, Florence) (1) the guild of silk weavers and merchants, (2) the guild of cloth merchants, (3) the guild of wool manufacturers & merchants, (4) the guild of furriers and skinners, (5) the guild of shoemakers, (6) the guild of linen drapers and flax workers, (7) the guild of physicians and pharmacists. Source: Carole Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, & Fine Clothing* (JHU Press, 2002).

4.2. Entangled Authoritative Space and Commercial Space

In Sung Kaifeng as well as Renaissance Florence, the governments both intended to regulate new challenges brought by commercial expansion. Even in the chaotic decades before Sung dynasty, the width of a vehicle was generally employed as the bottom-line of the government in dealing with commoners' behavior of encroaching streets.[144] During the period of Sung, the situation must be so unmanageable that the government had to introduce "wooden mark" to draw plainly the boundary within which constructions were allowed, and later further compromised by fining those who illegally occupied street space.[145] To Florence, as early as the thirteenth century (Fig.6), the commune government commissioned his members, for example Dante, to widen and straighten the city streets. The fourteenth century witnessed consistent efforts in pursuing coherence and beauty through demolishing towers and houses, where penalties were also applied to those who violate communal instructions.[146] Indeed, the general commercial expansions in both cities posed the government to figure out new measures of administration to deal with the proportionally multiplied mercantile group coupled with the general growth of urban population.

In fact, both cities experienced a re-organization of administration to deal with the wide-ranging issue that less troubled its previous counterparts, such as fire, mob, plague, and so on. In Sung Kaifeng, without the physical walls regulating and protecting activities of the residents, another level of administration was established, namely *xiang* (borough) system. Previously as a military unit, now took the responsibility of the management of urban sectors within its jurisdiction. After the reorganization of 1343, Florence was

144 Sima, *ZZTJ*, 292.21b.

145 Kida, "Some Issues Concerning Sung Dynasty Urban Studies," 45–6.

146 Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, 27–8.

administratively divided into four quarters and sixteen *gonfaloni* (banner, originally defense system of the popolo), ecclesiastically into parishes.[147] Besides parishes remained one of the basic units of everyday life and political unit of the banners, the great families of those new elites within and crossing these boundaries claimed areas of the city under their authority, leaving a permanent imprint through the names of streets dominated by their palaces. But the term 'administration' already presumed a judicial authority that functions in a mechanism of power could realize and maintain by a set of laws or instructions. In turn, it reflects an on-going need for legitimation as a "good government," which further complicated the relationship between authoritative space and commercial space.

Fig.6 Florence in the Bigallo fresco of 1342, Museum of Bigallo, (from http://www.museumsinflorence.com/musei/Museum_of_Bigallo.html)

This was true in both cases, since commercial space touched those places that essentially defined the authority of government in Sung Kaifeng as well as Renaissance Florence. Unlike Sui-Tang dynasties Chang'an, which was built following a serial of sacred

[147] Christopher Black, *Early Modern Italy: A Social History* (Routledge, 2002), 151–2.

and auspicious principles on a new foundation, Kaifeng became the capital because of its strategic location rather than its orderly cityscape. As mentioned earlier, the efforts to transform Kaifeng according to the principles of a king's capital mostly started after the emperor was convinced to stay in Kaifeng during the Later Zhou dynasty. At that moment, the Palace City was already surrounded by houses, shops, and many tall buildings for commercial uses. According to a record in 1002, an official reported those who narrowed streets were mostly "powerful and bold", even the emperor tend to compromise because of the "numerous mass discussions" after the official ordered to demolish their shops.[148] Similarly, after the repair in 962, which made the grandeur of the Palace City begin to display, the Emperor Taizu wanted to further enlarge the City in 985; but aborted, according to the *History of Sung*, because the "residents" of these areas were not willing to migrate.[149] But given the extremely high price of land in regions surrounding the Palace City, those "residents" might be in some ways rather trifled.[150] Even the Emperor Huizu, who was usually recognized as the most "constructive" emperor during the Northern Sung dynasty, according to *Sung Dynasty Manuscript Compendium*, was very concerned about the growing population but limited residential space within the city. When new constructions for office buildings and palaces were proposed, he ordered to extend the southern city-wall for coming constructions, and emphasized that migrating population is not preferred since

[148] Tao Li, *XZZTJCP*, Siku quanshu edition, 1183, 51.9b.

[149] Toqto'a, *SS**, Siku quanshu edition, 1346, 85.5b.

[150] Sung Xu, *SHYJG*, Siku quanshu edition, 1810s, 187.1.12a. For a discussion about the powerful mercantile group, and the empire's reliance on them, see Zhou, *Sungdai Dongjing Yanjiu (Research on the East Capital in the Sung Dynasty)*, 247–52. For example, when an fiscal crisis was coupled with a urgent military operation, the government turned to the "great surnames of dozens" for financial help without disturbing the commoners (seems to indicate the sudden and heavy taxation was not imposed on the people for imperial need), which was followed by a comment, "that is exactly why the ancestral have been cultivating residents of the capital without upheaval." See Li, *XZZTJCP*, 396.24ab.

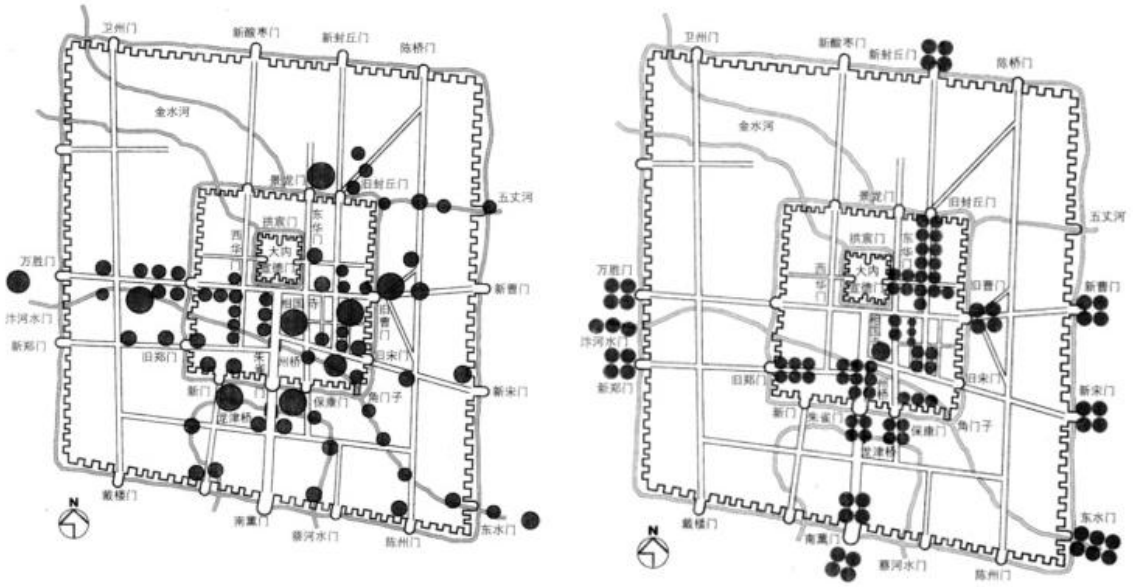
people feel secure in their own place, moving their residence might make them lose their job, even their homes.[151]

What can be concluded here is not necessarily merciful emperors, but firstly, rulers as well as their officials utilizing the concern the imperial household felt for the livelihood of the common people as a legitimation of their authority, and secondly, the exclusive nature of the Palace City towards the commercial space as well as other space such as residences. When a major general of the Later Jin state declared that "Does the Son of Heaven ever have a clan? Nothing more than those who with military strength,"[152] he also posed one of most challenging issues towards the emperors of Sung dynasty, especially its founders, Emperor Taizu (r. 960-76) and his brother Emperor Taizong (r. 976-97), two genuine military men who conquered most of the territory of the Sung state. Moreover, unquestionably, the Palace City never failed to expel commercial activities outside its walls of sacred decorations, and auspiciously named gates. There was no intention to open the walls of the City, while from its surroundings, the ambitions to explore the space inside was evident, as indicated by it's the nearby buildings of impressive height that could peer into the Palace City, which was later forbidden by the government.[153] In contrast, those Heavenly altars located far outside the city better survived from commercial expansion. Briefly, (partly) as a domestic space for the imperial household, the City was never recognized as a place for the commoners' presence (unless it was necessary), not to mention commerce.

[151] Xu, *SHYJG*, 187.1.20a.

[152] Ou, *XWDS*, 52.10b–11a.

[153] Yuanlao Meng, *DJMHL*, ed. Zhicheng Deng, First edition (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju Press, 1982), 70.



Map.8 The Location of major consumption centers (left) and clusters of shops and stores (right) around the ending years of Northern Sung dynasty Kaifeng, Source: *Zouxiang Kaifang de Chengshi, Sungdai Dongjing Jieshi Yanjiu* (the city moving towards openness, on the markets and streets of Sung dynasty Eastern Capital), 135, 144.[154]

Though the open space was maintained, but the immediate built areas were heavily commercialized (Map.8). At this time, temple fair or market became a rather normal phenomenon in the city, especially the *Daxiangguo* Temple. One kind of the most dynamic places for its economic function, as Ning Xin has pointed out, was the "*chengguanqü*" (gate-region, or area surrounding gate), especially the *Donghua* Gate in the east of the Palace City, and the three gates over the Imperial Avenue, including the Xuande Gate.[155] The streets outside the Donghua Gate became one of the most flouring commercial areas in the city, basically because the enormous needs generated by the consumption of the Palace

[154] Temple fairs or markets made up major consumption centers in the left image. The Daxiangguo Temple was pointed about by the bold point locating on the right side the imperial avenue between the wall of the Palace City and the wall of the Inner City. See 136-45.

[155] Xin Ning, "You Tang Ru Sung Chengguanqü de Jingji Gongneng Ji Bianqian (The Evolution of the Economic Function of Gate-Regions during the Tang-Sung Dynasties)," *Zhongguo Jingji Shi Yanjiu*, no. 3 (2002): 116–25.

City, and its location also indicated a balance between ideology and convenience, since the main gate surely could have served a better role in commercial activities. Instead, the built areas around the Xuande Gate showed much stronger resistance to commercial uses.

Similarly in Renaissance Florence, besides the Duomo was not recognized as a place befitted commercial usage, especially in its immediate surroundings surely was not merely because the high rental prices in the city center,[156] but also for not to expose one's sin directly to the body of Christ. The most dynamic places in the relationship between the authoritative space and commercial space were those palaces of new Florentine elites, merchant giants and bankers. The commercial expansion in previous centuries had brought shops as a common feature in fourteenth-century residential architecture in Florence, which certainly characterized the palaces of the Cavalcanti and Minerberti, the regularized shop-front arcades that wrapped around the cathedral and lined the via Calzaiuoli and piazza della Signoria.[157] In the early fifteenth century, the palace of (one of) the wealthiest men in the city, Alessandro Borromei was still used for renting with five shops inhabited.[158] But later in this century, preferring cloth and banking interests, palace-owners kept their businesses in the few areas where such industries were traditionally located rather than incorporating them into their domestic space, even if that meant remarkable rental incomes.

[156] Rents for both houses and shops were naturally higher in the center, and they tended to diminish as one moved toward the periphery. Commanding very high prices were shops located near the Piazza della Signoria and the Piazza del Duomo, or along the streets connecting these squares. In 1427 a retail cloth shop near Orsanmichele was rented for 118 florins; a barber shop located on the Piazza della Signoria brought the landlord a handsome return of 27 florins annually. See Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, 24.

[157] See Marvin Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence*, First edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 21., and Fabrizio Nevola, "Home Shopping," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70, no. 2 (June 1, 2011): 163.

[158] Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence an Economic and Social History*, 89.

The Quattrocento palaces, not only inaugurated a new style of residential architecture characterized by the application of the classical principles of order, symmetry, and proportion, but also a new understanding of domestic space. The mobility of residence became a subject serious enough to hold on, a permanent establishment of a family in one house was believed practically as well as spiritually better.[159] Domestic space was less recognized as an arena of business, but a place, according to Michelangelo, "brings considerable honor, being more visible than all one's possessions."[160] For instance, Lorenzo Strozzi, accounting on the building of the palace of his father, points out that shops were considered to be a blight on the grandeur of a palace.[161] Albeit the huge amount of investment (between 1500 and 2500 florins), an astonishing 40000 florins was spent by Filippo and his heirs on a palace that lacked ground floor shops, or any commercial space.[162] As many others, the structure of the vast Medici enterprise, did not figure in the investment portfolio of its owner, but asserted the family's magnificence presented to the public without the domestic space, not unlike the Palace City of Kaifeng. Another telling example comes from Giorgio Vasari's account on Cosimo de' Medici: Cosimo de' Medici's recognition of an upper limit to what society would allow a private person to have. Unlike his architect, Cosimo repeatedly rejected Brunelleschi's grand plan for his palace because, to him, the civic convention was exceeded.[163] Albeit largely a literary creation, it

[159] Ibid.

[160] Cited in Ugo Procacci, *La Casa Buonarroti a Firenze* (Cassa di risparmio di Firenze, 1965), 6. See also Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence an Economic and Social History*, 89.

[161] Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence an Economic and Social History*, 102–3.

[162] Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, 137.

[163] Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, 242.

emphasizes how important the idea of civic pride rather than presenting their wealth publicly was in the architectural design of the Medici palace.

As the magnificence manifested on stone palace façades, the ambitions and power of prominent families were not really reduced with rental shops removed. This was largely the same case in the political nucleus of Renaissance Florence, the Palazzo della Signoria, and the former one, the Palazzo del Popolo. Certainly they were not produced for commercial consideration. Besides their locations were far from the Mercato Vecchio, according to Jürgen Paul, "neither the two-aisled ground-floor halls of the palaces, closed off from the outside, nor the inner courtyard served any commercial purposes."[164] Generally recognized as a political architecture, their motivation of separating political life from the daily life of the market was evident. In addition, emphasizing the imposing grandeur of the Palazzo and its tower, the surroundings of the Palazzo was kept low and in orderliness, the streets and square were constantly asked to be cleared to maintain its sanitary condition with persistent interest in the embellishment of the Piazza della Signoria.[165] Not unlike the political ambition of the Palazzo della Signoria manifested by its dignified settings and spacious square, the Palace City of Kaifeng established the area outside the main gate in similar way. Besides other three gates, the *Xuande* Gate (Virtue-announcing Gate) in the south of the City was particularly decorated to reveal the authority of the government. According to the memoir of Kaifeng, *The Eastern Capital: A Dream of Splendor*,

> there were five gates set, painted in red, and nailed by gold. In the adjacent wall, the dragon and phoenix flying in clouds were engraved on porcelains among the

[164] Jürgen Paul, "Commercial Use of Medieval Town Halls in Italy," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, no. 28 (I969): 222.

[165] Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, 31–2.

> bricks. It turned out to be girder with engraving ridgepole with painting, lofty rafter and multi-layered (wooden) beams…with two pavilions standing symmetrically.[166]

4.3. The Supreme in Negotiation

It is certainly mistaken to consider that commercial space was totally precluded or removed from the space of authority in Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence, which should be more right, were one to discuss Tang dynasty Kaifeng where the fang-system of residential ward and market-ward physically limited commercial space without "public space", and Dante's utopian Florence where wealth was condemned and commercial space was actively discriminated by the Christian doctrine.

The above-mentioned Xuande Gate, as the main gate of the Palace City, had significant implications in the relationship between the authoritative space and the commercial space. Unlike its counterpart in Tang-dynasty Chang'an, the Xuande Gate presented strong spatial extension from the Palace City to the external, although the two palace cities both played the role as the domestic space for the imperial household, and one of the most important political spaces for receiving officials. Besides the visual splendor, its function in political affairs was also vital to be noticed. One remarkable example was the Grand Carriage procession, which has sophisticatedly reconstructed by Patricia Ebrey emphasizing the method of visual culture (Fig.7). As such a spectacle of officials, guards, and soldiers parading out from the Xuande Gate to those sites as temples and altars, according to Ebrey, the procession not only highlighted the emperor of solemnity, but also had a strong emphasis on the formation of a visual communication with ordinary residents of Kaifeng,

[166] Meng, *DJMHL*, 52.

from day laborers to wealthy merchants, not merely the political elite, or educated class.[167] The emperor, who normally stayed as an inaccessible myth to his ordinary subjects, came out into the streets, presenting themselves, and establishing ties with the people.

Fig.7 Detail of Annotated Picture of the Grand Carriage Procession (*Dajia lubu tushu*), one of the six leaders and his entourage (preserved in National Museum of China).[168]

Moreover, the Xuande Gate was also generally perceived as a place of the interaction between the emperor and his ordinary subjects. The area outside the Xuande Gate was generally used as a place for important festivals like *yuanxiao* (Lantern Festival) when the emperor would be present and watch performance of lanterns, which was coupled with an astonishing consumption culture.[169] Occasionally, special meetings participated by

[167] Patricia Ebrey, "Taking Out the Grand Carriage: Imperial Spectacle and the Visual Culture of Northern Song Kaifeng," *Asia Major*, 3, 12, no. 1 (January 1, 1999): 58–63.

[168] For the full view, http://www.chnmuseum.cn/tabid/212/Default.aspx?AntiqueLanguageID=914

[169] Jin Wan, "Men Zhi Neiwai, Chengshi Shehui Kongjian Shiye Xia de Ducheng Chengmen Kaocha (The inside and outside of the Gate, Research on Gates of Capital Cities from the Perspective of Social Space)," *Academic Forum of Nandu* 30, no. 2 (February 2010): 35–38.

emperors would also be arranged in this place. For example, in the year of 984, emperor Taizong ordered seats before the Gate for the ordinary, and inquired their well-being.[170] Therefore, the authoritative space in Sung Kaifeng expanded to the external, especially through various ritual and mundane occasions in the Xuande Gate. It was on the one hand, an area open to commercial behaviors, intimate to the space of commercial function, and of consumption culture; on the other, a place where the solemnity of the imperial court maintained, and the sacredness of the throne promoted.

In fifteenth century Florence, given the ambitions explicitly announced on their magnificent stone façades, the palaces of prominent Florentine families were not merely domestic spaces that everyday life privately rested. One of the most significant components of fifteenth century Florentine palaces was the outdoor *benches*, what were recognized as "seats of power" by Yvonne Elet. The emergence of stone façade benches on these palaces suggested a monumentalization of a "vernacular element". These seats were also symbols of power because they had been standard characteristic of the Piazza della Signoria, the civic center of Florence later in the fourteenth century. The appropriation of these powerful benches by the Medici and other prominent palace-builders in fact, according to Elet, formed "a strategy to designate their homes as new centers of civic authority."[171] Moreover, within these palaces, the actual living area, by standards down to the time they were built, shrank into something somewhat smaller, and left its central significance to a semiprivate *courtyard* taking up from one-third to one-half of their ground plans. As Roger J. Crum and

[170] See Xu, *SHYJG*, 41.60.9ab. In the *li* (rite), section 60, there was an extensive record on the meeting between the emperor and the ordinary residents of Kaifeng.

[171] Yvonne Elet, "Seats of Power: The Outdoor Benches of Early Modern Florence," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 4 (December 1, 2002): 447–9, 453–60.

John T. Paoletti have elaborated, the courtyard could also serve as a semi-public anteroom, a transitional space from the benches on the palace's façade to the hidden inner rooms avoiding the outside interference, which would provide a secured place for friends, special guests, allies, and their "private" conversations with impressive interior decorations, such as Donatello's bronze *David* in the Medici courtyard.[172] With regard to the Piazza della Signoria, the Loggia dei Lanzi abutting the palace, which provided a dignified setting for political ceremonies, together with its seats of power, constituted a similar space, too.

What can be recognized is that the gate-regions of the Palace City in Sung Kaifeng, and the external space of the patrician palaces and Palazzo del Signoria in Renaissance Florence were somehow authoritative, in the sense that power was revealed in open sphere, and at the same time with a semi-private sphere of politics within the "forbidden" internal spaces. However, an essential difference, especially compared to the Palazzo del Signoria with its square dominated by civic representation with comparatively less commercial characteristics, was that the Donghua Gate and the Xuande Gate, were exposed to commercial activities. Since the control over marketplaces like Tang dynasty Chang'an was already gone in Sung Kaifeng during the disintegration of fang-system, the markets expanded to almost every corner of the city. The new means of control, firstly were the establishment of official industries to compete with private interests in the city; and secondly, through administrative measures, to regulate commercial activities. Even so, in effect the commercial space in Kaifeng still had dominating influence, which clearly disturbed the arrangement of the enterprise of the imperial authority.

[172] Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti, "'...Full of People of Every Sort': The Domestic Interior," in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 283–6.

Fig.8 Christ and St. Thomas, patronized by Tribunale di Mercanzia (the court of merchants), Source: the Church of Orsanmichele, Florence, taken by the author, from a subject perspective.[173]

By contrast, in Renaissance Florence, the motivation of resisting commercial identity in public sphere became even more "meaningful" when the Orsanmichele was considered. The original grain market, around the turn of the fourteenth century, was converted into a church used as the chapel of the powerful Florentine craft and trade guilds. The guilds were charged by the commune to commission statues of their patron saints to embellish the façades of the church, of which ritual and symbolic meaning was further expressed by the performative annual gatherings of guild members on the saints' feast days, and processions

[173] The statue of Christ and St. Thomas was created by Verrocchio during 1467-83, and was then put in the central niche on the most important east facade of Orsanmichele. Originally assigned to the pro-papacy Guelph party with a bronze statue of Saint Louis of Toulouse in 1427 by Donatello, the niche was sold to the Mercanzia with the assistance from the rising Medicean power in the second half of the fifteenth century.

to the tabernacles to pray and make offerings (Fig.8).[174] Comparatively, in the early years of the Sung dynasty, the marketplaces of Kaifeng, according to Kato Shige, were set in a similar fashion by the government like its counterparts in Tang Chang'an, but in various sources they were only referred as execution grounds where its function of market disappeared. This also became a clear sign of the lost control of the government over the markets, and this function was almost completely replaced by commercial streets and blocks, an increasingly dominating form of commercial space.[175] While in Florence, the commercial center was still an integral place of its own identity, with rather less directs interaction with the authoritative space of Florence, and retained with newly established monuments representing the civic ritual and religious devotion of Florentine guilds.

One can understand how commercial activities could be rather *expansive* within the context of an increasingly commercialized urban economy—the participation of growing population, the limited resources of space, and the increasing influence of mercantile group in the government. In the two cities, this challenge did not reach the same outcome, but similarities as well as differences can be noticed. What is similar is the resistance from authoritative space to commercial activities as an integral part. The exclusiveness of the Palace City of Kaifeng can be revealed by its other names such as 'the Great Inner' or 'the Forbidden City', which represented the unquestionable power and authority of the empire with its household, subjecting its surroundings with splendor. Combined with the Palace City, the Imperial Avenue linearly penetrated the entire city towards one of the most important scared place in the southern suburb with its solemnity that counteracted any form

[174] Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence an Economic and Social History*, 7–8.

[175] Kato, *Zhongguo Jingji Shi Kaozheng (Research on Economic History of China)*, 1:287–90.

of disorder. In Renaissance Florence, the removal of shops from the magnificent façades of the palaces, the design of the ground floor of the dignified Palazzo del Signoria showing no interest in potential rents, not to mention the church structure of the divine authority.

As civic governments, both cities presented their intention to establish a city-wide jurisdiction (especially in order to control over commercial activities), and thus retain its public authority. However, in the open space where power and authority were revealed in public came as the major difference between the two cases. Besides the fact that the region around the Donghua Gate was intentionally used as a commercial space, the Xuande Gate as the main gate of the Palace City—where imperial rituals and ceremonies were performed, officials were received, decrees were announced—normally showed a strong resistance toward mercantile behavior. But the emperors of the Sung dynasty initiated a phenomenon, the so-called "enjoy lives with the ordinary", and gave their presence much more actively than the previous emperors in the Tang dynasty. This was surely not simply for generating large consumption or making economic contributions, but to construct a new identity, a saintly figure who concerned about and willing to share his wealth with its subjects. Heavy criticism was expected from those holding the Tang dynasty as an ideal model, where cosmological order was an essential setting. But in fact, as Seo Tatsuhiko points out, the importance of formal institutions and cosmology in imperial ceremonies had already gradually reduced before the Sung dynasty, and in turn various mundane rituals were integrated in order to establish social connection with the residents of Chang'an.[176] Indeed, compared to rulers in the Tang dynasty, whose behaviors were usually checked by

[176] Tatsuhiko Seo, "Tang Chang'an de Liyi Kongjain (Ritual Space in Tang Dynasty Chang'an)," in *Zhongguoren de Siwei Shijie (The Intellectual World of Chinese)*, ed. Yuzo Mizoguchi, trans. Zhengjian Huang (Nanjing: Jiangsu Renmin Press, 2006), 487–7, 492.

aristocrats, emperors in the Sung dynasty enjoyed much more freedom. Behaving *saintly*, they were rather active in presenting themselves to the ordinary in various rituals that used to be relatively closed to those outside the imperial family (or court) in the early Tang dynasty.[177] Most emperors of the Sung dynasty, generally conceived as pragmatic, were more interested in appropriating commercial space as a means of legitimation rather than repelling the mundane world and remaining so detached as the throne of the Tang dynasty.

To the elites of Renaissance Florence, the issue turned out to be the opposite. Their history of sinful merchants clearly challenged their rise to power, especially under the influence of Christianity. Their patrons of such religious institutions as churches, monasteries, convents, and private chapels all pointed toward their intention of eliminating their sinful past, as revealed by the removal of shops traditionally inhabited on the ground floor of palaces. Vasari's fictional construction of Cosimo's specious abomination towards the grandeur design of his palace, Lorenzo Strozzi's conception of shops as "a blight" to the glory of his father palace, and the palace's representation of honor to Michelangelo all point to their quests for new identity befitting their social status, and ambitions, which was betrayed by their seats of power. As Goldthwaite has suggested, attitudes about wealth were rather ambiguous in Renaissance Florence since "no serious churchman failed to recognize the essential role of the merchant in society", but criticism from upholders of Christian disciple and Franciscan doctrine of poverty was no less evident than any other places in in Europe precisely because it was one of the most advanced centers of "capitalist growth".[178]

[177] Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the T'ang Dynasty* (Yale University Press, 1985), 226–8.

[178] Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence an Economic and Social History*, 77.

Therefore, the neo-authoritative space characterized by its entangled relationship with commercial space was produced, the negotiated power with the supreme authority, though in two different ways. In Sung Kaifeng, the commercial space not only provided the economic base of the imperial needs, but also was integrated in various imperial rituals, festivals and ceremonies. The existence of worldly charismatic (or as Weber employed it, Caesaro-papist) leader, the Son of Heaven had a significant place in this process, especially the enormous consumption needs generated by the imperial household and his officials, and his claim as a legitimated ruler that made him actively present towards the external dominated by commercial expansion. In Renaissance Florence, the influence because of the absence of a dominating power remained evident. Merchants as a prominent group rose to power within a context no secular power could establish formal institution in Florence. Merchants themselves, not without a transformation, became the elite questing for legitimated power based on the divine authority of God that upholds (at least in principle) Christian morality against private wealth. In the fifteenth century, the new Florentine elites' treatment of their palace fa çades, the renovation of the Palazzo deal Signoria and its Piazza, and the fa çade of Orsanmichele resting in the commercial center all suggested the concerns about the potential influence of their wealth, and behavior on their present social status.

CONCLUSION

Since the twentieth century, diverse social, institutional and theoretical commitments have produced a range of generalization about past urban experiences. Crucially these approaches, however, are increasingly challenged for their visions of parochialism, and failure in recognizing the diversity of historical trends in urbanization.

The general, near-global process of urban growth reaching from Asia to Europe during the tenth to fourteenth centuries has recently been proposed as a possible platform for comparative inquiries on such key variables as power, representation, and commercial network in pre-industrial period. This thesis finds its specific interest in the transformation of cityscape coupled by the commercialization of agriculture and intensification of trade, popularized as "commercial revolution", in the Tang-Sung dynasties China and late medieval Europe. The two extensively studied cities, namely Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence come into this picture for their remarkable commercial success and an increasingly cultivated merchant group in each of the two cities. To understand the socio-political transformation of the cityscape comparatively, this thesis construct a framework focusing on two kinds of space, authoritative space that defines the essential order of the city, and commercial space where production and consumption meets in space.

Historically every society had its own space that can be understood its transforming social structure. The rise of Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence both witnessed a emergence of a new ruling group that integrated merchants, who were traditionally excluded from the elite group, and secured their presence in the two cities. However, this came about not without a dramatic change in cityscape. In Kaifeng, the closed fang-system had long

been challenged increasingly lost its ability to limit commercial expansion in an effective road system previously existed mainly for its ritual and military function. However the rise of Florentine merchants were accompanied by the reduction of towers where private, or local interests in fraction were protected, and establishment of a public authority within the vacuum of any consolidated hegemonic political power. Sung Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence not only experienced a transformation of social structure respectively, but also a spatial transformation that characterized a rather different relationship between authoritative space and commercial space.

Although general commercial expansion was visible in both cities, the role of major organization of commercial activities, guilds could basically reflected the difference: mercantile group in Kaifeng did not reach to power like its counterpart in Florence, but served as a part of governmental administration of markets. What was produced in both cities can be understood as an entangled relationship in the sense that authoritative space and commercial space necessarily formed a mutual interaction, not spatial separation or integration, which clearly had another layer of meaning. In Sung Kaifeng, the commercial space generally expelled by the space of authority, as reflected by the decision of Donghua Gate rather than Xuande Gate (where commercial activities were clearly resisted) as the region feeding the needs of imperial consumption, and the solemnity of the Palace City as well as the Imperial Avenue. This situation was largely the same in Renaissance Florence, but more specifically pointing to the commercial space, since the Palace City and Imperial Avenue in Kaifeng were embodied the essential authority of the polity, the case of which was rather similar to the surrounding region of the church structure and the Piazza del Signoria in Renaissance Florence. The patrician palaces and the Palazzo del Signoria

gradually removed such commercial space like shops from their magnificent façade, but their ambition to the open space was betrayed by those seats of power, and in some cases, their top and ground floor loggia as well, such as the Loggia dei Lanzi adjacent to Palazzo del Signoria. The pragmatic Sung dynasty emperors found their interests in open space as well, however, their meetings with the ordinary around the Xuande Gate, active presences in processions, and claim of enjoying lives with the people exposed the authoritative space to the influence of commerce. This in turn seriously challenged traditional understanding of cosmological order of a capital city like Kaifeng, like what could also be revealed by the disappearance of symmetrically ordered markets, and the well-regulated road systems.

Rather than following the "conservative idealist" shi-elites' interpretation and suggesting that the cosmological order was lost, this thesis believes that it was the way how a government of shi-elite led by a charismatic leader sought its legitimation among the much more mobile and dynamic urban society. Like the Florentine elites, though Dante cried out loud about the decay of the Florence under an increasingly commercialized urban economy and looked back to the ancient Roman circle of the city, their rise from the mercantile groups that traditionally expelled from the group of social elite, even the ordinary, required them to understate this identity in their palaces and center of civic spirit. But to elites of Sung Kaifeng, the understanding of wealth-based power was more than a problem about identity, as indicated by the government's active participation in commerce and manufacture. As discussed above, merchants could bring disorder, but it was the duty of the government to put them in place, an ideology no less powerful than Christian morality in producing socio-political landscape.

However, this tentative explanation needs much more justification, and an overall understanding of the relationship between authoritative space and commercial space should bring more urban settings into careful examinations. As one can see above, the commercialization of agriculture and intensification trade caused serious challenges toward preceding various forms of cityscape rooted in agrarian economy, a comparison between two cases, however prominent, should not be easily generalized. A general phenomenon could only be explained by a general survey of the "universe of cases" of that phenomenon. This thesis has largely been seen as response to the inquiry of *experimental international comparativism* in current trend of urban studies, and should and indeed could be improved and enriched in many ways with on-going endeavor.

APPENDIX—CHRONOLOGY OF CHINA

Ancient China

- Xia dynasty, c. 1800-1600 BCE
- Shang dynasty, c. 1600–1045 BCE
- Zhou dynasty, 1045–256 BCE
- Qin dynasty, 221–206 BCE

Imperial China

Early Imperial

- Han dynasty, 202 BCE–220 CE
- Three Kingdoms, 220–265
- (Western) Jin dynasty, 265–316
- Northern & Southern Dynasties, 316–589
- Sui dynasty, 581–618
- Tang dynasty, 618–907
  - An-Shi Rebellion 755–763

Middle Imperial

- Five Dynasties, 907-60
  - Later Liang (907–923)
  - Later Tang (923–936)
  - Later Jin (936–947)
  - Later Han (947–951)
  - Later Zhou (951–960)
- Sung dynasty, 960–1276
  - Northern Sung dynasty, 960–1126
    - Taizu, r. 960–76
    - Taizong, r. 976–97
    - Zhenzong, r. 997–1022
    - Renzong, r. 1022–63
    - Yingzong, r. 1063–67
    - Shenzong, r. 1067–85
    - Zhezong, r. 1085–1100
    - Huizong, r. 1100–1125
    - Qinzong, r. 1125–27
  - Southern Sung dynasty, 1127–1276

Late Imperial

- Yuan dynasty, 1215–1368
- Ming dynasty, 1368–1644
- Qing dynasty, 1644–1912

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