

A Newly Discovered Inscription by Qin Gui: Its Implications for the History of Song *Daoxue*

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SEVERAL MONTHS BEFORE HIS DEATH in 1155, the Chief Councilor Qin Gui 秦檜 (1090–1155) drafted a colophon to accompany a series of eulogies the emperor had written for portraits of Confucius and his disciples. A year later the entire project was engraved on fifteen stelae, which remain in Hangzhou to this day. In 1427 the Ming official Wu Ne 吳訥 (1372–1457), finding Qin Gui's colophon offensive, ordered that it be ground off the last stone in the series and replaced with his own composition. For centuries, the text of Qin Gui's colophon was presumed lost. But Wu Ne made a copy, and this copy found its way into

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Dates in this article follow the traditional Chinese lunar calendar converted into Western notation. Thus, for example, 1144/3/18 corresponds to the eighteenth day of the third month of the fourteenth year of the Shaoxing 紹興 reign period.

his collected works, last printed in 1548, where it remained unnoticed until now. Restored to its rightful place at the conclusion of the “Portraits and Eulogies of Confucius and his Seventy-Two Disciples” (Xuan sheng qishier xian zan xiang 宣聖七十二賢贊像) by Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (1107–1187; r. 1127–1163), Qin Gui’s inscription reveals the entire project to be a major monument of Southern Song political and cultural history.

In the inscription, Qin Gui asserts that Emperor Gaozong, by restoring the Song dynasty after the fall of North China in 1127, has revived the “succession of the Way” (*daotong* 道統), dormant since the time of Mencius. He also employs a distinctive vocabulary and pattern of quotation that links his inscription to the writings of the Learning of the Way (*daoxue* 道學) movement. This is remarkable because the principal advocate of *daoxue* was Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), a vociferous critic of Qin Gui and his policies. Furthermore, modern scholarship has long maintained that Zhu Xi devised the term *daotong* and considers his *Zhongyong zhangju xu* 中庸章句序 (Preface to the Doctrine of the Mean)—a digest of his philosophical system finalized in 1189—as the first developed articulation of the *daotong* concept. The discovery of Qin Gui’s inscription poses a fundamental challenge to this basic tenet of Song intellectual history; it also raises questions about the origins and nature of the *daotong* and its place within the larger *daoxue* movement.

Unlike earlier scholarship, which presented Neo-Confucianism as a closed, inner philosophical system, recent research has framed the history of *daoxue* as a challenge to Song imperial authority. As described by Peter K. Bol, Song Neo-Confucians “internalized the classical idea of empire.”¹ Qin Gui’s inscription suggests not only that the empire often resisted *daoxue* efforts to internalize the empire’s ideas but also that the conflict itself contributed much to the twelfth-century reformulation of the Confucian enterprise. Qin Gui’s inscription positions the scholar-official, or literati (*shi* 士), class as equal partners with the emperor in the administration of good government.

¹ *Neo-Confucianism in History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), p. 217, esp. 115–52; also Yu Yingshi 余英時, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie* 朱熹的歷史世界, 2 vols. (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua gongsi, 2003); Charles Hartman, “Zhu Xi and His World,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 36 (2006): 107–31.

It further maintains that Emperor Gaozong, by uniting the functions of sovereign and teacher in his own person, has gained both a political stature equal to that of the Zhou dynasty founder King Wen and the cultural stature of Confucius.

To be sure, Qin Gui's text is intense political propaganda. But this propaganda shares a common set of ideas and rhetoric with *daoxue* advocacy. Read closely against contemporary documents, the inscription is an example of how the imperial state and its *daoxue* community struggled to define and control the meaning of this common language.² Beginning in the thirteenth century, *daoxue* adherents censored the historical record to remove traces of the state's participation in this struggle. Wu Ne's destruction of Qin Gui's colophon was a single act in a long history of sustained censorship that has resulted in the near total disappearance of Qin Gui's writings.

A unique primary source, the inscription helps us to refashion our understanding of the *daoxue* challenge to imperial authority. The older model of *daoxue* as pure philosophy could never explain the vehemence of the state's resistance to the movement; instead it perpetuates a simplistic continuation of the twelfth-century battle between the state and the movement to control the rhetoric of moral absolutes: the evil state persecuted the philosopher Zhu Xi because he was good. But evil or not, the state had its reasons. The inscription shows that Zhu Xi's formulation of the *daotong* was much more than an abstraction devised *ex nihilo* and synthesized into his philosophical system. It was instead a daring, politically dangerous appropriation of definitions and powers that had hitherto been the sole property of the Song monarch. Zhu Xi's "Preface to the *Doctrine of the Mean*" directly opposed the well-established imperial prerogative that, by positioning the emperor as the "successor of the Way," granted to him the power to define the intellectual content to be transmitted. For many years Zhu Xi agonized over the preface. Fearing that a challenge to the imperial interpretation of the *daotong* would expose him to prosecution for slander of the emperor, he delayed final publication until after Gaozong's death in 1187.

² This struggle over a common rhetoric continued a well-established pattern of Song political confrontation; see Ari Daniel Levine, *Divided by a Common Language: Factional Conflict in Late Northern Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008).

A study of the origin and early history of the *daotong* concept sheds light not only on Qin Gui's claim in 1155 to the *daotong* on behalf of the Song monarch, but also on Zhu Xi's challenge to that claim in 1189. The expression *daotong* evolved in the late eleventh century to designate a transfer of the Way (*dao* 道) of the ancient Sage-kings to contemporary Song monarchs. But, in the decade after the Southern Song restoration in 1127, political conflict—in which Qin Gui played a central role—introduced the idea that the Cheng brothers, Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107), had revived a transmission of this Way that had lapsed with the death of Mencius. Since neither Mencius nor Cheng Yi had been sovereigns, this alternative conception of the *daotong* meant that the Way had been being transmitted from teacher to teacher. Thus, two early concepts of the *daotong*—as transmission from sovereign to sovereign and as transmission from teacher to teacher—coexisted in contention for many years. In his inscription, Qin Gui directly addresses this tension. He argues that Gaozong is the “successor of the Way” because he had restored the Song dynasty by uniting both types of transmission. Zhu Xi also merged the two types of transmission into a single succession; but he did so by bypassing the Song monarchs, proceeding instead through the Cheng brothers and terminating, by implication, with himself.

Naturally, the monarchy did not readily accede to Zhu Xi's challenge. In its view, a sovereign who ascends to the position of teacher may become a Sage equal to Yao and Shun; but a teacher who aspires to the position of monarch becomes a rebel. The proscription of *daoxue* as “false learning” (*weixue* 偽學) during the Qingyuan 慶元 period (1195–1200) was largely rooted in partisan politics. Yet Zhu Xi's challenge to the monarchy and to conservative Confucians made *daoxue* teachings into an instrument for political opportunists to undo their opponents. Although acceptance of the *daoxue* movement increased in the decades after Zhu Xi's death, the two rival constructions of the *daotong* continued to co-exist. Although Emperor Lizong 理宗 (1205–1264; r. 1224–1264) recognized *daoxue* as state orthodoxy in 1241, thus showing his concession to the *daoxue* vision of the *daotong*, he also reaffirmed the ultimate authority of the Song monarch to determine the “succession of the Way.”

History of the Text

The recently refurbished Confucian temple in Hangzhou boasts two groups of stelae that Emperor Gaozong and Qin Gui undertook as cultural projects following the peace treaty of 1142 with the Jin dynasty to the north. In the first group, eighty-five stelae survive from the original several hundred that formed the “stone classics” (*shijing* 石經), an engraved version of the Confucian canon executed from imperial holograph copies. These were produced between 1143 and 1146. In the second group, fourteen of the original fifteen stelae in the eulogies series survive. The project began in 1144 but was completed only in 1156. The first stone contains Gaozong’s preface to the series in addition to three images (Confucius seated with two standing disciples). To the right of each image are the figure’s name, his native place, his posthumous title, and Gaozong’s eulogy (*zan* 贊), all written in the emperor’s own calligraphy. The next thirteen panels each depict either five or six standing disciples. The last panel contains one image and, at the end, an inscription by Wu Ne, the regional investigating censor for Zhejiang province, dated 1427/7/1.³

Following the peace treaty of 1142, Gaozong and Qin Gui initiated an ambitious program to build, both physically and politically, a new capital to house the institutions of the “restored” (*zhongxing* 中興) Song state. Because peace with the Jin went hand-in-hand with Emperor Gaozong’s assertion of imposition of direct imperial control over all Song military forces, restoration rhetoric extolled the benefits of peace over war, and of “civil” (*wen* 文) values over “military” (*wu* 武) values. The shift was manifested in a symbolic act in 1143/1: the emperor allocated the confiscated mansion of General Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103–1141)—who had been executed opposing the peace policy—as the grounds for a new Imperial University that would cater to the upper levels of the civil bureaucracy. After construction on the

³ For reproductions of rubbings taken from each stele as well transcriptions of the inscriptions in modern script, see Du Zhengxian 杜正賢, ed., *Hangzhou Kongmiao* 杭州孔廟 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2008), pp. 257–67. An earlier publication by Huang Yongquan 黃湧泉, *Li Gonglin sheng xian tu shike* 李公麟聖賢圖石刻 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963), contains clear, readable rubbings of each individual figure. Art historians generally discount the attribution of the portraits to Li Gonglin (1049–1106). See Julia K. Murray, “The Hangzhou Portraits of Confucius and Seventy-two Disciples (*Sheng xian tu*): Art in the Service of Politics,” *The Art Bulletin* 74.1 (March 1992): 7–18.

university was finished, in 1143/7, the rector and the students invited the emperor to the facility, noting that he had, in the words of the *Shujing* 書經 (Classic of documents), “hushed the military to promote the cultural” (*yanwu xiuwen* 偃武修文).⁴

The emperor and senior court officials formally visited the Imperial University on 1144/3/18. After offering sacrifices to Confucius, they attended a lecture where Qin Gui’s son, Qin Xi 秦熺, in his capacity as vice-minister of rites, and Rector Gao Kang 高閔 discoursed on the hexagram “Peace” (*Tai* 泰) in the *Yijing* 易經. Gaozong then visited two study halls and had tea with the students. He inspected eulogies to Confucius composed by Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756) of the Tang dynasty and his own Song predecessors, Emperors Taizu 太祖 (r. 960–976), Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997–1022), and Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1126). He ordered that earlier eulogies to Confucius and his disciples be collected and submitted for his review. Six days later, he promulgated his own eulogy to Confucius and ordered it carved on stone for distribution to educational officials. In subsequent months, he composed the remaining seventy-two eulogies, added a preface to the entire series, and in 1144/5 deposited a copy of the whole in book form in the Confucian temple. In 1155, he personally wrote out another holograph of the preface and the eulogies. Administration officials requested in 1155/12 that this holograph be carved on stelae at the Directorate of Education for distribution to provincial schools.⁵

Although the Directorate stelae—the eulogy series as well as the stone classics—stood in prominent locations on the Directorate grounds, they were not intended primarily as monuments for public

⁴ Li Xinchuan 李心傳 (1166–1243), *Jiyan yanlai xianian yaolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988) [hereafter *Yaolu*], 148.2376, 149.2403–4; Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223–1296), *Yuhai* 玉海 (Shanghai: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1988) [hereafter *Yuhai*], 112.37a–b; Charles Hartman, “The Making of a Villain: Ch’in Kuei and Tao-hsüeh,” *HJAS* 58.1 (June 1998): 89–91. On the negotiations between Rector Gao Kang and the administration concerning the new Imperial University, see Xu Song 徐松 (1781–1848), comp., *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (1936; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1966) [hereafter *SHY*], *chongru* 崇儒, 1.32a–36a.

⁵ Togto [Tuotuo 脫脫] (1314–1355), *Songshi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 114.2709–11; *Yaolu*, 151.2429, 2431; *Yuhai*, 31.30b–31a, 112.37a–b, 113.9a–b; Zhou Cong 周淙 (1115–1175), *Qiandao Lin’an zhi* 乾道臨安志, *Song Yuan difangzhi congshu* edition (Taipei: Dahua shuju, 1990), 1.3a–b; Qian Yueyou 潛說友, *Xianchun Lin’an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 (1268), *Song Yuan difangzhi congshu* edition, 11.7a, 19b–29b; Xiong Ke 熊克 (1111–1190), *Zhongxing xiaoli* 中興小歷; reprinted as *Zhongxing xiaoji* 中興小紀 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1984), 37.449.

inspection and on-site reading. Rather, they were templates from which exact copies in horizontal hand scroll format could be printed for distribution. Just as the Directorate printed bound-book versions of the classics from wooden blocks, it printed copies of Gaozong's holographs from these stelae. There is ample evidence that provincial schools received, recorded, and treasured the scroll versions.⁶

An early thirteenth-century gazetteer of Qingyuan 慶元 prefecture (modern Ningbo) records that the school possessed a copy of Gaozong's eulogy series in three scrolls.⁷ Considering that the present stones each measure eighteen by forty-nine inches, and given a total of fifteen original stones, each of the three hand scrolls would have contained prints from five stones and measured eighteen inches by about 245 inches long—the average size for a large Song hand scroll. In the complete three-scroll set, the first scroll would have opened with Gaozong's preface, the last scroll closing with Qin Gui's inscription.⁸

The Inscription Text and Translation

We owe the survival of the text of Qin Gui's inscription to Wu Ne. His reworking of the final stele in the eulogy series was part of his effort to salvage the epigraphic legacy from the Southern Song Directorate of Education.⁹ His own record briefly recounts the origins of the stelae.

⁶ The collected works of Hong Gua 洪适 (1117–1184) contain a memorial that he wrote on behalf of Zhang Tao 張燾 (1092–1166), the prefect of Jiankang 建康, to acknowledge receipt of the “precious scrolls” (*bao zhou* 寶軸) of Gaozong's eulogy series. Since Zhang Tao served as prefect of Jiankang from 1156/2 through 1159, we may assume the scrolls arrived in Jiankang shortly after the decree of 1156/12 ordering their distribution. See Hong Gua, *Panzhou wenji* 盤洲文集, *Yingyin Wenguang Siku quanshu* edition [hereafter SKQS] (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983–1986), 35.5b–6b; also *Quan Song wen* 全宋文, 360 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe; Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006) [hereafter QSW], 212:4718.396. For Zhang Tao's tenure in Jiankang, see Zhou Yinghe 周應合 (1213–1280), *Jingding Jiankang zhi* 景定建康志, *Song Yuan difangzhi congshu* edition, 14.19a–b.

⁷ Luo Jun 羅澹 and Fang Wanli 方萬里, *Baoqing Siming zhi* 寶慶四明志 (1227), *Song Yuan difangzhi congshu* edition, 2.7b. The designation of the scrolls as “Portraits and Eulogies of Confucius and his Seventy-Two Disciples” derives from this entry in the *Baoqing siming zhi*.

⁸ For eulogy scrolls in Huizhou 徽州, see Luo Yuan 羅願 (1136–1184), *Xin'an zhi* 新安志 (1175), SKQS, 1.20b–21a. *Jingding Jiankang zhi* 33.3a mentions a single scroll, “Eulogy for the Culture Promoting King,” that probably refers to the initial 1144 distribution of Gaozong's eulogy for Confucius alone.

⁹ Following the fall of Hangzhou in 1275, the former Song-dynasty university campus,

Noting that the final stone originally bore an inscription by Qin Gui, he quotes several passages in which the chief councilor railed against the contamination of Confucian teachings by those who “perversely propagated deceitful and opportunistic theories in order to seek unjustified rewards and advantages.” Observing that this passage was probably directed against officials who had advocated continued resistance against the Jin, Wu laments Qin Gui’s description of them as “deceitful and opportunistic.” He quotes Zhu Xi’s characterization of Qin Gui as one whose “crimes pervade Heaven and could not have been redeemed even if he had died ten thousand deaths.” Finally he explains why he had Qin Gui’s inscription excised: so that “such perverted and untruthful opinion from such a nefarious person and his filthy name should not stand beside the images of these sages and worthies.”¹⁰

Wu Ne was a mid-level Ming official and *daoxue* enthusiast whose short and fragmentary collected works were last printed in 1548.¹¹ In addition to a unique exemplar of the 1548 edition in the National Library of China, we have consulted five Ming and Qing manuscripts in the same library and in the National Central Library in Taipei. Our text follows *Wu Wenke gong da quan ji* 吳文恪公大全集.¹² For ease of

comprising the Directorate of Education (Guozi jian 國子監), Imperial University (Taixue 太學), and Confucian temple, was transformed into West Lake Academy (Xihu shuyuan 西湖書院) and the stela discarded as rubble. According to some accounts, the Tibetan monk Yang Lien-chen-chia 楊璉真加, who desecrated the Song imperial tombs, removed a number of stela to serve as construction fill for a statue of the Buddha. In 1378, the academy became the Renhe County school (Renhe xian xue 仁和縣學). In 1426, Wu Ne recovered the eulogy stela, along with the remaining stone classics, and installed them on the school grounds. The county school and its stela were moved to another location in 1459. In 1517, both sets of stones were moved to the Hangzhou prefectural school, where they remained until modern times. See the record by Yang Yiqing 楊一清 (1454–1530), in *Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志, ed. Ji Zengyun 稽曾筠 (1671–1739) et al., SKQS, 25.3a–4a; also Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (*jinshi* 1526), *Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志, SKQS, 15.9a–10a. See also Du Zhengxian, *Hangzhou Kongmiao*, pp. 11–12, 22–23, 295, 298–99, 302–3.

¹⁰ Our text for Wu Ne’s inscription follows the rubbing in Huang Yongquan, *Li Gonglin sheng xian tu shike*, pp. 71–73. Wu Ne’s note is also quoted in several fifteenth-century compilations. See Cheng Minzheng 程敏政 (1445–1499), ed., *Ming wen heng* 明文衡 (SKQS), 48.10a–11a; Lu Rong 陸容 (1436–1498), *Shuyuan zaji* 菽園雜記 (SKQS), 12.10b–12a. For detailed Qing epigraphic studies of the stela, see Wang Chang 王昶 (1725–1806), *Jinshi cuibian* 金石粹編 (1805; Jingxuntang 經訓堂 ed.), 149.1a–22a; Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849), *Liang Zhe jinshi zhi* 兩浙金石志 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang shuju, 1890), 8.47b–59a.

¹¹ Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (1672–1755), ed., *Mingshi* 明史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 158.4317–18; L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, comps., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 1491–92.

¹² See *Beijing tushuguan guji shanben shumumu* 北京圖書館古籍善本書目 (Beijing: Shumu

translation and discussion, we have divided the inscription into six sections that follow the internal logic of the text and added modern punctuation:

- [1] Your subject makes known: the sovereign holds a position between Heaven and Earth and serves as the ruler of the people. Therefore, the explanation in the *Shuowen*, which states that the sovereign unites Heaven, Earth, and man, is indeed most true. [Yet] Yangzi writes: “He who unites Heaven, Earth, and man is called a [Confucian] scholar.” One may therefore understand that the way of the scholar proceeds from the same source as that of the sovereign. He who disseminates political order becomes the pure sovereign; he who assists in that order becomes an aid to the sovereign. It is merely their positions as superior and inferior that differ.

臣聞：王者位天地之中，作人民之主，故說文謂王者通天地人，信乎其為說也。揚子曰：“通天地人曰儒。”又以知儒者之道與王同宗。出治者為純王，贊治者為王佐，直上下之位異耳。

- [2] But after the move of the Zhou [capital] to the East [in 770 B.C.], the traces of these sovereigns were extinguished. Only the Sage Confucius established between the Zhu and Si Rivers a teaching based on the way of the scholar; and his best students were called “the seventy-two disciples.” Although some entered the master’s inner room and others only ascended his front hall, although the achievements of some were deep and those of others shallow, in essence, none ever found employment that developed the full measure of his capacity.

自周東遷，王者之迹已熄。獨孔聖以儒道設教洙泗之間，其高弟曰七十二子。雖入室升堂，所造有淺深，要皆未能全盡器而用之。

- [3] When [ruler and servitor] come together to complete the achievement of a unified sovereignty, there can be none who stray, who become tainted, or who violate the way of the

wenxian, 1989), p. 2328, for the sole exemplar of *Wu Wenke gong da quan ji*, accession no. 9508. The text of Qin Gui’s inscription occurs on folios 9.11a–12a.

scholar. Your Majesty embodies the Sageliness endowed by Heaven and connects to the lineage of Incandescence Upright. Extending the greatest virtue of Heaven and Earth, you have cleansed the remnant embers of mire and charcoal.¹³

共成一王之業，必無邪雜背違于儒道者也。主上躬天縱之聖，系炎正之統；推天地之大德，沃塗炭之餘燼。

- [4] And yet, concerning the training of officials, some have yet to purify themselves in Confucian learning; they perversely propagate deceitful and opportunistic theories in order to seek unjustified rewards and advantages. Such persons do not understand that the Sage Confucius transmitted the culture of King Wen: what Confucius called “the culture [of King Wen] invested here [with me]” is the succession of the Way. If Confucius had not earlier encountered difficulty from [Han] Tui of Song, how could he have so easily spoken these words?

而搢紳之習或未純乎儒術，顧馳狙詐權譎之說，以僥倖于功利；曾不知文王之文，孔聖傳之，所謂文在茲者，蓋道統也。前未遭宋魑之難，詎肯易言之。

- [5] Now, these darker airs have already been purged. Let those who would pursue the orthodox path revere completely that which is their source. Let those who would garner merit assist [the emperor] above to purify our culture; let the many scholars below guide those who uphold this culture. Thus, may our state be brought to good order and our persons to good cultivation; and none shall have cause for remorse. Let them then every day purify and discipline mind and body so as to rouse [the people] through thunderous sound. And if they take these imperial texts as their model, they shall surely attain success.

今氛曠已廓。由于正路者，蓋一隆所宗，上以佐佑純文之收功，下以先後秉文之多士。國治身修，毫髮無恨。方日齋心服形，鼓舞雷聲，而模範奎畫，其必有所得矣。

¹³ This translation follows the reading *tui* 推 in *Wu Wenke gong da quan ji*. A variant reading *wei* 維 in another manuscript edition, also plausible, yields: “You uphold the greatest virtue of Heaven and Earth, and you have cleansed the remnant embers of mire and charcoal.” This is the only major instance of textual variance in the inscription.

[6] Respectfully recorded by your servitor, Qin Gui—grand Preceptor, vice-director on the left of the Department of State Affairs and jointly manager of affairs with the secretariat-chancellery, concurrent commissioner of military affairs, chief compiler of the state history and concurrent supervisor of the Veritable Records Institute, supervisor of the Office for Editing Official Regulations, supervisor of the Office for Compiling the Imperial Genealogy, and duke of the state of Yi—on the sixth day of the eighth month, autumn, in the twenty-fifth year of Continued Ascendency [September 4, 1155].

紹興二十有五年秋八月辛巳。太師，尚書左僕射同中書門下平章事，兼樞密使，監修國史，兼提舉實錄院，提舉詳定一司勅令，提舉編修玉牒所，益國公臣秦檜謹記。

Understanding the Text

To understand the text and context of Qin Gui's inscription, a modern reader should consider the document, as its original audience certainly did, as a prime example of Song political rhetoric. Qin Gui, writing in his capacity as the state's sole chief minister and head of its bureaucratic service, composed his inscription to accompany a highly public imperial proclamation on the relationship between scholarly learning and state service. He wrote for a wide audience of students, scholars, and officials who were deeply versed in contemporary political rhetoric. The inscription employs two techniques from that rhetoric—quotation and historical typology. It contains at least fourteen quotations from classical works that would have been well known to its initial audience. Qin Gui cites the *Shuowen* 說文 (sec. 1), the *Fayan* 法言 of Yang Xiong 揚雄 (secs. 1, 5), the *Zhongyong* 中庸 (secs. 1, 5), the *Mencius* (sec. 2), the *Yijing* (sec. 3), the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (sec. 3), the *Shujing* (sec. 3), the *Analects* (sec. 3, twice in sec. 4), the *Daxue* 大學 (sec. 5), and the *Liezi* 列子 (sec. 5).

Each quotation brings elements from its original context into the inscription and supports the text's basic historical analogy: just as Heaven protected Confucius from adversity, thus enabling him to transmit the political and cultural legacy of King Wen to later ages, so has Heaven once again, by protecting Emperor Gaozong from external

adversity and internal apostasy, enabled him to re-institute the “succession of the Way.” In Qin Gui’s historical typology, Gaozong becomes both King Wen and Confucius, thus restoring a political and cultural unity that had been absent since the beginning of the Zhou dynasty: politically, the emperor succeeds King Wen; culturally, he succeeds Confucius. Therefore, Qin Gui argues, the potential rewards for officials and scholars who “pursue the orthodox path” will surpass the attainments of even the seventy-two disciples of Confucius.

The diction of the inscription also has a strong contemporary context. Qin Gui is clearly familiar not only with mainstream Northern Song political discourse but also with the writings and ideas of such major *daoxue* thinkers as Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, and Yang Shi 楊時 (1053–1135). His rhetoric challenges his political adversaries, who have positioned themselves as inheritors of Northern Song *daoxue*. Qin Gui maintains that Gaozong and he are the rightful “successors of the Way.” Their successful political union as emperor and minister constitutes a full realization of the combined power of imperial authority and Confucian learning. What their Northern Song forebears could have only dimly envisioned, Qin Gui asserts, he and Gaozong have fully realized. As a result, those who “pursue the orthodox path” stand to participate as partners on par with the emperor in the administration of government and the exercise of culture. This remarkably expansive claim to a literati share of imperial power (and the implied assumption that Gaozong tacitly accepted that claim) was no doubt intended as both a response to and a fulfillment of the Northern Song *daoxue* claim for a stake in shared governance.

Qin Gui shapes his opening section around three sources: a paraphrase of the definition of the graph *wang* 王 from the *Shuowen*, a direct quotation from Yang Xiong’s *Fayan*, and an allusion to the *Zhongyong*. The *Shuowen* definition of *wang* as the sovereign (the graph’s single vertical line) who unites (*tong* 通) heaven, earth, and man (the three horizontal lines of the graph) begins this development.¹⁴ In his opening section, Qin Gui quotes the precise formulation that had earlier been

¹⁴ *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, *Sibu congkan* edition [hereafter SBCK] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1919–1934), 1A.3a. The Song Directorate of Education edited and printed the *Shuowen* for the first time in 986, and knowledge of this etymology was widespread in Northern Song; see *Song da zhaoling ji* 宋大詔令集 (ca. mid-twelfth century; rpt., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 150.555.

the topic of the *fu* 賦 portion of the 1061 *jinshi* 進士 examination (*Wang zhe tong tian di ren fu* 王者通天地人賦), a detail that would not have escaped the attention of aspiring *jinshi* candidates in his audience.¹⁵

But as soon as he has endorsed this definition of the sovereign, Qin Gui directly cites Yang Xiong's statement that the Confucian scholar also "unites Heaven, Earth, and man." These two identical glosses (the sovereign as uniter; the scholar as uniter) provide the textual base for Qin Gui's assertion that sovereign and scholar have the same function. In the original *Fayan* passage, Yang Xiong contrasted the scholar's integrated understanding of all three realms against that of "technicians" (*ji* 伎) who understand merely the mechanical operations of Heaven and Earth.¹⁶ The context of these opening quotations introduce at once a major theme of the inscription: the symbiotic and mutually reinforcing relation between the authority of the ruler and the moral character of his subordinates. Qin Gui repeatedly returns to this theme, developing its historical and political implications and drawing parallels to Gaozong and his contemporary audience.

The *Fayan* was a favorite text of reformers of the Qingli 慶曆 period (1041–1048). The Directorate printed an edition in the 1060s, and Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) wrote an expanded commentary to the work.¹⁷ Yang Xiong's definition of the Confucian scholar appealed to the reformers, who wished to inject moral values and behavioral criteria into the education, training, and selection of officials. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), who drafted the edict of 1044/3 that implemented certain aspects of these programs, had begun with the same Yang Xiong definition to which Qin Gui would return a century later.¹⁸

¹⁵ SHY, *xuanju* 選舉, 7.18a–b. The diary kept by Zhao Bian 趙抃 (1008–1084) during his service on the examination committee of 1061 also confirms the *fu* topic for this year. See Liu Changshi 劉昌詩 (*jinshi* 1205), *Lupu biji* 蘆浦筆記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 5.36–42.

¹⁶ *Yangzi fayan* 揚子法言, SBCK (Northern Song, Zhiping 治平 period [1064–1067] edition), 12.3b: "He whose knowledge unites Heaven, Earth, and man is a [Confucian] scholar. He whose knowledge unites Heaven and Earth, but not man, is a technician" 通天地人曰儒; 通天地而不通人曰伎. See also E. von Zach, *Yang Hsiung's Fa-yen (Worte strenger Ermahnung)* (Batavia: Drukkerij Lux, 1939), p. 66.

¹⁷ For Northern Song attitudes toward the *Fayan*, see Peter K. Bol, "This Culture of Ours": *Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), pp. 234–35, 294, 313.

¹⁸ Li Tao 李燾 (1115–1184), *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979–1995), 147.3563–65; Li Yi'an 李逸安, ed., *Ouyang Xiu quan ji* 歐陽修全集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), 79.1128–29. For the Qingli educational reforms,

In order to imply that the true Confucian scholar must possess moral probity, Qin Gui's usage relies both on the quotation's original meaning and on this Northern Song context. Given such probity, Qin Gui states, the "Way" (*dao*) of the scholar and the Way of the sovereign must proceed from the same source.

The notion of the "pure sovereign" (*chunwang* 純王) derives from the *Zhongyong*, where it describes how King Wen's virtue enabled him to attain political and cultural perfection.¹⁹ Commentaries written both before and during the Song dynasty on the *Zhongyong* glossed *chun* as "untainted, unmixed" (*wu za* 無雜), a requirement that the inscription will shortly insist is vital for the community of state scholars. Again using interlocking quotations from the *Zhongyong* and the *Fayan*, the concluding fifth section of the inscription returns to the central notion of the mutually reinforcing purity of sovereign and scholar. Qin Gui's initial series of quotations enables him to conclude his opening section with the striking claim that the "pure sovereign" and those who "aid the sovereign" share an essentially identical nature. They differ merely in terms of position and function. The Han-dynasty term for those who "aid the sovereign" (*wangzuo* 王佐) implies the chief minister, but it can also refer generally to senior officials. By using this term, Qin Gui asserts both his unity of purpose with Emperor Gaozong and his leadership of the state bureaucracy.

In the second section of the inscription, Qin reviews the decline of the unified political and cultural polity of the early Zhou kings as well as the preservation of their culture by Confucius and his disciples. His allusion to *Mencius* 4B.21 links this decline to the transfer of the Zhou capital in 770 B.C.: "Mencius said, 'The traces of the sovereigns were extinguished, and the *Poetry* ceased. When the *Poetry* ceased, then [Confucius] made the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.'" 孟子曰：“王者之迹熄，而詩亡，詩亡，然後春秋作。”²⁰ In order to emphasize that Confu-

see Thomas H. C. Lee, *Government Education and Examinations in Sung China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1985), pp. 233–39.

¹⁹ James Legge, trans., *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean*, vol. 1 of *The Chinese Classics* (rpt., Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), p. 421.

²⁰ Legge, *The Works of Mencius*, vol. 1 of *The Chinese Classics*, p. 327. Qin Gui's understanding of the "traces . . . extinguished" as a reference to the fall of Western Zhou was standard in the Song dynasty; see Zhu Xi, *Sishu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 8.295.

cius continued only the cultural, not the political, authority of the Zhou sovereigns, Qin Gui remarks that, although Confucius's seventy-two disciples varied in natural ability, the political chaos of the period made it inevitable that "none ever found employment that developed the full measure of his capacity." Qin Gui's choice of the term *qi er yong zhi* carried strong associations for contemporary readers of the mutual responsibility of the sovereign to develop his scholars and of the scholars to support the sovereign.

The third section begins with a general statement of the requirements for reestablishing a unified polity. Turning to his own times, Qin Gui creates an analogy between Confucius and his disciples on the one hand and Emperor Gaozong and his scholar-officials on the other: all those who would assist the "pure sovereign," he states, must themselves possess moral purity and undivided commitment. Having identified the "way of the scholar" (*rudao* 儒道) with Confucius and his disciples, Qin Gui now uses the term to refer to his contemporaries, and he denounces those who would deviate from or dilute this unity. Next, Qin cites two passages to link Gaozong to Confucius. The first passage is from *Analects* 9.6, where Zigong 子貢 answers a question about whether Confucius is a Sage: "Indeed, Heaven has endowed him with Sageliness" 固天縱之將聖.²¹ In characterizing Gaozong as one who "embodies the Sageliness endowed by Heaven" 躬天縱之聖, Qin thus claims for his sovereign a purity and a purpose akin to those of Confucius himself.²² "Incandescence Upright," a literal translation of *yan-zheng* 炎正, refers to the association of the Song dynasty with fire in the cyclical progression of the five elements. This term appears in the title of Gaozong's first reign period, "Establishing Incandescence" (Jiayan 建炎), and is common in Southern Song official documents.²³

The second passage is from the "Xici" 繫辭 (Appended judgments) portion of the *Yijing* which touches upon several themes that figure in Qin's inscription:

²¹ Legge, *Confucian Analects*, vol. 1 of *The Chinese Classics*, p. 218.

²² The characterization of the emperor as one who "embodies the Sageliness endowed by Heaven" was common in contemporary descriptions of Song emperors. See, for example, the edict of 1140/5 creating the Hall for the Diffusion of Culture (Fuwen ge 敷文閣), a library to house the writings of Emperor Huizong; SHY, *zhiguan* 職官, 7.15b; QSW, 203:4508.306.

²³ See, for example, Sun Di 孫覿 (1081–1169), *Hongqing jushi ji* 鴻慶居士集 (SKQS), 8.14b, 16.8a.

Generation of life is the greatest virtue of Heaven and Earth (*tiandi zhi da de* 天地之大德). The greatest treasure of the Sage is his position. Benevolence is how he maintains this position. Resources are how he draws others to him. Through his management of resources and by being correct in his pronouncements, he restrains the people from transgression, and this is called his rightness.²⁴

This passage states the centrality of the Sage emperor as an intermediary who transforms the generative power of Heaven and Earth into social and political action in the human realm. It thus fittingly prefaces a version of the history of civilization, beginning with Fu Xi, that follows immediately after this passage.²⁵ Han and Tang commentators on the *Yijing* tended to envision the Sage's "position" as an expression of the Way (*dao*).²⁶ However, beginning with Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), Song commentators developed the implication of this passage to mean that the sovereign must regulate his political structures in such a way as to provide for the just management of the people's resources. This interpretation was further extended in the commentaries of Zhang Jun 張浚 (1097–1164) and his son Zhang Shi 張栻 (1133–1180).²⁷ Qin Gui quotes from this passage to reinforce the theme of the unity of Heaven, Earth, and man, and to link Gaozong and the Sage emperors of antiquity as upholders of "the greatest virtue of Heaven and Earth."

The phrase that follows, "You have cleansed the remnant embers of mire and charcoal," combines two quotations, one from the *Shujing* and one from the *Zuozhuan*, to describe Gaozong's major accomplishment. The *Shujing* "Zhonghui zhi gao" 仲虺之誥 (Declaration of Zhonghui) states that Heaven provides intelligent rulers to control the desires of the people. Absent such rulers, "the people fall into mire and charcoal," glossed as disorder and misery.²⁸ "Remnant embers" first

²⁴ Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249), ed., *Zhouyi* 周易 (SBCK), 8.1b–2a.

²⁵ Richard Wilhelm, trans., *The I Ching, or Book of Changes*, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 328.

²⁶ *Zhouyi*, 8.1b–2a; Richard John Lynn, trans., *The Classic of Changes: a New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 77.

²⁷ Su Shi, *Dongpo Yi zhuan* 東坡易傳 (SKQS), 8.2b–3b; Zhang Jun, *Ziyan Yi zhuan* 紫巖易傳 (SKQS), 8.4a–b; Zhang Shi, *Hanshang Yi zhuan* 漢上易傳 (SKQS), 2.3a–b.

²⁸ Legge, *The Shoo King*, vol. 3 of *The Chinese Classics*, p. 178. Similar usages occur in Mencius; see Legge, *The Works of Mencius*, pp. 206, 369.

occurs in the *Zuozhuan*, where it refers metaphorically to the remnants of a defeated military force.²⁹ The phrase thus alludes to Gaozong's re-establishment of Song military security following the debacle of 1126–1127 and the peace treaty of 1142.

The fourth section returns once again to the notion of collective purity. Now however, following Qin Gui's definition of Gaozong's achievements, the specific context shifts to those whom Qin Gui believes to have opposed these efforts. He describes them as members of the official class whose understanding of Confucian teachings remains unpurified and whose desire for political advancement drove them to promote "deceitful and opportunistic" interpretations of Confucian doctrine. Here, Qin Gui employs no classical allusions but rather mirrors the legalistic language of the inquisitions conducted against his political opponents.³⁰

The ensuing passage, which joins quotations from *Analects* 9.5 and 7.22, is the rhetorical climax of the inscription. In *Analects* 9.5, Confucius, besieged in the city of Kuang, insists that Heaven, not the men of Kuang, will control the fate of King Wen's culture.

When the Master was put on guard in Kuang, he said: "After the passing of King Wen, was his culture not invested here with me? If Heaven had intended to destroy this culture of ours, later mortals would not have been able to attain this culture. Since Heaven does not intend to destroy our culture, what can the men of Kuang do to me?"

子畏於匡，曰：“文王既沒，文不在茲乎？天之將喪斯文也，後死者不得與於斯文也。天之未喪斯文也，匡人其如予何？”

The Master is equally confident in *Analects* 7.22: "The Master said, 'Heaven brought forth the virtue that is in me. What can Huan Tui do to me?'" 子曰：“天生德於予。桓魋其如予何？” Both passages express the Master's assurance that, despite his personal difficulties, Heaven will protect the moral and cultural accomplishments of Zhou. Pre-Tang commentary had already linked these two passages, and this linkage was reinforced by Northern Song writers.³¹

²⁹ Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*, vol. 5 of *The Chinese Classics*, pp. 341, 346.

³⁰ Charles Hartman, "The Misfortunes of Poetry: Literary Inquisitions under Ch'in Kuei (1090–1155)," *CLEAR* 25 (December 2003): 25–57.

³¹ He Yan 何晏 (d. 249) and Huang Kan 皇侃 (488–545), *Lun-yü jijie yishu* 論語集

The passages, however, assumed special resonance for Southern Song readers, and Qin Gui has skillfully adapted these resonances to his own purpose. His paraphrase of *Analects* 7.22, “If Confucius had not earlier encountered difficulty from [Han] Tui of Song” 前未遭宋黜之難, reminds his readers that Han Tui was minister of war in the Zhou-dynasty state of Song. Furthermore, although Qing scholars subsequently identified three possible locations for the city of Kuang, the mainstream Northern Song geographical tradition located the city near Changyuan 長垣, which was 105 li northwest of Kaifeng and within the confines of the metropolitan district.³² Thus, for readers of Qin Gui’s inscription, Kuang meant Kaifeng. Reinforcing this association was an account in *Zhuangzi* 莊子 that began “When Confucius was traveling through Kuang, the people of Song besieged him” 孔子遊於匡, 宋人圍之.³³ Many *Analects* commentators preferred the *Zhuangzi* phrasing, which described the master as having been “besieged” (*wei* 圍), not “frightened” (*wei* 畏), in Kuang. Of course, for Qin Gui and his audience, *wei* was the same term that described the Jurchen siege of Kaifeng in 1126–1127.

Since other passages from the *Analects* (3.24 and 14.35) also present Confucius as the Heaven-appointed bearer of Zhou culture, Qin Gui’s selection of *Analects* 9.5 and 7.22, as well as his diction linking these two passages, shows Qin Gui’s artifice.³⁴ Moreover, Qin Gui has inserted between the two quotations the critical phrase that Heaven’s protection of Confucius at Kuang ensured the “succession of the Way.” Previously Qin Gui hinted at parallels between Confucius and Gaozong; here, in section four of the inscription, he extends the analogy between the roles of Confucius and Gaozong in ensuring the “succession of the Way.” After the culture of the Zhou founder King Wen declined and led to the loss of the Western Zhou capital, Heaven preserved the “succession” of that culture through Confucius and his disciples. Just so, Song

解義疏 (SKQS), 4.14a–b; Chen Xiangdao 陳祥道 (1053–1093), *Lunyu quanjie* 論語全解 (SKQS), 4.14a draws the two passages closely together.

³² Yue Shi 樂史 (930–1107), *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 (SKQS), 2.7b; Cheng Shude 程樹德, *Lunyu jishi* 論語集釋 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1973), pp. 498–500.

³³ *A Concordance to Chuang Tzu*. Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series. Supplement No. 20 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), 44/17/60; Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp. 184–85.

³⁴ Edward Slingerland, trans., *Confucius: Analects* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2003), p. 88.

culture, after the dynasty's founding under Emperor Taizu, declined and led to the loss of Kaifeng, but Heaven again preserved the "succession" of that culture through Gaozong and his scholar-officials.

Both Confucius and Gaozong, according to Qin Gui, suffered "difficulties." Just as Confucius confronted and survived the siege at Kuang, so Gaozong surmounted the siege of Kaifeng. But, Qin Gui intimates, Gaozong's achievement surpasses that of Confucius in two ways. First, because Gaozong has restored Song cultural *and* political authority, his scholar-officials stand to benefit more than did the disciples of Confucius, whose political careers fell victim to the disorder of their times. Second, Qin Gui's reworking of the quotations to emphasize that "the men of Song" besieged Kuang/Kaifeng and that Confucius/Gaozong "encountered difficulty from Han Tui of Song," raises again the issue of apostasy, one of the inscription's central concerns. By confronting those "who stray, who become tainted, or who violate the way of the scholar," Gaozong has restored dynastic orthodoxy—an achievement that eluded Confucius.

In the final section, Qin Gui shifts focus from the past to the present, returning to and reinterpreting the inscription's initial themes so as to encourage his audience. He explains that those scholars of the realm who adhere to Gaozong as the "source" of doctrinal orthodoxy, will be accorded responsibility for dynastic culture as well as merit for assisting in the continued transmission of the "succession of the Way." State and emperor, scholar and official, will thereby achieve the dual aim, announced in the *Daxue*, of bringing order to the state and cultivating the self (*guozhi shenxiu* 國治身修). To underscore the symbiosis of emperor and scholar Qin Gui quotes, first, from the *Liezi* and, second, from Yang Xiong's *Fayan* (here echoing the opening of the inscription). In their original contexts, the subject of each passage is an emperor, but in Qin Gui's skillful hands, it becomes those scholar-officials "who pursue the orthodox path." This subtly reinforces Qin Gui's initial assertion of the ultimate identity of emperor and scholar.

The passage Qin cites from the *Liezi* tells how the Yellow Emperor, torn for the first thirty years of his rule between personal cultivation and active political administration, succeeded at neither. He therefore "retired to live undisturbed in a hut in his main courtyard, where he fasted to discipline mind and body (*zhaixin fuxing* 齋心服形), and for three months had nothing to do with affairs of state." During this

period, he traveled in dreams to the country of Huaxu 華胥, mother of the first emperor, Fu Xi, where he attained the personal and political perfection of Daoist paradise. Having discovered the “utmost Way” (*zhidao* 至道), he went on, to achieve the perfection of his dreams in his subsequent twenty-eight year rule.³⁵

The final quotation in the inscription returns to the *Fayan* of Yang Xiong, where the entire passage is relevant:

Someone asked about how to make government genuine. Yangzi replied: “The true and the false. If these are distinguished, then government will be genuine. But if the true are not recognized for their truth, and the false not recognized for their falsehoods, then government administration can never be genuine. As thunder and wind stir the ten thousand things, so the command of the sovereign stirs the ten thousand people 鼓舞萬物者雷風乎; 鼓舞萬民者號令乎. His thunder affects all; his wind need blow only once. The Sage delights in the decrees of Heaven. As a potter his vessel, he shapes the world, giving to each man his proper measure as an officer or a gentleman. Therefore, he does not withdraw from the world nor depart the crowd; for one who withdraws and departs cannot be a Sage.”³⁶

Taken together, these two quotations develop the *Daxue*'s definition of a successful polity as the symbiotic fusion of personal and public attainment—the inner and outer orders central to Song Confucianism. The apparent conflict between Liezi's Daoist idealism and Yang Xiong's Confucian commitment is only superficial: the Yellow Emperor's three-month inner retreat enabled him to achieve twenty-eight years of outer political perfection. Qin Gui's formulation also deftly alludes, even within the quintessentially Confucian context of the inscription, to the practical juxtaposition of Daoist and Confucian rhetoric that sustained Song imperial policy, especially during the reigns of Huizong and Gaozong.

The inscription's final phrase alludes to inward and outward achievement in yet another way. On the literal level, Qin Gui encourages the Imperial University students to admire and take inspiration from Gaozong's calligraphy on the stele. But his expressions hint at

³⁵ Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, ed., *Liezi jishi* 列子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 2:59–43; A. C. Graham, *The Book of Lieh-tzu* (London: John Murray, 1960), pp. 33–35.

³⁶ *Yangzi fayán* (SBCK), 9:3b–4a; von Zach, *Worte strenger Ermahnung*, p. 45.

additional meanings: *kuihua* 奎畫 can refer to the content of Gaozong's text, and *mofan* 模範 can refer to the role model that a teacher ideally provides for his students.³⁷ Remembering that the purpose of the new stelae was to disseminate copies of Gaozong's text throughout the empire, Qin Gui's closing section addresses not only the immediate students in Hangzhou but also the "many scholars (*duo shi* 多士) . . . who would pursue the orthodox path." Considering his intentional juxtaposition of the roles of Confucius and Gaozong, Qin Gui's conclusion again stresses Gaozong's twofold relationship to the readers of the inscription: in the context of the ruler-servitor relationship, Gaozong, like King Wen, is ruler to the servitors in his audience; while in the context of the teacher-disciple relationship, he stands as teacher to the "many scholars," as Confucius stood in relation to his disciples.

Yet this *Fayan* quotation, with which Qin Gui concludes his inscription, also alludes to the need to distinguish the true (*zhen* 真) from the false (*wei* 偽) in the quest for "government that is genuine" (*zheng he* 政核). Again, Qin Gui returns to the issue of "purity." The allusion not only defends the purges during his term as chief councilor but relates them to the duty of both the Sage-emperors and Gaozong to shape and train each servitor: "as a potter shapes his vessel, he shapes the world, giving to each man his proper measure as an officer or a gentleman." Thus Qin Gui had lodged within the inscription's exuberant conclusion an implied threat against those who would continue to advocate false theories and choose not to pursue the "orthodox path."

Qin Gui's inscription relies heavily on the diction of the classical canon, but it; nonetheless, it also contains phrases that reflect contemporary Song political and intellectual discourse. This intertextuality reveals Qin Gui's awareness of the writings of major Northern Song *daoxue* figures. Qin Gui's emphasis on the *Zhongyong* notion of the "pure sovereign" echoes the following brief statement in the dialogues of the Cheng brothers: "The Way of the sovereign and the Way of the scholar are identical; both [should] possess a unified understanding of Heaven and Earth. When this learning is pure, there are pure sovereigns and pure scholars" 王道與儒道同，皆通貫天地，學純則純

³⁷ The earliest example of this usage is in *Yangzi fayan*, 1.1b–2a; von Zach, *Worte strenger Ermahnung*, pp. 2–3.

王純儒也。³⁸ This passage is an elaboration of Cheng Yi's exegesis of *Zhongyong* 26 (the locus of the "pure sovereign" of Qin Gui's inscription), which Zhu Xi would later quote in his own *Zhongyong* commentary. Cheng Yi explains that King Wen attained his "pure" state by modeling himself on the "undivided, untainted" (*wu er wu za* 無二無雜) and "ceaseless" (*wu yi* 無已) qualities of Heaven.³⁹ The *Zhongyong* text treats only the relationship between King Wen and Heaven. But Cheng Yi—and, following him, Qin Gui—has expanded its implications to include the relationship between the sovereign and his officials. Cheng Yi has transformed "purity" from a personal quality of the sovereign alone to the collective aspiration of sovereign and servitor, realized through a program of joint learning, for a unified polity. Even if "purity" and "learning" may have held drastically different connotations for Cheng Yi and Qin Gui, Cheng Yi's *logia* and Qin Gui's inscription share a common diction, exegetical basis, and rhetoric.

Development of the concept of the "pure sovereign" was an early concern of the Cheng brothers. Cheng Hao, in his response to a question on the *jinshi* examination of 1057, had already focused on the centrality of such a sovereign. The question asked what policies the ancients had employed to care for the elderly. Cheng Hao began with the general principle: "The government of the pure sovereign comes about simply through the mind of the pure sovereign" 以純王之心行純王之政爾。⁴⁰ This notion of "the mind of the pure sovereign" later became a mainstay not only of *daoxue* exegesis but also of Qin Gui's descriptions of Gaozong.

Furthermore, Qin Gui's description of the ideal political unity between ruler and servitor, with which he begins the third section of his inscription, closely parallels a formulation by another Northern Song chancellor of the Directorate of Education, Yang Shi. In one of several examination questions that Yang formulated, probably as practice for students, he notes the following: incompetent chief councilors often impede the effective exercise of imperial power, so much that the ruler becomes "like a charioteer driving a broken carriage and a sick horse." Notwithstanding several capable Han and Tang councilors,

³⁸ Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi, *Er Cheng ji* 二程集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), p. 411.

³⁹ Zhu Xi, *Sishu zhangju ji zhu*, p. 35.

⁴⁰ *Er Cheng ji*, p. 465.

writes Yang Shi, there was never a return to the perfection of antiquity “when rulers such as Shun . . . and servitors such as Houji and the Duke of Zhou . . . came together to complete the achievement of the imperial sovereignty” (共成帝王之業).⁴¹

A final example of intertextual linkages with *daoxue* material occurs in the second section of the inscription, where Qin Gui opines, seemingly innocuously, that, among the disciples of Confucius, “the achievements of some were deep and those of others were shallow.” Although not explicitly doctrinal, this phrase derives from one of Cheng Yi’s most famous maxims, one that Zhu Xi highlighted in the *Jinsi lu* 近思錄 (Reflections on things at hand) and hence made pervasive in later *daoxue* discourse. “First you have got to cultivate the roots, and then you can set the course. Once that course is right, then whether your achievement is deep or is shallow will depend on your effort” 根本須是先培壅，然後可立趨向也。趨向既正，所造有淺深，則由勉與不勉也。⁴² Cheng Yi presumably directed this advice toward his own students; although Qin Gui applied the phrase to Confucius’s disciples, the conclusion of his inscription nonetheless resonates with Cheng Yi’s premise. But each context creates distinct overtones. For Cheng Yi and his students, the process of nourishing roots and setting directions is a private matter between master and disciple. In Qin Gui’s interpretation, because Gaozong has prepared the roots and set the course for the empire, those who strive daily along the “orthodox path” will be rewarded with public recognition and success.

This exploration of the lexical level of the inscription reveals a writer fully versed in classical exegesis and adroit at the rhetorical expression of his message. It also reveals a writer and presumably an audience that was aware of the texts and vocabulary that Zhu Xi would later draw upon to form the canonical base of Northern Song *daoxue*. We turn now to a discussion of the larger historical contexts in which Qin Gui’s message can be understood.

⁴¹ Yang Shi, *Guishan ji* 龜山集 (SKQS), 15.4a–5a; QSW, 124:2692.372.

⁴² *Er Cheng ji*, p. 87; Jiang Yong 江永 (1681–1762), *Jinsi lu jizhu* 近思錄集註 (SKQS), 2.20b; for another translation see Wing-tsit Chan, trans., *Reflections on Things at Hand* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 55. For examples of subsequent usage, see Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994), 61.1463–64; Huang Gan 黃幹 (1152–1221), *Mianzhai ji* 勉齋集 (SKQS), 2.17a.

The Inscription and its Historical Contexts

Three different sets of contemporary textual material provide contexts that can help us to understand the inscription and its message. First, since the inscription functions as a colophon for Gaozong's own preface and his eulogies for Confucius and his disciples, the most immediate and pertinent context is provided by Gaozong's own texts. Second, the stelae for Confucius and his disciples from 1155 were clearly related to the simultaneous project of Gaozong and Qin Gui to create engraved versions of the classics for dissemination as rubbings to the provinces—works that were subsequently named *Nan Song shi-jing* 南宋石經 (Southern Song stone classics). These stelae shared a similar fate to that of the 1155 stones, and many still survive in Hangzhou. Several carry an inscription by Qin Gui dated 1143. Although little studied before now, the 1143 inscription addresses similar issues to those of the later inscription. The two inscriptions illuminate each other and furnish different chronological perspectives, one from the middle period and the other from the end of Qin Gui's tenure as chief councilor. Third, the received history of Qin Gui's last years, especially of the political events immediately preceding his death in the fall of 1155, provides relevant background for understanding the message of the inscription in its contemporary context.

Although Gaozong first revealed his eulogy for Confucius on 1144/3/24, the remainder of the project—imperial eulogies for all seventy-two disciples and Qin Gui's final inscription—was completed only some time before 1155. Gaozong's preface concisely states the project's conception and goals.

Seeking harmony with all our neighbors, I ceased hostilities, then founded and opened schools in order to educate and develop the many officials so as to nurture those who are loyal and good. I next made a visit to the Imperial University, receiving in audience all the students, so numerous in the hall, and felt extraordinary esteem for them. So I composed a eulogy for the Sovereign Who Propagates Culture. During my leisure from urgent government duties, I also successively fashioned eulogies for his seventy-two disciples, beginning with Yan Hui. May [these eulogies] spread wide the repute of these sages who honored the Confucian tradition and advanced our culture.

Furthermore, I understand these precepts that passed between the master and his disciples, where the multitude of students, concentrating their spirits, study and reflect [on King Wen]; and I fervently hope they may enhance the Way of good government.

朕自睦隣息兵,首開學校,教育多士,以遂忠良。繼幸太學,延見諸生,濟濟在庭,意甚嘉之。因作文宣王贊。機政餘閒,歷取顏回而下七十二人,亦為製贊。用廣列聖崇儒右文之聲;復知師弟子間纓弁森森覃精繹思之訓;其於治道,心庶幾焉。

This deceptively simple narrative makes two essential points: first, Gaozong states flatly that the purpose of Confucian education is to further “the way of good government.” Second, fortified by the deeper understanding of Confucian precepts that he obtained while composing the eulogies, Gaozong asserts his own ability to identify and promote the “loyal and good.” In his view, the imperial school system should educate the “many *shi*” in order to obtain those who are “loyal and good.” Gaozong shows himself further edified by his visit to the Imperial University, the culmination of this process. The phrase that Gaozong felt extraordinary esteem for them” (*yi shen jia zhi*) carries a double meaning: it implies that what Gaozong saw at the new university pleased him and that he wished to honor and encourage its students. The result was his eulogy for Confucius and, eventually, his eulogies for all the seventy-two disciples. His eulogies thus present individual portraits of the “loyal and good”—a set of imperially sanctioned exemplars for moral, and potentially political, success.

Throughout the preface, Gaozong speaks in his dual capacity as ruler and teacher. As Qin Gui elaborates at the close of his inscription: as a ruler, Gaozong succeeds Yao and Shun; as a teacher, he succeeds Confucius. Developing the duality of reference inherent in “the many *shi*” (meaning both “many officials” and “many students”), the rhetoric of the last half of the text—beginning “May [these eulogies] spread wide”—purposely blurs the distinction, creating an identity between Confucius’s disciples and Gaozong’s students and officials. This identity, in turn, reinforces Gaozong’s implied identification with Confucius. The phrases *liesheng* and *shi di zhi jian* refer to Confucius and his disciples. But *yingbian*, literally, “chin straps and caps,” is a long-standing synecdoche for officials. Likewise, *yisi* (here “study and reflect”), one of the preface’s few quotations, derives from *Shijing* 詩

經 (Classic of poetry) #295, where the early Zhou servitors acknowledge the labors of their founder King Wen and dedicate themselves to perpetuate his memory by continuing his policies.⁴³ Finally, Gaozong's concluding phrase reaffirms his own understanding that the Confucian "precepts" outlined in the eulogies may serve to improve contemporary administration.

Following the preface, Gaozong's eulogy for Confucius continues the theme of Gaozong as both ruler and teacher, conflating the image of Confucius as restorer of the values of King Wen with that of Gaozong as restorer of the values of Confucius.

大哉宣聖	How great! The Sage who propagates
斯文在茲	this culture [of King Wen] invested here—
帝王之式	he is the model for emperors and for sovereigns,
古今之師	the teacher for ancients and for moderns.

志則春秋	He wrote his intent in the <i>Springs and Autumns</i> ,
道由忠恕	his Way proceeds from dutifulness and understanding.
賢於堯舜	Worthier than Yao and Shun,
日月其譽	praise him as sun and as moon.

維時載雍	Our times have now become harmonious,
戢此武功	and we have put aside our martial achievements.
肅昭盛儀	Make solemn and manifest our grand ceremony,
海宇聿崇	so that all within the seas may honor him.

The interlocking themes of Gaozong's hymn add up to a moral manifesto for political restoration. Written less than two years after the formal conclusion of the peace treaty with the Jin and promulgated from the mansion that had been confiscated from Yue Fei—now refashioned as the Imperial University—Gaozong's text firmly links Confucius with peace. Framing his eulogy as a dichotomy of *wen* versus *wu*, Gaozong lauds "the king who proclaimed culture" as the central transmitter of this non-violent tradition of "culture," surpassing even Yao and Shun in importance. The polysemous opening couplet, with its quotation from *Analects* 9.5, suggests that, by making peace

⁴³ Legge, *The She King, or the Book of Poetry*, vol. 4 of *The Chinese Classics*, pp. 608–9.

with the Jin, Gaozong has himself inherited the transmission of that tradition. This emphasis on Confucius as the author of the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and autumn annals), which Gaozong here equates with his function in restoring and transmitting early Zhou values, reinforces the image of Gaozong as an analogous restorer and transmitter. Gaozong's quotation of the phrase from the *Mencius* that Confucius had been "worthier than Yao and Shun" signaled to Song readers Gaozong's claim that he had established a cultural and political restoration "worthier than" the dynastic founding under emperors Taizu and Taizong.⁴⁴ Good evidence suggests that Song readers understood the final quatrain as referring to Gaozong's own time: Gaozong is comparing his own achievements to those of Confucius.⁴⁵

Well before the promulgation of the full set of eulogies for Confucius and his disciples, Gaozong's eulogy for Confucius had been carved on a separate stele and distributed to the provinces.⁴⁶ The hymn, set to music and performed by musicians from the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (Taichang si 太常寺), figured prominently in the spring and autumn sacrifices to Confucius held at the Imperial University, and continued to be performed at these rituals until the end of the dynasty.⁴⁷ The text of the hymn publically proclaimed Gaozong's conception of the relationship linking Confucius, his own position as emperor, and his policy of peaceful co-existence with the Jin. The reluctance of later Southern Song monarchs to change the text of the hymn, in contrast to the Northern Song practice of making frequent changes, reflects the long shadow that Gaozong's formulation, as both rhetoric and policy, cast over his successors.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ For the *Mencius* quotation, see Legge, *The Works of Mencius*, p. 195; in addition to *Analects* 9.5, other quotations include *Analects* 4.15 (Legge, *Confucian Analects*, p. 170), *Shijing*, ode 244 (Legge, *She King*, p.461), and the *Shujing* "Canon of Yao" (Legge, *Shoo King*, p. 17).

⁴⁵ See Lin Jiong 林駟 (fl. 1220–1237), *Gujin yuanliu zhilun* 古今源流至論, *qianji* 前集 (SKQS), 8.18b–19a.

⁴⁶ *Yuhai*, 31.30b–31a. *Baoqing Siming lu*, 2.7a records the copy in the provincial school at Qingyuan; see also Zhou Yinghe 周應合, *Jingding Jiankang zhi* 景定建康志 (SKQS), 33.3b for another copy in Jiankang.

⁴⁷ Wu Zimu 吳自牧, *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄, *Congshu jicheng* edition (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), 15.131.

⁴⁸ For Northern Song ritual hymns to Confucius, see *Songshi*, 137.3234–38.

Qin Gui's Inscription on the Stone Classics

The formal structure of the stele eulogies of 1155 for Confucius and his disciples—Gaozong's texts with Qin Gui's conclusion—parallels the structure of the "Southern Song stone classics."⁴⁹ The tradition of imperial creation and dissemination of stele versions of the Confucian classics dated from the Han dynasty, and stele classics had been produced between 1041 and 1061. However, because the Northern Song stones remained in Kaifeng after 1127, the creation of new versions became a top cultural priority of the restoration government after the peace treaty of 1142. Contrary to time-honored precedent, however, Gaozong decided to use his own personal holographs as the calligraphic basis for these new "stone classics." His decision combined the ancient tradition of imperially sponsored "stone classics" with the Northern Song custom, begun under Taizong, by which copies of selected chapters from the classics transcribed by the emperor's own hand were conferred on *jinshi* examination candidates who passed in the highest category.⁵⁰

Already in 1139 and 1140, long before the peace treaty, Qin Gui had requested Gaozong's permission to carve stelae based on the emperor's holograph copies of the *Xiaojing* 孝經 (Classic of filial piety) and the *Zhongyong* that Gaozong had given him.⁵¹ After the treaty, in 1144/7, prefectural replicas of the original *Xiaojing* stele in Lin'an were used to distribute the emperor's holograph of this classic to every active official and registered student in the country.⁵² These actions were directly related to advocacy for the peace treaty, a major provision of which was the return from northern captivity of Gaozong's mother along with the coffins of Emperor Huizong and his Empress Zheng. The South-

⁴⁹ The best survey successive of stone classic projects remains Zhang Guogan 張國淦, *Lishi shijing kao* 歷代石經考 (Beijing: Yanjing daxue guoxue yanjiusuo, 1930). For reproductions of all the surviving Southern Song stone classics stelae, see *Hangzhou Kongmiao*, pp. 21–65. For exhaustive Qing studies, see Wang Chang, *Jinshi cuibian*, 148.5a–19a; Ruan Yuan, *Liang Zhe jinshi zhi*, 8.5b–34a.

⁵⁰ SHY, *xuanju*, 2.2a, 7a.

⁵¹ SHY, *chongru*, 6.17a–b. According to *Yuhai*, 34.23a, the Southern Song practice of conferring rubbings of stelae written by the emperor" on Palace Examination graduates began in 1135 with copies of the *Zhongyong*.

⁵² *Yaolu*, 152.2444; *Yuhai*, 34.19b.

ern Song stone classics project began in 1143/1 after a formal request from Qin Gui's younger brother Qin Di 秦棣 (d. 1148), then prefect of Huzhou 湖州.⁵³ Between 1143 and 1146, Gaozong produced holographs of the *Chunqiu* with the *Zuozhuan*, *Yijing*, *Shujing*, *Shijing*, *Analects*, and *Mencius*.⁵⁴

According to a major mid-thirteenth century work on stone inscriptions, "Qin Gui's colophon was printed at the end of each roll."⁵⁵ An examination of the surviving stones has confirmed that, consistent with the purpose of using the stelae to produce rubbings for mounting into hand scrolls, each classic concluded with a colophon by Qin Gui.⁵⁶ Below is the text of his inscription at the conclusion of the *Shijing*.⁵⁷

Your subject has learned from the *Classic of Documents*: "When Heaven delivered the inferior people, he made for them rulers and teachers."⁵⁸ Since antiquity, when Sage-kings have held the highest office, their duties as ruler and as teacher have combined in a single purpose. In the age of Yao and Shun, the myriad states all enjoyed repose, and every house had men worthy of honors. This was the clear consequence, and the great testament to their governance and instruction.

Respectfully, I consider that Your Majesty, through your Heaven-bestowed valor and wisdom, has brought order to our disordered times and restored us to orthodoxy. In addition, in the leisure after laying down weapons, you have written in your personal, imperial calligraphy the *Six Classics*,

⁵³ *Yaolu*, 148.2376.

⁵⁴ *SHY, chongru*, 6.18a; *Yuhai*, 43.22a–b

⁵⁵ Zeng Hongfu 曾宏父, *Shike pu xu* 石刻鋪叙 (*SKQS*), 1.1a–b.

⁵⁶ Of the remaining stones in Hangzhou, the final stele for the *Zuozhuan*, the *Shujing*, the *Shijing*, and the *Analects* survive. All have traces of Qin Gui's colophon. The final stelae for the *Yijing* and the *Mencius* have not survived. The final stele for the *Zhongyong*, which does survive, is exceptional in that it does not contain Qin Gui's text. One possible explanation for this anomaly is that the project, officially begun in 1143/1, utilized an existing stele for the *Zhongyong*, of which at least two are mentioned in the sources, one in 1135 (*Yuhai*, 34.23a) and one made by Qin Gui in 1140 (*SHY, chongru*, 6.17a).

⁵⁷ Our text is based on the rubbing of the *Shijing* colophon reproduced in Shimonaka Kunihiko 下中邦彦, ed., *Shodō zenshū* 書道全集 (Heibonsha, 1955), 16:140. There are variations in the texts of all surviving versions of Qin Gui's colophons, which, to the best of our knowledge, have never been studied in detail. For a transcription of the text of the *Zuozhuan* colophon, with variant readings from the *Analects* colophon, see Wang Chang, *Jinshi cuibian*, 148.11a–b.

⁵⁸ Legge, *Shoo King*, pp. 286–87. Although Qin Gui cites the *Shujing*, his quotation follows the text of the passage as cited in *Mencius* (Legge, *Works of Mencius*, p. 156).

the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, and the *Zuo Commentary*, working from morning until evening, to serve as a guiding inspiration for Confucian scholars. I have accordingly requested that these be carved on stone in the Directorate of Education and that a copy be distributed to government schools everywhere. We shall indeed be fortunate personally to experience the [fulfillment of] your duties as ruler and teacher [that equal those of] Yao and of Shun.

By bringing peace and tranquility to Heaven and Earth, by uplifting and inspiring the mores of society, the One Man has devoted himself solely to the fulfillment of his duties. He has devoted his fullest measure of energy to actions on behalf of administrative order that were formulated in his own mind and manifested through his own personal deportment. How, therefore could his expectations for a grand response be slight? Is it not written in the *Poetry*:

Magnificent are the many officers
brought forth unto our kingly state,
and our kingly state was able to nourish them,
these supports of the Zhou.⁵⁹

Your subject desires that those who study will strive toward this goal.

臣聞之書曰：“天降下民，作之君，作之師。”自古聖王在上，則君師之任，歸於一致。堯舜之世，萬邦咸寧，比屋可封者，治教之明效大驗也。仰惟主上以天錫勇智，撥亂世反之正。又於投戈之隙，親御翰墨，書六經以及論語孟子左氏傳，朝夕從事，為諸儒倡。臣因得請刊石于國子監，頒其本徧賜泮宮。堯舜君師之任，乃幸獲親見之。夫以乾坤之清夷，世道之興起，一人專任其責。所為經綸於心，表儀以身者，勤亦至矣。所望於丕應者豈淺哉。詩不云乎？“思皇多士，生此王國，王國克生，維周之祿。”臣願與學者勉之。

Although not as rhetorically complex as the inscription of 1155, this earlier text also employs opening and concluding quotations to frame its basic message: Gaozong's promulgation of the stone classics demonstrates his ability to unite, in a single person, the ancient ideal of ruler and teacher. Heaven's support, along with Gaozong's dedi-

⁵⁹ Legge, *She King*, p. 429. Later Song commentators saw in this stanza a realization of the ideal political unity expressed in the famous *Daxue* catenation linking “setting the mind right” (*zhengxin* 正心) with “bringing peace to All under Heaven” (*ping tianxia* 平天下). See Lin Jie 林岳, *Maoshi jiangyi* 毛詩講義 (SKQS), 7.3a–b.

cated effort to achieve this union, have enabled him to restore the “age of Yao and Shun.” Such unified “governance and instruction” would, in any age, bring about peace, learning, morality, and political order. Gaozong has thus fulfilled Confucius’s aspiration, expressed at the end of the *Chunqiu*, to “bring order to our disordered times and restore us to orthodoxy.”

Qin Gui urges his contemporaries to respond to Gaozong’s achievements as the ancients had responded to those of the early sovereigns—with commensurate outpouring of loyalty and dedication. The phrase “grand response” (*piying* 丕應), originally found in the *Shujing*, defines the spontaneous and enthusiastic response of Heaven, officials, and populace to the effective sovereign.⁶⁰ Qin Gui’s concluding quotation from the *Shijing* underscores the mutually reinforcing bonds between sovereign and servitor that characterized the age of King Wen, a harmonious union toward which Qin Gui exhorts his audience. By urging “those who study” toward this goal, Qin Gui insinuates, once again, the identity between King Wen and Gaozong as sovereigns who “fulfilled their duties as rulers and teachers.”

In the *Shujing*, the passage that follows after Qin Gui’s opening quotation about Heaven’s bestowal of rulers and teachers maintains that the impartial administration of justice by the emperor produces a “unity of mind” (*yi xin* 一心) among his servitors. During the Shaoxing era (1131–1162), this passage, and kindred *Shujing* passages that extolled the unity of political purpose among retainers of the ancient sovereigns, served as rhetorical touchstones for prosecutions against opponents of the peace treaty of 1142 and advocates of continued military operations against the Jin. In short, readers who knew the classics would recognize in this inscription an implied threat against any who would destroy the “unity of mind” that Qin Gui’s adulation of Gaozong as ruler and teacher was meant to engender.

The Inscription and the Politics of 1155

Wu Ne rightly observed that the vehement condemnation in the 1155 inscription of those who “perversely propagate deceitful and opportunistic theories” was directed against opponents of the 1142 peace treaty,

⁶⁰ Legge, *Shoo King*, pp. 78–79.

many of whom were to some degree associated with Cheng learning. The contemporary politics of the inscription embraces both the proscription on Cheng learning, in effect from 1144 through 1156, and the political purges that Gaozong and Qin Gui initiated against opponents of the peace treaty. The two initiatives were politically related, yet each maintained its own distinctive focus, goals, and rhetoric.

The earliest and best Song source on the history of *daoxue*, the *Daoming lu* 道命錄 (Record of the way and its destiny) by Li Xinchuan, contains six documents dated between 1144 and 1156.⁶¹ Taken in their entirety and in chronological order, these documents detail an increasing severity of sanction against advocates of Cheng learning; nonetheless the sanctions remain focused on the examination system as a vehicle for selecting officials and on the role of the emperor in that system. Five of the documents refer directly to upcoming *jinshi* examinations (in 1145, 1151, 1154, and 1157) and request prohibitions and sanctions against examination responses manifesting “partial learning from a single source” (*zhuanmen qushuo* 專門曲說).

For example, the memorial of Zhang Zhen 張震, dated 1155/10/1, three weeks before Qin Gui’s death, mirrors the message of the 1155 inscription, in spirit if not in rhetoric and detail. Zhang writes that the emperor expects students to study antiquity by directly accessing the classic texts; nevertheless, observes Zhang, some students still adhere to theories that are “vacuous and ungrounded” (*xuwu bugen* 虛無不根). Accordingly, learning from a single source should be banned in schools in order that the writings of those who pass the examinations “will take their origins in study of the classics” (*jingshu yuanyuan* 經術淵源). In this way, “the customs of the *shi* will approach those of ancient times, and all our *shi* will become talents suitable for employment” 士風近古, 悉為可用之才。

A memorial that was written in 1156/6/15—after Qin Gui’s death but six months before the project of the Confucian eulogies was pro-

⁶¹ The received ten-juan version of the *Daoming lu* was expanded and revised by Cheng Rongxiu 程榮秀 (1263–1333), a descendant of Cheng Yi. The Qin Gui-era documents formed the conclusion to the second *juan* of Li’s original five-juan version of the *Daoming lu*, which treated the Shaoxing period as a cohesive unit. Fortunately, the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 preserves intact this section of Li’s original work. See Charles Hartman, “Bibliographic Notes on Sung Historical Works: The Original Record of the Way and Its Destiny (*Tao-ming lu*) by Li Hsin-ch’uan,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 20 (2000): 1–61, esp. 37, 47–48. For the original *Daoming lu*, as cited in the present article, see *Yongle dadian* (1407; rpt., Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), 8164.15b–18b.

mulgated—reaffirms the paradigm of the emperor’s centrality as teacher, disseminator of classic texts, and arbiter of orthodox standards for the examinations. The writer notes that Qin Gui had “secretly promoted” (*yinyou* 陰佑) the learning of Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) and failed any candidate who showed the slightest awareness of Cheng learning, thus skewing the impartiality of the system and preventing talents from emerging. Acknowledging that both Zhao Ding’s 趙鼎 (1085–1147) support for Cheng learning and Qin Gui’s promotion of Wang Anshi’s ideas had distorted the examination system, Gaozong ordered that graders henceforth formulate standards that conformed completely to the texts of Confucius and Mencius.⁶²

Read in chronological order alongside the inscriptions of 1143 and 1155, the documents in the *Daoming lu* suggest that the prohibitions on Cheng learning, which Li Xinchuan records as being in effect for twelve years from 1144 through 1156, were based on, yet ultimately independent of, the paradigm of emperor as ruler and teacher. This paradigm, detailed in the inscription of 1143, predated the prohibitions against Cheng learning in 1144 and was stated again in 1156 as justification for their removal. The essence of the paradigm may be summarized in a series of propositions: (1) the emperor, as ultimate ruler and source of political authority, is also the ultimate teacher and source of educational authority; (2) in the latter capacity, he promulgates an official version of the classic texts; (3) these texts constitute the sole legitimate corpus on which students will be examined; and (4) uniting both functions, the emperor selects and appoints officials based on examination performance. Gaozong’s remarks in 1144 and 1156 make clear that he viewed ministerial attempts to utilize the educational system for the purposes of political network building, regardless of ideological direction, as an infringement on imperial authority.

The political purges of the Shaoxing era began almost as soon as Qin Gui assumed the sole chief councillorship in 1138/12, and remained a prominent feature of his administration until his death.⁶³ The purges usually began with Censorial inquisitions into passages in an individual’s writings that were identified as being defamatory to the emperor or to state policy. By Qin Gui’s time, such inquisitions already

⁶² *Yongle dadian*, 8164.18a–b; *Yaolu*, 173.2847.

⁶³ For a survey see Wang Zengyu 王曾瑜, “Shaoxing wenziyu” 紹興文字獄, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 88.5 (April 1994): 18–31; Hartman, “The Making of a Villain”: 86–105.

had a hundred-year history in Song politics. The Qing historian Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727–1814) counted forty-three individuals mentioned in the *Songshi* 宋史 (Song history) as being targeted by Qin Gui in this way. Wang Zengyu details twenty-four cases, most of which involved more than one individual. Initially, the persecutions had begun in order to force political acceptance of peace negotiations with the Jin. Their persistence after conclusion of the treaty in 1142 is often interpreted as evidence of Qin Gui's insecurity and vindictiveness. Yet, as Wang Zengyu has demonstrated, Gaozong was an active and willing partner in the purges. Primary documents also confirm Zhu Xi's statement that the purges intensified in the last two years of Qin Gui's life.⁶⁴ In other words, the political purges were imperial policy, and they accelerated in the period immediately prior to the 1155 inscription.

None of the documentation surviving from the Shaoxing era inquisitions specifically mentions Cheng learning as a basis for prosecution. In general, the charges and the verdicts in these cases were much more severe than the limited sanctions and warnings meted out to proponents of Cheng learning in the context of the educational system. Nevertheless, the two initiatives are connected. For example, the memorial, included in the *Daoming lu*, that Zheng Zhongxiong 鄭仲熊 submitted in 1153 directly links the two issues, examination malfeasance and opposition politics, in the case mounted against Hu Yi 胡寅 (1098–1156), who was then being held under judicial confinement at Xinzhou 新州 in modern Guangdong, for having plotted to rebuild the political faction of the former chief counselor Zhao Ding.⁶⁵

The circumstances of two other inquisition cases from the 1150s also help to bring the political background of the 1155 inscription into sharper focus. One case, concluded in 1154/12, centered around the commentary to the *Analects* of Cheng Yu 程瑀 (1087–1152). Qin Gui had first recruited Cheng Yu into his political network in 1131, but the two later fell out over peace policy. In the inquisition of 1150 against associates of Li Guang 李光 (1078–1159), Cheng Yu was implicated, and in 1152, he died.⁶⁶ His disciple Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090–1155) wrote a preface to Cheng's commentary on the *Analects*, and Wei Anxing 魏安行 printed commentary and preface using provincial government

⁶⁴ *Zhuizi yulei*, 131.3160.

⁶⁵ *Yongle dadian*, 8164.17a–b; *Yaolu*, 165.2704.

⁶⁶ For the against Li Guang, see Hartman, "The Making of a Villain": 99–102.

funds. Hong's preface highlighted several passages in the commentary that Qin Gui took as implying criticism against himself. In one passage, Cheng Yu explained that Confucius "did not take aim at roosting birds" (*Analects* 7.27) because he "did not wish to target people secretly" (*bu yu yinzhong ren* 不欲陰中人). The phrase *yinzhong* was taken to insinuate a comparison between Qin Gui and the infamous eunuch Zhao Gao 趙高 (d. 207 B.C., who, in order to identify potential allies for the rebellion he was planning, paraded a deer in court while proclaiming it to be a horse, then "secretly targeted" those who insisted the animal was a deer.⁶⁷ In the case mounted against Cheng Yu, the Censorial indictment charged that, although Gaozong had disseminated the "learning of the Sages" (*shengxue* 聖學) through the stone classics, Cheng Yu's commentary attempted to impose "heterodox opinion" (*yishuo* 異說) on the *Analects* and hence violated the standards of proper classical exegesis. If allowed to proliferate unchecked, such opinions would damage education, confuse students, and produce contemporary heresies worse than those caused by Yang Zhu and Mozi in ancient times. As a result, the printing blocks were destroyed, Wei Anxing was ordered to reimburse the printing costs, and both Wei and Hong were confined to distant prefectures.⁶⁸

Received Song history presents the second relevant inquisition case, known as the case against "Zhang Jun and the fifty-three officials," as the culmination of Qin Gui's purges. Had it been prosecuted to its conclusion, this grand amalgamation of interlocking cases would have eliminated all of Qin Gui's political rivals, their descendants, and their surviving networks. After the death of Zhao Ding in 1147, Zhang Jun and Li Guang were the most formidable of Qin Gui's surviving political rivals. Li Guang had been on Hainan Island since 1144, Zhang under confinement in the south since 1146. The case of the "fifty-three" began in 1155/5, when censors suggested that Zhang Jun and the sons of Zhao Ding were in contact with the purpose of fomenting treason. Investigators were sent south to extract a confession from Zhao Ding's son, Zhao Fen 趙汾, that implicated Zhang Jun, Li Guang, and Hu Yin

⁶⁷ Sima Qian, *Shiji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 6.273; William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records*, vol.1, *The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 161.

⁶⁸ *Yaolu*, 167.2736-37; *Songshi*, 381.11742-44; Xu Ziming 徐自明, *Song zaifu biannian jiaobu* 宋宰輔編年校補 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 16.1109-10.

in the alleged plot. In a parallel investigation, a provincial official submitted to the Censorate a commentary that exposed in its annotations the subversive nature of congratulatory birthday poems sent to Zhang Jun by a former subordinate. In the eighth month of 1155, the same month in which Qin Gui drafted his inscription, initial indictments were drawn up and investigators were dispatched south to interrogate Zhang Jun. The full dossier on the case was supposedly finished before Qin Gui's death, but was never fully executed because he was too ill to sign the required documents.⁶⁹

Using insights gleaned from our examination of the various historical contexts examined above, we will now attempt to elucidate the contemporary politics of the 1155 inscription. Obviously, the death of Qin Gui, which occurred between the text's composition in 1155/8 and Gaozong's final promulgation of the project in 1156/12, presented Gaozong with a set of drastically changed political circumstances. We should therefore consider the question of intent from the following three perspectives: (1) Why did Gaozong initiate the project in 1155? (2) Why did Qin Gui draft the text of the inscription as he did in 1155/8? (3) Why did Gaozong choose in 1156/12 both to promulgate the project and to include the text of the concluding inscription that Qin Gui had composed before his death more than a year earlier?

From the emperor's perspective, the eulogy project of 1155–1156 was an attempt to reaffirm his control over the restoration rhetoric of 1142–1144. By redistributing his eulogy for Confucius, Gaozong, both before and after Qin Gui's death, sought to reinforce his personal control over state political and cultural policy. Documents preserved in the *Daoming lu* testify to continued resistance to the ideological link between Confucian orthodoxy, the peace policy, and the emperor's own authority as ruler and teacher that Gaozong was attempting to forge as the cornerstone of his restoration policy. The repeated injunctions against Cheng learning chronicled in the *Daoming lu*, in conjunction with the 1155 case against the "fifty-three," suggest that opposition networks remained stronger in the 1150s than the historical account of the persecutions, which presents a picture of total domination by Qin Gui, would tend to suggest.⁷⁰ Furthermore, given the history of North-

⁶⁹ *Yaolu*, 168.2749, 169.2760, 2762, 2764, 2768–69.

⁷⁰ Hartman, "The Making of a Villain": pp. 105–17.

ern Song politics, in which influential families managed routinely to transfer political power from one generation to the next, Gaozong and Qin Gui would have had reason to fear that altered circumstances would enable a Zhang Jun or a Li Guang to reactivate his political network, dormant since the 1130s. Qin Gui's 1155 inscription, written in anticipation of the completion of the purge of the "fifty-three," warns the next generation of students and scholars-officials to take the "orthodox path" and not to repeat the mistakes of their predecessors.

Despite its dire warning against deceit and opportunism, the text presents a radiantly positive image of the potential of the ruler/teacher, united in the emperor's person, working in conjunction with his chief councilor, "to develop each [student/official] to the full measure of his capacity" (*qi er yong zhi*). In the late Northern Song, this phrase was used to refer to an idealized condition in which the educational and political power of the imperial state, functioning at maximum efficiency, could identify, train, and appoint each student/official in a way that developed the full potential of the individual and maximized benefit to the state.⁷¹ Qin Gui's use of this term suggests that Gaozong has attained the perfection that this theoretical model implies. The emperor's exercise of the combined powers of ruler and teacher thus make it possible for his students and officials to surpass the achievements of the disciples of Confucius, who was only a teacher, not a ruler. But only "those who would pursue the orthodox path [and] revere completely that which is their source" will be able fully to realize this potential. As illustrated by the texts in the *Daoming lu*, "the orthodox" are Confucius, Mencius, and the emperor, and "the source" is the textual corpus that derives from this succession. Clearly, Gaozong had no intention, either before or after Qin Gui's death, of broadening this definition of orthodoxy.

By the time Qin Gui composed his inscription in the eighth month of 1155, he had already set in motion what he thought would be the final destruction of his political opponents. Resolution of the case against the "fifty-three" would so degrade their remaining political networks that they could never be rebuilt. Qin Gui may also have been hopeful that his son Qin Xi would succeed him as chief councilor. The inscription's image of the chief councilor as a major partner in the exercise

⁷¹ See, for example, Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 502.11966.

of the emperor's authority as ruler and teacher represents no doubt a tribute to Qin Gui's past relationship with Gaozong, but, given Qin's deteriorating health, may also be read as a proposal for the future continuation of that model. Thus Gaozong may have seen in the inscription not only a testament to past achievements, but also a suggestion to accept Qin Xi as his next councilor as well as an assurance that the terms of the cooperation between ruler and councilor would not change under Qin Xi's administration. Finally, addressing his larger audience, Qin Gui stated the terms under which the "many *shi*" of the future "may be used to the full measure of their capacity."

Gaozong, however, declined to appoint Qin Xi as chief councilor, and the position remained vacant until the appointments of Shen Gai 沈該 and Moqi Xie 万俟卨 (1083–1157) in 1156/5. Qin Gui's death presented Gaozong with the delicate task of disassociating himself from the more unsavory aspects of his late chief councilor's administration, even while he maintained the policies that he and Qin Gui had advanced. His considerations were both domestic and external. At court, he permitted the dismemberment of Qin Gui's immediate political network, but largely kept a personal promise to Qin Gui's wife to protect her family.⁷² He halted active prosecution of the "fifty-three," allowing many cases to dissipate and drastically reducing punishments for others. His pledge in 1156/6 to restore impartiality in the administration of the upcoming 1157 examinations was part of a larger effort to rebuild confidence among rank-and-file bureaucrats that the new post-Qin Gui administration would restore traditional patterns of civil service administration.⁷³ The tenor of the entire eulogy project, especially its final promulgation, reflects this domestic policy objective. In particular, Qin Gui's elevation of the bureaucracy to a functional status on par with that of the emperor can be read as Gaozong's attempt to reassure a demoralized civil service: despite Qin Gui's years of authoritarian rule, he still valued and needed their active participation in order to "bring our state to good order." What better way to emphasize the return to good order than to proclaim the message using Qin Gui's own words?

Also influencing Gaozong's decision were foreign policy considerations. Qin Gui's death shattered the delicate political balance between

⁷² *Yaolu*, 170.2779.

⁷³ *Yongle dadian*, 8164.18a–b; *Yaolu*, 173.2847.

Song and Jin. The Jin knew that, as long as Qin Gui remained chief counselor, Song foreign policy would not change. According to Zhu Xi's biography of Zhang Jun, the provisions of the 1142 treaty stipulated that the Song could not "arbitrarily change the chief counselor"; Jin ambassadors, fearing Zhang Jun's return to power, routinely inquired about his whereabouts and status.⁷⁴ Qin Gui's death must therefore have triggered apprehension at the Jin court lest the Song adopt a more combative policy, perhaps even abrogate the treaty. Certain elements on the Song side apparently spread word that, since the peace policy had been of Qin Gui's making, the policy might change now that he was gone. Certain parties, in an effort to create the illusion that things were moving in this direction, apparently forged and circulated an imperial edict that pretended to recalling "a former minister." In 1156/3, Gaozong issued a strongly worded edict to deny these rumors of a forthcoming foreign policy shift. He affirmed that peaceful co-existence with its neighbors had been Song policy for two hundred years, that the present peace policy was not Qin Gui's but his alone, and that Qin Gui had assisted only in its implementation. He promised full prosecution against those who rashly maintained otherwise.⁷⁵

Events in Zhang Jun's life in 1156 parallel these political developments. In 1155/12 his confinement was lifted, his academic title reinstated, and an order that he report for administrative duty (in Longxing fu 隆興府, the provincial capital of Jiangnan West circuit) was issued. However, because his mother had just died, he declined the post in order to fulfill his mourning obligations. Requesting permission to take his mother's body for burial in his native Mianzhu 綿竹 in Sichuan, Zhang set out from Yongzhou 永州 toward Changsha. During the journey, he twice submitted lengthy memorials that warned against a potential Jin invasion and pilloried the corruption and ineptitude of Qin Gui, Shen Gai, and Moqi Xie. He reached Mianzhu, probably in the ninth or tenth month of 1156. But the stridency of his memorials played into the scenarios of the conspiracy theories against which Gaozong's earlier edict of 1156/3 had been directed. Zhang's memorials so alarmed and angered the administration that he was ordered in 1156/10 to return to confinement in Yongzhou. According to Zhu

⁷⁴ Guo Qi 郭齊 and Yin Bo 尹波, eds., *Zhu Xi ji* 朱熹集 (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), 95B.4860.

⁷⁵ *Yaolu*, 172.2827–28.

Xi, he spent the next four years studying and writing commentaries on the *Yijing*, *Chunqiu*, *Analects*, and *Mencius*, while reading Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror that aids administration) at night. He was eventually recalled north in the wake of the Jin invasions of 1161.⁷⁶

The Imperial *Daotong* in the Late Northern Song

From the perspective of modern scholarship, the most striking feature of Qin Gui's inscription is his use of the term *daotong* in the pivotal fourth section. This passage, which marks the text's rhetorical climax, makes the following claims: (1) Emperor Gaozong has succeeded to the political and cultural legacy of King Wen; (2) this legacy was transmitted through Confucius; (3) just as Heaven preserved Confucius through adversity and thus ensured the continuation of this transmitted legacy, so it has preserved Gaozong in order to ensure the continuation of true Confucian orthodoxy to the restored Song dynasty. Qin Gui directs this message preemptively against anyone who would deny that the sum total of these claims constitutes the *daotong*. Although the particle *gai* 蓋 immediately preceding the term *daotong* in the inscription could connote a certain tenuous quality to Qin Gui's formulation, we have chosen not to render this quality in the translation. The context of the entire passage suggests that, in Qin Gui's view, although the term *daotong* may be flexible and contested, he himself does not doubt the definition he has proposed.

The passage is remarkable because, until now, scholars on Song Neo-Confucianism have largely agreed that Zhu Xi coined the term *daotong* and first used it in 1181.⁷⁷ The discovery of Qin Gui's inscription challenges both these common assumptions. But *daotong* is a key

⁷⁶ Yaolu, 170.2798, 171.2804, 172.2842, 175.2885–87; *Zhu Xi ji*, 95B.4861–69.

⁷⁷ Wing-tsit Chan, "The New *Tao-t'ung*" in his *Chu Hsi. New Studies* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982), p. 321; Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, comps., *Sources of Chinese Tradition. Volume 1*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 732. Yu Yingshi, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie*, 1:40–41. A recent survey of Zhu Xi's uses of the term *daotong* places the earliest example in 1179; see Chu Ping-tzu 祝平次, "Ping Yu Yingshi xiansheng de Zhu Xi de lishi shijie: Songdai shidafu zhengzhi wenhua de yanjiu" 評余英時先生的朱熹的歷史世界: 宋代士大夫政治文化的研究, *Chengda zhongwen xuebao* 成大中文學報 19 (2007): 295.

term in the history of Confucianism: the rise and growth of the notion of the *daotong* was a defining characteristic of Song Confucianism and a transformative moment for the subsequent history of Confucian teachings in China.⁷⁸ Moreover, although earlier scholarship on the *daotong* has stressed the concept's philosophical aspects, more recent work has highlighted the political dimension of the *daotong* as a literati vehicle to confront the authority of the imperial state.⁷⁹ Qin Gui's inscription serves to enrich these discussions. Our research on the inscription has revealed numerous earlier uses of the term *daotong* extending back into the late Northern Song. The origins of the term, and the concept, intersect in complex ways with Qin Gui's life and early Southern Song political history.

Qin Gui's inscription contains all three of the motifs that William Theodore de Bary, analyzing Zhu Xi's classical formulation in his *Zhongyong* preface of 1189, has identified in the concept of the *daotong*: (1) the ancient Sage-king's knowledge of government and learning was highly discontinuous throughout history; (2) during periods when this tradition was lost, heterodox theories threatened and displaced the "true Way" (*dao*); (3) over time, only a few extraordinary individuals had been able to revive and thus "succeed" (*tong* 統) to this Way.⁸⁰ In the inscription, Gaozong is the extraordinary individual who has reconnected to the Sage-kings. Other elements of the inscription also pre-figure later, more fully developed formulations of the *daotong*. For example, material that Qin Gui quotes directly from each of what would later be called the *Sishu* 四書 (Four books). *Analects* 7.22 and 9.5 and *Mencius* 4B.21 were all used in subsequent constructions of *daotong*.⁸¹ A quotation from the *Zhongyong* introduces the inscription's

⁷⁸ William Theodore de Bary, *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 2–20; Thomas A. Wilson, *Genealogy of the Way: The Construction and Uses of the Confucian Tradition in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995); Ellen G. Neskari, "The Cult of Worthies: A Study of Shrines Honoring Local Confucian Worthies in the Sung Dynasty" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1993), pp. 207–404; Ping-tzu Chu, "Tradition Building and Cultural Competition in Southern Song China (1160–1220): The Way, the Learning, and the Texts" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998), pp. 97–123. For the continuing vitality of the *daotong* as an intellectual force, see John Makeham, *Lost Soul: "Confucianism" in Contemporary Chinese Academic Discourse* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), pp. 149–67, 192–207.

⁷⁹ See n. 1 above.

⁸⁰ De Bary, *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy*, pp. 2–13; Neskari, "Cult of Worthies," pp. 302–11.

⁸¹ For *Analects* 9.5, see Zhu Xi's 1177 record commemorating the restoration of Zhou

central notion of “purity,” and from the *Daxue* is taken the touchstone passage on the relation between individual cultivation and the well-ordered state.

Also striking is the prominent place Qin Gui accords to the concept and implementation of what Yu Yingshi has expressed as the Song notion of shared governance. Readers accustomed to the image of Gaozong and Qin Gui as ruthless suppressors of literati opinion may be startled to see the opening section boldly proclaim that the way of the sovereign and the way of the Confucian scholar proceed from the same source, so that emperor and scholar differ only in their relative positions in the hierarchy of government. Yet Qin Gui rhetoric has its origins in the Northern Song debates over the New Policies. Recent accounts of the history of Song *daoxue* have identified literati efforts to wrest away some measure of the monarch’s authority for themselves as a driving force behind not only the *daoxue* movement, but also much of Song political history.

This scholarship takes as emblematic of this conflict an often quoted exchange from 1071 between Emperor Shenzong 神宗 and the venerable statesman Wen Yanbo 文彥博 (1006–1097). In response to the emperor’s contention that the New Policies had been crafted to benefit the people and not the officials, Wen replied, “You rule together with us who are officials; you do not rule together with the people.”⁸² Following Zhu Xi, Yu Yingshi links these sentiments for shared governance to the political philosophy of Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1077) and Cheng Yi, the Northern Song progenitors of *daoxue*. Zhu Xi notes, on the final page of his commentary to the *Mencius*, how Wen Yanbo conferred on Cheng Hao the posthumous name, “Master Who has Illuminated the Way” (Mingdao *xiansheng* 明道先生), and concludes with a long quotation from Cheng Yi in which he posits his own older brother as the sole heir to Mencius.⁸³ In the Southern Song, Cheng Yi’s

Dunyi’s 周敦頤 (1017–1073) study hall at Jiangzhou 江州, *Zhu Xi ji*, 78.4073–75; for *Mencius*, see Neskar, “Cult of Worthies,” pp. 311–14; Legge, *Mencius*, p. 329.

⁸² Yu Yingshi, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie*, 1:223, 288–312; Hartman, “Zhu Xi and his World”: 111. In addition to Yu Yingshi’s development of the concept, modern Song scholarship frequently describes the Song polity as a system of governance in which the emperor and literati shared political authority. See, for example, Zhuge Yibing 諸葛憶兵, *Songdai wen shi kaolun* 宋代文史考論 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), pp. 243–72.

⁸³ *Sishu zhangju jizhu*, p. 377.

suggestion would come to be recognized as the earliest claim that the *daotong* had passed to a private scholar.⁸⁴

As Ellen Neskar has rightly asserted, “Cheng Yi’s claims for his brother were radical.”⁸⁵ The first and second of the three motifs of the mature *daotong*, as understood by de Bary, had originated in the enigmatic conclusion of the *Mencius*. But the third of de Bary’s motifs, the “outstanding man”—along with the attempt to integrate it with the first two motifs to form a distinctive *daotong* paradigm—was a gradual Song innovation. At first, a generic image of Song dynastic institutions, personified by the emperor, functioned as the “outstanding man” in early and mid-Northern Song narratives of true Way revival. In this narrative, transmission had passed from the early Sage-kings to the Song emperors, and emperors like Renzong 仁宗 (1010–1063; r. 1022–1063), who established government schools, were seen as continuing the work of the Sages. As long as Song literati had faith in the vitality of imperial institutions and the capacity of those institutions for reform, this generic paradigm sufficed. But, following the factionalism over the New Policies, literati lost faith in the ability of the “outstanding man” to reconnect to the true Way; and this loss made room for the “radical” claims of the Cheng brothers.⁸⁶

The transition away from a public, institutional *daotong* toward a private, individual *daotong* was gradual and never complete. The former meaning of *daotong* arose first, but, as the latter construction by *daoxue* thinkers gained in popularity, the two co-existed in tension, even after the monarchy accepted *daoxue* in 1241. The earliest recorded Song use of the term *daotong* occurs in a purely conventional travel record written by Huang Shang 黃裳 (1044–1130) in 1093 on the “White Cloud Pavilion” at Ezhou 鄂州 on the Yangtze River. The passage contrasts the frequent warfare in the area during the early Six Dynasties with the tranquility of the present, when “our Sages have, by succeeding to the Way, obtained All-under-Heaven” 方今聖人以道統有天下. Here “Sages” refers to the Song emperors and, by extension, the Song imperium.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in History*, pp. 84–86.

⁸⁵ Neskar, “Cult of Worthies,” p. 330.

⁸⁶ Neskar, “Cult of Worthies,” pp. 316–32.

⁸⁷ *Yanshan ji* 演山集 (SKQS), 14.1a–3a; QSW, 103:2263.305–6. Our survey of early uses

A much more substantial use of *daotong*—one with a direct connection to Qin Gui—occurs in the “Qi ban shengxue xia Taixue zhazi” 乞頒聖學下太學劄子 (Memorial requesting the bestowal of sagely learning on the Imperial University) by Liu Caishao 劉才邵 (1086–1158), probably written in 1110. The document begins:

Your subject has heard: “Heaven, to protect the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them teachers, and these were able to assist the High Deity to bring favor and tranquility to the four quarters.” A ruler brings political order to the people; a teacher brings them instruction. Heaven, being unable personally to accomplish these political and educational tasks, perforce deutes them to sovereigns. When a sovereign becomes perfect in virtue and so attains the highest position, he is able to fulfill his duty both as ruler and as teacher, thereby assisting and completing Heaven’s ability; and the people of the four quarters rely upon him for peace and tranquility. The perfection of Yao and Shun and the three early dynasties, transmitted in the *Poetry* and the *History*, derives totally from this Way. But as later generations became increasingly remote from the Sages, there were no longer defining standards. Heterodox opinions proliferated, and the succession of the Way (*daotong*) fell increasingly into decline.⁸⁸

The opening of the memorial proclaims the Northern Song narrative of the revival of the true Way, links it to the *Shujing* notion of the successful sovereign as ruler and teacher, and labels the combination *daotong*. Liu continues by noting that several Han emperors convened academic conferences to settle matters of canonical authenticity and so rejuvenated the practice of literature. But only with the coming of the Song dynasty has every successive Sage-emperor been active in canonical studies and literary work. Liu then identifies Emperor Huizong as the “outstanding man” who has not only succeeded to this dynastic tradition but also surpasses all previous sovereigns in scholarly understanding and practice. Huizong, he claims, has attained to a level of understanding that parallels that of the ancient Sage-kings.

of the term *daotong* is based on the digital version of the *Siku quanshu* and is thus limited to sources included in that collection.

⁸⁸ *Shanqi jushi ji* 榭溪居士集 (SKQS), 8.18b–20a; QSW, 176:3844.17–18. The memorial is not dated. After careful consideration, we have chosen to accept its attribution to the *Daguan* 大觀 period (1107–1110) in Huang Huai 黃淮 (1367–1449) and Yang Shiqi 楊士奇 (1365–1444), *Lidai mingchen zouyi* 歷代名臣奏議 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1964), 115.1b–2a.

Like them, he unifies in one person the functions of ruler and teacher, and therefore his knowledge transcends textual study and penetrates to the “inner mind” of the classics. Liu requests that Huizong now “bestow” this understanding on the Imperial University for transmission to the prefectural schools. He does not specify exactly what form this transmission should take—although the document may be interpreted as a request for a copy of Huizong’s collected writings to be sent to the University. Nevertheless, the subject matter, rhetorical structure, and diction of Liu’s memorial closely anticipate Qin Gui’s inscriptions of 1143 and 1155, where Qin Gui also frames the stone classics and the eulogies as grants of imperial knowledge that constitute evidence of a *daotong* linking Gaozong to the ancient Sage-kings.

Considering the many points of contact between the biographies of Liu Caishao and Qin Gui, direct influence is probable. On obtaining his *jinsi* degree in 1108, Liu was posted, as was normal at the time, to a series of provincial educational assignments. His success at the prestigious “polymath” (*boxue hongci* 博學宏辭) examination in 1120 (Qin Gui earned the same degree in 1123) earned him an immediate court position. He was serving in the Imperial Library during the 1126 siege of Kaifeng, where both he and Qin Gui were court officials. Following a ten-year hiatus, Liu’s career resumed in the late 1130s, and his polymath status helped him to advance quickly. He was among the small group of officials who crafted the substance and rhetoric of the post-war cultural restoration, participating in the 1142 deliberations over Huizong’s posthumous name. During the crucial period from 1143 to 1144, when the stone classics and eulogies projects were conceived, Liu was serving as secretariat drafter, a position that made him Chief Councilor Qin Gui’s official secretary. In 1143/11, he lauded the “Shaoxing shengde shi” 紹興聖德詩 (Poem on the sagacious virtue of the Shaoxing era) that had been submitted to court by Qin Gui’s in-laws.⁸⁹ Liu Caishao and Qin Gui were thus close contemporaries and polymath degree holders, both thoroughly schooled in the educational and cultural policies of the Huizong era, the incubation period that

⁸⁹ For Liu Caishao, see *Songshi*, 422.12606–7; *Yaolu*, 1.34, 133.2135–36, 149.2406, 150.2411, 2415; *Yuhai*, 204.24a; *SHY*, *dixi* 帝系, 1.16b. Although Liu supported Qin Gui, he seems to have been politically allied with Moqi Xie, and was rotated to Fujian in 1144 as a result of political discord between Qin Gui and Moqi Xie. See Xiong Ke, *Zhongxing xiaoji*, 31.377; *Yaolu*, 151.2427.

produced the claim that the Song emperors, by rejoining the long separate functions of ruler and teacher, had rejuvenated the *daotong* of the ancient Sage-kings.

By the end of Northern Song, this evolving concept of the *daotong* had become mature and flexible enough to survive the politically turbulent transitional period from 1125 to 1127. In 1125/12, Huizong's abdication and the ascension of Emperor Qinzong 欽宗 (1100–1161; r. 1125–1127) initiated a purge of those officials associated with the New Policies of Wang Anshi and Cai Jing 蔡京 (1046–1126). The term *daotong* appears in a letter written in 1126 by the academician Li Ruoshui 李若水 (1093–1127) to He Li 何棨 (1089–1126), a member of the Council of State.⁹⁰ In an effort to remove all vestiges of Wang Anshi's policies, to which he attributes the decline of the Song state and the Jurchen invasions, Li asks that He continue to support the appointment of anti-New Policy officials. He frames his request using the now-established rhetoric of the Northern Song imperial *daotong*. However, because Huizong, long a supporter of the New Policies, can no longer serve as the “outstanding man,” Li recasts Emperor Taizu as the paragon and author of the “policies of the ancestors” (*zuzong zhi fa* 祖宗之法). He frames Taizu as the Song-dynasty fountainhead of the ancient *daotong* and maintains that this tradition culminated in the reign of Emperor Renzong. Li also stresses that, during such periods of *daotong* florescence, “the sovereign governs well in conjunction with the literati” (*shi*), a theme repeated in Qin Gui's inscription and later by Zhu Xi.

Into this revised narrative, Li characterizes Wang Anshi and Cai Jing as disrupters of the restored *daotong*, and likens their policies to the “heterodox theories” of Yang Zhu and Mozi, who, as recorded in the *Mencius*, menaced the succession of Confucian teaching. Evident in Li's letter are motifs that would later coalesce to form the basic twelfth-century *daoxue* framework of Northern Song history: Emperors Taizu and Renzong are elevated over the other Song sovereigns; the New Policies are set against the “policies of the ancestors”; the rhetoric surrounding the “policies of the ancestors” merges with the rhetoric of the *daotong*; and the ancestors are defined as the ancients.⁹¹ Into this

⁹⁰ *Zhongmin ji* 忠愍集 (SKQS), 1.18a–21b; QSW, 185:4066.183–84.

⁹¹ On this point, see Li Huarui 李華瑞, “Lüelun Nan Song zhengzhi shang de ‘fa zuzong’ qingxiang” 略論南宋政治上的法祖宗傾向, in *Songshi yanjiu luncong* 宋史研究論叢, ed. Jiang Xidong 姜錫東 (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2005), pp. 199–226.

developing formulation Zhu Xu would eventually replace the Song sovereigns with Cheng Yi as paragon and savior; and the literati would replace the sovereign as the focus of good government.

Qin Gui, Hu Anguo, and the Succession of the Way

Thus, by the early Southern Song, the term and the concept *daotong* had already been used to advance drastically different political positions and rhetorical postures, from Liu Caishao's fulsome adulation of Huizong to Li Ruoshui's condemnation of Wang Anshi. However, Huang Shang, Liu Caishao, and Li Ruoshui had no known connection to *daoxue* thinkers or their ideas. The same cannot be said of Qin Gui, whose inscription constitutes the next attested use of the term *daotong*. Fragmentary evidence suggests a direct connection between the politics of Qin Gui's initial tenure as chief councilor, from 1131/8 through 1132/8, and early efforts to preserve and promote Cheng learning. These efforts include the first, tentative attempt to integrate the Cheng brothers' claim to personal succession to the true Way into the developing rhetoric of the *daotong*. Evidence is fragmentary because on-going political circumstances forced a growing separation between Qin Gui and advocates of Cheng learning. After their political relations were severed, each side—beginning with Qin Gui, during his second term as chief councilor, then followed by successive historians of *daoxue* over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—manipulated the historical record to camouflage their former relationship during this brief period.⁹²

When Qin Gui escaped Jurchen captivity and fled south in 1130/10, he found a court without a capital city, a young emperor he had never met, and a chaotic political *mise-en-scène* in which he could expect few allies. Bureaucrats and financial administrators who had been with Gaozong through the difficult years since 1127—such as Lü Yihao 呂頤浩 (1071–1139) and Zhu Shengfei 朱勝非 (1082–1144)—were now senior imperial advisors. Like Qin Gui, they were schooled in the

⁹² Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 5, pt. 1, *The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907–1279* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 691–94.

New Policies of the Cai Jing era; but, being older than Qin Gui, they had managed to sustain their personal political networks through the Northern-Southern Song transition. Members of these networks were precisely the vestiges of the failed Wang Anshi policies against which Li Ruoshui had warned He Li.

The circumstances forced Qin Gui to build his own political network using his own in-laws, younger officials, and men who were not already part of existing coalitions. This ad hoc group, having been quickly formed, perforce included many descendants of officials from the Yuanyou 元祐 (1086–1093) period whom Cai Jing had once black-listed for opposing a return to the New Policies. The acknowledged “party head” (*dangkui* 黨魁) of Qin Gui’s network was Hu Anguo 胡安國 (1074–1138).⁹³ In addition to serving as Qin Gui’s chief political operative, Hu was also, some have argued, the pivotal figure in the transmission of Cheng learning from Northern to Southern Song.⁹⁴ Filling these two closely connected roles, Hu Anguo was the key conduit through which Qin Gui obtained a basic understanding of Cheng learning.

The *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 (Conversations of Master Zhu) reveals Zhu Xi’s discomfort over the alliance between Qin Gui and Hu Anguo. Zhu concedes, however, that You Zuo 游酢 (1052–1123), a direct disciple of Cheng Yi, and Hu Anguo both supported prefect Zhai Ruwen’s 翟汝文 (1076–1141) recommendation that Qin Gui—then serving as an instructor in Mizhou—sit for the polymath examination of 1123. That Qin Gui recruited both Zhai Ruwen and Hu Anguo into his administration a decade later suggests that the early support he received from Cheng learners continued to be mutually beneficial.⁹⁵

In three separate places in his surviving writings, the great historian Li Xinchuan has called attention to the close political relationship between Qin Gui and Hu Anguo.⁹⁶ He also opines that Qin Gui

⁹³ The characterization of Hu Anguo as “party head” originated with Qin Gui’s political opponents but is acknowledged in the biography written by his son Hu Yin. See *Yaolu*, 57.989; *Zhuzi yulei*, 131.3156; Hu Yin, *Feiran ji*, in *Chongzheng bian. Feiran ji* 崇正辯. 斐然集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 25.551–52.

⁹⁴ See, for example, Hans van Ess, *Von Ch’eng I zu Chu Hsi: Die Lehre vom Rechten Weg in der Überlieferung der Familie Hu* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003).

⁹⁵ *Zhuzi yulei*, 131.3153; van Ess, *Von Ch’eng I zu Chu Hsi*, p. 112.

⁹⁶ *Yaolu*, 169.2771; *Daoming lu* (*Yongle dadian* ed.), 8164.13a–14a; and *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji* 建炎以來朝野雜記 (1202, 1216; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), *jiaji* 甲集, 6.137.

had no deep understanding of *daoxue* but alternately supported or opposed these teachings depending on what was politically expedient.⁹⁷ Support began the day after he assumed the chief councillorship when the court conferred posthumous academic office on Cheng Yi. Although these honors were part of a larger effort to rehabilitate Yuan-you period descendants, the edict singled out Cheng Yi for special distinction in terms that echoed his own claims for Cheng Hao. Quoting the *Zhongyong* and the *Mencius*, the edict acknowledged that Cheng Yi, having “set his mind right and made his thoughts true” (*zhengxin chengyi* 正心誠意), had attained unique insights, dormant since Mencius, into the true meaning of the classics. Cheng Yi had put this knowledge to the good service of Emperor Zhezong 哲宗 (1077–1100; r. 1085–1100), but false disciples had betrayed his teachings and damaged his reputation. The edict closed by calling his grandson Cheng Sheng 程盛 to court.⁹⁸

The motifs and rhetoric of Cheng Yi’s edict of rehabilitation were prologue to the first agenda for restoration that was based on a secure intellectual foundation. In 1131/11, upon Qin Gui’s recommendation, Hu Anguo was appointed secretariat Drafter and expositor-in-waiting, a combination of posts that made him Qin Gui’s secretary (with veto power over the drafting and movement of imperial edicts) and the emperor’s tutor.⁹⁹ Basing himself on selected principles in the writings of Cheng Yi, Hu developed a systematic contemporary interpretation of the *Chunqiu* that he introduced to Gaozong during tutoring sessions. The emperor ordered Hu to expound his ideas in a detailed commentary, which he eventually submitted in 1136.¹⁰⁰ But Hu had, in advance of his 1131 appointment, already submitted to Gaozong and Qin Gui the work *Shizheng lun* 時政論 (Essays on contemporary policy).¹⁰¹ He also sent at the same time a long letter to Qin Gui that drew upon

⁹⁷ *Daoming lu* (*Yongle dadian* ed.), 8164.16a.

⁹⁸ *Yaolu*, 46.832–36; *Daoming lu* (*Yongle dadian* ed.), 8164.8a–b; *SHY*, *yizhi* 儀制, 11.14a; see also Ye Shaoweng 葉紹翁, *Sichao wenjian lu* 四朝聞見錄 (1250?; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), pp. 89–91. Cheng Sheng’s brother, Cheng Yi 程易, was appointed to office in 1131/10; see *SHY*, *xuanju*, 32.19b.

⁹⁹ *Yaolu*, 49.869.

¹⁰⁰ *Yaolu*, 56.982, 109.1774, 115.1857; van Ess, *Von Ch’eng I zu Chu Hsi*, pp. 201–8.

¹⁰¹ Hu Yin, *Feiran ji*, 25.538–49; *Songshi*, 435.12912–13. For the text of the essays, see *Lidai mingchen zouyi*, 47.1a–21b, *QSW*, 146:3146.107–30; for a synopsis, see van Ess, *Von Ch’eng I zu Chu Hsi*, pp. 115–18. Hu Anguo discussed the essays directly with Gaozong in 1132/7; see *Yaolu*, 56.978–79.

his *Chunqiu* exegesis to explain his position on key policy issues.¹⁰² Finally, as Hans van Ess has demonstrated, during the early 1130s Hu Anguo simultaneously coordinated the first systematic attempt to collect and edit Cheng Yi's works, producing a body of Cheng learning that would eventually be transmitted to Chang Shi and Zhu Xi.¹⁰³

Hu Anguo fashioned his interlocking philosophical and political recommendations on early Southern Song geo-political problems as a contemporary expression of Confucius's desire that the *Chunqiu* should "bring order to our disordered times and restore us to orthodoxy."¹⁰⁴ Just as Confucius had written the classic, so Hu Anguo would explicate its meaning for his own time. There are four principal ideas. First, Hu identifies the moral and scholarly self-cultivation of the emperor, as the main key to restoration; this inner cultivation, essentially an application of the *Daxue* for imperial use, would enable Gaozong to reconnect to the "mind of the Way" (*daoxin* 道心) and revive the politics and culture of the ancient Sage-kings. Second, Hu insists that Gaozong and Qin Gui purge the bureaucracy of the clerks descended from Wang Anshi and Cai Jing and fill it with scholars descended from Cheng Yi and other Yuanyou-era figures. This cleansing will solidify emperor and bureaucracy in the shared moral authority of the true Way and enable them to govern more effectively. Third, the court, thus fortified, could re-assert imperial control over provincial military forces and guard against usurpation. Fourth, Hu defines the struggle against the Jin as fundamentally a problem of inner cultural renewal rather than of overt military power.¹⁰⁵

Comparing Hu Anguo's agenda against the rhetoric of Qin Gui's inscription, we may read the inscription as Qin Gui's assertion that Gaozong has brought this earlier program for restoration to fruition. The inscription reflects Hu's earlier program in four ways. First, Qin Gui maintains the emperor has personally revived the *daotong* of the Sage-kings. Second, although he abandons Hu's preference for Yuan-

¹⁰² Hu Yin, *Feiran ji*, 25,534–38.

¹⁰³ See his "The compilation of the works of the Ch'eng brothers and its significance for the learning of the right way of the Southern Sung period," *TP* 90 (2004): 264–98.

¹⁰⁴ See his 1131 letter to Qin Gui, collected in Hu Yin, *Feiran ji*, 25,537.

¹⁰⁵ Hu Yin, *Feiran ji*, 25,534–49; for these ideas in Hu Anguo's commentary to the *Chunqiu*, see Hartman, "The Making of a Villain": 142–44; Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in History*, pp. 130–33; Alan T. Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1995), pp. 119–31.

you politicians, Qin Gui continues to promote intellectual solidarity and commonality of purpose between emperor and official. Third, Qin Gui reminds us, the peace process of the early 1140s also reasserted imperial control over the military and strengthened the civil administration. Fourth and last, the peace process was closely related to cultural renewal, especially the promotion of state-supported education. In tracing these continuities from Hu Anguo to Qin Gui and beyond, we will concentrate on the first two points, which are directly related to Zhu Xi's mature formulation of the *daotong*.

On the first point, Hu's essay "Zhengxin" (Set the mind right), the ninth of his twelve "Essays on Contemporary Policy," advises Gaozong that, if he embraces the program of study and inner moral cultivation outlined in the *Daxue*, the "right mind" he will thereby attain will generate a cultural renewal of the state, and this will in turn generate conditions conducive to stable borders.¹⁰⁶ As evidence for the antiquity and efficacy of this program, Hu cites several links from the imperial *daotong* that emphasize the transmission of "mind." Quoting from the *Shujing*, he explains how, when Shun passed the transmission to Yu, he warned that "the mind of man is precarious; the mind of the Way is barely perceptible" 人心惟危, 道心惟微. This *Shujing* passage constitutes the first half of the famous "sixteen characters" that Zhu Xi would identify in his *Zhongyong* preface of 1189 as the essence of the *daotong*.¹⁰⁷ Although Hu does not use the term *daotong*, his essay is the first to identify the sixteen-character passage as the essence of what was transmitted via the *daotong*. The ensuing ramifications—that a sovereign with his mind "set right" was the foundation of good government and that cultural renewal must precede recovery of the North—would remain central *daoxue* tenets for the next hundred years. We may thus understand this aspect of Hu's 1131 essays as *daoxue* for the sovereign.

On the second question, Hu concludes his essay on *zhengxin* with the observation that Gaozong should surround himself with solid scholars who can help him attain the "mind of the Way." Van Ess rightly perceives another essay in the series as being directed against Lü Yihao and his administrative technicians as men who harbor private motives, in contrast to the scholars who comprised Qin Gui's group. Furthermore, Hu Anguo's letter to Qin Gui proposed that the

¹⁰⁶ QSW, 146:3146.126.

¹⁰⁷ *Sishu zhangju jizhu*, p. 14; Legge, *Shoo King*, p. 61.

“remnants” of Wang Anshi’s faction be thoroughly purged from government.¹⁰⁸ This call had the immediate, narrow goal of building a viable political network for Qin Gui, but it also assumed the broader intellectual need for a body of coherent learning common to both the emperor and his officials. Although Qin Gui’s first political coalition failed, the need persisted for a body of common learning that would be based on what the Sage-kings had transmitted through the *daotong* and that would be shared by the emperor and his officials.

Despite the collapse of Qin Gui’s first administration in 1132/8, much of Hu Anguo’s program continued under Chief Councilor Zhao Ding’s administration, which was hospitable toward *daoxue*. Hu Yin, who was serving in that administration as secretariat drafter from 1134/12 through 1135/11, promoted his father’s ideas in a series of memorials and maintained the family relationship with Qin Gui.¹⁰⁹ Hu’s first memorial to Gaozong in 1135 contains elements that anticipate both Qin Gui’s inscription and Zhu Xi’s later *Zhongyong* preface. The emperor who can “set straight his mind,” wrote Hu Yin, forms a moral unity with heaven and earth that becomes the foundation of government. This principle is encapsulated in the sixteen characters, whose essence was passed down from Yao and Shun in a mind-to-mind transmission. Because his mind is neither “mixed” nor “dispersed,” the ideal ruler maintains an “equilibrium in the Way” (*zhongdao* 中道) that enables total and impartial moral and political insight. Confucius composed the *Chunqiu* to transmit this mind (*xin* 心), which had declined during the Zhou, to later generations. But, because the Qin dynasty (221–206 B.C.) interrupted its transmission, there emerged doctrines, such as Daoism and Buddhism, that were deficient in the understanding of this mind. Learning became duplicitous, technique was valued over morality, and regulation took precedence over education. Thus, although the classics still existed, “the traces of the sovereigns were extinguished.”

Anticipating Qin Gui, Hu Yin then states that Heaven chose Gaozong to be emperor because he has personally attained the Way of the ancients, enabling him to inherit the “mind of Confucius” and preserve “this culture of ours.” Gaozong’s “inner” cultivation thus established, his “outer” manifestation will surely follow. But—in a formulation that

¹⁰⁸ QSW, 146:3146.128; van Ess, *Von Ch’eng I zu Chu Hsi*, p. 117; Hu Yin, *Feiran ji*, 25.537.

¹⁰⁹ *Songshi*, 435.12920–21; *Yaolu*, 95.1574. See also Hu Yin’s letter to Qin Gui, dated between 1134 and 1137, in *Feiran ji*, 17.353–55; van Ess, *Von Ch’eng I zu Chu Hsi*, pp. 113–14.

also anticipates Qin Gui—Hu maintains that, at present, the desire for profit over principle (*yili* 義理) has corrupted public morality, motivating officials to defect to the North and to support deceptive ministers and powerful generals. Similar conditions in the Zhou had prompted Confucius to compose the *Chunqiu*, and Hu urges Gaozong to act as a second Confucius and “restore us to orthodoxy.”¹¹⁰

Hu Yin’s memorial does not name specific political targets, but the documents he subsequently submitted were clearly directed against Lü Yihao and Zhu Shengfei—just as Hu Anguo’s essays had in 1131–1132.¹¹¹ Li Xinchuan’s *Jiyan yilai xinian yaolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄 (Chronological record of important events since 1127) preserves a passage from Zhu Shengfei’s diary that offers an alternative and unvarnished perspective on the role of Cheng Yi’s legacy in the political struggles of the 1130s. Zhu maintains that when Zhao Ding became chief counselor in 1134, he supported proponents of Cheng learning in hopes of forging them into a political network, as Qin Gui had earlier done. But, since Zhao Ding he had not personally known Cheng Yi, he had no way to distinguish the genuine Cheng followers from the many false ones who pressed him for office. For example, his son-in-law Fan Chong 范冲, son of the Yuanyou-era leader Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041–1098), claimed to have inherited Cheng Yi manuscripts that he printed and distributed as “Yichuan learning” (*Yichuan xue* 伊川學). Zhao supported these efforts and granted positions to those who mastered this material. However, Zhu, claiming that these publications were “shallow and vulgar pamphlets,” suggests that Fan Chong and his allies had composed the works themselves. He maintains that Fan recruited political allies by awarding top placements at the palace examinations of 1135 based solely on the degree to which candidates quoted and espouse the pamphlet’s “Yichuan learning.”¹¹²

Whatever the truth of Zhu Shengfei’s narrative, the quoted passage demonstrates the intensely partisan atmosphere in which early notions of the *daotong* arose. Politicians and scholars, subsequently grouped as proponents of “*daoxue*,” were pitted against the political descendants of Wang Anshi and Cai Jing; and various groups of true and false “Cheng

¹¹⁰ *Feiran ji*, 11.214–15; QSW, 189:4161.146–47; van Ess, *Von Ch’eng I zu Chu Hsi*, pp. 213–15.

¹¹¹ *Yaolu* 87.1436, 1447, 88.1468, 89.1491–92, 94.1553, 95.1566–67; see also Rong Zhaozu 容肇祖, *Hu Yin nianpu* 胡寅年譜, in *Feiran ji*, pp. 674–76.

¹¹² *Yaolu*, 88.1477.

disciples” vied for control of the content and thus the definition of Cheng learning.¹¹³ These political struggles generated the earliest claims (after the one made by Cheng Yi) that the Cheng brothers had revived the “learning of the Sages” (*shengxue*).

One such claim was made by Hu Anguo. In his grave inscription of 1135 for Yang Shi, he wrote that the Cheng brothers had been the first since Mencius to discover the “original mind” (*benxin* 本心) and the “innate coherence” (*tianli* 天理) of the classics, and that they had transmitted this understanding to their three major disciples Yang Shi, You Zuo, and Xie Liangzuo.¹¹⁴ Hu Anguo’s formulation implies that the “learning of the Sages” and the text of the classics had been transmitted as a unified teaching down to Mencius, but had then parted company, with only the text being transmitted, until the Cheng brothers finally reunited learning and text in the Song.

A second claim was made in 1136/5 by the Hanlin scholar and Expositor-in-Waiting Zhu Zhen 朱震 (1072–1138), a close ally of Zhao Ding and the Hus. According to Zhu, the Cheng brothers had revived the “way of Confucius” as transmitted through Zengzi, Zisi, and Mencius.¹¹⁵ Scholars often cite this statement as the earliest claim that the Cheng brothers revived the *daotong*.¹¹⁶ But Zhu does not use the term *daotong* and his claim occurs in the opening passage of a politically charged petition requesting office for Xie Kenian 謝克念, the son of Cheng Yi’s disciple Xie Liangzuo. The remainder of the document cites, in justification of the request, Xie Liangzuo’s persecution under Cai Jing, his transmission of *daoxue*, and the violent death of Xie Kenian’s brother: in essence, Zhu Zhen argues, Xie Kenian deserves appointment because he represents a transmission that goes back to Confucius. As Li Xinchuan’s commentary to this memorial implies, claims to Cheng learning, as well as claims that the Chengs had revived the learning of the Sages, arose in an atmosphere of intense political and intellectual struggle.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Van Ess, “The compilation of the works of the Cheng brothers,” pp. 297–98.

¹¹⁴ QSW, 149:3149.165.

¹¹⁵ *Yaolu*, 101.1660–61. Note that the *SHY*, *chongju*, 6.27a–b text omits the opening passage that claims transmission from Confucius.

¹¹⁶ Liu Zijian 劉子健 (James T.C. Liu), “Song mo suowei daotong de chengli” 宋末所謂道統的成立, in his *Liang Song shi yanjiu huibian* 兩宋史研究彙編 (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1987), p. 261. See also Nekar, “Cult of Worthies,” pp. 285–86.

¹¹⁷ *Daoming lu* (Yongle dadian ed.), 8164.8a–9a. Hartman shows in “Bibliographic Notes,”

During the politically volatile mid-1130s the Northern Song understanding of the *daotong* as a transmission from ancient to modern sovereigns merged with the incipient notion that the Cheng brothers had revived the “learning of the Sages.” As advocates of both positions, Hu Anguo and Hu Yin were central to this convergence. Neither Hu Anguo nor Zhu Zhen actually used the term *daotong*; and, since the former begins his narrative of the Cheng transmission with Mencius and the latter with Confucius—neither of whom were sovereigns—their claims for the Cheng brothers did not openly conflict with the late Northern Song understanding of the imperial *daotong* as a transmission from ancient to modern sovereigns. But Hu Yin’s praise for Gaozong as the second Confucius in his 1135 memorial, together with the growing political importance of Cheng learning, set the stage for competition between Gaozong and the Cheng brothers as successors of the Way. Even as Hu’s memorial builds on existing notions of the imperial *daotong*, it anticipates much of the structure, diction, and rhetoric of Zhu Xi’s preface of 1189.

Zhang Jun and a Private *daotong*

Qin Gui’s inscriptions of 1143 and 1155 hold the sovereign, inheritor of the *daotong*, responsible for defining and implementing knowledge of the Way. Zhu Xi would later place that responsibility on the *daoxue* scholar, inheritor of the *daotong*. The evolution of the term *shengxue* from “learning of the sovereign,” as used by Liu Caishao, to “learning of the Sages,” as used by Zhu Xi and other *daoxue* thinkers, mirrors this shift. The shift in the meaning of *daotong* becomes apparent in the historical record immediately after Qin Gui’s death, and in a political and doctrinal context that confirms Qin Gui’s fears. As we have seen above, Zhang Jun was released from confinement after Qin Gui’s death and granted permission to return his mother’s body for burial in his native Mianzhu. However, his own criticisms of government policy, false rumors of his impending reappointment to office, and diplomatic pressure from the Jin combined to force the Song court to order his return to confinement in Yongzhou. During his several weeks in Mianzhu,

p. 17, that the Li Xinchuan commentary to Zhu Zhen’s memorial derives partially from an original document from 1135–1136 listing bone-fide disciples of Cheng Yi for preferment.

in the late autumn of 1156, he received a letter from his fellow townsman, a scholar named Li Liuqian 李流謙 (1123–1176) asking to become his disciple. Li's father, Li Liangchen 李良臣 (*jinsshi* 1115), had served under Zhang in the mid-1130s when the latter was military commander of Sichuan, so Li Liuqian had a political as well as a local connection to Zhang Jun.

In his deferential letter, Li argues that true learning can result only from the disciple's long-term personal exposure to his teacher's mind and actions. Through this superior instruction, Li hopes to receive "the continuum of the Sage/Sovereigns' succession of the Way (*daotong*) and thereby to resurrect those teachings that have been obstructed for a millennium." Li goes on to define these teachings as encapsulated in the opening chapter of the *Zhongyong*, where the equilibrium and harmony of the Sage/Sovereign bring universal order and perfection. Li Liuqian's letter of 1156 to Zhang Jun marks the earliest recorded use of the term *daotong* to refer to a non-imperial, private transmission of the Way. The writer strongly implies that Zhang Jun has received the *daotong* and that he should transmit it to his aspiring disciple Li. Furthermore, Li's identification of the content of this transmission as the central message of the *Zhongyong* looks back to Hu Anguo and forward to Zhu Xi.¹¹⁸

The letter's insistence on face-to-face instruction suggests that Li Liuqian hoped to revive his father's political connection to Zhang Jun and—should Zhang's rehabilitation continue—to secure a position for himself as Zhang's subordinate. The court's fear of coalition rebuilding of this kind lay behind its injunction against *daoxue* at the examinations of 1154, Qin Gui's inscription of 1155, and Gaozong's edict of 1156/3. According to Li Xinchuan, although Zhang Jun opposed *daoxue* in the 1130s, his years in exile gave him an appreciation of the teaching's usefulness.¹¹⁹ Li's letter, with its reference to the *daotong*, suggests that Zhang Jun was doing precisely what Qin Gui had feared and what later critics of *daoxue* would charge against Zhu Xi—combining *daoxue* teachings with a privatized, non-imperial transmission of the *daotong* in order to build a political network to challenge established administration policy.

¹¹⁸ *Danzhai ji* 澹齋集 (SKQS), 11.16a–18b; QSW, 221:4900.183–84.

¹¹⁹ *Daoming lu* (Yongle dadian ed.), 8164.19a.

This notion of a private *daotong* appears to have flourished in the Zhang family, where Zhang Shi assumed leadership after his father's death in 1164. Zhang Shi continued the Hu family's traditions of *daoxue* and inherited Hu Anguo's manuscript collection of Cheng learning, portions of which he published in 1166.¹²⁰ In 1172, Chen Gai 陳概, a disciple of Zhang Shi, suggested that his master compile a treatise on the *daotong*. Specifically, he proposed that Zhang should rely on material from the Six Classics, the *Analects*, and the *Mencius* to compile biographies of fourteen sages from Yao down to Mencius, and "link them in a transmission of the succession of the Way." To these fourteen biographies Zhang should also append entries on scholars from the Han and later dynasties who had advanced understanding of the Way. In particular, material on Zhou Dunyi, the Cheng brothers, and Zhang Zai should be included in this extension.¹²¹

Chen Gai's proposal sought to establish a definitive *daotong* up to Mencius, with tentative continuations through the Northern Song *daoxue* masters and their disciples. Since Zhang Shi would be the one to select candidates for this extension of the *daotong*, he could, Chen implies, thus secure his own position as the *daotong*'s contemporary terminus. Zhang declined to accept this proposal, suggesting that he compile instead a classified anthology of "the words and deeds of the Sages and Worthies"; he thus avoided the political and doctrinal complications of Chen's more ambitious proposal. Like Li Liuqian's letter to Zhang Shi's father, Chen Gai's concept of the *daotong* builds on the Hu family's efforts from the 1130s and anticipates Zhu Xi's later synthesis: a modified version of the imperial *daotong* revived as a private transmission in Northern Song. Chen's proposal, however, differed from Zhu Xi's final formulation. By admitting Han and Tang scholars, Chen's concept was less radical than Zhu Xi's more dramatic vision of a complete rupture of transmission between Mencius and Zhou Dunyi.

¹²⁰ Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), pp. 43–82; van Ess, *Von Ch'eng I zu Chu Hsi*, pp. 287–309, 320–30; "The compilation of the works of the Ch'eng Brothers," pp. 277–98.

¹²¹ Chang Shi, *Nanxuan ji* 南軒集 (SKQS), 30.13a–17a; QSW, 225:5731.207–10. For a translation of this passage, see Ping-tzu Chu, "Tradition Building and Cultural Competition in Southern Song China," pp. 115–16. Unfortunately, since Chen Gai's letter survives only partially in the form of quotations in Zhang's reply, it is impossible to determine the identity of Chen's proposed "fourteen Sages."

Zhu Xi and the Politics of the *Zhongyong* Preface

During the early 1170s, scholars further articulated similar *daotong* constructions, the most prominent being the *Shengmen shiyetu* 聖門事業圖 (Diagrams of the enterprises of the sages), completed by Li Yuan-gang 李元綱 in 1172. The first diagram, entitled “the orthodox succession of the transmission of the Way” (*chuandao zhengtong* 傳道正統), depicts twelve sages between Yao and Mencius who transmitted the teachings of the *Zhongyong*, a succession that, in Li’s interpretation, resumes and concludes with Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi. Collateral figures, such as Laozi, Mozi, Yang Zhu, Xunzi, and Yang Xiong, whose teachings are deemed worthy to redeem only a particular period, flank, but are depicted outside, this “orthodox succession.”¹²²

In 1173, Zhu Xi compiled the *Yi Luo yuanyuan lu* 伊洛淵源錄 (Records of origins and affiliations in the Yi and Luo River school), a work that mirrors the contemporary portion of the succession in Chen Gai’s proposal to Zhang Shi; he does not, however, use the expression *daotong*. Zhu Xi had completed the first draft of his commentaries on the *Daxue* and the *Zhongyong* in 1172 and submitted them to Zhang Shi for review, thus beginning a process of revision, printings, and further revisions that would continue until his own death.¹²³ In 1177, Zhu drafted a preface to his commentary on the *Zhongyong*, but since his earliest use of the term *daotong* dates from 1179, the 1177 draft, which does not survive, probably did not mention the *daotong*. Evidence from Zhu Xi’s letters indicates he developed the preface’s opening passage on the *daotong* in 1185. The *Four Books* had been printed in 1184 by Zhu Xi’s colleague Zhan Yizhi 詹儀之 at Deqing 德慶 in Guangnan, but Zhu was so unhappy with the print that he urged Zhan to burn the blocks. Corresponding with Zhan in 1186 regarding another printing at Guilin, where Zhan was then stationed, Zhu mentions that he was making extensive revisions to the *daotong* concept in the *Zhongyong* preface; however it is unclear if the revised printings of 1186 contained this expanded preface.¹²⁴

¹²² De Bary, *The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 31–32, 54–57.

¹²³ Shu Jingnan 束景南, *Zhu Xi nianpu changbian* 朱熹年譜長編 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2001), pp. 479–81.

¹²⁴ Shu Jingnan, *Zhu Xi nianpu changbian*, pp. 847–49; *Zhu Xi ji*, 27.1155–64, at p. 1163. In

In these letters to Zhan Yizhi, Zhu Xi also details his misgivings about further publication of the *Four Books*. He explains, first, that since his interpretation of many passages remains unsettled, he is reluctant to commit to publication; and, second, he fears that wider dissemination will invite political retaliation. Zhu warns that the current political situation is especially precarious, admits that some of his disciples have indeed been involved in factional politics, and expresses fear that printing his private works with public funds will provide a pretext for official sanctions. Citing the inquisition of 1150 against Cheng Yu's commentary on the *Analects*, he cautions Zhan that the current chief councilor Wang Huai 王淮 (1126–1189) could easily renew Qin Gui's inquisitions. In particular, adds Zhu, his interpretation of the *Zhongyong* carries obvious implications for contemporary politics for which he could be prosecuted for "slander of the emperor" (*shan shang* 訕上). He relates how, in the previous year, a lecturer in the prefectural school at Jianchang 建昌 had been indicted for slander because he had printed and explicated for his students a series of twenty poems entitled "Ganxing" 感興 (Expressing my feelings) by Zhu Xi.¹²⁵ According to Shu Jingnan, poems 8 through 13 of this series, composed in 1172, outline Zhu Xi's initial conception of the *daotong*.¹²⁶

Zhu Xi's caution must be understood in light of the Censorial attacks against *daoxue* that began in 1183/6. Orchestrated by Chief Councilor Wang Huai, these attacks were focused on the evolving conception of the *daotong* as a private transmission from the Cheng brothers to contemporary scholars. An indictment by Zheng Bing 鄭丙 (1121–1194) directly attacked the contention that the Way and learning had ended with Mencius, and condemned the touchstone passages from Cheng Yi's writings claiming that Cheng Hao has revived this lost transmission.¹²⁷ In defense against these attacks, You Mou 尤袤 (1124–1193) created distinctions among the early *daotong* paragons: Yao and

his *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie*, 1:46–53, Yu Yingshi places Zhu Xi's formulation of the *daotong* in the context of his 1185 dispute with Chen Liang 陳亮 (1143–1194) over the role of the Way in history. See Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Utilitarian Confucianism: Ch'en Liang's Challenge to Chu Hsi* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, 1982), pp. 153–68.

¹²⁵ *Zhu Xi ji*, 27.1157–58, 1160. For the entire "Ganxing" series, see *Zhu Xi ji*, 1.177–82.

¹²⁶ *Zhu Xi nianpu changbian*, pp. 481–82.

¹²⁷ *Daoming lu* (Yongle dadian ed.), 8164.20b. Because Zheng Bing mocked Cheng Yi, these passages were excised from the received version of the *Daoming lu*; see *Daoming lu* (Congshu jicheng ed.), 5.44.

Shun were emperors; Yu, Tang, and Wu were kings; and the Duke of Zhou, Confucius, and Mencius were teachers.¹²⁸ These distinctions emphasized the notion that the *daotong* embraced others in addition to the “emperors” so as to soften the charge that the interpretation of the *daotong* as a private transmission constituted “slander of the emperor.”

We thus have good evidence not only that Zhu Xi expanded and sharpened his formulation of the *daotong* in response to the attacks of 1183, but also that he did so in the context of a political environment he perceived as increasingly unfavorable to him. These circumstances changed dramatically with the death of Gaozong in 1187/10 and Wang Huai’s dismissal as chief counselor in 1188/5. Gaozong’s death removed an important physical and symbolic obstacle to wider acceptance of the privatized *daotong* transmission. Once again, Zhu Xi began extensive revisions to the *Four Books*, especially to the *Zhongyong* and its preface, which he finalized in 1189/3.¹²⁹ Reprintings of the *Four Books* in 1192 and 1194, under political circumstances more favorable to *daoxue* advocates, may or may not have contained this revised *Zhongyong* preface.¹³⁰ Of course, these circumstances did not last. An edict of 1196/6 proscribed the *Four Books* along with Li Yuangang’s *daotong* charts and the *Shengzhuan lun* 聖傳論 (Biographical essays on the sages) by Liu Zihui 劉子翬 (1101–1147), who had been Zhu Xi’s first teacher.¹³¹ Liu’s ten essays constitute an early vision of the *daotong*, privatized back to the beginning of the tradition. The first essay, a prelude to the entire series, concludes: “And so you shall become Yao and Shun, and Yao and Shun shall become you, grand and majestic before my eyes once again.”¹³² Liu Zihui formulated this passage about the same time as Gaozong promulgated the stone classics and his eulogy for Confucius. One could hardly imagine a more radical challenge to imperial authority, or a spirit more opposed to Qin Gui’s inscription of 1155.

¹²⁸ *Songshi*, 389.11929.

¹²⁹ Shu Jingnan, *Zhu Xi nianpu changbian*, pp. 955–56.

¹³⁰ Shu Jingnan, *Zhu Xi nianpu changbian*, pp. 1009–11, 1064–66. Since no exemplars of any printings of the *Four Books* during Zhu Xi’s lifetime survive, it is impossible to determine exactly when the received version of the *Zhongyong* preface was first printed. The earliest surviving exemplar dates from a 1252 printing. See Xu Deming 徐德明, *Zhu Xi zhuzuo banben yuanliu kao* 朱熹著作版本源流考 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, 2000), pp. 60–72.

¹³¹ SHY, *xing fa* 形法, 2.27a; Shu Jingnan, *Zhu Xi nianpu changbian*, p. 1253–54.

¹³² *Zhu ru mingdao ji* 諸儒明道集 (1234; microfilm of copy held in the Shanghai Library), 69.2b; QSW, 193:4257.160.

Toward 1241

Tension between the imperial and the private vision of the *daotong* continued into the thirteenth century. Modern scholarship often presents the court's "recognition" of *daoxue* in 1241 as a vindication of the movement's struggle against the state. Certainly, acceptance of Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Zai, the Cheng brothers, and Zhu Xi into the Confucian temple, along with the expulsion of Wang Anshi, marked a crucial turning point in relations between the court and *daoxue* scholars. But some evidence suggests that the monarchy viewed this accommodation as merely an extension of the prerogatives that Emperor Gaozong and Qin Gui had carved on stone in 1155. Upon the death of Emperor Ningzong 寧宗 (1168–1224; r. 1194–1224) in 1224, Chief Councilor Shi Miyuan 史彌遠 (1164–1233) drafted the results of deliberations on the emperor's posthumous name. Shi Miyuan noted that, because Ningzong had begun in 1208 to grant posthumous offices to the *daoxue* scholars, the emperor had "illuminated the *daotong*, and perverse opinion had dissipated of itself." Although this rhetoric was directed against opponents of *daoxue*, Shi Miyuan's formulation continued to uphold the position that the emperor had the authority to determine the *daotong*.¹³³

In 1230 Emperor Lizong composed eulogies for a revised set of thirteen *daotong* sages. Modeled on Gaozong's series, these eulogies were carved in stone in 1232, placed together with Gaozong's stone classics in the Directorate of Education, and later revised in anticipation of Lizong's visit of 1241. In 1244, Shi's son, the Chief Councilor Shi Songzhi 史嵩之, drafted a "Postscript" to the famous edict of 1241 by which the "five worthies" had been admitted into the Confucian temple.¹³⁴ Shi Songzhi's postscript states that Lizong's intense personal study and cultivation has made him the central purveyor of culture. This understanding uniquely enabled him to trace the "mind of the Sage" (*shengxin* 聖心) to its ultimate origin, to recognize its legitimate transmission over time, and to guarantee its continuation into the future. These are all claims that Qin Gui had made for Gaozong in 1155.

¹³³ SHY, *li* 禮, 30.86a.

¹³⁴ The document survives only in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 11.15b–16b; see also QSW, 333:7684.443. For the edict, see *Songshi*, 42.821–22.

The composition of the official thirteen sages of 1241 was a compromise. Acknowledging the influence of *daoxue* teachings, Lizong accepted Yanzi, Zengzi, and Zisi as sages who came between Confucius and Mencius, where they had been placed by *daoxue* advocates since the time of Liu Zihui and Li Yuangang. However, the official *daotong* of 1241 added the legendary Emperor Fu Xi before Yao at the beginning of the series—a point Shi Songzhi is careful to emphasize in his postscript. On a contemporary portrait of Fu Xi by the Academy painter Ma Lin 馬麟, now in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, Emperor Lizong's has inscribed his own eulogy for Fu Xi. Fu Xi's face on the portrait is the face of Emperor Lizong.¹³⁵

In conclusion, Qin Gui's inscription of 1155 presents new evidence to help us in understanding the tensions between the Song state and its "many scholar-officials." In the *Daoming lu*, Li Xinchuan framed the history of *daoxue* as a series of political challenges to state power, as manifested in successive, autocratic chief councilors, among whom Qin Gui figures prominently.¹³⁶ Our study of the inscription supports this construction of *daoxue* history. It also suggests that the *Daoming lu* passed lightly over several key issues that may have been self-evident to its original audience but that the selective destruction of documentation has made opaque to later readers. First, *daoxue*, far from developing in a political vacuum, fought to secure a place for itself inside the existing political structures of the Song state. Second, in the case of the *daotong*, the struggles between *daoxue* thinkers and the state to control a common rhetoric contributed to the character of Neo-Confucianism in the Song and subsequent dynasties.

¹³⁵ Hui-shu Lee, "Art and Imperial Images at the Late Southern Sung Court," in *Arts of the Sung and Yuan*, ed. Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), pp. 258–59.

¹³⁶ Charles Hartman, "Li Hsin-ch'uan and the Historical Image of Late Sung Tao-hsüeh," *HJAS* 61.2 (December 2001): 328–36.