

# The Way and the Glory:

A Study of Zhou Dunyi Shrines in the Southern Song (1127–1279)

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## Abstract

This thesis studies 130 cases of establishment and refurbishment of shrines dedicated to a Chinese philosopher, Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–73), in the Southern Song (1127–1279). About 100 years after his death, this philosopher was reinvented as the founding father of Neo-Confucianism and shrines to him were founded in all corners of the empire. The thesis investigates who sought to dedicate shrines to Zhou and who declined to do so; why they did so; and what the significance for each locality of having such a monument was.

In the Southern Song, localities actively sought to connect themselves to famous literati in order to gain a prominence greater than that of other localities. This competition facilitated the spread of literati culture and the consolidation of a previously fragmented Chinese society. Some Neo-Confucian thinkers took this opportunity to promote their movement as well. Through enshrining Zhou Dunyi in different settings, they effectively refashioned the man as their scholarly ancestor and iconised him as the exemplary Confucian literatus.

Chapter 1 introduces the main argument and discusses methodologies. Subsequent sections provide brief explanations of pertinent technical terms and theoretical points.

Chapter 2 discusses Zhou Dunyi's life, focusing on selected aspects of his life that were most debated and most relevant to his posthumous enshrinement.

Chapter 3 investigates the Zhou Dunyi shrines in Southern Song Daozhou and Jiangzhou, two localities that competed for recognition as Zhou Dunyi's true hometown due to his having been born in one and died in the other. The dispute would be settled only when Neo-Confucian dignitaries came out in support of Daozhou's claim. This example shows how the building of the shrines was negotiated and how they were appropriated by local elites who took great pride in them.

Chapter 4 studies the lack of Zhou Dunyi shrines in a place where they would be expected to be. Zhenjiang (Runzhou) refrained from establishing any such shrines until as late as 1253. Neo-Confucians shied away from establishing a shrine there. This case shows to what degree Neo-Confucians were involved in Zhou Dunyi shrine projects and in what manner.

Chapter 5 explores Guangdong and Guangxi. The prevalence of Zhou Dunyi shrines in this much less developed region belies a standard characterisation of Neo-Confucianism as an ideology for well-educated, affluent, and non-office-holding elites. A selection of cases demonstrates that the region's relatively limited assimilation into mainstream literati culture formed its *habitus* in favour of the proliferation of Zhou Dunyi shrines.

Chapter 6 points to a consequence of the proliferation of Zhou Dunyi shrines in the Song. Localities began to seek distinction by promoting famous local literati, which was possible only on the basis of embracing the new standard of fame shared by other localities—namely, the Sinitic literati culture. This formula, the pursuit of fame on the basis of homogeneous literati culture, contributed to the integration of late imperial Chinese society.

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## A Note on Conventions and Abbreviations

All the abbreviations are either book or series titles.

(HKMJ volume:page) for the Compendium of Korean Complete Works (*Hankuk munjib chonggan* 한국문집총간)

(LXJ page) for the Complete Works of Lord Yuan, the Master Zhou Lianxi (*Yuangong Zhouxiansheng Lianxi ji* 元公周先生濂溪集)

(QSW volume:page) for the Complete Song Prose (*Quan Song wen* 全宋文)

(QYW volume:page) for the Complete Yuan Prose (*Quan Yuan wen* 全元文)

(QSS volume:page) for the Complete Song Poetry (*Quan Song shi* 全宋詩)

(SS volume:page) for the Song History (*Songshi* 宋史)

(YDJS volume:page:zhonghua shuju pagination) for the Record of the Best Sites in the Realm (*Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝)

(YLDD volume:page) for Yongle Encyclopaedia (*Yongle dadian* 永樂大典)

As for local and monastery gazetteers, I use the following format consistently.

([Dynasty] + [Reign period of the publication] + [Published title] volume:page)

Therefore, a citation from volume 7, page 2a from a gazetteer for the region of Guangdong 廣東 published in the Qing 清 dynasty, Daoguang 道光, reign period (1821–50) would be:

(*Qing Daoguang Guangdong tongzhi* 清道光廣東通志 7:2a)

Chinese local gazetteers have been reprinted in many different series, and their numbers are ever increasing. The Bodleian Library alone has four copies of the same *Daoguang Period Comprehensive Gazetteer for Guangdong* (*Daoguang Guangdong tongzhi* 道光廣東通志) included in four different series. This system of citation is designed to prevent any confusion arising from consulting multiple reprinted versions with modern pagination. The exact or approximate date of the publication is provided in the Bibliography.

Also, when converting Chinese years to the Gregorian calendar, I deliberately ignored the differences between the two calendars and matched them one-on-one. The Chinese New Year comes about a month or two after Gregorian New Year's Day, but the small gain in precision realised from the exact conversion did not justify the sheer amount of effort needed to achieve it. Therefore, I provide the exact converted year only when necessary to the context. Otherwise, the difference will not be recognised.

One more convention that should be addressed is that of place names. In China, at least since the Qin (221BCE–206BCE), many place names have compounded specific (*zhuanming* 專名) and generic names (*tongming* 通名). Generic names signify either topological or administrative categories, such as a mountain (*shan* 山) or a county (*xian* 縣). Specific names are proper nouns, such as Hong Kong or Shanghai (Wilkinson 2012, 15.1.1.1). Therefore, in theory, it is most natural and intuitive to transliterate specifics while translating generics (for example, Mt. Lu 廬, rather than Lushan or the Hut Mountain).

In practice, however, there are many exceptional cases that militate against the wholesale application of this general principle. It makes little sense, for instance, to call

Beijing 北京 ‘Bei capital’ or Guangzhou 廣州 ‘Guang prefecture’. The thesis gives priority to transliteration over the general principle whenever the name is reasonably familiar to English readers. In the same vein, some place names that have already become entrenched in the English language are used accordingly: The Yellow River, the Pearl River, Manchuria, and etc. (Wilkinson 2012, 15.15.2 & 15.16.4).

The greatest challenge comes from the complex hierarchy of Song administrative units. Song Chinese local administration was manifold, and the generic names attached to them retain the jurisdictional meanings to varying degrees. The whole Northern Song territory was divided into about 25 circuits (*lu* 路), whose names and boundaries by and large overlap with modern Chinese provinces (*sheng* 省). For instance, the contour of Fujian “*lu*” in the Song is not too different from Fujian “*sheng*” today. Under them were about 240 prefectures (*zhou* 州) with 70,000 average registered population. Each prefecture governed an average of five counties (*xian* 縣), whose number fluctuated from 875 to 1,495 throughout the two Song dynasties. Each county had several cantons (*xiang* 鄉) in its jurisdiction. Cantons, in turn, had smaller settlements—including villages (*cun* 村), wards (*fang* 坊), and fortifications (*bao* 堡)—the details of which are not too well recorded in the extant textual sources. There were also some special categories of prefectures and counties. Commanderies (*jun* 軍) were military prefectures, whose position in the administrative hierarchy was somewhere between prefecture and county. Market Towns (*zhen* 鎮) were commercial counties, situated between county and canton. There were some 30 superior prefectures (*fu* 府), most of which were promoted from prefectures for political and military reasons. Their registered population averaged about 400,000 (Mostern 2011, 35–56).

The reader may find prefecture (*zhou* 州) names relatively familiar, unlike other levels of local administration. Because transliterating Guangzhou 廣州 makes sense in way that Xingzixian 星子縣 does not, this thesis transliterates place names ending with *-zhou* and translate all other administrative suffixes.

However, as always, there are exceptions. Some administrative suffixes had already lost their original connotation by the Song. For instance, the Sichuan-based circuit Chengdufulu 成都府路, strictly speaking, includes three layers of generic suffixes that had once had independent meanings. Any attempt to translate all of these is bound to produce cumbersome results, such as ‘Cheng capital superior prefecture circuit’. Therefore, for convenience, this thesis also transliterates ‘*fu*’. Hence, Chengdufu Circuit.

**Table 1. Chinese Local Administrative Units**

Tier 1		lu 路				Circuit
Tier 2	zhou 州	fu 府	jun 軍			Prefecture
Tier 3	xian 縣		zhen 鎮			County
Tier 4		xiang 鄉				Canton

The last convention that needs to be mentioned also concerns place names. Chinese place names have changed frequently. The prefecture studied in Chapter 4 was called Runzhou 潤州 in the Northern Song but Zhenjiang 鎮江 in the Southern Song. One solution would be to employ the name used at the time of the event, but this would create confusion were we to see someone establishing a shrine to Zhou Dunyi at Zhenjiang to commemorate his visit to Runzhou. Therefore, the thesis gives priority to Northern Song place names in all possible instances to guarantee consistency, while also providing Southern Song and even modern place names on occasion, so that readers are not left adrift in the ever-changing current of Chinese toponyms.

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## 1. Introduction

This thesis studies the foundation and renovation of all Southern Song (960–1279) shrines to the alleged founding father of Neo-Confucianism,<sup>1</sup> Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–73). It exhausts the available textual and epigraphical records of Zhou Dunyi shrines, constructs a reliable dataset, and then investigates some of the most interesting cases to explain the reasons why Southern Song social agents were committed to establishing and maintaining this institution. As the icon of the burgeoning Neo-Confucian tradition, Zhou Dunyi was enshrined at least 130 times in the Southern Song alone, more than any other Neo-Confucian.<sup>2</sup> The zeal for enshrining Zhou Dunyi, however, would significantly dwindle after the 1240s for reasons that are explicated in the next section. While they did not die out, they lost much of their significance they used to have. Accordingly, the thesis devotes most of its pages to the Zhou Dunyi shrines constructed prior to 1240, only occasionally considering later cases when appropriate.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This term is discussed in detail in Section 1.7.

<sup>2</sup> Note that by the early Southern Song, the Cheng brothers had become too controversial to be openly enshrined and celebrated. The attempt by some Neo-Confucian dignitaries of that era to entrench their deceased masters' scholarly programme as the only feasible alternative to the New Policies faced a forceful backlash from court rivals and led to their teachings being effectively excluded from Gaozong's (高宗, 1107–87, r. 1127–62) court policies. Thus, in the 1160s, when Neo-Confucians were deciding whom to endorse as a representative icon of their sect, Zhou Dunyi must have seemed far more moderate and acceptable than the highly politicised Cheng brothers. I owe this idea to Sukhee Lee.

<sup>3</sup> It must be noted that not all branches of Neo-Confucianism initially recognised Zhou Dunyi as the founding father of Neo-Confucianism; in the twelfth century, it was primarily the Cheng-Zhu branch that promoted the claim. Lest it seem that I am, in effect, excluding non-Cheng-Zhu branches from 'Neo-Confucianism' by imposing an overly narrow construction on the term, I would hasten to point

The only full-scale investigation into Zhou Dunyi shrines in English is contained in the doctoral thesis of Ellen G. Neskari (1993). She concludes that the proliferation of ‘shrines to local worthies’ in the Southern Song signals the so-called ‘localist turn’ of Southern Song elites.<sup>4</sup> Unlike their Northern Song equivalents, Southern Song elites shied away from the centre of the empire and focused instead on their immediate surroundings. Elite status was no longer defined by success at the centre but, rather, by achievements at the local level. The upsurge in shrines to local worthies and the local characteristics presented for some of the honoured figures reflect this general social change. Still, according to Neskari, Southern Song Neo-Confucians benefitted from this trend by reinventing their Northern Song intellectual ancestors as local worthies and dedicating shrines to them to elevate their own status (Neskari 1993, 405–26).<sup>5</sup>

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out that, while Cheng-Zhu supporters were in the vanguard, there is ample evidence that, by the thirteenth century, there were many others, including, for instance, many Lu branch literati, enthusiastically worshipping Zhou Dunyi at various prefectures (QSW 281:207 for Yuan Xie 袁燮 (1144–1224), QSW 290:87 for Sun Yingshi 孫應時 (1154–1206)). Of course, there were high-profile Lu Jiuyuan supporters, such as Yang Jian 楊簡 (1141–1226), who remained suspicious of Zhou Dunyi’s scholarship (QSW 275:320). However, by the mid-thirteenth century, following the consolidation of Zhou Dunyi’s status as the intellectual ancestor of *all* Neo-Confucian branches, even a commemorative essay for a shrine for Yang Jian would make sure to trace his intellectual descent from Zhou (QSW 341:139). Therefore, calling the Southern Song Zhou Dunyi fever a ‘Neo-Confucian’ phenomenon would not be far off the mark. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer to the version of Chapter 3 submitted as a journal article for raising this issue.

<sup>4</sup> There is a long historiography of local history studies in this field that includes almost all important and active historians throughout the second half of the twentieth century and thereafter. Christian de Pee (2012) provides a concise summary of this discourse. Yongtao Du also offers an in-depth review of the field and problematises their neglect of what he calls a ‘translocal approach’ (Du 2015, 1–27).

<sup>5</sup> Her conclusion has been accepted by many intellectual and social historians of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, representing diverse academic affiliations. It has been cited and repeated by, to name but a few, John Chaffee (2015, 312), Robert Hymes (2015, 619), and Peter Bol (2008, 248–9; 2015, 722).

However, as much as Nesar's conclusion helps to explicate the nature of Zhou Dunyi shrines, it inevitably detracts from a more place-sensitive interpretation. With regard to that aspect, it is worth asking the questions that Robert E. Harrist Jr. proffered in his study on early to medieval Chinese stone inscriptions: 'Why was it written *here*? What is the relationship between the writing and its location?' (Harrist Jr. 2008, 18) Harrist is convinced that many researchers fail to raise these questions and he believes that this failure bears some relationship to the traditional Chinese habit of studying epigraphy through 'rubblings'. He maintains that one can only understand the true meaning of an inscription by reading it in its original geographical context, supporting this contention with ample evidence (Harrist Jr. 2008, 20–22). Can we do the same with Zhou Dunyi shrines?

The spatial framework of Nesar's thesis is a vertical (local versus centre) one, in which the differences among the various locales are not recognised. She cites and translates dozens of commemorative essays to Zhou Dunyi shrines in multiple localities but fails to consider the places where they were originally inscribed, just as traditional Chinese epigraphers gave little thought to where the rubblings had come from.

This thesis finds that the wide-spread construction of Zhou Dunyi shrines reflects horizontal relationships, namely, *inter*-local competition for recognition. Chinese localities in the Song period competed for fame and distinction. As the civil service examination promoted a more even distribution of distinction among men from different corners of the empire, the reputation of localities began to be assessed by their association with ever-increasing number of successful literati. In a sense, the introduction of the examination system was not unlike the modern introduction of international prizes such as Nobel; the latter encouraged modern universities to count

and advertise famous alumni they have produced or have ever been affiliated with like the former did to the Song localities.

Building shrines for famous literati was seen as an effective way to bolster a place's claim to a significant tie with the enshrined renowned gentlemen. Such a connection, thus enhanced, was expected to contribute to the reputation of the locality, in much the same fashion as modern universities that display portraits of famous alumni or name buildings after them. The case of Zhou Dunyi stands out as he was experiencing a remarkable increase in his posthumous fame and, coincidentally, possessed potential ties to particularly large number of provinces (Section 1.5). Thus, it was to be expected that a multitude of localities would jump on the Zhou Dunyi bandwagon, which makes Zhou Dunyi shrines an ideal starting point for modern researchers to study Southern Song literati shrines in general. Another advantage of studying Zhou Dunyi shrines is that it reveals the extent to which the emergence of arguably the most influential Chinese ideology, Neo-Confucianism, was involved in this inter-local relationship.

Some scholars of middle period Chinese history have investigated emergent local identities by highlighting the internal dynamics within localities (intra-local), while others have explored localities' indifference to national discourses and their tendency to distance themselves strategically from the state (state-local dynamics). Neo-Confucianism, in this framework, has been understood as a new ideology that justified the redirection of the Southern Song elites' focus of interest from the centre to the local. However, if Neo-Confucianism taught most Southern Song elites to turn their back on state affairs, how did the Southern Song avoid implosion and survive more than

a century and a half?<sup>6</sup> This thesis argues that emerging local identities, which is observed in the spread of Zhou Dunyi shrines, did not promote inward-looking localism. I suggest that Southern Song local identities, now represented by famous literati, ought to be viewed as the social glue that held the localities together for such a long period of time.

The remainder of this chapter is organised around key terms that this thesis employs and studies. After discussing theoretical foundations, it will move on to such empirical notions as shrines, Neo-Confucianism, Zhou Dunyi, and so on.

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<sup>6</sup> For the notion of 'turning inward', see James T. C. Liu (1988).

### 1.1. Methodology: Zhou Dunyi Shrines as a ‘Field’

Historians of middle period China have not shied away from exploring social theories and applying them to their studies; twentieth-century French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has been one such source of theoretical inspiration. As early as 1993, Timothy Brook displayed his shrewdness in adopting the key Bourdieusian notion of ‘symbolic capital’ in his analysis of the late-Ming gentry’s patronage of Buddhist monasteries (Brook 1993, 19). This simple, concise, and straightforward approach, which foregrounds an aspiration of social agents for fame and prestige, was welcomed by critical readers. As one reviewer notes, it represented a rejection of the ‘Marxist economic model’ whereby money ultimately accounts for all social practices (Zürcher 1996). However, Brook’s model elicited criticism from those who felt that his overly ‘functionalist’ approach overlooked the more subjective dimension of religious experiences, such as the seriousness of religious sentiments and the devotion of lay believers (J. H. Smith 1994; Gerritsen 2007, 5, 54–5).

There are other cases in this field where Bourdieusian concepts prove useful. After Benjamin Elman invoked the Bourdieusian concept of ‘reproduction’ in his series of cultural analyses of Chinese civil service examinations (Elman 1991; Elman 2000), Bourdieu quickly became one of the staple theorists for students of that topic. Although Elman expressed reservations about treating the French sociologist’s theoretical framework as generally applicable, his attention nonetheless made it compulsory for younger scholars studying the same topic to read Bourdieu’s major works, if only to test the validity of his caution. One example is Hilde De Weerd, who disagreed with

Elman in her doctoral thesis (1998) and went on to fully embrace Bourdieu's notion of 'field' in a monograph developed from her thesis (De Weerd 2007, 16–9).<sup>7</sup>

To grasp De Weerd's use of the concept, we must first review the common features, or, in his own words, 'universal mechanisms' of all Bourdieusian fields (Bourdieu 1993, 72). 'Field' is basically an 'open concept' that Bourdieu employs with modifications to explain the different ways in which relatively autonomous spaces of 'objective relations' operate. This description invites further elucidation. I believe the concept can be best explained by his famous game analogy:

Thus we have stakes (*enjeux*) which are for the most part the product of the competition between players. We have an investment in the game, *illusio* (from *ludus*, the game): players are taken in by the game, they oppose one another, sometimes with ferocity, only to the extent that they concur in their belief (*doxa*) in the game and its stakes; they grant these a recognition that escapes questioning. Players agree, by the mere fact of playing, and not by way of a "contract," that the game is worth playing, that it is "worth the candle," and this collusion is the very basis of their competition (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 98).

The notion of field is a concept that is advanced to analyse and understand the nature of all *competition*. For a social phenomenon to qualify as a field, there must be something at 'stake'. Players play the game only when they are interested in the specific rewards the game provides. When it comes to an artistic field, the sought-after reward may be artistic capital (recognition, fame, money, media attention, membership, influence, and so on), while for a field of higher education the game can be constituted

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<sup>7</sup> Kai-Wing Chow's book on publishing culture, published three years before De Weerd's (Chow 2004), also mentions 'field', but the concept does not play a significant part in Chow's work as Bourdieu is but one of an impressive array of French scholars he continually invokes. By contrast, the concept of 'field' is the focal point of Hilde De Weerd's analysis of the examination field in the Southern Song.

around renown (Nobel laureate status, influence, global ranking, selectivity, and so on). The participants ‘struggle’ to maximise the applicable kinds of capital, to monopolise them if possible and, ultimately, ‘for the right to monopolize the exercise of “symbolic violence”’ (Swartz 1997, 122–3).<sup>8</sup>

However, the players are not equally positioned. Some are privileged to start the game with a much greater amount of capital, while others can just afford to pay the entrance fee. This unequal distribution of various kinds of capital inevitably stratifies the players. Due to their different positions in the field, they tend to adopt different strategies to conserve, continue, transform, or subvert status. Although the dominant players are not always conservative, they tend to maintain a certain ‘disposition’ or ‘*habitus*’ appropriate to their positions relative to other players in the field. What makes the picture even more complicated is that they vary in the kinds of capital at their disposal. For instance, to continue our academia analogy, we can say that MIT has an impressive amount of economic capital, while Oxford and Cambridge boast of an abundance of cultural capital.

We can picture each player as having in front of her a pile of tokens of different colors, each color corresponding to a given species of capital she holds, so that her *relative force in the game*, her *position* in the space of play, and also her *strategic orientation toward the game*, what we call in French her “game,” the moves that she makes, more or less risky or cautious, subversive or conservative, depend both on the total number of tokens and on the composition of the piles of tokens she retains, that is, on the volume and structure of her capital. Two individuals endowed with an equivalent overall capital can differ, in their position as well as in their stances (“position-takings”), in that one holds a lot of economic capital and little cultural capital while the other has little economic capital and large cultural assets (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 99).

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<sup>8</sup> We return to ‘symbolic violence’ later in this section.

The economic capital holder would stress the features that reflect this position (promising prospective students peerless aid and stipend packages), while the cultural giant might emphasise the venerability of its traditions (a common highlight of the Oxford fresher induction is, thus, to highlight the fact that the establishment of Oxford predates the Aztec Empire).

However, the mere fact of players pursuing the things at 'stake' does not make a field. There must be rules or 'regularities' that define and govern legitimate game play. Oxford cannot aim a nuclear missile at Cambridge, for instance, to monopolise the academic capital at stake. It can only compete in accordance with the rules that have been tacitly agreed and endorsed by all participants (Swartz 1997, 125). These rules are, of course, not fair to all players. The dominant players, in many cases, can set the rules of the game through their monopoly of power. In other words, the dominant can define what rewards every player should (and will) willingly pursue in the competition, which is a non-physical form of violence (thus, symbolic violence). For the dominated, changing this definition is not impossible but certainly very difficult, for they tend to 'misrecognize the arbitrary character of their social worlds' and 'take for granted the definition of rewards and of ways of obtaining them as given by fields' (Swartz 1997, 126). This perception contributes to the stability and reproduction of the given field.

Lastly, a field is relatively autonomous. This does not mean, however, that it is absolutely free of external influences:

The external determinations that bear on agents situated in a given field (intellectuals, artists, politicians, or construction companies) never apply to them directly, but affect them only through the specific mediation of the specific

forms and forces of the field, after having undergone a *re-structuring* that is all the more important the more autonomous the field, that is, the more it is capable of imposing its specific logic, the cumulative product of its particular history (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 105).

For instance, the field of universities may seem to be independent of some external forces, such as economic fields (claiming to pursue truth without reference to its utility). But the disproportionately great number of affluent undergraduate students enrolled in elite colleges shows the extent to which the colleges are under the mediated influence of the power of the economy. The economic power of a student does not directly manipulate the admission process; that power is translated into academic assets—such as competence in playing musical instruments or extensive foreign experiences—that give them advantages in the admission process, thus resulting in the over-representation of those endowed with such power.

These characteristics of the concept of field make it readily applicable to the field of civil service examination of middle period China. The examination field was a relatively autonomous realm; it was structured around a clearly defined reward (earning the precious *jinshi* degree); all participants had belief (*doxa*) in the game and its stake, such that they ferociously strived to win it. Some were initially endowed with a greater amount of capital (anti-Neo-Confucians) that conferred on them the power to set the standard, but were eventually overtaken by the concerted efforts of challengers (Neo-Confucians). There were external forces—the field of political power or that of economy—that influenced the examination field, which was always done through ‘translation’ into the language of the influenced field. It is of little wonder that Hilde De Weerdt’s Bourdieusian approach gained much success.

Given such characteristics, this thesis argues that the competition for celebrity in general, and the Zhou Dunyi shrines in particular, can be understood in terms of a Bourdieusian field, as well. The players were Southern Song prefectures that were regarded as the basic unit of cultural geography in this period. At stake was fame, by which they sought to improve their standing in the empire. For glory, prefectures actively developed and promoted sites dedicated to famous people associated with them. Some were initially better positioned, with a greater amount of actual and potential cultural sites (Lower Yangzi prefectures, for instance), but others could catch up by amending the rules of the game (ritual norms) or drawing upon an external force (Neo-Confucianism). This field (competition for fame) was also connected to the field of power, in which the prefectures could capitalise on the amount of cultural capital in their possession to effectively elicit and justify attention and favour from the court. Let us further elaborate on these points in the following subsections.

#### 1.1.1. *Prefectures in Competition for Fame*

The view that Southern Song localities were in competition for fame emerged in the early twenty-first century. For instance, when she wrote in her doctoral thesis that ‘so many places had gained recognition for being home to celebrated sites and products that competition between locales occurred’ (C. Zhang 2003, 172), Cong E. Zhang nearly anticipated what this thesis seeks to illustrate. Although her decision to focus on Song period travel culture seems to have made her excise this ‘competition’ from her first monograph, developed from the thesis eight years later, the monograph nonetheless maintains that the ‘famous sites in Song times’ were ‘ordered in a hierarchy’ and that

the ‘fame (*ming*)’ of a place was the ‘decisive factor’ in that arrangement (C. Zhang 2011b, 157). Amongst different types of fame, that which was generated by a place’s affiliation with renowned literati had come by the Southern Song to dominate the competition.

That prefectures, as well as individuals, were entering the competition requires further explanation. The notion of place as a social agent is a heuristic device. We cannot accept it literally since, obviously, places cannot move or think. What is at work is the activity of people who strongly identify themselves with places. The adverb ‘strongly’ here suggests the near irreversibility of the connection. The existence of such a strong sense of belonging, though not uncommon in the Northern Song (Clark 2007, ch.8), becomes manifest in the Southern Song. There has been much debate on the scale, implication, and consequences of the development of local identity in the Southern Song (Hartwell 1982; Hymes 1986; Bossler 1998; Bol 2001; Bol 2003; Bao 2005; Gerritsen 2007; Clark 2007; S. Lee 2014; Hymes 2015). Scholars may not agree on every detail, but most would concur that Southern Song literati were ‘thinking about themselves in terms of a place’ and perhaps making ‘this communal quality a vital part of their identity as individuals’ (Bol 2003, 25).

This ‘local identity’, Yongtao Du (2015) explains, ‘could crystallize at multiple levels of recognized local places with varying strengths, depending on changing socio-political conditions’. In the Song, circuit (*lu* 路) or canton (*xiang* 鄉) level identities did exist, yet their strength and intensity could not match those of prefectural or county identities. In particular, it was the prefecture that was conceived by many to be the basic unit of place identity in the Song (Dardess 1996, 3). Du attributes this to tax and

examination quotas.<sup>9</sup> Thanks to the quotas, money (tax burden) and fame (examination success) were first contested at the level of the prefecture; next, the winners proceeded to compete with other prefectural winners on the national stage (for example, negotiating the quota in favour of their home prefecture). Thus, a bright candidate who outperformed you in the prefectural examination would later become the representative of your prefecture and protect your prefecture's wealth and reputation at the imperial court (Brook 1997; Du 2015, 10–1, 18). We see in Chapter 3 how Jiangzhou and Daozhou collectively drew upon their having Zhou Dunyi shrines in their campaign for 'preferential treatment from the center'.<sup>10</sup>

The unprecedented proliferation of books on cultural geography also signals the emergence of the field of prefectures' competition for fame. For instance, the position of the early thirteenth-century comprehensive cultural geography *Record of the Best Sites in the Realm* (*Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝) in the Southern Song is homologous with that of the Times Higher Education Ranking (hereafter T.H.E.) in the field of modern academia in that both effectively summarise the basic features of the fields in question in written form. 1) They identify the players of the game: T.H.E. covers only the colleges and universities that meet their criteria, while all cultural sites are arranged in the *Record* by their prefectures. Through a direct comparison of the colleges, T.H.E. presumes the comparability of all colleges, no matter how different they are in reality; the *Record* postulates the sameness of the prefectures by adhering to a one-chapter (*juan*

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<sup>9</sup> Note that counties, too, have their own tax quotas, but not examination quotas.

<sup>10</sup> For the prefecture as the 'nuclear unit' of the Song administration, see Mostern (2011, 38–46).

卷)-per-prefecture editorial policy. 2) Both are clear about their methodologies. T.H.E. uses five performance indicators (teaching, research, citation, international outlook, and industry income) in its evaluation of universities, whereas the *Record* uses ten criteria (historical changes, customs, fine sights, historical sites, notable previous officials, famous local personages, immortals and monks, steles and inscriptions, poems, and parallel prose). 3) Both represent ground-breaking attempts to publicise what had been discussed only privately for decades.<sup>11</sup>

There are also differences in the two compendia. The *Record* does not explicitly order the 200 prefectures hierarchically. All prefectures are rather romantically depicted as places worthy of visiting. This, however, does not mean that all of them are described as equally meritorious. Some prefectures boast of an impressive number of historical and cultural sites that occupy dozens of pages, while others manage to fill only a few pages with miscellaneous achievements. The hierarchy is tacit, but contemporary readers would not have failed to realise which were the major players in the competition.

Although the *Record* was not updated on a regular basis as T.H.E., this one-off project was followed by a series of successors. One such successor, the *Scenic Beauty of the Realm* (*Fangyu shenglan* 方輿勝覽), was so successful that it was even believed to be possessed by ‘each and every literati household’ (Li Yongxian 1996). The

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<sup>11</sup> Peter Bol (2001, 54–64) offers a concise introduction of the basic features and historical significance of the *Record*. See Ellen Hazelkorn for more theoretical remarks on the higher education rankings (Hazelkorn 2011, 18–28). For the T.H.E. methodology used in its 2018 ranking, see:

<https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/methodology-world-university-rankings-2018>.

information the *Record* gathered was thus updated not by the author, but by collective intelligence, which contributed to the continuous reproduction of the field.

### 1.1.2. *Sites and Fame*

If prefectures were players, sites were the cards they played. Prefectures established and maintained sites, and descriptions of these sites filled relevant sections of local gazetteers and other books on cultural geography. Their reputations were thus established and preserved.

Conceptually speaking, sites could be defined either by spectacle or by narrative. Those based on spectacle require no explanation to impress their visitors. Surely, it is the sheer size, thundering noise, and spectacular views of the falls that enthrall tourists at Niagara. Stories about the falls—such as how Europeans came to discover them—are secondary. Narrative-based sites have minimal, if any, spectacle. The Eagle and Child, a typical English pub, is special only because it was the watering hole of J. R. R. Tolkien (1892–1973), one of the best-known authors of the twentieth century. This type of site captivates the visitor by virtue of its association with a famous person, a popular story, or a historic event. In practice, all tourist attractions are situated somewhere between the poles of spectacle and narrative. A waterfall can have a fascinating history, just as a pub may be home to remarkable relics.

Song tourism, compared to its Tang predecessors, was much closer to the Eagle and Child model than to Niagara Falls. Cong E. Zhang has demonstrated that ‘if pre-Tang and Tang writers were keen on meticulous description of the landscape and the

expression of personal emotions, their Song counterparts focused increasingly on paying homage to famous sites and earlier visitors ... This was especially true during the Southern Song ... West Lake at Hangzhou alone had over 450 tourist spots, of which about half were scenic, and the rest cultural and historical landmarks (2011, 155–6)’. James M. Hargett has likewise pointed out that over 90 per cent of Fan Chengda’s chapter on the famous site Tiger Hill was dedicated to quotations from literary works by past figures (Hargett 1996, 428).

This shift of focus—from nature to culture, from spectacle to stories—can be explained in several ways. First, generally speaking, most attractions tend to move in the direction of the Eagle and Child model over time. Niagara began its career as a natural wonder, but the cumulation of visitors, stories, and representation of the Falls in various media for the last 300 years has endowed it with cultural values. How many of us have heard of the Iguazu Falls, which is by no means less spectacular than Niagara?<sup>12</sup>

Second, the Song was also characterised by an ‘anthropocentric turn’, whereby deities of all kinds, previously not humanoid, began to anthropomorphise (ter Haar 2017, 106). Not only their forms but also their characters came to resemble those of human beings (Hansen 1990, chap. 3). Buddhist monasteries had been enthusiastic builders of halls that displayed portraits of the deceased at least from the Sui 隋 (581 – 619) period on, but during the Song, these portraits came to develop a new ritual significance (Foulk and Sharf 1993; Vinograd 1992, 10). New philosophical discourses

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<sup>12</sup> For the Chinese case of gradual culturalisation of the natural landscape, see Anne Gerritsen (2007).

centred around human beings, rather than natural phenomena (J. T. C. Liu 1988; De Bary 1989, 24–52).<sup>13</sup> Local gazetteers accorded much more space to biographical sections (Dennis 2015, 31–2). All in all, these all coincide with the transition from the Niagara model to the Eagle and Child model that highlights the sites' connection to famous human beings.

I should emphasise at this point that sites, not people, were the basic unit of fame. For a prefecture to claim a strong connection to a famous person, it was necessary to create a monument to embody and strengthen that tie. People inscribed poems or prose on steles and rocks *in situ* if these literary pieces were the strongest evidence for the tie; or built and rebuilt studios and houses when they constituted the strongest proof of the connection. Shrines were an excellent option as they not only concretised an otherwise abstract connection but also provided a venue for commemorative rituals. Such sites may be likened to the Arc de Triomphe in Paris in that they captured otherwise abstract ideas (French victories), firmly bound these reified ideas to a particular space (Paris) that was not the exact site of the commemorated events (battles), and accommodated numerous commemorative ceremonies. The Arc condenses the memoriality of all places where 'victory' actually took place into a single icon (space of commemoration) and functions as the linchpin for the reproduction of the national collective memory.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> This does not mean of course that philosophers in this period refrained entirely from studying natural philosophy. See, for instance, Kim Yōng-sik (2000) or Yamada Keiji (1978).

<sup>14</sup> See Pierre Nora (1989) for a case of modern France.

The Southern Song enthusiasm for developing commemorative sites gave rise to an impressive 130 Zhou Dunyi shrine projects. Localities were eager to promote their connections to famous figures such as Zhou; his soaring reputation did not go unnoticed. While not every project was the result of careful planning, with a clear vision of the symbolic and material benefits a Zhou Dunyi shrine would bring, most were conceived with at least a general expectation of a positive outcome. For instance, the following is a case of the construction and maintenance of a particular site associated with famous literati that occurred just a few years before the first Zhou Dunyi shrine was constructed nearby.

In 1152, less than six years before becoming the first prefecture to dedicate a shrine to Zhou Dunyi, Yongzhou, in Hunan, constructed a shrine for Yuan Jie 元結 (719–772) and Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–785). Yuan was a famous scholar-official who governed the neighbouring Daozhou for an extended period, while Yan was a respected calligrapher. When the Tang court quelled the notorious An Lushan 安祿山 Rebellion (755–63), Yuan drafted a hymn to commemorate the victory and Yan wrote it out with his refined brushwork. Afterwards, the result of this beautiful collaboration was inscribed on a living rock at Wu Stream 浯溪, Yongzhou, which eventually became a popular tourist attraction.

The site became ever more famous in the Southern Song as the words of the hymn inspired Song loyalists and encouraged the irredentist spirit. The would-be Chief Councillor Chen Yuyi 陳與義 (1090–1138), the most famous female poet in Chinese history Li Qingzhao 李清照 (1061–1130), the renowned statesman Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127–1206), and the well-known travel diary writer Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193)

were just a few of numerous distinguished visitors who contributed inscriptions to the site (Chang 2010, 63–9).

With so many famous tributes, local elites could hardly have failed to notice the site's positive impact on the locality. The Yongzhou Yuan Jie and Yan Zhenqing shrine established in 1152 should be understood in this context. Its commemorative essay aptly begins by noting the narrative-centred nature of the site.

Generally speaking, the fame of remarkable mountains and rivers becomes known to the world after relying on great people. [This is because] even though mountains and rivers are what people take delight in, that which people actually take delight in is not the mountains and rivers themselves. Wu Stream of Qiyang County (of Yongzhou) is remarkable among the mountains and rivers of Hunan. However, the reason why literati who pass by [Qiyang County] never fail to visit Wu Stream, and the reason why the visitors never fail to find what they take delight in there is that it has Yan [Zhenqing] and Yuan [Jie]'s traces (QSW 207:196).

The author of this essay is Prefect Xu Yong 許永 (*fl.* 1150) of Yongzhou, who had travelled once himself to the Yuan-Yan site before being assigned to this prefecture. For him, the shrine was a necessary element of the site complex as it was not the spectacle of the stream but the historicity, the cultural value of the hymn and the calligraphy, and the admirable personalities of the two heroes that the visitors took delight in. In his attempt to imbue the site with greater meaning, he found it essential to elaborate on the greatness of these 'great people (*weiren* 偉人)'. He continues:

Before, when Mr Zeng 曾 of Nanfeng 南豐 (Zeng Gong 曾鞏, 1019–83) founded a shrine for the Lord of Lu 魯 (Yan Zhenqing), [Zeng] praised his loyalty, but dismissed his indulgence in the art of immortality. ... [However,] according to my investigation, from ancient times on, all loyal subjects and righteous literati became immortals after death. For instance, the fact that Bi

Gan 比干 (*fl.* 1070 BCE), Qu Yuan 屈原 (*fl.* 300 BCE), and Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (*fl.* 500 BCE) all became immortals is observed in their biographies.... Therefore, I understand that literati who cherish righteousness and hold fast to loyalty, despite their seeming demise, have never died in actuality, and that this is undeniable.

I, thus, record this discussion here all together to inform and convince the travellers of this point. Only after that would they fully experience the beauty of Wu Stream. If not, it is not sufficient to take delight in this site (QSW207:197).

Despite the fact that Zeng Gong was already a popular writer and his works were widely read by this time, that Xu Yong knew all the details of his commemorative essay for Fuzhou 撫州 (m. Fuzhou, Jiangxi) Yan Zhenqing shrine is still thought-provoking. We can infer from this that Song literati could conceive of a national network, or ‘field’, of shrines dedicated to a person and found it important to consider previous writings for the same enshrinee, noting when, where, and by whom these were written. Thus, an essay written for the Yongzhou Yan Zhenqing shrine had an impact not only on the immediate local community or the central court; it affected the contemporary discourse on the two figures. Any new construction or reconstruction of shrines for the two men, and the ensuing composition of commemorative essays, was bound to affect the entire network of shrines to these dignitaries, adding, revising, or deleting aspects of their worship. These activities are what Wittgenstein or J. L. Austin would call ‘speech acts’ in that they directly or indirectly address and redress the other players of the field, causing them to move, change or maintain their view, or do something that they otherwise would not have done. This being the case, it is undeniable that the meaning of the shrines can be better understood when the field, which is the

totality of the relationship among the players involved in this game, is sufficiently reconstructed.<sup>15</sup>

Yongzhou's dedication of a shrine to Yuan Jie and Yan Zhenqing was quickly followed by the construction of the first ever Zhou Dunyi shrine in the same prefecture, and that dedication was followed in less than a year by neighbouring Daozhou's establishment of such a shrine. The *Record of the Best Sites in the Realm* came to recognise the fame of such sites and record them in dozens of chapters. That the *Record* mentions shrines and other Zhou Dunyi related sites as often as 19 times suggests the considerable value of Zhou Dunyi sites as a 'card' in the field of fame competition in the early thirteenth century (Li Yongxian 2012).<sup>16</sup>

### 1.1.3. *Relationship with Other Fields*

Bourdieu demonstrates that social objects are not merely physical objects possessing this or that property; they are relational beings in that they exist and be defined only *in relation* to others (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 96–7). A Zhou Dunyi shrine would not be a 'Zhou Dunyi shrine' if there were no similar shrines in other places with which to form a broad web of references. Likewise, the field of Zhou Dunyi shrines itself is defined in relation to other fields. Two such fields stand out: one political, the other

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<sup>15</sup> The ways in which one reinterpretation of a symbol affects the other versions of interpretation are succinctly explicated in Prasenjit Duara's 'Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War (Duara 1988)'. I thank Henrietta Harrison and Sukhee Lee for bringing this article to my attention.

<sup>16</sup> For direct records of tourist visits to Zhou Dunyi shrines, see, for example, QSW (336:394).

intellectual. Let us briefly consider how the field of Zhou Dunyi shrines was related to that of politics. The intellectual element, which is much more complicated, is discussed in a separate section.

Southern Song politics was in a complex relationship with Neo-Confucians from its incipient stage (the 1130s) but did not initially identify the potential of Zhou Dunyi as an important icon. It was only after the 1160s when non-Neo-Confucian statesmen observed that Zhou and his promoters might pose a threat (Chapter 3). The notorious ban on Neo-Confucianism in the late 1190s and the early 1200s effectively precluded the localities from initiating any more Zhou Dunyi shrine projects (Figure 6).

The most important development in this context must be the decree issued in 1241. The vigour and diversity of Zhou Dunyi shrines were effectively undermined by the Neo-Confucians themselves, who successfully exhorted the throne to incorporate seasonal sacrifice to Zhou Dunyi into the state sacrifice system. Emperor Lizong 理宗 (1205–64, r.1224–64) mandated that every local school (both prefecture and county level) include Zhou Dunyi in its Temple of Confucius (*wenmiao* 文廟) so that his ghost would be forever worshipped biannually with Confucius. Neo-Confucians believed that this edict would mark the end of their centuries-long struggle for legitimacy and confer orthodoxy upon them. Ironically, however, it rendered new Zhou Dunyi shrine projects almost pointless. In a universe where all prefectures and counties worshipped Zhou Dunyi, it made little sense for a locality to invest in an additional Zhou Dunyi shrine.

Highly likely is that it was this state endorsement that caused the Zhou Dunyi shrines to evolve into a different form: Academies (*shuyuan* 書院) for Zhou Dunyi.<sup>17</sup> Bourdieu would have construed this as the field of Zhou Dunyi shrines having changed its internal logic in response to the intervention from external forces.

#### 1.1.4. *A Demographic Explosion of Commemorated Literati and the Concept of 'habitus'*

The last remark on theory concerns Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*—his term for a 'system of lasting and transposable dispositions' that 'functions as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions' (Bourdieu 1977, 72, 95). Social agents perceive, act, or react to the tasks the field imposes on them in a coherent manner, often unconsciously and collectively (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 18–9). Social agents are both a product and the players of the game. They are structured by the layers of historical contingencies cumulated on them but, at the same time, they 'structure' the *habitus* by adding another layer (Bourdieu 1998, 53). A bourgeoisie is made bourgeoisie through a substantial period of internalisation of the given *habitus*, and can be expected coherently and consistently to take a bourgeoisie approach to whatever conjunctures she encounters, believing—to the extent that her choices are conscious—that they are the 'right' and most 'rational' choices. Thus, an important analytical value of understanding a social action in terms of *habitus* is that it directs our attention to the socially and

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<sup>17</sup> Datasets supporting this intuition are presented later in this chapter.

culturally conditioned reasoning behind seemingly straightforward social practices. We can, for instance, explain the various choices the Southern Song prefectures made in terms of the positions they occupied in the field of fame competition; this is especially so with respect to those they made in response to a new demographic challenge.

Demography is one of the first factors one must take into account in analysing a social phenomenon (Hartwell 1982, 394). Likewise, the demography of those who are deemed worthy of being remembered by future generations deserves social historians' attention. Remembrance of past figures is a significant social practice that engages all members of society since it affects the society's collective self-perception (Assmann 1997, 1–22). 'We are what we remember (Roth 1994)', and therefore people fight for what to remember in what way. There was what I would like to call a demographic explosion of the remembered population in the Southern Song. For example, Robert Hymes (1986, 129–32) has observed an estimated 575 per cent growth in the number of literati enshrined in Fuzhou 撫州 from the Northern to Southern Song (from 4 to 23). Named yet non-human deities also began to assume human forms and claim their legitimate places in society. Hymes estimates that a total of 11,986 deities earned recognition from the court in the final 50 years of the Northern Song (Hymes 2002, 303 no.133). Many massive-scale Buddhist biographies or anthologies, containing hundreds of names of venerable monks, were produced in the Song (Gregory 1999).

The reasons for this explosion are varied. The flourishing of printing culture is responsible for the publication of anthologies;<sup>18</sup> meanwhile, the expansion of the civil service examination accounted in great part for the expansion of the literate elite, one ramification of which was the expansion of readership.<sup>19</sup> The increased physical mobility of Song elites must also be considered (C. Zhang 2011b, 19–41). It was not uncommon for local officials to visit dozens of prefectures during their service to the country, often making time to travel to notable sites associated with famous (and mostly dead) celebrities. While there, they would write poems about people and natural environments and leave inscriptions behind. Tourists recounted impressions gathered on their visits and disseminated them at home and elsewhere, much like honeybees spreading pollen, thus increasing the total volume of places and celebrities that all of Song society were likely to remember.

A corollary of this pollination was that the more venerable literati there were, the less space (both physical and symbolic) was available to each of them. This gave rise to the rapid spread of a type of shrine that accommodated multiple figures under numeric titles, such as the Five Worthies Shrine (*Wuxian ci* 五賢祠) or Three Masters Shrine (*Sanxiansheng ci* 三先生祠). Even such pantheon shrines could not meet the demand in all places. Therefore, in 1172, professor Liu Jingzhi 劉靖之 (?–1178) of the Qianzhou 虔州 (m. Ganzhou 贛州, Jiangxi 江西) prefectural government school had

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<sup>18</sup> Thanks to the progress of economic development, writing about other people became a vastly more affordable task in the Southern Song than ever before (Bossler 1998, 33–4).

<sup>19</sup> According to one estimate, the total number of literate elite in the Southern Song was about two million, which accounted for about 5 per cent of the adult male population (Hymes 2015, 625–6).

to physically ‘remove’ portraits of previous officials to make room for Zhou Dunyi’s image (QSW 255:474). Cong E. Zhang considers this ‘an indication that, as local cultural landscapes became more crowded, local administrators and local elites had to more efficiently use the limited space they had to commemorate as many worthies as possible’ (C. Zhang 2011b, 257 n.62).

Another consequence of the unprecedented increase<sup>20</sup> in the number of memorialised figures was a proportional decrease in value each commemoration engendered. Just as currency expansion policies tend to result in the devaluation of money, the inflation of the number of remembered literati caused a devaluation of the symbolic capital that each of them could generate. This change elicited varied responses from prefectures, depending on their *habitus*.

First, some prefectures became selective. The lack of space in the collective memory meant that some had to be forgotten to make room for others. C. E. Zhang’s case study tells us what happened to the ghosts in Huangzhou 黃州 who were almost forgotten due to the growing presence of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101) in the locality. The ghosts of Du Mu 杜牧 (803–852) and Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 (954–1001) could only secure their modest space after chastising the prefect in his dream for his exclusive attention to Su Shi (C. Zhang 2011b, 199–201). It is likely that this selection strategy was more commonly adopted by players with a relatively well-established literati culture, such as those prefectures located along the Yangzi River (C. Zhang 2011b, 157).

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<sup>20</sup> The stark difference between the number of pre-Song and Song literati recorded in Wuzhou 婺州 local biography anthologies is another clear indication of this remarkable growth (Bol 2001, 69–70).

This might be one reason why Runzhou in the Lower Yangzi region was extraordinarily late in building its first Zhou Dunyi shrine (Chapter 4).

Second, other prefectures took this opportunity to expand their hitherto meagre cultural repertoire. Historically ‘backward’ regions, such as Guangdong and Guangxi, could now secure connections to a good number of reputable dead literati and, accordingly, set out to promote the literati culture through establishing Confucian (literati) shrines offering sacrifices to them. Zhou Dunyi shrines occasionally played that role in these two regions, as is elucidated in Chapter 5.

Third, the increased physical mobility of literati had another consequence. Thanks to an increased range of travel, a literatus could now generate connections to a much greater number of localities in his lifetime. This would, in theory, grant all the prefectures he visited the right to remember him locally (Section 2.1). Zhou Dunyi was a typical case: His service in local posts throughout his entire career led to the establishment of his shrines in some 49 prefectures in the Southern Song (Appendix 1).<sup>21</sup> This drastic inflation of Zhou Dunyi shrines must have decreased the value of each shrine, discouraging the undertaking of further Zhou Dunyi shrine projects.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, the Bourdieusian notion of field is applicable to the analysis of the Southern Song Zhou Dunyi shrines and the inter-prefectural competition for fame. With

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<sup>21</sup> Chapter 5 includes examples of Guangdong prefectures capitalising on the inscriptions that Zhou Dunyi left during his travel to that region. For the inscriptions by Zhou, see Wang Wanxia (2011a) and Xu Xueyi (2012).

<sup>22</sup> For the process of devaluation of ‘positional goods’ that derive their value from scarcity, see Fred Hirsch (1977, 27–31).

this analytical framework in mind, the rest of this chapter is devoted to the discussion of more empirical terms.

## 1.2. Shrines in the Song

As the title of this thesis suggests, the centrepiece of analysis is a certain type of shrine in the Southern Song. Accordingly, a brief discussion of the taxonomy of shrines and similar religious institutions offers a suitable preface to this study.

Ku (2009) provides a handy classification of seven different names used to refer to traditional Chinese religious buildings. *Si* 寺 and *yuan* 院 were names reserved for Buddhist monasteries, while *guan* 觀 and *gong* 宮 were for Daoist ones; *miao* 廟, often translated as ‘temple’, refers to roofed religious buildings. It was originally reserved for temples for ancestors but eventually became a general term for all sorts of religious buildings. *Ci* 祠 is translated as ‘shrine’. Although there is no real difference between temples and shrines (Nakamura 1992, 121–2), the latter is believed to have a stronger Confucian, or at least elite, connotation;<sup>23</sup> *tan* 壇, or ‘altar’, usually refers to something that lacks walls or a roof. The majority of all recorded Southern Song Zhou Dunyi shrines were *ci* 祠; the remainder have non-religious names, such as studio (*tang* 堂) or building (*ge* 閣). None are referred to as *si*, *yuan*, *guan*, *gong*, *miao*, or *tan*.

Both Buddhist and Daoist religious buildings thrived in the Song. Robert Hymes finds 129 Daoist *guan* and 96 Buddhist religious buildings from Song dynasty Fuzhou

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<sup>23</sup> Valerie Hansen, while conceding that there was ‘no hard line between the two’, finds that *miao* tended to be associated more with deities (Hansen 1990, 179). See Kojima Tsuyoshi for a more detailed topology of religious buildings (Kojima 1991, 107–8), and the difference between *miao* and *ci* (1991, 109–10).

撫州.<sup>24</sup> Another type of religious building, which may have outnumbered those of Buddhism and Daoism, belonged to the so-called ‘popular religions’. This term covers those religions that worship deities not clearly recognised by Buddhist or Daoist clergy as their own. Hymes, reluctant to use this term, which he finds problematic, refers instead to ‘the sphere of *shen*, of gods and spirits’ (Hymes 1986, 184), or simply ‘deity worship’ (Hymes 2015, 610). *Shen* 神, a Chinese term that is often translated as ‘supernatural entity’, broadly denotes the objects of worship of those religions. They differed from their better-established counterparts in that ‘they were independent of scripture or clerics’. The worshippers prayed to the deities to resolve personal or communal problems such as ‘illness, childlessness, the money, the examinations, or a soul’s fate after death’ (Hymes 2015, 610). Pi Qingsheng sums up this type of faith in terms of three main characteristics: lack of institutions, popularity (or openness), and miracle-working. As this type of religion typically featured a shrine (*ci* 祠) or temple (*miao* 廟) with the icons of their divine beings (*shen* 神) installed in the centre, Pi terms them ‘shrine-deity cults (*cishen xinyang* 祠神信仰)’ (Pi 2008, 1–4).

There is no reliable exhaustive record of all such shrines and temples due to the fact that many of them were not noteworthy for Song literate elites. However, this is not to say that their popularity in the Song is impossible to extrapolate. Ironically, one way to get a sense of a scale of their popularity is to examine records of their destruction. There were officials who viewed some of those deity cults as unacceptable and

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<sup>24</sup> Hymes argues that the number given for Buddhist buildings must be only a fraction of the total, while the Daoist one is close to the reality (Hymes 1986, 178, 181). However, it is unclear whether Hymes’s estimation exhausted Buddhist and Daoist buildings in all the different categories, such as *guan*, *gong*, *si*, and *yuan*.

launched mass destruction campaigns against them (Pi 2005). Gutian County 古田縣 of Fuzhou 福州 (m. Fuzhou, Fujian 福建) alone saw the destruction of 315 unacceptable religious buildings (*yinsi* 淫祀, or *yinci* 淫祠) in the Jingde 景德 (1004–7) period (Kim Sangbōm 2005, 155); Anren County 安仁縣 of Raozhou 饒州 (m. Shangrao 上饒, Jiangxi) destroyed 300 of them in late Northern Song (Pi 2008, 306); and Kaifeng 開封, the capital city of the Northern Song demolished a massive 1,300 of them in 1111 (Pi 2008, 301). Considering that these numbers do not include those that survived the persecution, it would be safe to assume that buildings associated with ‘shrine-deity cults’ outnumbered their Buddhist and Daoist counterparts by far.<sup>25</sup>

Some of the most successful deity cults spread well beyond their places of origin to assume trans-regional status. Such success being difficult to overlook, their more conspicuous shrines or temples are relatively well-recorded in various sources, enabling historians to estimate their numbers. Pi Qingsheng isolated four well-known cults and reconstructed their regional distribution in the Song. There were, according to him, 75 King Zhang (Zhangwang 張王), 59 Five Manifestation (Wutong 五通), 13 Yangshan 仰山, 10 Heavenly Consort (Tianfei 天妃), and 16 Zitong 梓潼 shrines or temples built or rebuilt in the Song (Pi 2008, 342–53). Although there is no doubt that these records significantly underrepresent the reality, they may still serve as a point of comparison.

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<sup>25</sup> Valerie Hansen’s research found 92 Song period shrines or temples for popular deities recorded in Huzhou 湖州 gazetteers (Hansen 1990, 179–95). Anne Gerritsen found 85 for Jizhou 吉州 (Ji’an 吉安, Jiangxi) (Gerritsen 2007, 37). These shrines and temples must have been among those fortunate few that acquired recognition from the Song court. For the demarcation between proper and illicit/inappropriate shrines, see Kojima Tsuyoshi (1991).

The 130 cases of founding or renovation of Zhou Dunyi shrines in the Southern Song are in a similar order of magnitude (Appendix I).

The pattern of proliferation of these trans-regional shrines is also revealing when compared to that of Zhou Dunyi shrines. Valerie Hansen's landmark work on the regional spread of deity cults demonstrates that their expansion occurred along the well-established trade routes (Hansen 1990, chap. 5), relying not on itinerant literati but, rather, on other social agents, such as merchants.<sup>26</sup> By contrast, the heavy dependence of Zhou Dunyi shrines on local officials and local literati society made their spread more sporadic and less orderly.

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<sup>26</sup> David Johnson (1985) maintains a similar view in his study of the proliferation of city-god cults. Richard Von Glahn (2004, 174–9) challenges this merchant-centred interpretation, but agrees that there were multiple social agents, in addition to literati, whose travels (including pilgrimage) played a significant role in the transregional spread of previously local deity cults.

### 1.3. Confucian Shrines: Shrines to Local Worthies and Temples of Confucius

Shrines to local worthies<sup>27</sup> differed from shrines to popular deities in that they were not erected with the goal of improving the worshipper's own fortune by divine agency. Ellen Neskari observes that these enshrinees were 'men, not gods (1993, 14).' Exemplary Confucian worthies were enshrined, and they were honoured not for their supernatural capabilities but for their Confucian virtues, literary prowess, or meritorious achievements (1993, 15–6). The distinction between shrines to local worthies and those to deities was not always clearly drawn, perhaps no more so than the line between elite and commoners in the Song. Nonetheless, there was indeed a boundary, however blurry, demarcating the two.<sup>28</sup>

These shrines were mostly built adjacent to the local school or office buildings (Neskari 1993, 25)—the places most closely identified with Confucianism,

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<sup>27</sup> Middle Chinese nomenclature does not distinguish shrines to popular deities from those to Confucian worthies; thus, the name alone cannot give us any clear clues as to the nature of the institution. Knowing the identity of the enshrinee can tell us something, but only with the caveat that some shrines to popular deities were erected under the guise of Confucian shrines. For example, Kim Sangböm (2005, 170–6) notes that one survival strategy that popular shrines developed after the massive shrine destruction of the mid-Tang was to disguise themselves in this way.

<sup>28</sup> Neskari reveals the heroic efforts by some Confucians to draw that line (1993, 34–9). By quoting an episode from Hong Mai's *Record of the Listener* (*Yijian zhi* 夷堅志), Valerie Hansen argues that anybody, even Confucius, could be worshipped as a popular deity. However, she did not omit to note that Hong Mai himself was 'insulted' to hear this (1990, 36–7, 181). Of course, anyone could be designated as a 'popular' deity, but this does not mean that people did not conceive the two types of deity differently.

administration, and the emperor—as befitting men renowned for their knowledge of Confucian classics, values, and administration (QSW330:344).<sup>29</sup>

Neskar (1993, 7) conducted quantitative research on the establishment or renovation of shrines to Confucian worthies in 20 sample prefectures. She concludes that there were 188 of them in the Southern Song, enshrining a total of 471 such individuals. This means that the average Southern Song prefecture would have built or renovated Confucian shrines about 9.4 times to worship 23.5 worthies over 150 years. This result concurs with the number Hymes found from his Fuzhou sources (23 in the Southern Song). From this, we can infer that there were about 1,880 cases of construction or renovation of Confucian shrines in the Southern Song, with Zhou Dunyi shrines accounting for some 6.9 per cent of them (130/1,880).

How were individuals selected for enshrinement? The two most important criteria were fame and connections.<sup>30</sup> While the definition of fame evolved continuously over time, the ways in which worthies connected themselves to the locality remained fixed: one must have spent time there, or at least left one's mark, be it tangible or not, to be remembered. Neskar's samples, once again, show that the latter criterion was strictly upheld for shrines to local worthies throughout the Northern and Southern Song (1993, 65–7).<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Zheng Chengliang (2013, chap. 1; chap. 3) studies the different characters of shrines to local worthies with reference to their locations.

<sup>30</sup> This point is discussed further in Chapter 3.

<sup>31</sup> Neskar finds that the rule was only strictly observed for non-Neo-Confucian shrines, whereas Neo-Confucian shrines frequently breached it. One often finds Neo-Confucian shrines erected in places where there was no personal connection to the enshrinee; however, it is possible that Neskar overrated this tendency, as is discussed in the next section.

As to the ‘standard’ of fame, Hymes points out that many Southern Song Fuzhou enshrines were praised for local achievements. Amongst the 23 samples Hymes collected from Southern Song Fuzhou were poets, scholars, a teacher, and a political martyr. These men were chiefly celebrated for their local achievements, in sharp contrast with their Northern Song equivalents whose fame accrued primarily from their participation in the central government. Hymes sees the difference as indicative of the ‘local turn’ in the elite mindset which followed the traumatic collapse of the Northern Song (Hymes 1986, 131).

Correct as Hymes’s data are, we should nonetheless attach a caveat to his explanation. It is possible that he has ruled out other possible interpretations of the phenomena without enough justification, such as the demographic explosion of the dead literati. Note that the shrines to worthies with local merits did *not* supplant those for men with national achievements; the Fuzhou elite society simply created new spaces, expanded the category of memorable achievements and filled that new slots with new heroes who met the redefined criteria. Adding to the demographic explosion, the competition for fame also would have made the localities feel compelled to maximise the volume of their commemoration of literati heroes by extending the scope of local commemoration to those who would otherwise have found it difficult to join in the local literati pantheon.

As a matter of fact, home-grown literati with a successful central career were rarities for most localities in the Southern Song. This was partly because the total number of successful officials at any given moment in the Song remained stagnant while the number of literate elite increased exponentially. In short, more shrine slots were available for more literati, but only an extremely small percentage of them could

achieve the same level of success in the central government as their Northern Song equivalents, which would have led to the diversification of the kinds of merits appreciated by shrine founders.<sup>32</sup> These shrines, with an ever-increasing number of enshrines, would eventually elicit an intervention from the central government and would lead to official stipulations around Local Worthies Shrines (*Xiangxian ci* 鄉賢祠) and Renowned Local Officials Shrines (*Minghuan ci* 名宦祠) by the Ming.

There was another type of institution that was the paragon of all other Confucian shrines: the Temple of Confucius (*wenmiao* 文廟).<sup>33</sup> As the biggest and most authoritative temple, it was located at the centre of the empire and was accorded special ritual ceremonies twice a year.<sup>34</sup> Song emperors themselves paid their respects in various ways to this temple: some held the ceremony in person, one composed eulogies for each of the portraits of the seventy-two disciples of Confucius, and another transcribed the major *Six Classics* and had them engraved on stone tablets and installed in the Temple (Shryock 1932, 153–7; Murray 1992; Wilson 2002, 72–9). That the simple act of paying respects at the Temple has significant symbolic value is confirmed by the fact that one of the first things that ‘conquerors’, such as Jurchens and Mongols, did after capturing part of the Song was to reinstate the Temple of Confucius at their

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<sup>32</sup> Beverly Bossler argues in a similar fashion that this disproportionate expansion of non-office holding literate elites might have resulted in a Southern Song historiographical bias. There were now many more people who could leave records of themselves, whereas the number in a position to talk about their own ‘successful’ career might well have stagnated (Bossler 1998, 33–4).

<sup>33</sup> I translate the *Wenmiao* 文廟 of the imperial university of the Southern Song capital and the replicas at local governmental schools as ‘Temple of Confucius’. All the other sorts of Confucian shrines dedicated mainly to a particular person will hereafter be noted as ‘[person in question] shrine’.

<sup>34</sup> There were two very similar types of ceremony: *shidian* 釋奠 and *shicai* 釋菜. For a brief introduction to the rites, see Neskar (1993, 174–84). Also, see Zheng Chengliang (2013, 12–19).

new capitals on Han Chinese soil and hire supposed direct descendants of Confucius as ritual masters (Wang Yu 2009; Wilson 2002, 66–71; Yu Xuebin and Sun 2003; Qiao 2009).

Replicas of the Temple of Confucius at the capital were established at prefecture- and even county-level administrative units. Following Tang practice, ambitious young Confucian reformers of the early eleventh century Northern Song made it mandatory for all prefectures and counties to have a local government school (T. H. C. Lee 1985, 233–9). Just like the college chapel was an indispensable part of a medieval European college, the Song Chinese local school was usually an extension of the local Temple of Confucius. Halls of residence and lecture rooms surrounded the temple in the central position. Therefore, one of the ramifications of the policy promoting local schools was the spread of these temples to all corners of the empire.<sup>35</sup>

The Temples of Confucius at locations outside the capital were by no means uniform in their style; nor did the central government seek to regulate them. They developed in response to local demand which often requested for local worthy shrines to be included in them. These local Temples of Confucius, where portraits and sculptures of local figures and national cultural heroes were mixed together, embodied

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<sup>35</sup> Buddhist monasteries, private academies, and local government schools in the Song period differed not so much in their form as in their content. They had similar institutional structures and played similar roles. They all undertook the printing of classics or canonical texts, organised lectures for students, owned real estate to fund their operations, and, most importantly, were centred around shrines (Walton 1993; Walton 1999, 15–7; Schneewind 1999, 459–66).

harmony, if not the mutual agreement on the rule of the ‘game’, between the central and the local.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> This does not mean that *all* local worthy shrines were installed inside a Temple of Confucius. Nevertheless, it goes without saying that being within such a temple endowed the sub-shrines with more prestige and security than they might have enjoyed outside its confines.

#### 1.4. The Proliferation of Neo-Confucian Shrines

Neo-Confucian shrines were a special type of local worthy shrine that honoured a small number of figures who were selected for their contribution to the ‘retrieval’ of the ‘Way’. These individuals, mostly mid-eleventh century men, were thought to be the direct intellectual ancestors of Southern Song Neo-Confucian giants who, in turn, were almost all mid-twelfth century men.<sup>37</sup> The printed works of the Northern Song masters were treasured; sacrificial prayers were recited in praise of their supreme personalities; their portraits claimed the most honoured corner of the shrine; commemorative essays were composed by Southern Song Neo-Confucian masters, and stelae inscribed with their essays were erected. Local officials, when assuming or leaving their posts, reported to these honoured personages; literati, be they local or itinerant, likewise paid respects at these shrines and left poems praising them. They sometimes attracted non-office-holding pilgrims from afar, too.

Although some sources suggest the existence of Neo-Confucian shrines already in the Northern Song, the scarcity and ambiguity of such sources means that they pale in comparison with the profuse and definite sources attesting to the proliferation of such shrines in the Southern Song. It was indeed a quantum leap.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> The so-called Five Northern Song Masters—Zhou Dunyi, Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085), Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107), Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011–77), and Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–77)—dominated, but did not monopolise Neo-Confucian shrines. Many minor figures, such as first- or second-generation disciples of those Masters, their remote friends, or even unrelated figures, were sometimes selected to be enshrined in this type of shrine.

<sup>38</sup> For example, Du Zheng 度正 (1166–1235) believes that the people of Yongzhou dedicated a living shrine (*shengci* 生祠) to Zhou Dunyi immediately after his leaving the prefecture in 1067 (LXJ 235–

Comparing the number of shrines to local worthy to that of Neo-Confucian shrines will hint at the general trend. However, due to the prohibitively large amount of sources that need to be consulted to obtain the exact number of such shrines, this thesis will count the extant commemorative essays (*ci ji* 祠記 or *citing ji* 祠堂記) rather than the shrines themselves. The *Complete Song Prose* (QSW) includes 494 such essays, of which 89 were clearly written in commemoration of shrines for popular deities. Most of the remaining 405 essays commemorate either Neo-Confucian figures or non-Neo-Confucian literati exclusively but twelve of them address either a mixed group of people or a single person whose association with the Neo-Confucian fellowship is ambiguous. For this reason, I gave Neo-Confucian and non-Neo-Confucian shrines 1 point for each unequivocal case and 0.5 point for the twelve other cases. The result is that Neo-Confucian shrines count 97 points while shrines to non-Neo-Confucian worthies count as many as 308 points. This suggests that about 24% of the Song Confucian shrines were dedicated to Neo-Confucian figures.<sup>39</sup> If we count only those essays written after the establishment of the first Neo-Confucian shrine in 1135 (QSW 186:170), thereby excluding 83 pre-Neo-Confucian era samples—the percentage goes up to 30%.

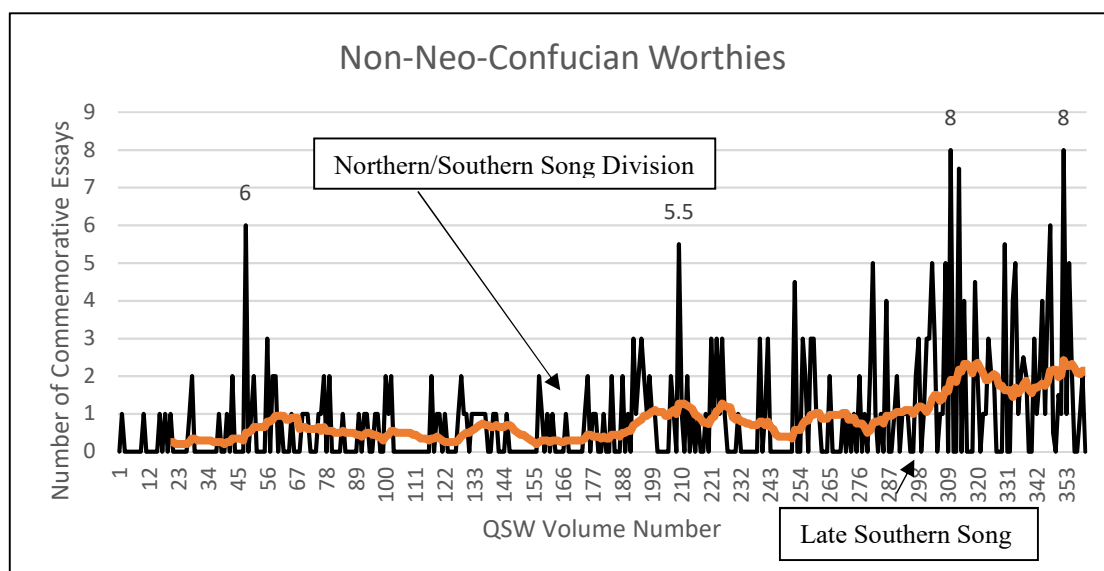
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236). However, considering there are no other sources to validate his assertion, we must take Du's words with a grain of salt.

<sup>39</sup> Ellen Neskar reaches a similar conclusion of 22% from surveying the essays included in *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書. However, both of our estimates run the risk of overrepresenting the Neo-Confucian cases. First, given the immense success of the Neo-Confucian movement in subsequent Chinese dynasties, textual sources of Neo-Confucian nature may have enjoyed a much greater likelihood of survival. Second, there is a chance that QSW or *Siku Quanshu* would have omitted less famous sources. Third, this preliminary research only includes Confucian shrines whose names end with *ci* 祠. All religious institutions whose names have different endings, such as 'temples (*miao* 廟)', have thus been excluded. That no Zhou Dunyi shrine I have found was named *miao* suggests that any estimate based solely on *ci* is liable to exaggerate the prevalence of Neo-Confucian religious institutions.

One of the editorial policies of the massive 360 volumes of QSW was to arrange the authors in chronological order, which allows us to gain a rough impression of the temporal distribution of these 405 essays over the Song period.

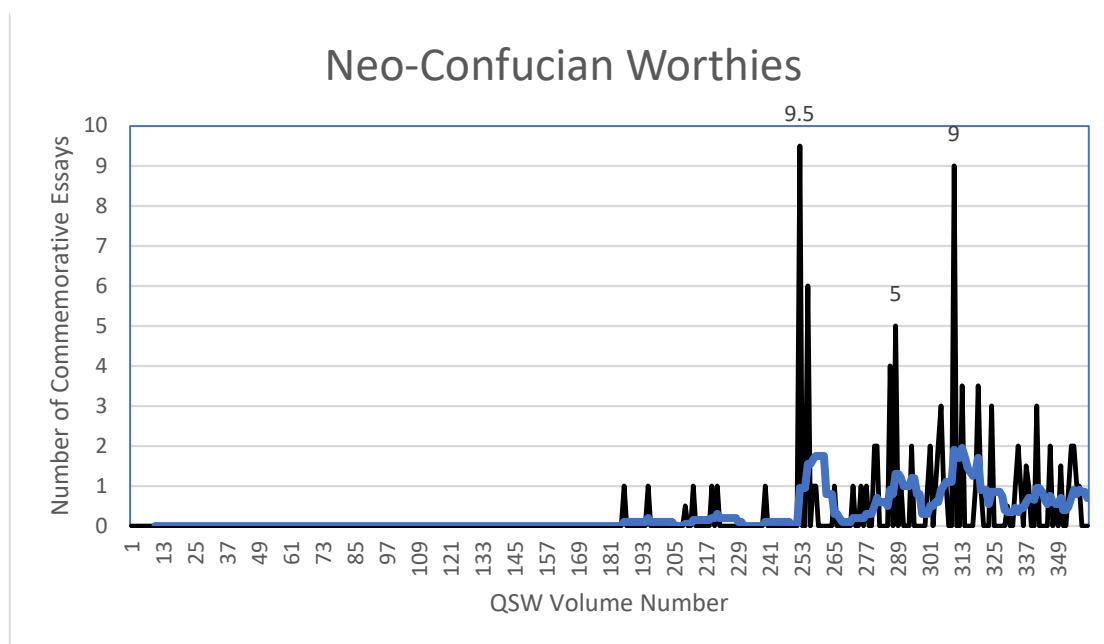
**Figure 1. Essays Commemorating Shrines to Non-Neo-Confucian Worthies**



The orange line is the moving average (MA) across 20 volumes. Although we cannot draw a hard line between the lives of the Northern and the Southern Song authors, the two dynasties are roughly demarcated by volumes 160–170. The chart shows that the number of commemorative essays was steadily increasing after a temporary setback during the war-ridden early twelfth century and that the late Southern Song (roughly after volume 300) was twice as productive as the preceding period. This finding statistically corroborates what I called demographic explosion of the dead literati in Subsection 1.1.4.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Although not as quantitatively impressive as the surge of the late Southern Song, the early Southern Song shrine boom is also remarkable. Beverly Bossler’s recent work attributes this boom to the wish of the dominant elite to promote the spirit of loyalism (Bossler 2016, chap. 6).

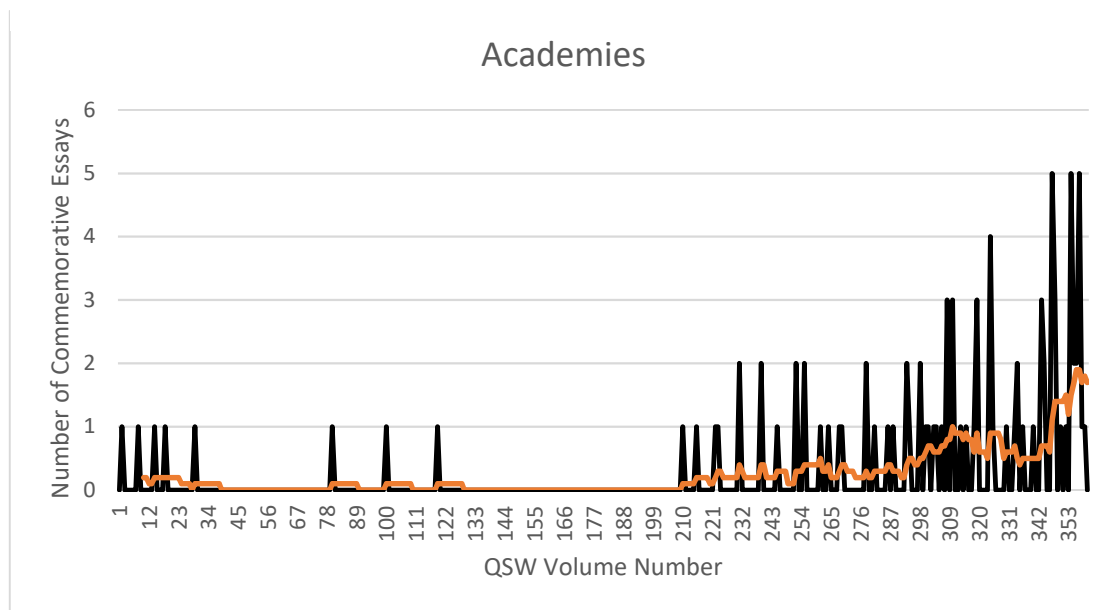
**Figure 2. Essays Commemorating Shrines to Neo-Confucian Worthies**



The chart for Neo-Confucian shrines shows a very different picture. The blue line is the moving average (MA) across 10 volumes, which shows a decline in the number of essays in the late Southern Song. There are three noticeable peaks around volumes 254, 287, and 309. The first one represents multiple essays written by the so-called Three Masters of the South East who were active throughout the 1160s, 70s, and 80s: namely, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi, and Lü Zuqian. The second peak, modest compared to its two towering neighbours, indicates the works by the subsequent generation of Neo-Confucians in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. As an heir to Zhu Xi school, Huang Gan 黃幹 (1152–1221) was one of the most prolific writers of this generation. But those who remained outside of Zhu Xi’s overarching influence, such as the utilitarian Ye Shi 葉適 (1150–1223) or the Lu 陸 Learning advocate Yuan Xie 袁燮 (1144–1224), were no less active. The last peak reflects the activities of the two most

important Zhu Xi enthusiasts of the era: Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁 (1178–1237) and Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178–1235) in the 1220s and 30s. The apparent decline in the number of essays in late Southern Song may be down to the growing number of academies (*shuyuan* 書院). Figure 3 is the temporal distribution of the commemorative essays for academies built and renovated in the Song.

**Figure 3. Essays Commemorating Academies**



The orange line is the moving average (MA) across 10 volumes that clearly illustrates the ever-increasing number of essays for academies. An academy is a religious-educational institution that gained a significant amount of social influence for the first time in the Southern Song. Academies varied in type, but in their function and structure they very closely resembled local government schools. They were complex sites with a shrine to Confucian worthies, lecture halls, libraries, accommodation for staff and students, as well as arable lands to meet general expenses. But one thing that

gave distinction to each academy, all similarities notwithstanding, was the variety of worthies they worshipped. Confucius claimed the pedestal in all government schools without a single exception, while most academies were founded in honour of different worthies. Since their role significantly overlapped with that of shrines to worthies, it was natural that the frequent construction of academies discouraged construction and renovation of the shrines. Or, it might well have been the other way around. As I suggested before (Subsection 1.1.4.), it is possible that the social agents who realised that the shrines would not bring them the fame they aspired anymore found the academies a viable alternative.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> The essential function of Southern Song academies was not so much education as veneration. They might suspend their teaching functions (such as lectures) from time to time, but could never stop performing sacrificial rites in honour of the worthies to whom they were dedicated (Liu Baiji 1958, 395).

## 1.5. Zhou Dunyi Shrines

With this background in place, we can zoom in at the main subject of this thesis—namely, Zhou Dunyi shrines. These were a sub-category of Neo-Confucian shrines that honoured him exclusively or jointly with other enshrinees. As shown in the dataset in the previous section, out of 97 commemorative essays written for Neo-Confucian shrines, 43 were for Zhou Dunyi shrines. This suggests that about 44 per cent of Neo-Confucian shrines in the Southern Song were erected in honour of Zhou Dunyi. By contrast, Zhu Xi, the standard-bearer of the Neo-Confucian movement, received a place in only 21 of the 97 shrines. Moreover, in a mere 6 of these 21 shrines could he claim the spotlight as the main enshrinee—an honour that Zhou Dunyi enjoyed at nearly all shrines where he was worshipped.<sup>42</sup> Clearly, such shrines cannot be explained solely on the basis of the significance of an individual's philosophical ideas; if that were the case, Cheng Yi or Zhu Xi shrines should be far more numerous.

Where were these shrines located? The distribution map (Figure 4) shows that Zhou Dunyi shrines were well-nigh 'ubiquitous (*wuchu buyou* 無處不有)' (QSW 350:8). Except in the heavily fortified border regions between the Southern Song and the Jin 金 dynasty, and for some southwestern prefectures where the Song

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<sup>42</sup> There are five Zhou Dunyi shrines that we can reasonably assume to be exceptional cases. Four of them enshrined Cheng Xiang 程頤 (1006–1090) with Zhou, while the other enshrined him with Zhou Fucheng 周輔成 (?–1032). Cheng was the Cheng brothers' father, who recognised Zhou Dunyi's talent and sent his sons to him, and Zhou Fucheng was Zhou Dunyi's father. As they were ranked higher in the social hierarchy than Zhou Dunyi, their portraits tended to occupy more prominent places in Zhou Dunyi shrines.

administrative power was effectively non-existent, one could expect to see shrines or academies dedicated to Zhou Dunyi everywhere.

**Figure 4. Regional Distribution of Zhou Dunyi Shrines in the Southern Song**



**Figure 5. Zhou Dunyi Shrines by Legitimacy**



What is interesting is the distribution of so-called ‘illegitimate’ Zhou Dunyi shrines. Song literati believed generally that a locale could only enshrine its own personages. Worshipping an outsider was deemed inappropriate, if not illegitimate (Neskar 1993, 43–71).<sup>43</sup>

However, it was not always easy to define the boundaries of a locality. As is explained in subsection 1.1.1, prefectures were the nuclear unit of the Song territorial administration, which meant that if Zhou Dunyi had a connection to one county of the

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<sup>43</sup> This point is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

prefecture, the other counties of that prefecture could share the claim and build a shrine to him as well. For instance, he was born in Yingdao County 營道縣 of Daozhou, but Ningyuan County 寧遠縣, also in Daozhou, had no difficulty in dedicating a shrine to him (LXJ 186). Likewise, Fenyi County 分宜縣, Luxi Market Town 蘆溪鎮, Pingxiang County 萍鄉縣, and Wanzai County 萬載縣 of the prefecture of Yuanzhou 袁州 all established Zhou Dunyi shrines of their own (Appendix I). On the other hand, there also were those who believed a region as big as a circuit could be considered a unit for this purpose. I classified five out of seven Sichuan 四川 based Zhou Dunyi shrines as illegitimate since it was only Hezhou 合州 to which he had a connection. However, the commemorative essays for each of those illegitimate five claims Bashu 巴蜀 (m. Sichuan and Chongqing 重慶) identity and presumes that all places in the region of Bashu, therefore, can share whatever links Hezhou has to Zhou Dunyi.

For that matter, those nominally illegitimate Zhou Dunyi shrines in modern-day Fujian, Zhejiang, and Jiangsu 江蘇 were not totally lacking in bases for worshipping him. Some Fujian and Zhejiang prefectures had strong connections to Zhu Xi and, since Zhu Xi was a self-claimed heir to Zhou Dunyi's scholarship, many localities in those prefectures included Zhou's portrait in their Zhu Xi shrines. Zhou Dunyi shrines in Jiangsu were justified with similar logic. The region around Jiankang 建康 (m. Nanjing 南京) retained a link to Cheng Hao, the elder of the Cheng brothers, who was regarded as the heir to Zhou Dunyi's philosophical tradition. Thus, shrines to Cheng Hao at places near Jiankang tended to include Zhou Dunyi as well, as a dignitary to be worshipped together with Cheng. One might wonder whether it would be technically

correct to call these shrines ‘Zhou Dunyi shrines’, for Zhou had no direct connection to them; Fujian and Zhejiang shrines might be better classified as ‘Zhu Xi shrines’ and Jiangsu shrines as ‘Cheng Hao shrines’. However, as long as Zhou Dunyi’s image was installed on the central pedestal, regardless of his company—that is, Zhu Xi or Cheng Hao—in all such shrines, it would not be too far-fetched to call them Zhou Dunyi shrines.

Moreover, all Zhou Dunyi shrines established after 1241 were in some respect legitimate, regardless of their location. Emperor Lizong’s 理宗 (1205–64, r. 1224–64) edict calling for all local schools to include Zhou Dunyi in the Temple of Confucius legitimised practically all the Zhou Dunyi shrines in all localities under Southern Song control.<sup>44</sup> Once these are taken into account, there are only a very few remaining Zhou Dunyi shrines whose establishment cannot be legitimised by any social or historical context. Of these, particularly interesting were those in Guangxi, a region where Zhou Dunyi had never set foot at all.<sup>45</sup>

The temporal distribution of Zhou Dunyi shrines (Figure 6) is also worth a look. Of 130 cases collected in Appendix I, only 82 are clearly datable. 45 cases offer clues, such as reign periods. When drawing the chart, I used the median value for all unclear cases (for example, if a shrine was built in Jiayi 嘉熙 period (1237–1240), I assigned it

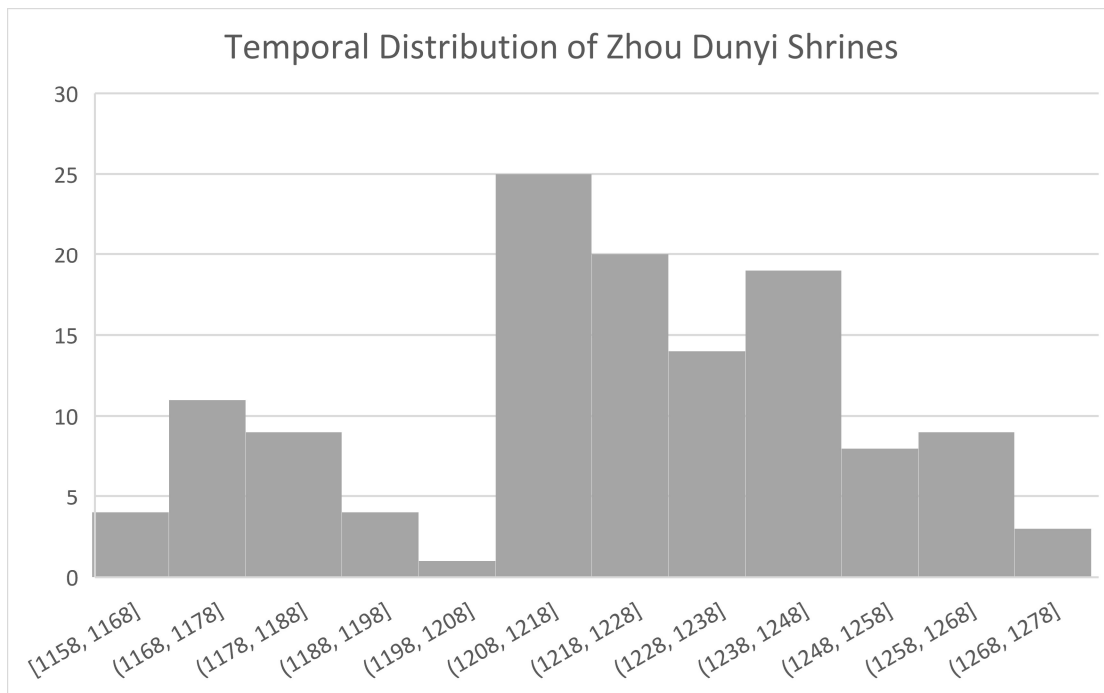
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<sup>44</sup> According to one estimate, there were about 600 prefectural and county schools in the Southern Song (De Weerd 2007, 378).

<sup>45</sup> See Chapter 5 for more discussion.

a date of 1239). I excluded three undatable cases whose years of establishment could not be narrowed down beyond ‘in the Song’.

**Figure 6. Temporal Distribution of Zhou Dunyi Shrines (1158–1278)**



The chart shows two booms and two declines. The active commitment of Zhu Xi and his allies accounts for the first boom in the 1160s and ‘80s. The sudden decline at the turn of the century is probably due to the Qingyuan ban on Neo-Confucianism (*Qingyuan dangjin* 慶元黨禁).<sup>46</sup> The drastic difference between the last decade of the twelfth century and the first of the thirteenth century suggests that this comprehensive ban on Neo-Confucian scholarly activity had a marked effect. The renewed interest in

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<sup>46</sup> For further details, see Schirokauer (1975) and De Weerd (2007, 202–226).

promoting Zhou Dunyi in the early twelfth centuries coincides with the end of the suppressive Han Tuozhou 韓侂胄 (1152–1207) regime. Wei Liaoweng and Zhen Dexiu, the two most successful Neo-Confucian officials of the century, were responsible for the rehabilitation of the movement in this period. This was also a period when so-called ‘illegitimate’ Zhou Dunyi shrines mushroomed in different corners of the empire. Southern Song literati began to see shrines to Zhou Dunyi wherever they went and, thus, may have sensed that the tide has turned in favour of Neo-Confucianism. It is no coincidence that it was during this period that Neo-Confucian style essays began to appear and dominate the field of civil service examinations (De Weerd 2007, chap. 7).

There are 26 cases for which the size of the shrine was recorded. The most common form was a three-bay (*sanjian* 三間 or *sanying* 三楹) building (nine cases in total); the largest comprised 30 bays (LXJ 193).<sup>47</sup> That the three-bay size was most common reflects the fact that they were most frequently built inside pre-existing government schools with limited space for new construction. Of 117 cases that record the location of the shrine, 63 were inside a local government school. On top of this, there are 18 cases whereby the shrine was built either inside or right next to government buildings. That 70 per cent of all Zhou Dunyi shrines were built in or adjacent to

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<sup>47</sup> A customary way of measuring the size of a traditional Chinese building was to count the number of intercolumnar spaces of the façade. One intercolumnar space was commonly called a bay (*jian* 間). The width of a bay varied, depending on the grade of the building. A bay for a grade 1 building could be as wide as 7.2m, as compared to only 2.4m for a grade 8 structure (Xinian Fu 2017, 220–1). The grade of a building, in turn, depended on its overall size. When all factors are taken into consideration, we gather that the façade of a standard three-bay shrine was about 10 to 15 metres wide, which must have fit inside the local government school. By contrast, the gigantic 30-bay wide Zhou Dunyi shrine would have been 210m wide, which seems highly improbable. It is far more likely that ‘30 bays’ refers to the total number of bays of all the buildings within the shrine complex.

government-related venues attests to the shrine founders' willingness to be associated with the government's authority.

The most prolific writer of essays commemorating Zhou Dunyi shrines was also the first official to submit a memorial to the imperial court soliciting the philosopher's enshrinement in the Temple of Confucius. Wei Liaoweng wrote nine commemorative essays for nine different Zhou Dunyi shrines between 1219 and 1236; he drafted and submitted the memorial to the throne in 1221. Although Zhou Dunyi's inclusion in the national Confucian pantheon would have to wait two more decades, Wei's memorial won him in 1222 the honourable posthumous title (*shi* 謚) of Lord Yuan 元公 (LXJ 155–60).

One essay for the renovation of a Zhou Dunyi shrine in Xincheng County 新城縣, Hangzhou 杭州, vividly depicts the extent to which a Neo-Confucian aspiration for orthodox status had taken root by the late Southern Song. Its author, Xie Mengsheng 謝夢生 (*fl.* 1210), was a student of Zhu Xi. In his capacity as magistrate, he renovated the neglected Xincheng County Government School in 1237. There he took an interesting but potentially risky decision to deprive the image of Wang Anshi in the Temple of Confucius of its ritual attire and dress it, instead, in commoner's clothing. It was a kind of public demonstration 'that [we] ought to have ousted him but failed to do so'. He was also frustrated by the fact that his four great Neo-Confucian heroes—Zhou Dunyi, the two Cheng brothers, and Zhu Xi—were not afforded places in the Temple, whereas the 'banal commentators' of the Han 漢 and Tang 唐 dynasties were featured there. Xie established the Four Masters Shrine (*Si xiansheng ci* 四先生祠) to enable the Four to receive biannual sacrifices right after those performed in the Temple of

Confucius in order to ‘demonstrate that [the Four Masters] ought to be promoted but have not been promoted, yet’ (QSW 335:205–6, *Ming Wanli Hangzhoufu zhi* 明萬曆杭州府志 42:7a-b). In the light of this Neo-Confucian eagerness to occupy officially sanctioned ritual spaces, it is fair to say that the court remained a significant symbolic authority whose judgement carried significant weight.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> For more on this subject, see Nekar’s analysis (1993, 299–301).

## 1.6. Images in the Shrine: Zhou Dunyi as Icon

Next on the agenda is the ubiquitous use of images (portraits or statues) in Zhou Dunyi shrines. Much as Tolkien's photos are hung at the Eagle and Child, portraits or other images of Zhou Dunyi were hung at his shrines. In all shrines for which detailed descriptions are extant, we find accounts of his portraits, incised images,<sup>49</sup> diagrams, or writings carefully installed in the central area of the structure. Some of them were assigned the most sacred spot on the premises, while others were located at the most exposed place to receive as much attention as possible. Lotus flowers often were associated with Zhou Dunyi shrines, thanks to the wide circulation of his *Explanation on my Love of Lotus Flowers* (*Ailian shuo* 愛蓮說), an essay that draws an analogy between a nobleman (*junzi* 君子) and the flower. Since the lotus is an aquatic plant, Zhou Dunyi shrines were often constructed with a pond and pavilions (Appendix V). Ponds, pavilions, and other buildings were designated by famous words or phrases from Zhou Dunyi's oeuvre. Once a visitor set foot in the shrine, the portraits and name plaques, coupled with the iconic scent of lotus flowers, assured him or her that they were in the right place.

The notion of 'iconicity' deserves our attention. According to Jeffrey C. Alexander and Dominik Bartmański, icons are 'aesthetic/material representations' that

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<sup>49</sup> This is a translation of *xiangbei* 像碑. One Ming period gazetteer records the existence of a *xiangbei* for Lianxi, the installation date of which is not recorded. Although we cannot rule out the possibility that it was a statue, it is likely to have been like the image of Zhou Dunyi incised on a stele at Nankang Commandery 南康軍 in 1179 (LXJ 219). Julia Murray's study (1992) on Song portraits of Confucius and his disciples in Hangzhou 杭州 also deals with those incised on stone tablets.

signify the ‘depth’ of the signified. An icon has a visual<sup>50</sup> surface and a signified depth that stays outside the reach of our ‘direct ratiocination’. Icons condense and reduce vague ideas, arguments, or even feelings into a perceptible and portable form. The ‘discursive meaning’ of the signified thus becomes controllable and manageable through icons as the latter ‘allow us to experience meaning sensuously’ (Alexander and Bartmański 2013, 1–3).

Adding to Alexander and Bartmański’s definition, Bernhard Giesen further explains the magic that icons typically do.

Arguments and images engender quite different ritual or habitual responses: it is hard to imagine somebody kneeling in front of a philosophical argument, or looking at a thesis in the way we are used to looking at photos of our loved ones. [...] Images can easily stimulate emotions, while philosophical discourse has to exclude these very emotions and so forth. [...] Images shrink the temporal sequence to one single moment, intensify it, and thus continue the moment forever (Giesen 2013, 249).

Zhou Dunyi, in the Southern Song, was an icon. The authors of the commemorative essays for him frequently stressed the emotion that his images would evoke (LXJ 212, 222–3). His presence could be felt—seen and even smelled—at his shrines and academies. Visitors might not have read his writings that were full of ‘discursive’ arguments, but they could still readily experience who this man was and what the shrine was for.

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<sup>50</sup> Bernhard Giesen (2013) focuses on icons as primarily visual entities, while Alexander and Bartmański (2013) demonstrate the multisensory nature of icons, pointing to iconic songs or iconic scents. In this section, I focus mainly on the visual representation of Zhou Dunyi, since that was the most common way of iconising him in the Song.

Zhou Dunyi was not without companions in these shrines. In 65 out of 130 cases, his portrait was displayed with those of the Cheng brothers, who were believed to have received the Way from him. The prevalence of recipients of the Way in shrines to one who bestowed the Way prompted Neskar to refer to such shrines as ‘Transmission shrines’ (Neskar 1993, 208–13). According to her, it was the ‘Transmission of the Way (*daotong* 道統)’ narrative, and not Zhou Dunyi the person, that was the object of worship in these shrines. Zhu Xi’s adherents in particular believed that he had retrieved the Way after a thousand years of oblivion and that his scholarship was inherited by posterity (and ultimately by Zhu Xi). The whole of this imagined genealogy ‘shrank’ and ‘intensified’ to ‘one single moment’ so as to ‘continue the moment forever’. Zhou Dunyi shrines provided the supporters of the ‘Transmission’ with a proper place to practise appropriate ‘rituals’ to express their ‘emotions’ towards the retriever of the Way.

The iconic nature of Zhou Dunyi’s images coincides with the Song ritual use of portraits of the imperial family. Patricia B. Ebrey points out that it was not until the Song that imperial families began to use portraits of the family members in state rituals. The Song court began to consider such depictions as vehicles of the soul, going to great lengths to incorporate them into dynastic rituals. Unlike spirit tablets (*shenzhu* 神主 or *paiwei* 牌位), which presented inscribed characters without any images, statues and portraits were cherished, often evoking very emotional responses from ritual performers and observers alike (P. Ebrey 1997, 43).

Griffith Foulk and Robert Scharf argue that the Buddhist cult of portraits and statues in the Song was interwoven with the Buddhist concept of lineage. As noted in the first section of this chapter, Buddhists had begun by the Song to use portraits of

their masters for a special ritual purpose. The images were believed to be not just a representation of the deceased but something that ‘embodies it’. As the vehicle of the soul and the incarnation of the man, the images were treated with extreme care and reverence. Most notably, the manner in which they were installed and displayed strongly resembled that of the imperial shrines. Portraits were displayed in groups, organised according to a generational hierarchy reminiscent of the succession of emperors (Foulk and Sharf 1993). We may thus understand the images as embodying the entire Chan lineage/tradition of which the monastery was a part, just as the Song imperial portrait cult provided ‘symbolic representation of the entire dynasty’ (P. Ebrey 1997, 90).<sup>51</sup>

However, there is evidence to contradict the interpretation of Zhou Dunyi shrines as merely an icon of the entirety of the Transmission of the Way. There were as many as 65 shrines where Zhou Dunyi was worshipped *without* the Cheng brothers. He was often flanked by his father Zhou Fucheng, the famous judge Bao Zheng 包拯 (QSW 319:345), the poet Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105) (LXJ 201), the writer Han Yu 韓愈 (*Ming Jiajing Hengzhoufu zhi* 明嘉靖衡州府志 4:13b), and even on occasion by random local officials who bore no intellectual or social connection to him (*Ming Hongzhi Bamin tongzhi* 明弘治八閩通志 36:23b). In such cases, Zhou Dunyi apparently represented not the Transmission of the Way but, rather, some non-

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<sup>51</sup> One may wonder whether the Buddhist cult predates the imperial one, or the other way around. John Jørgensen (1987) demonstrates that Chan Buddhism took inspiration from the Tang imperial ancestral halls. Julia K. Murray (1992) points to portraits of Confucius in the Temple of Confucius that predate the introduction of Buddhism in China. Ebrey (1997) suggests that it may be the Song imperial family who learned this cult from Buddhists and Daoists. Vinograd (1992, 1–27) demonstrates that the social-ritual use of portraits is just ‘Chinese’.

intellectual narrative constructed around the locality that allowed the locality (in most cases a prefecture) to appropriate him to represent the place rather than the Transmission. He was an icon, to be sure, but not always a Neo-Confucian icon.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Visual representation of Confucian masters was a subject of controversy. For the Confucian iconoclasm in the sixteenth century, see Deborah Sommer (2002). For the revival of the use of images in Confucian rituals in the nineteenth century, see Seunghyun Han (2009).

## 1.7. Neo-Confucianism and Symbolic Capital

The notion of Neo-Confucianism is legitimately the final item of terminology to be discussed in this chapter since it is, after all, what Zhou Dunyi is primarily known for. However, given the enormous amount of scholarly works devoted to this academic, religious, and socio-political movement, let us focus prudently only on those aspects of the movement that are directly relevant to the topic of this thesis.<sup>53</sup>

There was a group of people in the middle of the Northern Song who started to claim that they were the first ones after Mencius to understand the Confucian Truth. Leading this group were the two Cheng brothers—Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi—who stayed at Luoyang 洛陽 for most of the time. The brothers, especially the younger Yi, secured fame for proposing a highly sophisticated moral metaphysics and theories of self-cultivation. Despite lacklustre success in the domain of politics, their friendship with conservative faction leaders earned Cheng Yi the honourable position of tutor to the young emperor, which served to heighten his fame.

During the upheavals in the last days of the Northern Song, numerous disciples of the Cheng brothers managed to escape to the south. Some, like Hu Anguo 胡安國 (1074–1138) and Yang Shi 楊時 (1053–1135), sought to influence nascent Southern

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<sup>53</sup> Hilde De Weerd's (2007, 25–46) work on the movement and their examination strategies provides a good summary of Neo-Confucianism. Joseph Adler's (2014) and Hoyt Tillman's (1992a) introductory chapters also contain a concise description of it. A more extensive examination is contained in Peter Bol's (2008) book-length investigation. The *Cambridge History of China Volume 5: Sung China, 907–1279 AD, Part 2* also deals with this movement in various chapters. Among them, John Chaffee's Chapter 5 (2015), Peter Bol's Chapter 9 (2015), and Hoyt Tillman's Chapter 10 (2015) fathoms this topic.

Song politics at Hangzhou, while others settled in their new homes and remained there teaching their pupils. The scattering of these first-generation disciples of the Cheng brothers around the Southern Song contributed to the diversification of the Neo-Confucian discourse there. Nonetheless, they all agreed on the Cheng brothers' core claim—namely, that they alone had retrieved the long-forgotten true Confucian Way, the Dao 道. In the mid-twelfth century, Zhu Xi distinguished himself among the brothers' many third- and fourth-generation pupils, and sought to monopolise their intellectual legacy. By discussing and refining what the Cheng brothers had done a century earlier and also by surpassing his rivals, he was eventually able to establish himself as *the* heir to this Confucian tradition.

Whatever their differences, the Southern Song scholars were bound by some degree of affiliation with the Cheng brothers—to whom they owed the bulk of their philosophical ideas—and by a shared resentment against Wang Anshi's faction for having persecuted Cheng Yi. They all believed that the brothers and their cohorts had revived the true Way, which in turn had been transmitted to them. They believed they could find *all* answers to all important problems ranging from self-cultivation to statecraft by studying a particular set of Confucian texts the brothers had highlighted. Because they were confident that they possessed these answers, they insisted that they be allowed to join in policy making. Many of them were hawkish irredentists and generally critical of the civil service examination system. And they demanded that the court formally recognise their Northern Song academic ancestors' retrieval of the Way.

These men were active in local society, too. They proposed to establish local institutions to help stabilise local societies and improve social mores: granaries,

academies, community compacts, and so on. As for religion, they were unreceptive, if not hostile, to Buddhism, Daoism, and other deity cults.<sup>54</sup> In particular, Zhu Learning supporters invested great time and effort in refuting the Buddhists' metaphysics and theories of self-cultivation. In this respect, Neo-Confucianism was a 'movement'; it was also a 'fellowship' in that it promoted a shared identity among those who nonetheless retained differing characteristics.<sup>55</sup> At the same time, we may consider their system of belief, which calls for action on the part of its adherents, an 'ideology'.

Modern scholarship has seen a long debate on the question of how to name this ideology. From this debate, two strong contenders have emerged: Daoxue 道學 and Neo-Confucianism. The strength of the former lies in its being the name conferred by the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Song Chinese literati in their writings. The beauty of the latter is that it immediately provides the reader with a brief impression of its nature—it was something new and something Confucian, after all—without urging the readers to parse the words *dao* and *xue*. A literal translation of Daoxue—'the Learning of the Way'—is explanatory on its face, but cumbersome, requiring five words. Since resolving this debate lies outside the concern of this thesis and calling it either way would not affect the argument of the thesis, I am opting for 'Neo-Confucianism', if only by virtue of the popularity of this appellation in the West.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Understandably, they were not friendly to Neo-Confucianism, either. The *Record of the Listener* contains an entry that describes local cult masters and goblins bullying a famous Neo-Confucian household (Hong 2006, bing 1: 364–369).

<sup>55</sup> For the original definition of 'fellowship' by the one who coined this notion, see Hoyt C. Tillman (2015, 731). See also Tillman (1992a) for the first ever application of this notion to Neo-Confucianism.

<sup>56</sup> It was De Bary and Tillman who started the debate in the early 1990s (Bary 1993; Tillman 1992b; Tillman 1994). Tillman has continued to promote his view in most of his works published thereafter (Tillman 2015). More recently, Hilde De Weerdts briefly introduced a convincing nomenclature. She

Once one settles on the name of the fellowship, there remains a problem of how to name its branches. As Tillman makes clear, there were many variations competing for orthodoxy in the twelfth century and they were not necessarily friendly to one another. These branches were usually represented by their leaders or masters. Zhu Xi's was very influential; Lu Jiuyuan's was also sizeable. Lü Zuqian attained some fame for his literary skills and examination success; Zhang Shi represented Hunan literati and the Hu family tradition but, in the end, failed to distinguish himself from his friend Zhu Xi. There were others that, despite links to the Cheng brothers, failed to attain a critical mass. In all cases of Neo-Confucian branches where the leader's name represents the group, this thesis calls them '[surname] Learning'. Thus, for example, Zhu-Xiism is called Zhu Learning and Lu's branch is called Lu Learning.

One may wonder what place Zhou Dunyi occupies in this brief description of Neo-Confucianism. Does not everything start from the Cheng brothers in this picture? Zhou's name was occasionally mentioned by admirers of the Chengs in the early Southern Song due to the brothers having explicitly stated on more than one occasion that Zhou taught them when they were in their early teens. Notwithstanding this fact, however, Neo-Confucians prior to Zhu Xi believed that it was the brothers themselves, not their teachers who first retrieved the Way in the Song. Only after the 1160s did Zhou begin to assume a significant role in the collective memory of Neo-Confucians. Zhu, in the early 1160s, met Zhang Shi, who had a remote connection to Zhou's legacies.

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notes three contemporary connotations of the word '*daoxue* 道學' and assigns four different names to them (De Weerd 2007, 28–41). Cogent and precise as De Weerd's proposal may be, the nomenclature itself is not concise. This thesis concurs with her classification, but does not adopt her nomenclature because it represents a level of sophistication that is not required here.

Finding Zhang's introduction interesting, Zhu came to reconsider Zhou Dunyi's position in the retrieval narrative. Especially after reading the *Explanation on the Diagram of the Great Ultimate* (*Taiji tushuo* 太極圖說), Zhu began to argue with confidence that this man was the first sage of the Song and had passed his knowledge of the Way down to the Cheng brothers. From the 1170s on he was single-minded in his effort to convince everyone of his opinion of Zhou Dunyi's sagehood. Zhang Shi was one of the earliest converts. Lü Zuqian did not fully agree with him, but he nevertheless did not oppose him, either. Lu Jiuyuan was utterly unconvinced. However, in the end, Zhu Xi prevailed.<sup>57</sup>

The above is a fairly standard account of Neo-Confucianism that most academics would deem acceptable. The remainder of this section presents a bolder approach that is more in line with the methodological stance of this thesis. This study considers the network of Zhou Dunyi shrines as part of a larger game—namely, the competition of prefectures for fame—and suggests that the field of Neo-Confucianism intervened in that game (Subsection 1.1.3.). Neo-Confucian masters, too, found themselves engaged in a struggle for reputation (a competition in which individuals, not prefectures, were the players), with the movement serving as a reputation amplifier, although this was not necessarily its intended purpose.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Joseph Adler (2014) goes so far as to argue that Zhu Xi 'appropriated' Zhou Dunyi's character and philosophy.

<sup>58</sup> The existence of this status struggle is well attested in many sources. For instance, see Peter K. Bol (1989; 1992; 2008).

Adopting Bourdieusian parlance, to make this model work, our starting point must be to spot the conflict of interest between Neo-Confucians and others. Outside the loose boundaries of the fellowship were sympathisers, neutrals, and many adversaries. A brief survey of the contemporary perception of Neo-Confucians will yield clues as to what was at ‘stake’ for them and what strategies they adopted.

In this regard, the oft-cited voices of Neo-Confucianism’s detractors are key sources. What follows is a passage from Lin Li’s 1188 memorial to the throne, in which he, as the man who established the 1166 Zhou Dunyi shrine in Jiangzhou 江州 (m. Jiujiang 九江, Jiangxi) denounces Zhu Xi:

Zhu Xi has essentially no scholarship. He just steals the leftovers of Zhang Zai and Cheng Yi and makes them into empty principles. This he calls the learning of the way. He wrongly aggrandises himself (*wangzi tuizun* 妄自推尊). He now has several dozen disciples (*mensheng* 門生). They mimic the attitudes of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods and vainly aspire to the model of Confucius’s and Mencius’s successive court invitations (Li Xinchuan 2000, yiji:7:617).<sup>59</sup>

Particularly significant are the terms, ‘aggrandises himself’ and ‘disciples’, two key themes that are repeated in the memorial over and over again. In Lin Li’s view, Neo-Confucian thinkers were, fundamentally, hypocrites who attained an undeserved degree of fame and reputation and used this as leverage to attract disciples and, ultimately, acquire official positions.

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<sup>59</sup> This translation is based on De Weerdts’s (2007, 38), with some minor changes of my own.

Lin Li was not the first one to accuse Neo-Confucians of improperly ‘aggrandising’ themselves and gathering ‘disciples’. In 1183, the imperial censor named Chen Jia 陳賈 (*fl.* 1180) was the first to denounce Zhu Xi and his followers for hypocrisy. Interestingly, he did not challenge Neo-Confucian social and philosophical ideals so much as question the sincerity of Zhu and his followers. Chen’s memorial can be summarised as follows: 1) what Neo-Confucian followers argue for is actually a common goal of all the literati and they wrongly seek to monopolise it; 2) their goal in making a name for themselves with this false monopoly is to obtain high government positions and salaries; 3) worst of all, their deeds do not match the principles they profess (Schirokauer 1975, 169–70; Shu 1992, 525).

One might surmise that these accusations, surprisingly similar in tone to modern political feuds, were mere *ad hominem* slander with no factual basis. This interpretation would have been plausible had there not been third-party observers such as Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–98). Not himself a denouncer, Zhou cites an elderly literatus’s testimony to the Neo-Confucian adherents’ *modus operandi*:

They steal the name and deceive the world ... . When they become prefects or circuit supervisors, they invariably build academies and establish shrines to various worthies. Some publish commentaries on the *Four Books* or compile recorded sayings ... [and therefore] can gain a reputation (*shengming* 聲名) and earn official positions (Zhou Mi 1988, 169).<sup>60</sup>

What should we make of this? It appears that Neo-Confucians were commonly regarded as courting fame; according to various contemporaries they were seeking a

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<sup>60</sup> For discussion of these phrases, see Neskar (1993, 246) and Bol (2008, 235–6).

reputation (*ming* 名) that could be converted into the more useful currency of money and power. Without adopting a derogatory tone, we may nonetheless reconstruct a picture, as some modern scholars have done, that aligns with this description of how various resources could be secured in the Song.<sup>61</sup>

Michael Mann (2012, 2) distinguishes four sources of social power: ‘ideological, economic, military, and political’. Southern Song Neo-Confucians certainly lacked military power, and while they did have some political power, it was by no means strong enough to thwart their opponents’ plans to put a comprehensive ban on them. Being men from the elite class, they were not without economic power but theirs could not rival that of other powerful elites and the court. Therefore, the only reliable source of social power they could draw upon in their fight against those non-Neo-Confucian elites was ideological power. However, one cannot exert ideological power without recourse to some kind of ‘organizational or institutional means’. For Zhu Xi, what his critics described as ‘self-aggrandising’ and ‘gaining reputation’ can be interpreted as his efforts towards, if not the result of, securing and increasing ideological power, while the accumulation of ‘disciples’ and ‘publications’ can be seen as his concrete organisational means to achieve this goal.

How were Neo-Confucians able to attract the high level of adherence they were said to have enjoyed? The complex methods by which the movement spread its ideology go beyond the scope of this thesis. Suffice to say, as Zhou Mi’s informant

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<sup>61</sup> Supporters and fame were necessary conditions to draw the court’s attention. For example, many popular deities earned official titles largely thanks to their soaring reputation and impressive number of ‘backers’ (Hansen 1990, 103–4).

attests, establishing shrines must have served as a means by which the Neo-Confucians established reputation and propagated their message. Many of those shrines were embellished with commemorative essays by important Neo-Confucian masters. Recognising that such essays afforded them a good chance to publicise their views, their authors infused them with ideological accounts. We can thus understand the shrines as the billboards of the Way or, in modern terms, as a major propaganda channel.<sup>62</sup>

In addition, the fact that many Neo-Confucian shrines were established inside local government schools must have helped to secure their status. In the Song period, each administrative unit was supposed to have only one local government school; that school in turn was supposed to have only one Temple of Confucius in it. The singularity of the temple in an administrative unit, and its being a replica of the one at the capital, made it a symbol at the local level of the presence of the ideological authority of the central government.

Moreover, translocality was itself an indication of power. People believed that a deity worshipped in many places was more powerful than one worshipped within the limits of a single locality. The wider the area a deity covered, the greater fame it enjoyed.<sup>63</sup> In this sense, the multiplicity and ubiquity of Neo-Confucian shrines (QSW 350:8) must have been as conducive to generating a reputation as were their singular association with local government schools.

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<sup>62</sup> Nesar (1993, 417–8) aptly describes it as ‘the proselytizing activities of a minority group’.

<sup>63</sup> For the relationship between transgressing and power in ancient China, see Sterckx (2002, 178), and Lewis (2006, 197). For the Song dynasty, see Hansen (1990, 130).

In sum, the Southern Song Neo-Confucian fellowship was a group whose source of power derived mainly from its ideological competitiveness and its appropriation—or ‘theft’, as one contemporary detractor termed it—of the authority that had previously been reserved for the central government.<sup>64</sup> The movement as a whole generated a reputation that it parlayed into more tangible resources—such as social capital (e.g., disciples), economic capital (e.g., salaries), political capital (high government office), or examination capital (earning a *jinshi* degree). Such concrete ‘capital’ could be reinvested in generating reputation, thereby forming a perpetual circle of reproduction and accumulation of capital.<sup>65</sup>

Seen from this perspective, it is all the more reasonable to infer that there were some who felt left out of this project, resented its success, and sought to suppress its growth (Schirokauer 1975). Equally likely is that some would have joined the group in order to share in the benefits it reaped without substantial ideological commitment. Some localities actively sought to enshrine Neo-Confucian dignitaries to succeed in their own competition for fame, thus allowing Neo-Confucians to intervene in their affairs. This point is discussed in greater empirical detail in Chapters 3 and 5.

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<sup>64</sup> The Neo-Confucian appropriation of government authority is a phenomenon observed by Li and Hartman. For instance, their use of the term *daotong* [the Transmission of the Way] was an almost conscious usurpation of the founding narrative of the first emperor of Southern Song. Li and Hartman argue that the first Southern Song emperor Gaozong 高宗 (1107–1187, r.1127–1162) and his Chief Councillor Qin Gui 秦檜 (1091–1155) employed the term *daotong* in their attempts to legitimise their power (C. Li and Hartman 2010).

<sup>65</sup> Hilde De Weerd articulates this point well in her study of the success of the Neo-Confucian movement in the field of examination preparation (2007, chap. 1). For ‘capital’, ‘reproduce’, and the interconvertibility between different types of capital, see Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, 99–100; 108–109).

This is not to say that it was easy to jump onto the Neo-Confucian bandwagon. Some Neo-Confucians must have sought to control access; however, considering the loose nature of the Neo-Confucian fellowship, their control must have been limited. Although it is hard to assess how much power they were able to exercise, the case of Runzhou 潤州 suggests that some members of the movement were, at very least, enjoying some discretionary power to choose appropriate sites for Zhou Dunyi shrines (Chapter 4).

## 1.8. Tools and Sources

This research project has involved several different methods that are often collectively referred to as Digital Humanities. During my research, I found 6,404 records of Zhou Dunyi from the *Airusheng Local Gazetteers First Batch* database, many of which I perused.<sup>66</sup> There was a variety of texts mined from the *Gazetteers* database but most of these were either Zhou Dunyi's biographies or essays regarding Zhou Dunyi shrines and academies. Also investigated was the *Digital Archive of Chinese Buddhist Temple Gazetteers*, which contains a few, yet important, records of Zhou Dunyi.<sup>67</sup> The *Complete Song Prose* (*Quan Song wen* 全宋文) has about 550 works containing Zhou Dunyi's name. Academia Sinica's online catalogue for the compendium was helpful.<sup>68</sup> The *Chinese Biographical Database Project* (CBDB), both the stand-alone and the web version, were staples. However, a full-scale analysis of Zhou Dunyi's social network utilising CBDB failed to yield any remarkable result. I was obliged to resort to the time-honoured pile-of-books method to reconstruct his social network link by link, which, again, turned out to be futile due to the dearth of information. However, the serendipitous findings from this task, such as his friends' coming mostly from Jiangxi, became the backbone of Chapter 2. The general failure notwithstanding, NodeXL<sup>69</sup> and

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<sup>66</sup> The search keyword was 'Lianxi 濂溪 or Maoshu 茂叔'.

<sup>67</sup> <http://dev.ddbc.edu.tw/fosizhi/>

<sup>68</sup> <http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ttscgi/ttsweb?@0:0:1:songwen@@0.1010441689286381>

<sup>69</sup> <https://www.smrfoundation.org/>

Gephi,<sup>70</sup> perhaps two of the most popular network analysis tools for Digital Humanities enabled me to visualise one small-scale network in Chapter 2.

The *Chinese Historical Geographic Information System* (CHGIS) v.5 and 6 were used in making the background of all maps included in this thesis.<sup>71</sup> QGIS 2.18 was employed to draw the maps in most cases.<sup>72</sup> A few exceptions are those drawn by the test version of *Local Gazetteers Research Tools* (LoGaRT) (Figure 30). This tool is still under development by Max Planck Institute for the History of Science (MPIWG) to mine and process data from the *Airusheng Local Gazetteers First Batch* database.<sup>73</sup>

I must also spare some paragraphs on the text that shall be most frequently cited throughout the thesis: the *Complete Works of Lord Yuan, the Master Zhou Lianxi* (*Yuangong Zhouxiansheng Lianxi ji* 元公周先生濂溪集). The book had remained unnoticed on a shelf in the Beijing Library until 1988 when the Library decided to include this title in their new reprint series (Zhou Dunyi 1988). The work is dated to the late Southern Song, most probably between 1270 and 1275 (So 2007, Su 2010). Hence, it is the only extant Song edition of his *Complete Works*. It contains numerous commemorative essays, memorials, inscriptions, poems, and other writings that are no longer extant anywhere else. Especially important are those pieces from Jiangzhou. The northern Jiangxi prefecture where Zhou was buried produced a significant number of

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<sup>70</sup> <https://gephi.org/>

<sup>71</sup> [https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/chgis\\_v6](https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/chgis_v6)

<sup>72</sup> <https://www.qgis.org/>

<sup>73</sup> The test version of the tool was available only to the participants of a relevant workshop at the *Second Conference on Middle Period Chinese Humanities 2017* at Leiden University. I am grateful to Shih-Pei Chen and Brent Ho for giving me access to it. I also thank the Faculty of Oriental Studies (the University of Oxford) and the Old Members Trust (University College Oxford) for their generous travel grants.

texts, many of which survive only in this edition. Chapter 3, which deals with Daozhou and Jiangzhou's commemoration of Zhou Dunyi would not have been possible without this book.

Nevertheless, the reprint in 1988 failed to attract immediate attention from researchers. Ellen Neskar (1993), Bounghown Kim (1996), Galia Patt-Shamir (1997), and Joseph Adler (2014), to name only a few, made no use of it. The only work in English that employs this edition is Tillman and Soffel's chapter on Zhang Shi's philosophy (Tillman and Soffel 2010). This is understandable since this edition, fortunately, contains Zhang's commentaries to the *Explanation on the Diagram of the Great Ultimate*, which had been believed lost for good.

The first work, to the best of my knowledge, to recognise the book's value was Liang Shaohui's *Biography of Zhou Dunyi* (1994). His awareness soon spread to other researchers in China and Korea. So Hyönsöng (2006; 2007) attempted the first philological study of the edition. Su Pinxiao's two articles (2010; 2013) are perhaps the only two philological discussions of the text in Chinese. Hunan Academic Society of Lianxi Studies' (*Hunan sheng Lianxi xue yanjiuhui* 湖南省濂溪學研究會) publication of the punctuated version that greatly enhanced the readability of the original was another milestone achievement (Zhou Dunyi 2006).

The Hunan Society version, referred to as 'LXJ', is frequently cited throughout the thesis. Also utilised where needed were other, later editions of the *Complete Works*, including Wang Wanxia's collation of the *Eight Editions of the Records of Lianxi* 濂溪志八種彙編 (Wang Wanxia 2013), and the *Zhonghua Shuju* 中華書局 edition of the *Complete Works of Zhou Dunyi* (Zhou Dunyi 1990).

## 1.9. Conclusion

This thesis studies Zhou Dunyi shrines in the Southern Song with a special interest in the role they played in the prefectures' competition for fame. The places where the shrines stood, and with which they were identified, are therefore highlighted. Each chapter, except for Chapter 2, focuses on particular places.

Chapter 2 discusses Zhou Dunyi's life. Although his role as a historical figure who lived in the eleventh century Northern Song is not the main focus of this study, it still merits a chapter, given that all Zhou Dunyi shrines built in the Southern Song based their claims on either part or the whole of his life as known to them. This chapter examines a few of the most relevant topics vis-à-vis his life and tackles some long-debated problems, serving as a reference point for the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3 investigates Zhou Dunyi shrines in Southern Song Daozhou and Jiangzhou. Zhou's birth in Daozhou and his death in Jiangzhou gave these two prefectures particular grounds to enshrine him. Their competition for the title of Zhou Dunyi's true hometown led to their building and renovating 11 and eight shrines respectively. The shrines and commemorative essays that each prefecture dedicated to Zhou gave expression to this rivalry. The local elite of Daozhou were exceptionally vehement in disputing Jiangzhou's claim and advancing their own. Their efforts bore fruit in the relationships they established with Neo-Confucian dignitaries who lent their support to Daozhou's cause. This case study depicts how Neo-Confucian promotion of Zhou Dunyi shrines was negotiated and appropriated by local elites for the advancement of their own local prestige.

Chapter 4 studies the striking absence of Zhou Dunyi shrines in a place where one would expect to find them—namely, Runzhou (Zhenjiang), a prefecture where young Zhou stayed for at least three years. Despite this clear-cut connection, the locality refrained from establishing any Zhou Dunyi shrines until 1253. A careful investigation of sources suggests that this was likely a deliberate omission. During his stay there, Zhou reportedly cultivated the controversial politician Wang Anshi and the Buddhist monk Shouya. Commemoration of his time in Runzhou would have drawn attention to his ties to Wang’s unpopular New Policies and to ‘heretical’ teachings such as Buddhism. Because such information would have been detrimental to Zhou Dunyi’s image as the founding father of Neo-Confucianism, Neo-Confucians—Zhu Learning supporters in particular—refrained from establishing a shrine there. Thus, in this case, it was arguably the Neo-Confucians’ lack of support that delayed the establishment of a shrine to him. The Runzhou case helps us to understand who was involved in Zhou Dunyi shrines and to what degree.

Chapter 5 turns our attention to the whole region of Guangdong and some notable cases from Guangxi. Guangdong was the third most popular region for Zhou Dunyi shrine builders, following Hunan and Jiangxi by a narrow margin. However, Southern Song Guangdong had a very small number of affluent, well-educated, non-office-holding literati who are believed to have been the foundation stone of Neo-Confucianism. To explain the rapid spread of the most representative kind of Neo-Confucian shrine in this least likely region, this chapter undertakes three different, though interrelated, analyses, focusing on three different groups: Neo-Confucian adherents, immigrants, and local officials. A selection of detailed case studies demonstrates that Guangdong literati were also in pursuit of fame and glory for their

place and that the ‘underdog’ position of the region formed a particular *habitus* that made them promote numerous Zhou Dunyi shrines.

The last chapter briefly explores Zhou Dunyi shrines after the Song and draws inferences about Song elite society and beyond. It brings up the question of the geographical integration of sub-units of Chinese empires. The Song social order was an answer to questions posed by the previous Tang model: how to integrate the sub-units into the bigger order and prevent them from disintegrating. Competition does not necessarily undermine the integration of the players, as being in competition tends to make the participants imagine a community of players with shared aspiration. The competition by which Song localities each sought to be recognised as more ‘Confucian’ than the rest thus paradoxically contributed to a consolidation of the Southern Song style social order that would survive the dynasty’s collapse.



## 2. The Contested Life Story of Zhou Dunyi

One of the perennial difficulties of any attempt to study Zhou Dunyi is that accounts of the life of the purported founding father of Neo-Confucianism are highly factionalised. Ever since Zhu Xi praised him as the first sage of the Song, Zhou's life and scholarship have been subjected to severe criticism from those whose primary interest lay in assailing Zhu's reputation. However convincing those arguments for and against Zhou Dunyi might seem at first glance, such partisan views are hardly historical.<sup>74</sup>

Of course, it was not only the enemies of Zhu Xi who tried to use the icon of Zhu Learning for their own purposes. Many groups and individuals who aspired to take on the authority of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy have tried to legitimise their undertaking by adopting, for instance, the *Great Ultimate* (*taiji* 太極 a.k.a. Tai Chi).<sup>75</sup> The best-known cases of the appropriation of this symbol might include the national flags of South Korea and Mongolia, and the eponymous martial arts which claims Daoist origin. For that matter, a variety of Daoists used this symbol and by doing so, often

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<sup>74</sup> Some of the Song cases are addressed in Section 2.5.

<sup>75</sup> The notion of *Taiji* or 'Great Ultimate' first appeared in a several texts traditionally attributed to pre-Qin 秦 masters, including Zhuangzi 莊子 and Confucius. However, this philosophical idea first gained its true religio-intellectual significance when Zhou Dunyi visualised it as a circle filled in with two different colours, each representing one of the binary cosmic forces, Yin 陰 and Yang 陽.

inadvertently, created ‘evidence’ that Zhu Xi’s enemies seized upon to undermine Zhu’s authority.<sup>76</sup>

This chapter is an attempt to shed light on some of the most hotly debated matters of Zhou Dunyi’s life by situating him in his own time and space, the early to mid-Northern Song. It contextualises his life as far as possible by introducing and analysing hitherto neglected sources and, when possible, fact-checking some dubious praises—and accusations—directed towards him posthumously. This process enables us to draw a distinction between things that are more rigorously historical and those that were constructed and attached to his character much later, and understand the extent to which his character was reinvented by later generations.

No attempt is made here to cover every detail of Zhou’s life story or supplant respected biographies of Zhou Dunyi. Rather, biographical details are provided to create context; this thesis is a project studying Zhou Dunyi ‘shrines’, so this chapter will limit its scope to the moments of his life that are pertinent to his enshrinement. Accordingly, after providing a brief factual summary of Zhou’s life in Section 2.1, it will focus on the aspects that were the subjects of debate in the Southern Song.<sup>77</sup>

Section 2.2 investigates Zhou’s paternal and maternal family background in some detail, highlighting the significant but hitherto neglected influence of his mother

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<sup>76</sup> Bounghown Kim’s doctoral thesis and Li Shen’s monograph investigate some of these texts and diagrams that were often wrongly believed to predate Zhou Dunyi (B. Kim 1996; Li Shen 2001).

<sup>77</sup> For a fully developed biography, Liang Shaohui (1994) is the best modern publication. He meticulously covers almost all known primary sources and debunks some long-held myths about Zhou. Zhang Zehuai (2012) tries to offer probable explanation of some of the unknown parts of Zhou’s life but, unfortunately, his arguments often rely unduly on genealogies of the Zhou surname. Zhou Jiangang (2009) also provides an incisive biography of our hero. Although not as comprehensive as the aforementioned Chinese monographs, Bounghown Kim’s account (1996, 44–83) is valuable for being written in English.

and her kinsmen. Section 2.3 examines Zhou Dunyi's relationship with his pupils, including not only well-known cases—such as the Cheng brothers who were widely regarded as his academic heirs—but also less celebrated ones—such as the Kong 孔 brothers, who were hailed for their literary talents in the Northern Song. Although Zhou could only earn his posthumous fame from the academic and political success of the ardent supporters of the Cheng brothers, extant sources are unequivocal that the Kong brothers formed a much stronger bond with Zhou Dunyi and his family. Section 2.4 revisits his much-discussed relationship with notorious reformer Wang Anshi—a relationship that has been debated to such a degree that any further scholarly analysis is hard put to avoid redundancy. That said, this section focuses primarily on the common friends of Wang and Zhou who likely would have mediated between the two. One may invoke the saying that the friend of your friend is not necessarily your friend. However, there are reasons to believe two people who share a good number of friends are likely also to have in common such features as: regional backgrounds; areas of activity; education; career; and political concerns. Analysing Zhou and Wang's common friends can, therefore, provide new insights into their purported relationship. Lastly, Section 2.5 investigates the sources of Zhou Dunyi's *Diagram of the Great Ultimate*, which forms such a crucial part of his philosophical legacy.

This chapter does not pretend to offer a definitive solution to longstanding questions concerning Zhou Dunyi's life. Rather, its modest aim is to provide additional details and context for some critical junctures in his life that would eventually fuel the foundation of Zhou Dunyi shrines in the Southern Song.

## 2.1. Pertinent Biographical Highlights

Zhou Dunyi was born in 1017 in his father's home town of Yingdao County 營道縣, Daozhou 道州 and spent most of his early days there until his father's death in 1032. After that, he immediately left Daozhou to go to the capital city of Kaifeng 開封 in the company of his mother. They stayed at the house of his maternal uncle Zheng Xiang 鄭向 (?–1038), and Zhou started his career as an official in 1040 at Fenning County 分寧縣 of Hongzhou 洪州. In 1070, having attained the highest position available in that setting, he tendered his resignation. He asked the court for a final assignment to Nankang Commandery 南康軍, since he needed official support in order to reburial his mother at the foot of Mt. Lu 廬山, near that commandery. Once the interment had been accomplished, he retired to the same mountain, occupying a studio that he had built long before. Soon after his retirement, he died and, following his will, his two sons buried him next to his mother.

**Table 2. Zhou Dunyi's Career**

	Place name (Song)	Place name (m.)	Region (m.)	incumbency	age	misc.
1	Hongzhou 洪州 Fenning County 分寧縣	Xiushui County 修水縣, Jiujiang 九江	Jiangxi	1040–44	24–28	
2	Yuanzhou 袁州 Luxi Market Town 蘆溪鎮	Luxi Market Town 蘆溪鎮, Ping Canton 萍鄉	Jiangxi	1040–44	24–28	
3	Nan'an Commandery 南安軍	Dayu County 大餘縣, Ganzhou 贛州	Jiangxi	1044–46	28–30	met the Cheng brothers
4	Chenzhou 郴州 Chen County 郴縣	Chenzhou	Hunan	1046–50	30–34	
5	Chenzhou Guiyang County 桂陽縣	Guiyang, Chenzhou	Hunan	1050–54	34–38	
6	Hongzhou Nanchang County 南昌縣	Nanchang	Jiangxi	1054–56	38–40	met the Kong brothers
7	Hezhou 合州	Hechuan 合川	Chongqing	1056–60	40–44	met Fu Qi
8	Qianzhou 虔州	Ganzhou	Jiangxi	1061–65	45–49	
9	Yongzhou 永州	Yongzhou	Hunan	1066–67	50–51	
10	Shaoyang 邵州	Shaoyang 邵陽	Hunan	1067–68	51–52	
11	Guangnan East Circuit 廣南東路 (Guangzhou 廣州)	Guangzhou	Guangdong	1068–70	52–54	
12	Guangnan East Circuit 廣南東路 (Shaoyang 韶州)	Shaoyang	Guangdong	1070–71	54–55	
13	Nankang Commandery 南康軍	Xingzi 星子, Jiujiang	Jiangxi	1071–72	55–56	

Although he had no breaks in his career from 1040 until his retirement in 1072, he took advantage of his profession as a local official who had to move from one post to another roughly every three years—at least on paper—to visit famous sites along the routes of his relocation.<sup>78</sup> The Northern Song government generously allowed its officials a grace period as long as 15 months so that they had sufficient time to travel

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<sup>78</sup> It was much shorter, in reality. Cong E. Zhang's brief survey points out that it was average 1 year and 7 months in the Northern Song (C. Zhang 2011b, 31–3).

between the posts to which they were assigned.<sup>79</sup> This allowed for visits that, despite their brevity, were used by some Southern Song literati as a pretext for establishing Zhou Dunyi shrines at such places.

**Table 3. All Known Short Sojourns of Zhou Dunyi**

	Place name (Song)	Place name (m.)	Region (m.)	Date
1	Runzhou 潤州	Zhenjiang 鎮江	Jiangxi	1037
2	Jianmen 劍門	Jiange 劍閣	Sichuan	1058
3	Guizhou 歸州	Zigui 秭歸	Hubei	1058
4	Kaifeng 開封	Kaifeng	Henan	1060
5	Chishui County 赤水	Chongqing	Chongqing	1060
6	Jiangzhou 江州	Jiujiang 九江	Jiangxi	1061
7	Jizhou 吉州	Ji'an 吉安	Jiangxi	1062
8	Yudu County 零都	Yudu	Jiangxi	1063
9	Jiangzhou	Jiujiang	Jiangxi	1065
10	Wuchang 武昌	Wuhan 武漢	Hubei	1065
11	Daozhou 道州	Daoxian 道縣	Hunan	1067
12	Lianzhou 連州	Lianzhou	Guangdong	1068
13	Duanzhou 端州	Zhaoqing 肇慶	Guangdong	1069
14	Chunzhou 春州	Yangchun 陽春	Guangdong	1069
15	Kangzhou 康州	Deqing 德慶	Guangdong	1069
16	Huizhou 惠州	Huizhou	Guangdong	1071
17	Chaozhou 潮州	Chaozhou	Guangdong	1071

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<sup>79</sup> Song local officials were asked to report back to the capital within a year after the conclusion of an assignment. Those officials coming from remote regions, including Guangdong, Guangxi, Fujian, and Sichuan were allowed an extra three months. Those who departed the capital for their assigned posts had to arrive at their destinations within 30 days but, once again, official travellers to the four remote regions were given extra 30 days. Cong E. Zhang, however, has pointed out that ‘in reality’ those long-distance travellers were allowed about 90 days in total (C. Zhang 2003, 161–2; 2011b, 76–7).

The following map synthesises the data provided in Tables 2 and 3. The circuit boundaries are those of the year 1200, reconstructed by Robert Hartwell (CHGIS 2017).

**Figure 7. Zhou Dunyi's Itinerary**



The map shows that his destinations centred around Jiangxi, Hunan, and Guangdong, which is one reason that the following chapters focus on the Zhou Dunyi shrines at those three circuits. It is also notable that he hardly went beyond the Yellow River, and stayed most of the time south of the Yangzi River. His being a southerner made it easier for his posthumous promoters in the Southern Song to follow his trajectory when building his monuments. It stands in contrast with, for instance, the case of the Cheng brothers whose affiliated places were mostly located alongside the

Yellow River. This is not to say that Zhu Xi was motivated by Zhou Dunyi's place of origin when he chose him as the icon of his socio-intellectual project. However, Zhu's decision was rewarded with the unanticipated proliferation of shrines dedicated to Zhou in the Southern Song, whose territory did not go beyond the Yangzi River. Had Zhu not chosen Zhou Dunyi, the ghosts of the two Cheng brothers would not have had nearly as many places to enjoy offerings in the Southern Song, since worshipping the brothers in various local Zhou Dunyi shrines which lacked any prior connection whatsoever was only attributable to their being pupils of Zhou (Appendix I).

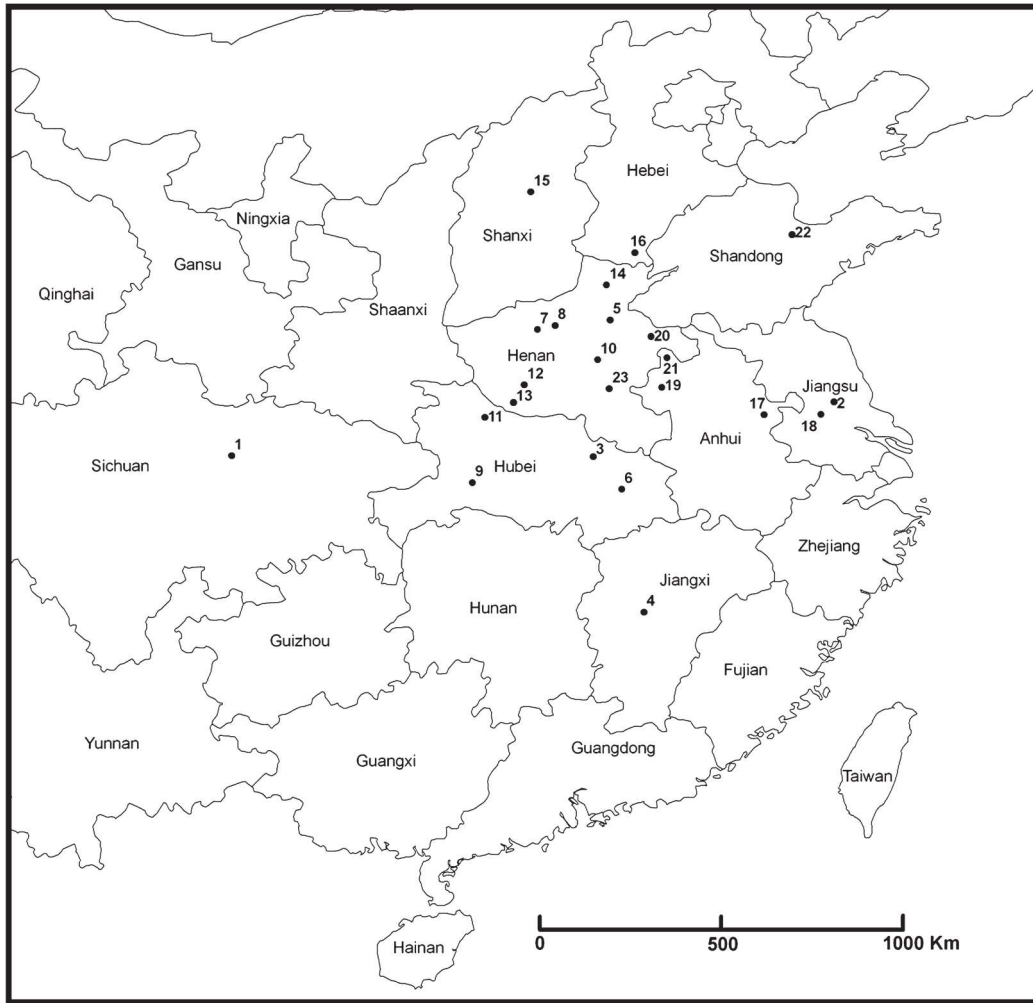
Contrasting the geographical distribution of Zhou Dunyi's posts and places of visit with those of other prominent Northern and Southern Song dignitaries is a fruitful exercise, for which Cong E. Zhang's reconstruction of the destinations of six renowned Northern and Southern Song officials serves the purpose well. For instance, among 16 important places in Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 (1007–1072) life and career, 15 were located north of the Yangzi River (Figure 8). Lu You's 陸遊 (1125–1210) 14 places were mostly south of the Yangzi, as he was a Southern Song man, but they were predominantly located in affluent Zhejiang, Fujian, and Sichuan (Figure 9). Su Shi covered various parts of north and south China partly due to his unfortunate exile to Guangdong and Guangxi, but Wang Anshi was not as keen a traveller as Su Shi was (Figures 10 and 13). Hong Mai's destinations are relatively evenly distributed; Fan Chengda's travel spots are, despite his famous travel diaries to Guangxi and Sichuan, clustered around the Lower Yangzi basin (Figures 11 and 12). All six distribution maps suggest the possibility that some places in the Southern Song were not blessed with abundant connections to famous literati because: a) distinguished Northern Song men tended to

stay in the north; and b) even those who resided and travelled south tended to be in more 'important' regions, such as Zhejiang or Sichuan.<sup>80</sup>

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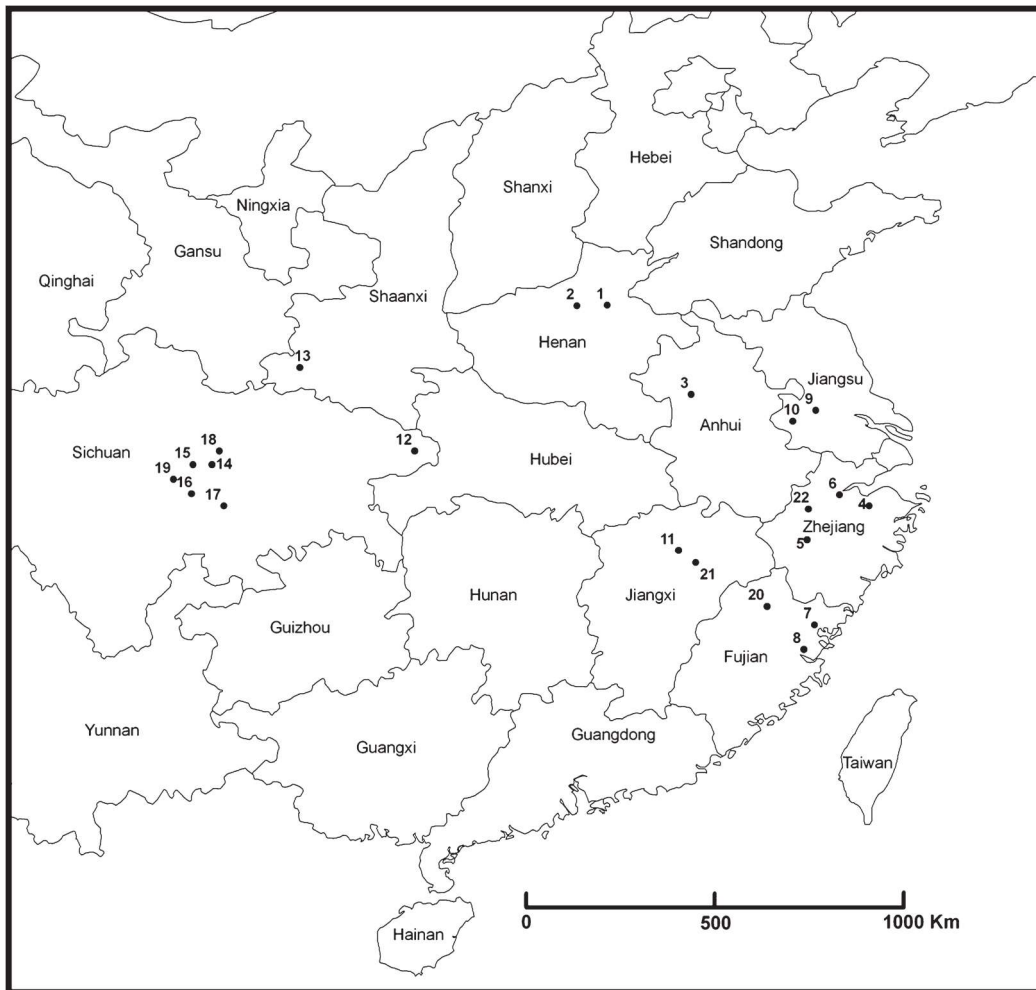
<sup>80</sup> All maps are reprinted from Cong E. Zhang's *Transformative Journeys* (2011, 37–41, 183). Aside from correcting some obvious typographical errors, I did not alter their content. I am grateful to Prof. Zhang and the University of Hawaii Press for their generous permission.

**Figure 8. Important Places in Ouyang Xiu's (1007–1072) Life and Career**



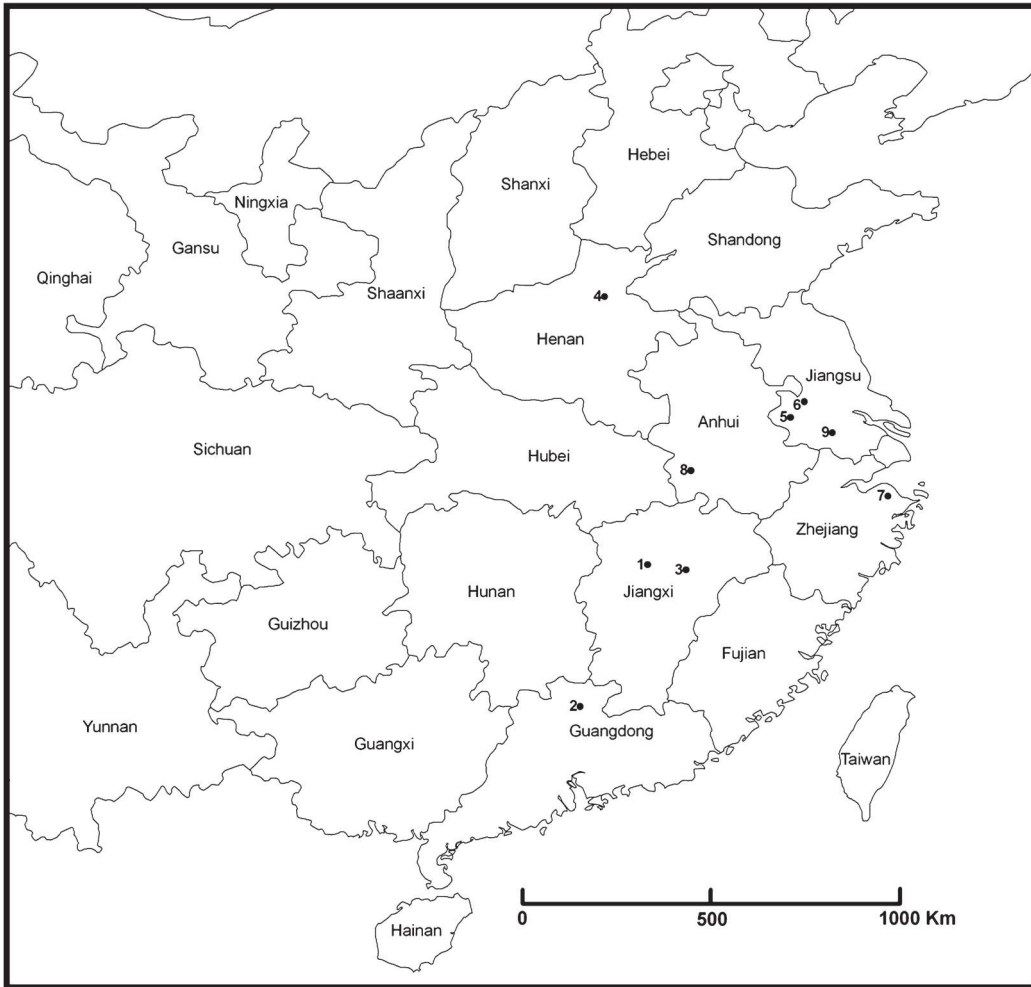
- |    |                              |    |                              |
|----|------------------------------|----|------------------------------|
| 1  | Mianzhou (Mianyang, Sichuan) | 13 | Dengzhou (in Henan)          |
| 2  | Taizhou (in Jiangsu)         | 14 | Huazhou (Huaxian, Henan)     |
| 3  | Suizhou (in Hubei)           | 15 | Taiyuan (in Shanxi)          |
| 4  | Jizhou (Jishui, Jiangxi)     | 16 | Daming (in Hebei)            |
| 5  | Dongjing (Kaifeng, Henan)    | 17 | Chuzhou (in Anhui)           |
| 6  | Hanyang (in Hubei)           | 18 | Yangzhou (in Jiangsu)        |
| 7  | Luoyang (in Henan)           | 19 | Yingzhou (Fuyang, Anhui)     |
| 8  | Gongxian (Gongyi, Henan)     | 20 | Yingtianfu (Shangqiu, Henan) |
| 9  | Yiling (Yichang, Hubei)      | 21 | Bozhou (in Anhui)            |
| 10 | Xuchang (in Henan)           | 22 | Qingzhou (Weifang, Shandong) |
| 11 | Qiande (Laohekou, Hubei)     | 23 | Caizhou (Runan, Henan)       |
| 12 | Nanyang (in Henan)           |    |                              |

**Figure 9. Important Places in Lu You's (1125–1210) Life and Career**



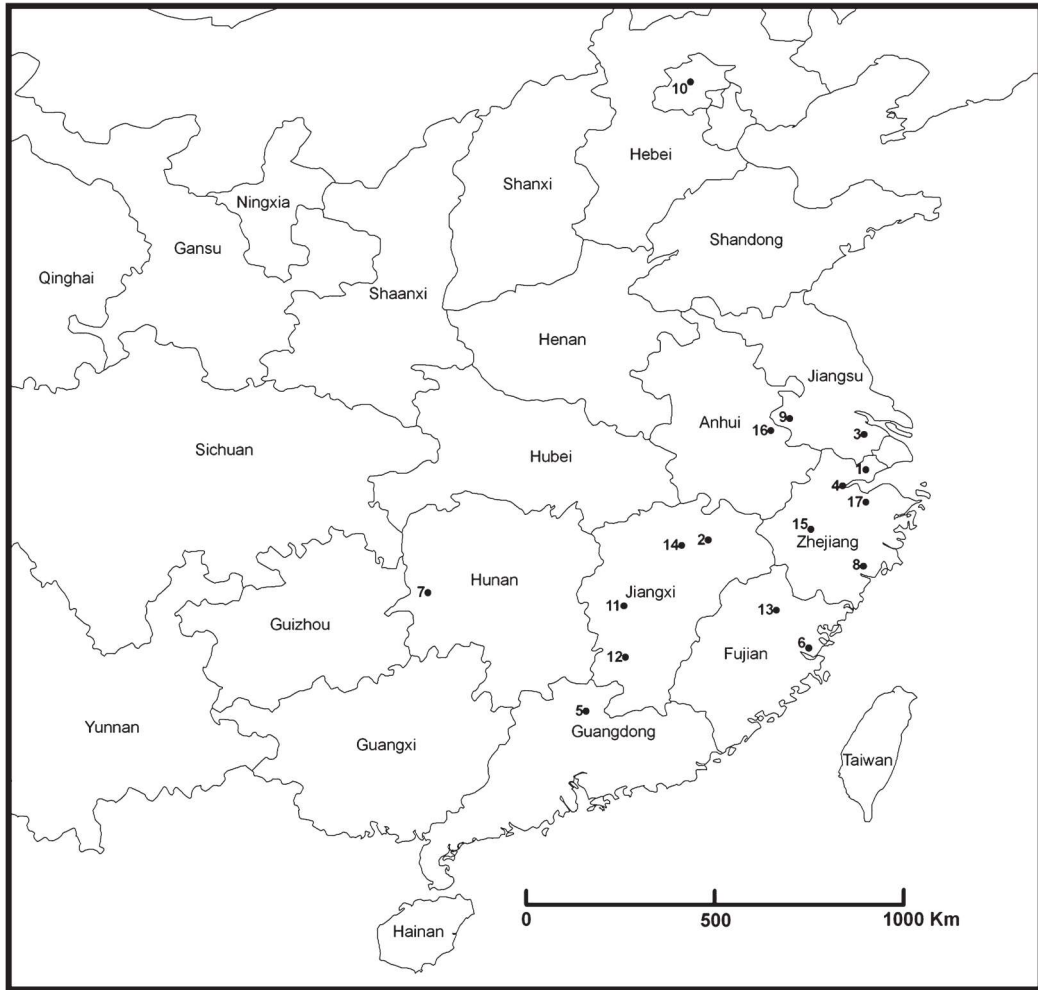
- |    |                              |    |                               |
|----|------------------------------|----|-------------------------------|
| 1  | Kaifeng (Henan)              | 12 | Kuizhou (Fengjie, Sichuan)    |
| 2  | Xingyang (Henan)             | 13 | Nanzheng (Hanzhong, Shaanxi)  |
| 3  | Shouchun (Shouxian, Anhui)   | 14 | Chengdu (in Sichuan)          |
| 4  | Shanyin (Kuaiji, Zhejiang)   | 15 | Shuzhou (Chongqing, Sichuan)  |
| 5  | Dongyang (Jinhua, Zhejiang)  | 16 | Jiazhou (Leshan, Sichuan)     |
| 6  | Lin'an (Hangzhou, Zhejiang)  | 17 | Rongzhou (Zigong, Sichuan)    |
| 7  | Ningde (in Fujian)           | 18 | Hanzhou (Guanghan, Sichuan)   |
| 8  | Fuzhou (in Fujian)           | 19 | Qiongzhou (Qionglai, Sichuan) |
| 9  | Zhenjiang (in Jiangsu)       | 20 | Jianning (Jian'ou, Fujian)    |
| 10 | Jiankang (Nanjing, Jiangsu)  | 21 | Fuzhou (Linchuan, Jiangxi)    |
| 11 | Longxing (Nanchang, Jiangxi) | 22 | Yanzhou (Jiande, Zhejiang)    |

**Figure 10. Important Places in Wang Anshi's (1021–1086) Life and Career**



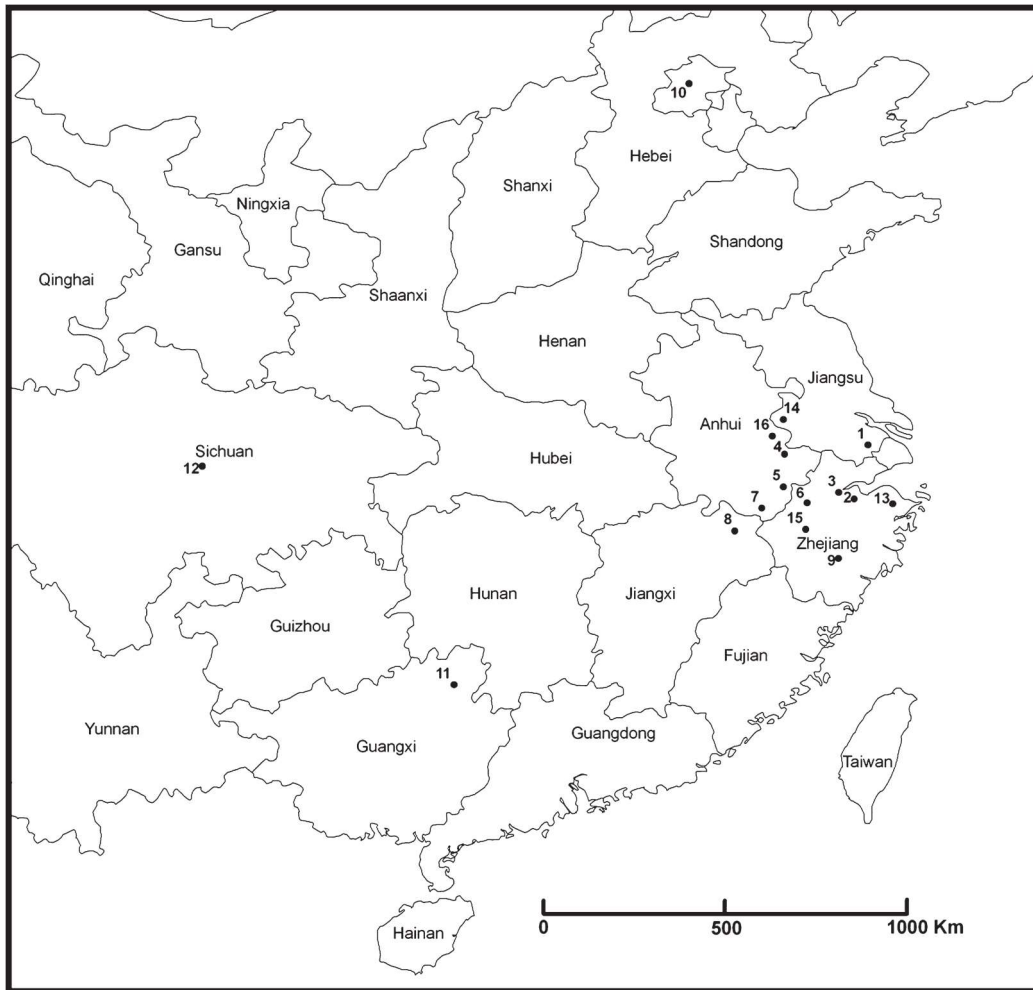
- |   |                                 |   |                             |
|---|---------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | Linjiangjun (Zhangshu, Jiangxi) | 6 | Huainan (Yangzhou, Jiangsu) |
| 2 | Shaoshou (Shaoguan, Guangdong)  | 7 | Yinxian (Ningbo, Zhejiang)  |
| 3 | Linchuan (in Jiangxi)           | 8 | Shuzhou (Huaining, Anhui)   |
| 4 | Kaifeng (in Henan)              | 9 | Changzhou (in Jiangsu)      |
| 5 | Jiangning (Nanjing, Jiangsu)    |   |                             |

**Figure 11. Important Places in Hong Mai's (1123–1202) Life and Career**



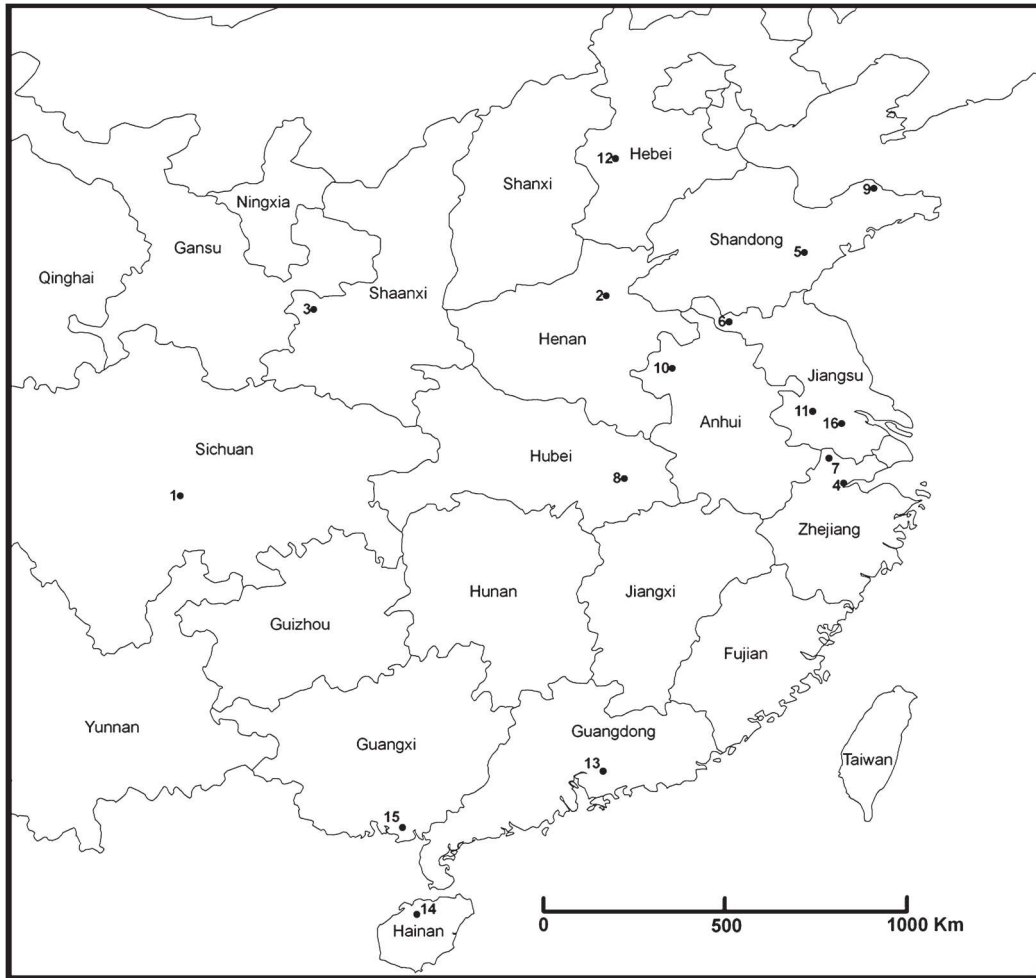
- |   |                              |    |                             |
|---|------------------------------|----|-----------------------------|
| 1 | Xiuzhou (Jiaxing, Zhejiang)  | 10 | Yanshan (Beijing, Hebei)    |
| 2 | Raozhou (Poyang, Jiangxi)    | 11 | Jizhou (Ji'an, Jiangxi)     |
| 3 | Wuxi (in Jiangsu)            | 12 | Ganzhou (in Jiangxi)        |
| 4 | Lin'an (Hangzhou, Zhejiang)  | 13 | Jianning (Jian'ou, Fujian)  |
| 5 | Yingzhou (Yingde, Guangdong) | 14 | Nanchang (in Jiangxi)       |
| 6 | Fuzhou (in Fujian)           | 15 | Wuzhou (Jinhua, Zhejiang)   |
| 7 | Yuanzhou (Huaihua, Hunan)    | 16 | Taipingzhou (Dangtu, Anhui) |
| 8 | Yongjia (Wenzhou, Zhejiang)  | 17 | Shaoxing (in Zhejiang)      |
| 9 | Jiankang (Nanjing, Jiangsu)  |    |                             |

**Figure 12. Important Places in Fan Chengda's (1126–1193) Life and Career**



- |   |                               |    |                             |
|---|-------------------------------|----|-----------------------------|
| 1 | Suzhou (Jiangsu)              | 9  | Chuzhou (Lishui, Zhejiang)  |
| 2 | Jiangyin (Shaoxing, Zhejiang) | 10 | Yanshan (Beijing, Hebei)    |
| 3 | Lin'an (Hangzhou, Zhejiang)   | 11 | Guilin (in Guangxi)         |
| 4 | Xuancheng (Xuanzhou, Anhui)   | 12 | Chengdu (in Sichuan)        |
| 5 | Huizhou (Shexian, Anhui)      | 13 | Mingzhou (Ningbo, Zhejiang) |
| 6 | Yanzhou (Jiande, Zhejiang)    | 14 | Jiankang (Nanjing, Jiangsu) |
| 7 | Xiuning (Anhui)               | 15 | Wuzhou (Jinhua, Zhejiang)   |
| 8 | Fuliang (Jingdezhen, Jiangxi) | 16 | Taipingzhou (Dangtu, Anhui) |

**Figure 13. Important Places in Su Shi's (1037–1101) Life and Career**



- |   |                              |    |                               |
|---|------------------------------|----|-------------------------------|
| 1 | Meizhou (Meishan, Sichuan)   | 9  | Dengzhou (Penzhlai, Shandong) |
| 2 | Kaifeng (in Henan)           | 10 | Yingzhou (Fuyang, Anhui)      |
| 3 | Fengxiang (in Shaanxi)       | 11 | Yangzhou (in Jiangsu)         |
| 4 | Hangzhou (in Zhejiang)       | 12 | Dingzhou (Dingxian, Hebei)    |
| 5 | Mizhou (Zhucheng, Shandong)  | 13 | Huizhou (Huiyang, Guangdong)  |
| 6 | Xuzhou (in Jiangsu)          | 14 | Danzhou (Danxian, Hainan)     |
| 7 | Huzhou (Zhejiang)            | 15 | Lianzhou (Hepu, Guangxi)      |
| 8 | Huangzhou (Huanggang, Hubei) | 16 | Changzhou (in Jiangsu)        |

## 2.2. Background: The Zhou Family of Daozhou and the Zheng Family of Kaifeng

Zhou Dunyi was the son of Zhou Fucheng, a county official who earned his *jinshi* 進士 degree through the facilitated degree course (*tezouming* 特奏名) in 1015. The course was created to grant the degree to those who failed the departmental examination at Kaifeng more than six times. If he had not skipped any major departmental examinations<sup>81</sup> held before 1015, then the one held in 1000 must have been the first one for which he sat. From the fact that it was not usual for a man to sit in the departmental examination before the age of 20, we can infer that he was born in around 980 or earlier when the memories of the long-lasting regional kingdoms were still vivid.

Examination preparation was far from easy. It was excruciatingly painful for the candidate himself and financially burdensome for the family (De Weerd 2007, 380). Candidates had to endure the test once every three years and, although it significantly varied from one time to the next, only less than one per cent of them on average managed to achieve the honourable final degree (J. W. Chaffee 1995, 35–6). Fucheng's parents' financial burden must have extended to buying him a goodly number of textbooks, paying his tutors, and funding his trip to the capital city of Kaifeng at least

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<sup>81</sup> Departmental exam, or *shengshi* 省試, is the second of three stages of the Song exam system, and was so notoriously difficult to pass that passing this stage was counted as a 'success' even before results were obtained from the third stage. In the early Song period, before the eleventh century, almost every year produced some *jinshi* degree holders, but the numbers were not always impressive. Due to the erratic schedule of the early Song exam system, some years saw only a few dozen graduates, while others produced hundreds, if not thousands. In Zhou Fucheng's case, according to the *Study of the Records of Song dynasty Examination Graduates* (*Song dengkeji kao* 宋登科記考), we can count 1015, 1012, 1008, 1005, 1002, and 1000 as major exam years, producing 719, 508, 866, 1982, 221, and an impressive 2131 *jinshi* respectively (Fu Xuancong, Gong, and Zu 2009, 1–102).

six times in the course of 15 years. Living at Yingdao County of Daozhou, Hunan, far from the capital, in a region without any serious scholarly tradition, would have made his preparation all the more difficult.

However, despite such unfavourable conditions, it seems that Zhou Fucheng's father Zhou Zhiqiang 周智強 (or perhaps his grandfather Zhou Congyuan 周從遠) persisted in their belief that passing the examination was the only way to bring glory and prosperity to the family. Zhiqiang probably funded examination preparations for all his five sons, of whom three finally earned the coveted *jinshi* degree and subsequently were appointed to local government positions (LXJ 213).

The examination system was rapidly expanding just as the elite families who had survived the long interregnum period (907–960) became increasingly convinced of the prospect of the new dynasty's success. The examination system, the reformation and expansion of which is credited to Taizong 太宗 (939–997, r. 976–997), was a kind of contract offered to the elites who had been previously subjects of various local kingdoms. By drastically expanding the number of *jinshi* degree conferred each year, Taizong attracted these former subjects to the capital city of Kaifeng, promising to share the fruits of the dynasty's success with them.<sup>82</sup> Zhou Congyuan had held a low-rank military position in the kingdom of Chu 楚, a state that ruled the region of Hunan and Hubei for half a century, but his only son Zhiqiang did not serve.<sup>83</sup> It seems that the

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<sup>82</sup> Taizong's reign produced an average of 450 *jinshi* a year. This was 15 times greater than the previous (Tang) dynasty's average of 30 (Jin 1990, 106).

<sup>83</sup> According to one source, Zhou Congyuan earned his military *jinshi* title (*wujinshi* 武進士) in 960 (Liang 1994, 31).

prospect of greater opportunities under the new dynasty convinced Zhiqiang to strongly encourage his sons to turn their sights to Kaifeng and a *jinshi* degree.

During his 15 years of frustration prior to acquiring the degree, Fucheng married a woman, née Tang 唐, who would not live to see her husband's success. In 1015, he remarried—this time a woman née Zheng 鄭 (982–1037), daughter of a Kaifeng-based official. The Zheng family, originally from Chengdu 成都, had moved to Kaifeng when Meng Chang 孟昶 (919–965, r. 934–65), the last king of Later Shu (*Houshu* 後蜀, 934–965), surrendered to the Song; some sources say that the Zheng family maintained a local base at Hunan as well (*Ming Jiajing Hengzhoufu zhi* 明嘉靖衡州府志 4:13b).

The Zheng family was best known for Ms Zheng's brother Zheng Xiang's successful career. He passed first (*yuan* 元) the departmental examination in 1008 (QSW 101:268). Earning the honourable first rank from that stage was almost a guarantee of success in the Song. He served in multiple high-level positions at the court, and once was dispatched to the Khitanese Liao 遼 dynasty with a diplomatic mission.<sup>84</sup> So successful was his career that he was accorded his own section in the biography chapter of the *Song History* (SS 301:9998).

The marriage of Zhou Fucheng and Ms Zheng seems to have been beneficial for both families. Both Zhou Fucheng and Zheng Xiang were *jinshi*; Fucheng had lost his wife and Ms Zheng lost her husband; each had one son from the previous marriage;

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<sup>84</sup> Nicolas Tackett's quantitative research has proved that serving in a diplomatic position to Liao would almost guarantee a young Northern Song official the future receipt of one of the highest-ranking positions (Tackett 2017, 34–8).

both had bases in Hunan (LXJ 231). As Beverly Bossler points out, traditional Chinese marriage was a kind of deal between the two families, and the chips used in the bargain related mostly to their socio-economic status. The early Northern Song marriage market was characterised by the rising value of one such chip—*jins* degree—at the cost of another—pedigree (Bossler 1998, 78–94). In terms of pedigree, the Zhou family could not match the Zhengs; but Fucheng’s degree was on a par with Zheng Xiang’s. The Zheng family may have regarded Fucheng’s degree as a badge of elite status.

Zhou Dunyi was born in 1017, two years after his father’s successful trip to Kaifeng. Many have taken it granted that he was born in Daozhou where his paternal kinsmen lived, but we cannot rule out the possibility that he was born elsewhere since it was very common for an official early in his career to serve in local positions with his family accompanying him. The only thing that is known for sure is that Fucheng once was Magistrate of Guiyang County in northern Guangxi, and that Zhou Dunyi would probably have spent part of his early years outside Daozhou (Liang 1994, 32). Be that as it may, Guiyang County has not realised its potential tie to Zhou Dunyi.

Zhou Fucheng died in 1032, when our hero was only 15 years old. Upon the death of her husband, Ms Zheng took her sons to Kaifeng to live with her brother, Zheng Xiang, leaving her stepson—born to Fucheng and his first wife, Ms Tang—in Daozhou to mourn his father for three years. It was not uncommon for Tang elite widows to return with their children to their natal families (Tackett 2014, 130), nor for Song elite males to support their daughters’ or sisters’ children (Bossler 1998, chap. 4). However, it was extraordinary for those who professed to be Confucian elites (*shi* 士) to neglect the

mourning duty, especially for a father. Her denying her sons the chance to perform the mourning ritual for their father suggests a symbolic act of divorcing him.

Zheng Xiang, having become the guardian of his nephews, changed their names. As his own two sons shared the character ‘*dun* 惇’ in their names, Zheng Dunru 鄭惇儒 (1018–1084) and Zheng Dunzhong 鄭惇忠 (1026–1087), he applied the same convention to his nephews, presumably hoping that it would help them develop a sense of belonging. Thus, Lu Wen 盧文, Zhou Dunyi’s older half-brother, born to his mother and her first husband, became Lu Dunwen<sup>85</sup> 盧惇文 and Zhou Shi 周實 became Zhou Dunshi 周惇實.<sup>86</sup> Thus under the aegis of Mr Zheng lived together four teenaged males of three different surnames who nonetheless shared the ‘Dun’ in their names.

Zheng Xiang’s rank at court was high enough to earn him the *yin* 蔭 privilege. In the Song, as was the case in the previous Tang and following Ming and Qing dynasties, high-ranking officials could use this privilege to secure low-level official positions for their sons or kinsmen, thus exempting them from the toil and uncertainty

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<sup>85</sup> The existence of Zhou Dunyi’s half-brother was only discovered recently. His name and existence, which the recently discovered LXJ discusses in some detail, were not even mentioned in virtually all later editions. Zhang Zehuai (2012, chap. 2) suspects that this must have been due to bowdlerisation of the original text by some dogmatic Neo-Confucian adherents who could not bear to contemplate that the ‘Founding Father’ of their academic lineage had a remarried—hence, ritually inappropriate—mother. Su Pinxiao (2013) reaches the same conclusion from his philological study of three early editions of Zhou Dunyi’s *Complete Works*, including LXJ.

<sup>86</sup> His name changed several times: Zhou Shi 周實 became Zhou Dunshi 周惇實, and then Zhou Dunyi 周惇頤 due to an imperial taboo concerning a certain Song emperor’s childhood name. About a century and half later in the Southern Song, a prince whose given name included the character ‘*dun* 惇’ ascended the throne, thereby requiring Zhou’s name to be changed once again, to what we know as his name today: Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤. There was also a short period of time between the emperor’s ascendancy and the change of Zhou’s name, during which he was temporarily referred to as Zhou Yi 周頤.

of the civil service examination. Zheng Xiang invoked this privilege not only for his two sons but also for his nephews, including Zhou Dunyi (QSW 101:248).

Zhou Dunyi's connection to the Zheng family did not stop here. Zheng Xiang died in 1038 and was buried in Runzhou 潤州; Ms Zheng did not survive him long as she died in the very next year and was buried next to her brother. Although it is hard to discern why Zhou or others made such a decision, burying one's parents a thousand miles apart would have been unconventional. It may have been simply because of the expense of moving her body all the way back to Daozhou, or it may have signified her lack of emotional attachment to Fucheng. In any case, after the funeral, our hero spent full three years in Runzhou to mourn his mother, very likely with his Zheng surnamed cousins who would have been observing the same ritual for their deceased father.

The relationship continued to the next generation as one of Zheng Dunzhong's daughters married Zhou Shou 周壽 (1057-?), the eldest son of Zhou Dunyi. Because Shou was only 16 when his father died, it is reasonable to assume that the Zhengs were, in effect, offering a kind of sponsorship to the orphaned sons of Zhou Dunyi in the form of marriage alliance. Another interesting aspect of this marriage is that the only text in which it is noted, the *Tomb Inscription for Zheng Dunzhong*, does not mention who the father of the groom was. That this *Inscription* has not been cited, to the best of my knowledge, by any modern scholarship until now must be due to its having completely overlooked Zhou Dunyi's name. It seems that at the time of composition in the late

1080s (QSW 101:268), the author of the inscription did not consider Zhou's name and career worthy of mentioning.<sup>87</sup>

Zhou Shou earned his *jinshi* degree in 1082, when he was only 25, and his younger brother Zhou Tao 周濤 (1062-?) achieved the same feat in 1088. Although not unheard of, to achieve the highly competitive *jinshi* degree without any financial and academic support was increasingly rare in late-eleventh century Song China where virtually all sons with affluent backgrounds were vying for this honour. If they lived near his father's tomb in Jiangzhou, where they could not expect any Zhou surname relatives' support, there must have been others helping them. It seems probable that the Zheng family, especially that of Zheng Dunzhong, must have patronised these orphans, just as Zheng Xiang had sponsored his young nephews before. That one of Zheng Xiang's great grandsons was still treasuring one of Zhou Shou's handwriting specimens about 100 years later in 1185 is indicative of the strong bond between the two families (Zhu Xi 2002, 24:3871–2). Thanks to this support, Shou and Tao could build successful official careers. Shou became a protégé of the nationally famous poets Su Shi and Huang Tingjian; On the eve of the Northern Song, Tao's official rank surpassed his father's; he became the *de facto* governor of the most productive region of the empire—Superintendent of Fiscal Affairs of Liangzhe Circuit (*Liangzhe Lu Zhuanyun Shi* 兩浙路轉運使).

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<sup>87</sup> Tang, as well as Song, elites tended only to record a deceased's in-laws in tomb inscriptions when the latter's success in the government was sufficiently huge (Tackett 2014).

If his maternal side was supporting Zhou Dunyi and his family, what were his paternal Daozhou kinsmen doing? After leaving the town in 1032, Zhou Dunyi could only manage to pay Daozhou a brief visit in 1067 when he was appointed Prefect of Yongzhou, a neighbouring prefecture in Hunan. Although this first visit in 36 years lasted only 13 days, the two letters he wrote to the town written shortly before his arrival reveal that he has been in contact with them for a long time. The first letter suggests that Zhou Dunyi already knew the messenger, one Zhou Xing 周興 (*fl.* 1060), and his 26th and 31st uncles (*shu* 叔). His second letter includes a vibrant message from his wife and a certain ‘sister Han (*Han jie* 韓姐)’ to Daozhou kinsmen that hints at a longstanding relationship (LXJ 104):

You and your bride and son and daughter are all well? Take care, take care (*jiangxi jiangxi* 將息將息)! As for the 101st and 102nd’s asking after their sister-in-law, Shanshan 善善 and the bride are well well well (*ananan* 安安安). You don’t come, don’t come (*budelai budelai* 不得來不得來). How is the old third Zhou and his wife? Are the first Zhou and his son looking after the graves carefully? How is the young second Zhou (LXJ 105)?

This is by far the most colloquial and lively piece in the entire corpus of Zhou Dunyi that I have come across in five years of research. The content and the tone of the letter suggest that his family members knew some Zhou surnames of Daozhou even before their visit. Possible occasions for their meeting might have included Zhou Dunyi’s second marriage to Ms Pu 蒲 in 1060 at Hezhou. Even though no source evidences Zhou and Pu’s visit to Daozhou or Daozhou kinsmen’s travel to Hezhou where Zhou Dunyi met Ms Pu, the wedding in 1060 seems to be the only important

family ritual that could conceivably have motivated either side to travel a great distance to see the other.

Also notable is the Daozhou Zhou-surnamed kinsmen's warm reception of Zhou Dunyi. The extant letters show that Zhou Fucheng's posthumous promotion to Grandmaster of Remonstrance (*Jianyi Dafu* 諫議大夫) was due to Zhou Dunyi's career success. Moreover, the son's visit to Daozhou in his capacity as Prefect of nearby Yongzhou must have included some ritual observances, most likely performed by servants and clerks in appropriate costumes.<sup>88</sup> His visit to his father's grave to inform Zhou Fucheng's spirit of the posthumous promotion, which included reciting a brief ritual prayer that he had written for the occasion, would have been observed by dozens of curious local eyes. News of Zhou Dunyi's continuous advancement in the government and the ensuing promotion of his late father, as well as his spectacular visit to Daozhou must have commanded considerable attention.

However, a careful look at what Zhou Dunyi was doing at Daozhou apart from the ritual visit to his father's tomb reveals that he was not contemplating any further visits to his home town. What he did next was to draft a legal document stating that he relinquished his ownership of the land reserved to him there, transferring title to his paternal nephew, Zhou Zhongzhang 周仲章 (*fl.* 1060). The document entrusts Zhongzhang with the care of Zhou Fucheng's tomb, with the expectation that income from the land will be used to meet that expense.

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<sup>88</sup> For information on the Song government's provision of porters and soldiers to official travellers, and local hosts' reception of important guests, see Cong E. Zhang (2011, 84–8, 135–8).

It is clear that by this time, Zhou Dunyi had made up his mind to retire to Jiangzhou 江州, Jiangxi 江西, a good few hundred kilometres from Daozhou, having already constructed his retirement studio there. Advised that his mother's tomb in Runzhou had been seriously damaged by water and stood in need of immediate repair, he decided to move the tomb to a site next to his Jiangzhou studio. After his death in 1073, his elder son Zhou Shou inherited the studio and stayed in Jiangzhou, while the younger, Zhou Tao, eventually went back to Daozhou. As Zhou Dunyi predicted—if not prescribed—, his ‘descendants became men of Jiujiang (Jiangzhou) Lianxi (LXJ 135).’

To sum up, Zhou Dunyi was born to families who possessed a measure of political and economic power. They may not have belonged to the highest echelon of society, but they were sufficiently powerful to spare Zhou Dunyi from financial worries and the hurdle of the examination. His maternal kinsmen were of primary importance in shaping not only his life, but his afterlife. They nurtured young Zhou Dunyi, gave him an entrée to officialdom, and, through marriage alliance, went on to support his sons. Although he also kept in touch with his paternal relatives in Daozhou, his decision to sever ties with that locality and rebury his mother in Jiangzhou suggest that his emotional attachment to the Zhou surname of Daozhou was a tenuous one. A century later, this tenuousness would become a source of anxiety for Daozhou men who were only then discovering the huge potential benefit of Daozhou being identified as Zhou Dunyi's home town. This anxiety is analysed in Chapter 3.

### 2.3. Pupils: The Chengs of Luoyang and the Kongs of Linjiang

The biggest controversy vis-à-vis Zhou Dunyi's life is, I daresay, his having taught the Cheng brothers. Ever since Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107) declared that they studied with Zhou when they were in their early teens, there have been endless debates over the nature and content of their instruction. Zhu Xi and his disciples asserted that it was a kind of master-discipleship such as they were practising in the Southern Song;<sup>89</sup> men who considered themselves Zhu Xi's academic heirs reiterated this interpretation.<sup>90</sup> On the other hand, those who did not believe that Zhu Xi deserved a dominant position in the intellectual and political domain expressed their scepticism by rejecting his model. Wang Yingchen 汪應辰 (1118–76), although a good friend of Zhu Xi, did not endorse his characterisation of the Zhou-Cheng relationship. Zhu Xi's perspective was that the Chengs had 'learned from (*shouxue* 受學)' Zhou, who related to them as 'master and disciples (*wei shidizi* 為師弟子)'. Wang, however, preferred to describe the brothers as having 'spent time with (*congyou* 從遊)' Zhou in a situation of mutual respect, without assuming the roles of master or disciple (*suo zunjing er buwei shidizi* 所尊敬而不為師弟子)' (Zhu Xi 2002, 21:1302).

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<sup>89</sup> The first seven chapters of Shu Jingnan's highly acclaimed biography of Zhu Xi (Shu 1992) is a graphic description of the kind of relationship Zhu, as an enthusiastic disciple, practised with his masters.

<sup>90</sup> For instance, Zhu Xi was serious when he maintained that Zhou Dunyi transmitted his famous *Diagram* only to the early teenaged brothers and no one else because he believed it was a sophisticated, esoteric knowledge that could be readily misunderstood by untrained minds and so should only be entrusted to such extremely talented people as the Cheng brothers (Zhu Xi 2002, 23:2814).

The traditional scholarship on this topic has been partisan to such an extent that one's factional alliances often dictated one's opinion. As the *Survey of Song and Yuan Learning* (*Song Yuan xue'an* 宋元學案) points out, those 'who revere Zhu [Xi] slander Lu [Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1193)], and extend [this defamation] to Cihu 慈湖 [Yang Jian 楊簡 (1141–1226)], Baisha 白沙 [Chen Xianzhang 陳獻章 (1428–1500)], and Yangming 陽明 [Wang Shouren 王守仁 (1472–1528)]; those who revere Lu [Jiuyuan] slander Zhu [Xi] and Zhou [Dunyi], and recently there have been those who even extend their defamation to the two Cheng brothers' (Huang Zongxi and Quan 1986, 514).<sup>91</sup> Although modern scholarship is not entirely free from partisan viewpoints, most scholars now disagree with Zhu Xi's 'learned from' thesis on various grounds and to varying degrees (Zhou Jiangang 2009, 12–9; Tsuchida 2002, ch.2; Graham 1958, 152–175).

Despite such a long history of debate over the relationship, it is astonishing that no one has ever studied the notion of master-discipleship that Zhou Dunyi himself would have conceived. The dearth of writings he left notwithstanding, one can glean some hints about his ideas from investigating the patterns of his relationships with young elites other than the Cheng brothers. There were several of these, but the Kong 孔 brothers stand out for their prolonged relationship with Zhou Dunyi and his sons.

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<sup>91</sup> Yang Jian was Lu Jiuyuan's pupil, and Chen Xianzhang was traditionally recognised as a forerunner of the Yangming tradition that opposed Zhu Xi's ideas. Wang Shouren (a.k.a. Wang Yangming) considered himself an heir to Lu Jiuyuan. Sharing many similar ideas, they were regarded as the Mind School (*xinxue* 心學), or Lu-Wang branch of Neo-Confucianism. Note, however, that the Mind School is a notion that was only coined in the Ming. The Southern Song intellectuals who would later be labelled as members of the Mind School were not necessarily hostile to Zhou Dunyi's scholarship. See footnote 3 of this thesis.

### 2.3.1. *Father Cheng and Father Kong*

The Cheng brothers' first encounter with Zhou Dunyi, which has been long regarded as a watershed moment in the larger trajectory of Chinese intellectual history, was possible only through the mediation of the Chengs' father. Cheng Xiang was Zhou's superior when the latter was serving as a penal official at Nan'an Commandery in about 1046 (Table 2, Item 3) and, it is reported, the only one in the Commandery who recognised Zhou's outstanding talent and character. He asked Zhou to tutor his sons (Cheng and Cheng 2004, 16, 338); Cheng Yi, the younger of the two, told in the biography of his deceased older brother Cheng Hao, that Hao 'heard Zhou Maoshu of Runan discussing the Way (*wen Runan Zhou Maoshu lundao* 聞汝南周茂叔論道) (Cheng and Cheng 2004, 638)'.

The Kongs' case is very similar. Kong Yanzhi 孔延之 (1013–1074) was Prefect of Hongzhou 洪州 in about 1055 when Zhou Dunyi was assigned to Nanchang County 南昌縣 in the same prefecture and Yanzhi too introduced his three sons to Zhou. Unfortunately, no account of this meeting survives, perhaps due to the loss of the majority of Kong's works during the Jurchen invasion of the Northern Song in the early-twelfth century.

Some ten years after his first meeting with the Kongs, Zhou Dunyi was appointed to govern Shaozhou 邵州 in 1067, a small prefecture at the southern tip of Hunan (Table 2, Item 10). He refurbished the Prefectural School of Shaozhou and asked

Kong Yanzhi, who was then Superintendent of Fiscal Affairs of Jinghu North Circuit (*Jinghu Beilu Zhuanyun Shi* 荆湖北路轉運使), to write an essay in commemoration of the renovation. Even in such a formulaic genre, Kong's deep admiration and sincere respect for Zhou Dunyi are apparent.

My friend (*wuyou* 吾友)<sup>92</sup> Zhou Dunyi Maoshu 周惇頤 茂叔 ... delights in learning and has broad understanding. [His] words, deeds, and service in government are all based on the *Six Classics* (*Liujing* 六經) and find their proof in the *Mencius* (*Mengzi* 孟子). Such being the case, every deed of his can be outstanding like this. If the *Song History* were to record the excellency of Mr Zhou later to set up a model for the future generation, [that record] would put the refurbishment of the school of Shaozhou in the first place (QSW 48:74).<sup>93</sup>

The two men's continuing friendship is also attested by the location of their retirement houses. Although Kong's paternal family base was Linjiang Commandery 臨江軍, Jiangxi, he still took such pleasure in the scenic beauty of Jiangzhou that he built a retirement house there. However, he was not afforded the chance to settle there due to his untimely death at Kaifeng in 1074. His sons brought his body to Jiangzhou, presumably to observe their father's will, and buried him there, taking the house as their own permanent abode. The tomb was at Rengui Canton 仁貴鄉, Dehua County 德化

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<sup>92</sup> It is one of only two occasions in all extant sources where someone calls Zhou Dunyi 'my friend'. The other is found in Pan Xingsi's 潘興嗣 (1023?–1100) *Tomb Inscription for Zhou Dunyi*.

<sup>93</sup> The essay and the friendship it suggests did not go unnoticed when Kong Yanzhi's remote descendant Kong Honghua 孔弘化 came to govern Xinning County 新寧縣 of Shaozhou in 1556 (*Ming Wanli Xinningxian zhi* 明萬曆新寧縣志 8:26b–8b).

縣 of Jiangzhou, just a few kilometres away from Zhou Dunyi's retirement house and tomb at Dehua Canton 德化鄉, Dehua County of Jiangzhou.<sup>94</sup>

Zhou Dunyi retired to Jiangzhou in 1071, but his retirement home there had already been built some 10 years previously (Table 3, Item 6); some poems dedicated to him by his friends suggest that they occasionally came to this place for social gatherings even before the permanent move (LXJ 118–21). Many such friends were men of Jiangxi, perhaps due to the proximity. Among them was Pan Xingsi 潘興嗣 (1023?–1100), who would later write a tomb inscription for Zhou Dunyi (LXJ 135). Pan was also a close friend of Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019–83), another famous Jiangxi literatus. Zeng was, in turn, a very close friend of Kong Yanzhi for whom he would later write a tomb inscription (QSW 58:218). We can thus reasonably infer that Kong Yanzhi was one of the friends with whom Zhou wanted to ‘discuss the Way of the sage kings’ at his retirement home in his final years (LXJ 136).

In contrast, the Cheng brothers' father, Cheng Xiang, appears to be connected to Zhou Dunyi only by a brief meeting at Nan'an Commandery. Even this meeting is referenced in a single source—Cheng Yi's biography of his father—and nowhere else. Cheng Xiang's recognition of Zhou is beyond doubt. But there is no further textual evidence that would make us believe that this relationship was anywhere near as intimate as the one he enjoyed with Kong Yanzhi.

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<sup>94</sup> Unfortunately, I had no chance to visit Jiujiang to see the two tombs and check the distance between them. However, Google Maps suggests that they are only an hour's walk apart. One Ming period local gazetteer published in 1525 says that Zhou Dunyi and Kong Yanzhi bought lands and studios ‘together’, suggesting that the proximity of the two houses was intended (*Ming Jiajing Jiangxi tongzhi* 明嘉靖江西通志 13:30a).

### 2.3.2. *The Sons: The Cheng Brothers and the Kong Brothers.*

Kong Yanzhi had seven sons; two died early, but the other five survived their father. The eldest three especially—Kong Wenzhong 孔文仲 (1038–1088), Kong Wuzhong 孔武仲 (*fl.* 1070), and Kong Pingzhong 孔平仲 (*js.* 1065)—were renowned for their extraordinary literary talents. All three passed the civil service examination with very high marks and enjoyed successful careers overall. As to their relationship with Zhou Dunyi, Wenzhong’s *Tomb Inscription* (QSW 62:126) by the famous statesman Su Song 蘇頌 (1020–1101) is silent. Nonetheless, Wenzhong and Wuzhong’s *Sacrificial Prayer for Zhou Maoshu* (*Ji Zhou Maoshu wen* 祭周茂叔文) (LXJ 133 for Wenzhong’s *Prayer*) (Kong, Kong, and Kong 2002, 304 for Wuzhong’s) and the two poems Pingzhong dedicated to Zhou Dunyi (LXJ 122) (Kong, Kong, and Kong 2002, 343) shed some light on the nature of this relationship.

The Kong brothers were in their mid teens when they met Zhou Dunyi, just as the Cheng brothers had been. It is not clear whether Zhou tutored the Kong brothers as he had done the Chengs. Kong Wuzhong’s *Sacrificial Prayer* says he ‘served [him] at his side (*shice* 侍側)’, which means he paid him visits multiple times, perhaps regularly. Considering that the text also says Zhou ‘encouraged [*mian* 勉], cultivated [*zhi* 植], and irrigated [*guan* 灌] me’, he must have engaged in substantive conversations with him and not mere social pleasantries. Wenzhong’s *Prayer* does not suggest such a relationship, but his description of Zhou’s aim of becoming ‘Yi [Yin 伊尹] and Fu [Yue

傳說]’ aligns perfectly with what Zhou says in his other works such that it is reasonable to assume that he would have discussed serious scholarly matters with Zhou. Let us see what Zhou says about Yi Yin in his *Book of Penetration*, for example:

Yi Yin and Yan Yuan (顏淵) [Yan Hui 顏回 (521–481)] are great worthies. Yi Yin was ashamed of failing to make his own king [as great as the sage kings] Yao and Shun. When a man was not allocated to the place [most fitting for him], Yi Yin was as ashamed of himself as if he had been flogged in the market place. Yan Yuan did not transfer his anger; nor did he repeat a fault; he would not contradict the principle of benevolence (*ren* 仁) for as long as three months. Will what Yi Yin willed and learn what Master Yan learned. (LXJ 59)

Tsuchida Kenjirō (2002, 138–44) draws attention to a scholarly discourse in which most early Northern Song thinkers were involved—namely, the reconciliation of the notions of ‘internal-sagehood (*neisheng* 內聖)’ and ‘external-kingly-governance (*waiwang* 外王)’. Pursuing the perfection of the self was undeniably an important goal of scholars but constructing a kingly (ideal) government and bringing peace and prosperity to all under heaven was equally important. How were these two goals to be reconciled? Zhou Dunyi, like many other contemporary thinkers, pursued both goals—represented by Yi Yin and Yan Hui in his writings—without offering any conceptual means to bridge the two. He simply juxtaposed them as though they were two different practices to be pursued separately. The systematic amalgamation of the two ideals would wait until Zhu Xi built a strong philosophical linkage by which one might translate one’s internal achievements into external activities.

There is a remarkable disparity between the ways in which the Kongs and the Chengs describe Zhou Dunyi’s ambition. Kong Wenzhong remembers Zhou chiefly as a would-be statesman like Yi Yin or Fu Yue while failing to mention the Yan Hui aspect

of his persona, whereas the Cheng brothers recall him as a hermit philosopher like Yan, omitting his Yi Yin characteristics. This discrepancy reflects the difference in their own dreams.<sup>95</sup> The Kong brothers were, above all, statesmen, whereas the Cheng brothers were philosophers.

Meanwhile, Wenzhong visited Yongzhou in either 1067 or 1068 for the express purpose of seeing Zhou Dunyi. It seems that Zhou was at least a very special man to Wenzhong and Wuzhong, if not their master.

Kong Pingzhong adopts a somewhat different tone. Unlike his older brothers who recall the memory of Zhou Dunyi the man, Pingzhong depicts the scenery of the Lianxi 濂溪 Studio and its surroundings in one of his poems for Zhou. The stream is pure (*qing* 清), seated in the middle of the deep (*shen* 深, *you* 幽) clouds and fog, old diagrams and books (*tushu* 圖書) piled up in the hall, surrounded by aged pines and bamboos. Zhou used to be there, whose personality blends in with the background (LXJ 122). This portrait of Zhou is closer to the Cheng's version than the Kong Wenzhong's, although the poem makes no reference to Zhou's scholarship.

That the poem fails to feature Zhou Dunyi's ideas may be attributed to the limitations of the genre. Had he written a prayer for Zhou as his older brothers did, we might have a similar account of Pingzhong's memory of Zhou. However, we must also take Pingzhong's age into consideration. He was at most in his early teens when he met

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<sup>95</sup> The Cheng brothers recapitulate Zhou Dunyi's instruction as 'to find out what Confucius and Yan Hui took delight in (*le* 樂)' (Cheng and Cheng 2004, 17). The Brothers' frequent accentuation of Yan Hui's '*le*' on other occasions also attests to the lingering influence of Zhou Dunyi (Cheng and Cheng 2004, 76, 395, 577).

Zhou at Hongzhou. He could have gone to Zhou's place along with Wenzhong and Wuzhong but not been equipped to understand their discussion. Instead, it seems, he became a friend of Zhou Shou, Zhou Dunyi's eldest son. When Zhou Shou was about to set off for Kaifeng to sit the departmental examination, Pingzhong wished him the best in a farewell poem, saying that he would be rewarded for his father's lifetime of good deeds [*jishan* 積善] (Kong, Kong, and Kong 2002, 343).

Another interesting point is that all three of them made their way to Lianxi Studio at Jiangzhou at some point in their lives. If we identify the narrators in the two *Sacrificial Prayers* with their authors, it is clear that they were at Zhou Dunyi's grave in person. Pingzhong's poem likewise suggests that he has based it on first-hand observations of the studio. Both of these are plausible, considering that their home was only a few hours away from Zhou's place. For Pingzhong to have written a farewell poem when Zhou Shou was about to depart his Jiangzhou home also implies geographical proximity.

This stands in contrast with the Cheng brothers who did not stay in touch with Zhou Dunyi after the brief episode of their tutorial (1046–7).<sup>96</sup> They could have done so. Luoyang was not close by Jiangzhou, but they were aware of Zhou's activities and sufficiently close that they could have paid him a visit if they had wished to. We know that Hou Zhongliang 侯仲良 (*fl.* 1070), a close relative and pupil of the Cheng brothers, once visited Zhou without the brothers. When he came back, Cheng Yi remarked that

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<sup>96</sup> As Angus Graham notes, there is a possibility that they met again in 1049. However, there is absolutely 'no evidence of any contact between them after 1049 (Graham 1958, 160)'.

Hou had made extraordinary progress in his studies and asked him: ‘Have you been to Lianxi (Zhu Xi 2002, 12:1090)?’<sup>97</sup> Conversely, Fu Qi 傅耆 (*js.* 1061), a young *jinshi* from Suining 遂寧, near Chengdu 成都, who had been very close to Zhou Dunyi by that time also paid a visit to Cheng Yi (Huang Zongxi and Quan 1986, 528; Cheng and Cheng 2004, 671).<sup>98</sup> Moreover, Zhou also corresponded with Cheng Hao’s father-in-law Peng Siyong 彭思永 (999–1070) in 1057 (LXJ 101, 233). Of all the chances, however, there is no evidence of any direct communication between Zhou and the Cheng brothers after the tutorial period. We have two sacrificial prayers for Zhou Dunyi composed by the Kong brothers, but nothing by the Chengs.<sup>99</sup>

There is no doubt that the Cheng brothers and the Kong brothers knew each other; however, they did not like each other. While both were vehemently against Wang Anshi’s New Policies, they maintained very different views as to what the alternative to the New Policies project should be. During the short-lived conservative takeover in the Yuanyou 元祐 reign period (1086–1094), they found themselves on opposite sides of the feud between the Luo 洛 faction and the Shu 蜀 faction. The Luo was led by Cheng Yi from Luoyang, while Shu was led by Su Shi and his younger brother Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039–1112), originally from Sichuan (or, Shu), with whom the Kong brothers were closely allied (Li Zhenzhen 2010, 36–7, 108–115).

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<sup>97</sup> This anecdote is not entirely reliable. Zhu Xi’s doubtful comment is worth considering.

<sup>98</sup> Zhu Xi was aware of these relationships (QSW 251:124).

<sup>99</sup> A Southern Song Zhu Learning literatus sought to solve this mystery; this attempt unfortunately failed to gain a wide readership (QSW 355:20).

The Luo-Shu factional struggle culminated in Kong Wenzhong's impeachment of Cheng Yi.<sup>100</sup> As a good friend of Su Shi, the eldest Kong first attacked Cheng Yi's pupil Zhu Guangting 朱光庭 (1037–1094) (QSW 72:190) in retaliation for the latter's impeachment of Su Shi. Kong's subsequent impeachment of Cheng Yi as the ostensible mastermind behind Zhu's political actions irrevocably damaged the relationship between the two faction leaders. His impeachment draft includes: 'people in the world' are saying that Cheng Yi is pathetically 'artful [*xianqiao* 儉巧]' and the head of 'Five Demons (*wugui* 五鬼)' (Chen Bangzhan 1977, 439).<sup>101</sup> So intense was the animosity that we can hardly imagine the Chengs and the Kongs bonding over their common identity as Zhou Dunyi's pupils.<sup>102</sup>

Zhou Shou's befriending members of Su Shi's faction is also worth noting. By the time Zhou Dunyi's eldest son earned his *jinshi* degree in 1082, he was already a close friend of Huang Tingjian, who was perhaps the most prominent member of the

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<sup>100</sup> This impeachment case would eventually be well-known in the Southern Song, and the growth of Cheng Yi's reputation by that time adversely affected reputation of anyone who had impeached him. For instance, A commemorative essay for a shrine for Chen Gongfu 陳公輔 (1077–1142) shows that some literati were disparaging the idea of enshrining Chen since he, like Kong Wenzhong, had once impeached Cheng Yi. The author of the essay, Ye Shi, circumvents the issue by comparing Wenzhong to Yan Ying 晏嬰 (d. 500 BCE) and Cheng Yi to Confucius, arguing that, although Yan disliked Confucius, this did not mean that Yan was not a worthy. As diplomatic as Ye's attempt at legitimisation sounds, the fact that he deemed it necessary to concoct one suggests that impeaching Cheng Yi had considerably damaged Chen and Kong's reputations.

<sup>101</sup> The historian Li Xinchuan's *Record of the Way and Its Destiny* (*Daoming lu* 道命錄) includes this expression (YLDD 8164:5a). Other versions of this impeachment text, such as one recorded in the *Collected Data for a Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編) (1993, 404:9829–31) or QSW (81:21) do not include the 'five demons' reference. Even without that phrase, however, the tone of the impeachment memorial is still acerbic. For more about Luo-Shu factionalism, see Ari Daniel Levine (2008, 118–125).

<sup>102</sup> One of the Shu faction men attests that Cheng Yi only paid Kong Wenzhong a visit at a late stage in order to win him over to his side, and that was their first ever encounter (Li Tao 1993, 403:9818). Kong also says he did not personally know Cheng before (QSW 81:22).

Su Shi's faction. There are as many as four essays and ten poems addressed to Zhou Shou in the extant *Complete Works* of Huang Tingjian. Moreover, Daoqian 道潜 (1043–1106), the important monk-poet of Su Shi and Huang Tingjian's poetry circle also wrote at least four poems for Shou. Chen Yuyi 陳與義 (1090–1138), a would-be Chief Councillor and a member of the same circle wrote one poem for Zhou Shou and two for his younger brother Zhou Tao. Due to the formulaic nature of this genre, none of these poems can serve as conclusive evidence of any relationship. Nevertheless, given the impressive number of poems, it is tempting to conclude that the two sons of Zhou Dunyi were an integral part of Su Shi's social network and known as such to their contemporaries.<sup>103</sup>

The Luo faction and the Shu faction came to know each other quite well as the bitter struggle continued. At one point, Cheng Yi, the leader of the Luo faction, would probably have come to realise that his former tutor's two sons were important friends of his adversaries. He might even have come to believe that Zhou Shou and Zhou Tao were among those 'people in the world' who had told Kong Wenzhong that Cheng Yi was 'the head of Five Demons'. In all likelihood, Cheng Yi was aware that Zhou Dunyi's old friends were not necessarily his friends.

This sheds light on a problem that has vexed many Chinese literati. Zhou Dunyi's name is mentioned about a dozen times throughout the *Posthumous Scriptures*

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<sup>103</sup> One letter sent by Huang Tingjian to Zhou Dunyi in the early 1070s is preserved in his *Complete Works* (QSW 105:276). Although I hesitate to take the letter as a decisive evidence of a long-term correspondence between the two, it seems very likely that Zhou Dunyi was more likely to have formed a friendship with Huang than with Cheng Yi.

of *Mr Cheng of Henan* (*Henan Chengshi yishu* 河南程氏遺書) and the *Outer Scriptures* (*Waishu* 外書). Some of those accounts in the two texts that can be safely attributed to Cheng Hao are quite positive and complimentary in tone, suggesting that Cheng Hao held Zhou in relatively high esteem. Other accounts, however, are more neutral. One anonymous account—the speaker of which could either be Hao or Yi—sounds sarcastic, if not overtly offensive.

Zhou Maoshu was an impoverished Chan guy (*Zhou Maoshu qiongchanke* 周茂叔窮禪客) (Cheng and Cheng 2004, 85)

Both the believers and the non-believers of Zhou Dunyi's being the 'master' of the Cheng brothers found this comment highly disrespectful and, of course, the non-believers seized on it to their advantage (Lu Shiyi 1986, 71:10b). Striving to mitigate the damage, the believers looked for alternative interpretations of the phrase, such as:

This must be [that when] Maoshu was talking to a Chan practitioner, [he] cornered him so critically [*qiongjie* 窮詰] that the practitioner could not answer to his questions (Lu Shiyi 1986, 35:2a).

Clever as it may sound, this interpretation is grammatically unconvincing. Moreover, Zhou Dunyi was not a militant Buddhophobic philosopher like the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi; he had no reason to corner Chan practitioners. However, when we consider the political context of the late eleventh century where Cheng Yi found himself surrounded by political enemies, many of them connected to his former tutor, whose works were considered to be deeply tinged with Daoist and Buddhist overtones, his dismissal of Zhou as 'an impoverished Chan guy!' should come as no surprise. It also

helps to explain why Cheng Hao's references to Zhou were more positive than his younger brother's. Cheng Hao was not as militant an anti-Buddhist thinker as Cheng Yi, and he did not live long enough to experience the full force of Luo-Shu factionalism; thus, he had no political or ideological reason to belittle his previous 'teacher'.

Meanwhile, the comparison between the Kongs' and the Chengs' attitude towards Zhou Dunyi answers another longstanding question. At least from the Southern Song on, Chinese literati found the Cheng brothers calling Zhou Dunyi by his courtesy name (*zi* 字), 'Maoshu', unacceptable. By the Southern Song standard, addressing each other by courtesy names could only mean that both men were of equal status. Pupils, in deference to their masters, were expected to call them by the combination of the teacher's studio name (*hao* 號, a.k.a. art name, pseudonym, or penname) and an honorific title '*xiansheng* 先生'. Accordingly, those who did not believe that Zhou Dunyi was the brothers' master argued that if Cheng Yi had really been Zhou's disciple, he would have addressed him as '*Lianxi xiansheng* 濂溪先生' rather than 'Zhou Maoshu 周茂叔'. Cheng Yi's calling Hu Yuan 胡瑗 (993–1059) 'Hu *xiansheng*'—A renowned Northern Song literatus who once taught him—supports this line of argument (Graham 1958, 161).

Those who insisted Zhou Dunyi was the Cheng brothers' master addressed this issue in two different ways. One is to read the texts more critically. The texts that include Cheng Yi's accounts are not his own writings, but mere dialogues recorded by his disciples. Therefore, it could have been that Cheng Yi's disciples demoted Zhou from *xiansheng* to a man hierarchically equal to their master in order to aggrandise their master's authority (Huang Zongxi and Quan 1986, 532–3). Another approach is to

collect Northern Song cases of pupils' calling their masters by courtesy names and argue that it was natural in the Northern Song context for Cheng Yi to call Zhou Dunyi 'Maoshu' (Xu Yufeng 1943, 1544–6). While there were such cases, they did not explain why Cheng Yi would have discriminated between Hu Yuan and Zhou Dunyi. Why did he not call both by their courtesy names if that was perfectly acceptable (Graham 1958, 161, no.37)?

In fact, the Kong brothers' writings help us to understand the nature of relationship between the Cheng brothers and Zhou Dunyi. Of all the eloquent expressions abundant with respect and admiration, both Kong Wenzhong's and Wuzhong's *Sacrificial Prayers* address Zhou Dunyi as none other than 'Maoshu'. Moreover, some of the poems written for Zhou Shou do not shy away from calling the recipient's father by his courtesy name, such as 'Yuanweng 元翁 (Shou's courtesy name) is Maoshu's (Dunyi's courtesy name) son' (QSS 31:19513). Chen Yuyi, the author of this poem, was 33 years younger than Zhou Shou. If Zhou Shou was not offended when a junior member of his circle called him and his father by their courtesy names, Zhou Dunyi, too, would not have been offended to hear the Cheng brothers calling him Maoshu.

Furthermore, I suspect that Zhou Dunyi himself preferred to be called by his courtesy name. He was forced to change his name twice during his lifetime.<sup>104</sup> And he must not have had his style name, Lianxi, before the construction of Lianxi Studio at Jiangzhou in 1061 when he was over 44. The only name that he was given from the

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<sup>104</sup> See footnote 85 of this thesis.

beginning and did not have to change throughout his life was his courtesy name. The stability and familiarity of this name, Maoshu, would have made it his preferred name.

Last but not least, the Kong brothers point to another issue that is relevant to the other chapters of this thesis: Zhou Dunyi's social network is inclined towards men from Jiangxi. The majority of the men mentioned in this section, including the Kong family, were from Jiangxi. Moreover, even his sons were members of the renowned Jiangxi Poetry School (*Jiangxi shipai* 江西詩派) the head of which was Huang Tingjian, who was also from Jiangxi. The next section investigates Zhou's relationship with yet another Jiangxi man: Wang Anshi.

#### 2.4. Zhou Dunyi and Wang Anshi

Zhou Dunyi's relationship with Wang Anshi has attracted much attention from students of Chinese intellectual history. Particular attention is focused on two accounts included in Du Zheng's 度正 (1166–1235) *Chronological Biography of Lord Yuan (Yuangong nianpu 元公年譜)* (LXJ 231–239) (Wang Wanxia 2013, 13–9). The work saw its completion in 1221, thanks to the heroic effort of the author, and contributed much to the survival of Zhou's miscellaneous pieces and trivia, which were largely neglected by the author's mentor, Zhu Xi. It contains an impressively long note on Zhou's sojourn in Runzhou (Table 3, Item 1) between 1037–1040, much of which is a report on his social activities. The first one of the two is:

During this period in Run [zhou] (Zhenjiang), he read books at Crane Forest Monastery. Occasionally he spent time with Mr Fan Wending (Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 989–1052), and Mr Hu Wengong (Hu Su 胡宿 995–1067). Only Wang, the Duke of Jing (Wang Anshi), who seldom acknowledged his contemporaries, thrice paid visits to [Zhou Dunyi] but failed to be given an audience. The Duke of Jing furiously remarked 'Would I be the only one who could not acquire it from the *Six Classics*?' (Wang Wanxia 2013, 14–5).

The veracity of this description is highly questionable. Zhou Dunyi in his early 20s was not yet known for anything; thus, to begin with, it is unlikely that a young and ambitious Wang Anshi would have sought him out to learn something that he could have gleaned by himself from the *Classics*. Even if Wang had visited him, Zhou would have had no reason to offend a teenager whom he did not know. The fact that this

passage appears only in those editions of the *Chronological Biography* published after the Ming period is further grounds for scepticism.<sup>105</sup>

However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the two did meet at some point in Runzhou as it was very natural for literati residing in proximity to meet and socialise with each other. If Zhou Dunyi was spending time with such renowned seniors as Fan or Hu, young Wang Anshi might well have been doing the same, and three years is a long period of time for them not to have run into each other. Therefore, although this passage was probably invented by a group of post-Song literati who wanted to enhance Zhou's reputation by making him a man of sagacity who somehow foresaw Wang's notorious New Policies nearly 30 years in advance, it may still contain a grain of truth (Zhou Jiangang 2009, 11; Liang 1994, 39–40).

The second encounter, according to the *Chronological Biographies*, happened in Kaifeng in 1060. Zhou Dunyi had just come to Kaifeng and was waiting for his next assignment when Wang Anshi visited Kaifeng on official business. At this time their stature in the officialdom was starkly different. Zhou was but an ordinary local official whereas Wang was a rising star at the central court. Without a prior acquaintance, it would have been difficult for Zhou to gain an audience. And yet the *Chronological Biography* says:

[Zhou Dunyi and Wang Anshi] talked day and night. After coming back home, the Duke of Jing (Wang Anshi) carefully ruminated over [what Maoshu talked about] to such a degree that he even forgot eating and sleeping (LXJ 234).

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<sup>105</sup> The only Song edition, for example, lacks this account (LXJ 232).

This account is more likely to be true than the previous one since it is recorded in a more reliable Song edition (LXJ). Moreover, Du Zheng, the author of the *Chronological Biography* makes it clear that he is merely quoting this account from a text by Xing Shu 邢恕 (*fl.* 1090). Xing is a Northern Song official who once was a pupil of the Cheng brothers and a protégé of an anti-New-Policies giant Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086). However, he later betrayed the conservative faction and became a supporter of the early twelfth century New Policies leader Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047–1126), whose brother, Cai Bian 蔡卞 (*fl.* 1100), was married to a daughter of Wang Anshi. As a man who socialised with luminaries of both factions, Xing was well positioned to collect gossips from all directions.

There is another account that suggests Zhou Dunyi's meeting Wang Anshi was not a one-off event. Xie Yi's 謝逸 (?–1113) *Tomb Inscription* for Pan Xingsi 潘興嗣, which is no longer available, is partly quoted in the Song edition of Zhou's *Complete Works* (LXJ). It says:

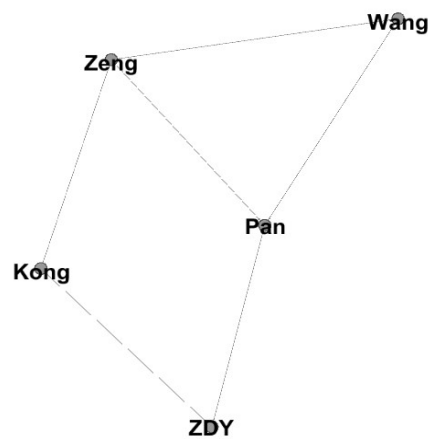
The Duke of Jing (Wang Anshi) and Zigu 子固 (Zeng Gong 曾鞏) stayed at Jiangnan. Whenever they faced difficult questions during the discussion and failed to solve them, they just said 'let's keep it open. We can wait until Maoshu comes and ask him' (LXJ 113).

The veracity of the account is, unfortunately, an open question. Although tomb inscription is such a serious genre which does not normally include a blatant lie, the absence of any other piece of evidence makes us hesitate to take this account at face value. That said, true or not, it must have rung true in contemporary ears. Xie Yi would

not have included this anecdote in the tomb inscription of his deceased friend if he had not found it sufficiently plausible and convincing.

Moreover, we can reconstruct a small ‘tomb inscription’ social network in support of the above story. The prominent Song politician and author Zeng Gong wrote the aforementioned Kong Yanzhi’s tomb inscription and was a friend of Pan Xingsi. Pan in his turn was the author of Zhou Dunyi’s tomb inscription and a friend of Wang Anshi, and Kong Yanzhi was both a friend and neighbour of Zhou Dunyi as we have already seen. This small network can be visualised as follows:

**Figure 14. Zhou Dunyi's Jiangxi Network**



Considering this web of relations, the above account must have sounded natural to Xie Yi. Although the jury must still be out until the unearthing of the full text of the inscription, for the time being we have good reasons to assume that Zhou Dunyi cultivated prominent Jiangxi politicians including Wang Anshi. In fact, as Liao Yin

(2011) has noted, most of the Hunan and Hubei literati who became famous enough to secure places in the biography section of the *Song History* failed to form their own regional networks distinguishable from neighbouring regions. The gravity of the Jiangxi and Kaifeng network was so great that the distinguished literati of Hunan could only constitute part of them. Zhou Dunyi, the majority of his friends being men of Jiangxi, was not an exception (Liao 2011, 56–87).

The last evidence comes from Zhou Dunyi's second wife. His first wife, Ms Lu 陸 (?–1057?), died soon after the couple's arrival at Hezhou. It was around this time when the young Sichuanese *jinshi* Pu Zongmeng 蒲宗孟 (1028–93) met Zhou and became his life-long admirer. Upon finding Zhou was now single with no children, he made his sixth sister marry him. An ardent supporter of the New Policies, Pu thus became Zhou's brother-in-law and would later compose one of the two *Tomb Inscriptions* of Zhou Dunyi (LXJ 136 for the inscription and 234 for the marriage).

Pu Zongmeng's *Tomb Inscription* for Zhou Dunyi contains a very intriguing paragraph that casts Zhou's political stance in a new light. Zhu Xi regarded this paragraph as a distortion of Zhou's image, and, taking advantage of his position as the editor of Zhou Dunyi's *Complete Works*, expurgated it from the compendium. The original *Tomb Inscription*, which somehow survived Zhu Xi's editorship, reveals what disturbed him to such a degree.

Before, [Maoshu] sent a letter to me (Pu Zongmeng). 'His majesty has just embarked on a great quest for the peace and tranquillity of the world that no one dared to do for the last few hundred years. There is no one who has any specialty who is not doing his best, no matter how small their talent or understanding is. I alone am not able to help one out of a myriad, and cannot even steal a moment of time [to extend my life] to see the grandeur of the Ritual and Music of Yao

and Shun (*Yao Shun liyue zhi sheng* 堯舜禮樂之盛). That I die now is [my] fate' (LXJ 137).

Considering that the letter quoted above must have been written not long before Zhou Dunyi's death in 1073, the 'great quest' Zhou Dunyi mentions is undoubtedly Wang Anshi's New Policies. Wang was appointed Vice Councillor early in 1069 and began to draft and promulgate his reformist laws; most of them were enacted before 1073. The enactment of the controversial laws quickly divided the court into two factions—pro- and anti-Wang Anshi camps—and the tension between them escalated. The language Zhou Dunyi's letter to Pu Zongmeng uses is reminiscent of the New Policies propaganda of this period, such as 'has just' started, 'for the last few hundred years', or 'the grandeur of the Ritual and Music of Yao and Shun'. Provided that the letter was indeed written in 1072 or 73, it seems Zhou Dunyi has indeed endorsed Wang's policy line.

There is another fact that must be considered before drawing any conclusion about Zhou Dunyi's political stance. 1068 was a milestone year for his career. After serving in county and prefecture level posts for about 25 years, he was finally promoted in 1068 to Assistant Superintendent of Fiscal Affairs of Guangnan East Circuit (*Guangnan Donglu Zhuanyun Panguan* 廣南東路轉運判官). Two years later in 1170, he was reassigned to Superintendent of Penal Affairs (*Tidian Xingyu* 提點刑獄) of the same circuit. Both were relatively powerful positions that governed a region, roughly the size of England. Was there any special reason for his newfound recognition and promotion, and could it have been his pro-Wang stance?

Wang Anshi had many reasons to promote his supporters to replace his foes. He already had captured Emperor Shenzong's 神宗 (1048–85, r. 1067–86) mind in 1068 so that there should be no real obstacle in the court. However, securing the Emperor's support and implementing reformation plans at the capital was one thing while putting those into practice on the local level was another; local officials had power to obstruct reform in various ways. Let us take a look at some notable cases.

The editor of the *Collected Data for a Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編) says that it was none other than Wang Anshi himself who sent one of his supporters—Chen Jing 陳經 (*fl.* 1071)—to Chengdu 成都 to serve as the Superintendent of Fiscal Affairs. Knowing that Chengdu was a stronghold of the opposing faction under the leadership of Fan Chunren 范純仁 (1027–1101),<sup>106</sup> Wang dispatched one of his faithful followers to keep them in check and make sure his policies were implemented (Li Tao 1993, 220:5357).

Wang was aware of some local officials' antipathy against him and knew that they could exploit their entrenched power to nullify his reforms. A year before, for example, he had to expel Chen Yi 陳繹 (*fl.* 1070), then Vice Superintendent of Fiscal Affairs of Shaanxi Circuit for deliberately delaying the distribution of Green Sprout Funds (*qingmiaoqian* 青苗錢) to the prefectures under his control and for arbitrarily

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<sup>106</sup> He was the son of a famous early Song reformer Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052). As a leader of the opposition, he was on good terms with the Cheng brothers, Sima Guang, and Lü Gongzhu (呂公著 1018–1089).

punishing a Green Sprout official (*qingmiao guanli* 青苗官吏) dispatched from the Capital (Li Tao 1993, 211:5121).

Wang Anshi promoted his local supporters, too. In 1072, Zeng Mo 曾默 (*fl.* 1072–1087) was granted a ‘special promotion’ to Assistant Superintendent of Fiscal Affairs of Fujian Circuit thanks to his achievement in putting New Policies into practice (Li Tao 1993, 231:5621). Similarly, Magistrate Li Cong 李琮 of Yangwu County 陽武縣 (m. Yuanyang 原陽, Henan 河南) was appointed as Assistant Superintendent of Fiscal Affairs of Lizhou Circuit 利州路 all of a sudden in 1071, due to his ‘outstanding’ merit in implementing two key reform policies, Green Sprouts and Hired Labour (Li Tao 1993, 226:5505). Wang’s message was clear: those who followed him would replace those who went against him (P. J. Smith 2009a, 419).<sup>107</sup>

Some local positions were politically more important than others. As Winston W. Lo (1974) shows, Superintendents of Fiscal Affairs of some circuits were given much greater discretionary power after 1069. Until the reformation in 1069, all local officials had to come back to Kaifeng to wait for new appointments following the expiration of their previous postings. It often meant a journey of a few months or longer for those serving in remote posts. Wang’s government sought to lighten this burden by allowing officials of those ‘remote’ circuits to control personnel matters on their own. Seven circuits were designated as such: Fujian 福建, Chengdu 成都, Lizhou 利州, Zizhou 梓州, Kuizhou 夔州, Guangdong 廣東, and Guangxi 廣西. Therefore, we can

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<sup>107</sup> For more cases of this sort, see Lu Liushan (2015).

reasonably infer that those Superintendents who were assigned to the seven empowered circuits during the New Policies era, including Zhou Dunyi, were either Wang's adherents or neutral officials who would not hamper his policy agenda.

A more statistically rigorous investigation is required to locate Zhou Dunyi more clearly in the middle of the eleventh century factional struggle. Dai Yangben (2007) and Li Zhiliang (2003) provide reliable reconstructions of the Song dynasty circuit officials. The Chinese Biographical Database Project (CBDB) and other biographical sources provide some basic pieces of information on their factional allegiances, set forth in Table 4 below. Officials whose allegiances are not discernible are indicated with a question mark.

**Table 4. Factional Allegiance of the Seven Circuit's Superintendents of Fiscal Affairs under Wang Anshi's Government**

Circuit	Name (title)*	Tenure	Faction
Chengdu 成都	Rong Yin 榮諲	1066~8	?
	Li Fugui 李復圭	1068~9	New Policies
	Zhang Jingxian 張景憲	1069	Opposition
	Fan Chunren 范純仁	1070	Opp.
	Han Zongdao (P) 韓宗道	1070~1	Opp.
	Chen Jing 陳經	1071~3	New
	Zhang Tangmin (P) 張唐民	1071~3	?
Fujian 福建	Han Shu 韓璠	1073~6	New
	Lu Ge 盧革	1066~8	?
	Guo Hong (P) 郭宏	1066~8	?
	Zhan Yu (P) 湛俞	1068~70	?
	Luo Zheng 羅拯	1069~70	?
	Zhang Jifu (F) 張吉甫	1069~70	New
	Xie Zhonggui (P) 謝仲規	1070~1	?
	Zhang Hui 張徽	1070~73	Opp.
	Jiang Zhiqi (P) 蔣之奇	1071~2	?
	Zeng Mo (P) 曾默	1072~4	New

Guangnan East 廣南東	Jia Changheng 賈昌衡	1066~7	New?
	Sun Zhiyan (P) 孫直言	1066~8	?
	Wang Jing 王靖	1067~8	?
	Zhou Dunyi (P) 周敦頤	1068~70	?
	Chen Andao (F) 陳安道	1069	?
	Xiang Zongdao 向宗道	1070~3	?
	Lu Danian (P) 盧大年	1071~2	?
	Xu Yanxian (P) 許彥先	1072~5	?
	Jin Junqing 金君卿	1073~6	?
Guangnan West 廣南西	Shen Qi 沈起	1066~8	New?
	Zhang Xian 章峴	1068~70	?
	Zeng Kai (P) 曾楷	1070~2	?
	Zhang Jin 張覲	1071~4	?
	Kang Wei 康衛	1072	?
	Shi Geng (P) 石賡	1072~3	New
Kuizhou 夔州	Cheng Jun 程浚	1070	?
	Sun Jue 孫桷	1070~2	?
	Zhang Shen (P, F) 張詵	1070~3	?
	Zhou Zhiru (P) 周直孺	1071	?
	Zeng Fu (P) 曾阜	1072~3	New
Lizhou 利州	Yang Ningke 楊寧可	1065~8	?
	Li Yu 李瑜	1070~1	?
	Li Cong (P) 李琮	1071~	New
	Lü Kai (P) 呂開	1071~3	?
	Xianyu Shen (F) 鮮于侁	1071~4	Opp.
	Miao Shizhong (P) 苗時中	1073	?
Zizhou 梓州	Han Shu 韓璠	1067~72	New
	Li Song (P) 李竦	1069~72	?
	Zhao Ziji (F) 趙子幾	1069~73	?
	Chen Chong (P) 陳充	1072~3	?
	Miao Shizhong (P) 苗時中	1073	?
	Li Song (F) 李竦	1073~4	?
	Lü Kai (P) 呂開	1073~5	?
	Chen Chen 陳忱	1073~6	?

\* (P) stands for Assistant- (*Panguan* 判官) and (F) stands for Vice- (*Fushi* 副使). All the unspecified are Superintendents of Fiscal Affairs (*Zhuanyun Shi* 轉運使).

The factional allegiance of most governors is unknown, as the list shows. Some may have tacitly taken sides, but it is equally possible that they prudently chose to stay as far away as possible from the factional struggle, as a ‘wrong’ choice would risk their entire career. Despite the dearth of clear cases, Wang’s supporters apparently outnumber his opponents (11:5, or 9:4 when less obvious cases are excluded). This result, although limited, suggests that Zhou Dunyi was more likely pro-Wang Anshi than not.

However, there are abundant sources attesting to Zhou Dunyi’s friendship with some opposition leaders, as well. To name but a few, almost all the literati mentioned in the previous section belong to the opposition faction: Su Shi, Huang Tingjian, Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao, Zeng Gong, and the Kong family. Moreover, Zhao Bian 趙卞 (1007?–1084) and Lü Gongzhu, the two high-ranking officials who certified Zhou’s good character, all came out against Wang Anshi.<sup>108</sup>

Would it not have been paradoxical to have so many opposition friends while espousing Wang’s policies? Some researchers, such as Liang Shaohui, go so far as to argue that the Cheng brothers must have belittled Zhou for his ambivalent political stance and that Wang Anshi must have been disappointed with Zhou after their meeting at Kaifeng for Zhou’s reluctance to side with him. Liang concludes that this ambivalence probably was one reason why Zhou Dunyi failed to make his name known

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<sup>108</sup> Unlike Lü Gongzhu whose oppositional stance is beyond doubt, Zhao Bian’s political position is all but clear. He criticised Wang Anshi from time to time, but rarely suffered any bitter relegation or exile that other opposition officials had to face. One contemporary record suggests that opposition officials were not pleased with Zhao’s ambivalent stance (Shao Bowen 1997, 160).

in the Northern Song—namely, that he was perceived by both sides as an opportunist (Liang 1994, 27).

While Liang's argument is highly speculative and, thus, cannot be taken without a grain of salt, it is entirely possible that Zhou Dunyi's political stance was unclear even to his contemporaries. This uncertainty was a source of anxiety for those who sought to promote him 100 years later in the Southern Song. Thanks to the contradictory accounts, the political character of Zhou Dunyi had the potential to be developed and remembered in opposite ways that Southern Song Neo-Confucian proponents found it necessary to reinvent him in alignment with their cause. This reinvention process involved selective use of sources, and that selection process entailed exclusion of 'problematic' texts. Zhu Xi was the leader of the reinvention project, and his 'selection' and 'exclusion', or 'superscription' have had impacts on some Zhou Dunyi shrines.<sup>109</sup> This point is discussed in Chapter 4 and 5.

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<sup>109</sup> See Prasenjit Duara (1988) for the notion of superscription.

## 2.5. From Whom Did Zhou Dunyi Obtain His *Diagram*?

The last controversy regarding our hero's life that is worth revisiting is his intellectual pedigree. As is well known, he has been remembered chiefly for his philosophical works, which posthumously made him the 'founding father' (*bizu* 鼻祖) of Neo-Confucianism. Therefore, it would be disingenuous to omit any discussion on his works of philosophical nature. Amongst all the texts he left, only two are recognised to bear real intellectual significance: the *Book of Penetration* (*Tongshu* 通書) and the *Explanation on the Diagram of the Great Ultimate* (*Taiji tushuo* 太極圖說). The former is no less interesting, but it was the latter that had arguably the greatest impact on the history of Confucianism after Confucius himself. The *Diagram* was the foundation on which Zhu Xi recreated Confucianism, and, therefore, the first page of the Neo-Confucian bible edited by Zhu Xi, the *Reflection on the Things at Hand* (*Jinsi lu* 近思錄), is predictably reserved for this text. Because of the limit of space, however, this section will only investigate eleventh- and twelfth-century discourses on the issue of creation and transmission of this *Diagram* and the *Explanation* attached to it.<sup>110</sup>

There has been a great deal of ink spilled on the creation and transmission of the *Diagram*. Ever since Zhu Xi reshaped Zhou Dunyi as a spearhead of his intellectual movement, whoever wanted to oust Zhu Xi from the throne of orthodoxy attacked Zhou.

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<sup>110</sup> The *Diagram* was almost always circulated together with the *Explanation* in the Song and thereafter. Thus, this thesis will call the combination of the two 'the *Diagram*' for the sake of brevity and will only mention the *Explanation* independently when necessary.

The attacks came from different directions with various strategies, but the most frequently used one was to accuse Zhou for being un-Confucian. One effective way of building up this line of argument, in turn, was to ascribe Zhou Dunyi's scholarship to an unorthodox origin. The other way, less effective but equally destructive, was to question the exact line of transmission of the *Diagram* 'from' Zhou Dunyi onward. The latter, however, dwindled after the Song as the detailed channel of transmission became much better attested.

Figure 15. The *Diagram of the Great Ultimate*



The first editions of the Diagram came from the Cheng brothers' direct disciples, and because it was transmitted as an appendix to the *Book of Penetration*, which was undeniably Zhou Dunyi's creation, many believed that the *Diagram* was also a work of Zhou Dunyi. Moreover, Pan Xingsi's *Tomb Inscription* for Zhou Dunyi puts the

*Diagram* in the first place of the list of Zhou's works. However, all the evidence notwithstanding, his authorship of the *Diagram* has been doubted ever since its initial circulation for reasons that are explicated below.

Generally speaking, sceptics attribute the *Diagram* either to Buddhists or Daoists. One attributes the *Diagram* to a certain Buddhist monk Shouya 壽涯 of Crane Forest Monastery (*Helin si* 鶴林寺) in Runzhou 潤州; the other ascribes it to a semi-Daoist figure Chen Tuan 陳搏 (?–989). The former, who was relatively less influential, is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.<sup>111</sup> The latter assertion left a greater impact on Chinese intellectual history since it was officially claimed in a memorial to the throne—and, therefore, seemed more trustworthy to traditional Chinese literati—and, to some extent, because it made some sense (QSW 142:185).

Li Shen's (2001) work on this Chen Tuan controversy can be an ideal starting point as it concisely contracts all major arguments in about 300 pages. The book grapples with some Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing proponents of the Chen-Tuan-hypothesis and provides, in my opinion, very convincing counter-arguments.

However, there is one place where Li betrays the readers' expectation. The very first text that attributes the *Diagram* to Chen Tuan is, as Li confirms, *the Memorial upon the Submission of the Commentary to the Book of Change* (*Jin Yizhuan biao* 進易傳表), from which all subsequent variations of the Chen-Tuan-hypothesis sprang out (Li Shen 2001, 1, 297). Given the significance of the text, it is hard to understand why

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<sup>111</sup> Curious readers would find Zhou Jiangan's (2009, 5–12) study on this topic interesting.

Li Shen, whose textual criticism painstakingly revisits all other similar claims, spared the *Memorial*. This section will investigate the *Memorial*'s argument and test its soundness.

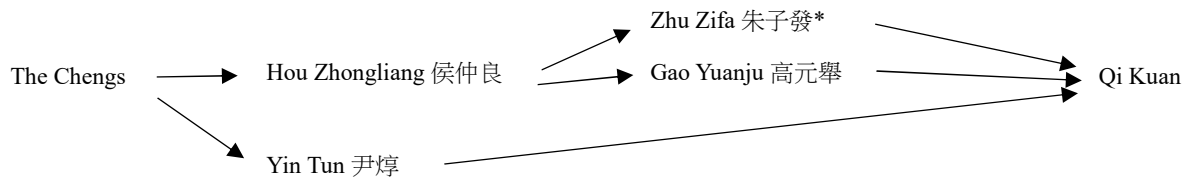
### 2.5.1. *Zhu Zhen and His Claim*

Zhu Zhen 朱震 (?–1138), the author of the *Memorial*, was a late Northern to early Southern Song period scholar-official who considered himself a faithful follower and an admirer of Cheng Yi. The fact that it was Hu Anguo 胡安國 (1074–1138), a very important early Southern Song Neo-Confucian figure, who recommended him to the court suggests that Zhu Zhen indeed had some reliable connection to the Cheng Yi group.<sup>112</sup> It seems he did not have a chance to see Cheng Yi in person as he only stated that he once went to ‘Luoyang’ to meet Neo-Confucian dignitaries but remains silent about whom he met there. Qi Kuan 祁寬 (fl. 1127), one of Cheng Yi’s second-generation pupils, also confirms Zhu Zhen’s connection to that circle. Qi says that he obtained Zhou Dunyi’s *Diagram* from three different people including Zhu. According to Qi, the transmission of the *Diagram* from the Cheng brothers was as below (LXJ 72).

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<sup>112</sup> The *Survey of Song Yuan Learning* places him under a renowned disciple of the Cheng brothers, Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐 (1050–1103). However, the *Survey* supplies only one anecdote of meeting that does not substantiate any serious relationship between them. Moreover, what they discussed on that occasion was a topic from the *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語). This only creates further doubt, as Zhu Zhen was a committed *Book of Change* scholar; the *Analects* were not his specialty but Xie’s (Huang Zongxi and Quan 1986, 930).

**Figure 16. Qi Kuan's Transmission of the *Diagram***



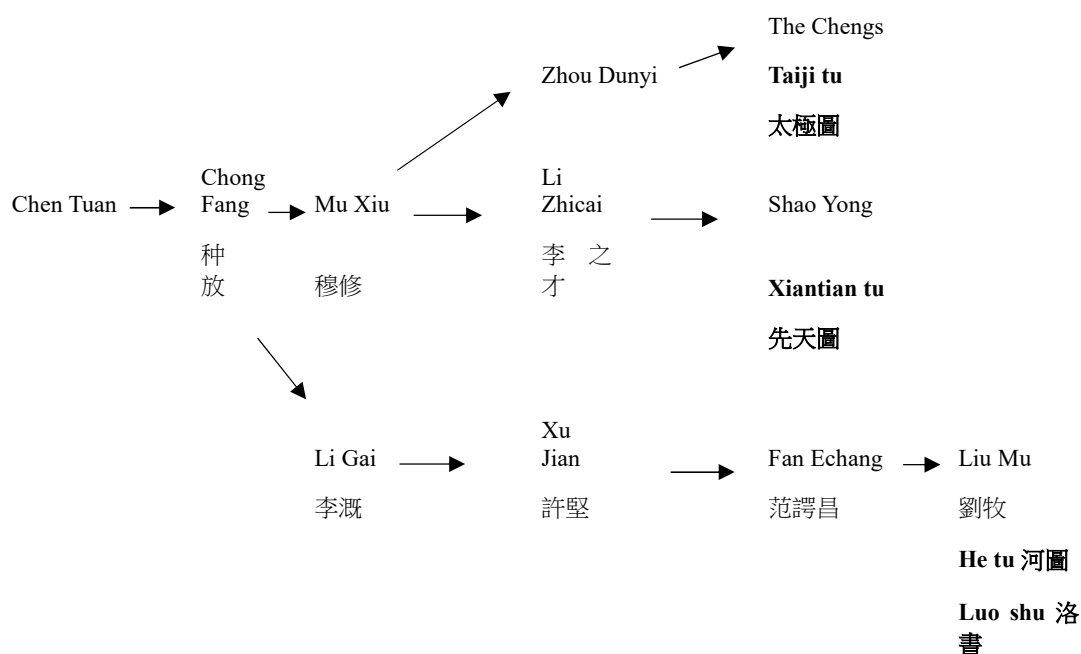
**\*Zhu Zifa is Zhu Zhen**

As Hou Zhongliang was the Cheng brothers' relative Hou Shisheng (侯師聖 (*fl.* 1080) who was also a Luoyang resident, he might be one of those who Zhu Zhen met at the city. If Zhu had obtained the *Diagram* from Hou, he would have asked him about the transmission history of the *Diagram*, and Hou, as he was known as an admirer of Zhou Dunyi, must have told Zhu that Zhou Dunyi was involved in the transmission.<sup>113</sup> What is not clear is whether Hou traced the origin of the *Diagram* beyond Zhou Dunyi or not. In any case, Zhu Zhen came to believe that the *Diagram* was not Zhou's creation, thus demoting him from the creator to a mere link of the much longer chain of transmission. This narrative, as stated above, is the ultimate source of the Chen Tuan hypothesis. The *Memorial's* reconstruction of the chain of transmission, or the Chen Tuan hypothesis, can be visualised as below.

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<sup>113</sup> For Hou Zhongliang's possible link to Zhou Dunyi, see Subsection 2.4.2 of this thesis.

Figure 17. Zhu Zhen's Transmission of the *Diagram*<sup>114</sup>



Zhu Zhen presented the *Memorial* to Emperor Gaozong with his exegetical work on the *Book of Change* in 1134, four years before his death. The work includes many charts, tables, and diagrams as well as commentaries from different sources such that Zhu felt compelled to clarify their origins as much as possible. The *Memorial*'s argument, which subsequently saw much greater circulation than the book itself, did not meet any serious objection until Zhu Xi's criticism in the 1160s. However, the absence of criticism before Zhu Xi does not mean that the work had been unconditionally recognised by the contemporary readers. For instance, Hu Hong 胡宏 (1105–61), one of Hu Anguo's sons, was among the best-informed early Southern Song

<sup>114</sup> Similar figures have already been drawn multiple times. For instance, see Tsuchida Kenjirō (2002, 135), Chu Ping-tzu (2013, 265), or Tao Yingna (2016a, 61).

literati of Northern Song Neo-Confucian traditions; his preface to the *Book of Penetration* (LXJ 71) only reluctantly repeats Zhu Zhen's transmission narrative and, ultimately, leaves the question open. It suggests that the contemporary literati were simply unfamiliar with Zhou Dunyi and the transmission of the *Diagram* that they were not able to critically assess the validity of Zhu Zhen's lineage claim.

### 2.5.2. *Shao Bowen's Transmission Claim*

As for the transmission of the *Diagram of the Great Ultimate*, it was the dearth of other textual evidence that made most researchers hesitate to investigate beyond what is claimed in Zhu Zhen's *Memorial*. However, if we shift our focus to the transmission of other diagrams mentioned in the *Memorial*, there are some valuable earlier sources that tell us different stories. Arguably the most important sources of information for the 'other' diagrams are those written by Shao Yong's 邵雍 (1011–77) eldest son Shao Bowen 邵伯溫 (1057–1134).<sup>115</sup>

The academic lineage from Chen Tuan to Shao Yong is well attested in Shao Bowen's two works: namely, the *Examining Doubts Concerning the Book of Change Learning* (*Yixue bianhuo* 易學辨惑) and the *Record of What Mr Shao Heard and Saw*

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<sup>115</sup> For Shao Yong, see Birdwhistell's introduction (1989, 20–41, especially 33 for his academic lineage).

(*Shaoshi wenjian lu* 邵氏聞見錄).<sup>116</sup> The former is a short essay composed to refute the Northern Song polymath Shen Kuo's 沈括 (1031–95) statement on the origin of a certain scholarly idea concerning the *Book of Change*. In the *Examining*, Shao Bowen argues that the idea Shen heard of was a corrupted offshoot of Shao Yong's Numerology. The *Record* is a memoir in which Shao Bowen looks back his early years from the vantage point of a member of the Luoyang based intellectual and political elite. Luoyang's closeness to Kaifeng made it a rallying point for the opposition faction leaders. Thus, it is little wonder that the majority of episodes collected in the *Record of What Mr Shao Heard and Saw* are either stories about the opposition leaders Shao Bowen saw (*jian* 見), or hearsay about the New Policies faction leaders Shao Bowen heard of (*wen* 聞).

Accounts of Shao Yong's academic lineage are scattered in the two works. Many of them are similar, but slightly different in detail. One may argue that the inconsistency undermines the credibility of Shao Bowen's testimonies. On one hand, of course, the apparent inconsistency compels us to read them with a grain of salt, on the other hand, however, it ironically adds to the credibility of the accounts since deliberate fabricators would hardly make such simple mistakes. Had the author fabricated the story to gain any social or political benefits, he would have carefully revised his drafts and fine-tuned the details before the publication. The lack of consistency reflects the limit of his incomplete memory and not his cunning intelligence.

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<sup>116</sup> Dating the *Examining* is not easy. Writing the *Record* must have been a cumulative task. It was only published by Bowen's sons after his death in 1134. I thank Ping-tzu Chu and Alain Arrault for introducing me to this title.

Shao Bowen argues in different places that his father Shao Yong served Li Zhicai 李之才 (?–1045) as his master but it is unclear what kind of scholarship Li transmitted to Shao. The *Record* says it was the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學), whereas the *Examining* says it was the *Change*. Regardless, Shao Yong's working with Li Zhicai itself is almost undeniable as it is confirmed by many other sources that will be introduced later in this section.

Li Zhicai, in turn, learned from Mu Xiu 穆修 (?–1032). This early Northern Song local official was still alive when Shao Yong was in his early 20s, which partly explains why Shao Bowen knew well details of Mu Xiu's character, such as his temper. To the best of my knowledge, Bowen's *Examining* is the only text that describes Xiu's frequent shouting at Li Zhicai. Bowen reveals that the proof of this information is Shao Yong's *Tomb Inscription for Li Zhicai*, which is lost, unfortunately. The relationship between Li and Mu is also corroborated by Cheng Hao's *Tomb Inscription for Shao Yong* (Shao Yong 2010, 580). The Cheng brothers were the Shao family's close neighbours for nearly 30 years and knew each other extremely well. Also, the brothers were among those who were at Shao's sickbed to witness his last moment. Cheng Hao states that it was Shao Yong himself who asked Hao for the inscription after his death. Thus, it is almost certain that Shao maintained that something was passed down from Mu Xiu through Li Zhicai to himself.

The *Examining* moves on to Mu Xiu's master Chen Tuan of Mt. Hua 華山. Shao Bowen's description of this relationship lacks the vivid colour that characterises his depiction of the relationships between Mu Xiu, Li Zhicai, and Shao Yong. But, still, he cites a certain national history (*guoshi* 國史) at this point to give credibility to his

accounts. In the *Record*, he goes on to say that his father ultimately inherited Chen Tuan's Way (*dao* 道) (Shao Bowen 1997, 69), which is not supported by Cheng Hao's *Inscription* as Cheng avoids mentioning Chen Tuan by saying '[If we] trace the source and flow, there is the origin far away (*tuiqi yuanliu yuanyou duanxu* 推其源流 遠有端緒)'. Another important source that checks Shao Bowen's claim is Zhang Min's 張嶠 (a.k.a. Zhang Min 張岷 ?–1080) *Biography of Shao Yong*. Zhang was a faithful pupil of Shao Yong whose status is confirmed by none other than Shao Bowen's *Examining*. The full-text of the *Biography* is not extant but a contracted version is included in Zhu Xi's *Record on the Deep Origin of the Rivers Yi and Luo* (*Yi Luo yuanyuan lu* 伊洛淵源錄). Zhang Min's description of Shao Yong's academic lineage also stops at precisely where Cheng Hao's *Inscription* stopped. He says 'Although there must have been a transmission, beyond Bochang 伯長 (Mu Xiu) is not clear (Zhu Xi 2002, 12:986).'

The *Examining* also mentions a figure who did not have a place in Shao Yong's transmission narrative. Chong Fang 種放 (?–1015) is an important disciple of Chen Tuan who wrote the *Tomb Inscription* for his master. Included in the inscription was a phrase '[Chen Tuan] illuminated the Way of emperors, kings, and hegemony (Shao Bowen 1997, 69–70)'

Shao Bowen says Chong Fang inherited Chen Tuan's 'image learning (*xiangxue* 象學)' and transmitted this teaching to Xu Jian 許堅 (fl. 979), who in turn transmitted

that to Fan E 范諤 (*fl.* 1017).<sup>117</sup> The *Examining* stops at Fan E and concludes that ‘through this branch [the image learning is] transmitted to the south’. However, Bowen does not mention in either book where he learned of this transmission narrative.

This version of transmission story differs from the corresponding part of Zhu Zhen’s one (Figure 17) in two important ways. First, the transmission is not linear. It seems there is no hierarchy between Chong Fang and Mu Xiu in Shao Bowen’s version, whereas Mu Xiu appears as a pupil of Chong Fang in Zhu Zhen’s *Memorial*.<sup>118</sup> Second, Bowen’s version never mentions any diagrams.<sup>119</sup> What was transmitted, according to Bowen, was not a tangible object like a diagram or a book, but some intangible qualities, such as the Way, or Learning (*xue* 學). A careful reader would find that he uses ‘Learning’ when he is more confident (e.g. Li Zhicai to Shao Yong), while employing ‘Way’ for more dubious relationships (e.g. Chen Tuan to Mu Xiu). In any case, there is no place for diagrams mediating any scholarly transmission in Bowen’s narrative.

Shao Bowen’s two texts also contain a wealth of information about the Cheng brothers. In chapter 15 of the *Record*, where he introduces the brothers for the first time, says ‘their master was Zhou Dunyi Maoshu’ (Shao Bowen 1997, 160). However, he never discusses who Zhou Dunyi was or what he said, let alone Zhou’s academic

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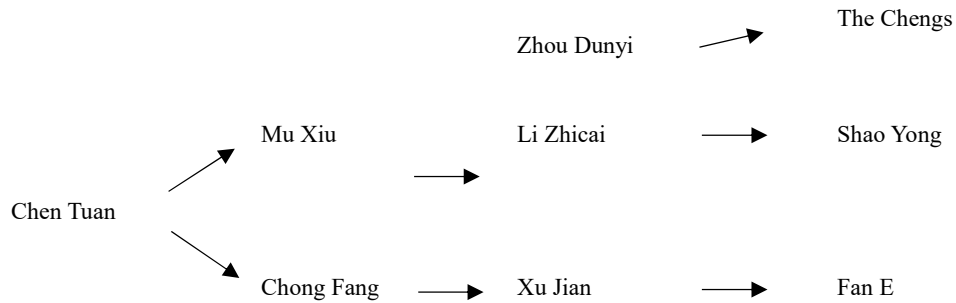
<sup>117</sup> He is certainly Fan Echang 范諤昌. It is not clear whether Fan E is another name of Fan Echang or simply Bowen’s error.

<sup>118</sup> This is comparable to the early Chan lineages where the earlier part—which is more mythical—is imagined to be a linear, one-to-one transmission, while the more recent part—which is more historical—suddenly takes the fan-like form. It is a vivid indication of the more fictitious nature of the early part of the transmission.

<sup>119</sup> According to Ping-tzu Chu (2013, 246), no surviving work of Shao Yong has any diagram or chart. His diagrams that are familiar to us came to light only after Zhu Zhen’s publication of his *Commentaries*.

lineage. One cannot help but think that Zhou Dunyi was not a significant part of Shao Bowen's intellectual universe. In sum, we can draw a chart for Shao Bowen's version of the transmission story as follows.

**Figure 18. Shao Bowen's Transmission Claim**



### 2.5.3. *Chao Yuezhi's Story of the Transmission*

There is yet another piece of writing that supplements and, to a certain degree, supplants Shao Bowen's lineage claim at the same time. In 1107, Shao Bowen commissioned a commemorative essay to Chao Yuezhi 晁說之 (1059–1129) to celebrate the addition of Shao Yong's portrait to the Hall of Transmission of the Change (*Chuanyi tang* 傳易堂) at Mt. Hua (QSW 130:262–4). The essay states that there has been a shrine dedicated to Chen Tuan at Mt. Hua since long ago. Chen's image was installed in the middle and Chong Fang's one accompanied him. One day, an unknown recluse of the Mountain drew and installed Shao Yong's image next to them. Shao Bowen was not offended to learn that. On the contrary, as if he was waiting for someone to do this in his favour, he

asked Chao for an essay to commemorate the transmission of the *Book of Change Learning* from Chen Tuan to his father.

This was a milestone moment in the history of lineage formation of the Northern Song *Book of Change* scholarship. We know from other works by Shao Bowen that he wanted to push his father's academic origin back to Chen Tuan, yet without any substantial evidence. Both Cheng Hao and Zhang Min, whose relationship with Shao Yong even predates the birth of Shao Bowen, were well beyond Bowen's control. They were a generation above Bowen, and, to some extent, knew more about his father than he did. They were the last people whom Shao Bowen could mobilise to modify his father's academic lineage. Chao Yuezhi, by contrast, was someone Bowen could persuade. Although Chao had seen Shao Yong, he was too young to develop any serious relationship with him.<sup>120</sup> Since he was not a core part of Shao Yong's Luoyang circle, he must have had to rely on the information provided by Bowen to draft the commissioned commemorative essay. Thus, it would not be too far-fetched to consider the essay as an updated version of Bowen's lineage claim.

The essay starts with a pre-Song transmission. Due to the dearth of sources, however, the pre-Song masters are not constellated in an orderly fashion. They can be grouped, but cannot form a line. Several tenuous strands of transmission in Han times are introduced, who disappear by the Tang and are followed by a group of some Tang period *Change* specialists, once again, without any linear order. After them, Chen Tuan emerges out of thin air as the first Song dynasty *Change* specialist. He passes his

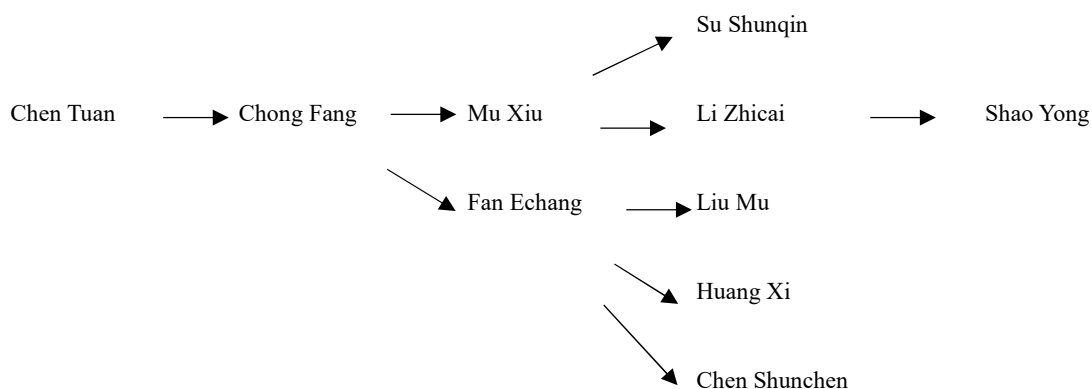
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<sup>120</sup> Chao was only 18 when Shao Yong died in 1077.

scholarship down to Chong Fang, Chong transmits it to Mu Xiu, Li Zhicai, and ultimately to Shao Yong. Mu Xiu also transmits this learning to Su Shunqin 蘇舜欽 (1008–48), but this prolific writer does not leave any notable academic heirs. Chong Fang's another disciple Fan Echang is mentioned, too. Fan Echang passes it down to Liu Mu 劉牧 (1011 – 1064), Huang Xi 黃晞 (*fl.* 1040), and Chen Shunchen 陳舜臣 (*fl.* 1070), but the sequence of transmission is not clearly noted. Moreover, Chao's essay belittles this branch by arguing that they 'do not match [Shao Yong's] profoundness'. Adding to that, there is no place in this essay reserved for Zhou Dunyi and the Cheng brothers.

There was one thing that is not updated in this 1107 essay: there still is not a single diagram involved in the transmission. Chao compares the Northern Song masters' non-textual transmission of their learning to the legendary *Change* specialists Zixia 子夏 (*fl.* 500 BCE) and Shang Qu 商瞿 (*fl.* 500BCE) who inherited Confucius' learning without any textual medium. Of course, Chao knew that almost all the above left a good amount of writings. For instance, the poems Shao Yong left to the posterity alone numbered more than two thousand (Shao Yong 2010, 580). What Chao wanted to point out was the apparent absence of a transmitted text. Chao's transmission claim can be charted as follows.

**Figure 19. Chao Yuezhi's Transmission Claim**



#### 2.5.4. *Other Pertinent Stories of the Transmission*

Now it looks clear that there was a loose consensus among Shao Yong's friends and relatives on the transmission of scholarship from Chen Tuan to Shao Yong. However, we see almost no such claim from scholars of other branches. Liu Mu, who appears as the heir to the Southern Branch of Chen Tuan's learning in Shao Bowen's story, makes it very clear that all the diagrams in his book are his creation (Li Shen 2001, 163). Contemporary critics of Liu Mu did not question his authorship of the diagrams, either (Li Shen 2001, 168).

The Cheng brothers acknowledge their relationship—whatever that might be—with Zhou Dunyi, but boast of their rediscovery of the Heavenly Principle (*tianli* 天理) for themselves. One frequently repeated boastful rhetoric is the emphasis on the sheer length of the gap period between them (the brothers) and Mencius, the last one who

understood the Heavenly Principle before the ‘rediscovery’. For instance, Cheng Yi says:

From the Qin 秦 and Han 漢 dynasties on, no one has arrived at this Principle [until Cheng Hao]. [Cheng Hao] said the transmission of the Sage Learning was broken after the death of Mencius, and that the revival of This Culture of Ours was his mandate. (Cheng and Cheng 2004, 638)

Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041–98), a statesman who was connected to the brothers also recognised Cheng Hao’s revival of the Way after the ‘one-thousand-year-long’ oblivion (Cheng and Cheng 2004, 334). Liu Lizhi 劉立之 (*fl.* 1060), a pupil of the brothers, stresses the ‘thousand-year-gap’, too (Cheng and Cheng 2004, 329). Although there were many more people from the Cheng brothers’ circle who repeated the same claim in their writings dedicated to the brothers, exhausting all such confessions would not help much to further the current discussion. Suffice it to say that none of them attributes any diagram to the Cheng brothers nor anyone else.

#### 2.5.5. *Zhu Zhen’s Claim Revisited*

With the wealth of information we discussed above in mind, it is time to revisit Zhu Zhen’s claim. The first part of the *Memorial*, to which not many have paid serious attention, is strikingly similar to what Chao Yuezhi’s asserts in his commemorative essay (Figure 19). Both start the transmission story from the pupils of Confucius, then to Warring States and Qin-Han masters. After them, Wang Bi comes onto the scene and

disturbs the true tradition(s) by introducing alien Daoist (Lao-Zhuang 老莊) elements. Wang Bi's emergence was bad not only because it was un-Confucian, but also because of the methodological flaw. Wang accentuated humanly moral principles (*yili* 義理, hereafter 'moralist') at the cost of heavenly images and numbers (*xiangshu* 象數, hereafter 'numerologist'). Both Chao and Zhu argue that Wang Bi heinously separated human beings from Heaven by discarding the numerologist approach.

What follows the unanimous denunciation of Wang Bi in Zhu Zhen and Chao Yuezhi's writings is differing views on the post-Wang Bi commentarial traditions. Despite the predominance of Wang Bi's tradition from the Period of Disunion (220–589) up to the Tang dynasty (618–907), Chao Yuezhi still spots those numerology masters who incessantly fought against Wang Bi zealots. As for the Period of Disunion, he separates southern scholars from northern ones, and blames most southerners for supporting Wang Bi while praising northerners for championing Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (127–200) numerologist commentaries to the *Book of Change*. For that matter, Chao has every reason to lament the Sui 隋 (581–619) unification of the north and south as that introduced the onslaught of the southern tradition to north China. However, Chao still finds hope from a number of Tang period *Book of Change* specialists who preferred Zheng Xuan's tradition over Wang Bi's. For Chao, those Tang masters were the precursors to Chen Tuan, the venerable first Song period master.

Zhu Zhen's *Memorial* takes a very different perspective. He simply dismisses all the masters between Wang Bi and Chen Tuan by saying:

[Wang Bi] terminated all the ancient traditions and mixed [the *Book of Change* learning] with Lao [zi] and Zhuang [zi]. From this on, Confucians (*ru* 儒) start to pursue phraseology (*wenci* 文辭) alone and never fathomed the *Great Commentaries* (*Dazhuan* 大傳) [of the *Book of Change*].<sup>121</sup> The Way of Heaven and Man were thus torn apart and did not reunite for 700 years. Following the ascendancy of Our Dynasty, extraordinary gentlemen came out. Chen Tuan transmitted his ... (QSW 142:186).

This is truly interesting as it very closely resembles the transmission narrative of the Cheng brothers' circle. The shared topoi are: (1) perfect Confucian (*ru*) tradition is disturbed by heterodoxy, (2) following the initial corruption is a prolonged dark age where there were no men worthy of mentioning, (3) founding of the Song dynasty was a watershed moment, (4) and there comes a man who revives the true 'Confucian' tradition out of nowhere.

His objection to the pursuit of phraseology, or refined writing, echoes the Cheng circle's hostility against belles-lettres of the time. Although many eleventh century literati expressed their dissatisfaction with belles-lettres regardless of their intellectual positions, Cheng Yi's strong resentment against the so-called refined writings distinguished himself from the other critics. His antipathy even made him go so far as to discard poetry altogether. Cheng Yi left only three poems to posterity, which was close to nothing compared to, for instance, the two thousand poems by Shao Yong. He indeed was proud of his abandoning poetry, and even demonstrated that practising poetry hinders one's moral self-cultivation (Cheng and Cheng 2004, 239).

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<sup>121</sup> According to the previous part of the same text, this indicates the *Xici* 繫辭 and *Shuogua* 說卦 chapters from the *Ten Wings* (*shiyi* 十翼), which is attributed to Confucius.

After this highly Cheng Yi style paragraph, Zhu Zhen's *Memorial* continues to present a transmission narrative that looks like a mixture of Shao Bowen, Chao Yuezhi, and the Cheng circle's ones. Zhu Zhen not only reconstruct the line of transmission of some of the best-known diagrams (Figure 17) by adopting Shao Bowen's transmission claims (Figure 18), but also cleverly incorporates Cheng circle intellectuals, such as Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–77), into his grand narrative.<sup>122</sup> Despite the depth and originality of his thinking, Zhang's ideas failed to enjoy the contemporary scholarly spotlight outside the Cheng circle until the early Southern Song. Zhu's mentioning Zhang in the memorial signals his familiarity with the Cheng circle intellectual discourses.

Despite his affinity with the Cheng circle, Zhu Zhen remains ambivalent about Cheng Yi's moralist understanding of the *Book of Change*. He champions the renowned ancient *Change* masters who emphasised numerological understanding and denounces those who proposed moralist reading of the book. However, when it comes to the Northern Song masters, he changes his stance and starts to praise Cheng Yi who was so conspicuously an ardent supporter of the moralist tradition. Because the two traditions—moralist (*yili* 義理) and numerologist (*xiangshu* 象數)—were widely recognised to be substantially different, Zhu Zhen's self-contradictory positioning did not go unnoticed by many scholars, modern and pre-modern (Hou 1984, 263; Lin 1998, 252; Chao 1981, 1:26–7). One way of explaining his stance is to argue that the two traditions shared a common ground at least in the Northern Song and that Zhu Zhen

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<sup>122</sup> Zhang was an independent thinker and an uncle of the Cheng brothers. Lee Hyun-Sun (2013) is an excellent work that skilfully discusses the degree to which the Cheng brothers' philosophical ideas were indebted to Zhang Zai.

was a pioneer who dreamed of synthesis.<sup>123</sup> Tao Yingna (2016b; 2016a) argues that Zhu Zhen was not just paying lip service to Cheng Yi when he regarded him the greatest Northern Song *Change* master. A careful reading of Zhu Zhen's *Collected Commentaries to the Book of Change* (*Zhouyi jichuan* 周易集傳) reveals that Cheng Yi is indeed the most frequently quoted person by a great margin. Cheng's words were quoted nearly three times more frequently (176 times) than the runner-up master Yang Xiong's 楊雄 (53BCE–18CE) 63 times, which seems to signal Zhu's commitment to the synthesis project.

One question still remains. Just as he was connected to the Cheng brothers' disciples, Zhu Zhen was in all probability linked to the Shao Yong group, too. Besides the fact that his *Commentaries* frequently refer to Shao Yong's works, he knew all too well about Shao Bowen's transmission story to be completely irrelevant to that group. When it concerns his academic taste, Shao Yong's numerological tradition would have looked much more attractive, fitting, and convincing to him than Cheng Yi's moralist tradition. Then, why did he champion (*zong* 宗) Cheng Yi to begin with when there was a better alternative? The answer lies, I believe, in the accessibility.

In modern academia, not every postgraduate student works with the rock stars of their fields. It is not because the academic superstars are mean in accepting new students, but because of the limit of places. Only a selected few could be their pupils

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<sup>123</sup> Wang Cheng (2009, 107), for instance, argues that this was what Zhu Zhen actually intended.

while the others must look elsewhere for other professors whose academic tastes might significantly differ from theirs.

In 1101, Zhu Zhen visited Luoyang with his younger brother. He must have hoped to find someone who could connect him to any renowned Luoyang masters. He met Xie Liangzuo, a famous disciple of the Cheng brothers, and could discuss the *Analects* with him. Beside Xie, it is reported that the Zhu brothers could ask people from different traditions for teaching (*bianfang shimen* 徧訪師門) and obtain some ‘inherited texts’ from them (*huoguan yishu* 獲觀遺書) (QSW 142:186). At Luoyang, I suspect that Zhu Zhen was warmly welcomed by the Cheng circle but not much so by the Shao group.

In fact, many *Book of Change* specialists in the tenth century aspired to gain a credential from the Shao Yong circle in vain. Shao Bowen’s two texts do not only tell us about people from whom Shao Yong obtained his ‘Way’ but also talk about people who wanted to obtain the same Way from him. And, it seems to me, Shao Yong and his son were more likely to give them rejection than admission letters. Shao Bowen names only two accepted students, Wang Yu 王豫 and Zhang Min 張暉, while listing far more numerous unsuccessful applicants, such as Zhang Dun 章惇 (1035 – 1105), Li Zhou 李周 (*fl.* 1080), Qin Jie 秦玠 (*fl.* 1098), Zheng Guai 鄭夬 (*fl.* 1080, a.k.a. Zheng Jue 鄭夬), Bai Mingzhi 白明之 (*fl.* 1080), and Xing Shu 邢恕.

Qin Jie studied with Shao Yong and, Shao Bowen says, was a self-proclaimed disciple of his. But, once again according to Shao Bowen, Shao Yong did not recognise Qin as his pupil. Zhang Dun wanted to be Shao’s disciple, but he could not meet his demand. Xing Shu was too flattering, Bai Mingzhi could not understand Shao’s numerology, and Li Zhou failed to understand the meaning of Shao’s critical advice. Of

all the futile attempts, however, Zheng Guai's case is the most dramatic. Zheng was a self-taught *Book of Change* specialist. He heard Shao Yong's reputation and paid a visit to his home to be his disciple. Doubtful of his determination, Shao Yong rejected him. Undeterred, Zheng went to Qin Jie instead—he might have known that Qin was somewhat connected to Shao Yong. Qin told Zheng that Wang Yu was the true successor of Shao Yong and must have some records (*jilu* 記錄) of Shao's teaching. Zheng went to Wang, but Wang refused to give him anything because he found Zheng's frivolity distasteful. However, still undeterred, Zheng stayed near Wang's house waiting for his chance. When Wang became ill, Zheng bribed one of Wang's servants to steal some 'records' from Wang's shelves. Because Wang died soon after, the theft remained unnoticed until much later when Zheng visited Shao Yong again and confessed his wrong deeds. Shao Bowen says in his *Examining* that he was present at the Zheng's second visit so that he can still recall the man's appearance: 'he was a very white, short, and nimble man'.

Of course, we should not take these accounts at face value. These are not Shao Yong's but his son's representations of his life. It is possible that Shao Yong was not too selective a teacher after all. The only thing these accounts clearly demonstrate is that Shao Bowen was keeping a very tight posthumous control over the membership of the Shao Yong circle. Anyone who wanted to be recognised as Shao Yong's academic descendant had to obtain Bowen's recognition. As Bowen was active until 1134,<sup>124</sup> and as he was interested in preventing people from appropriating Shao Yong's legacies, it

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<sup>124</sup> Coincidentally, it was the year when Zhu Zhen submitted the *Memorial* to the throne.

must have been virtually impossible for young Zhu Zhen in 1101 at Luoyang to gain a credential from him. There was no way to bypass Bowen, too, as the only two ‘recognised’ pupils of Shao Yong who would have been able to check Shao Bowen’s authority failed to survive their master. Without them, Shao Bowen could effectively monopolise his father’s academic legacy.

Contrastingly, the Cheng brothers’ circle was much more inclusive. The brothers trained dozens of pupils who mostly survived the brothers. Many of them could make their way to the Southern Song after the collapse of the Northern Song which allowed them to maintain their influence in the intellectual world in the subsequent century. Moreover, they were not as selective as Shao Bowen. Bowen believed that his father’s learning was excessively subtle and extremely sophisticated that he even declared that there was no one who could understand it after his death. By contrast, the Cheng brothers and their pupils were not afraid of promoting their ideas through copying, publishing, and circulating their works. The fact that the owner of the biggest collection of the works of Cheng brothers, Hu Anguo, had never seen any one of the brothers in person bespeaks the relative openness and the spirit of inclusivism of the circle in the late eleventh and the early twelfth century (Van Ess 2004).

Let us speculate how a young numerologist could have seen the situation in the early twelfth century Luoyang. This man was fond of numerological understanding of the *Book of Change* from the beginning. After a certain period of self-teaching, he found it necessary to contact a proper, famous specialist to work with. Since almost all renowned *Book of Change* specialists were claiming that they received their scholarship from someone else, this man, too, felt compelled to find a master who could transmit his scholarship to him. If fortunate, he would stand a chance of succeeding that

specialist's tradition and becoming a leading figure of the next generation. Shao Bowen would be an ideal master since he studied numerology; but he was too selective. Some renowned disciples of Cheng Yi were not too selective; but they did not value numerology. The young man faced a dilemma.

The best way to solve this issue would be, I am very tempted to say, first to become Cheng Yi's academic descendant and then look for a way to reconcile his own love of numerology with Cheng Yi's moralist tradition later. That reconciliation would not only involve intellectual issues, but also genealogical ones. Our young numerologist would have to argue that Cheng Yi, and his 'master' Zhou Dunyi, were not isolated from the most prestigious numerology tradition. All names were already provided by Shao Bowen and Chao Yuezhi. What he needed to do would be to draw one single line between Mu Xiu and Zhou Dunyi to link the previously isolated Zhou-Cheng cluster to the main line of numerology transmission, a long and well-established line starting from Chen Tuan to Shao Yong. Connecting Zhou to Mu Xiu would allow this young Cheng circle numerologist (however oxymoronic that might sound) access to the coveted Shao Yong tradition completely bypassing Shao Bowen's firewall. The result of this reconciliation would be a family tree where Cheng Yi and Shao Yong are both depicted as remote intellectual descendants of Chen Tuan, even though the two would strongly disagree.

However, I have to admit that this is a speculation based on an assumption that it was Zhu Zhen who fabricated the transmission narrative. Of all the pieces of evidence that I provided throughout this section, the assumption remains unsubstantiated. Nonetheless, there have been some of the most important Zhou Dunyi specialists who proposed similar hypotheses. Equally without any substantial evidence, Xu Yufeng, an

early twentieth-century Zhou Dunyi biographer, argued that Zhu Zhen's transmission narrative was unconvincing, and that the weakest link of the story was the line between Mu Xiu and Zhou Dunyi (Xu Yufeng 1943, 1532–4). Besides, when we ask *cui bono* (to whom is it a benefit), Zhu Zhen was taking too great a benefit from connecting Zhou to Mu Xiu to eliminate our suspicion.

Anyhow, Zhu Zhen opened a new possibility for numerology-oriented literati of later generations to pursue their dream while remaining safely in the realm of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy. Zhu Xi was one of them. This Southern Song 'synthesiser' was inclined to the numerological understanding so much that he wanted to incorporate Shao Yong's ideas into his overwhelmingly Cheng Yi style moral philosophy. Perhaps because Zhu Zhen's lineage claim serves Zhu Xi's purpose, he was not too disturbed to read the *Memorial*. Of course, Zhu Xi maintained that Zhou Dunyi was the sole creator of the *Diagram of the Great Ultimate*; but he did not rule out the possibility that Zhou has been inspired by someone else. Therefore, when one of his pupils grumbled at someone's attributing Zhou Dunyi's *Diagram* to Chen Tuan, saying 'how could Xiyi (Chen Tuan) have this idea [the *Diagram* demonstrates]?' Zhu Xi only cautiously introduced one idea of Chen Tuan's friend and admitted that '... this is exactly (*quan* 全) the same as Lianxi's (Zhou Dunyi) [idea.] ... there might have been some transmissions (*laili* 來歷) (Zhu Xi 1986, 2357).'

All in all, a lineage is a socially constructed reality, and they are constructed only *ex post facto*. Zhou Dunyi might have received the *Diagram* from someone, but even his contemporaries had no clue as to who that might have been. This blank space, the vacuum in the collective memory, urged people to fill it in with plausible stories.

Zhu Zhen's transmission narrative that connected Zhou to Chen Tuan was, I argue, just one of many filling-in-the-gap stories that sounded more convincing than the others to contemporary readership. One of the consequences relevant to this thesis is the possible inclusion of Zhou Dunyi's image in the Mt. Hua Chen Tuan Shrine in about the early thirteenth century (Zhao 1986, 13:16a-b). Also, Zhu Xi had to use a good part of his commemorative essay for Shaozhou 邵州 Zhou Dunyi shrine in refuting a Daoist interpretation of the *Diagram* (LXJ 211).

## 2.6. Conclusion

This chapter discussed some of the most important and controversial aspects of Zhou Dunyi's life. He was a local official who served in various local posts for about 30 years. This long local career left many marks in different localities, providing the basis for the eventual development of Zhou Dunyi shrines in those places. That almost all his postings were located south of the Yangzi River inadvertently facilitated the rapid spread of Zhou Dunyi shrines in the Southern Song. A brief comparison of Zhou's sojourn map (Figure 7) with those of six selected Northern and Southern Song dignitaries (Figure 8 to 13) suggests that promoting Zhou through enshrinement would have been much harder had he been a northerner.

His parental background was highlighted, too. The Zhou family of Daozhou produced some low-ranking officials to fill the court of the regional kingdom of Chu during the interregnum period. Zhou Dunyi's grandfather probably prepared all of his five sons for the Song court civil service examination, and three of them earned *jinshi* degree. Zhou Dunyi's mother was born to a Kaifeng-based family who had previously served the Sichuan-based kingdom of Later Shu before the Song unification. Her brother, Zheng Xiang, was a bright star of the family who would later give crucial support to his orphaned nephew Zhou Dunyi. Zheng Xiang's sons continued to support Zhou and his family. One of them married his daughter to one of Zhou's sons, which is probably the reason why one descendant of the Zheng family was still keeping relics of Zhou's sons 100 years later in the Southern Song. Zhou's close relationship with his maternal kinsmen, in contrast to his tenuous connection to his father's relatives, might

have made the latter anxious, leading to the active promotion of Zhou Dunyi in Daozhou in the Southern Song.

The Kong brothers' rapport with Zhou Dunyi illuminates the nature of the Cheng brothers' association with Zhou. They all met Zhou through their fathers' mediation. Senior Kong and Senior Cheng were Zhou's superiors when they recognised his talent and introduced their sons to him. The juniors established some relationships with him, but it seems the Kong brothers' admiration for Zhou was much greater than that of the Chengs. The fact that the Kongs were living in proximity to Zhou's retirement home is also significant. All three Kong brothers paid a visit to Zhou's tomb, or at least his retirement home, and continued to maintain a strong bond with Zhou's orphaned sons. It is no wonder that both sons of Zhou Dunyi joined the Shu faction where the Kong brothers were core members. That the eldest of the Kong brothers, a senior figure in the Shu faction, impeached Cheng Yi, one of the Cheng brothers, suggests that Cheng Yi's neglect of Zhou Dunyi might have been a deliberate decision.

Zhou Dunyi's association with men from the region of Jiangxi leads us to question whether he befriended arguably the best-known Jiangxi man of his era: Wang Anshi. Although the presence of conflicting pieces of evidence prevent us from reaching any decisive conclusion, it seems that he was not perceived as an enemy by either pro- or anti-Wang Anshi factions. Zhou's ambiguous political stance urged his Southern Song promoters to reinvent Zhou's character. Four out of the so-called 'Five Masters of the Northern Song (*Beisong wuzi* 北宋五子)', admired as the forerunners of the Neo-Confucianism in the Southern Song and thereafter, were determined opponents of Wang Anshi's government. Zhou's being the only exception signals the artificial

nature of his reconstructed image and Southern Song Zhou Dunyi promoters' concern over it.

As for the authorship of the *Diagram of the Great Ultimate*, I argue that the transmission narrative that attributes the *Diagram* to Chen Tuan was made up by Zhu Zhen. This second-generation disciple of the Cheng brothers had academic and genealogical issues to resolve and one solution was to make Zhou Dunyi and Cheng Yi remote intellectual descendants of Chen Tuan. The authorship controversy tells us how little the Southern Song literati knew about Zhou Dunyi and the *Diagram*. This vacuum of knowledge invited people to fill in with opinions, speculation, claims, and fabrication that would serve their interests best.

This chapter has provided the backdrop against which Zhou Dunyi shrines would be established about 100 years after his death. The following three chapters investigate how Zhou Dunyi's character was represented differently in different places in the Southern Song and what that meant to each locality.

### 3. The Contest Between Daozhou and Jiangzhou

When the prefect Lin Li 林栗 (*js.* 1142) established a Zhou Dunyi shrine at Jiangzhou 江州 (m. Jiujiang 九江, Jiangxi 江西) in 1166, at the request of a 36-year old Fujianese scholar, Zhu Xi, he must have failed to foresee the ramifications that his commemorative essay for the shrine would bring about.

As always, Lin tried to find a connection between the enshrined figure and the locality at which the shrine was established. It was a convention, if not a norm, to define unequivocally the tie connecting them as a part of the justification for the building project. Although not strictly forbidden, it was seen as ‘gratuitous’ to build a shrine on soil that had no connection whatsoever to the enshrinee.

Lin knew that Zhou Dunyi had once lived in Jiangzhou and had taken his name from a brook in front of his abode: Lianxi 濂溪. He could have let it go at that but continued to probe the meaning of the character ‘*lian* 濂’. When he found some pieces of evidence in favour of his hypothesis, he confidently declared that the character *lian* 濂 was actually a mistake for *lian* 廉 and insisted that the error be corrected.

Accordingly, his essay argues that when Zhou Dunyi’s sons asked the famous contemporary poet Huang Tingjian for a commemorative poem, they deliberately changed *lian* 濂 to *lian* 廉 in order to avoid using a character that was taboo for Huang’s uncle. Lin believed that this deed was utterly ‘wrong’ and therefore felt compelled to ‘correct’ the character back to its original form (LXJ 171).

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Zhou Dunyi was born and grew up in Daozhou. However, after leaving the town at age 15, he made his new home at Jiangzhou, where he lived, died, and was buried, returning to Daozhou only for one brief visit. Despite Daozhou's stature as his birthplace, Zhou Dunyi's failure to return 'home' was a headache for Daozhou literati. To assert the strength of their location's connection to Zhou, they needed a narrative that could explain why Zhou was compelled to live in Jiangzhou against his real 'intention (*yi* 意)'. They developed a story wherein Zhou was willing to return home but was so poor and feeble that he could not afford his final trip and so, instead, named his retirement studio and the nearby brook in Jiangzhou after one in Daozhou, 'Lianxi 濂溪', to express his loyalty to his 'roots (*ben* 本)' and, as a result, the man came to be remembered and referred to as Master Lianxi (*Lianxi xiansheng* 濂溪先生). In short, this story was based on the coincidence of the three names. Daozhou Lian Brook, Jiangzhou Lian Brook, and Zhou's studio name (*hao* 號) constituted the trinity of Daozhou's narrative.

When the trinity was denied by the prefect of Jiangzhou, the people of Daozhou were, predictably, upset: if the 'original' studio name of Zhou Dunyi had nothing to do with the brook in Daozhou, the great man's connection to Daozhou would be rendered far more tenuous. Accordingly, the residents and supporters of Daozhou proffered their rebuttals, and so began the contest.

This debate has attracted little attention from modern researchers. There are a few articles in Chinese (Zhang Guanmei 2005; Wu 2005; Kong Yuhua 2010) and one in Japanese (Matsukawa 1979) that discuss some factual details. However, none of them fully investigates the social implications and ramifications of this event, nor goes

further to discuss as to why the actors of the two prefectures, especially the Daozhou elites, were so eager in the first place to stake a claim to Zhou's 'hometown (*guli* 故里)'.<sup>125</sup>

Some commemorative essays that are frequently cited in this chapter have been thoroughly translated and interpreted by numerous modern academic works; however, even the most basic factors as the location of the shrines that the essays were addressing, where they were inscribed and erected, and who read them, have yet to receive attention. Many researchers have approached the shrine essays as though they were directed at a neutral audience living in a neutral place and neglected the significance of such place indicators as 'Daozhou' or 'Jiangzhou' attached to the titles.<sup>125</sup> By contrast, this chapter reconstructs the concerns of the two localities that must to varying degrees have dictated the themes of the commemorative essays for their shrines. We will see that the two prefectures had a conflict of interests and that a naming issue—whether it was *lian* 廉 or *lian* 濂—lay at the heart of the contest between them.

By following the timeline of the name debate, we will see that the enthusiasm of each prefecture's elites for dedicating shrines to Zhou Dunyi, commissioning Neo-Confucian dignitaries to write essays for those shrines, consecrating their surrounding landscape, and disputing the claims of the rival prefecture served ultimately to improve their standing in a world where all prefectures were searching for local 'pride' (C. Zhang 2003, 172; 2011b, 157). We will also see that the contest illustrates some specific

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<sup>125</sup> For instance, Nekar's (1993) foremost concern is the philosophical elements discussed in the commemorative essays.

local strategies in exploiting precious symbolic capital whose existence may in some cases be revealed unexpectedly by outsiders. A close reading of the sources shows that the people of Daozhou had not been aware of the potential value of Zhou Dunyi as a native son until visitors came looking for his artefacts at their locale. It was only after becoming aware of the benefits of having their town regarded as his hometown that the people of Daozhou committed themselves to securing that position. This manoeuvre suggests that some elements of the early supporters of the Neo-Confucian movement may not have been sympathetic to this project on intellectual grounds, but recognised an opportunity to share in its benefits.

Let us start with the first commemorative essay for the 1166 Jiangzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine.

### 3.1. Lin Li's Attempt to Replace lian 濂 with lian 廉

First, let us scrutinise Lin Li's essay so as to better understand the criticisms levelled against it. In the manner of innumerable Song dynasty essays of this sort, Lin begins by telling how the fame of the enshrinee first came to his attention, who informed him, and why he was convinced of the importance of the building project.

In the beginning, I read the *Recorded Conversations* of the Cheng brothers of Henan 河南 (Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi) and heard that the master Maoshu (Zhou Dunyi) is the finest among the Neo-Confucians. After that, I read poems on Lian Brook written by the Erudite of the Upright Illumination Palace Su (Su Shi) and the Grand Historian Huang (Huang Tingjian) and imagined what his personality was like. Later, when I came to Jiujiang (Jiangzhou), Zhu Xi Yuanhui, the former Erudite of the Military School, sent me a letter from Chong'an County of Jianning (m. Wuyishan 武夷山, Fujian). It says 'the master Lianxi was the teacher of the Cheng brothers. The man himself has passed away but his Way has become prominent, as the time goes on his name has become honoured. Now Yingdao (Daozhou), Lingling (Yongzhou), Nan'an (m. Dayu 大庾, Jiangxi), Shaoyang (m. Shaoyang 邵陽, Hunan) are worshipping [the master] at their local government schools without exception and Jiangzhou alone has not yet established [the master's shrine at its school]. Is it not a case of 'an omission in the sacrificial canon (*que dian* 厥典)?' (LXJ 171)

This short summary contains several valuable pieces of information that suggest the context in which this shrine was situated. First of all, it suggests that Zhou Dunyi, the master Maoshu, was a figure who still needed details supplied to make the audience aware of his stature, while the Cheng brothers did not. Second, Zhou Dunyi's association with such famous non-Neo-Confucian literati as Su Shi and Huang Tingjian was no less significant. It seems that Su and Huang's poems extolling his virtue were guaranteeing his worthiness, while the association with the Cheng brothers assured the

soundness of his philosophical works. We will see how these strong human connections affect the naming issue later in this chapter.

Third, it was the young Zhu Xi who asked Lin Li to build a shrine for Zhou Dunyi in Jiangzhou. Reviewing Zhu's perception of Zhou Dunyi in the second lunar month of 1166, when the essay was completed, we find that Zhu met Zhang Shi 張栻 (1133–80), the rising star of the Hunan school of thought, who introduced the thought of Zhou Dunyi to Zhu in 1163. It is clear from his letters written well before 1163 that Zhu knew of the existence of Zhou, but there is no indication that he gave any serious attention to Zhou's philosophical ideas. However, after meeting this Hunan native, he began to investigate the potential value of Zhou's works with renewed interest. Eventually, Zhu came to edit and publish Zhou's *Book of Penetration* (*Tong shu* 通書) in the third lunar month of 1166, only a month after the Lin Li's publication of the commemorative essay.

Although it is highly probable that Zhu Xi first became seriously interested in Zhou Dunyi in 1163, it was not until 1166 that he recognised the full philosophical potential of Zhou's masterpiece, the *Explanation on the Diagram of the Great Ultimate* (*Taiji tushuo* 太極圖說). We can see this from the fact that he did not attach the *Diagram* to the 1166 edition of the *Book of Penetration*, in contrast to all the other six editions of Zhou's works that Zhu later edited—all of which included the *Diagram*.<sup>126</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>126</sup> For the complete list of Zhu Xi's editions of Zhou's works, see Adler (2014, 112).

since Lin was known for his penchant for the *Book of Change*, Zhu would have mentioned the *Diagram* had he thought it was a significant piece.

All in all, at Jiangzhou in 1166, there was a young Neo-Confucian thinker trying to convince a senior non-Neo-Confucian official of the necessity of a Zhou Dunyi shrine at his post, and that this Neo-Confucian had not yet developed a clear understanding of the character of the philosopher. Zhu Xi sought to increase his hero's reputation by rapidly increasing the presence of his shrine over the empire, but, as we will see, a premature promotion of the still malleable character of Zhou resulted in an uncontrolled interpretation Zhu would find unacceptable so that he would never again make such a request to anyone who was not his strong ideological comrades.

Lin Li continues by telling how he obtained Zhou Dunyi's portrait from his great-grandson and describes Zhou's works he has encountered, and then respectfully declares that he is indeed a great man, worthy of being enshrined.

When the Jiangzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine was completed and its name plaque was hung high, the character *lian* 廉 caught Lin Li's attention. In the beginning, Lin had thought that *lian* 廉 meant something along the lines of 'modesty / incorruptibility / purity (*lian* 廉)'. However, to his chagrin, he found that the entry for *lian* 廉 in his dictionary carried negative connotations such as 'shallow, pitiless, and narrow'. Finding this unacceptable, he felt compelled to challenge the authenticity of the character. When he sought insight from a local person, whose name he did not record, the person replied 'when the master's sons asked Huang Tingjian for a commemorative poem for their father, they changed the character [*lian* 廉 into *lian* 濂] in order to avoid Huang's uncle's [Huang Lian 黃廉 (*fl.* 1090)] taboo name (*hui* 諱)'.

Lin Li found this convincing, albeit possibly not sufficient to persuade the most sceptical audiences. Accordingly, he buttressed his finding by tapping into what he believed to be a very authoritative source—namely, Su Shi’s commemorative poem for Zhou Dunyi.

坐令此溪水 [And] it makes the brook

名與先生俱 have the same name as the Master.

先生本全德 Originally, the Master is a man of complete virtue,

廉退乃一隅 Modesty (*liantui*) is only a corner [of it] (Wang Wengao 2002, 31:17b–18a) <sup>127</sup>

It is clear from Su Shi’s self-commentary that the ‘brook’ the poem is addressing was the one in Jiangzhou (S. Su 2001, 1579), but it does not say whether the name of the Master was *lian* 廉 or *lian* 瀛. What it confirms is that Zhou Dunyi held himself up as a man of modesty and may simply have named the brook in Jiangzhou after that virtue. As we will see, there was a convention of naming a brook or mountain by adding the radical for ‘water (*shui* 氵)’ or ‘mountain (*shan* 山)’ to characters connoting virtues. In any case, Lin did not go to any lengths to find a more plausible explanation but simply read his conjecture into the poem; he concludes that Su Shi’s choice of the character *lian* 廉 in the poem corroborates his hypothesis.

The final part of Lin’s essay is quite provocative in that he seems to regard the literati of Jiangzhou and Zhou Dunyi as a single congruent unit:

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<sup>127</sup> Matsukawa Kenji (1979), the only modern work that deals with this poem, also touches on the naming issue.

Now, mountains, rivers, airs, and vital energies (*qi* 氣) are what people receive, and upon which people rely to be born. People inculcate themselves with the customs bequeathed in prominent longstanding families. The Way of the Master was transmitted to the two Chongs and therefore what it achieved is abundant. However, I have failed to hear about him at the place under Mount Lu 廬 and over Lian Brook. It may well be because this brook has been wrongly known as *lian* 濂. From now on, I know that the literati of Jiujiang are incorruptible but not narrow-minded (*qing er bu ai* 清而不隘), are modest but not vulgar (*jian er bu lou* 儉而不陋), discriminating but not contentious (*bian er bu zheng* 辨而不爭), strict but not harsh (*yan er bu li* 嚴而不厲). (LXJ 171)

‘Congruence’ is the term Roel Sterckx (2002, 103) uses to signify the unity of the human inhabitants, animals, and regional ‘air (*qi* 氣)’ in the ancient Chinese worldview. He demonstrates that the ‘human physique, political action, climate, and the natural environment were closely intertwined’ in ancient China so that the ‘dialectic between *qi* and human behaviour’ came to be a ‘key notion’ of discourse. Different qualities or behavioural characteristics of people were attributed to differences in regional ‘airs’, which in turn were confirmed through the observation of the varying qualities of the natural landscapes of each region. For example, those who inhabited a rugged mountainous region were thought to be violent, while the residents of a swampy damp region were deemed to be treacherous.<sup>128</sup> This way of thinking was devised to make sense of the cultural differences among regions in the Warring States period.

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<sup>128</sup> The tautological nature and socio-political implications of this line of argument are worth considering. Compare this, for instance, with what Bourdieu believed to be the tautology of the reproduction logic of modern French elite education. ‘...following this line of reasoning: we are excellent because the education that produced us is excellent; moreover, the education that produced us is excellent because we are excellent’ (Bourdieu 1996, 410).

Although Sterckx's period of interest is confined to the era spanning the Warring States and the two Han dynasties, we can find a similar attitude in the early Song comprehensive geography *Universal Geography of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping huanyuji* 太平寰宇記). In this magnificent topo-cultural *summa geographia*, each Northern Song prefecture is allotted a chapter and described thoroughly in relation to a number of categories, one of which is 'Social Mores (*fengsu* 風俗)'. The work finds fault with the customs of nearly all prefectures, disparaging them for not complying with the normative standards of Imperial-Capital culture. It even suggests that such nonconformity has been a perennial problem by quoting extensively from equally capital-centric Warring States and Han period texts such as the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 and the *Comprehensive Discussion of Social Mores* (*Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義).<sup>129</sup>

This tendency of denigrating distinct provincial customs can be explained by the fact that it was the centre that called for, produced, and consumed this kind of comprehensive geographical study (Lewis 2006, chap. 4). Understandably, as the localities gave rise to a new genre of geography, 'local gazetteers (*difang zhi* 地方志)', the negative representation of diverse and multiple local cultures promptly disappeared. As Peter Bol (2001) notes, the early thirteenth century comprehensive gazetteer *Record of the Best Sites in the Realm* (*Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝) is qualitatively different from its predecessor written 200 years earlier in that it is aimed at local readers who were deeply

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<sup>129</sup> Not coincidentally, these ancient sources were also heavily cited by Sterckx (2002).

interested in reading about their own affairs and not the capital-based elites who identified themselves with the ‘legitimate’ culture of the centre.<sup>130</sup>

Shao-yun Yang’s doctoral thesis argues that the persisting ‘environmental (*qi*) determinism’ notwithstanding, in the late Tang and the Northern Song, there was a remarkable shift of focus from *qi* to culture/morality as a determining factor of civilisation. Before the advent of a new way of thinking in the late Tang, Yang argues, the most dominant interpretation of the Sino-barbarian dichotomy was that of the geopolitical boundary. Namely, those who were born in a land embedded with adverse *qi* were believed to be destined to become barbarians, whereas those born and/or hailed in the ‘centre of the world’, which was believed to be the Yellow River basin, were to be civilised. This trend was challenged by the so-called ‘culturalism’ in which civilisation differentiated itself from barbarism rather in terms of culture than geography or ethnicity. Although *qi* still played an important role in the Song, the Song culturalists argued that one could remain a (civilised) Chinese only when one abided by the Confucian values that were undergoing serious revision and reinterpretation by various thinkers who would later be labelled as Neo-Confucians. Nevertheless, not many culturalists accepted the possibility of barbarians becoming Chinese by overcoming their inadequate *qi* through moral self-cultivation. What they accepted was the idea that Chinese with proper *qi* can always deteriorate into barbarian through deviation from Confucian values. It seems that what concerned the culturalists was the possible failure in realising the potential of one’s given *qi*, not surmounting the

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<sup>130</sup> For more about local readership of local gazetteers and their keen interest in local affairs, especially in the Southern Song, see Hargett (1996).

confinement of the *qi*. Therefore, Yang demonstrates, the late Tang and the Northern Song redefinition of the power of *qi* in determining one's Chineseness should not be understood as a full-scale paradigm shift from environmental determinism (S. Yang 2014, 21, 274, 318, 374–8).

Linda A. Walton (1998, 37, 108–11) explains the spread of Neo-Confucian shrines and academies in the Southern Song in terms of *qi*, as well. She claims that there was an 'organic relationship between the natural beauty of mountains and rivers, where "vital forces" (*ch'i* = *qi*) collect, and the production of eminent scholars, whose residences or studies often became the site of academies'. She rightly notes that the landscape becomes 'sacred' once it is associated with a Neo-Confucian master, but leaves several questions open: What did it mean for a landscape to be a sacred place? How did such a designation benefit the local people? Did they view it as desirable? How much might they be willing to sacrifice for a marginal improvement of the local *qi*?

We can discern a similar approach to local cultures and geography from this mid-twelfth century commemorative essay aimed at a Jiangzhou readership and can catch a glimpse of the benefit the local elites were expecting. Lin Li's essay postulates a virtuous cycle in which people are infused with the vital energy (*qi*) of their local environment and in turn leave positive impacts on its quality, thus creating an endless feedback loop.

Such logic was by no means uncommon in the Southern Song,<sup>131</sup> yet only a few essays applied this logic to a place other than the birthplace of a noted figure.<sup>132</sup> Although Lin Li's essay does not explicitly refer to this logic, it is entirely possible to read into it an attempt to appropriate the claim that was accorded to the birthplace of Zhou Dunyi—an implicit declaration that Jiangzhou was at least as much his hometown, if not more so.<sup>133</sup>

The character *lian* 廉 now came to represent the congruence between the virtue of the Jiangzhou literati, the brook running in Jiangzhou, and Zhou Dunyi who left a huge footprint in Jiangzhou. At the same time, Daozhou's congruence with Zhou was damaged by Lin's rejections of the character *lian* 廉, the underpinning symbol. This damage is compounded by the fact that all the virtues he enumerates in the last sentence are the dictionary definitions of *lian* 廉, while the vices are those of *lian* 廉.

The meaning of *lian* 廉 is 'incorruptible (*qing* 清)' and 'simple (*jian* 儉)', it, therefore, has the meaning of self-restraining (*jian lian* 檢斂). . . . . [Whereas *lian* 廉 means] 'shallowness/pitilessness (*bo* 薄)' and 'a big river stops (*jue* 絕) halfway and a small river comes out'. (LXJ 171)

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<sup>131</sup> For Huizhou's 徽州 cases, see Yongtao Du (2015, 29–32).

<sup>132</sup> The Tang dynasty literary giant Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) was deemed to be more strongly connected to his place of exile, Chaozhou 潮州 (m. Chaozhou, Guangdong 廣東), than anywhere else because some of his most highly acclaimed pieces were written during his exile period and also because those pieces teem with allusions to local landscapes and issues (Hartman 2014, 90–99). The same is true of Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819), who has been most strongly connected to Liuzhou 柳州 (m. Liuzhou, Guangxi), his place of long exile.

<sup>133</sup> There are essays written in sixteenth-century Jiangzhou in which the authors realise this potential. See section 3.4.

Thus, it is hardly surprising that the people of Daozhou, where the ‘vicious’ brook was now running, were seriously offended.

### 3.2. Daozhou's Responses to Lin Li's Claim

Despite the dearth of available materials from which to reconstruct the early circulation of Lin Li's essay, the fact that Lin met a great-grandson of our hero, Zhou Zhiqing 周直卿 (*fl.* 1180), suggests that this man might have brought a copy to Daozhou. Also, Zhu Xi notes in his letter dated 1169 that Lin sent a copy of the essay to him (Zhu 2002, 21:1305–6).

Who was Zhou Zhiqing? According to the earliest extant genealogy of the Zhou surname of Daozhou, Zhou Dunyi's eldest son, Zhou Shou 周壽 (1057–?), lived and died at Jiangzhou while the second son Zhou Tao 周燾 (1062–?) decided to move to Daozhou. Moreover, the ill fortune of the descendants of Zhou Shou is implied in this late twelfth-century author's confession that he failed to find any sources telling what happened to the sons of Zhou Shou after the Jurchen invasion of Jiangzhou in the early eleventh century (Figure 20).



Therefore, with a caveat, we can assume that the Jiangzhou branch of Zhou Dunyi's descendants disappeared by the mid-twelfth century. The extant sources clearly suggest that Zhou Zhiqing and his brothers who share the character *qing* in their names were the most active descendants of the philosopher in the latter half of the twelfth century. It was Zhengqing 正卿 (*fl.* 1180), Yanqing 彦卿 (*fl.* 1180), and Tao 濤 (*fl.* 1180) who accompanied Zhu Xi's pilgrimage to Zhou Dunyi's tomb in Jiangzhou in 1181 (Zhu Xi 2002, 24:3984–5). In the same text, no Zhou surname native to Jiangzhou is mentioned. This implies that there must have been a number of Zhou surnames in Daozhou who wanted to hear news coming from Jiangzhou and, perhaps, not the other way around.

We also do not know when exactly the people of Daozhou became aware of Lin Li's commemorative essay, except that Daozhou literati's early responses appeared between 1166 and 1175. Since these responses were in most cases transmitted to posterity via Zhu Xi's hands, it is important to review the instances where he refers to the name issue (Table 5).

**Table 5. Zhu Xi's References to the Naming Issue.**

	yyyy/m(lunar)	Title	Zhu (2002)
1	1169/6	The Records of Deeds of Master Lianxi ( <i>Lianxi xiansheng xinglu</i> 濂溪先生行錄)	26:778
2	1179/1	Writing at the end of the Huizhou Wuyuan County edition of the Book of Penetration of Master Zhou ( <i>Shu Huizhou Wuyuan xian Zhouzi Tongshu banben hou</i> 書徽州婺源縣周子通書版本後)	24:3840
3	1179/5	The Postface to the Second Collation of the Great Ultimate and the Book of Penetration ( <i>Zaiding Taiji tongshu houshu</i> 再定太極通書後書)	24:3652
4	1179/6	The Records of Facts about Master Lianxi ( <i>Lianxi xiansheng shishi ji</i> 濂溪先生事實記)	25:4558

When Zhu Xi wrote the second and final version of his short biography of Zhou Dunyi in the sixth lunar month of 1179 (No. 4), he conceded that his first biography had not been entirely ‘correct’ due to the lack of sources at his disposal at the time of its completion in 1169 (No. 1). In particular, he regretted his extensive reliance on Huang Tingjian’s commemorative poem for Zhou, expurgating nearly all of it from the final edition. Entries 2 and 3 are his postfaces to the different versions of the *Complete Works of Zhou Dunyi*, wherein he seeks to justify expurgating Huang’s description of Zhou, which had been the most popular poem about him, by enumerating more ‘authentic’ pieces of evidence that he has obtained as replacements. Let us review the sources Zhu had.

**Table 6. Sources Available to Zhu Xi in 1179.**

	Author	Title	Date
1	Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅	A Poem on Lianxi with a Preface ( <i>Lianxi shi bing xu</i> 濂溪詩並序)	Late eleventh century
2	Su Shi 蘇軾	A Poem on Master Maoshu's Lianxi, as a Present to My Benevolent Brother Ciyuan ( <i>Maoshu xiansheng Lianxi shi cheng Ciyuan rendi</i> 茂叔先生濂溪詩呈次元仁弟)	Late eleventh century
3	He Qi 何棄(or He Qizhong 何棄仲)	The Yingdao Studio with a Preface ( <i>Yingdao zhai bing xu</i> 營道齋並序)	1166–73

4	Zou Fu 鄒敷	A Rhapsody Commemorating my Trip to Lianxi with a Preface ( <i>You Lianxi ci bing xu</i> 游濂溪辭並序)	1171?
5	Zou Fu 鄒敷	A Postface to the Handwriting of Master Lianxi ( <i>Ba Zhou Lianxi xiansheng shoutie</i> 跋周濂溪先生手帖)	1175
6	Zhang Shi 張栻	A Postface to the Handwriting of Master Lianxi ( <i>Ba Lianxi xiansheng tie</i> 跋濂溪先生帖)	1175–78

Given Zhu Xi's relentless attack on Su Shi, Huang Tingjian, and their followers, it is no surprise that he did not take entries 1 and 2 seriously.<sup>134</sup> Entries 3, 4, 5, and 6 all favoured Daozhou on the name issue and unmistakably came from either Daozhou natives or sources closely related to them.

What Zhu Xi saw first, apart from 1 and 2, was He Qi's poem and preface (No. 3). Zhu not only counted He's poem first whenever he tried to address the name issue, but also included this piece in his genealogical work for the Neo-Confucian movement, the *Record on the Deep Origin of the Rivers Yi and Luo* (*Yi Luo yuanyuan lu* 伊洛淵源錄), as early as 1173 (Zhu Xi 2002, 12:927).

However, the importance of this piece notwithstanding, we have virtually no information on who its author was or when he wrote the poem. In fact, even his name is not known. All that we know is that he was called either He Qi or He Qizhong and was a member of the He 何 family who populated Daozhou in the Song and formed affinal ties to Zhou Dunyi's descendants. Moreover, since the He surname of Hunan were rarely successful in the civil service examinations, and since there is no source indicating his association with Neo-Confucianism, we can only assume that He Qi was

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<sup>134</sup> For Zhu Xi's criticism of the Su Shi school, see Bol (1989).

at best a member of Daozhou's local elite. The fact that even his contemporaries who obtained this poem could not confirm his name suggests that he did not cultivate any serious translocal social relationships.

The piece first appears in the earliest extant late Southern Song printed edition of Zhou Dunyi's *Complete Works* (Zhou Dunyi 1988); we have no good reason to doubt that this version is virtually identical with what Zhu Xi read in 1173. The poem is not particularly interesting, but the preface is.

Chongling's prefectural seat is Yingdao, and there is a village 30 *li*<sup>135</sup> away, not far [from Yingdao], whose name is Lianxi 濂溪. The Zhou family is living there. The lineage is populous and have engaged in Classical Learning (*ru* 儒). There was a native son whose name was Dunyi, courtesy name Maoshu. After retiring from serving in far-off posts, he laid down his burden on Mount Lu 廬. [Because] he had no strength (*li* 力) to come back to his old house, therefore he built a new house on the brook and endowed it with the name of Lianxi; the intention was to put his hometown in front of his eyes. Mr Jiangxia 江夏 of Xiushui 修水 (Huang Tingjian) admired him and always spoke of and encouraged [Zhou Dunyi's] sons Shou 壽 and Tao 燾. Tao [his courtesy name] was Ciwen 次文, who was also recognized by Mr Po 坡 (Su Shi). Po wrote the *Poem on Late Maoshu Lianxi* wherein he frequently alludes to Zhou Dunyi's modesty (*lian* 廉) only; Xiushui also merely describes his modesty and fairness. Thus, none of them has explicated his [true] intention of only temporarily staying (*qiao yu* 僑寓) there away from [his real] home. It is probably due to the juniors' failure to understand the elders' intention. [Although] Xiushui is only a couple of *she*<sup>136</sup> away [from Lian Brook in Jiangzhou] and Po is his contemporary, they all misunderstood the original intention [of Zhou Dunyi] and their essays mistransmitted the [information]. Alas! It is indeed lamentable ..... (LXJ 123–4)

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<sup>135</sup> 1 *li* is around 500 meters.

<sup>136</sup> 1 *she* is around 30 *li*.

He Qi's preface delivers a few significant points. First, it is the earliest known text that notes the existence of Lian 濂 Brook in Daozhou. Apart from some circumstantial evidence appearing in texts composed about late 1150s (LXJ 188; for later accounts LXJ 231), this is the first one that explicitly notes it. This may well be read as an attempt to confirm that the character *lian* 濂 is not simply an incidental effect of the excessive political correctness of the sons of Zhou Dunyi, as Lin Li argues in his essay but, rather, an expression of his so-called 'original intention'.

Second, it is the earliest known text that endeavours to give a rationale as to why Zhou Dunyi's abandonment of his hometown does not contradict his supposed love of that hometown. The excuse that it makes, 'lack of strength', can be read in two ways: physical or economic incapacity. Although it is entirely possible that it referred to both, almost all the later variations of this narrative favoured the interpretation of economic excuse.<sup>137</sup> Combined with one of his friends' testimony to his poverty, this would eventually become a stock phrase for his frugality.

Third, it criticises Su Shi, Huang Tingjian, and the two sons of Zhou Dunyi for their 'failure' to understand Zhou's 'intention'. He Qi realised that it would be impossible to assert Zhou Dunyi's 'intention' without attacking the validity of the two poems by Su and Huang who, He thought, were ignorant of the existence of the Lian 濂 brook in Daozhou. The key word 'intention', which would be forever repeated in many later articles time and again, was thus introduced.

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<sup>137</sup> Holding poverty accountable for the failure to return to hometowns was a common rationale in the Northern Song. See Chikusa Masaaki (1971, 45) for some well-known cases.

Last but not least, this is perhaps the only place where Huang Tingjian is referred to as Mr Jiangxia 江夏 of Xiushui 修水. Xiushui is Huang's birthplace and the home of his ancestors as well. When he died in a certain prefecture in Guangxi, his place of exile, his disciples moved his body to Xiushui and buried it there, next to his paternal ancestors. Jiangxia is his choronym (*benwang* 本望).<sup>138</sup> It may have been the case that this unusual reference was chosen on purpose to capture the attention of contemporary readers by making an ironic contrast between Huang's love of his hometown and his ignorance of Zhou Dunyi's birthplace-cum-ancestral hometown.<sup>139</sup>

An even more radical interpretation is possible when Huang Tingjian's better-known appellations are taken into consideration. Huang had been best known by his studio name Shangu 山谷, which was neither his hometown nor his *benwang*. He named himself after a certain Shangu Buddhist Monastery in Huoshan County 霍山縣 (m. Huoshan, Anhui 安徽), hundreds of miles away from his ancestral hometown, as an expression of utmost admiration for the beauty of the scenery there. We do not know whether He Qi knew this or not; if he did, which is probable, then he might have

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<sup>138</sup> *Benwang*, also known as *junwang* 郡望 or *junxing* 郡姓, refers to the place from which a lineage has originated. It is a term reminiscent of the old aristocratic order of the pre-Tang era that survived the order itself. Many well-known surnames in the Song were still preserving the memory of their place of origin, such as Longxi 隴西 (m. Longxi, Gansu 甘肅) for the Li 李 surname. Zhou Dunyi himself was sometimes referred to by his *benwang*, Runan 汝南 (Runan, m. Henan), as well. See Bao and Wei (2007) for the difference between the notions of household register (*huji* 戶籍), ancestral hometown (*zujudi* 祖居地), and *benwang*. See also David Johnson (1977, 30; 203) and Robert Hartwell (1982, 411–12).

<sup>139</sup> Moreover, it was very common for Song people to bury the bodies of their close kin 'within reasonable proximity', not least for the convenience of the performance of seasonal rituals at the burial site. Bossler (1998, 42–3) therefore suggests that when we study a Song dynasty family's associated 'location' or 'primary geographic attachment', the place of their burial ground should be taken as 'the surest clue'. Given this, the effort Huang Tingjian's sons' invested in moving his body back to their 'home' stands in sharp contrast to Zhou Dunyi's burial at Jiangzhou.

deliberately avoided referring to Huang as Shangu to minimise the risk that the readership would make the connection to Zhou Dunyi's studio name 'Lianxi' likewise having nothing to do with Zhou's hometown. In other words, calling the poet 'Shangu' would have offered too clear a parallel between Huang's love of the scenic beauty of Shangu and Zhou's love of the scenic beauty of Jiangzhou's Lian Brook.

Was He Qi responding directly to Lin Li's essay? Perhaps. He was tacitly refuting Lin's arguments although he did not mention him by name. Thus, the work can best be viewed as a veiled criticism, if not a mere matter of coincidence. In any case, this essay provided the basic narrative structure and a collection of images to a group of literati, including Zhu Xi, who would later adapt and fine-tune them in favour of Daozhou.

In contrast with He Qi's work, Zou Fu's 鄒敷 (a. k. a. 鄒勇, *fl. 1170*) 'Rhapsody (Table 6, No. 4)' is the first fully-developed, outright rejection of Lin Li's essay. In his preface to 'Rhapsody', Zou excerpts two passages from Huang Tingjian's poem and Lin's essay to criticise them for distorting the facts concerning the naming issue. What Zou contends in this piece, drawing on his own first-hand experience in Daozhou, coincides with He Qi's argument.

The master could not return home. Therefore he named his studio [in Jiangzhou] Lianxi to show that he had never forgotten his roots. (QSW259:134), (LXJ 124)

What Zou Fu saw in Zhou Dunyi's 'hometown' was a dilapidated, unattended house, which was alleged to be where the master had spent his early days. Out of

frustration, Zou went further to seek out Zhou's legacies from the natural and cultural landscapes as well. He postulates a sort of 'congruence' between Daozhou's inhabitants and the sublime quality of the natural landscape surrounding them. Below are lengthy parallels between the natural landscape of the locale and the morality of the native people, and even the morality inherent in the natural landscape itself.

諷<sup>140</sup>先生之所復<sup>141</sup>兮 I asked what the Master revived.

已乎莫之知也 Ah! Nobody knows.

從先生其已遠兮 It has been too long from the Master's days.

曷慰乎我之悲也 How can I ease my sorrow?

雲山矗而崇崇兮 The clouds and the mountains are towering high.

豈絕塵之姿也 Is it [not] the appearance of who retreat the dirt [of the secular world]?

泉石激而泠泠兮 Springs and stones are rapid and chilly and refreshing.

抑玄誦之遺乎 Is it [not] the lingering sounds of Confucian cultivation through music?

百卉秀而不枯兮 Hundreds of greens flourish and never wither

豈道德之輝乎 Is it [not] the glory of the Way and the Virtue [of Zhou Dunyi]?

少長羣而不囂兮 The young and the old flock together but are not disorderly.

抑微<sup>142</sup>俗之未衰乎 Or is it that the virtuous customs are not yet deteriorated?  
(QSW259:134–5), (LXJ 125)

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<sup>140</sup> 'to recite (*yong* 詠)' (LXJ).

<sup>141</sup> 'learned/thought of (*fu* 服)' (LXJ).

<sup>142</sup> 'virtuous (*mei* 媿)' (LXJ).

In his depiction of Zhou Dunyi's 'hometown', the residents, cultural legacies, morality, and the natural landscape are deeply intertwined such that they form a cohesive whole. The envisioning of such a coherent picture led him to a familiar idea in which the production of such a great personage as Zhou must have been an inevitable consequence of that unity. In this regard, Zou concludes that it is 'little wonder that [Huang's and Lin's] words are all wrong because [they] did not see [the master's] roots'.<sup>143</sup>

What follows is an argument on the origin of the name of the Lian 濂 Brook in Daozhou. Yuan Jie 元結 (723–72) was a Tang literatus who once had governed Daozhou. He was known for endowing landscapes with original names, terms that he coined himself. His favourite way of coming up with a name was to combine the 'water' radical with a character representing a certain virtue (e.g., Xiao 孝 for filial piety, Zhi 直 for uprightness, or Fang 汭 for integrity). Finding no extant text that says Yuan coined Lian 濂, Zou Fu concludes that the people of Daozhou must have devised the term by coupling the 'water' radical with 'modesty (*lian* 廉)', following the wisdom of Yuan Jie.

His lamentation on people's ignorance of the 'truth' raises an interesting question. Is it not paradoxical for the Daozhou literati to have been trying to reinforce

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<sup>143</sup> Of course, Zou Fu was not the only Song literatus who believed that one could discern a man's greatness from the natural/cultural objects of the place with which he was associated. See Cong E. Zhang for Lu You's quest for Su Shi's legacy (C. Zhang 2011b, 191).

their connections to Zhou Dunyi when they were unaware of who he was? Can we find a reasonable explanation for this?

In considering this seeming contradiction, we must bear in mind that what we know today of Zhou Dunyi's character is the result of reconstruction done during the late 1160s and '70s. The earliest commemorative essays for Zhou Dunyi shrines in Yongzhou and Daozhou, written in 1158 and 1159 respectively, neither say anything about the origin of the name Lianxi, nor contain any local voice testifying to any anecdotal story about him, nor do they refer to him as the founding father of Neo-Confucianism. Moreover, the 1159 Daozhou essay says that the then prefect of Daozhou, a certain Xiang 向, heard that Zhou was a man of consequence from Hu Anguo 胡安國 (1074–1138), a resident of Tanzhou 潭州 (m. Changsha 長沙, Hunan) and not from the locality; it says that later, when Xiang wanted to dedicate a shrine to Zhou Dunyi in Daozhou, he even had to 'persuade' the local elite to agree to the project. Thus, curiously enough, it was outsiders who were imbuing an obscure local figure with great significance and indoctrinating the local elite with this view.<sup>144</sup> As a commemorative essay for a shrine of similar nature composed in 1152 at Yongzhou suggests, there is a chance that Mr Xiang persuaded the local elite with the possibility of attracting renowned visitors to the shrine (Subsection 1.1.2).

This characterisation squares with observations in later commemorative essays for Zhou Dunyi shrines in places other than Daozhou and Jiangzhou. When Zhu Xi and

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<sup>144</sup> The important role that the Hu family played in the early spread of Zhou Dunyi's fame, which made it possible to dedicate a number of shrines to him even before the 1160s, merits a chapter-long discussion. See Van Ess (2004) for a brief introduction of their role in reappraising the Cheng brothers' intellectual legacy.

his followers committed themselves in promoting him in every place where he had ever been to,<sup>145</sup> what they did was to seek out vestiges of his presence in each locality and then advertise the connection between the place and this very-important-but-as-yet-unknown-to-you man.<sup>146</sup>

To speak in anthropological parlance, one's reputation is dependent on the recognition afforded by others. People tend first to heed others' recommendations before forming their own judgments.<sup>147</sup> Moreover, as Pierre Bourdieu has brilliantly demonstrated, those with a high volume of cultural capital tend to wield greater power in judging the legitimacy of a taste or work (Bourdieu 1979, 20–2). Simply put, Zhu Xi and his disciples were endowed with such cultural capital that it was they who were in a position to instruct the people of Daozhou as to whom they should be legitimately proud of and not the other way around. Thus, it was only when the outsiders arrived at the prefecture looking for traces of Zhou Dunyi's presence that the people of Daozhou became aware that they possessed a potentially momentous resource.<sup>148</sup> Once they realised what they had, Daozhou elites wasted little time before beginning to capitalise on it. Thus, we see Zou Fu's lamentation in 1171 giving way to surprise in 1175 when he meets a local student who claims to have two pieces of Zhou's calligraphy.

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<sup>145</sup> Runzhou (Zhenjiang) is perhaps the only exception. See Chapter 4.

<sup>146</sup> Section 5.3 discusses such essays (LXJ 215, 222).

<sup>147</sup> To put it differently, our 'desire is the desire of the Other' (Lacan 1977, 235).

<sup>148</sup> This is comparable to what happened to Charles Strickland's posthumous works as depicted in the *Moon and Sixpence*. Observing the influx of outsiders in search of Strickland's works, the islanders who had not been aware of the value of this idiosyncratic artist's paintings suddenly begin hunting for any piece of work that he might have left on the island (Maugham 1919).

Zou Fu's essay explains that, while he had been a teacher in the prefectural school of Daozhou since 1171, it was only after 1175 that he came to obtain the calligraphy specimens by Zhou Dunyi from one Hu Yuanding 胡元鼎. Zou reverently engraved them on a stone tablet, which he installed in front of the Daozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine. He also moved the shrine itself to a better-exposed place in hopes of attracting the attention of the larger local population (LXJ 105).

Zou Fu was a Fujianese Zhu Xi devotee who had no ties to Daozhou before his appointment to a teaching post there; he was an outsider, a Neo-Confucian whose range of activities surely exceeded the confines of Daozhou. By contrast, local elders or students, such as Hu Yuanding, were most likely from the local elite who might be unaware of Zhu Xi followers' adulation of Zhou Dunyi. The contact between the two groups reveals what the so-called Neo-Confucian 'proselytization' procedure was like (Neskar 1993, 418). By the time Zou Fu returned to Fujian and reported to Zhu Xi what he had seen and heard in Daozhou, the Daozhou local elite had become conscious of the symbolic value of the philosopher to such an extent that some even ventured beyond their borders seeking more prominent Neo-Confucian figures who could appreciate the value of their precious heritage. Consider Zhang Shi's 'Postface to Calligraphy of Master Lianxi':

To the right are two pieces of calligraphy by Master Zhou Lianxi. I came to Guilin 桂林 (m. Guilin, Guangxi), which is close to the master's hometown. Because He Shixian 何士先 (*fl.* 1175) came from that locale to pay a visit to me, I entrusted him to seek out the calligraphy pieces of the master. Later, a certain Hu Liangfu 胡良輔 (*fl.* 1175) brought me these two writings and a rubbing of the stone inscription of the *Zhou Family Genealogy*. Liangfu is a man from the master's affinal family. . . . . The stone inscription also records that the Lianxi Retreat was there in the village, west of the Shitang 石塘 Bridge.

Thus, it is clear that there had been such a name from the past. The master, late in his life, built a house under Mount Lu. Because there was also a brook, he named that after the one in Daozhou. It was to show that he had never forgotten his roots. Liangfu said that the elders of the town had transmitted [this whole story], and still were able to testify to the master's intention. ....(LXJ 105)<sup>149</sup>

We do not know who He Shixian and Hu Liangfu were. What we know is that both the He and Hu families were in-laws of the Zhou surname of Daozhou; and that Guilin is 200 km away from Daozhou, which, while not close by, is not as far as Zhang Shi's hometown Changsha 440 km away. We also know that He Shixian was not a neutral observer but, in fact, affiliated himself with another Daozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine through donation in 1180 with four other literati (LXJ 183) and wrote a commemorative essay for it (LXJ 141); and that Hu Liangfu was possibly Hu Yuanding.

While there is no direct evidence that the two Mr Hus mentioned in the two Postfaces are the same person, there are reasons to conjecture that they are closely connected at a minimum: First, both Postfaces, —Zou Fu's and Zhang Shi's—deal with the same specimens (LXJ 104); second, since the handwriting specimens were such a precious artefact, it is not likely that Hu Yuanding would have entrusted it to anyone but a very close family member, if he let it out of his grasp at all; third, Hu, in the second postface, repeats nearly verbatim what Zou Fu had stated in his Rhapsody on the name issue a couple of years previously, including the key phrase, 'he had never forgotten his roots (*buwang qiben* 不忘其本)'. These circumstances all suggest either that Hu Liangfu was Hu Yuanding; or, at a minimum, that he was someone who was well aware

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<sup>149</sup> The exact date of the composition is unknown. Given Zhang Shi's career, it must have been between 1175 and 1178.

of the debates going on around his hometown and was a very close acquaintance of Hu Liangfu.

Alternatively, considering the following points, we may boldly interpret the two men's visit to Zhang Shi as a carefully designed diplomatic mission. From the essay, we see that Zhang Shi had not known them prior to the meeting, which suggests that it was not a visit propelled by any personal relationship. The two men from Daozhou clearly understood what kind of arguments they must make in order to convince Zhang Shi, and what pieces of information they should provide in support of their claim. That Hu brought a supporting document, the *Zhou Family Genealogy*, to make his case indicates the level of preparation and deliberation. From this perspective, we can infer the existence and agency of local Daozhou elite society with a shared opinion who decided to dispatch the two men as their delegates to the world of Neo-Confucians. The village elders whose voices Hu Liangfu was citing might also have come from that same sector of society. In any case, the contrast between the two different roles played by the 'elders' in the pieces written by the two supporters of the Daozhou campaign is intriguing. The village elders whom Zou Fu's essay had previously disparaged for being oblivious to Zhou Dunyi's existence were remarkably transformed less than a decade later into trustworthy witnesses in Zhang Shi's postface. Or one might say that these villagers had been 'awakened' in the intervening years.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> One might also say that Hu 'internalised' Zou Fu's view. According to Edward Said (1995, intro.), internalisation is a social phenomenon whereby people of lesser power accept as true the images of themselves that their hegemonic neighbours have conferred upon them.

It seems plausible that the real motivation for the Daozhou elders dispatching an expedition to Zhang Shi's location was the enormous gap between Zou Fu's stature and that of Zhang Shi. The latter was a rock star of the Hunan school of thought; the eldest son of a war hero; a young promising politician who had been given an audience by the emperor; and one of the 'three masters of the south-east' whose fame could only be matched by the other two of the trio, Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137–1181) and Zhu Xi. Also, he was the pivot of the Hunanese literati network of the latter half of the twelfth century (Liao 2011, 102–5). Therefore, Zhang Shi's appreciation and acknowledgement would have enhanced the value of the handwriting specimens significantly. However, it is surprising that Hu Liangfu did not merely ask for a postface, but turned the pieces over to Zhang Shi.

..... I, who lacks eloquence, dared to have recited and practised the sayings and the deeds of the master and had the chance, early in my life, to bow before the remaining image. Now I also have managed to obtain his letters (*xin hua* 心畫, lit. 'the drawing of his heart') and keep them (*bao cang zhi* 寶藏之). I am immersed in [feelings of] admiration and reverence and, overwhelmed by sincerity. I dare to write to the left of it (LXJ 105).

What should we make of this? If the handwriting specimens were that precious, why did Hu Liangfu part with them? One possible explanation is the notion that every gift incurs an obligation while affording prestige to the giver (Bourdieu 1977, 171–83).<sup>151</sup> David Nivison makes the same point in expounding the meaning of *de* 德 in the ancient Chinese context.

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<sup>151</sup> Note that there is both continuity and discontinuity in Bourdieu's theory of gift exchange throughout his career; this is the view he espoused in his early years. Although his famous understanding of the

Person A does some generous or considerate thing for B, in a sense sacrificing him- or herself. B feels compelled to respond. B feels this compulsion, by a sort of transference, as a ‘moral force’ emanating from A (Nivison and Van Norden 1996, 33).

If we were to accept that all gifts were not free and required something in return, it would be mandatory to investigate what Hu Liangfu received in return for his gift. Although Zhang Shi had been interested in the works of master ‘Lianxi’ for a long time—at least from 1158 when he wrote the first ever commemorative essay for a Zhou Dunyi shrine—he had not been aware of the existence of the homonymic brook in Daozhou, nor of the controversy attached to it.<sup>152</sup> Moreover, the ‘image’ he mentions above is the portrait installed in the Yongzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine, which was originally obtained from Jiangzhou. That the promoters of the 1158 Yongzhou shrine, including Zhang, went all the way to Jiangzhou to obtain a copy of Zhou’s portrait rather than going to nearby Daozhou confirms that, at least as late as 1158, Daozhou’s connection to Zhou Dunyi was not recognised even by its closest neighbour.

Convincing this very influential figure of the Daozhou narrative must have been considered in itself as a great achievement for Hu Liangfu, He Shixian, and his Daozhou colleagues. In other words, the prestige accruing to Daozhou from having Zhang Shi recognise these facts would have constituted enough of a return on the gift. For that matter, how much more prestige would be amassed when Zhang Shi wrote a

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economy of symbolic goods continued to form the bedrock of his theory, he added a significant moral-prescriptive layer to it in his final statement on the subject (Bourdieu 2000, 191–201; Silber 2009). I thank Cheung Hiu Yu for bringing these texts to my attention.

<sup>152</sup> This surprising omission is confirmed from Zhu Xi’s notice in his postfaces to the 1179 version of Zhou Dunyi’s *Complete Works* (Table 5, No. 2 and 3).

commemorative essay for the recently renovated Daozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine, in which he wholeheartedly endorsed Daozhou's claim? Zhang indeed would compose such an essay for Daozhou, giving full credence to Daozhou's version of the story, no later than 1178.

### 3.3. Neo-Confucian Intervention and Daozhou's Victory

Daozhou literati's heroic efforts bore fruit a decade after Lin Li wrote his controversial essay when Zhu Xi and Zhang Shi renovated and composed commemorative essays for Zhou Dunyi shrines in Jiangzhou and Daozhou respectively.

Zhang Shi's 1178 essay for the Daozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine is composed of three disparate parts. The first part conveys what 'a certain man of Chongling (Daozhou)' told Zhang Shi about the 'fact' that the master had 'never forgotten where he was born', which is a verbatim repetition of the story he heard from Hu Liangfu a few years earlier. The second part, the longest, is a virtually freestanding philosophical essay dealing with the role Zhou Dunyi played in retrieving the 'True Way'. The final part consists of a brief tribute to the initiator of the project, a prefect named Zhao 趙.

It seems as though one of the goals of this essay was to maintain a level of political correctness by giving attention to the three interest groups who participated in the building of the shrine: the people of Daozhou, the prefect, and the Neo-Confucians. The allocation of space among these groups significantly differed from the 1159 Daozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine essay that it superseded. The latter essay, written by a non-Neo-Confucian literatus, Hu Quan 胡銓 (1102–80), devotes the most space to prefect Xiang 向 at the expense of the other local voices, implying that it was rather a top-down project where the prefect's role was the most important; even the enshrinee is all but ignored. Understandably, Zhu Xi found it disturbing (Zhu Xi 2002, 21:1305–6). Thus, both Neo-Confucians and the people of Daozhou might have been happy to see their voices much better reflected in the new essay.

By the same token, we can infer the satisfaction that the people of Daozhou must have felt upon learning that their version of the brook story was included in Zhu Xi's 1177 commemorative essay for the Jiangzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine, which effectively outdated Lin Li's 'problematic' essay.

However, the fact that Zhu Xi gave a favourable account of Daozhou does not necessarily mean that he slighted the people of Jiangzhou. On the contrary, the 1177 Jiangzhou essay adopts a cautious approach so as not to offend the local readers. Zhu Xi devotes only 17 characters to Daozhou's narrative, less than a third of the number contained in Zhang Shi's 1178 Daozhou essay. Even though Zhu's 1177 essay attests to Zhou Dunyi having named Jiangzhou's Lian Brook after Daozhou's Lian Brook, it says nothing about Zhou's 'intention', nor his 'roots'; nor does it refute Lin Li's argument directly. Rather, it is presented as if the author is completely ignorant of the debate and merely wishes to eulogise the philosopher. Furthermore, it seems that the essay deliberately avoids any reference to localist narratives. This stands in sharp contrast to Zhang Shi's essay in which the local voice is foregrounded. Zhu Xi says:

The Sage Ancestor (Emperor Song Taizu) received the mandate. The Five Planets gathered into the constellation Kui 奎, and the movement of culture truly began. Thereafter, the weakened vital energy (*qi*) was strengthened, its fragmented condition became whole, and a pure and bright endowment could be wholly bestowed upon man. Thus, the master [Zhou Dunyi] emerged from this [condition] (Zhu Xi 2002, 24:3740).<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Translation is Neskar's (1993, 351–53), with some minor corrections.

While Lin Li strove through the medium of vital energy (*qi*) to enhance the congruence between the human inhabitants of Jiangzhou and the local natural-cultural landscapes, Zhu Xi moves the focus into a broader realm that includes the movement of the Five Planets into a certain constellation, the change of dynasties, a new trend in intellectual history, Heaven's will, and so on. For him, the philosopher's birth was not the consequence of the condensation of the sterling *qi* of any local landscape but the inevitable consequence of a 'bestowal of the Heaven' that could be traced to the auspicious move of the celestial bodies at the beginning of the dynasty.<sup>154</sup> As Neskari argues, this essay may be a piece of 'hagiography' that displays not only Zhu Xi's 'philosophical, genealogical, cosmological, social, and political' needs, but also his faith (1993, 354).

However, what Neskari does not consider seriously is the possibility that Zhu Xi deliberately detached Zhou Dunyi from any particular 'local' context and re-situated him in the much broader, national, universal, and abstract context simply so as not to provoke Jiangzhou's readership. What would be the point of provoking the elites of Jiangzhou by telling them that their hero was a product of the best *qi* of Daozhou? In other words, the location where his essay was inscribed may well have shaped the contents.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Zhu Xi was certainly not against localism. However, given that Song elites in general believed that the *qi* of a man comes from a variety of sources, including constellations, mountains, rivers, parents, and so on, the lack of local colour in Zhu's essay is intriguing. It could be tantamount to downplaying the significance of the *qi* of local landscapes in constituting the body and the mind of the person in question. By contrast, Ming dynasty commemorative essays for Daozhou Zhou Dunyi shrines, for instance, abound with localist accounts; they attribute his birth exclusively to local mountains, brooks, springs, rocks, but rarely to Heaven or constellations (Wang Wanxia 2013, 53; 55–6).

<sup>155</sup> Another good example of this 'reconciliation' genre of commemorative essay is found in Robert Hymes's case study of Fuzhou; there, a Zhu Xi admirer prefect tried to reconcile Zhu Xi's thinking

To bolster the argument that Zhu Xi's grandiose narrative in the commemorative essay for the Jiangzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine was intended not only to inspire awe and reverence in its readers (i.e., 'hagiographic writing') but also to avoid any semblance of siding with Daozhou (i.e. 'cautious writing'), at least two assumptions must be substantiated: (1) that Zhu Xi was sympathetic to the Daozhou narrative; and (2) that, this sympathy notwithstanding, he preferred not to offend anyone involved. It seems that both were the case.

First, although it was he who asked Lin to build a shrine to honour Zhou Dunyi, Zhu Xi could hardly have anticipated Lin Li's argument that the water radical of the character *lian* 濂 should be removed (Zhu Xi 2002, 21:1305–6). Zhu was critical of Lin's argument from the outset.

Also, it seems that Zhu Xi had a personal preference for Daozhou's story. Although he had coined, following the vogue, a good number of studio names and sobriquets, his favourite was 'Xin'an' 新安 (m. Wuyuan 婺源, Jiangxi), his paternal ancestral hometown. Zhu, as Zhou had done, lived most of his life in a place far away from his ancestral hometown. But unlike Zhou, Zhu maintained an interest in 'hometown' affairs and visited Xin'an several times, never referring to Jianyang 建陽 (m. Jianyang, Fujian), his *de facto* home, as his hometown. It is likely that he deemed it a matter of virtue to remain loyal to one's 'roots'. It is thus possible that he was

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with that of his arch-rival Lu Jiuyuan, who happened to be the cultural hero of the locality (Hymes 2002, 141–2).

inclined to depict the master Zhou, whom he revered as a virtual sage, as a hometown-loyalist like himself.

Zhu Xi says in his ‘Postface to the Second Collation’ (Table 5, No. 3) that no sooner had he read He Qi’s poem than he included it in his *Record on the Deep Origin of the River Yi and Luo* in 1173. This suggests that he was receptive to the views it expressed even before encountering any substantive evidence.

Second, his alacrity notwithstanding, prior to his composition of the commemorative essay for Jiangzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine in 1177, Zhu Xi did not produce any widely accessible essay on the name issue. In one postface to Zhou Dunyi’s works, Zhu is candid about his reluctance to go against the prevailing view (Table 5, No. 2).

..... Several years later, after obtaining a copy of Mr He’s essay, I finally came to know that the name Lianxi 濂溪 is actually the name of the master’s hometown. .... Although I wanted to correct it, it had been so long since the story had been transmitted that I was afraid of causing confusion, contrary to my intention, with startling statements. Therefore, I merely quoted Mr He’s wordings in the Remaining Anecdotes section.

The Remaining Anecdotes section here refers to one very short chapter in the *Record* where he briefly introduces He Qi’s argument. Apart from this work and a couple of personal letters, he wrote nothing about the name issue until 1177. Given his keen interest in anything related to Zhou, this extraordinarily prolonged silence intimates his caution, if not apprehension, about broaching this topic and openly opposing Lin and the others who were happy with the status quo.

That Lin Li had a good amount of political power and was increasingly disappointed with Zhu Xi's scholarship and political activities is another argument for his cautious posture. As time went on, the rift between the two men became sufficiently well-known at court that, by the 1180s at least, those who sought to make trouble for Zhu appropriated the feud (De Weerd 2007, 38–9). It was ironic that Zhu came to offend Lin while expounding on Zhou Dunyi's notion of the Great Ultimate to him in 1182, which led Lin to impeach Zhu. The impeachment provoked angry responses from Zhu Xi's allies and the emperor had to demote both of them (Chen Jianren and Du Bing 2012).<sup>156</sup>

One may wonder whether Zhu Xi's publication of the *Record* was itself tantamount to taking a public stance on the name issue. However, although he drafted the text, it was not Zhu who published the *Record*. He circulated a few manuscript copies among his close friends and disciples; a publisher somehow obtained one of these and published it without his consent. Zhu complained, but to no avail.<sup>157</sup>

Lastly, the most important evidence in support of the 'cautious writing' proposition comes from Zhu's five other essays for different Zhou Dunyi shrines. None of them, whether written before or after 1177, contains any element that one might regard as 'hagiographic'. All six demonstrate careful consideration of the locales' possession of Zhou Dunyi's legacies that qualify them to honour him without

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<sup>156</sup> See Shu Jingnan (1992, Ch. 14) for the Lin-Zhu debate over the *Book of Change* scholarship and the notion of The Great Ultimate.

<sup>157</sup> For the publication and debate on the authorship of the text, see Zhu Xi (2002, 12:909–11). Zhu also hesitated to publish his commentary on the *Explanation on the Diagram of the Great Ultimate*. He published it in 1188, 18 years after completion. Zhu explained that the delay was caused by other scholars' criticism of Zhou Dunyi's philosophical orientation (Adler 2014, 38).

mentioning anything along the lines of ‘bestowal of Heaven’.<sup>158</sup> To say that the 1177 Jiangzhou essay somehow proves that Zhu Xi was engaged in a relentless campaign to sanctify the origin of Zhou Dunyi, one must first explain away the more prevalent secular and localist tone that we find in his five other commemorative essays, which would be challenging, if not impossible.

It makes more sense to assume that Zhu Xi’s 1177 Jiangzhou essay was an aberration. A plausible explanation for the conspicuous differences in this essay is that, finding himself between the Scylla of Daozhou and the Charybdis of Jiangzhou, Zhu eschewed invoking local specific narratives and focussed instead on the translocal perspective in the form of ‘Heavenly bestowal’.<sup>159</sup> We can surmise that, had the people of Daozhou given him gifts similar to those they gave to Zhang Shi, the tone of the essay might perhaps have been different.<sup>160</sup>

In any event, the essay did present Daozhou’s version of the story, however subdued the tone might be, and this inclusion may have satisfied the people of Daozhou. They must have become even more satisfied when virtually all commemorative essays for Zhou Dunyi shrines composed after 1180 refrained from mentioning the name issue

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<sup>158</sup> See LXJ (193, 201, 211, and 215). See also QSW (252:118) for Zhu Xi’s unequivocal use of the local *qi* determinism.

<sup>159</sup> For a more theoretical discussion on the habit of ‘writing between the lines’ to avoid possible political ill-consequences, see Leo Strauss (1952, 22–37).

<sup>160</sup> They actually did proffer such gifts, but only after 1180. Just as Hu Liangfu socialised with Zhang Shi, Zhou Zhiqing, a great grandson of Zhou Dunyi, was interacting with Zhu Xi. When Zhiqing came in 1180 to obtain two essays of the philosopher that had been excavated by a farmer, he brought them to Zhu who promptly wrote the postfaces to them and engraved them on a stone tablet (Zhu Xi 2002, 24:3844–5). Moreover, Zhiqing’s brothers, Zhengqing and Yanqing, accompanied Zhu’s pilgrimage to Zhou Dunyi’s old abode in Jiangzhou in 1181. As noted earlier, these descendants were all grandsons of Zhou Tao, the second son of Zhou Dunyi, who moved from Jiangzhou to Daozhou for good. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that these great-grandsons were members of Daozhou’s local elite.

directly, many simply repeating what Zhu Xi said in his 1177 Jiangzhou essay. Also, Zhu Xi may have taken the welcome afforded by the people of Jiangzhou when he visited there in 1181 (Zhu Xi 2002, 24:3984–5) as a reward for his discretion.

### 3.4. The Aftermath

The sudden rise of Zhou Dunyi's reputation in Southern Song literati society owed much to Zhu Xi. Unlike Zhou, Zhu had already earned considerable fame during his lifetime, not to mention his enormous influence in standardising the interpretation of the philosophical ideas of major Northern Song thinkers. After the publication of his commentary on Zhou Dunyi's masterpieces in 1188, practically all editions of Zhou's *Complete Works* were printed with this commentary included.<sup>161</sup> Therefore, when Zhu, the major stakeholder, made a final judgment on the name issue, the controversy was put to rest. Gong Weifan 龔維蕃 (*d.* 1220), the author of the commemorative essay for the renovation of the Daozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine in 1218, observed:

From master [Zhou]'s naming Jiujiang's (Jiangzhou) studio after the name of a brook in his hometown (Daozhou), the Grand Historian Huang [Tingjian] said that 'he named the brook [so and so] to symbolise the virtue that he usually readily set himself up as' in his poem. Continuing this was Dongpo's (Su Shi) composition of a poem that repeated Huang's error. Later men perpetuated this error, and nobody investigated where the name originated. Only after it came to Mr Nanxuan Zhang [Shi] and Mr Huiyan Zhu [Xi's demonstration, the truth has become] by and large discovered (LXJ 183).

While the name debate was over, thanks to Zhu Xi and his chief ally Zhang Shi, the uncomfortable relationship between Daozhou and Jiangzhou continued. Even after 1177, the commemorative essay writers for Zhou Dunyi shrines constructed or renovated in Jiangzhou had to revisit the name issue. For example, when the Vice Grand

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<sup>161</sup> For the complete list of Zhu Xi's publication on Zhou Dunyi, see Adler (Adler 2014, 50–53).

Councillor Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137–1213) was asked to write the name plaque for a Jiangzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine in the early 1210s, he had to thoroughly reinvestigate the available materials, including a rubbing of Lin Li's essay, to determine how to write Zhou's studio name correctly. Although he chose *lian* 濂 in the end, he agreed nonetheless with Lin's basic assumption that the character had an independent meaning regardless of where it came from, thereby partly undercutting Daozhou's claim (QSW 263:350). This suggests that there still was a readership in Jiangzhou who had never fully agreed with Zhu Xi's judgement and that those who wrote essays for Jiangzhou shrines still had, at least, to pay lip service to their scepticism.

Likewise, Daozhou was sensitive to Jiangzhou's frequent commemoration of Zhou Dunyi. When a prefect of Daozhou petitioned the emperor for a handwritten name plaque for Daozhou's Lianxi Academy in the mid-thirteenth century, he complained that it was not at all fair to endow a name plaque to the Jiangzhou Lianxi Academy before giving one to its Daozhou counterpart.<sup>162</sup>

Jiangzhou literati never stopped capitalising on the Zhou Dunyi connection. When Emperor Duzong (度宗, 1240–74, r. 1264–74) increased the prefecture-level civil service examination quota for Jiangzhou by two, he cited the locality's connection to Zhou Dunyi as a justification.<sup>163</sup> Fang Fengchen 方逢辰 (1221–91), the author of the

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<sup>162</sup> For Jiangzhou's request for the name plaque in 1252, see LXJ (161–4). For Daozhou's complaint, see (Wang Wanxia 2013, 175–76). Hongzhou's Revering Lianxi Academy (*Zonglian shuyuan* 宗濂書院) also compared its position with those of Jiangzhou and Daozhou (QSW 316:307).

<sup>163</sup> Marginal as an increase of two may seem, the quota for Jiangzhou used to be 10 before being increased to 12. If we take the number of candidates from Jiangzhou who were competing for these 10 places into consideration—over 3100—we can see the increase was by no means insignificant. For the statistical

commemorative essay for the increase of the quota for Jiangzhou in 1270, noted that a certain Jiangzhou prefect, in his initial request for the imperial favour, had submitted a memorial in which he argued that Jiangzhou was Zhou's 'hometown (*guli* 故里)'. Moreover, the essay remarks that the author received letters from many Jiangzhou local literati to the effect that:

[Although] Lord Yuan (Zhou Dunyi) was born in Chongling (Daozhou), Jiang[zhou] is Lord Yuan's hometown since he built [his studio on] the north slope of Mount Lu (LXJ 178).

The highly successful early-thirteenth century cultural geography, the *Record of the Best Sites in the Realm*, notes that one must be careful not to confuse Lianxi of Daozhou with Lianxi of Jiangzhou since the two are different (Li Yongxian 2012). The author's cautious tone and potentially pro-Jiangzhou approach must have come from his having lived right next to the Jiangzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine in his early years (Bol 2001, 55).

Jiangzhou's interest in Zhou Dunyi became even more apparent in the Ming and the Qing periods when most of the extant local gazetteers were published. A variety of local gazetteers concerning either Daozhou or Jiangzhou reveal the tension between the two. For instance, a fifteenth-century Jiangzhou gazetteer argues that 'although the master is originally a man of Daozhou ... this place of ours (*wo yifang zhi di* 我一方之地) is his hometown (*queli* 闕里) as well (*Ming Jiajing Jiujiangfu zhi* 明嘉

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data, see LXJ (177–8). For the role the quota system played in the examination system in general, see Chaffee (1995, 61–5).

靖九江府志 16:5a)’ while an early Qing comprehensive gazetteer for the Huguang 湖廣 region (m. Hubei and Hunan) refutes this argument (*Qing Kangxi Huguang tongzhi* 清康熙湖廣通志 11:67a-b).<sup>164</sup>

Most remarkable is that Zhou Dunyi’s value as symbolic capital has survived through the centuries. Even today, scholarly articles arguing in favour of the Jiangzhou claim keep appearing in journals strongly associated with either Jiujiang (Jiangzhou) or the region of Jiangxi (Wu 2005; Zhang Guanmei 2005; Kong Yuhua 2010). In 2017, the two prefectures staged separate commemorations of Zhou’s 1000th anniversary.

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<sup>164</sup> There is also a Ming account included in the *Comprehensive Gazetteer for Jiangxi* that argues that young literati of Jiangxi should work on what Zhou Dunyi prescribed because this is his *qeli* (*Ming Jiaping Jiangxi tongzhi* 明嘉靖江西通志 15:30a).

### 3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the contest between the two strongest claimants to Zhou Dunyi—Daozhou and Jiangzhou—in roughly chronological order. From Lin Li's 1166 commemorative essay for the Jiangzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine to Zhang Shi's 1178 one for the Daozhou shrine, we have reviewed virtually all the extant sources on the name issue.

As scholars have argued, some local elites must have embraced the philosophical message of Neo-Confucianism, while some must have sought to promote Zhou Dunyi because his *Diagram* provided a cosmological justification for their pursuit of power in their own local settings (Youngmin Kim 2008). However, what this case study shows is that, in some instances, local elites' loyalty to their hometowns motivated them to cooperate with the translocal outsiders with only a tenuous ideological commitment.

This is of course by no means the only case of such competition among Chinese localities for affiliation with a luminary scholar. Bao Weimin and Wei Feng observe that it was not unusual in the Northern Song for people to relocate permanently from one locale to another (Bao and Wei 2007). Just as Zhou Dunyi did, other famous scholar-officials such as Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052), Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086), Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) chose to retire to localities several hundred kilometres away from their ancestral hometowns,

thus creating potentially strong claims for their new hometowns.<sup>165</sup> Unlike Zhou, however, most of those eminent Northern Song figures made their new homes somewhere around the Northern Song capital city of Kaifeng, thus rendering it impossible under the Jurchen rule for their descent groups to challenge their potential rivals in the Southern Song.

That this dispute erupted in the Southern Song and not during the preceding period must be put down to the Chinese literati's changing view of moving one's home. Abandoning one's ancestral home and relocating permanently—to the capital cities, in particular—was quite common not only in the Northern Song but also in the Tang.<sup>166</sup> However, this practice became far less common over the course of the Southern Song. Reportedly, Southern Song Hangzhou was no match for the fully-fledged capitals of previous dynasties, such that the city held none of the cachet of its predecessors. Taking advantage of this vacuum, the provinces began to accumulate social, cultural, and symbolic capital of their own. During this period, many of the highest-level officials retired to their provincial hometowns; literati wrote about their immediate provincial surroundings; and local elites invested money in local monuments, which promoted local identities. This trend was followed by a change of norms, as people began to seek their 'roots' and frequently profess their 'intention' to remain loyal to places to which their families had belonged for generations (Bol 2001; 2003). This transition was so

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<sup>165</sup> Beverly Bossler (1998) offers a good number of examples throughout her book on Song grand councillors' cultivation and preservation of social networks. Chapter 3 of her book, especially, deals with cases of home abandonment.

<sup>166</sup> Nicolas Tackett's work on Tang aristocratic families' long-term migration to the capital region even at the risk of alienation from their paternal ancestral homes offers a good explanation of this trend (Tackett 2014, Ch.1 & 2).

seamless that some Southern Song literati could not grasp why Northern Song dignitaries would have abandoned their hometowns; it seemed to them oddly incongruous with the latter's otherwise exemplary lives (Lü and Zhang 2007; Fang Liping 2016).<sup>167</sup>

To Jiangzhou's dismay, this new perspective worked in Daozhou's favour. It was unfortunate for Jiangzhou that Zhou Dunyi left no texts unequivocally expressing his utmost contentment in his retirement place, which was exactly what Ouyang Xiu did. The dearth of textual endorsement from Zhou, coupled with the lack of Zhou surname descendants residing there, has taken its toll on the Jiangzhou claim. That Jiangzhou's opinion always appears collectively or anonymously might be attributable in part to the Jiangzhou literati's loss of confidence.

Lastly, one may still wonder what Zhou Dunyi's studio name really was. For now, we do not know. Moreover, even if a decisive artefact in support of 'Lian 濂' were to be excavated, we still would not know *where* that name originated. Zhou might have transferred the name from Daozhou to Jiangzhou as did Europeans who brought their hometown names to their colonies (e.g., New York, Cambridge, and Oxford).<sup>168</sup> However, it is equally possible that Zhou simply followed the 'Yuan Jie' precedent. What we see from his letters and poems is that he knew that Yuan played around with words in his own way, and even was aware of the fact that it was Yuan who named Rang

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<sup>167</sup> Of course, hometown leavers continued to appear none the less, and one of them, Wang Yishan 王義山 (1214–1287) even invoked Zhou Dunyi's case in his attempt to refute his critics (QYW 3:194).

<sup>168</sup> It was not an uncommon practice in the Ming and Qing periods (Du 2015, 61–73). See Benedict Anderson (2006, 187) for some European and South Asian cases.

Brook (*Rangxi* 襄溪, ‘Helpful Brook’) near his Jiangzhou abode (Kong Yuhua 2010). Therefore, Lian Brook (‘Modesty Brook’) might well have been Zhou’s original coinage to couple himself with the renowned Tang period gentleman, just as Daozhou and Jiangzhou literati sought to couple themselves with Zhou Dunyi 100 years later.

In the next chapter, the focus shifts to another important locale that, its rightful claims notwithstanding, was curiously hesitant to establish Zhou Dunyi shrines on its soil. If having a Zhou Dunyi shrine was so beneficial to a locality, as I argued in this chapter, why did they pass up such opportunity, and which of the various interest groups were responsible for this hesitation?



#### **4. The Absence of a Zhou Dunyi Shrine in Runzhou (Zhenjiang)**

The Southern Song has been understood as the point of departure for Late Imperial Chinese local voluntarism. Southern Song local society teemed with voluntarist local elites who were enthusiastic donors, contributors, participants, and celebrators of local projects, including establishment and maintenance of shrines, private academies, schools, and various hydraulic projects. However, they were not the only actors. As Sukhee Lee (2014, chap. 1) has successfully demonstrated, local government and administrators still held a significant amount of discretionary power, and thus were in a position to promote, mediate, redirect, or control such voluntary activities. In any case, the government, or the ‘caretakers’, to repeat Lee’s notion, was inclined to support rather than restrict the gradual ascent of the local elite activism.

To this binary schema of local power dynamics, we can add a third party, namely, Neo-Confucian adherents. Although the movement sometimes comprised local officials, members of the local elite, or both, they nonetheless formed an analytically distinguishable group. Especially in the case of Zhou Dunyi shrines, where they often assumed a functionally distinct role as commemorative essay writers. Some Song dynasty commemorative essays for non-Neo-Confucian buildings suggest that people generally believed that securing a good commemorative essay would enhance the chance of survival of the things commemorated (Gerritsen 2007, 65). Anne Gerritsen remarks that commemorative essays were frequently requested before projects were completed, and were used as a part of fundraising and other campaigns (2007, 16). Thus,

it is little wonder that the stature of the Neo-Confucian commemorative essay writer was no less important in Zhou Dunyi shrine projects. As the prestige of Zhou mainly came from Zhu Learning advocates' belief in his being the 'ancestor' of Neo-Confucianism, an elaborate commemorative essay by a reputable Zhu Learning Neo-Confucian master would have readily legitimised a newly constructed Zhou Dunyi shrine. We can infer from this that it must have been relatively difficult to construct one such shrine without the Neo-Confucian endorsement in the form of commemorative essays.

Arguably, agreement among the three parties—local elites, officials, and Neo-Confucians—was a necessary condition for building a Zhou Dunyi shrine.<sup>169</sup> Therefore, all the Zhou Dunyi shrines that were actually constructed can be regarded as successful cases of negotiation among the parties, while the absence of shrines in some prefectures, despite their potential suitability, can be explained by a failure to reach an agreement.

This chapter studies the absence, not presence, of a Zhou Dunyi shrine in Runzhou. The prefecture's strong potential to develop one such shrine notwithstanding, it did not take any action until 1239 when an imperial edict made it compulsory for every local government school to establish a shrine for him. Apart from that mandatory shrine, the first dedication did not happen until 1253 (*Yuan Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi* 元至順鎮江志 11:31b–32a). The reason for the unusual delay by nearly 100 years, from the first completion of his shrine in 1158 in Yongzhou to 1253, is awaiting a historical

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<sup>169</sup> To be sure, it was much easier when the administrator was himself a Neo-Confucian. This point is elaborated in the final section of this chapter.

explanation. This chapter argues that more than one of the three parties had good reasons to ignore, if not deny, the locality's potential as a shrine site, and that one of them was probably the Zhu Learning Neo-Confucians.

#### 4.1. The Stakeholders of Zhou Dunyi Shrine Projects

To argue that Runzhou could have established its Zhou Dunyi shrine much earlier than it actually did, one must first prove that the prefecture indeed possessed strong potential claims. To argue that they did have such claims, one must, in turn, explain what makes a claim ‘stronger’ than the others and how do we (and the Southern Song contemporaries) measure that strength. In other words, we have to know on what basis they could lay claim to shrines for famous figures; which claims were considered more legitimate than the others; how they evaluated the relative strength of claims. In so doing, we will identify a backdrop against which the extraordinary cases like Runzhou will stand out.

Theoretically speaking, there were two types of Confucian shrines in the Song: legitimate and illegitimate. In spite of some exceptional cases, it was commonly believed that the criterion determining a shrine’s legitimacy was the appropriateness of its location, that is, the extent of the enshrinee’s connection to the locality. That is, if the enshrinee was ‘connected in some way to the place where he was honoured’, then it was a legitimate shrine (Neskar 1993, 419).<sup>170</sup>

Illegitimate shrines were deemed to be breaching the rule that was hinted at in the *Analects* and articulated in the *Record of Rites*. Wanting legitimacy, such shrines were vulnerable to possible attacks from the local government officials or non-

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<sup>170</sup> See also Umemura Naoki (2013) for the canonical justification of this standard. Valerie Hansen (1990, 128–32) shows that the same principle was applied to shrines for popular deities as well.

government institutions with competing interests, such as Buddhist monasteries. It was by no means uncommon for Confucian shrines to confiscate buildings, sites, building materials, and commercial real estate from Buddhist monasteries, Daoist temples, local deity cult temples, and vice versa (Walton 1999, 96–104). In the face of such competition, receiving recognition as a proper and legitimate shrine from the government was one of the surest ways to enhance security.

As for the kinds of connections, Nekar's research on the ritual norms concerning the legitimacy of literati shrines, defined by the *Record of Rites* and interpreted variously by Southern Song literati, has pointed out that a figure must either have served in a local post or have been born or resided in the locality to be enshrined locally (1993, chap. 2). This is well supported by the accounts from some extant Southern Song local gazetteers (*Song Jingding Jiankang zhi* 宋景定建康志 47:1a). However, there are other cases not captured by those two criteria. As discussed in Chapter 1, traveling was increasingly in vogue in the Song and it was very common for the literati tourists to write poems to commemorate their visits (C. Zhang 2011b, chap. 1); in many cases, they either published such poems in book form or engraved them on stone tablets, cliffs, rocks, or even on the reverse of the tablets on which someone else had already engraved their poems (Chang 2010). These souvenirs served as evidence of a person's presence at a place, thereby justifying local commemoration of that person's visit much later.

Sometimes a modicum of indirect evidence sufficed to justify shrine building projects. Nekar depicts the general late Southern Song trend of exploiting even extremely tenuous connections. For example, Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁 (1178–1237)

enshrined Zhou Dunyi at Chengdu 成都 (m. Chengdu, Sichuan) in 1207, with the justification that he had once served in a Hezhou 合州 (m. Hechuan 合川, Sichuan) position, disregarding the fact that Hezhou was some 300 km away from Chengdu (1993, 249–53).

Although meeting just any one criterion would be enough to assert legitimacy, not all types of connections were weighed equally. In other words, some connections could be deemed ‘stronger’ than the others and that relative strength allowed a locality to overwhelm other claimants with weak claims. For example, as shown in the previous chapter, the birthplace claim was generally held to be one of the strongest, if not the primary, claims in the Southern Song.

However, this does not mean that the types of claim can be ranked in a strictly hierarchical order. As always, it depended on the situation. For example, although having the proposed enshrinee’s birthplace or tomb was generally considered as a sure sign of a strong connection between the place and the man, it was not impossible for other kinds of connection to trump those two. The Tang dynasty literary giant Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) was deemed to be more strongly connected to his place of exile, Chaozhou 潮州 (m. Chaozhou, Guangdong 廣東), than anywhere else because some of his most highly acclaimed pieces were written during his exile period, and also because those pieces abound with allusions to particular local landscapes and issues (Hartman 2014, 90–99). The same holds true of Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819), who

has been most strongly connected to Liuzhou 柳州 (m. Liuzhou, Guangxi), his place of long exile.<sup>171</sup>

The case of Zhou Dunyi was complicated and controversial for two reasons. First, since his career as an official was not distinguished, he spent most of his life moving from one local post to another, which meant that a good number of localities had potential claims to him.<sup>172</sup> Second, the fact that he never served in a post north of the Yangzi River facilitated the proliferation of his shrines in the Southern Song. This is in sharp contrast with almost all the other major Northern Song Neo-Confucian masters who mainly served in northern posts, thereby having only scanty ties to the southern prefectures under Southern Song control (Section 2.1). Taken together, these factors explain as to why there was an extraordinary number of counties and prefectures that could lay claim to his heritage. The following is the list of prefectures who honoured Zhou Dunyi in local shrines of one form or another and the reasons given.

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<sup>171</sup> Kim Sangböm (2005, 68–71) shows the ways in which the local elite of Liuzhou promptly deified the man after his death. The literary fame of Han Yu, who wrote the commemorative essay for the first Liu Zhongyuan shrine in Liuzhou, played a crucial role in this deification. That Liu's surname happened to be identical with the name of the prefecture might also have played a role in his posthumous deification at Liuzhou (personal conversation with Barend ter Haar).

<sup>172</sup> According to one estimate, a Song dynasty official's career spanned on average around 36 years (J. W. Chaffee 1995, 26). Given that a third of the total civil posts were at the capital in Southern Song, we can extrapolate that an average civil official could expect to spend 12 years at the capital (McDermott 1991), which was not the case for Zhou Dunyi.

**Table 7. Locales that either Established or Could Have Established Zhou Dunyi Shrines.**

	Place	Region	Length of Zhou's sojourn (in years)	Reason (excuse) for enshrinement	The first shrine was built in
1	Yongzhou 永州	Hunan	2	Governed	1158
2	Daozhou 道州	Hunan	15	Paternal hometown	1159
3	Nan'an Commandery 南安軍	Jiangxi	2 - 3	Governed	1165
4	Jiangzhou 江州	Jiangxi	2 - 3	Retired	1166
5	Shaoyou 邵州	Hunan	1<	Governed	1172
6	Shaoyou 韶州	Guangdong	1<	Governed	1172
7	Qianzhou 虔州 (Ganzhou 贛州)	Jiangxi	4	Governed	1172
8	Nanjianzhou 南劍州 Youxi County 尤溪縣	Fujian	X	X	1173
9	Jingjiang 靜江	Guangxi	X	X	1175
10	Yuanzhou 袁州	Jiangxi	0 - 4	Governed	1178
11	Hongzhou 洪州	Jiangxi	3 - 7	Governed twice	1179
12	Nankang Commandery 南康軍	Jiangxi	1<	Governed	1179
13	Huizhou 徽州 Wuyuan County 婺源縣	Jiangxi	X	X	1181
14	Hezhou 合州	Chongqing	4	Governed	1181
15	Hengzhou 衡州	Hunan	X	Maternal hometown	1186
16	Xunzhou 潯州	Guangxi	X	Visiting (false claim)	1188
17	Yanzhou 嚴州	Zhejiang	X	X	1192
18	Jianningfu 建寧府 Jianyang County 建陽縣	Fujian	X	X	1192
19	Chengdu 成都	Sichuan	X	Visiting Sichuan	1207
20	Shaowu Commandery 邵武軍	Fujian	X	X	1209-1211
21	Fuzhou 福州, Huai'an County 懷安縣	Fujian	X	X	1210
22	Taizhou 台州	Zhejiang	X	X	1211
23	Zhangzhou 漳州	Fujian	X	X	1212
24	Guiyang Commandery 桂陽軍	Hunan	X	X	1211-14
25	Quanzhou 全州	Guangxi	X	X	1215
26	Hanyang Commandery 漢陽軍	Hubei	X	The Cheng brothers	1215
27	E'zhou 鄂州	Hubei	X	X	1215
28	Puzhou 普州	Sichuan	X	Neighbouring Hezhou 合州	1215
29	Wugang Commandery 武岡軍	Hunan	X	X	1215
30	Chenzhou 郴州	Hunan	8	Governed twice	1214-16
31	Zhenzhou 真州	Jiangsu	X	X	1216
32	Liyang County 溧陽縣, Jiankang 建康	Jiangsu	X	X	1208-1224
33	Jianzhou 簡州	Sichuan	X	Visiting Sichuan	1220
34	Yuezhou 岳州	Hubei	X	X	1200-20
35	Tanzhou 潭州	Hunan	X	X	1225?
36	Changning Commandery 長寧軍	Sichuan	X	Visiting Sichuan	1225
37	Nanxiongzhou 南雄州	Guangdong	X	Governed	1227
38	Jiankangfu 建康府 Jurong County 句容縣	Jiangsu	X	X	1227
39	Chaozhou 潮州	Guangdong	X	Travel	1228
40	Changzhou 常州	Jiangsu	X	X	1230
41	Xinzhou 信州	Jiangxi	X	X	1235

42	Suzhou 蘇州 Changshu County 常熟縣	Jiangsu	X	Descendants residing	1236
43	Hangzhou 杭州 Xincheng County 新城縣	Zhejiang	X	X	1237
44	Jizhou 吉州	Jiangxi	X	Travel	1240
45	Mingzhou 明州	Zhejiang	X	X	1237–40
46	Nanjianzhou 南劍州 Sha County 沙縣	Fujian	X	X	1245
47	Guangzhou 廣州	Guangdong	1<	Governed	1242–47
48	Taipingzhou 太平州	Anhui	X	X	1246
49	Deqing 德慶 (Kangzhou 康州)	Guangdong	X	Governed	1248?
50	Runzhou 潤州	Jiangsu	3	Mourning place	1253
51	Duanzhou 端州	Guangdong	X	Travel	1264?
52	Quanzhou 泉州	Fujian	X	X	1266
53	Nan'enzhou 南恩州	Guangdong	X	Governed	Southern Song
54	Kaifeng 開封	Henan	1<	Travel	X
55	Lianzhou 連州	Guangdong	X	Travel	X
56	Huizhou 惠州	Guangdong	X	Travel	X
57	Guizhou 歸州	Hubei	X	Travel	X
58	Fushunjian 富順監	Sichuan	X	Visiting Sichuan	X
59	Runan 汝南	Henan	X	Choronym	X
60	Chongqing 重慶	Chongqing	X	Travel	X
61	Jianzhou 劍州	Sichuan	X	Travel	X

What is clear from the table is that the earlier shrines, especially those built before 1200, were based on more direct connections to Zhou Dunyi than the later ones. A change in the political winds in favour of Neo-Confucianism after 1200 may account for the realisation of weaker claims after 1200 (Schirokauer 1975; Hartman 2001; Hartman and Li 2015). That some claims generated by ‘travel’ are not realised even after 1200 is indicative of the relative weakness of that kind of connection (from item 54 to 61).

Besides, when one looks closely, the table suggests that the rules defined by the *Record of Rites* and applied to the local gazetteers were not strictly observed in practice; what mattered more was whether the locality possessed something that could be talked about—anecdotes, calligraphy specimens, abodes, tombs, other memorable objects, and so on. Narratives are repeatable and, without much effort, memorable. They also tend to either involve a tangible object or a non-palpable entity that can be remembered

for a long period of time without much alteration, which means they can readily evolve into an icon (Section 1.6). Since a long sojourn was likely to yield more items to be talked about, it makes sense that the localities where Zhou Dunyi stayed longer generally developed shrines for him earlier than those not. The more the item is suitable for talking about, the better. The brevity of Han Yu's service at Chaozhou did not hinder the people of posterity from developing the prefecture into a Han Yu sanctuary as there were more than enough legacies to narrate.

As for Zhou Dunyi shrines, the Chenzhou 郴州 and Shaozhou 邵州 cases make a good example. Despite his impressive eight-year-long sojourn there, what delayed the establishment of the first Chenzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine to the early-thirteenth century must be that Chenzhou possessed hardly any stories nor palpable legacies of Zhou Dunyi to talk about.<sup>173</sup> By contrast, Shaozhou's 邵州 early dedication of a shrine to him (1172) can be attributed to his authorship of the mid-eleventh century sacrificial prayer for the renovation of the Shaozhou local government school and the Temple of Confucius. The piece was of great consequence because his statement of his view on

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<sup>173</sup> Not only the early ones but also the commemorative essays for much later Chenzhou Zhou Dunyi shrines fail to include any rich stories connecting Zhou to the prefecture. The 1685 (*Qing Kangxi Chenzhou zongzhi* 清康熙郴州總志 5:58b–9a), and 1820 (*Qing Jiaqing zhili Chenzhou zongzhi* 清嘉慶直隸郴州總志 23:19a-b) *Chenzhou Gazetteer* dedicates the largest space to Zhou Dunyi in its 'Former officials' section but the descriptions are all about what Zhou Dunyi did in other localities, and, surprisingly, not a single anecdote about him is attributed to his Chenzhou tenure. The 1576 edition attempts to justify the complete lack of records about Zhou's government of the prefecture by holding that 'the master was the founding father of the Learning of the Principle (*lixue* 理學) and not someone who cared much about official documents and meritorious achievements', which is unfortunately very easily contradicted by widely circulated biographies of Zhou by this time (*Ming Wanli Chenzhou zhi* 明萬曆郴州志 15:4a).

Confucian Learning and the role of government in elevating and disseminating the Way is not found in elsewhere (LXJ 100–1).

Runzhou's case stands out, too. The long sojourn of four years might lead us to expect that the place must have possessed a good number of potential stories to be remembered. They did indeed. Zhou Dunyi buried his mother<sup>174</sup> and maternal uncle Zheng Xiang side by side at Runzhou and fulfilled his three-year mourning duty for his mother, staying at Crane Forest Monastery (*Helin si* 鶴林寺) near his mother's tomb from 1037 to 1040. Moreover, he did not live a reclusive life while there. He was active enough to make the acquaintance of various celebrities or would-be celebrities who happened to be there at the time (Section 2.4). Then, why did he fail to earn a shrine in Runzhou until 1253?

This mystery has failed to attract any modern scholarly attention probably due to the seeming triviality of the event. Even Ellen Neskar (1993), who has the only work on Song dynasty Zhou Dunyi shrines in English, devotes attention only to the shrines that were actually built and not to the ones that could in all likelihood have been constructed, such as this one. But careful investigation of this case will reveal the peculiar position of Runzhou in the intellectual universe of the Southern Song and enrich our understanding of the field of fame competition of prefectures.

In the following sections, we will see that the diverse characters of Zhou Dunyi, oftentimes in contradiction to each other, were most likely responsible for the late

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<sup>174</sup> He later moved the tomb to Jiangzhou. See Section 2.2.

development of his shrine in Runzhou. His possible relationships with former Chief Councillor Wang Anshi and a Buddhist monk named Shouya 壽涯 are highlighted.

#### 4.2. Zhou Dunyi, Wang Anshi, and Runzhou

Studying omissions is a challenging task as there are fewer sources explaining what did not come to pass. In the case of Runzhou Zhou Dunyi shrines, no one has recorded any reasons for not building them earlier, nor are there any extant commemorative essays for the 1239 and 1253 shrines.<sup>175</sup> The extant Song and Yuan dynasty Zhenjiang (Runzhou) gazetteers do not tell much about his shrines, either (*Yuan Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi* 元至順鎮江志 11:32b–33a). Thus, what follows, however plausible, remains hypothetical.

As demonstrated in Section 2.4, the earliest account on Zhou Dunyi's encounter with Wang Anshi is found in Du Zheng's *Chronological Biography*. Despite the general credibility of the work, we cannot help but cast doubt on the veracity of the meeting where Zhou reportedly shunned a young and promising Wang Anshi who respectfully paid visits to him. In the end, what would be the point of scorning a young scholar you do not know, at all? Nevertheless, regardless of the veracity, the account still tells us that Runzhou was imagined to be the likeliest site where Zhou and Wang might have made their first contact. The significance of this point is explained later in this section.

The thesis has already discussed Zhou Dunyi's possible affiliation with Wang Anshi's New Policies faction. However, given the importance of Pu Zongmeng's *Tomb Inscription for Zhou Dunyi* in understanding the Southern Song discourses on Zhou's

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<sup>175</sup> The remaining fraction of the 1253 essay that is discovered in the Qing will be introduced later in this chapter.

political stance, it is worth revisiting the text and the social context within which the text was produced. The significance was such that Zhu Xi blamed the text for being a ‘deliberate distortion’ of Zhou’s image and excised some key parts of the text from his edition of Zhou’s *Complete Works*.

When Zhou Dunyi died, two tomb inscriptions were produced by his two very close friends: Pan Xingsi 潘興嗣 (1021–1107?) and Pu Zongmeng.<sup>176</sup> Both were sufficiently qualified to take on this duty as Pan had been his friend from an early age, while Pu was his brother-in-law. The two works were produced at the request of Zhou’s two sons after his death and were devised for different purposes; the genre of Pan’s essay was *muzhi* 墓誌 while Pu’s was *mujie* 墓碣. Although the contents and convention of the two genres were not meaningfully different, *muzhi* was almost always buried inside the tomb while *mujie* was sometimes expected to be erected outside the tomb and be exposed to the visitors. Thus, it seems that the two sons quite possibly had intended to bury Pan’s essay with the coffin and use Pu’s for a stele outside the tomb.<sup>177</sup>

As for the contents of the two essays, there is a conspicuous difference in the way that each represents the deceased. In Pan’s possibly more privately oriented inscription, Zhou is depicted as a man of scholarly prowess who studied, primarily, the *Book of Change*. According to Pan, Zhou always dreamed of retiring and living a recluse’s life, studying the *Book*; Zhou’s very long official career was only masking his

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<sup>176</sup> Pan’s piece can be found in various sources, while Pu’s one is rarely seen. For the punctuated texts, see QSW (69:326) and QSW (75:36) respectively; for the earliest printed version, see Zhou (1988, 8:8b–15a), or LXJ (137).

<sup>177</sup> I learned this from Alexei Ditter’s presentation on Tang dynasty tomb inscriptions at the University of Oxford China Centre on 7 May, 2015.

true intention. Conversely, Pu's more publicly oriented essay focusses on Zhou's relentless enthusiasm for putting ideal principles of government into practice at the local level. The essay makes no mention of Zhou's learning, let alone his philosophical works, but meticulously enumerates his achievements as an official. The image that Pu's inscription conjures up is that of an ambitious young official who strove to leave his mark on history for his meritorious government service, while Pan's version of Zhou is a lay Daoist or Buddhist in all but name who served reluctantly in official positions for whatever reason.

The most salient and provocative point comes out when Pu quotes a sentence from a letter Zhou Dunyi sent to him shortly before Zhou's death. The letter says Zhou was happy to see that the current government was about to 'achieve what had not been achieved for several centuries' and wanted to 'contribute whatever talent he had to its success' but, regrettably, was prevented from doing so by his 'moribund body'. Considering the political context of the 1070s, the government Zhou mentions in this letter is unmistakably Wang Anshi's New Policies regime (Section 2.4).

Not only Pu Zongmeng, but even Pan Xingsi, predictably for a man of Jiangxi in the mid-eleventh century, was a New Policies figure. Pan was a native son of Jiangxi who maintained good relationships with the major actors of the party, including Wang Anshi. The only difference between the two was that unlike Pu, who actively engaged in national politics, Pan retired from his official career early in his twenties and lived a reclusive life throughout the rest of his days, although he continued to maintain personal ties with New Policies dignitaries (Figure 14). In this respect, perhaps the differences between the two tomb inscriptions can be explained simply by the difference in the

personalities of their authors: Pu was more involved in the court politics while Pan declined all appointments offered from the court.<sup>178</sup>

Zhou Dunyi's image as a state activist who wholeheartedly supported Wang Anshi's reformist policies, well documented in supposedly reliable sources, inevitably bothered some Southern Song Neo-Confucian followers. It is a well known fact that early Southern Song Neo-Confucians were critical of the New Policies. They blamed Wang Anshi, his policies, and his successors for all the havoc wrought on the Northern Song and proposed that the Cheng brothers' political and ideological vision was the only alternative that could have replaced Wang's, and that it was not too late to employ Neo-Confucian oriented statesmen to repel the Jurchen menace and reconquer the former Northern Song territory.

Among the various renowned Neo-Confucian personages who were active during the first two decades of the Southern Song, Yang Shi 楊時 (1053–1135) must be the man most relevant to the current discussion. Yang is known for his 'bringing the Way to the South (*daonan* 道南)' where he 'transmitted' the Way, ultimately, to Zhu Xi (Gu 2011). This Fujianese scholar was not a solitary literatus who fathomed human nature and heavenly principles in his cloister. On the contrary, he committed himself to the incipient Southern Song politics and spoke on behalf of Neo-Confucianism. His conversion from Wang Anshi's ideology to that of the Cheng brothers in his early life was at first a liability for him; after the demise of the Northern Song, however, it was

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<sup>178</sup> Liang Shaohui's biography of Zhou Dunyi also provides a detailed account of Zhou Dunyi's connection to the New Policies gentlemen (1994, 23–7).

transformed into precious political capital. He became a symbol of the change of the political tide from Wang's agenda to that of the Chengs (Van Ess 2004; Tsuchida 2002, 426–38; Bol 2008, 87). For Zhu Xi, Yang Shi was a significant link connecting him to the Cheng brothers. Not only was Zhu Xi a student of one of Yang's second generation disciples, but his father was also a student of Yang's first generation disciple. Thus, for Zhu Xi, Yang served as the conduit of the Way. Yang's academic and political positions legitimised both the intellectual and political authority of Zhu (Zhu Xuefang 2007).

Moreover, early Southern Song political purges and the 'evil prime minister' Qin Gui's 秦檜 (1091–1155) dominance over central politics yielded many dissident literati who readily identified their 'undeserved' ill-fortune with that of Northern Song conservative figures who suffered no less severe oppression from Wang Anshi's New Policies regime. Although Qin Gui was not, in a strict sense, a New Policies supporter, the ways in which he secured his position and manipulated government institutions to meet his political goals were reminiscent of Wang Anshi's tactics. Thus, it was a natural consequence that the early Southern Song literati perceived him to be strongly connected to none other than Wang (Hartman 1998, 73–8; 108 nos.100; 114 111; Schirokauer 1975, 167–8).

Given this context, Zhu Xi's opposition against anything related to Wang Anshi makes sense; any implication of an association with Wang would have damaged Zhu's political capital. Simply put, he would be the last man to acknowledge that Zhou Dunyi was a New Policies partisan, and, for that matter, would also be the last man to welcome what is written in Pu Zongmeng's tomb inscription for Zhou Dunyi. Accordingly, when he published the second edition of his *Complete Works of Zhou Dunyi* in 1179, he

expurgated Pu's inscription and pointed to Pan's as the only authentic primary source that 'correctly' represented Zhou's personality. For Zhu, Pu's inscription 'is not the words of one who knows the Master' (Zhu Xi 2002, 24:3625; 3840).<sup>179</sup>

Zhou Dunyi's fame was, prior to Zhu Xi's active promotion of his work, the *Explanation on the Great Ultimate*, largely dependent on his relationships with other famous figures. However, some of these individuals and their agendas were so incompatible with one another that the notion of a man being on good terms with all of them at the same time seemed far-fetched. How could one be a friend of the Cheng brothers and Su Shi at the same time when their factions were so polarised? How could one be an enthusiastic supporter of Wang Anshi while being the teacher of Cheng Yi when the latter suffered probably one of the most brutal persecutions under the former's New Policies regime? For those who wished to construct a coherent image of Zhou, there was no way but to bring some relationships into the foreground at the expense of the others. Zhu Xi thus chose the connection between Chengs and Zhou as the one the men of posterity ought to remember, dispensing with all the others.

Describing a personal relationship involves setting a stage, on which the relationship is cultivated. For example, the elevation of Zhou Dunyi's image as a Neo-Confucian master and the teacher of the Cheng brothers went hand in hand with the sanctification of Nan'an Commandery 南安軍 (m. Dayu County 大餘縣, Jiangxi) where Zhou 'transmitted' his Way to them. The first Nan'an Zhou Dunyi shrine was

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<sup>179</sup> Zhu Xi also held Lin Li in contempt for his attaching the whole of Pu's text to the *Book of Penetration* that Lin edited and published in 1166 (Zhu Xi 2002, 21:1306). Also, following their master's line, a mid-thirteenth century Zhu Learning advocate erected a stele at the side of Zhou Dunyi's tomb that berates Pu's 'hideous description' for 'identifying Lord Yuan as New Policies gang' (LXJ 139–40).

established in as early as 1165. When someone transformed the shrine into an academy in the mid-thirteenth century, they straightforwardly named it the Zhou and Cheng Academy (*Zhou Cheng shuyuan* 周程書院), which was soon replaced with a more euphemistic and elegant but nevertheless as much assertive as the previous title, the Source of the Way Academy (*Daoyuan shuyuan* 道源書院) (Chen Wenyi 2004, 166).

Accordingly, Wang met Zhou twice, at Runzhou and then at Kaifeng; since Kaifeng was occupied by the Jurchens from 1127 on, Runzhou would have been the only place accessible to Southern Song literati had they commemorated the meeting of the two. Considering what has happened to the Nan'an Commandery, we can safely argue that, had Zhou been appropriated by Wang's followers, they would have sanctified Runzhou as the stage on which the transmission of the Way was carried out. The Cheng brothers were to Nan'an what Wang was to Runzhou. One may wonder whether there were many pro-Wang literati who would really be interested in constructing such lineages or it was just Zhu Xi's paranoia. What I can tell is that 1) it was not highly probable 2) but Zhu Learning Neo-Confucians had reasons to be concerned. In 1217, at Shaozhou 韶州 (Guangdong), a disciple of Zhu Xi found something very 'inappropriate' in a local Zhou Dunyi shrine. This shrine was honouring Wang Anshi's father and Zhou Dunyi together with three other local figures. Worse yet, it was Wang's father who claimed the main seat of the shrine, while Zhou was relegated to a less prominent position on the eastern side, humbly 'accompanying' the main honouree. Offended, he made it his job to remedy the problem and asked Chen Chun 陳淳 (1159–1223), one of the most important Zhu Learning thinkers of that time, for a

commemorative essay for his ‘correction’. Chen’s essay records that the situation was ‘shameful (*ke chi* 可恥)’ (Chen Chun 1986, 9:6a).

Furthermore, on the eastern wall of the main lecture room of Dantu County 丹徒縣 government school hung a piece of Wang Anshi’s calligraphy specimen (*Song Jiading Zhenjiang zhi* 宋嘉定鎮江志 10:4b). Dantu County was where the prefectural seat of Runzhou was located, and the place Zhou Dunyi resided. Had someone been choosing where to locate a Zhou Dunyi shrine in Runzhou, he would have counted this school as a very serious option, and would have been disturbed by the presence of Wang Anshi’s legacy there.

Also, we can see how resistant Zhu Learning advocates were to the idea of setting up Neo-Confucians and Wang Anshi in the same chamber and worshipping them together from the fact that whenever mid-twelfth and early-thirteenth century Zhu Learning supporters argued for installing Neo-Confucian dignitaries, including Zhou Dunyi, in the Temple of Confucius at the capital they explicitly urged Wang Anshi’s removal from the Temple at the same time (Neskar 1993, 287–93; Wilson 1995, 40–2). For that matter, the fact that Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1193), a major Neo-Confucian thinker and Zhu Xi’s arch-rival, wrote a commemorative essay for the Wang Anshi shrine in Fuzhou, must have been cause for concern on the part of the Zhu Learning (Lu Jiuyuan 1980, 231–4).

Given the above points, we may reasonably surmise that Zhu Learning advocates may have opposed the idea of establishing a Zhou Dunyi shrine at Runzhou on political grounds, to avoid Zhou being identified as a New Policies supporter. However, cultural considerations may also have come into play. Although being

identified as Wang's crony would certainly make some political troubles, it would not necessarily damage one's Confucian identity; despite his personal devotion to Buddhism, Wang's zeal for the betterment of the country and its people was widely regarded as 'Confucian'. By contrast, although any linkage with Buddhism would have been politically acceptable—after all, Xiaozong 孝宗 (1127–94, r. 1162–89) was an enthusiastic Buddhist—that would have been detrimental to the cultural and ideological integrity that Zhu Xi boasted of.

#### 4.3. Zhou Dunyi, Crane Forest Monastery, and Runzhou

The second hypothesis concerns the contemporary perception of Zhou Dunyi and the eclectic nature of his scholarship. As some modern scholars have discussed extensively, Zhou's authorship of *the Explanation on the Diagram of the Great Ultimate* has always been disputed (Section 2.5). Zhu Xi did his best to convince the contemporaries of Zhou's authorship but failed to quell the dissent in the end. There were two most conspicuous voices that contested Zhu Xi's claim: Some said a Daoist handed the *Diagram* over to Zhou (hereafter 'Daoist narrative'), while others thought that a Buddhist monk drew the piece ('Buddhist narrative').

It seems the Daoist narrative was perceived to be more convincing in the eyes of some contemporaries, not only because the technical terms Zhou Dunyi employed in his works had Daoist nuances—such as the Great Ultimate (*taiji* 太極) and the None Ultimate (*wuji* 無極)—but also because one of the early-twelfth century's best-known *Book of Change* scholars argued so. The *Memorial* Zhu Zhen submitted to the throne with his *Collected Commentaries to the Book of Change* (*Zhouyi jichuan* 周易集傳) explicitly states that the line of transmission of the *Diagram* starts from a nationally renowned Daoist, Chen Tuan, and ends with Zhou Dunyi (Section 2.5).<sup>180</sup>

Extant sources hint at the extent to which the Daoist narrative bothered Zhu Xi. His painstaking effort to defend the originality of Zhou Dunyi's *Diagram*

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<sup>180</sup> The original *Memorial* can be found in QSW (142:185–6). For the ramifications, popularity, and veracity of this narrative, see Adler (2014, 153–5) as well as Section 2.5 of this thesis.

notwithstanding, his rivals and opponents persistently criticised him for championing someone who was, supposedly, Daoist. For instance, not only did his arch-rival Lu Jiuyuan question the suspicious origin of Zhou's scholarship (Lu 1980, 23–4) but Zhu Xi's own supporters often did so as well.<sup>181</sup>

The Buddhist narrative came from a no less authoritative source than Zhu Zhen. Cheng Hao was, according to Zhu Xi's account, one of the only two legitimate heirs to Zhou Dunyi; the other being his younger brother Cheng Yi. Under one entry of Cheng Hao's *Recorded Conversations* this transmitter of the Way says:

When Xu Bo 許渤 (978–1047) was living in Runzhou, he was friendly with Fan Wending (Fan Zhongyan), Hu Su, and Zhou Maoshu'. (Cheng and Cheng 2004, 67)

Du Zheng's *Chronological Biography* reports that Zhou Dunyi befriended Hu Su during his stay at the monastery. Hu Su was an authority on the *Book of Change*, and was known to have received his scholarship from the Buddhist monk Shouya of Crane Forest Monastery in Runzhou. Coincidentally, Zhou's major work, the *Diagram*, abounds in *Book of Change* jargon. Therefore, although the two authoritative sources did not mention the name of the monk at all, some contemporaries naturally began to imagine the linkage among the three—Shouya, Hu Su, and Zhou Dunyi. As Zhu Xi

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<sup>181</sup> For Ye Shi's diatribe on the Northern Song Neo-Confucian masters' use of non-Confucian jargon, see Ye Shi (1986, 49:20b–21a). Even Zhang Shi once complained about Zhu Xi's uncompromising attitude on *the Diagram* (Zhang Shi 1986, 25:2b). As Adler notes, Zhu Xi put Zhou on a pedestal against 'vociferous opposition' (2014, 137).

observes, '[people think that Zhou Dunyi] practised Chan 禪 learning, and his sons all studied Buddhism' (Zhu Xi 1986, 2357).

The earliest and the most important extant source that unequivocally confirms the existence of the link between the three is Chao Gongwu's 晁公武 (1101?–1171?) *Memories of my Readings in the Jun Studio* (*Junzhai dushi zhi* 郡齋讀書志). This monumental private library catalogue hints at the range of circulation of the Buddhist narrative in the early Southern Song.

<Mr Cheng's [Commentary on the] Book of Change, 10 chapters. >

The [book on the] right side is written by our august court's Cheng Yi Zhengshu (Cheng Yi). Zhu Zhen said Cheng Yi's learning came from Zhou Dunyi, [and Zhou Dunyi in turn] obtained it from Mu Xiu, [and Mu Xiu's scholarship, in turn,] was rooted in Chen Tuan. Therefore, its root is identical with Shao Yong's learning. However, if we consider Cheng Yi's interpretation [of the *Book of Change*, it] does not touch upon numerological interpretation like Shao Yong's works and quite resembles Hu Yuan's. Jingyu (Chao Yuezhi) said that both Hu Wuping (Hu Su) and Zhou Maoshu (Zhou Dunyi) learned from the Buddhist monk Shouya of Crane Forest Monastery. Later, Wuping (Hu Su) transmitted his learning to his family and Maoshu transmitted his to the two Cheng brothers. It is different from what Zhen (Zhu Zhen) said (Chao 1981, 1:26–7).

Jingyu is the studio name of Chao Gongwu's uncle, Chao Yuezhi. Chao Yuezhi was renowned for having a good command of the *Book of Change* and also for maintaining friendly relationships with a wide array of prominent figures. One interesting point is that he kept in touch with many of those who were directly related to Zhou Dunyi: the Cheng brothers, Su Shi, Huang Tingjian, Shao Yong, Shao Bowen,

and Lü Gongzhu.<sup>182</sup> Although it is not clear what that exactly was, it must be the direct information he had that made him isolate Zhou-Cheng line from the Shao Yong centred *Book of Change* lineage (Subsection 2.5.3. and Figure 19).<sup>183</sup>

Apart from this rather unambiguous comments, there is also circumstantial evidence that suggests a connection between Zhou Dunyi and Buddhism. For instance, when a friend of a great nephew of Zhou Dunyi sent a piece of calligraphy by Zhou Shou, the eldest son of Zhou Dunyi, to Zhu and asked him for a postface, Zhu responded bitterly, rhetorically asking back how a descendant of the master who revived the Confucian Way after a thousand years of oblivion could become a Buddhist monk (Zhu Xi 2002, 24:3871). On another occasion, he berated Zhou's two sons for their having associated with lay Buddhists such as Su Shi and Huang Tingjian.

Yuanweng (Zhou Shou) was on good terms with Su (Su Shi) and Huang (Huang Tingjian), studying Buddhism and discoursing on Chan 禪. He long ago lost his family tradition; [thus] his sayings are indeed unreliable (Zhu Xi 2002, 22:1836).

Whether Zhou Dunyi did indeed receive the *Diagram* from Shouya is neither the concern of this thesis nor something that can be proved without further uncovering of new textual evidence. What matters here most is that it would have been very difficult for the Zhu Learning Neo-Confucians not to make any mention of the Monastery in their commemorative essays had they built a Zhou Dunyi shrine in Runzhou, because all the memorable things and events supposed to be covered in detail in such essays

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<sup>182</sup> Lü was the one who recommended Zhou to the court, which led to his promotion to the zenith of his career (Section 2.4).

<sup>183</sup> Of course, this does not mean that Chao's words are necessarily more reliable than Zhu's.

were linked with the Monastery. Given the Buddhophobia of Zhu Xi and his supporters', the only two options they could choose, if they were to compose any such essay, were to 1) discredit the Buddhist narrative in a straightforward manner or 2) to circumvent it. However, both options would have been problematic.

We may never know what strategy the now lost commemorative essay for Runzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine (1253) employed. But it is possible to make a probable conjecture, although anachronistic, by investigating the commemorative essay for the Ming period reconstruction of the Runzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine. By reading what was actually written in commemoration of a Zhou Dunyi shrine that was located inside a Buddhist monastery at Runzhou, we may be able to understand the factors that must have dictated the contents of the late Southern Song essay. To adumbrate the conclusion in advance, the Ming essay chose to circumvent the Buddhist narrative instead of facing it.

There are two Ming dynasty gazetteers for Crane Forest Monastery that include the Ming period commemorative essay for Runzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine. Aside from the nearly 100-year gap between the composition of the two, they were also compiled by very different editors: one by two literati (*Ming Zhengde Helinsi zhi* 明正德鶴林寺志), the other by a Buddhist monk (*Ming Wanli Helinsi zhi* 明萬曆鶴林寺志).<sup>184</sup> The impact of the difference in social status of the editors on the contents of the gazetteers is hard to determine, especially since a substantial amount of the earlier, literati version

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<sup>184</sup> Both texts are available at the *Digital Archive of Chinese Buddhist Temple Gazetteers* (<http://dev.ddbc.edu.tw/fosizhi/>)

(Zhengde) is no longer extant. That being the case, I will treat the Buddhist monk version (Wanli) as the primary text of analysis.

A gazetteer is a genre of writing that does not always guarantee the coherence of its contents from cover to cover. Thus, the Wanli Crane Forest Monastery Gazetteer says explicitly that Zhou Dunyi was the disciple of Shouya in some places, while omitting to mention this in others. The following table lists all the entries of the gazetteer that contain Zhou's name, and whether the entry mentions the relationship between Zhou and Shouya.

**Table 8. Entries Relevant to Zhou Dunyi in the Wanli Gazetteer.**

	Entry	Mention	Page*
1	Love of Lotus Flowers Pond ( <i>Ailian chi</i> 愛蓮池)	Y	18
2	Lianxi Shrine ( <i>Lianxi ci</i> 濂溪祠)	N	23
3	Pleasant Breeze under the Moon Emerging in the Clear Sky Pavilion ( <i>Guangfeng jiyue ting</i> 光風霽月亭)	N	25
4	Inscription and Preface for the Tang Runzhou Crane Forest Monastery Founder Great Ford Dharma Illuminator Chan Master Masu Pagoda ( <i>Tang Runzhou Helin si kaishan Dajin fazhao masu chanshi ta ming bingxu</i> 唐潤州鶴林寺開山大津法照馬素禪師塔銘并序)	N	69
5	Song Dynasty Chan Master Shou'ya ( <i>Song Shouya chanshi</i> 宋壽涯禪師)	Y	78
6	Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤	Y	83
7	The Record on the Revival and Recover of Crane Forest Monastery ( <i>Helin si xingfu ji</i> 鶴林寺興復記)	N	102
8	The Commemorative Essay for the Shrine for Master Lianxi ( <i>Lianxi xiansheng ci ji</i> 濂溪先生祠記)	N	109
9	The Commemorative Essay for the Renovation of the Shrine for Lianxi and the Stele for the Ritual Expenditure Farmland ( <i>Chongjian Lianxi ci bing jitian bei ji</i> 重建濂溪祠并祭田碑記)	N	115
10	The Explanation on the Fate of the Rise and Fall of Crane Forest Monastery ( <i>Helin si xingbi yuanqi shuo</i> 鶴林寺興廢緣起說)	Y	137
11	Writing on Shouya's Hermitage ( <i>Ti Shuoya an</i> 題壽涯菴)	Y	153

Both printed edition (*Zhongguo fosizhi huikan* 中國佛寺志彙刊 1:44:143) and the digital version (The Digital Archive of Chinese Buddhist Temple Gazetteers) of the gazetteer maintain the same pagination.

With a few exceptions, it seems that those entries whose main subject is either the monastery or the monk are more likely to mention the relationship between the monk and Zhou Dunyi, while those that mainly discuss Zhou Dunyi are more likely to omit it. The most salient examples of this trend are items 8, 9, and 10.

Items 8 and 9 are the commemorative essays written for the establishment and renovation of the Runzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine in 1584. Item 9 depicts the reconstruction event in a fairly dry manner using the minimal number of characters (total 187 characters), whereas item 8 deploys the author's view on Zhou's philosophical ideas extensively with as many as 937 characters. Although long, however, item 8 is oddly parsimonious with addressing the connection between the Master and the monastery. The exact wording is:

The Master lived in Run [zhou], serving his mother while depending on his maternal uncle Zheng Longtu (Zheng Xiang). [When his] mother passed away, [he] eventually buried her here. [He] read books at the foot of the mountain, next to Crane Forest Monastery.

先生嘗奉母依舅氏鄭龍圖居潤母卒遂葬焉讀書山下鶴林寺之側

Let us compare this phrase with item 1 that narrates the same anecdote in a slightly different manner.

The Song dynasty Master Lianxi lost [his] father when he was young. [He] lived in Runzhou, serving his mother while depending on his maternal uncle Zheng Longtu. [When his] mother passed away, [he] eventually buried her here. [He]

was a friend of Buddhist monk Shouya of Crane Forest Monastery and read books ~~at the foot of the mountain~~, next to Crane Forest Monastery.<sup>185</sup>

宋周濂溪先生少失父奉母依舅氏鄭龍圖居潤州母卒遂葬焉夙與鶴林寺僧壽涯交善讀書於寺旁

Given the striking similarity, it is highly probable that one of the two authors paraphrased the other's text to suit his own needs. If, for example, the author of the latter (No. 1) paraphrased the former (No. 8), then the motivation must have been to underscore the fundamental connection between Zhou Dunyi and the monastery. If it was the other way around, then it would have been that the author of the former (No. 8) expurgated the latter (No. 1) in order not to offend a prospective Buddhophobic Confucian readership, if not simply to avoid his own embarrassment. Although without any conclusive evidence, it is very tempting to believe that the former (No. 8) is a paraphrased version of the latter (No. 1).

In any event, it is arguable that the hypothetical Southern Song Neo-Confucian dignitary, after reviewing Zhou Dunyi's life in Runzhou, might as well have realised that there were not many 'safe' things to commemorate except for Zhou Dunyi's mourning and reading. Apart from Zhou's fraternising with Shouya, all of his other social activities there—such as his meeting with Hu Su who was a Shouya's disciple—must have seemed fairly inappropriate to highlight. Despite the authority and the credibility of the original source that attested to his friendship with Fan Zhongyan and Hu Su, the writers of the Ming commemorative essays prudently neglected such pieces

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<sup>185</sup> The red characters are what might have been added to item 8; the phrase struck out in the translated section is the one that delivers the same meaning, but with different wording.

of information and distilled a rather static image of Zhou Dunyi sitting in his room in solitude and immersing himself in books while fulfilling his filial duty to his mother.

Also, the fact that the first Zhou Dunyi shrine, if we do not count the one established in 1239, was built adjacent to the Monastery in 1253 by a non-Neo-Confucian prefect, Xu Li 徐棨 (*fl.* 1250), indicates the shrine's irrelevance to the mainstream Buddhophobic Zhu Learning tradition. No commemorative essay for that shrine was recorded in local gazetteers or in any literature anthology of any sort, which implies, at a minimum, that none of the major contemporary Neo-Confucian thinkers whose pieces of work have been well preserved was involved in that project. Perhaps due to the lack of attention from Neo-Confucian literati, the monastery readily confiscated the shrine soon after the collapse of the Southern Song (*Qing Qianlong Zhenjiangfu zhi* 清乾隆鎮江府志 15:21b).

Furthermore, there is a possibility that the 1253 Runzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine clearly demonstrated Zhou Dunyi's connection to Crane Forest Monastery and Shouya. A Qing period Dantu County gazetteer reports that a remnant of the stele bearing the commemorative essay for this Southern Song Zhou Dunyi shrine was discovered from the wall of the monastery. Nineteen characters were recognised and among them were 'old, monk, Maoshu (*gu seng Maoshu* 古僧茂叔)' (*Qing Guangxu Dantuxian zhi* 清光緒丹徒縣志 10:4a). It is not clear whether there were more characters between 'monk (*seng*)' and 'Zhou Dunyi (*Maoshu*)' or not. In any event, that no commemorative essay for any Zhou Dunyi shrines other than this one speaks anything about Buddhism bespeaks the unique character of this inscription. An entry in a Ming dynasty gazetteer for the same county suggests that prefect Xu Li himself was the author of the

commemorative essay, which is neither confirmed nor denied by the Qing discovery of the piece of inscription (*Ming Wanli Dantuxian zhi* 明萬曆丹徒縣志 4:16a).

One last text that is worth considering is the *Recorded Interview between Layman Dongpo and Chan Master Fo'yin* (*Dongpo jushi Fo'yin chanshi yulu wenda* 東坡居士佛印禪師語錄問答). It is a popular fiction under the guise of recorded conversation (*yulu* 語錄), published as early as in the Southern Song.<sup>186</sup> Albeit fictitious, it is based on the historical fact that the two protagonists were good friends. Fo'yin 佛印 (1032–98) and Su Shi met frequently and exchanged a good number of letters. Above all, the place where they spent time together most was the Gold Mountain Monastery (*Jinshan si* 金山寺) in Runzhou. Imagining Zhou Dunyi appearing in fiction where he meets and talks with Shouya in Runzhou would have appalled Zhu Learning advocates. After all, Zhu knew all too well that Zhou Dunyi's two sons were Su Shi's protégés and keen on Buddhism.

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<sup>186</sup> Huang Tung-yang (2012) dates the text to 1162–1202.

#### 4.4. The Reluctant Zhu Learning Prefects of Runzhou

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, establishing a shrine in the Southern Song required negotiation and agreement among the various interest groups concerned. Thus, Runzhou's failure can be equated to the result of a failure to persuade all the necessary actors of the project. It may have been that the local elite felt no urgency about honouring Zhou Dunyi, perhaps because they already possessed an abundance of other sorts of symbolic capital.<sup>187</sup> However, the most probable explanation that we can draw from the given sources must be that Zhu Learning supporters had little reason to dedicate a shrine to Zhou in the prefecture.

In many instances, it was the civil officials of the locality who initiated a shrine-building project. Not all the local officials who promoted Zhou Dunyi in their jurisdictions were Neo-Confucian supporters; however, Neo-Confucian bureaucrats, let alone the Zhu Learning supporters, were far more likely to initiate such projects than non-Neo-Confucian administrators were. In this regard, investigating all the prefects of Runzhou who could have easily initiated Zhou Dunyi shrine projects during the relevant period would give us some indication of the degree of their reluctance.

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<sup>187</sup> Being the hotbed of many regional dynasties, Runzhou's landscape was littered with such prominent monuments as various royal mausoleums of the Wu 吳 dynasty (229–280) and the Southern Dynasties (317–589), former abodes of renowned Tang dynasty prime ministers, and tombs of such cultural giants as the calligrapher Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107) or the polymath Su Song 蘇頌 (1020–1101). Also, the prefecture was praised for its refined Confucian culture in national gazetteers (*Taiping huanyuji* 太平寰宇記, 89:4a). This huge gap in the possession of symbolic capital between Runzhou and Daozhou (or, to a lesser extent, Jiangzhou) might have been the reason for their different approaches to Zhou's legacies. However, we have hardly anything that can substantiate this hypothesis.

Li Zhiliang (2001) provides a list of prefects of Song dynasty Runzhou (Zhenjiang). Among them, those most relevant to the topic at hand are the roughly 100 prefects who served from 1160—around when the first Zhou Dunyi shrine of any kind was built in southern Hunanese prefectures—to 1260—when the first full-fledged Zhou Dunyi shrine was finally built in Runzhou. There is not enough space here for an exhaustive treatment of the social networks they cultivated to assess their scholarly affiliation with precision. In this section, we will consider only those prefects whose name appear in *the Survey of Song and Yuan Learning* (*Song Yuan xue'an* 宋元學案). This late Ming compendium does not, of course, exhaust ‘all’ Southern Song literati who identified themselves as Neo-Confucian but was comprehensive enough to cover most of those, who had good reasons to build a Neo-Confucian shrine in their prefecture.

**Table 9. Prefects of Runzhou from 1160 to 1260 Whose Names Appear in *the Survey of Song and Yuan Scholars*.**

	Tenure	Name	Student of	Friend of	Page
1	1172–73	Huang Jun 黃鈞 (js. 1154)		Zhang Shi	3218
2	1179–81	Zeng Dai 曾逮 (?–?)	Wang Pin 王蘋 (1082–1153)		1058
3	1186	Wu Ju 吳琚 (?–?)	Chen Fuliang		1730
4	1186–7	Zhang Jin 張杓 <sup>188</sup> (1136?–1197)	Liu Rui 劉芮 (?–?)		1423
5	1195–6	Chen Juren 陳居仁 (1129–97)	Yang Shi		987
6	1201–2	Huang You 黃由 (1150–?)	Lou Yue 樓鑰		3216
7	1206–7	Yuwen Shaojie 宇文紹節 (?–1213)	Zhang Shi		1643
8	1210–11	Fu Bocheng 傅伯成 (1143–1226)	Zhu Xi		2274

<sup>188</sup> It is unclear whether his given name was pronounced ‘Jin’ or ‘Yun’. It is ‘Jin’ according to the *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典, which quotes a number of authoritative Song dynasty sources, including *Guangyun* 廣韻. However, CBDB (Chinese Biographical Database) holds that his name is either Zhang Yun 張杓 or Zhang Shao 張杓. For the sake of consistency, this thesis will call him ‘Zhang Jin’ hereafter.

9	1213–5	Shi Mijian 史彌堅 (?–1232)	Yang Jian 楊簡 (1141–1226)		2482
10	1219	Ge Hong 葛洪 (js. 1184)	Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137–1181)		2435
11	1219	Feng Youjun 豐有俊 (js. 1190)	Lu Jiuyuan		2591
12	1220–1	Qiao Xingjian 喬行簡 (?–1241)	Lü Zuqian		2436
13	1221–1227	Zhao Shanxiang 趙善湘 (?–1242)		Chen Zhi 陳埴 (?–?)	2088
14	1229–30	Zhao Fan 趙范 (?–?)	Li Fan 李燾 (1156–1225)		2329
15	1235–38	Wu Yuan 吳淵 (1190–1257)	Zou Bin 鄒斌 (js. 1211)		2608
16	1238–40	Wu Qian 吳潛 (1196–1262)	Zou Bin 鄒斌 (js. 1211)		2609
17	1241–43	He Yuanshou 何元壽 (?–?)	Yang Jian 楊簡 (1141–1226)		2504

The page numbers are for the *Zhonghua Shuju* edition (Huang Zongxi and Quan 1986).

Among the 17 prefects, at least 14 can be safely classified as Neo-Confucian. Although the remaining three—Wu Ju, Shi Mijian, and Zhao Fan—were not necessarily anti-Neo-Confucian figures, they were not avid pro-Zhou-Dunyi ideologues either. Chen Fuliang, Wu Ju’s master, was sometimes counted as a Neo-Confucian fellow in the broadest sense but was generally deemed to be indifferent to the movement, if not against it (De Weerd 2007, 49–54; 231–50). Zhao Fan was a military official who was at best indirectly linked to the movement. Shi Mijian’s case is peculiar. He was a younger brother of one of the longest serving Chief Councillors in Chinese history, Shi Miyuan 史彌遠 (1164–1233). As a close relative to the most powerful politician of the time, he was cautious not to reveal publicly his ideological stance. Accordingly, we cannot say with certainty whether he identified himself as a Neo-Confucian.

We can further exclude two from the remaining 14 for their scholarship having originated from Lu Learning: Feng Youjun and He Yuanshou. Admittedly, the major figures of Lu Jiuyuan group did not always show antipathy to Zhu Xi and his followers. On the contrary, many of them tried to embrace Zhu Xi’s legacy and unify the multiple

Neo-Confucian branches. Nevertheless, it may be wise to err on the side of caution as there were some staunch Lu Learning pupils who did not welcome Zhu Xi and Zhou Dunyi till the end (QSW 275:320). Thus, removing these two Lu Learning elements from our list would not harm the soundness of our analysis.

All the remaining 12 prefects were strongly motivated Zhu Learning partisans who would have honoured Zhou Dunyi had they had chances to do so. Indeed, by building Confucian shrines, private academies, and local government schools in places other than Runzhou, they had demonstrated their enthusiasm and capacity to undertake such projects. Ge Hong built and renovated two local government schools and also was a part of a well-established social network that enabled him to commission the commemorative essays to renowned Neo-Confucian thinkers of his day, such as Yuan Xie or Lou Yue.<sup>189</sup> Zhao Shanxiang, like Wu Yuan,<sup>190</sup> contributed to the construction of a private academy for Cheng Hao in Jiankangfu 建康府 (m. Nanjing 南京) in 1251, and Fu Bocheng wrote a commemorative essay for a Zhu Xi shrine in a county in

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<sup>189</sup> For Yuan Xie's essay, see QSW (281:223). Yuan was conscious of the crucial role Zhou Dunyi played in the proliferation of Southern Song Neo-Confucianism (QSW 281:207). For Lou Yue's awareness of Zhou Dunyi's importance, see Section 3.4 of this thesis. For Lou's commemorative essay for Ge Hong, see QSW (265:16).

<sup>190</sup> Wu Yuan and his younger brother Wu Qian's intellectual affiliation is not apparent. The brothers' father had some link to Zhu Xi, but their supposed master, Zou Bin, was connected to Lu Jiuyuan only.

Fujian.<sup>191</sup> Chen Juren was linked to the renovation of a local government school in Hubei region for which Zhu Xi composed a commemorative essay.<sup>192</sup>

Admittedly, Wu Qian was prefect of Runzhou when the first Zhou Dunyi shrine was established there, which was, however, not a full-fledged one as I pointed out earlier in this chapter. Seven Neo-Confucian masters were honoured in the eastern wing of the Local Worthies Shrine (*Xianxian ci* 先賢祠), while non-Neo-Confucian local worthies claimed the central position. It was only after the Jingding 景定 reign period (1260–63)<sup>193</sup> that the Neo-Confucian figures came to occupy the centre in this government run shrine (*Yuan Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi* 元至順鎮江志 11:4a–5a).

Zhang Jin stands out among these dedicated shrine builders. As expected for a younger brother of Zhang Shi, the second most enthusiastic composer of commemorative essays for Zhou Dunyi shrines throughout the Song period, Zhang Jin seized the opportunity to build the first Zhou Dunyi shrine in Yuanzhou 袁州 when he was appointed prefect of the locality in 1178. Yuanzhou was a prefecture where Zhou Dunyi served as a county level official for about four years. When the shrine was completed, Zhang Jin sent a letter to Zhu Xi, asking for a commemorative essay.

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<sup>191</sup> Zhao Shanxiang's establishment of the academy is recorded only in *the Survey* (Huang Zongxi and Quan 1986, 2088). Wu Yuan assumed an active role in rehabilitating and enlarging Illumined Way Academy of Jiankang (Walton 1999, 71–2). The Zhu Xi shrine to which Fu Bocheng contributed a commemorative essay was established in Quanzhou 泉州 (m. Quanzhou, Fujian). The shrine honoured Zhu's father, too (QSW 280:281).

<sup>192</sup> According to Zhu Xi's essay, Chen Juren donated a substantial amount of money to the project (QSW 252:129).

<sup>193</sup> The Yuan dynasty Zhenjiang gazetteer records that it was Jiading 嘉定 reign period (1209–24), which does not make sense, at all. It is highly probable that it was Jingding.

Given Zhang Jin's enthusiasm, his relationship with Zhu Xi, his family tradition, and what he has done in Yuanzhou, his failure to capitalise on Runzhou's potential to establish a Zhou Dunyi shrine makes little sense. Knowing no other factors that would have deterred him, we are left to assume that he must have been swayed by the factors discussed previous sections, such as the locality's role as the venue where Zhou Dunyi met Wang Anshi and Shouya.

In the end, it was Xu Li, a non-Neo-Confucian administrator, who established the first full-fledged Zhou Dunyi shrine in 1253, most likely without involving any Neo-Confucians (*Yuan Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi* 元至順鎮江志 11:32b). Considering that Zhu Learning supporters stayed aloof even when a shrine was finally established, I am highly tempted to attribute the long absence of a Zhou Dunyi shrine in Runzhou to the hesitation of Zhu Learning Neo-Confucians.

#### 4.5. Conclusion

Zhu Xi constructed an image of purity and clarity for Zhou Dunyi. From an accumulation of different, and often contradictory, impressions of Zhou, Zhu extracted the image of a quiet and contemplative Confucian master and dispensed with the philosopher's other selves. Zhu's two most striking omissions were Zhou's alternate identities as a supporter of the New Policies, and an heir to 'heretic' traditions such as Daoism and Buddhism.

Zhu Xi was well aware that Nan'an Commandery had been heavily sanctified for being the place where Zhou Dunyi transmitted his Way to the Cheng brothers. Had he failed to recast Zhou Dunyi's Neo-Confucian character, and had Buddhism enthusiasts or Wang Anshi partisans successfully promoted their own versions of Zhou, Runzhou would have replaced Nan'an as the most sacred place where Zhou received the 'Way' from the monk and then transmitted it to the icon of the New Policies. In this respect, it is not difficult to understand Zhu Xi and his supporters' hesitation to highlight Zhou's tie to Runzhou.

The case of Runzhou suggests that Neo-Confucian supporters who could benefit from lionising Zhou Dunyi found themselves caught between the Scylla of Wang Anshi and the Charybdis of Buddhism, as seen in the case of Daozhou and Jiangzhou. The difference was that they could bypass the problem in the case of the former by staying aloof and doing nothing. Runzhou was not a place that possessed tangible artefacts of the Master, such as his tomb or former abode, so his promoters did not have to come up with a clever solution as they had done in the case of Daozhou and Jiangzhou.

The delayed construction of the Zhou Dunyi shrine in Runzhou also reflects the cautious nature of the Neo-Confucian campaign. Some scholars have tended to portray members of the movement as men of integrity who would rather die than compromise. I expect this case study to challenge such views and help us to build a more realistic image of Neo-Confucians.

Also, it is a good example of how the intervention from the field of Neo-Confucianism to the field of competition of prefectures takes form. Zhou Dunyi shrines as a source of reputation was not an open access resource ready to be exploited by all players of the competition. Its availability was limited by different factors, some of which came from the complexity of the character of the enshrinee and the Neo-Confucian promoters' preference of one over the others. Ellen G. Neskari's argument that Neo-Confucian shrines were proliferating to all directions by breaching the hitherto strictly observed ritual regulations is not incorrect but somewhat misleading (1993, 43–71, 221). As the case of Runzhou illustrates, there were other factors controlling the spread of Neo-Confucian shrines.

If this chapter is about a place that failed to welcome Zhou Dunyi, the next chapter is about that which wholeheartedly embraced him. Although Zhou spent less amount of time in Guangdong than in Runzhou, the region was quick to establish numerous shrines and academies for him. Chapter 5 finds the reasons from the region's *habitus* as a stranger to the Sinitic literati culture.



## 5. Peripheral Orthodoxy: Zhou Dunyi Shrines in Guangdong

The prevailing view among scholars on the emergence and success of the Neo-Confucian movement is that they correlate somehow to the high level of educational attainment in affluent regions. This view draws upon the observation that there resided in those regions many literati who were preparing their sons and grandsons for civil service examinations. This heightened focus on education yielded a substantial number of successful candidates, as well as an even greater number of unsuccessful ones who were nonetheless intelligent and frequently from affluent backgrounds. Meanwhile, the expansion of literacy gave rise to a printing boom that produced exam textbooks, and also the Neo-Confucian texts, and these found a market among the winners and the losers of the examination system alike.

Although well educated, many literati lacked institutional means to put their political visions into practice, which made them apprehensive, both personally and politically. As the prevalent view would have it, this anxiety drove them to pursue sources of power and status other than their offspring's placement in government service. Some of them developed and supported Neo-Confucianism, building shrines to worship the key figures of the tradition, such as Zhou Dunyi. They also established local granaries and organised community compacts. By means of this model, the educated-yet-unemployed local literati were able to consolidate their social status and realise their political ideals, however modest that might be. As the leading proponent of this analysis asserts: 'It was a model that gained adherents in the prosperous regions

of the south among the many well-to-do families with money to spend on education and community work (Bol 2008, 273)<sup>194</sup>.

This characterisation that Southern Song Neo-Confucianism emerged from this thriving literati culture needs a further analysis. What is assumed here is a gradual translation of economic capital into cultural capital. One needs first to earn money, and then invest that money in education to transform the next generation into literati. We can push this translation process even further. As shown in Chapter 1, localities can best achieve fame through production or association with famous people and majority of such famous people were literati. This fame, which is good in itself, can often be retranslated into economic capital.<sup>195</sup> This chain of translation can be presented as follows:

Economic Capital → Cultural/Social Capital → Symbolic Capital → Economic Capital

If this was the case, saying Guangdong was one of the centres of the Neo-Confucian movement in the Southern Song would sound as oxymoronic as ‘peripheral orthodoxy’ does since they did not have an impressive amount of economic capital, cultural/social capital, nor symbolic capital. The region<sup>196</sup> was faring well in terms of

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<sup>194</sup> See also Robert Hymes (2002, 17).

<sup>195</sup> For instance, the famous Huizhou merchants of the Ming and Qing dynasties continuously capitalised on Zhu Xi’s being a native son of the prefecture in protecting their properties and acquiring governmental supports (Du 2015, 76–83).

<sup>196</sup> One may wonder whether a Southern Song region, the administrative boundary of which might reflect more historical contingency or medieval Chinese gerrymandering than the economic and ecological fault line, can be a legitimate unit of analysis. William G. Skinner’s concept of macro regions in terms of physiographic features recognises Lingnan 嶺南 (approx. modern Guangdong and Guangxi) as one distinct unit (Skinner 1977). A more recent, methodologically rigorous attempt to re-classify Chinese

economy, thanks to the influx of immigrants and the lucrative maritime trade, but it was still not a match for more prosperous neighbouring regions; worse yet, it seriously lacked literati culture so that they could hardly compete with more established regions in the field of competition for fame. Thus, it is little wonder that the region failed to produce any native Neo-Confucian masters in the Song. Nonetheless, the region possessed an abundance of Zhou Dunyi shrines and academies, even surpassing highly prosperous Fujian or Zhejiang in number. This chapter investigates how and why they could construct Zhou Dunyi shrines.

This is not to say, of course, that the current model is wrong. The model works very well, yet perhaps in more limited geographic regions than the inventors of the model would have believed. What escapes this model is, to continue our Bourdieusian metaphor, the different ‘game plans’ different players devised and carried out to make best use of the kinds of capital at their disposal. Well-to-do families who were well established in their well-to-do regions appreciated and cherished the newly introduced Neo-Confucian explanation of the world, history, and self in a manner that best served their interest. Peripheral regions were also engaged in the promotion of the would-be-orthodoxy but the impetus for acceptance cannot be the same as that of their powerful neighbours. Players with different *habitus* cannot but play the game differently.

To explain the development of the cult of Zhou Dunyi in Guangdong and Guangxi, we need to draw a higher resolution picture to catch the details that slip through the model that is built upon some case studies of the ‘advanced’ regions—for

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regions yields a similar result. The regions below the Yangzi River in particular tend to be congruent with the current administrative boundaries (Sng et al. 2018).

example, Jiangxi (Hymes 1986; Hymes 2002) or Zhejiang (Bol 2001; 2003). This chapter investigates all known instances of establishment and renovation of Zhou Dunyi related shrines in the Southern Song Guangdong, and a few highly relevant cases in Guangxi to find out who the benefactors of those projects were and who were expected to reap what kind of benefits from them. To do so, it will pursue three different, though interrelated, analyses, focusing on three different groups: Neo-Confucian adherents, immigrants, and local officials.

First, sources confirm that virtually all Zhou Dunyi shrine projects relied on the initiative of people who had at least some affiliation with the Neo-Confucian movement (Appendix I). Even in exceptional cases where such projects were initiated by non-Neo-Confucian literati, Neo-Confucian figures were still called upon to justify such actions since commemorative essays penned by well-known Neo-Confucian figures served as proof of legitimacy. This chapter investigates the motivations that impelled Neo-Confucian masters to supervise the projects directly or else to endorse them *ex post facto*; examining the degree to which they varied their approaches in response to local characteristics.

Second, there is textual evidence that some immigrants from Hunan to Guangdong were responsible for founding some of the Zhou Dunyi shrines in the region. Southern Song Guangdong was a major immigration destination; there was a constant influx of people from neighbouring regions and most came from the southern part of Hunan. The Zhou surname of Daozhou, including some direct descendants of Zhou Dunyi, were among those who found a new home in Guangdong. Some cases reveal what resources they drew on to champion their famous ancestor in a new home.

Third, the places of origin of those Southern Song officials who served in any Guangdong posts will also be investigated. In fact, a substantial number of local officials were from Fujian, which was one of the main breeding grounds of Zhu Learning. Careful investigation of the activities of these officials shows the extent to which they accounted for the establishment of Zhou Dunyi shrines in Guangdong.

In this way, this chapter sets out to reveal Guangdong prefectures' particular positioning in the nationwide competition for fame, and the proselytising strategies some Neo-Confucian figures employed when they approached this particular type of player. It reveals some of the reasons that made the residents of the periphery welcome and embrace the new standard of the game, the new standard of literati culture.

### 5.1. Problematising: Some Quantitative Considerations

Before commencing the investigation, let us consider briefly some statistical observations to buttress up what is suggested in the previous section. It will show 1) that their economic power was not as impressive as their neighbours', 2) that they were having difficulties in generating cultural capital, 3) and that Zhou Dunyi shrines were nonetheless thriving. These will constitute the context of the following sections.

Since the first establishment of the first Zhou Dunyi shrine at Shaozhou 韶州 (m. Shaozhou, Guangdong), there were 26 instances of building or rebuilding of such shrines in Guangdong and Guangxi. The number represents exactly 20 per cent of all Zhou Dunyi shrine projects initiated during the Southern Song period (Appendix I).

Although not as impressive as one-fifth, it is still surprising to see that more than 10 per cent of all the references to Zhou Dunyi's names found in pre-modern Chinese local gazetteers come from Guangdong gazetteers (Appendix II). One may infer that the database on which this research is based includes a disproportionately large number of Guangdong gazetteers, thus distorting the picture. On the contrary, the more prosperous regions, such as those around the Lower Yangzi Delta, received far more coverage in gazetteers.<sup>197</sup> Therefore, it is hardly surprising to see Guangdong's share rising to 17 per cent when we limit the search result to the 'national' gazetteers

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<sup>197</sup> While a total of 17 Song-period Zhejiang 浙江 gazetteers survive, no Guangdong ones do (Lang 2006, 12–6). Apart from survival bias, it is a pattern of Chinese society that better-off regions produced more gazetteers with greater frequency (Dennis 2015).

that assign relatively equal weight to all the regions, such as the *Unified Gazetteers of the Great Ming Dynasty* (*Daming yitong zhi* 大明一統志) (Appendix III).<sup>198</sup>

Furthermore, other items that are often interpreted as sure signs of the presence of the Neo-Confucian movement abound in Guangdong gazetteers. For instance, according to one estimate, there were a total of 28 academies founded in Southern Song Guangdong and eight of them (28.6 per cent) were dedicated to Zhou Dunyi or a group of people that included him (Liu Baiji 1958, 18–20; Zhuo 2012). Also, we can readily find monuments whose names make strong allusions to Zhou's works, such as the 'Lian Spring (*Lian quan* 濂泉)' or the 'Love of Lotus Pavilion (*Ailian ting* 愛蓮亭)' from the same gazetteers (*Ming Wanli Leizhoufu zhi* 明萬曆雷州府志 21:4b, *Yuan Dade Nanhai zhi* 元大德南海志 10:18b).

These impressive figures notwithstanding, the region was hardly the most advanced in terms of economy. The number of registered households in Guangdong was 513,711 in 1162, which amounted to roughly 4.6 per cent of the national figure, and then declined to 3.5 per cent (445,906) by 1223 (Lang 2004). The number pales in comparison with Fujian's 1,599,214 and Jiangxi's 2,267,983 in the same year.<sup>199</sup> Its share of *jinshi* degree holders produced throughout the two Song dynasties, which is

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<sup>198</sup> It is highly likely that Guangdong is still substantially underrepresented in the *Unified Gazetteer* since the primary sources on which the *Gazetteer's* editors relied did not do justice to Guangdong. They used local gazetteers sent to them by local prefects and governors, and the more prosperous regions tend to submit better documented volumes, making the editors prone to give greater emphasis to such regions.

<sup>199</sup> Surely, we should not take this figure as 'population'. The registered households reflect only those under state control, and do not necessarily represent a total picture. This must have been to an even greater extent in places with large non-Han populations, such as Guangdong and Guangxi. Nevertheless, the relatively small number of households can be attributed to the weak level of integration of the region into the Song empire.

believed to be one of the yardsticks to measure the ‘advancement’ of a place’s literati culture, was likewise unimpressive. According to one estimation, Guangdong could only produce 259 *jinshi* throughout the Southern Song, which accounts for 1.3 per cent of all known *jinshi* in the same period. Considering Fujian’s remarkable 4,525 and the two Zhejiang regions’ 6,102 *jinshi*, it is not an exaggeration to say that Guangdong’s literati culture was close to non-existence (J. W. Chaffee 1995, Appendix III). The virtual absence of literati culture led to the ill-representation of the region in a variety of texts. It was an ‘exotic’, non-Han land from which strange and supernatural things originated (Faure 2007, 18–22; Marsh 2014). Given such conditions, it is surely odd that the region possessed such a number of Zhou Dunyi monuments.

However, it is worth noting here that many Guangdong prefectures were legitimately entitled to found Zhou Dunyi shrines based on the fact that Zhou had stayed in Guangdong for some three and a half years, leaving a handful of anecdotes that would form the basis of many commemorative essays for his shrines there (Section 2.1). Let us first review how his life was connected to the region before investigating how people who lived there 100 years after his death took advantage of it.

## 5.2. Zhou Dunyi's Connection to Guangdong

How and to what extent was Zhou Dunyi connected to Guangdong? Zhou had lived a life of mediocre officialdom for some 30 years when, in 1168, he was finally promoted to the post of Assistant Superintendent of Fiscal Affairs of Guangnan East Circuit (*Guangnan Donglu Zhuanyun Panguan* 廣南東路轉運判官), and then to that of Superintendent of Penal Affairs of Guangnan East Circuit (*Guangnan Donglu Tidian Xingyu* 廣南東路提點刑獄) in 1170.

He was not a *jinshi* degree-holder, which otherwise would have advanced his career much more rapidly; nor was he a prudent politician who knew how to please his superiors.<sup>200</sup> Most officials who lacked proper examination degrees occupied the 'executory class (*xuanren* 選人)' that constituted the lower stratum of the Song bureaucracy. The only way for them to climb the ladder was to join in the upper stratum, the 'administrative class (*jingguan* 京官 / *chaoguan* 朝官)', which consisted primarily of degree holders and included only a very small number promoted from the lower stratum (J. W. Chaffee 1995, 21–2). Fortunately, our hero was a long-time friend of a successful politician, Zhao Bian 趙抃 (1007?–1084). Zhao not only wrote a letter himself in support of Zhou but also managed to procure for him a letter from another

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<sup>200</sup> On one occasion, he returned his appointment certificate to his superior to protest the latter's 'wrong' decision (LXJ 135).

well-established official, Lü Gongzhu.<sup>201</sup> The two letters served to secure Zhou's promotion in 1068 to one of the governing positions in Guangnan East Circuit.<sup>202</sup>

Once appointed, Zhou Dunyi travelled far and wide outside the regional seat in Guangzhou. As Winston Lo (1974, 107) notes, the Song court maintained a standardised assessment system for regional officials, which strongly emphasised the conduct of inspection tours (*xingbu* 行部). Regional officials were expected to tour all the prefectures and counties under their jurisdiction, and had to submit apologies to the court if they skipped any. In practice, they did not always fulfill those duties faithfully. Particularly those who governed the regions that were notorious for lethal infectious diseases, such as 'miasma/malaria (*zhang* 瘴)', often did not dare to venture outside their offices (Mostern 2011, 143; C. Zhang 2011a).<sup>203</sup> Although we do not have any concrete data as to how many officials were disingenuous in this regard, the two authors of Zhou's *Tomb Inscriptions* were eager to point out that his 'sincerity' distinguished him from others.

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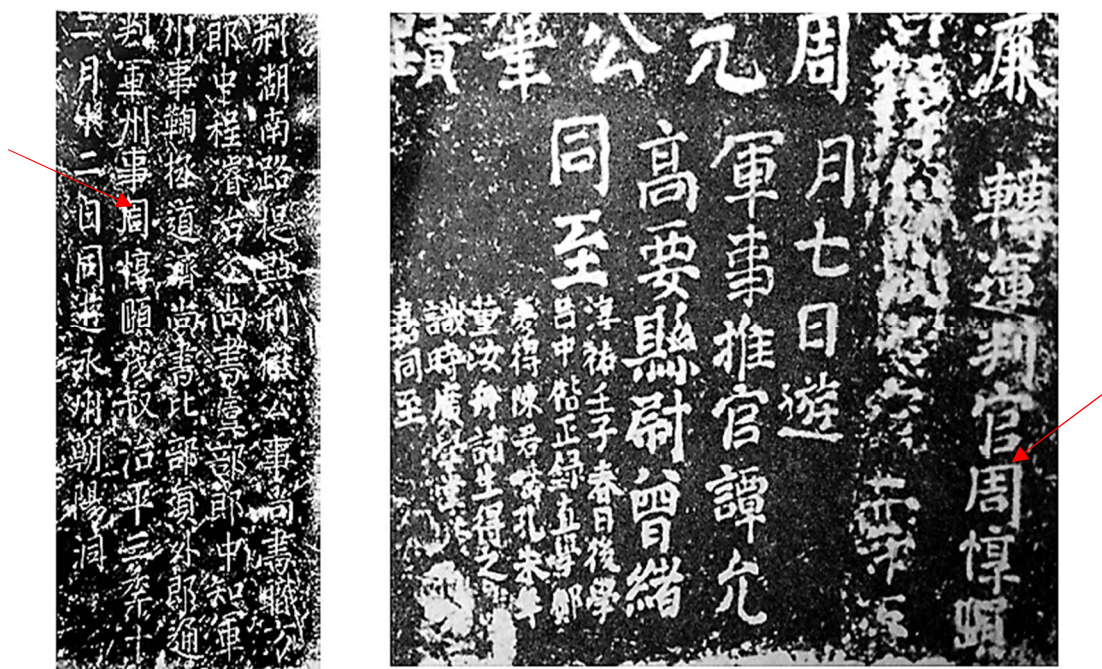
<sup>201</sup> He was one of the anti-Wang Anshi faction leaders. During the short-lived opposite faction government (1086–93), it was he who took on the Chief Councillorship after the sudden death of his predecessor Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086). Although he was also known for his friendship with the Cheng brothers, who were one-time students of Zhou Dunyi, it is not likely that the brothers influenced his sponsorship of Zhou. Zhou and the Chengs had been out of touch for 20 years by the time Zhou obtained the letter from Lü (Subsection 2.3.2).

<sup>202</sup> This accompanied the promotion of his titular rank to Director of the Bureau of Forestry and Crafts (*Yubu Langzhong* 虞部郎中), rank 6b (Hucker 1985, 591), which signalled his ascent to the administrative class.

<sup>203</sup> It was not uncommon for Song local officials to be so intimidated by unfamiliar, often daunting, surroundings that they sought refuge in their offices. Some sources inform us of the perceived hostility of unfamiliar atmosphere to newly appointed officials. For instance, see Hong Mai's the *Records of the Listener* (2006, *zhijia* 6: 761; *zhijing* 8: 945–946).

Indeed, Zhou Dunyi travelled to ‘even the remotest corners’ under his jurisdiction. Although the *Tomb Inscriptions* do not enumerate the places he visited, some of them were fortunate to have tangible traces of his visit to commemorate.<sup>204</sup> He was prone to inscribe his name and those of his entourage on stones, many of which were extant in the Southern Song. Later, this would readily enable those who wished to establish his shrines to claim the right to worship him at these locations.

Figure 21. Zhou Dunyi's Stone Inscriptions<sup>205</sup>



We can find his name in the second line from the left (Left, 1066) and the bottom right corner (Right, 1069). The form of the middle character of his name (dun 惇) is different from the one we

<sup>204</sup> In addition, there were at least 15 inscriptions confirmed by later epigraphists and four of these were at Guangdong: Lianzhou 連州 Dayunyan 大雲巖, Zhaoqing 肇慶 Yangchunyan 陽春巖 and Qishengyan 七星巖, and Deqing 德慶 Sanzhouyan 三洲巖. We also know from his poems that he has been to Chaozhou 潮州, Huizhou 惠州, and Chunzhou 春州 (m. Yangchun County 陽春縣) (Wang Wanxia 2011a). Unfortunately, only three such inscriptions survive today: two in Yongzhou 永州 and one in Zhaoqing 肇慶.

<sup>205</sup> The left is at Yongzhou 永州, Hunan, the right is at Zhaoqing 肇慶, Guangdong. Reprinted from (Xu Xueyi 2012).

currently use (dun 敦), which reflects the posthumous change of his name in the thirteenth century (Section 2.2 no.85).

All in all, as one of the rare officials who toured the region where miasma posed a risk, Zhou Dunyi made a name for himself as a ‘renowned local official (*minghuan* 名宦)’ even before being recast as the founding father of Neo-Confucianism. Due to his prior links to the region, Zhu Learning advocates’ re-introduction of Zhou to Guangdong would not have been as difficult as what they may have imagined at the outset.

However, not every spark causes a fire. Chapter 4 presented a case where Neo-Confucians did not choose to worship him at a place even when they could legitimately do so. Thus, the entitlement conferred by his presence in a given location does not of itself suffice to account for the spread of worship of Zhou Dunyi in Southern Song Guangdong. Only an in-depth investigation of the local context can explain how it is that monuments memorialising the alleged founder of Neo-Confucianism have turned up in an unlikely place.

### 5.3. Zhou Dunyi Shrines as a Means to Nurture Literati Culture

This section studies the early establishment of Zhou Dunyi shrines in Guangdong and Guangxi. What we will see is that the shrines were seen as a means to foster literati culture in the target area. One came as part of a moral transformation (*jiaohua* 教化) project package, and the other demonstrated that worshipping Zhou Dunyi would facilitate the prefecture's success in the field of the civil service examination.

#### 5.3.1. Shaozhou 韶州 Zhou Dunyi Shrine (1171) and Community Libation

In 1171, the first Zhou Dunyi shrine in Guangdong saw completion in Shaozhou 韶州.<sup>206</sup> It was built by then Prefect Zhou Shunyuan 周舜元 (*fl.* 1170), and commemorated in an inscription by a high-ranking official, Xie E 謝諤 (1121–1194) (LXJ 215). Although the surname of the prefect suggests that he was related to Zhou Dunyi by birth, the commemorative essay remains silent on that possibility, and there is no other source that can either confirm or deny the kinship relation.

All we know of Zhou Shunyuan is that he established two Zhou Dunyi shrines at two locations: Shaozhou and Jiangzhou 江州. After finishing his stint at Shaozhou, he was appointed Prefect of Jiangzhou where there was a Zhou Dunyi shrine inscribed

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<sup>206</sup> Zhu Xi's 1183 inscription, however, says that it was 1170.

with Lin Li's 林栗 controversial commemorative essay (Chapter 3). There he found that a figure of Zhou Dunyi's stature deserved a more spacious and cleaner shrine, which he then relocated to a better spot in 1174. As he had done three years ago in Shaozhou, he asked Xie E for an inscription to commemorate his deed (LXJ 171–2).

Xie E was a renowned official who would claim his biography in the *Song History* (*Songshi* 宋史) some 200 years later. As he makes clear in his two essays, the reason he was commissioned by Zhou Shunyuan to write them was that he traced his academic descent from the Cheng brothers. He was a disciple of Guo Zhongxiao 郭忠孝 (?–1128), who was in turn a disciple of the *de facto* founder of Neo-Confucianism, Cheng Yi (SS, 389:11930–1).<sup>207</sup>

Notwithstanding those connections, a brief review of Xie E's intellectual life suggests that he may have been indifferent to Zhou Dunyi. And his indifference coincides with the fact that he did not share the concerns of such ardent Zhou Dunyi advocates as Zhu Xi. He was not in Zhu's circle at court, nor did he cultivate anyone connected with him. His scholarly focus of interest was the *Book of Documents*, which, surprisingly, Zhou Dunyi, the Cheng brothers, and even Zhu Xi had overlooked.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Note that Zhu Xi relentlessly criticised Guo Zhongxiao and his son Guo Yong's 郭雍 (1091–1187) understanding of the *Book of Change* (Shu 1992, Ch. 14)

<sup>208</sup> Zhu Xi was best known for his original interpretations of the *Book of Change*, the *Doctrine of Mean*, and the *Great Learning*. These three books and his polemical interpretations became the front line of contemporary intellectual discourse, causing him to spend most of his time in fortifying the positions he took in his commentaries for those texts. One reason why he placed such a great emphasis on Zhou Dunyi's philosophical ideas was that all the remaining works of Zhou were about the *Change* and the *Doctrine* (Adler 2014). The *Documents* lay, relatively speaking, outside of Zhu's sphere of interest. See Soffel and Tillman (2012) for the cardinal importance of the *Doctrine* for Zhu.

Xie E's publication of the *Origin of Sage Learning* (*Shengxue yuanyuan* 聖學淵源) and the subsequent presentation to the throne bespeaks his strong interest in Neo-Confucian lineage claims (SS 389:11930). We do not know, however, all the details of the lineage claim he made in this lost title—only that Xie was aware of the growing importance of securing imperial recognition of academic lineages (Section 2.5). His biography in the *Song History* has him explaining his own academic lineage to the throne. He traces it to Cheng Yi, but certainly not to Zhou Dunyi. He might have acknowledged that his hero, Cheng Yi, had learned something from Zhou since Cheng himself had said so; but it is possible that he found Zhu Xi's concept of the 'Transmission of the Way (*daotong* 道統)', which is focused on Zhou Dunyi's sudden revitalisation of the Way, to be irrelevant to his version of the story.<sup>209</sup>

This brief biographical sketch fits with Xie E's approach to Zhou Dunyi in his two commemorative essays, which focus not so much on the person being worshipped as on the worshipper. Although he does not question Zhou Dunyi's worthiness, he believes it is Zhou Shunyuan who deserves the biggest recognition. In particular, the 1174 essay for the Jiangzhou shrine argues that it is the practice of ritual at the shrine that is significant. It praises Zhou Shunyuan for paying due attention to enshrining a worthy, thereby practising proper rituals at the shrine that would inspire 'awe (*jing* 敬)' in their participants and ultimately transform the latter into a better human being. One

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<sup>209</sup> Actually, there was a group of literati that put the Cheng brothers on a pedestal, yet did not agree with Zhu Xi's narrowly defined Neo-Confucian lineage. This group, which De Weerd (2007, 30) refers to as the 'Chengist' or 'Cheng Learning' literati, included such people as Xie E. See Tillman (2015) for an account of Zhu Xi's discord with them.

implication of this functionalist understanding is that any shrine for any great Confucian master would have served the purpose just as well (LXJ 172).<sup>210</sup>

Xie E's 1171 essay likewise conveys little enthusiasm for Zhou Dunyi. It hardly mentions the man or his philosophy, while praising Zhou Shunyuan's timely decision to establish the shrine. It even goes so far as to claim that Zhou Shunyuan's coming to the prefecture and founding the shrine was somewhat supernaturally predestined. After applauding the prefect's superb administration, Xie finishes the essay with a phrase that even seems to downplay the importance of the shrine itself: 'if [Zhou Shunyuan's government were] not [perfect], what would be the point of worshipping Lianxi [Zhou Dunyi]?' (LXJ 215).

If the 1171 essay pays little attention to Zhou Dunyi, Xie E's 1174 essay attaches no significance to the location of the shrine. He emphatically argues that the shrine is not just for the people of Jiangzhou. Just as Zhou Dunyi himself was not confined to his home, Zhou Shunyuan's establishment of this shrine was not a local event but designed to benefit all the world. While the notion is not objectionable, it nonetheless stands in sharp contrast to Lin Li's 1166 essay, which took great pains to establish a strong link between the place and the thinker, and somehow anticipates the universal tone of Zhu Xi's commemorative essay for the same shrine in 1177.

It seems that writing commemorative essays was not Xie E's forte. This genre is meant to be inscribed in stone, standing among other similar inscriptions

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<sup>210</sup> Xie E's indifference would change some 20 years later. He devotes much more space to Zhou Dunyi in his short inscription for a building dedicated to him in Daozhou in 1190. This might be due to the highly elevated stature of Zhou Dunyi by that time (LXJ 188).

commemorating the same subject, most likely read by local readers and passers-by only, unless circulated among author's acquaintances in other forms. Therefore, neglecting both the person commemorated and the local context would seem impolitic. Even more so if the inscription at Jiangzhou omits the name of the founder of the shrine, advising the curious that '[the name] is seen in the previous essay (*qianji xian* 前記見)'. Did Xie truly expect his Jiangzhou readers to travel 700 kilometres to Shaozhou (LXJ 172) to find this piece of information?

In addition, there is one notable phrase in the 1171 essay that intimates Zhou Shunyuan's perspective on the function of the Zhou Dunyi shrine—namely, his reference to a 'Community Libation (*xiang yinjiu li* 鄉飲酒禮)' ritual held upon the shrine's completion. Community Libation is one of the traditional ceremonies that are described in detail in the *Etiquette and Ceremonial* (*Yili* 儀禮) (Jia Gongyan 1999, 126–171 *juan* 8–10) and the *Record of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記) (Kong Yingda 1999, 1626–1639 *juan* 45).<sup>211</sup> It was occasionally performed to mark key events in various Chinese dynasties, but only after the Tang did it gain a renewed socio-political significance.<sup>212</sup> The Tang court extended and enhanced the range and prestige of the examination system to attract young talented local elites; the introduction of a new channel of human resources necessitated its own dedicated rituals. Successful local candidates were

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<sup>211</sup> Perhaps coincidentally, the *Record of Rites* is one of the oldest texts that introduce the notion of 'moral transformation (*jiaohua* 教化)', the significance of which for Xie E is to be explained (Kong Yingda 1999, 1373).

<sup>212</sup> Records say that the rite was first engaged with local government schools in the first century. However, it is highly unlikely that it was widely and regularly performed in any period before Tang (T.H.C. Lee 2000, 52–3).

celebrated by other elites before their departure to the capital city of Chang'an 長安 and then warmly welcomed at the capital and guided to the Temple of Confucius (*wenmiao* 文廟) to pay respect to the greatest Confucian ever. The former rite was known as Community Libation while the latter was called 'Visiting the Sage (*yesheng* 謁聖)'. If not all the localities performed this rite exactly as prescribed in the ritual canons, their various versions were nonetheless all enacted under the same name of Community Libation. There is ample anecdotal evidence that this kind of sendoff ritual had already become an indispensable part of the examination culture by the mid-Tang period (You 2015).<sup>213</sup>

The Community Libation became increasingly associated with the examination system in the Song. At one point in the Southern Song, only those who had attended the rite were allowed to sit for the examination.<sup>214</sup> Despite some attempts to make that association less absolute, at the local level the rite rarely occurred outside the context of the examination system (Wang Meihua 2010).

It was a ritual spectacular, too. The observance of this rite gave vivid expression to a local elite society that otherwise remains largely invisible in extant sources. One oft-cited anecdote concerns the Community Libation held at Mingzhou 明州 (m. Ningbo 寧波, Zhejiang) in 1246. Reportedly, there were as many as 3,000 elite

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<sup>213</sup> David McMullen (1988, 148 n.180) points out that the rite had lapsed by the mid-Tang period, if not earlier. Nonetheless, the fact that those articles on the lapse of the Community Libation had been well documented, very often in a lamenting tone, suggests the degree to which the rite was regarded as a norm.

<sup>214</sup> The edict was issued in 1143 and was valid until 1156 when another edict abrogated it. See the *Important Documents of the Song* (*Song huiyao* 宋會要) (Xu Song 1995, 12070:4b–5a).

participants decked out in ritual paraphernalia, and it cost the prefectural fisc as much as 54,770 *guan* 貫 (*Song Baoqing Siming zhi* 宋寶慶四明志 2:14a–b). It was undoubtedly a huge amount of money for a prefecture to spend on a day-long event.<sup>215</sup>

This costly spectacle must have served to manifest and consolidate the social status of participants in the manner that J. Habermas (1989) describes as the ‘Publicness of Representation’. In similar fashion, European feudal lords were prone in the High Middle Ages to engage on various occasions, such as feasts or festivals, in displays that manifested their ‘higher power’ to the public. Their costumes, heavily embellished with ritual insignia, as well as their demeanour and their rhetoric all pointed to their adherence to a ‘strict code of noble conduct’ and ‘courtly virtues’. Since these virtues had to be ‘embodied’ to be represented publicly, the physicality of these status markers was significant. Commoners were in attendance, yet excluded in some sense from these lavish performances, in that their role was to witness, not participate in the proceedings, thus contributing to the lords’ ‘aura’ of authority (7–9). Similarly, a number of Mingzhou records on the Libation rite of 1247 underscore the impressive number of non-elite observers—oftentimes far outnumbering the participants—in order to add prestige to the events. The rite was a showcase for a flourishing local literati society whose hallmark was their expertise in letters and rituals, and their participation in the civil service examination.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Compare this amount to the annual budget of a small Southern Song prefecture, which was typically about 70,000–80,000 *guan* (Von Glahn 1983, 335).

<sup>216</sup> Some Song historians maintain that eligibility itself, or the capacity to be involved with this examination culture, must have been the most important status marker during the period (Bol 1992).

Nonetheless, we cannot conclude that the ritual, or its practice, simply *reflected* the presence of a well-developed local literati society. It was also a catalyst for the development of a certain set of actions and norms that the state regarded as appropriate. As many pre-modern Chinese thinkers have stated over the centuries, the practice of ritual (*li* 禮) was rarely a bottom-up process. Rituals have been a norm established by the sage-rulers and propagated to the yet-to-be civilised commoners. Community Libation was no exception. The rite, at least in the Song, could never take place without the chief official of the locality officiating. The officials carefully reviewed available ritual canons, local and national conventions, in advance, thereby guaranteeing that the ritual practice accorded with the legitimate literati culture (Li Maoying 1986, 1:3b–4a). Therefore, it was a chance for the local elites not only to flaunt their social standing but also to align themselves with the cultural authority, and to validate their social status on the basis of that alignment.

Not surprisingly, places such as Guangdong that lacked a well-developed literati culture hardly had chances to host the Community Libation rite. We have only five reported instances of its occurrence in the region during the Song, two of which are directly related to construction of Zhou Dunyi shrines.<sup>217</sup> Aside from the one held by Zhou Shunyuan at Shaozhou 韶州 in 1171, Prefect Fang Dacong's 方大琮 (1183–1247) Community Libation in 1244 at Guangzhou would have been the most memorable. As nearly all Guangzhou men who identified themselves as literati gathered in the office, Fang took this opportunity to search for the first head of the recently built Guangzhou

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<sup>217</sup> The other three are briefly mentioned in Li Maoying (1986, 1:3a).

Lianxi Academy (*Guangzhou Lianxi shuyuan* 廣州濂溪書院). In all likelihood, both Zhou Shunyuán and Fang Dacong saw Zhou Dunyi shrines and academies as part of a mechanism devised to foster literati culture.

### 5.3.2. *Jingjiangfu Zhou Dunyi Shrine (1175) and Examination Success*

There was another Zhou Dunyi shrine built around the same time at Jingjiangfu 靜江府, the regional seat of Guangxi. This one was established and commemorated by one of the best-known Neo-Confucian thinkers, Zhang Shi 張栻 (1133–80), who devoted not a single word to the local connection with the enshrinee (LXJ 222–3).<sup>218</sup> He could not, because there was none. That being so, why did Zhu Xi's most faithful friend and ally dedicate a shrine to Zhou Dunyi at a location for which there was no justification?

According to my estimation, there were about 42 known instances of Zhou Dunyi shrines being erected at seemingly illegitimate places—in other words, without a prior connection to the subject of worship, but many of them had at least some reasons or excuses to make their cases (Section 1.5). Moreover, with excuses or not, the wanton breaching of the legitimacy rule was a post-thirteenth-century phenomenon. Of all 22 cases of Zhou Dunyi shrine projects prior to 1186, only three were deemed illegitimate, two of them initiated by Zhang Shi: Youxi County 尤溪縣 of Nanjianzhou 南劍州 (m.

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<sup>218</sup> Recall that Xie E and Zhou Shunyuán's Zhou Dunyi shrine paid at least superficial attention to the connection between the worthy and the site.

Nanping 南平, Fujian) (1173, by Zhang), Jingjiangfu (1175, by Zhang), and Wuyuan County 婺源縣 of Huizhou 徽州 (1184, by Zhu Xi). The one at Youxi was a small studio in the local school library that featured a portrait of Zhou, which renders it look less like a shrine in the full sense of the term (Zhang Shi 1986, 36:7b–9a). The Huizhou shrine was an exceptional case; the fact that Huizhou was Zhu Xi's father's hometown gave the local elites authoritative grounds to urge Zhu Xi to recognise their shrine (LXJ 221–2). Nonetheless, Zhu Xi had to make a lengthy apology for worshiping Zhou at a ritually inappropriate location. By contrast, Zhang Shi was unapologetic when he initiated, supervised, and commemorated the shrine for Zhou Dunyi at the prefectural school of Jingjiangfu. Rather, he sought in his essay to base the legitimacy of his project on other imperatives.

Zhang Shi had observed a virtual absence of literati society in northern Guangxi. Certainly, there were literate people there, some of whom were preparing for the examination, among them the students of the prefectural school to whom Zhang Shi delivered a speech after performing the first sacrificial rite for Confucian dignitaries (*shidian* 釋奠) to Zhou Dunyi. However, very few of them would have been *jinshi* degree holders. The number of successful examination candidates that the entire Guangxi region produced throughout the Song period amounted to less than 1 per cent of the total (246/28,993). For that matter, during the period 1163–1189, which includes the years when Zhang Shi served there, Guangxi accounted for less than 0.5 per cent of

the total number of *jinshi* degree recipients (15/3, 253).<sup>219</sup> It was even more marginal in this respect than was the region of Guangdong.

Upon discovering how tenuous the toehold gained by literati society in Guangxi was, Zhang Shi found it his duty to shore it up, if not build it from scratch, by the best means he could devise—namely, Neo-Confucianism. Representing all that was good about the Song, it was also known as the ‘Way of Mastership (*shidao* 師道)’, which is the watchword of Zhang Shi’s commemorative essay for this shrine, appearing six times in total.

Although the Way of Mastership had appeared previously in the well-known first-century dynastic history, the *Book of Han* (*Hanshu* 漢書), it acquired its Song connotations only when the Tang author Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) imbued it with a new significance. Han wrote a brief apologetic essay, ‘On Mastership (*Shishuo* 師說)’, elucidating the concept and the reasons why he presumed to take on that role. The idea of establishing a master-pupil relationship to transmit the proper knowledge of proper state of mind to neophytes was sufficiently uncommon at the time as to provoke literati to ‘laugh at’ those who practised it. The ‘Way (*dao* 道)’ that Han sought to transmit to his pupil was not same as the one Southern Song Neo-Confucian adherents were poring over; nonetheless, they shared the idea that they could pursue a Confucian ideal through establishing a quasi-kinship relationship between seniors and juniors. Also, both

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<sup>219</sup> The estimation is John W. Chaffee’s (1995, 132–3). However, as Chaffee notes, the data are solely based on local gazetteers and do not draw on other sources; thus, the number is quite possibly biased against peripheral regions, such as Guangdong or Guangxi, that are underrepresented in this type of source. See his Appendix 4 for more discussion of the validity of the data (1995, 203–10).

maintained that individuals could advance further with intensive teaching and care from quality masters (Han and Wei 1983, 12:2a–4a).<sup>220</sup>

Zhang Shi's notion of the Way of Mastership is woven through with an anti-deterministic sentiment. For all that local natural elements constrain the ability of local people to succeed, adequate training can enable them to overcome those barriers. Zhang goes on to say that the beauty of the local landscape (*shanchuan* 山川), the supposed barometer of the quality of vital energy (*qi*), is absolutely superb, suggesting that the local people must be born with the same beautiful *qi*. That being so, why did they find it so difficult to achieve success in the examination system? If it is not due to the hard conditions (natural environment), he argues, it must be the soft conditions (culture) that hinder the local talent from blossoming. Ergo, he concludes that what the disadvantaged, although gifted, people of Jingjiangfu need in order to realise their great potential is proper cultural and academic support in the form of the Way of Mastership.

When introducing the Way of Mastership as the only source of the much needed cultural support, Zhang Shi did not bother himself with other strands of literati learning or tradition as Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178–1235), a renowned Neo-Confucian master, would have had to do in Yuanzhou 袁州 (m. Yichun 宜春, Jiangxi).<sup>221</sup> He saw Guangxi as a *tabula rasa* from which no pre-existing commitment to any particular literati tradition needed to be addressed before planting his own; he was free to inscribe his

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<sup>220</sup> Zhou Dunyi, too, used this word once in the seventh chapter of his *Book of Penetration* (LXJ 58). However, the essay is too short to accommodate any serious thesis and, therefore, is more a teaching statement than an intellectual manifesto.

<sup>221</sup> There, Zhen had to author a commemorative essay for a combined shrine for Han Yu and Zhou Dunyi (LXJ 195–6).

tradition there. Accordingly, Zhang proffered his convictions as representing the whole width and depth of literati culture.

Lastly, although Zhang Shi's commemorative essay praises Zhou Dunyi as a serious thinker, its focus is not so much on the latter's philosophy as on the examination success the shrine could bring to the region of Guangxi. The essay does not envision any supernatural help from the ghost of Zhou Dunyi. What Zhang says is that the shrine and the observation of the seasonal sacrifice will bring to the region much needed cultural/intellectual resources that will help the local elites to become court officials. But, still, urging students to succeed in the examination is one of the last things one can expect from arguably the strongest ally of Zhu Xi, who vehemently opposed the whole premise of the examination system and never ceased to seek alternatives to it (De Weerd 2006).

Indeed, Zhang Shi was not a champion of the examination system. Although he was not entirely opposed to it, and had himself benefitted from it, he did not hesitate to tell the literati of his hometown of Changsha 長沙 (m. Changsha, Hunan) that people should care more about learning and transmitting the 'Way' and cease their obsession with studying for the examination (Zhang Shi 1986, 10:1a–3a). That said, it may have been pragmatic, flexible thinking that drove him to exhort the literati of one of the least successful regions to pursue career success. Just as the content of his commemorative essay for Daozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine in 1178 was carefully tailored to the local audience, this essay, too, may have reflected his perception of local needs. This underlying pragmatism of his 1175 Guangxi essay becomes most evident when

juxtaposed with his commemorative essay for another Zhou Dunyi shrine in Shaozhou 韶州 drafted the same year, which is discussed in the next section.

#### 5.4. Zhou Dunyi as a Model Administrator: Late-Twelfth Century Shaozhou

Shaozhou was an administrative centre of Guangdong located in the northern tip of the region. In the Southern Song, the prefecture saw construction or renovation of Zhou Dunyi shrines as many as 10 times, second only to Daozhou, which boasted 11. Thus, it is worth taking a brief look at the geographic, economic, and social conditions of twelfth-century Shaozhou before delving into its Zhou Dunyi shrines.

As David Faure remarks, the current size and status of the city of Shaoguan 韶關 do not reflect its cultural and administrative importance during the Song dynasty (Faure 2007, 33). Located on the route connecting Guangdong to Hunan and Jiangxi, it was a convenient spot for immigrants to settle. Its elevation, higher than that of the other major cities of Guangdong, provided a cooler, less pestilent atmosphere that was attractive to immigrants from the north (Schafer 2008, 134). Mainly thanks to the influx of people from the northern regions, especially during periods of turmoil, the area was able to accrue enough human and economic resources to produce cultural heroes. A famous Tang Dynasty Chief Councillor, Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (678–740), and the *de facto* founding father of Chan 禪 Buddhism, the Sixth Patriarch Huineng 慧能 (638–713?) are two of its best known sons.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Zhang Jiuling was known to be the great grandson of a northern man from the Six Dynasties period who was given a position at Shaozhou and ended up making his home there. For a short biography of Zhang in English, see Herbert P. Ann (1978, 14–29). For an overview of the long-term demographic change and economic development of this region, see Hartwell (1982, 392–93).

Zhang Jiuling was a literary genius and a loyal official who earned lasting fame by warning Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (685–762, r. 712–756) of the ‘treacherous’ character of would-be rebel leader An Lushan 安祿山 (703–757) and recommending the latter’s execution (Herbert 1978, 25). By contrast, Huineng was not a local man in the strictest sense of the term: he is believed to have come from Xinzhou 新州, about 120 kilometres west of Guangzhou. However, after being tonsured and ‘recognised (*yinke* 印可)’ by the Fifth Patriarch Hongren 弘忍 (601–674) he spent the rest of his life at the Treasure Forest Monastery (*Baolin si* 寶林寺 a. k. a. *Nanhua si* 南華寺 in the Song) in Shaozhou and gathered and taught pupils who would later win him the highly coveted sixth patriarchship, albeit posthumously. The monastery was also known for having Huineng’s mummy and robe in its possession. Although modern scholars question the authenticity of the extant mummy, it is likely that the mummification of Huineng’s body—or someone’s body that was believed to be his—did indeed happen at Shaozhou shortly after his death.<sup>223</sup>

Given its importance in the Song network of inland trade and communications, it is perhaps less surprising that Shaozhou boasted not only politicians and monks but also Neo-Confucian masters from an early date. As Faure (2007, 33–5) says, some Neo-Confucian thinkers occupied posts there, or simply resided there, from as early as the mid-twelfth century. However, what is interesting is not the sheer number of Neo-

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<sup>223</sup> The compilation of the first work that mentions the mummification, *The Biography of the Master of Cao Brook* (*Caoxi dashi zhuan* 曹溪大師傳), is safely dated back to 785, some 70 years after the monk’s death (Jørgensen 2005, 583). A Tang monk, Jianzhen 鑑真 (688–763) reported seeing the mummy in 750 but it is difficult to tell whether that mummy is identical with the extant one (Sharf 1992). Authentic or not, it is clear that Huineng’s purported mummy was in the Southern Splendour Monastery in the Song and that the contemporary did not question that claim (Jørgensen 2005, 262).

Confucian thinkers who passed by Shaozhou, but the fact that many of them trace their academic lineage to a common academic ancestor whose name is familiar—Zhang Shi, and his father Zhang Jun 張浚 (1097–1164). The latter served in a circuit-level post in Shaozhou and had a firm family base in Hunan. He also claimed to be a remote descendant of a younger brother of Zhang Jiuling, thus establishing himself as a man with Shaozhou ancestry as well. In any event, this suggests that Shaozhou had already been exposed to Hunanese academic influence by the early Southern Song.

It was a Zhou Dunyi shrine built in this prefecture of Shaozhou for which Zhang Shi composed the commemorative essay in 1175. Given the cultural resources available there and his kinship link to the area, it would have been odd had Zhang adopted the same tone as he did in Jingjiangfu, which he approached as virgin territory, so to speak.<sup>224</sup>

Finding himself in the homeland of the most successful Guangdong politician to date, the place where the greatest Chan monk ever had supposedly taught his pupils, Zhang Shi accordingly represented Zhou Dunyi as someone with authority both in government and in philosophy. At first glance the essay seems to strike a balance between the two realms of activity but, considering that Zhou's fame accrued primarily from his philosophical achievements, it would be fair to conclude that the essay is

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<sup>224</sup> One question remains: If Shaozhou was well endowed with cultural resources, why does Xie E's 1171 essay not touch on this? The reason for this omission is not clear but it is tempting to think that his essay's lack of understanding of local characteristics may account for its being quickly lost to public memory and soon eclipsed by Zhang Shi's 1175 essay. As far as I know, of all extant pre-modern editions of the *Complete Works of Zhou Dunyi* and the *Records of Lianxi*, the two predominant works on Zhou Dunyi, Xie's two essays are included only in the surviving Song edition (LXJ) and nowhere else. For a philological study on the eight different editions of the *Record*, see Wang Wanxia (2013, intro.; 2011b); for five major editions of the *Works*, see Zhou Dunyi (1990, 1–2).

effectively highlighting Zhou's administrative achievements. Let us investigate how the intermingling of these two seemingly disparate themes in Zhou's life came about.

It was in fact not Zhang Shi's idea to highlight Zhou's civil service career at Shaozhou. When Zhan Yizhi 詹儀之 (*fl.* 1170), then Superintendent of Penal Affairs of Guangnan East Circuit, decided to build the shrine outside the prefectural school, he found it most appropriate to situate it right next to the shrine for Zhang Jiuling (LXJ 216). His intention was not to portray Zhou as a thinker in an armchair but, rather, to cast him as a man of action like Zhang Jiuling. The commemorative essay composed by Zhang Shi for the shrine therefore makes it clear that it was founded for 'those officials supervising penal affairs (*xiangxing* 詳刑)' to model themselves after Zhou Dunyi.<sup>225</sup>

As the shrine sat next to the one for the former Chief Councillor, it would have been natural for Zhang Shi to suggest that Zhou Dunyi, too, could have been a chief councillor had it not been for the disease that cost him his life. In hindsight, it was highly unlikely that Zhou could have reached the highest rank of the bureaucracy, of course; nevertheless, this kind of comment would have encouraged the local people to believe that this man deserved a shrine for the same reasons as Zhang Jiuling did: as an emblem of the political and jurisdictional importance for which the prefecture was known in Guangdong.

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<sup>225</sup> Note that Shaozhou Zhang Jiuling Shrine was perceived by some to be an exemplar of shrines for successful politicians by the Southern Song (Wang Sen 1986, 37:21b).

Zhang Jiuling's political success did not just inspire a favourable representation of the area at the heart of the Tang empire. He wielded his power to open a new road connecting Shaozhou and Jiangxi through Dayu Range (*Dayu ling* 大庾嶺). This enhanced the geographical importance of the prefecture as an inland trade site, which helped the locality to stay current with the mainstream Han Chinese culture (Lang 2006, 163). It was in the collective memory of the people of Shaozhou that one could expect some material benefits from having a nationally renowned political giant sympathetic to the locality (Herbert 1978, 46–8).<sup>226</sup>

Commissioners of commemorative essays usually expected such texts to legitimise their activities, such as founding new institutions or performing certain rites, thereby publicising their achievements and enhancing their reputation (C. Zhang 2011a, 201; Dennis 2015, 50–1). Since this essay was commissioned by a circuit-level official who wanted to legitimise his establishment of another Zhou Dunyi shrine next to that of the former Chief Councillor, in addition to the one inside the school, Zhang Shi must have felt obliged to spotlight Zhou's administrative career. However, since Zhou's philosophical achievements could not be overlooked, he chose to explain Zhou's governance in the context of his philosophical writings, thus interpreting all his deeds as outgrowths of his philosophical contemplations. This approach was indeed original, extraordinary in its detail, and, most importantly, would never be repeated in any Zhou Dunyi shrine outside Shaozhou.

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<sup>226</sup> They might also have heard that bandits who raided Guangdong prefectures, Huizhou 惠州 and Chaozhou 潮州, in 1132 and 1133, spared buildings related to Su Shi out of sheer admiration and that some people were able to save their lives and properties thanks to their proximity to those buildings (Hong 2006, jia 10.162; C. Zhang 2011b, 202).

Previously, I have heard his views on punishment. ‘Punishment is what decides people’s lives. [Thus] the line between truth and false is subtle and unclear, and the changes have a thousand different aspects. Only a man who is poised/central (*zhong* 中), correct/right (*zheng* 正), bright (*ming* 明), shrewd (*da* 達), decisive (*guo* 果), and resolute (*duan* 斷) can deal with it.’<sup>227</sup> Generally speaking, centrality and righteousness are engendered by benevolence (*ren* 仁), brightness and shrewdness are wisdom (*zhi* 知) put into practice, and decisiveness and resolution are an expression of bravery (*yong* 勇). These [virtues] are the beginning and the end of the investigation of penal cases. (LXJ 217)

Although Zhang Shi does not explicitly mention it, an important pair of technical terms is hidden here: *tiyong* 體用. This pair, usually translated as ‘substance and function’ in English, originated from the Warring States philosophers and came to be widely used by the Tang. The meaning depends on context, but, in general, ‘substance’ refers to something stable, hidden, and inactive while ‘function’ refers to the actions and manifestation of the substance (D. Zhang 2002, 240–57).

It was Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi who imbued this age-old binary concept with a new significance. In the preface to his only publication, widely known as *Yichuan’s Commentary to the Book of Change* (*Yichuan yizhuan* 伊川易傳), Cheng Yi famously declares that ‘substance and function share one origin, and there is no chasm between the revealed and the hidden (*tiyong yiyuan xianwei wujian* 體用一源, 顯微無間)

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<sup>227</sup> Both centrality (*zhong*) and righteousness (*zheng*) are terms from the *Book of Change*. Among the six lines of a hexagram, the odd-numbered positions (the first, third, and fifth; counting from the bottom) are reserved for *yang* 陽 lines and the even-numbered (second, fourth, and sixth) are for *yin* 陰 lines. When a line occurs where it is supposed to be—for example, a *yang* line in the first position—it is called ‘correct’. The second and fifth position are called ‘centre’ because they are at the centre of the two trigrams that make up a hexagram. Thus, a *yin* line at the second position and a *yang* line at the fifth position are called ‘central and correct (*zhongzheng* 中正)’, which is interpreted as auspicious in most cases (Adler 2014).

(Cheng and Cheng 2004, 689)'. Purely abstract as it may sound, the above proposition has one key doctrinal connotation: it proposes that their political ideas are somewhere between the two extremes of Buddhism and Utilitarian Confucianism.

On the one hand, there was a Chan Buddhist tradition that saw Confucianism and Buddhism aiming at two fundamentally separate goals: While Confucianism sought to govern the world, Buddhism sought to govern the mind. To some extent, this separatist thesis nullifies some Confucian diatribes against Buddhist abandonment of worldly matters—by failing to honour one's parents or serve the emperor, for example. Handling such quotidian matters is what Confucians were paid for; Buddhists on the other hand were valued for helping people cultivate their minds, for giving them answers to alleviate the unavoidable suffering of life. With this bifurcation, some literati sympathetic to Buddhism further argued that, however warranted some Confucian criticism of absurd Buddhist 'activities (*ji* 跡)' might be, no one can justifiably extend such criticism to the Buddhist 'Way (*dao* 道)'. Adopting the tonsure and leaving one's parents in solitude might be deplorable from a worldly point of view. However, these activities by no means diminish the truth of the Buddhist Way since the Way, to begin with, does not concern worldly matters (Yu Yingshi 2004, 118; Ahn 2012, 19).

At the other end of the spectrum were utilitarian Confucians. Zhou Dunyi, at least Zhu Xi's interpretation of him, was perceived by literati outside the inner circle of Zhu Learning Neo-Confucianism as the champion of an abstruse and unworkable philosophy. Not only Chen Liang 陳亮 (1143–1194), who represented the 'utilitarian' wing of the Confucian tradition (Tillman 1982), but those who were more sympathetic

to Zhu Learning, such as Ye Shi, criticised Zhu Xi's explanation of Zhou Dunyi's ideas as overly convoluted (Ye 1986, 49:20b–21a).

It was to these people and their disparagement that Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi were responding. Faced with a two-pronged attack, they sought to emphasise the mutual dependency of the two extremes, striking a balance between cultivation of the self and a public orientation. If what was inside (Way/substance) was the fundamental basis of what was outside (activities/function) and vice versa, substantial matters (*ti*) would no longer be isolated from their practical implication (*yong*) and there would be no 'chasm between the revealed and the hidden'. This unity will serve as the platform of Zhu Learning Neo-Confucian campaign against all intellectual and political critics.<sup>228</sup>

In sum, although Zhang Shi's attempt to weave Zhou Dunyi's seemingly abstruse and unworkable metaphysics and his reputation as a penal official into a unified narrative may have been intended to meet local needs, it was at the same time a response to challenges posed by adversaries. For Zhang, Zhou Dunyi's successful governance at Shaozhou testified to the competitiveness of Neo-Confucianism (specifically Zhu Learning) as a viable socio-political model. The fact that the Zhu Learning master Chen Chun's 1217 essay for the same Shaozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine stresses the unity between Zhou's thoughts and deeds (Chen Chun 1986, 9:7a), and that another Zhu Learning supporter Zou Buzhi's 鄒補之 (*fl.* 1180) 1189 commemorative essay for another Shaozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine emphatically argues that Zhou's

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<sup>228</sup> Note that Zhu Learning dignitaries including Zhang Shi, Zhu Xi, Lü Zuqian, and Wang Yingchen were all actively debating this *ti/yong* metaphysics by the early 1170s (Shu 1992, Ch. 8)

scholarship is ‘never an empty-talk with no practical use (無用之虛談)’ (LXJ 217) reveals their concern about practicality of Zhou Dunyi’s philosophy. Thus, they had reasons to highlight the fact that Zhou earned some reputation as a good governor in Guangdong. It was too great an opportunity to miss.<sup>229</sup>

Another point worth noting is that Zhang Shi’s essay quotes several passages from a source that Zhu Xi condemned as spreading a distorted view of Zhou Dunyi: Pu Zongmeng’s *Tomb Inscription for Zhou Dunyi*. The *Inscription* depicts Zhou as: a deeply career-oriented official; a merciless anti-corruption activist who exhausted himself out of gratitude for the special promotion awarded by the court; an enthusiastic supporter of Wang Anshi’s line of policy; a lofty personage; a pursuer of the Daoist recluse lifestyle; and a Wei-Jin (魏晉)-style literatus who indulged in banquets with Buddhist monks and Daoist masters (*gaoseng daoren* 高僧道人) (LXJ 136–8).<sup>230</sup> Deeply dissatisfied, Zhu—not at all a supporter of Wang Anshi’s policies, let alone Buddhism and Daoism—expurgated all those ‘distortive’ passages to comport with the character he was painstakingly fashioning: the founding father of Neo-Confucianism, a man as bland as water (Section 4.2).

That being so, what impelled Zhang Shi to cite this dubious source? Let us see how Pu’s *Inscription* differs from the more ‘authentic’ one, Pan Xingsi’s *Tomb*

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<sup>229</sup> Southern Song essays for Zhou Dunyi shrines were not the exceptional cases. For some early Ming commemorative essays’ tendency to address local and national issues simultaneously, see Anne Gerritsen (2007, 143).

<sup>230</sup> Wan Li (2018) argues that ‘*daoren* 道人’ in this context also refers to Buddhist practitioners.

*Inscription for Zhou Dunyi (Zhou Dunyi muzhiming 周敦頤墓誌銘)*, with regard to one crucial passage in the man's life.

<Pan's Inscription>

He wholeheartedly discharged his duty, placing emphasis on sympathy. Despite the pandemic miasma (*zhangli* 瘴癘) and remoteness [of the places where he was assigned], he had no fear of the hardships involved. Finally, **he caught a disease because of this [dedication]**(emphasis added). ..... His disease became serious. He died on the seventh day of the sixth month of the sixth year of Xining era [emphasis added]. (LXJ 136)

<Pu's Inscription>

He did not shrink from the burdens of travel or the permeation of poisonous miasma. All the way to the desolate cliff coasts and isolated islands where not a human footprint had reached before, he carefully observed and deliberately investigated. He strove to mitigate resentments and bring benefit to all the people. [However,] before his dispensation of justice and practice of administration could reach their full fruition, he grew ill ... and it became serious. He died on the seventh day of the sixth month of the sixth year of Xining era. (LXJ 137)

What catches our attention first is the strong correlation between the miasma (*zhang* 瘴) and Zhou Dunyi's career. The inscriptions by both Pu and Pan point to his awareness of the risk of catching the disease. He is depicted as someone who can risk his life to save others, albeit through public service rather than medical care. His journey through the pestilent region and paying visits to people in need is highlighted in both essays. To perform this act of visitation is to turn the geographical hierarchy upside down. For while it was common for those of lower status in the periphery to visit those of higher status in the centre, the converse was rare and was construed as a benevolent act. By narrowing the physical distance between him and the people, the texts set him at a greater moral distance from them.

One salient difference between the two *Inscriptions* lies in their different approaches to Zhou's death. Pan's essay says, bluntly, that Zhou caught the disease and died precisely because he ventured into the most pestilent corners of Guangdong. Quoting this phrase would have reminded local readers what the region of Guangdong was notorious for and this might have displeased them.

The region was, in the eyes of Song literati, plague-ridden. The general perception was that most 'northerners' died once they got past the Five Ranges (*Wuling* 五嶺), the gateways to the southwestern edge of the empire. Many sources suggest that the death rate of northerners who moved to the region was around 50 to 90 per cent (C. Zhang 2011a, 213). Hyperbolic as they may be, these figures allow us to understand the level of fear the northerners harboured.

With hindsight, so-called miasma is widely believed among many modern scholars to be comparable to malaria (B. Yang 2010). However, without any means to pinpoint the cause or nature of the disease, pre-modern Han Chinese tended to lump all 'southern' local diseases under the single generic pathological rubric of 'miasma.' For that matter, the 'south' was not a neatly defined geographical concept, nor the 'southerner' a fixed ethnic category. The Lower Yangzi Delta area, the rice basket of China ever since the late-Tang period, was depicted as part of the pestilent south until the rapid development of the region in the mid-Tang (2010, 190). When the Delta was developed enough to be vindicated of that charge, other southern regions—Hunan, Jiangxi, and Fujian—were similarly vilified. As each of these regions in turn underwent a gradual cultural and economic change, mainly by dint of the influx of Han Chinese

migrants by the Northern Song, the fear of miasma ‘retreated (2010, 187)’ further south. By that time, the only two miasmatic (*zhang*) regions left were Guangdong and Guangxi.

As a cultural concept constructed by ‘northern literati’ to distinguish their home regions from the unworthy south, the notion of miasma was loaded with racial connotations. Not only the pathology but also the native people and customs that the northerners found objectionable were referred to as ‘miasmatic’ (Zhang Wen 2005). This reflects the imagined regional hierarchy (C. Zhang 2011a). Even some Song dynasty literati from the region of Fujian, which was hardly north of Guangdong, regarded themselves as ‘northerners’ and were concerned that they would catch miasma when they visited Guangdong. Even Hunan, not far from Guangdong geographically or culturally, was judged by ‘northern’ literati to be as safe as the most advanced ‘*Jiangnan* 江南’, the Lower Yangzi Delta, when compared to Guangdong (2011, 206).

Some ‘northern’ literati were so apprehensive about serving in Guangdong or Guangxi that they submitted pleas begging for cancellation of appointments there, some even tendering their resignation (C. Zhang 2011a). Many such pleas were accepted, but some unfortunates paid dearly for their recalcitrance.<sup>231</sup> Those who accepted such posts were often disheartened and demotivated, isolating themselves in their offices and official residences as much as possible, which inevitably resulted in the administrative vacuum (C. Zhang 2011a; Lang 2006, 264–74).<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> For instance, a Tang dynasty official was beheaded for declining to serve in an administrative post in northern Vietnam (B. Yang 2010).

<sup>232</sup> Being named an examiner was a particular fear among officials in Guangdong because examiners were required to go to the supposedly contaminated places in person. Many tried their best to avoid this assignment, while still more died in the course of carrying out its duties (QSW 297:77).

Fear, incompetence, and administrative vacuum were the backdrop against which a handful of administrative heroes distinguished themselves from the mediocre. Not coincidentally, most of the civil officials who earned some distinction in Guangdong and Guangxi were praised for dauntlessly venturing into remote pockets of the jurisdiction and risking infection in order to meet with local people (C. Zhang 2011a; Lang 2006, 271–3). Some scenes are even reminiscent of Christian paintings where holy characters mingle with, touch, or heal society’s outcasts. The following is a story about one Mr Zhang who governed Guangxi in 1165.

Within a month of arriving at his office, he travelled to 25 prefectures and risked his life due to yellow grass miasma (*huangmao zhang* 黄茅瘴). [When he decided to] cross the sea in a small boat to visit the islands, officials and literati, with tears in their eyes, prostrated themselves and asked him [for reconsideration.] ..... all the people propped his wagon and got moved and rejoiced. ‘we have not seen an official like him for a hundred years!’ (QSW 254:109)<sup>233</sup>

Of all such self-sacrificing Guangdong and Guangxi administrators in the Song, Zhou Dunyi is considered to be the earliest example (C. Zhang 2011a, n79). It does not mean that his story was necessarily the prototype from which all subsequent narratives of miasma fighters evolved. Despite being the earliest, his case was virtually unknown until the 1170s; the two *Tomb Inscriptions* that bear the story were barely circulated before then and, by the time it was, similar stories about other officials had already appeared.<sup>234</sup> Nonetheless, the Ming period editors of the *First Draft of the*

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<sup>233</sup> I have consulted Cong E. Zhang’s (2011, 210 no.80) translation.

<sup>234</sup> So Hyönsöng (2006) points out that the *Tomb Inscription*, be it Pan’s or Pu’s, was first printed in 1158 at Yongzhou, Hunan.

*Comprehensive Gazetteer for Guangdong* would give Zhou Dunyi pride of place by putting his name before everyone else's in its 'Introduction' to the 'Renowned Local Officials (*Minghuan* 名宦)' section. Zhou is reimagined in this part of the book as a paragon of miasma bravery (*Ming Jiajing Guangdong tongzhi chugao* 明嘉靖廣東通志初稿 11:30a-b).

Returning to the wordings of the two *Tomb Inscriptions*: Would highlighting miasma as the sole cause of his death have bothered local readers? Or might they have been even more proud of having this celebrated person die of their disease? The most probable answers to the two questions are yes and no, respectively. Accounts of individuals who braved miasma tend to characterise their actions as a manifestation of their infinite love of people. Many such heroes would no doubt have died of the fatal disease, yet the essays dedicated to them were often reticent on that score (QSW, 311:354–5). Moreover, when such heroes survived, the possibility of divine intervention in their favour was suggested (QSW, 297:187), or their balanced lifestyle and high level of self-cultivation was credited (QSW, 325:67). Some essays go so far as to say that good governance could expel the disease (QSW, 331:179). Even without a complete and comprehensive dataset, these anecdotes suggest a contemporary literary trend of endowing miasma survivors with positive, even supernatural, attributes that were lacked by those who succumbed.<sup>235</sup> If this indeed were the trend, Pan's attribution

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<sup>235</sup> Cong E. Zhang's (2011) article, once again, provides a useful list of such literature. For more examples, see QSW (314:182; 326:456; and 336:62).

of Zhou's death to miasma could have been regarded as inappropriate for a refined eulogetic essay like Zhang Shi's commemorative essay.

Also, Zhang Shi's service in Guangxi must have made him fully aware of what the disease meant to the region. Although he did not leave any work that discusses it, one of his disciples who stayed with him for three years at the heart of Guangxi did. Zhou Qufei 周去非 (1135–89) published an extensive report on local customs and the miasma disease in Guangxi, the *Vicarious Replies from beyond the Ranges* (*Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答). For instance, it says: 'the vegetation and water [of the region] are endowed with dismal energy. The native people receive that poison every day, [so their] primal energy (*yuanqi* 元氣) is weakened, making them vulnerable to the miasma disease (Zhou Qufei 1999, 152)'. We can only guess that issues like this may have been included among the topics that the master and the pupil, Zhang Shi and Zhou Qufei, talked about at Jingjiangfu. After all, even the most dedicated philosophers may talk at times about food and weather.

In addition, we can further analyse the Shaozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine by putting it in the context of local rivalry as in Chapter 3. There may have been tensions between Shaozhou and Guangzhou, the two most dominant prefectures of the region of Guangdong, which may have been escalated by their competing claims to Zhou Dunyi.

The characteristics of Song period Shaozhou listed at the head of this section closely parallel those of Guangzhou. Legend has it that arguably the best-known Chan text, the *Platform Sutra* (*Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經), traditionally ascribed to Huineng, obtained its title from the 'platform' on which he received his second tonsure at the Shining Piety Monastery (*Guangxiao si* 光孝寺) in Guangzhou. The monastery

developed many myths about this dramatic second tonsure; one of them is that under one of its stupas his tonsured hairs are buried (*Qing Qianlong Guangxiaosi zhi* 清乾隆光孝寺志 10:2a).

This legend brought fortune and favour to the monastery. To name some Song examples, in 1008, the Song court bestowed a full set of *Tripitaka* on the monastery (*Guangxiao si zhi* 10:3b) and, in 1270, then Military Commissioner Chen Zongli (陳宗禮, ?–1270) commemorated the reconstruction of the Sixth Patriarch Hall (*Liuzu dian* 六祖殿) there (10:6a). Records make it clear that it was the monastery's connection to Huineng that attracted such favourable treatments.

From the fact that Huineng's name appears in the Shining Piety Monastery Gazetteer with extraordinary frequency—almost once every three pages<sup>236</sup>—we can safely infer that this legend must also have attracted a good number of pilgrims. Some of them could otherwise have gone to the Southern Splendour Monastery in Shaozhou to pay respect to the monk's mummified body (Jørgensen 2005, 524). It is thus reasonable to infer that the two pilgrimage sites were vying for authority, visitors, and imperial favour, as well as support from Buddhist communities in general (Jørgensen 2005, 519–21).

The importance of Shaozhou's political hero Zhang Jiuling, the first Chief Councillor from Guangdong, was matched by that of Guangzhou's Cui Yuzhi (崔與之, 1158–1239), who became the Right Councillor in 1237. In Guangdong, Cui's political

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<sup>236</sup> The mid-Qing gazetteer mentions the 'Sixth' Patriarch' 98 times in 12 *juan* (about 340 pages).

success was the greatest after that of Zhang Jiuling, which led to his posthumous enfeoffment as the Founding Lord of Nanhai Prefecture (*Nanhai jun kaiguo gong* 南海郡開國公).<sup>237</sup>

It is small wonder that Cui Yuzhi soon became an icon among Guangzhou literati, some of whom were staunch Neo-Confucian adherents. Although he himself was not a devoted Neo-Confucian, he still traced his academic lineage from Zhang Shi, which helped him to maintain a good relationship with Neo-Confucian supporters of his generation (Faure 2007, 32–5).

It was not just the cultural authority of Shaozhou to which Guangzhou posed a challenge. Guangzhou's economic power also surpassed that of Shaozhou by the Southern Song. Shaozhou and its neighbouring northern Guangdong prefectures were one of the centres of mining, metallurgy, and coining industry in the Northern Song period, while Guangzhou and its neighbouring coastal Guangdong prefectures were mainly engaged in commerce and trade. Following the fall of the Northern Song and the subsequent Jurchen raid that devastated the local mining industry, Shaozhou's population halved and its infrastructures crumbled. Southern Guangdong prefectures suffered from the results of the raid as well, but they managed to recover by accommodating a huge influx of people who fled the northern regions. However, this was not a viable option for mountainous northern Guangdong prefectures such as Shaozhou; their lack of land to reclaim hindered them from accommodating the immigrants. Worse yet, for reasons yet to be known, the local mining industry failed to

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<sup>237</sup> Nanhai is one of the archaic names of Guangzhou.

rebound. At the end of the Northern Song, Guangdong was producing more than 4 million *jin* 斤 of copper, which plummeted to just about 0.1 million *jin* in 1166 (Lang 2006, 118–27; Wang Tingkui 1996).<sup>238</sup>

The general decline of Shaozhou's social, cultural, and economic power relative to its intra-regional rival led to its poor performance in the civil service examination. For instance, Shaozhou produced 25 *jinshi* degree holders in the Northern Song period while Guangzhou claimed 29; in the Southern Song, by contrast, Guangzhou's dramatic total of 105 degree holders eclipsed Shaozhou's 22 by a wide margin (J. W. Chaffee 1995, 198). If the number of successful native *jinshi* degree holders was an indicator of a locality's political standing, Shaozhou was no longer the centre of regional politics by the Southern Song.

To the best of my knowledge, there is no textual evidence that straightforwardly describes the level of frustration that Southern Song Shaozhou literati must have experienced. However, there exist one piece of circumstantial evidence. Zhou Dunyi served two posts in Guangdong from 1068 to 1071—three years at Guangzhou and eight months at Shaozhou—handling fiscal affairs and penal affairs of the region respectively. It is clear from the extant epigraphical evidence that he travelled through the region and cared for the people, risking contracting miasma, during his tenure in Guangzhou; his words and deeds during the eight months' tenure at Shaozhou are still unknown. Some Shaozhou men found themselves in the unenviable situation of having nothing for their locality to celebrate while Guangzhou teemed with anecdotes of Zhou

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<sup>238</sup> For Shaozhou's decline, see Robert Hartwell (1982, 394)

Dunyi's government to commemorate. Accordingly, it is understandable that some Shaozhou men have been tempted to appropriate some of these anecdotes.

In a letter to a local literatus, Guangzhou Prefect Fang Dacong provides his rebuttal to the Shaozhou claim. He notes that a number of people seek to commemorate what Zhou Dunyi did during his Guangzhou tenure in their commemorative essays to Shaozhou Zhou Dunyi shrines as if Zhou had achieved such merits during his Shaozhou tenure. Fang was able to refute the Shaozhou claim by gathering and providing sufficient epigraphical evidence (Fang Dacong 1998, 22:15b–17a).

It seems very likely that Zhang Shi's 1175 commemorative essay for the Shaozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine had sparked the development of Shaozhou's claim to Zhou Dunyi's deeds. Almost every essay of this genre of writing spares some lines to demonstrate what the enshrined man has done in the locality. Thus, essays for Chaozhou Han Yu shrines invariably mention his famous *Crocodile Essay* (Hartman 2014, 90–9), while ones for Nan'an Commandry Zhou-Cheng Academy take note of the Cheng brothers' historic encounter with Zhou Dunyi (LXJ 198–9). Although Zhang Shi's essay does not pin Zhou's activities in Guangdong to his Shaozhou period, it enumerates such activities without specifying dates and place, thereby lending itself to the Shaozhou claim. If the readers of Zhang's essay are not well acquainted with Zhou's biography, they are likely to end up believing that Shaozhou, not Guangzhou, was the place from which he left his office to travel even 'the desolate cliff coasts and isolated islands where not a footprint had reached (*sui huangya juedao, renji suo buzhi* 雖荒崖絕島, 人跡所不至處)', risking 'the pervasion of the poisonous miasma (*zhangdu zhi qin* 瘴毒之侵).' It was precisely these phrases from Pu Zongmeng's *Tomb*

*Inscription* quoted in Zhang Shi's essay that were, in turn, quoted by some Shaozhou literati later in support of their claim (Fang Dacong 1998, 22:16b).<sup>239</sup>

Why did some Shaozhou men make such a readily repudiated claim? Claiming without evidence is analogous to forgery, and every forgery serves a purpose. If it involves inventing a past memory, for instance, often the aim is to create a collective memory that 'could serve as the rallying points' for emerging national, regional, or other level of community consciousness (Bak, Geary, and Klaniczay 2015, xv). It is thus tempting to say that some Shaozhou literati's aspiration for an icon that might bring them much needed fame caused them to interpret Zhang Shi's 1175 Shaozhou essay in the way that best served their purposes. In any case, the motivation behind some of the construction and reconstruction efforts of Shaozhou Zhou Dunyi shrines were not so much 'Neo-Confucian' as Shaozhou loyalism.

To conclude, the 1175 Shaozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine was built for purposes different to those of such other early shrines in the region. It brought into relief Zhou's political success, thus shaping his image along the lines of that of the long-worshipped local hero Zhang Jiuling. The location of the shrine, as well as the tone of the commemorative essay, reflects the position Shaozhou once occupied in the region. We could also see the possibility that the writer of the commemorative essay, Zhang Shi, seriously took the miasma into consideration when he was pondering the wording. Moreover, Fang Dacong's letter dated around the 1240s suggests that Shaozhou literati had made use of various commemorative essays for Shaozhou Zhou Dunyi shrines, of

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<sup>239</sup> For other commemorative essays for different Shaozhou Zhou Dunyi shrines repeating, or rephrasing, Zhang Shi's essay, see LXJ (217–9).

which Zhang Shi's one was an example, in promoting the fame of this once prosperous prefecture.

While the needs of the locality were affecting the construction and commemoration of Shaozhou Zhou Dunyi shrines, other such shrines were subject to the varying desires of people from different backgrounds. Any students of Chinese history are required to ask whether pertinent kinship organisations or ancestor cults have influenced the historical phenomena they are studying, since family backgrounds are almost always relevant to Chinese social practices at all levels of society. For instance, some social activities can be interpreted as none other than the agents' collective attempt to glorify their common ancestors. Thus, it is reasonable to hypothesise that there may have been some Zhou surname literati in Guangdong who worked on Zhou Dunyi shrines to maximise their lineage benefits.

## 5.5. Zhou Family Efforts to Promote Zhou Dunyi Shrines in Guangdong

Let us start with the immigration stories told by the extant genealogies for the Zhou surname of Guangdong. As noted in Chapters 2 and 3, Zhou Dunyi's descendants formed two different branches: Daozhou and Jiangzhou. Zhou Shou 周壽 (1057–?), the elder, stayed at Jiangzhou looking after his father's tomb, while the younger son Zhou Tao 周濤 (1061–?) went back to the paternal ancestral hometown of Daozhou. By the Southern Song, some of Tao's grandchildren joined others in moving to Guangdong.

All the extant Guangdong Zhou family genealogies—including the oldest one dated to 1378—find their origin from Zhou Zhiqing 周直卿 (*fl.* 1180), who first moved to Guangzhou and died there in the late-twelfth century (*Lianxi Zhoushi Guangdong zongpu bianxiu weiyuan hui* 2008, 194, 223–4). As a grandson of Zhou Tao and a man of Daozhou, he frequented Daozhou, Jiangzhou, and other places where Zhu Xi had been, seeking to further enhance his great-grandfather's reputation. He not only informed Zhu of Daozhou's claim to Zhou Dunyi's 'hometown' but also brought some of Zhou's manuscripts to Zhu to obtain his recognition (Zhu Xi 2002, 24:3844–5).

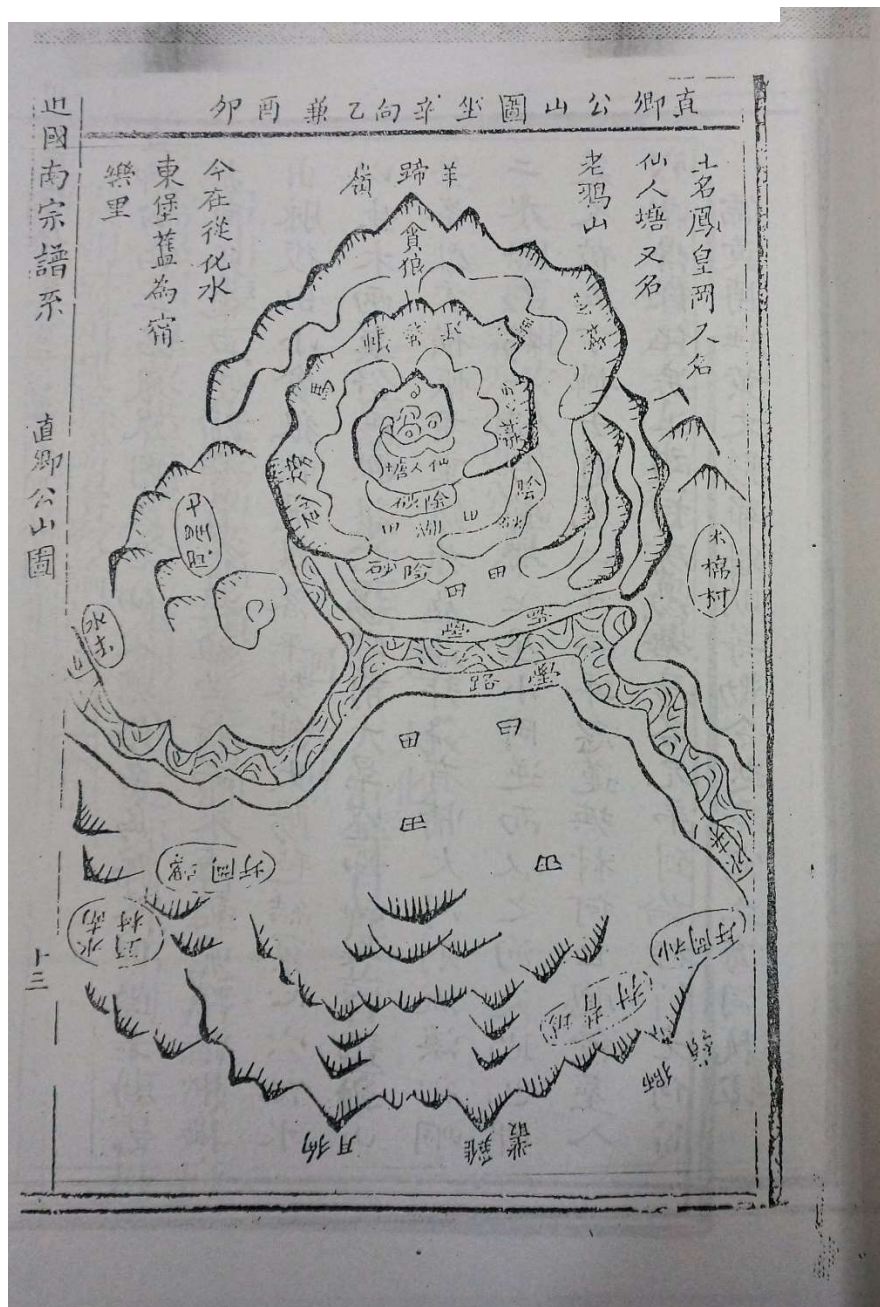
Since no extant source provides an exact year for Zhou Zhiqing's immigration, we cannot rule out the possibility that it never happened. Although his tomb is at Guangzhou, which would later become one of the foci of Zhou family rituals, it is entirely possible that his coffin was first buried somewhere else, most probably

Daozhou, and entombed at Guangzhou later.<sup>240</sup> That said, the profiles of his seven sons and two nephews who became the ancestors of the nine main branches of the Zhou surname of Guangdong are much better documented and seem relatively reliable. The eldest son remained at Panyu County 番禺縣 of Guangzhou to look after Zhiqing's grave, while the other eight scattered around Guangzhou to find their homes. Authentic or not, the tomb for Zhiqing was rediscovered recently and has become the centre for all branches of the Zhou surname of Guangdong again, the number of which, according to one estimate, amounts to 764,438 (Lianxi Zhoushi Guangdong zongpu bianxiu weiyuan hui 2008, 621).

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<sup>240</sup> For the important ritual role of tombs, see Faure (2007, 10; 352). The Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi also recognised its importance despite its recent origin (Cheng and Cheng 2004, 6; Zhu Xi 2002, 1325). Meanwhile, having one's paternal grandfather or father's tomb in the locality helped an immigrant acquire recognition from the local government. Since changing one's registered address was allowed only when legitimate grounds were provided, people often buried their parents at the immigration destination. See Chaffee (1995, 57–8) for the relation between the relocation of ancestral tombs and the examination competition, Bao and Wei (2007) for recognition from local governments, and Bossler (1998, 42–3) for ancestral burial ground as the surest indicator of a Song man's geographic attachment.

Figure 22. Zhou Zhiqing's Tomb at Panyu, Guangzhou



This figure is reprinted from the 1846 edition of the *Southern Branch of the State of Dao* (*Daoguo nanzong* 道國南宗). It is a version of one genealogy of the Zhou surname in Guangdong and Guangxi, treasured in the Hall of Roots and Source (*Benyuan tang* 本源堂), a Zhou surname lineage institution founded in Qing period Guangzhou. Not knowing the location of the original text, I consulted a reprint owned by the Sun Yat-sen Library of Guangdong Province (Guangdong Zhou Lianxi zongzhi yuanliu fenbupu bianxiu weiyuanhui 1846).

Any consideration underlying their choice of Guangzhou as their new home is not recorded. One probable guess is that the city was not entirely foreign to them, thanks to Zhou Dunyi's service there. Their common ancestor was one of the best-known literati of the era and people knew that he had lived at the centre of Guangzhou for three years. Moreover, unlike those of the northern Guangdong cities, the coastal Guangdong economy was faring well by the thirteenth century. The city, therefore, would have been a more appealing destination than others for poor 'Confucian farmers' from southern Hunan (LXJ 124).

Indeed, immigration from Hunan, Jiangxi, and Fujian into coastal Guangdong in the Southern Song is a well-documented trend, with Guangzhou and Chaozhou being the two most popular destinations. Those bearing the Zhou surname were no exception. While Zhou Zhiqing and his impressive number of sons and nephews were cultivating Guangzhou's soil, another Zhou family was heading to Chaozhou.

Zhou Meisou 周梅叟 (a.k.a. Zhou Ziliang 周子亮, ? – c. 1280)<sup>241</sup> was the *de facto* progenitor of the Zhou surname of Chaozhou. The extant genealogies for this particular branch claim that his father and grandfather were also buried at Chaozhou (Sishui Zhoushi zongsheng bianxiu weiyuanhui 1995, 44–5). From the fact that his grandfather Zhou Jiucheng 周九成 (*fl.* 1200) was a son of Zhou Liangqing 周良卿 (*fl.* 1180), a younger brother of Zhou Zhiqing, we can safely deduce that Jiucheng's ostensible immigration happened roughly at the same time as Zhou Zhiqing's ostensible establishment of his new home at Guangzhou.

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<sup>241</sup> He received the *jinshi* degree in 1238 and possibly died in the Zhiyuan 至元 period (1271–94).

Zhou Meisou was one of the most talented among the Zhou Dunyi descendants. His confidence was not baseless; he took first place in the second phase of the civil service examination in 1238, and ninth place in the final round.<sup>242</sup> From the beginning, this successful Zhou Meisou made no secret of the premium he placed on his lineage. No sooner was he appointed a professor at the Prefectural School of Lianzhou 連州 (m. Lianzhou, Guangdong) than he published a new edition of the *Completed Works of Zhou Dunyi* at his post. The purpose was clear. He used the book as his classroom textbook to teach his students ‘what his ancestor has written’. Reportedly, every time he lectured on Zhou’s philosophy, students were deeply moved and inspired (Fang Dacong 1998, 5:13a).

Zhou Meisou also paid a visit to the Great Cloud Cave (*Dayun dong* 大雲洞) in Lianzhou where there was a stone inscription left by Zhou Dunyi. There, with other officials, he engraved his name alongside those of his ancestor. Among the 13 people named in that inscription, only Meisou’s name is annotated with the phrase ‘Meisou is a descendant of Lianxi (*Qing Daoguang Guangdong tongzhi* 清道光廣東通志 283:11a)’.<sup>243</sup>

This series of activities culminated in a special event in 1241. It grew out of an auspicious, prophetic dream a Zhou clan man had, recounted in the following excerpt

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<sup>242</sup> Every three years, only some 1,500 candidates qualified in this second stage while more than 10,000 failed. Having prevailed over those odds, those who came in first enjoyed huge social acclaim and prestige, which significantly enhanced their social standing and, in turn, boosted their career prospects (Bossler 1998, 52–3).

<sup>243</sup> The inscription is attested and recorded in various sources, but the original is no longer extant (Wang Wanxia 2011a).

from a letter of reference in which the author recounts what he has heard from Zhou Meisou.

A year ago, a kinsman of [Zhou Meisou] had a dream. He saw beams of light surrounding the old abode of Zhou Dunyi. The Lord Yuan (Zhou Dunyi) was facing eastward wearing a ceremonial garment and cap. He circulated letters to the clan men [living away from Daozhou] and one found its way to Lianzhou. The messenger informed Meisou of this dream and he in turn repeated it to Lianzhou local literati. ‘How auspicious!’ everyone exclaimed. After a while, the court decreed that Zhou Dunyi be included in the state sacrificial canon, which was the implication [of this auspicious omen] (Fang Dacong 1998, 5:13a).

It seems Zhou Meisou was doing everything he could do to advertise his ancestry at a northern Guangdong prefecture. He printed Zhou Dunyi’s works, taught his thoughts to local students, paid a visit to where his inscription was and left his own, and talked about the auspicious dream that would be somehow miraculously vindicated a year later. Clearly, he made Zhou Dunyi a part of Lianzhou’s local discourse, which would have contributed to the consolidation of his character as a Zhou Dunyi descendant. The only thing he did not do was to dedicate a shrine to him. Perhaps it was too expensive a project for a 28-year-old local official to undertake early in his career. However, given his zeal, we may surmise that he would have done so if he could.

Despite his outstanding performance in the examinations, Zhou Meisou found it difficult to climb the ladder of success. He assumed the three-year fixed-term Lianzhou position in either 1238 or 1239 and was supposed to be promoted or assigned to a new post by 1241 or 1242, which did not happen. Meisou’s career stalled, and he found it necessary to acquire reference letters from high-ranking officials to break the impasse.

In 1243, he sent a letter to Fang Dacong, a newly appointed governor of Guangdong. Enclosed was a copy of the Lianzhou edition of the *Complete Works of Zhou Dunyi* and a portrait of Zhou Dunyi, a token of friendship. This went well; Meisou and Fang began to correspond. Two of their letters are preserved in Fang's *Complete Works* (Fang Dacong 1998, 21:36a–39a), which unequivocally reveal the degree to which Meisou was trading on his pedigree in cultivating senior officials. Not long after, Fang invited Meisou to his place and gave him a small yet honourable education assignment. It was not a permanent position, but was good enough to warrant a line on his C.V., so to speak.

One remarkable feature of Fang Dacong's *Complete Works* is that it contains dozens of recommendation letters that he wrote in support of local junior officials, including Zhou Meisou. The letter for Meisou contains a detailed account of his deeds in Lianzhou, which Fang could not have known about if Meisou had not briefed him. The letter also places strong emphasis on Meisou's family background, even going so far as to compare him to the descendants of Confucius (Fang Dacong 1998, 5:13a-b). Perhaps owing to this recommendation, the court assigned him a position at the Directorate of National Youth (*guozi jian* 國子監). It was not a highly prestigious position, but a promotion, nonetheless.

Fang not only did Meisou a personal favour but also benefitted his relatives in Guangzhou. Although we do not know who was the first to broach this subject, Fang's letters to Meisou tell us that his encounter and correspondence with Meisou led him to believe that Guangzhou needed a place to commemorate Zhou Dunyi. Inspired by Meisou's visiting Zhou Dunyi's inscription in Lianzhou, Fang embarked on a quest to

gather all available pieces of information about stone inscriptions by Zhou Dunyi in the region of Guangdong. He found some of these in other Guangdong prefectures, but failed to find any trace of him to commemorate in Guangzhou. Disappointed, he told Meisou that he had decided to name a small spring near his office after the studio name of the philosopher: the ‘Lian Spring (*Lian quan* 濂泉)’. The very next year, he would declare his intention to build a ‘Guangzhou Lianxi Academy’ (Fang Dacong 1998, 21:38b).

This idea was materialised most likely before 1247.<sup>244</sup> The latest edition of the comprehensive genealogy of the Zhou surname of Guangdong notes that a stone inscription bearing Fang Dacong’s name was excavated in Guangzhou in 1989. Seventeen out of 28 characters are still legible; most crucially it says that Fang and his friends ‘paid a visit to Lianxi ..... (two illegible characters) (Lianxi Zhoushi Guangdong zongpu bianxiu weiyuan hui 2008, 169).’ Although there is a good chance that the two missing characters are either *shuyuan* 書院 or *shutang* 書堂, we must leave it open absent further textual or archaeological evidence. In any event, Fang kept his promise. He built an academy or something comparable at Guangzhou in memory of Zhou Dunyi.

Meanwhile, Zhou Meisou found himself in the capital city of Hangzhou. He had good memories of the city. Not only because he had enjoyed the greatest success of his life at the examination he sat there but also because he met a man from the region of

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<sup>244</sup> A few reliable sources attribute the completion of the Lianxi Academy to Fang Dacong, thus setting his death in 1247 as the *terminus ante quem* (Guo 1990) (*Ming Jiajing Guangdong tongzhi chugao* 明嘉靖廣東通志初稿 14:25a) (Li Maoying 1986, 5:10b–11a).

Shu 蜀 (m. Sichuan 四川) who informed him of a poem that Zhou Dunyi had left on the wall of a Daoist temple in Hezhou 合州. The discovery of the poem, previously unknown to anyone outside Hezhou, gave him a good reason to print an updated version of the *Complete Works of Zhou Dunyi*, which he would later do at Lianzhou.<sup>245</sup> This time, he met Cai Hang 蔡杭 (1193–1259), a Zhu Learning Neo-Confucian literatus from Fujian, whom he would commission to write a commemorative essay for the Zhou Dunyi shrine that he would found at Shaozhou.<sup>246</sup> Cai Hang was a son of Cai Chen 蔡沈 (1167–1230), a disciple of Zhu Xi and a renowned commentator of the *Book of Documents*. Zhu's acknowledgement earned his commentary orthodox status in the late imperial China. Successive dynasties would use Cai Chen's interpretation in assessing civil service examination answers.<sup>247</sup>

After spending about five years in the capital, Zhou Meisou was appointed Prefect of Chaozhou 潮州 in 1248. For the first time, he held a position where no boss could check his power, enabling him to engage in an all-out glorification of his ancestor. The highlight was when he divided the building, staff, ritual vessels, and budget of the Prefectural School of Chaozhou into two halves and named one half the 'Chaozhou

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<sup>245</sup> The recollected poem is now included in almost all versions of the *Complete Works* (LXJ 106–7). For Meisou's discovery of this poem, see Fang Dacong (1998, 21:38b).

<sup>246</sup> How Meisou could cultivate Cai Hang is an open question. Fang Dacong's friendship with Cai Chen and Cai Hang might have helped (Fang Dacong 1998, 20:33b–38a). Besides, the only extant poem by Zhou Meisou can be found in the works of Cai Hang (Cai and Cai 1997, 8:68b–69a).

<sup>247</sup> Zhu Xi wrote commentaries to all the *Four Books* and two out of the *Three Canons*, all of which became examination textbooks. Cai Chen's work was the only text other than Zhu Xi's that was accepted as an orthodox text. This reflects Cai's status in the Zhu Learning group and Zhu's lack of interest in the *Book of Documents* at the same time.

Lord Yuan Academy (*Chaozhou Yuangong shuyuan* 潮州元公書院) (YLDD 5343:45a)’. By modern standards, it was an abuse of power.

Figure 23. The City of Chaozhou in the Fourteenth Century



Reprinted from YLDD (5343:4a–b). The encircled buildings are the Lord Yuan Academy (*Yuangong shuyuan* 元公書院) and the Circuit School (*luxue* 路學, previously prefectural school), from left to right.

The manner in which Zhou Meisou established the Academy suggests that it was not done to meet an increasing demand for education, to entice people into studying Confucian classics; after all, the establishment of the Academy did not increase the overall supply of education services. Nor was it to give former worthies their due; the five worthies enshrined at the academy would already have been being worshipped at the prefectural school thanks to their recognition by the court in 1241. Meisou was more

than aware of this as he was the one who were heralding the news and the miraculous ‘dream’ story. Nor was it necessary to enhance the prefecture’s standing in the cultural geography of the empire. It must have helped, but that is not likely to have been Meisou’s primary concern. The most plausible *raison d’être* of the Academy seems to be, as one Chaozhou gazetteer would later cynically recall, ‘just to champion his own ancestor’ (*Ming Jiajing Chaozhoufu zhi* 明嘉靖潮州府志 4:5a). It was not the Academy itself so much as the name plaque, the glorious title ‘Lord Yuan Academy’, that Meisou desired.

The Chaozhou Lord Yuan Academy was so densely packed with name plaques and objects alluding to Zhou Dunyi that no educated literatus would have failed to realise to whom it was dedicated. The buildings allocated to the heads of the Academy were named Bright, Penetration, Impartiality, and All-Embrace (*ming tong gong pu* 明通公溥); the four fasting studios were named Centrality (*zhong* 中), Correctness (*zheng* 正), Benevolence (*ren* 仁), and Righteousness (*yi* 義); the shrine was named Pleasant Breeze under the Moon Emerging in the Clear Sky (*guangfeng jiyue* 光風霽月). All these allude to some famous phrases from Zhou Dunyi’s masterpieces or to highly acclaimed essays dedicated to him.<sup>248</sup> Zhou Meisou even wrote all the plaques for the Academy himself.

One urgent task, however, was to secure relevant texts to fill the libraries of the Academy. Instead of purchasing them from elsewhere, Meisou carved woodblocks of

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<sup>248</sup> *Mingtong* and *gongpu* alludes to Chapter 20 of the *Book of Penetration* (*Tongshu* 通書); the four names for the four huts are from the *Explanation on the Diagram of the Great Ultimate* (*Taiji tushuo* 太極圖說). The last one is from Huang Tingjian’s ‘Rhapsody of Lianxi (*Lianxi ci* 濂溪辭)’.

Zhou Dunyi's *Complete Works* as he did in Lianzhou. The *Works* were carved on 400 woodblocks and stored in the Academy, which survived at least by the early Ming period (YLDD 5343:45b).

There were some other Zhou Dunyi Academies established around this time in Guangdong. Both the Xiang River Academy (*Xiangjiang shuyuan* 湘江書院) of Shaozhou and the Lianxi Academy of Guangzhou were built right after 1241 when Emperor Lizong issued the famous edict. Since most Zhou Dunyi shrines were located within the local schools, the officials must have found it redundant to maintain separate shrines after the edict. Offering sacrifices to Zhou first at the Temple of Confucius of the school and then again at his shrine just a few steps away would have made little sense. Academies were relatively free from such concerns as they were physically separated from the prefectural schools (Section 1.4 Figure 3).

Shaozhou officials were understandably bothered with this redundancy problem since the prefecture had at least four different Zhou Dunyi shrines by that time: (1) One at the Temple of Confucius located in the middle of the prefectural school; (2) another at the prefectural school, separate from the Temple of Confucius with Zhu Xi's inscription in 1183; (3) yet another next to the shrine for Zhang Jiuling, with Zhang Shi's inscription in 1175; (4) and the other built in the Superintendent's office, with Zou Buzhi's 鄒補之 (*fl.* 1180) inscription in 1189. Therefore, Yang Dayi 楊大異 (*fl.* 1240), then Superintendent of Penal Affairs of Guangnan East Circuit, decided to move the last one from his office (4) to the nearby Xiang River Academy in 1246. There is no piece of evidence explaining why he relocated that one (4) instead of the school one (2), which would have made more sense if his main concern was to avoid ritual

redundancy. It seems the difference in fame of the inscription writers has dictated his decision. After all, Zou Buzhi's (4) profile could never match the gargantuan stature of Zhu Xi (2) and Zhang Shi (3).

In 1253, Zhou Meisou was promoted to the post of Superintendent of Penal Affairs of Guangnan East Circuit, which was the position his venerable ancestor was known for. Since we do not have anything that tells us how he felt like, we can only guess the sentimental value the position had for him from the opportunity cost: It was the position he accepted only after declining a capital position that would have promised him a better career path.

In his capacity as Superintendent, the 'first place' Zhou Meisou 'visited' was the Zhou Dunyi shrine at his office. Frustrated to see that it had been already abolished by Yang Dayi, he ordered that it should be 'promptly recovered'. The next step was to find the best person to commemorate this deed, someone whose high stature would guarantee the longevity of the shrine. Cai Hang, the son of one of the most renowned disciples of Zhu Xi, a high-ranking official whom he cultivated at Hangzhou, was his choice. Cai found it challenging to justify adding yet another shrine to this particular place when Zhou Dunyi shrines had already proliferated 'all over the world'; nevertheless, he succeeded (LXJ 218).

The last position that Zhou Meisou held was that of Superintendent of Fiscal Affairs of Guangnan East Circuit, the office of which was at the heart of Guangzhou. We do not know what he did at Guangzhou apart from some trivia. After retiring, he brought all his direct family members to Chaozhou. The tombs of the three generations, including himself, would function as the linchpin of the Chaozhou branch of the Zhou

surname. At the same time, thriving Zhou surname at Chaozhou would make Meisou be worshiped at the right side of the Lord Yuan in the Academy he founded himself (Guo 1990, 21:13b).

Figure 24. Zhou Meisou's Tomb at Chaozhou, Guangdong



Reprinted from *Sishui Zhoushi Zongsheng* 泗水周氏宗乘 (Sishui Zhoushi zongsheng bianxiu weiyuanhui 1995, 128)

## 5.6. Local Officials from Fujian

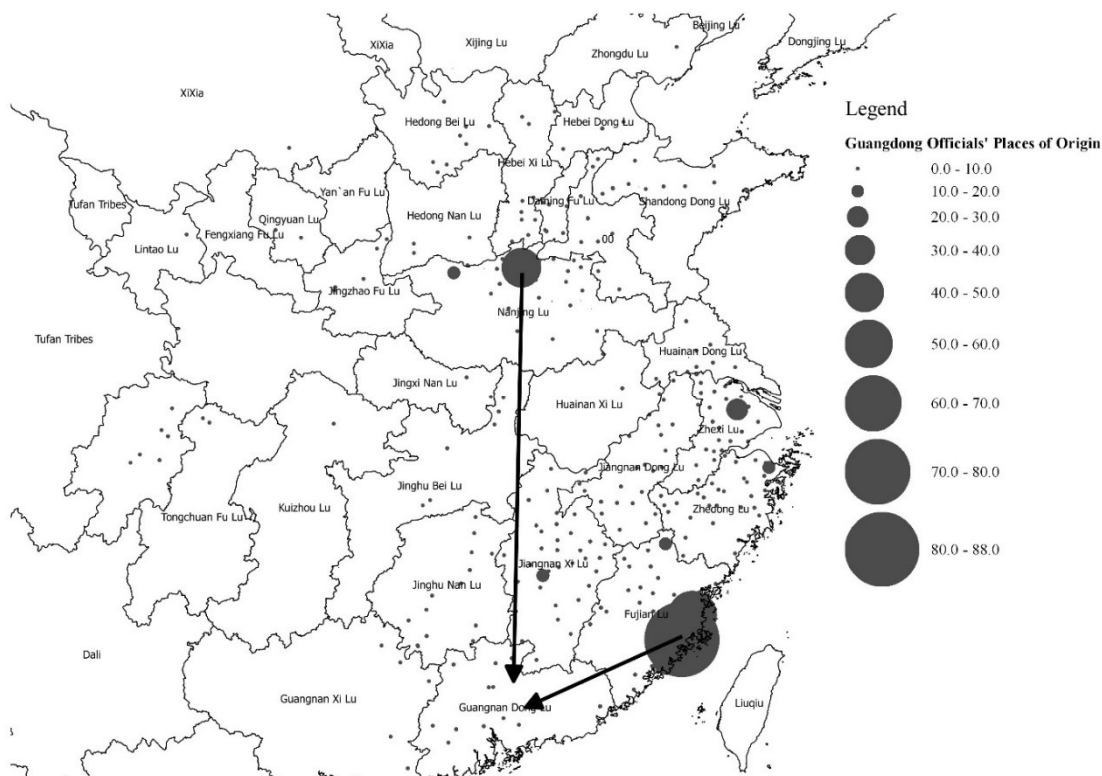
However important a role descendants played in spreading the cult of Zhou Dunyi in Guangdong, we must bear in mind that they could build shrines only when they received financial support from local governments. Since no private financing for Zhou Dunyi shrine or academy projects at Guangdong and Guangxi has been reported from the Song period, we may deduce that securing endorsement from local officials was a necessary condition for the success of such projects.

Who were those local officials who facilitated, or at least tacitly approved, building Zhou Dunyi shrines in their jurisdiction? One hypothesis is that the regions where Neo-Confucianism prevailed were the ones that supplied the greatest number of Guangdong local officials. To test this hypothesis, I have extracted extant Song local officials' biographical data from the CBDB (Chinese Biographical Database Project)<sup>249</sup> with different queries and mapped the result on the reconstructed circuit boundaries of year 1200 by Robert Hartwell (CHGIS 2017).

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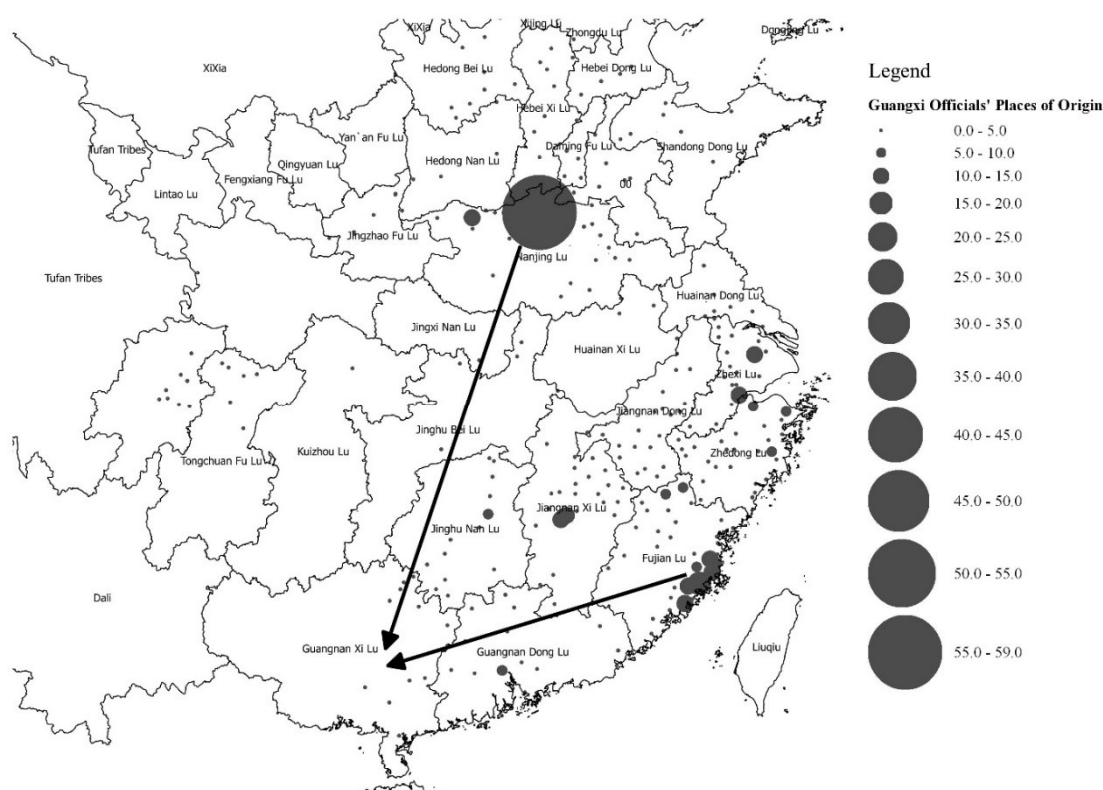
<sup>249</sup> I used the standalone version 2017 (<http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/cbdb/download-cbdb-standalone-database>).

Figure 25. Guangdong Officials' Places of Origin



Above is the distribution of the places of origin (*ji* 籍) of the Song officials who held any position in Guangdong during the Northern and Southern Song. What we see is a strong concentration in Putian County 莆田縣, Fujian, followed by Kaifeng. The same holds true for major prefectures of Guangdong: namely, Guangzhou, Shaozhou, and Chaozhou (See Appendix IV). A similar but different trend is observed in Guangxi.

Figure 26. Guangxi Officials' Place of Origin

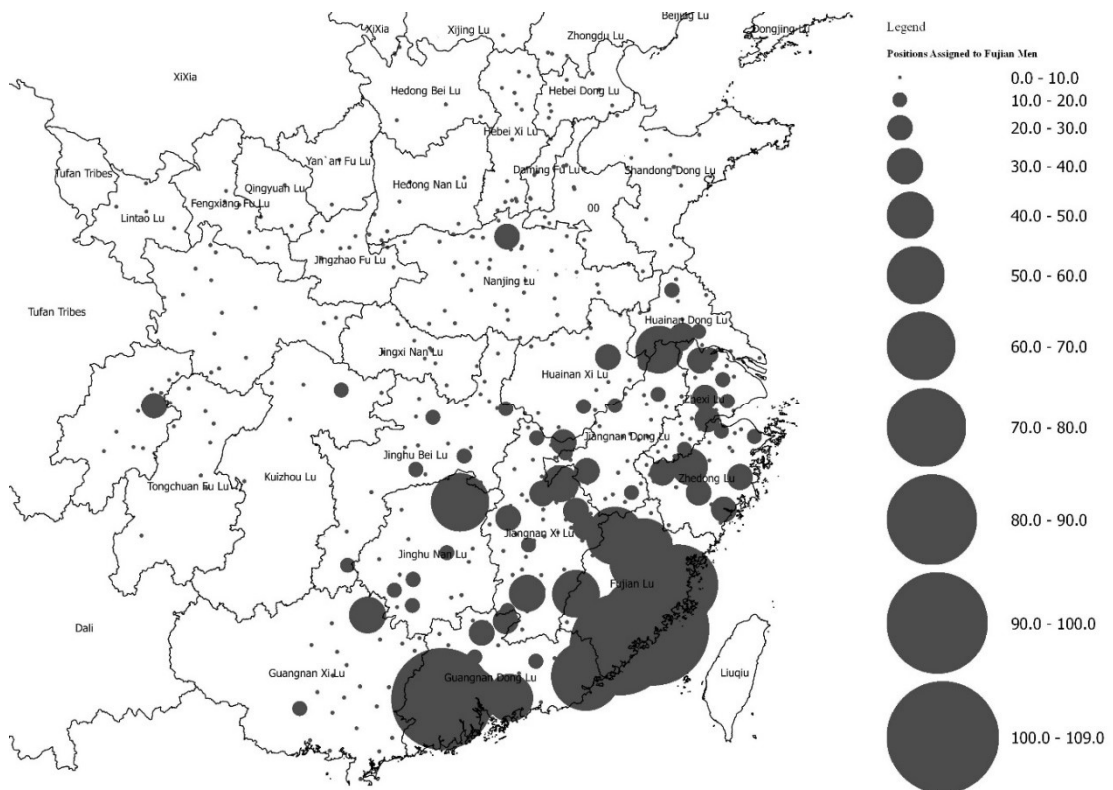


The two main sources of Guangxi local officials were, as was true in the case of Guangdong, Kaifeng and Fujian. One may find that officials from Kaifeng accounted for most of the Zhou Dunyi shrines in Guangxi for they far outnumbered the Fujianese; however, it should be noted that the data contains a good number of Northern Song records, and when we exclude Northern Song data from our survey, Kaifeng shrink to naught. Thus, it is undeniable that the administration of both Guangdong and Guangxi were, relatively speaking, dominated by Fujianese in the Southern Song.

However, simply surveying the profiles of officials who held positions in Guangdong and Guangxi does not confirm any special relation between them and Fujian. Since Fujian was producing the greatest number of *jinshi* degree holders

throughout the two Song dynasties, one may wonder whether the Fujianese may have been equally prevalent in other regions. The following map is the geographical distribution of 4,096 local positions taken up by 1,683 officials who were recognised on the register as Fujianese in the Song.

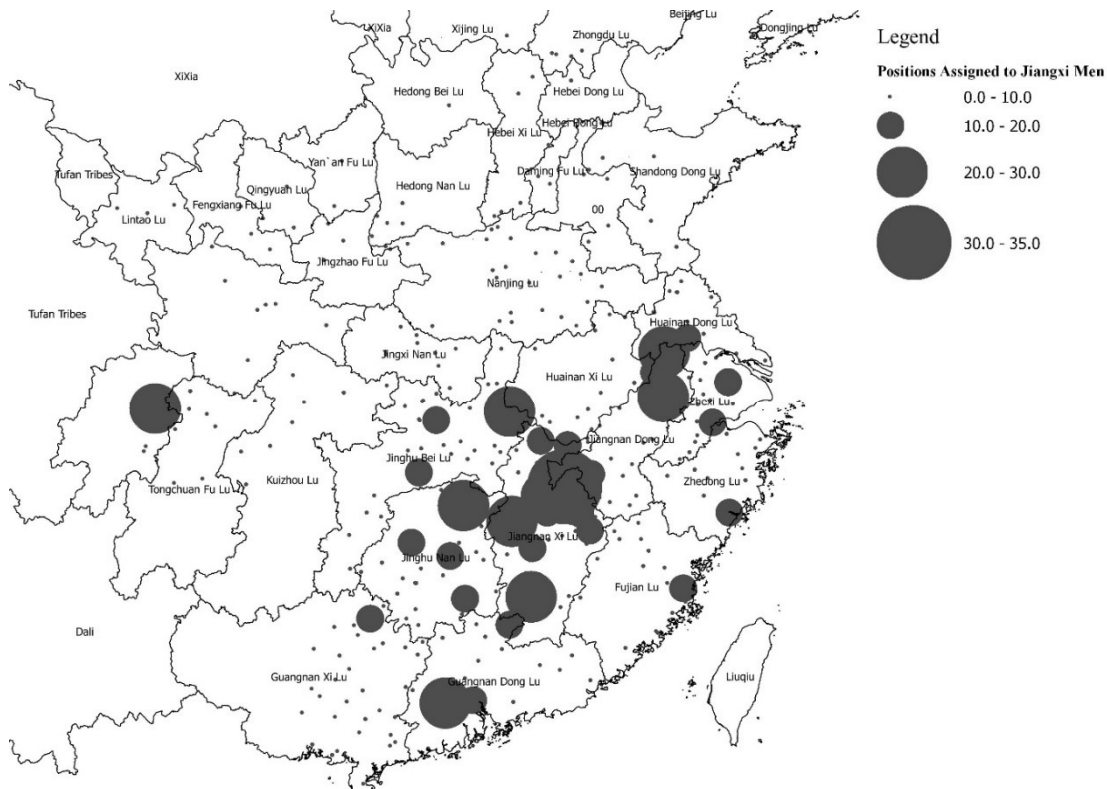
**Figure 27. Positions Assigned to Fujian Men**



The men of Fujian, while ubiquitous, were not evenly distributed. They were most frequently assigned to domestic Fujian positions, but Guangdong was not far behind in assignments. It seems clear that many Fujian men could reasonably be expected to have been dispatched to Guangdong at some point of their career. This

stands in contrast with the career path of, say, officials of Jiangxi origin, whose postings were much more evenly distributed.

**Figure 28. Positions Assigned to Jiangxi Men**



Hunan and Hubei were within the orbit of Jiangxi (Section 2.4), but positions in Fujian and Zhejiang were virtually inaccessible to officials from Jiangxi. Some were appointed to Guangdong, but the proportion was not impressive. In any case, we can reasonably assert from the above visualisation that the 1,808 local posts held by 604 Jiangxi men seem relatively evenly scattered.

The result is thought-provoking. Some economic and social historians who have studied the development of Guangdong over the Song agree that Hunan and Jiangxi were the two major sources of immigration. Zhou Zhiqing and Zhou Meisou were merely two examples of a great number of Hunanese who crossed the Five Ranges in

search of land and opportunities. Accordingly, one may assume that there was a social and cultural impact on the region coming from Hunan and Jiangxi commensurate with the magnitude of the migration waves.

However, those from Hunan and Jiangxi did not achieve much administrative power in their new locations. It was in most cases the Fujianese local officials who handled and moderated the impact of the migration. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that they were, to some degree, responsible for the spread of Zhou Dunyi shrines, and the Neo-Confucian movement in general, in this region. Also, if the Fujianese officials in Guangdong and Guangxi indeed mediated the spread of Neo-Confucianism, it must have been Zhu Learning Neo-Confucianism, for which Fujian was a centre. Some case studies can help us to understand this Fujianese contribution.

Liao Deming 廖德明 (*js.* 1169) was a man from Nanjianzhou 南劍州 (m. Nanping 南平, Fujian) who, having become disillusioned with Chan Buddhism, went to Zhu Xi in search of the Confucian Way. They met in about 1174, five years after Zhu Xi had experienced his famous ‘Jichou Year Enlightenment (*jichou zhi wu* 己丑之悟)’ (Li Qingfu 1986, 27:10a). The Enlightenment entailed serious revision of his previous approach to Confucian epistemology, resulting in the rediscovery of the value of Zhou Dunyi’s ideas. As Adler (2014, 50–3) says, this rediscovery was so surprising to him that he spent most of his time and energy writing, collating, editing, and printing texts on Zhou Dunyi until his enthusiasm diminished slightly in the 1190s. Therefore, one

can hypothesise that pupils who studied with Zhu Xi during his Zhou Dunyi fever period might have had a more positive image of Zhou.<sup>250</sup>

Although Liao Deming was often called by the highest position he had ever held—Left Selection Official of the Ministry of Personnel (*Libu Zuoxuanlang* 吏部左選郎), or simply Liao Libu 廖吏部—this central government-related title belies his long career as a local official. After his initial appointment as Magistrate of Putian, he was subsequently assigned to Shaozhou 韶州, Xunzhou 潯州 (m. Xunzhou, Guangxi), Shaozhou 韶州 again, Guangzhou, and Chaozhou. It is thus no wonder that records concerning him are most abundant in Guangdong and Guangxi gazetteers.

Considering the year of his receipt of the *jinshi* degree (1169), it is likely that his tenure at Putian began around 1170. What we know of his deeds in Putian are his disobedience to his boss and his destruction of ‘illicit shrines (*yinci* 淫祠)’.<sup>251</sup> Formulaic though this account may sound, it nonetheless tallies with his strong commitment to the Neo-Confucian moral and ritual ideals attested elsewhere.

In 1183, Liao was serving in a teaching post in Shaozhou when he renovated the Shaozhou Zhou Dunyi shrine in the prefectural school. He asked his master, Zhu Xi, to commemorate his deeds, which was a natural choice as he was corresponding frequently with Zhu at that time. This 1183 essay is a well-drafted Zhu Learning Neo-

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<sup>250</sup> Among the 18 letters entitled ‘Replies to Liao Deming’ that are collected in Zhu Xi’s *Complete Works*, letter No. 1, 14, 16, 17, 18 discuss either the concept of the Great Ultimate (*taiji* 太極), the None Ultimate (*wuji* 無極), or Zhou Dunyi the man. Chen Lai (1989, 124; 256; 477; 125) dated the letter No. 1, 14, 16, 17 to 1174, 1187, 1199, and 1174 respectively. The result shows that Zhu Xi’s fever period roughly coincides with the time when the master and the pupil paid relatively greater attention to Zhou.

<sup>251</sup> For the illicit shrines represented in Fujian local gazetteers, see Kojima Tsuyoshi (1991).

Confucian manifesto, frequently quoted and cited by both pre-modern literati and modern researchers. However, significant as this essay may be to the students of Chinese philosophy, it is not so pertinent to the topic we are studying here. It has little to say about the locality and its inhabitants with whom we are concerned.

Liao's next location is not known. But we know that he later served, again in a teaching position, at the Prefectural School of Xunzhou from 1186 to 1189. There he is reported to have taught students 'the mind learning of the sages and worthies (*shengxian xinxue* 聖賢心學)', which must have been heavily Zhu Learning-oriented. Moreover, he found that the father of the Cheng brothers had been prefect of Gongzhou 龔州 and that Gongzhou, abolished some 200 years previously, had become part of Xunzhou. He thought it would be an even greater thing to commemorate if the young Cheng brothers had accompanied the father Cheng, as the sons' fame were much greater than the father's, but no local man knew anything about Mr Cheng and his now nationally renowned sons. Upon learning of this ignorance, he felt compelled to make the local people remember Mr Cheng's tenure; the best means he could think of was to build a shrine, as he had done in Shaozhou six years before (Wang Sen 1986, 37:33a).<sup>252</sup>

One remarkable point here is that he dedicated the shrine not only to the father Cheng and his famous sons, but also to Zhou Dunyi. The inclusion of Zhou was hardly justifiable since there was no proof whatsoever of Zhou's having visited Xunzhou. Even

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<sup>252</sup> I have found the *Jiajing Guangxi Comprehensive Gazetteer* (*Ming Jiajing Guangxi tongzhi* 明嘉靖廣西通志) to be the earliest source to include this essay. However, I will instead quote and cite a slightly later Qing text which is scarcely different to the earliest one but substantially more legible (Wang Sen 1986, 37:32b–35b).

Liao, who authored the commemorative essay for the shrine, was aware of this. Thus, the essay tries to circumvent this issue with elusive and ambiguous language. It says.

... [When the father Cheng] came [here] in his capacity as prefect, the two masters actually followed [their father]. At that time, [since the two masters] were in their early twenties, they must have already heard of Master Lianxi's learning by that time. (Wang Sen 1986, 37:33a)

Liao Deming is arguing that the place has an undeniable link to Zhou Dunyi by virtue of the fact that the Cheng brothers had learned the Way from him by the time they arrived at the prefecture. This not so persuasive reasoning is followed by a revealing comment to the effect that the shrine is necessary despite the weak claim. The fact that nobody in the prefecture knew anything about Zhou Dunyi's teaching made him 'afraid [that the teaching of] Lianxi ... would soon perish and there would be nothing left to stimulate their good hearts (*shanxin* 善心)' (Wang Sen 1986, 37:33a-b). It reads almost as if Liao used the Cheng brothers as a pretext for establishing a local Zhou Dunyi shrine and that this, Liao believed, was for the local men's own good. For him, attaining this moral goal was categorically imperative—so that he did not even care about breaking with the ritual norm and worshipping a person at a place where that person had never been.

Once the shrine was completed, Liao Deming sent a letter to his master asking for a commemorative essay. He must have thought that Zhu would do him this favour again, as he had done six years ago; he must have been surprised when Zhu turned him down. We do not know what exactly made Zhu decline the request, but it probably was related to Liao's breaching the convention. Unlike his pupil, Zhu rarely compromised

when it came to upholding the norm.<sup>253</sup> In the end, Liao was left with no other option but to commemorate his own project.

The commemorative essay tackles a sort of environmental determinism, an idea that Xunzhou literati supposedly maintained. As suggested earlier in this chapter, the geographical term ‘Lingnan 嶺南’, or ‘Guangnan 廣南’, which included both Guangdong and Guangxi, was a heavily loaded word in the Song. It was not a place that produced men of ‘refined’ culture, nor known for any notable literati. In their attempts to explain this stark disparity between ‘advanced’ and ‘backwater’ places, Song literati readily attributed it to the difference in local environment (*shanchuan* 山川).

Liao Deming’s 1188 Xunzhou essay can be divided into four parts. The first and last parts are a rather formulaic introduction and conclusion; the second is a long quote from Zhu Xi’s answer to Liao Deming’s request; the third is Liao’s own message to his students at the Prefectural School of Xunzhou. The second part starts with Liao asking Zhu to write an essay that would ‘stimulate the southern literati (*li nanshi* 勵南士)’. After making a few excuses, Zhu straightforwardly critiques the use of a geographical marker (‘southern’, in this case), for this is an allusion to environmental determinism. He emphatically says that there is no ‘north and south’ in ‘the heavenly principle and good human nature’ because human nature is something innate and universal. The principle (*li* 理) is ubiquitous. Therefore, if somebody deplores the ‘slanted and

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<sup>253</sup> The only case where he did, the Huizhou 徽州 Zhou Dunyi shrine, was briefly covered earlier in this chapter.

distorted quality of the [local] mountains and rivers (*shanchuan fengqi pianli* 山川風氣偏戾)’ and fails to consider their not having studied the Way of Zhou Dunyi, and even goes so far as to refer to ‘fundamental discrepancies between people of north and south,’ they are simply ‘wrong’ (Wang Sen 1986, 37:33b–34a).

Concluding the direct quote from Zhu Xi with his rather strong criticism, Liao goes on to warn his local students. He observes that this environmental determinism is prevalent in the world and suggests that it has been a source of distress to Xunzhou literati. If, he continues, Xunzhou men wish to shatter this unfair view, the only way is to commit themselves to (Zhu Learning) Neo-Confucianism. He does not articulate what kinds of benefit they can expect from studying this particular tradition, but takes it for granted that it will enhance their reputation and improve their social standing. Failing to learn it, on the other hand, would be tantamount to succumbing to the dominant view (Wang Sen 1986, 37:34b).

Liao’s commemorative essay for the Xunzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine parallels the one that Zhang Shi wrote for the Jingjiangfu Zhou Dunyi shrine, discussed earlier in this chapter. Both shrines were established in Guangxi and breached the ritual norm by being sited at a place where Zhou had never been. In both cases, the essays to commemorate the shrine were authored by their founders—probably because no Neo-Confucian literatus was willing to endorse these projects—and both see local literati as suffering from an inferiority complex fuelled by environmental determinism. The Neo-Confucian oriented learning is suggested in both cases as a definitive antidote to this malignant notion.

However, there are also some notable differences between the two essays. Unlike Zhang Shi's essay, Liao Deming's does not suggest that Neo-Confucian training can help the students to prepare for the examination. This might be due to the fact that Jingjiangfu was in effect the only place in the Song where young Guangxi literati could prepare for the examination and could at least dream of passing it. Xunzhou, on the other hand, produced too small a number of *jinshi* for such encouragement to have been credible—as few as five *jinshi* throughout the Southern Song, which means that the prefecture managed to produce a *jinshi* only once every 30 years (J. W. Chaffee 1995, 133, 199).

Furthermore, Liao Deming's essay does not praise the beauty of the local environment. He, or the voice of Zhu Xi represented in his essay, argues for the dismissal of deterministic thinking altogether and urges the readers to believe in the identity and ubiquity of human nature. In contrast, Zhang Shi's essay glorifies the local environment, regardless of its bad reputation.<sup>254</sup> Zhang was praising the beauty of the local *qi* 氣, while Liao was stressing the universal *li* 理; Liao was adamant in rebutting the determinism, while Zhang was less inflexible. However, regardless of the difference in their approaches, they shared a common goal: to stop the local literati from attributing their failures to their places of origin.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> He even wrote some independent essays solely to praise the beauty of the local Jingjiangfu landscapes he came across (Wang Sen 1986, 19:36a–37b).

<sup>255</sup> It might be that Zhang Shi was telling a white lie. Zhang's disciple Zhou Qufei's *Vicarious Replies* delivers an honest opinion on the quality of the local surroundings. 'The grass and trees are big, but easily rot away; five staple crops are coarse and tasteless; six livestock are bland and insipid; streams and springs taste fishy and look turbid; the vegetables are thin, bitter, and tough. [As for] the people who live here, most of them are lean and, [therefore] unable to withstand hardship. The population does

Nothing tells us what effect Liao's encouraging message had upon the ostensibly downhearted Xunzhou literati, although there was an unforeseen consequence in the long term. Liao's dubious reasoning caused Xunzhou to realise its claim to Zhou Dunyi and the Cheng brothers. By the Qing, more than 500 years later, a more straightforward and bolder claim was being made—namely, that Zhou accompanied the brothers to the prefectural seat of Xunzhou and 'discussed texts' with them there. Hence, commemoration of the rock on which Zhou purportedly taught the brothers (*Qing Qianlong Guipingxian zhi* 清乾隆桂平縣志 4:6b). It is most probable that the claim originated from Liao's commemorative essay, but its exact trajectory is not known.<sup>256</sup>

Liao Deming was promoted to the post of Prefect of Chaozhou in 1198, when the notorious Qingyuan-period ban on Neo-Confucianism (*Qingyuan dangjin* 慶元黨禁) was in effect. Although the Ban was not as strictly observed as a similar ban on the Yuanyou 元祐 faction had been in the 1080s, Zhu Xi's admission of guilt to all the accusations made against him, including his having sexual intercourse with two Buddhist nuns, did damage to the implicated Neo-Confucians' reputation (Schirokauer 1975). Moreover, the death in 1196 of former Chief Councillor Zhao Ruyi 趙汝愚

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not increase, the land is neglected and sparsely populated. It is the environment that makes it so' (Zhou Qufei 1999, 149).

<sup>256</sup> This is still a feature of marketing campaigns by the city of Guiping 桂平, whose jurisdiction inherited the whole of Xunzhou in 1994. Searching Guiping and Zhou Dunyi together in Google yields several thousand results, showing that this claim remains current, although I failed to find any modern account that goes beyond Liao Deming's essay.

(1140–1196), by far the most prominent politician to sponsor the movement, also dealt a serious blow to Neo-Confucianism’s proponents.

Nonetheless, Liao dauntlessly renamed a certain building as Clumsy Studio (*Zhuowo* 拙窩) in allusion to Zhou Dunyi’s ‘Rhapsody on Clumsiness (*Zhuofu* 拙賦)’ (*Ming Jiajing Guangdong tongzhi chugao* 明嘉靖廣東通志初稿 5:46b–47a), and asked Zhu Xi to write the name plaque for it. He also obtained the draft of the *Investigation on the Differences of Han Yu’s Works* (*Hanwen kaoyi* 韓文考異) from Zhu Xi, the author, and published it at his office. He did not build a shrine for Zhou Dunyi there, perhaps because of the ban, or for other unknown reasons.<sup>257</sup> In any event, what he did would be remembered by the people of Chaozhou in the context of the local commemoration of Zhou Dunyi, leading to the enshrinement of Liao Deming in the Lord Yuan Shrine (*Yuangong ci* 元公祠) where, by 1545, he would be worshipped together with Zhou Dunyi and Zhou Meisou (*Ming Jiajing Chaozhoufu zhi* 明嘉靖潮州府志 4:5a–6a).

In 1211, Liao Deming was appointed Military Commissioner of Guangnan East Circuit (*Guangnan Donglu Jinglü Anfushi* 廣南東路經略安撫使). In Guangzhou, where the commissioner’s office was situated, the first thing he did was to print the first edition of Zhu Xi’s *Family Ritual* (*Jiali* 家禮). He did not put any effort into commemorating and advertising Zhou Dunyi in this period. It seems the recent death

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<sup>257</sup> Although the effectiveness of the ban is contestable, the instances of Zhou Dunyi shrines built or renovated plummeted by this period (Figure 6). Of course, it is debatable whether founding Zhou Dunyi shrines would have constituted a much more flagrant violation of the ban than did printing Zhu Xi’s books.

of Zhu Xi made it incumbent on him to prioritise promotion of his own master over his remote academic ancestor.

Commemoration of Zhou Dunyi's sojourn at Guangzhou had to wait until 1242, when another literatus—Fang Dacong, a man of Putian County (Fujian)—was appointed Prefect of Guangzhou, concurrently serving as Military Commissioner of Guangnan East Circuit in 1242. As noted earlier, he was a patron of Zhou Meisou and established the Lianxi Academy in Guangzhou. Records indicate that he also named the Hall of Roots and Source (*Benyuan tang* 本源堂) after a phrase from Zhou Dunyi's *Book of Penetration*. The four fasting studios attached to the Hall were also named after our hero's *Explanation on the Diagram of the Great Ultimate* (*Yuan Dade Nanhai zhi* 元大德南海志 9:8a).

In contrast with Liao Deming, the Putianese's career was not limited to local positions. After occupying a number of county-level posts, he was assigned to some at the capital. At Hangzhou, his active participation in the political debates of the time made him vulnerable to open attacks from his political enemies. In the end, he was impeached for a highly controversial memorial he drafted and submitted to the throne in 1236, and was subsequently assigned as Prefect of Jianzhou 建州 (m. Jian'ou 建甌, Fujian). It was after serving in this post that he was transferred to the one in Guangzhou.

Liu Kezhuang's 劉克莊 (1187–1269) *Tomb Inscription* for Fang Dacong allocates a considerable amount of space to his deeds in Guangzhou, as though it were the zenith of his career (Liu Kezhuang 1929, 151:12a–20b). One might expect, therefore, to see some favourable accounts of the locality—stock phrases that praise, for example, local elites' wholehearted collaboration with the enthusiastic governor.

However, what we actually see are comments with an oddly colonialist tone. Liu praises Fang for not discriminating against the local people ‘despite’ their apparent ‘barbaric’ customs. Liu vividly highlights how barbaric the people are and how vigorously Fang has tried to ‘correct’ them. Even with regard to the least important matters, Liu says, Fang ‘adhered to ritual norms (*guanchuan lifa* 貫穿禮法)’, ‘enlightened them about moral principles (*xiaoyi yili* 曉以義理)’, and ‘bound them with regulations (*shuyi tiaoyue* 束以條約)’. Also, because his ‘priority was moral transformation (*xian fenghua* 先風化)’, he donated all his salary to providing the local government school with ritual paraphernalia to offer proper sacrificial rites to Confucius and accompanying worthies. To achieve the goal of transformation, he performed a total of ten *shidian* 釋奠 rites and three Community Libation rites in Guangzhou alone (Liu Kezhuang 1929, 151:17a-b).

One of the libation rites was recorded in detail. The number of participants was over 460, making the event the largest Community Libation Guangzhou had ever seen (Li Maoying 1986, 1:4b). Furthermore, in almost all versions of Guangzhou local gazetteers, this event is closely associated with Fang’s recruitment of the first head of Lianxi Academy. It probably was because he encountered the candidate he deemed as most suitable during the preparation for the libation (*Qing Daoguang Guangdong tongzhi* 清道光廣東通志 269:18b) (Faure 2007, 35).

In addition to such better-known figures as Liao Deming and Fang Dacong, there were other Fujianese officials whose contribution to the commemoration of Zhou Dunyi in Guangdong is recorded. Both Cai Hang, who authored the commemorative essay for the Zhou Dunyi shrine in the Superintendent’s Office at Shaozhou, and

Chaozhou Prefect Chen Wei 陳煒 (*fl.* 1250), who assumed the position in succession to Zhou Meisou and further expanded the Chaozhou Lord Yuan Academy (YLDD 5343:45b), were from Fujian.

Also, it was a certain Chen Yinglong 陳應龍 (*fl.* 1220), a low-ranking official from Fuzhou 福州 (m. Fuzhou, Fujian) who built the first Zhou Dunyi shrine at Nanxiongzhou 南雄州 (m. Nanxiong, Guangdong). All we know of Chen is that he sent a letter to one of the two Neo-Confucian giants of the early thirteenth century, Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178–1235), and succeeded in acquiring the commemorative essay for the shrine from him. Considering the difficulty of commissioning an essay to a person without any prior personal connection, it is reasonable to assume that Chen have drawn upon his coming from the same region as Zhen (LXJ 224–5).

The database this section uses (CBDB) is by no means a complete record of the Song official appointments. Nonetheless, with a good number of cases in hand, it is reasonable to conclude that there was a significant trend of appointing men from Fujian to posts in Guangdong during the Song, and that this facilitated the spread of the cult of Zhou Dunyi in the region.

## 5.7. Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with factors in the spread of Zhou Dunyi shrines in Southern Song Guangdong and Guangxi. Since the two regions had neither a well-developed literati culture nor the requisite material conditions for nurturing Neo-Confucianism, the extraordinary proliferation and renovation of the shrines for the alleged founding father of Neo-Confucianism demand explanation. By investigating each case from different angles, this chapter has caught glimpses of the dynamics underlying this phenomenon.

Some cases, such as Xie E's two commemorative essays for Shaozhou and Jiangzhou Zhou Dunyi shrines, reveal that the author was not deeply interested in the subject of the shrines. This writer, affiliated with Neo-Confucianism but not with Zhu Xi, took the opportunity to praise the founder of the shrines at the cost of the enshrinee. His indifference to the location of the shrines and the composition of the expected readership who would read his essays negatively affected the essays' circulation.

A careful investigation of the Neo-Confucian master Zhang Shi's construction of the Jingjiangfu Zhou Dunyi shrine in 1175 suggests that the author saw the place as a blank page on which anyone could write anything they wished. It stands in sharp contrast with another commemorative essay written by the same author in the same year. For Zhang, Shaozhou was not a blank page; its local heroes demanded attention and local tastes were taken into account in his crafting of Zhou's image as a successful administrator-politician. Furthermore, he tactfully glossed over a particular source that explicitly attributed Zhou's death to miasma, the notorious local disease, aware that few

readers would love to be confronted with the fact that their local disease had caused their hero's untimely death. Although Zhang Shi's slant was adopted primarily in response to local needs, at the same time it addressed a broader intellectual issue with which the Neo-Confucian movement, especially Zhu Learning, was grappling.

While Neo-Confucian supporters such as Zhang Shi were both catering to specific local tastes and engaging more general intellectual discourses, some local literati were finding in Zhou Dunyi an opportunity to improve their own lot. A careful reading of Liao Deming's commemoration of the 1189 Xunzhou Zhou Dunyi shrine reveals what troubled the local elites most: they found themselves residing in a place that was antithetical to their advancement. They were convinced that the mountains and waters of the locality, a metonym for the local environment, were essentially inferior to those of their neighbours. The surrounding vital energy (*qi* 氣) of the 'South' was so poor that they saw no way to elevate themselves to participate in the hegemonic literati culture. Starting from Liao's establishment of a Zhou Dunyi shrine, the locality fabricated a narrative that would afford them some prestige: It has now become a place where Zhou Dunyi had transmitted his Way to the Cheng brothers.

In sum, we can identify something akin to exorcism in Liao Deming's, Zhu Xi's, and Zhang Shi's inveighing against a deterministic 'mountain-water' or 'south-north' discourse. The first two sought to sell the southern men on a Neo-Confucian 'total solution' to expel the environmental determinism haunting the locality—on whereby everyone partakes of the same heavenly principle, and all are endowed with the same human nature.

Not that all Zhou Dunyi shrine founders wanted to be ‘exorcists’ of this type. The glorification of his own lineage was Zhou Meisou’s primary concern. Meisou promoted his ancestor in nearly all the Guangdong prefectures he visited: He built Zhou Dunyi shrines and academies, published *Complete Works of Zhou Dunyi*, inscribed his name next to Zhou Dunyi’s autograph, spread words about an omen foretelling Zhou Dunyi’s posthumous promotion, and instructed local students in the works of Zhou Dunyi. Although Meisou held at least four different local posts in Guangdong, Chaozhou was where he exerted the most effort to entrench Zhou Dunyi. His investment culminated ultimately in his family’s relocation to that city a few decades later.

The last group of people that played a role in spreading Zhou Dunyi shrines in Guangdong was the officials from Fujian. Perhaps due to geographical proximity, the majority of posts in Guangdong were filled with Fujianese officials. As a consequence, a lot of actors who made a name for themselves as either founders or commemorators of the Zhou Dunyi shrines in Southern Song Guangdong were of Fujian origin. Some, like Liao Deming, were committed advocates of Zhu Learning Neo-Confucianism, while others, like Fang Dacong, were more moderate. They were concerned by the ‘exotic’ local culture and wanted to bring about a ‘transformation’ of local social mores. Strong partisans like Liao focused more on publishing and teaching, while neutrals like Fang preferred institutional means such as Community Libation rites.

Xie E’s 1171 essay for the Shaozhou shrine is also in line with Fang Dacong’s approach. For them, building Zhou Dunyi shrines was not the end in itself but, rather, just one of many means to achieve the ‘transformation’ of the locality. Their concurrence on this point might be attributed to their common academic stance: Both

were associated with Neo-Confucianism, but were not Zhu Learning advocates. They recognised Zhou Dunyi's worthiness, but not to the point of Zhu Xi's veneration of him.

To conclude, this chapter has depicted a widespread cult of Zhou Dunyi worship in Guangdong, not solely for the intellectual movement he represented. The fact that establishing Zhou Dunyi shrines was a means to attain goals other than honouring what the man was supposed to represent impels us to modify our previous assumption that the presence of Zhou Dunyi shrines and academies signified the agency of ebullient local Neo-Confucian supporters. On the contrary, a preponderance of Guangdong's Zhou Dunyi shrines ought to be linked to the absence of literati culture in the region.

Finally, we must go back to the framework forged in Chapter 1 and view these Zhou Dunyi monuments in terms of the prefectures' incessant jockeying for local pride. To recapitulate, each prefecture aspired to become more renowned than the next, and their fame accrued primarily by their association with famous people who either were literati or had accepted the latter's values and norms. There was of course a huge range of endowment of kinds of capitals among prefectures. Unlike their 'advanced' neighbours, 'backward' prefectures had a limited choice of local heroes to promote and were likely to seize on any famous literatus to whom they could claim even a tenuous connection and promote him, whatever his intellectual or religious orientation. For some remote Guangdong and Guangxi prefectures, such as Xunzhou, Zhou Dunyi was the only option.

It is undeniable that Southern Song Guangdong and Guangxi were 'behind' in terms of literati culture. In addition to the small number of *jinshi* degree holders produced in the region, other types of evidence, such as contemporary cartographic

materials, tell us that the region was deemed to be located ‘outside’ the Chinese world proper (Tackett 2017, 152–5). It seems that the region being home to arguably the most important monk in the history of Chan Buddhism did not advance their case as much as might be expected.

What remains unclear is the issue of agency of the Guangdong local elites. The investigations of this chapter have been confined primarily to the work done by the literati from neighbouring regions. Although it is extremely tempting to say that the local elites wanted to steep their places in literati culture, it is, unfortunately, not well attested by Southern Song sources. Nonetheless, there is a good amount of circumstantial evidence to be derived from other regions similarly situated, albeit from different periods. Eloise Wright studies Yunnan local elites’ effort to publish ‘Chinese’ style local gazetteer. The gazetteers mask the non-Han-Chinese nature of the local society and history, which is indicative of the local aspiration to ‘bring their locality into the discursive world of civilised men (Wright 2017)’. In the same vein, Timothy Brook finds that places previously considered to be on the periphery of the Sinitic empires tried to make gazetteers of their own ‘to enhance their reputation’. A gazetteer ‘stood in a sense as proof that the area was culturally developed’ and, therefore, having one such gazetteer ‘strengthened the claim of native sons who went out into the national bureaucratic or cultural world to be taken seriously (Brook 1997)’. If the gazetteers were application forms for ‘membership’ in Chinese literati culture, one had to fill in those forms with the requisite information. As Joseph Dennis’s case study of a Yunnan prefecture reveals, what made gazetteer project initiators there hesitate was the fact that the locality had ‘no books, no virtuous elders, no documents, no famous officials or great ministers’ with which to fill the pages (Dennis 2015, 54–8). In short, what Yunnan

lacked in the early sixteenth century was a ‘legitimate’ source of pride, such as Zhou Dunyi shrines that would have afforded it access to the dominant Chinese literati culture.

In any case, increased social, cultural, and symbolic capital—in terms of a network, literati culture, and fame—constituted sufficient return on many Zhou Dunyi shrine projects undertaken in Guangdong. The region’s endorsement of the Neo-Confucian movement would only come to fruition in the Ming with the ascendancy of Chen Xianzhang 陳獻章 (1428–1500), a native Guangdong man who became one of the most important thinkers of his generation, and the leader of the renowned Lingnan School of Thought (*Lingnan xuepai* 嶺南學派). As a late Qing Guangdong man’s recapitulation of the local history acknowledges, it was ‘from Tang and Song’ forward that ‘barbaric’ Guangdong became a part of the ‘Divine Land (*shenzhou* 神州) (Lang 2006, 6)’. The proliferation of Zhou Dunyi shrines in the Southern Song Guangdong was one of the factors that facilitated the subsequent integration of the region into the world of Chinese literati culture. All in all, the region played the game with a strategy suitable to its *habitus*, and played it very well.

## 6. Epilogue: Zhou Dunyi Shrines after the Song and Their Significance

Were I to summarise Pierre Bourdieu's lasting contribution to our understanding of human society, I would highlight the clarity with which he articulates the following fact: There is no such thing as a free lunch, even though the cost is not always obvious. A sufficiently careful examination of cases of seeming waste of resources will almost always reveal a hidden transaction between money and non-monetary assets. The extraordinarily frequent and ubiquitous establishment of a particular type of shrine for a dead philosopher without any supernatural return should thus be explained by the other forms of benefit the contributors were reasonably expecting. These 'other forms' of benefit may not be readily detected as they are often meaningful only within a specific socio-historical setting, or Bourdieusian 'field'. Thus, this thesis is not only a study of the spread of Zhou Dunyi shrines in the Southern Song but also an investigation of how Southern Song social agents rationalised spending money on Zhou Dunyi shrines.

Of course, 'the field of fame competition amongst Southern Song prefectures' that is introduced in Chapter 1 is but a heuristic device designed to further our understanding of the specific rationales that were operating. Indeed, all Bourdieusian fields are models that are constructed only to help researchers understand and make explicit the function and flow of various kinds of capital in the given society (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 130–1). Therefore, no matter how convincingly a field is reconstructed and with what academic rigour, that does not mean that the field was

evident to contemporary participants and observers. Certainly, Southern Song elites never counted the number of fame points they earned from constructing a Zhou Dunyi shrine. Their commitment to the game is revealed in the pride they took in the shrines rather than in any declared intention to participate in the game.

As an institutional expression of local pride and a means to outshine (or to catch up with) other localities, Zhou Dunyi shrines did not endure equally long in all places. After the Southern Song, his shrines and academies continued to be constructed, but for different purposes, one of which was lineage loyalism. In Guangdong, the Zhou surname gradually took over from the local government the construction and renovation of Zhou Dunyi shrines. Extant sources do not clearly note when the construction of the first Zhou surname family temple (*jiamiao* 家廟) in Guangzhou took place but, by the late sixteenth century, the family found their honourable ancestor being worshipped together with those bearing other surnames unendurable and mustered support from powerful lineage members to remedy the problem (Hunansheng Lianxixue yanjiuhui 2006, 51–2). The Zhou-surname bearers of Chaozhou also constructed their first heavily lineage-oriented Zhou Dunyi shrine by the same period (Sishui Zhoushi zongsheng bianxiu weiyuanhui 1995, 664). These changes coincided with the mid-sixteenth century transformation of family rituals that propelled the proliferation of family temples and the emergence of the lineage system as the building block of Pearl River Delta society (Faure 2007).

The Suzhou Zhou Dunyi shrines were different to those of Guangzhou and Chaozhou in that the lineage assumed the construction and maintenance of the shrines from the very beginning. Apart from an officially sanctioned Zhou Dunyi shrine built

in the prefectural government school in 1236, the Zhou surname of Suzhou claims to have had Zhou Dunyi shrines of their own since the beginning of the Southern Song in the early twelfth century. Reportedly, there was one Zhou Xingyi 周興裔 (*fl.* 1126), a great grandson of Zhou Dunyi, who perished in battle defending the Huai River basin against the Jurchens in the wake of the collapse of the Northern Song. The immediate descendants of Xingyi had moved to a village near Suzhou and dedicated a shrine to Zhou Dunyi and Zhou Xingyi, which marked the beginning of the Zhejiang branch of the Zhou surname. The earliest source attesting to this shrine is a Suzhou gazetteer published in the late fourteenth century, which is repeated by various later gazetteers (*Ming Hongwu Suzhoufu zhi* 明洪武蘇州府志 2:6a, 44:23a; requoted for instance in *Qing Tongzhi Suzhoufu zhi* 清同治蘇州府志 50:26a). Regardless of the veracity of this story, the lineage flourished with their belief in a Zhou Dunyi ancestry and, interestingly, provided ‘evidence’ to Zhou Enlai 周恩來 (1898–1976) and Lu Xun’s 魯迅 (orig. Zhou Shuren 周樹人 1881–1936) purported descent from Zhou Dunyi.<sup>258</sup>

Jiangzhou illustrates the opposite case. Accounts of the efforts of local officials in the late fifteenth century to find a descendant of Zhou Dunyi from Daozhou to designate as the caretaker of Zhou’s tomb and shrines signals the absence of local Jiangzhou Zhou-surnamed individuals in the mid-Ming who were qualified to assume this duty (*Ming Jiajing Jiangxi tongzhi* 明嘉靖江西通志 14:36b). A local official’s report in 1765 that there were ‘too many’ Zhou surnames populating the prefecture

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<sup>258</sup> The two men of consequence, known for their anti-Confucian stance, were born to the Zhou surname of Shaoxing, who are believed to have descended from Zhou Dunyi.

contrasts with the mid-Ming situation. Yet, this time, the official observed ‘not a small number of imposters’ who lacked credentials mingled with probably ‘true descendants (*Qing Tongzhi Dehuaxian zhi* 清同治德化縣志 11:59b)’. True or not, some Jiangzhou Zhous indeed took care of the tomb and shrines in the Qing, but only with a significant amount of support from local elites and officials of other surnames. Major reconstruction projects happened in 1436, 1490, 1503, 1511, 1559, 1855, and 1883, and the surnames of their principal initiators include, for example, Li 李, Luo 羅, and Shao 邵. Although the tomb complex did not survive the Cultural Revolution and was only reconstructed recently, we know how it looked in the early twentieth century thanks to the photographs that Tokiwa Daijo 常盤大定 (1870–1945) took during his field work (Tokiwa and Sekino 1940; Azuma 2012) (Appendix V).

Many Zhou Dunyi shrines established as an independent institution in the Southern Song were absorbed into local Temples of Confucius after 1241 and later subsumed under either Local Worthies’ Shrines (*xiangxian ci* 鄉賢祠) or Renowned Local Officials’ Shrines (*minghuan ci* 名宦祠) in different prefectures and counties by the Ming. However, in certain places that possessed a particularly strong affiliation to Zhou Dunyi, his shrines resisted this trend and remained relatively independent. Daozhou shrines and academies were under control of the Zhou surname of Daozhou in most cases. The locality’s special position as his birthplace, together with its numerous Zhou-surnamed residents, allowed it to thrive outside direct government control and justify its enjoying commemorative rituals of its own separate from the state mandated sacrificial rite for Confucian dignitaries (*shidian* 釋奠) at the Temple of Confucius (*Qing Guangxu Daozhou zhi* 清光緒道州志 7:16b). Nan’an shrines and

academies were cared for by the local government, yet the care they received was special. As the place where Zhou transmitted the Way to the Cheng brothers, Nan'an maintained an enduring interest in identifying and promoting itself as the 'Land where the Way was Transmitted (*chuandao zhidi* 傳道之地)'. This hugely honourable feature effectively legitimised the local government's assiduous investment in shrines and academies for Zhou Dunyi, independent of the more generic Local Officials' Shrines (*Ming Jiaping Jiangxi tongzhi* 明嘉靖江西通志 36:33a–36a; *Minguo Dayuxian zhi* 民國大庾縣志 4:67a–68a).

Dao County's (previously Daozhou) lavish celebration of Zhou Dunyi's one thousandth birthday in 2017 is a testimony to that locality's unwavering commitment to the promotion of Zhou Dunyi. Public ceremonies and academic conferences were organised by the regional government of Hunan. A film on his life was produced and screened and 1,000 children recited his famous essay, *Explanation on my Love of Lotus Flowers* (*Ailian shuo* 愛蓮說), on the stage. Officials of the PRC attended the ceremonies and delivered testimonial speeches.<sup>259</sup> The regional government of Hunan chose him as the first in a series of representatives of Hunanese culture, the last of whom was Mao Zedong 毛澤東 (1893–1976). And, of course, the Secretary of the city government of Yongzhou 永州 did not neglect to mention that President Xi Jinping

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<sup>259</sup> <http://video.rednet.cn/html/2017/0623/63788.html>

習近平 (b. 1953) had in 2016 included Zhou Dunyi among the 25 greatest thinkers of Chinese civilisation.<sup>260</sup>

As mentioned in the conclusion of Chapter 3, Jiujiang's (previously Jiangzhou) separate commemoration of the thousandth anniversary of Zhou Dunyi's birth is indicative both of the city's high esteem for Zhou Dunyi and its unwillingness to cooperate with Dao County. Rather than screen the film produced by Dao County or participate in Dao's academic conference, the Jiujiang city government staged an original commemorative play, held a conference of its own, and so forth. While the venues of veneration have changed from shrines and academies to memorial halls and museums, and the modes of celebration have changed from *shidian* and Community Libation rituals to performing dramas and reciting texts, one factor remains the same: Zhou Dunyi worship lies in the hands of localities.

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<sup>260</sup> <http://www.cnxxpl.com/news.aspx?id=95201>

Figure 29. Rice Paddy Art in Celebration of Zhou Dunyi's Birth, Dao County, Hunan



I suggest that we see the emergence of the field of competition of prefectures, and the proliferation of Zhou Dunyi shrines as a feature of that competition, as part of a larger historical process—namely, the consolidation of the Sinitic empire through the medium of the Sinitic literati culture.

What is this ‘literati culture’? Essentially, this refers to the way in which literati think and act. Peter Bol has discussed that the definition and redefinition of this culture was already a bone of contention in the Song. In some sense, much of Song intellectual discourse was about this redefinition—that is, about ‘the Way (*dao* 道)’. Northern Song literati in particular were intent on monopolising intellectual authority as well as political authority. They sought to subsume all intellectual traditions—or, at least, the

most valued concepts associated with the various traditions—under the umbrella of a single ‘Way’. Be they political conservatives or reformists, virtually all literati followed this way (Bol 2008, chap. 6; 271–2).

When all players are headed in the same direction, they tend to move faster and go to greater lengths to outperform each other. Therefore, one inevitable ramification of this intellectual arms race was radicalisation of the intellectual unification discourses. Southern Song Neo-Confucians’ obsession with the ‘coherence (*li* 理)’ immanent in all things—including political ideas, history, human nature, physical objects, and all other human and natural objects and events—thus began. Once a man grasps this coherence from studying one subject, he gains authority to discuss about all the other subjects (Bol 2008, 200). This radical stance partly explains how Neo-Confucianism eventually won the arms race and attained orthodox status by the late Southern Song.

This zeal for intellectual unification was also expressed in geographical terms. Many Southern Song prefectures identified themselves with Zou 鄒 and Lu 魯, the birthplaces of Mencius and Confucius respectively. For example, Huizhou being the ancestral home of Zhu Xi, its elites came to insist that their home prefecture be recognised as Zou and Lu of the Southeast (*Dongnan Zou Lu* 東南鄒魯). Various coastal prefectures were quick to coin similar neologisms, such as Zou and Lu of the Coast (*Haibin Zou Lu* 海濱鄒魯). By the fifteenth century, even Koreans began to call a certain province of theirs the ‘Zou and Lu of the East of the Sea (*Haedong Ch’u Ro* 海東鄒魯)’ (HKMJ 15:533b-d). Such declarations were to embrace the new standard of reputation: literati culture. And, once multiple localities lay a claim to Zou and Lu, direct comparison between them becomes inevitable, and that comparison drives each

participant to strive to become a better Zou and Lu than the rest. Song localities arms race to be Zou and Lu resembles Song literati's arms race for intellectual unification.

Given that Neo-Confucian thinkers were perceived to be the most enthusiastic proselytisers—thus, relatively inclusive (Subsection 2.5.5)—, It was perhaps natural for such relative newcomers to this game as Guangdong and Guangxi to embrace Neo-Confucianism and champion Neo-Confucian heroes such as Zhou Dunyi, hoping soon to become the next Zou and Lu. In the same vein, it was not a coincidence that the first Southern Song type academy established in 1241/42 at the Great Capital (*Dadu* 大都, m. Beijing) of the Mongol Empire, where local Neo-Confucian infrastructure was all but non-existent, was called the *Great Ultimate Academy* (*Taiji shuyuan* 太極書院). Neo-Confucian-oriented literati, who were either recruited or kidnapped from the Jin 金 or the Southern Song, established this Academy, enshrined Zhou Dunyi in it, and inscribed the *Explanation of the Diagram of Great Ultimate* and other works of Zhou on its walls and steles (QYW 4:339). Among the literati who frequented this Academy, where they discussed topics of the *Book of Change* and paid respect to Zhou Dunyi, were such renowned literati-statesmen as Zhao Fu 趙復 (*fl.* 1250), Yang Weizhong 楊惟中(1205–59), Xu Heng 許衡 (1209–81), and Yao Shu 姚樞 (1203–80) (Sun 2005). The last gentleman is particularly significant as he was one of the close advisers of Kublai Khan (1215–94, r. 1260–94). The *Book of Change* specialist Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (1216–74), another advisor of Kublai, and a friend of Yao Shu, later suggested to

Kublai that the new dynasty should be named ‘Yuan 元’. That the new dynastic title coincided with Zhou Dunyi’s posthumous title was not entirely coincidental.<sup>261</sup>

The establishment of the Great Ultimate Academy unexpectedly changed the course of Korean intellectual history. Korean diplomat Ahn Hyang 安珣 (1243–1306) paid a visit to this academy, fascinated by the richness of Zhou Dunyi’s philosophical ideas, and brought this new standard of literati culture to the Korean Peninsula. His contribution to the introduction of Neo-Confucianism to Korea was long remembered and cherished so that the founders of the first Southern Song type academy in Korea, Continuing Cultivation Academy (*Sosu sŏwŏn* 紹修書院), saw fit to enshrine this Mr Ahn there and, likewise, to construct the Revering Lian Brook Pavilion (*Kyŏngnyŏm jŏng* 景濂亭) in honour of Zhou Dunyi. Unsurprisingly, the province that was home to this academy, Kyŏngsang 慶尚, would later be called the Homeland of Zou and Lu (*Ch’u Ro jihyang* 鄒魯之鄉). These are but a few examples that show how the new standard of fame were welcomed by new players.

While aspiring to become Zou and Lu, localities also sought for differentiation. Huizhou capitalised on being the ancestral home to Zhu Xi to lay claim to the cultural hegemony (Du 2015), while Wuzhou made the same claim to Zhu by highlighting its association with Zhu’s friends and direct disciples (S. Lee 2011; Bol 2003). Some Hunan prefectures were proudly home to Zhang Shi (Liao 2011), while Fuzhou 撫州 emphasised having produced Lu Jiuyuan (Hymes 1986). Daozhou believed that its

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<sup>261</sup> Note that it is not that Kublai named his dynasty *after* Zhou Dunyi’s posthumous title. Both Zhou Dunyi and the Mongolian dynasty were named after a phrase in the *Book of Change*.

precious Zhou Dunyi connection made it literally the Prefecture of the Way (*Daozhou* 道州), while Jiangzhou never ceased to underscore its own ties to our hero.

Not only individuals, such as Zhou Dunyi and Zhu Xi, but also schools of thought were constructed around and identified in terms of places. Southern Song literati readily called all the scholarly branches that originated from the Cheng brothers Luo River Learning (*Luoxue* 洛學). Similarly, Zhang Zai's scholarship was known as Guanzhong Learning (*Guanxue* 關學), Zhu Xi's school was Min Learning (*Minxue* 閩學), Zhang Shi and the Hu 胡 family tradition was Dongting Lake and Xiang River Learning (*Huxiang xue* 湖湘學), and the Utilitarian scholars spawned Yongjia Learning (*Yongjia xue* 永嘉學).<sup>262</sup> The list of academic metonyms would finally include Lian Brook Learning (*Lianxue* 濂學), which would occupy the preeminent spot of the geography of the Transmission of the Way by the end of the Southern Song: Lian-Luo-Guan-Min 濂洛關閩. Aware of this rich water metaphor, one Southern Song literatus said 'if you follow Lian Brook (Master Lianxi) to its origin (*suyuan* 溯源), you will reach Zou and Lu (Mencius and Confucius)' (QSW 297:213). Given that the Brook was enjoying such fame, it is not difficult to imagine why Daozhou and Jiangzhou still maintain their claims to the Brook where the Way is flowing.

Certainly, this practice of identifying schools with places existed already in the Northern Song, but it was by no means the obsession manifested by the Southern Song.

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<sup>262</sup> Beginning as regional traditions, many of them evolved into a national tradition that attracted supporters from a variety of localities. However, even after the nationalisation, all of them retained their original geographic designation as a kind of brand name.

What was the change in the Southern Song that brought about the intensification of this phenomenon? How did the Northern Song literati who proudly identified as ‘men of all directions (*dongxi nanbei ren* 東西南北人) (Mei 1986, 36:5b; Liu Chang 1986, 17:13b)’ come to be replaced by those who were deeply entrenched in a certain river or a particular prefecture?

The reasons may vary, but we do well to consider the special position the Northern Song occupies in the unfolding of late imperial Chinese history. As has been highlighted by many historians, the Northern Song was a political experiment in centralisation and integration (P. J. Smith 2009b; Bol 2015). After the prolonged experience of wanton warfare and periodic implosion of the central authority for the past two centuries, Song Chinese elites in the tenth and eleventh centuries came to believe that the failure of the Tang model was attributable to its failure to place limits on regional power. They were almost unanimous in their conviction that the new state model should give much greater power to central authority so as to curb centrifugal force and prevent any repetition of the late Tang crisis. It was this *zeitgeist* that propelled the early Northern Song legislation of a set of new rules and institutions, including the greatly expanded civil service examination that effectively siphoned provincial elites out of their provincial power bases into the melting pot of Kaifeng. One of the New Policies slogans, ‘unification of customs and morality (*tong fengsu, yi daode* 同風俗, 一道德)’, reflects this particular atmosphere (Song 2011).

Educated in Kaifeng, Zhou Dunyi must have been familiar with this metropolitan spirit, if not entirely been indoctrinated with it. Unlike his maternal grandfather who served a Sichuan-based kingdom, or his paternal kinsmen who held

military positions in a Hunan-based kingdom, he did not feel compelled to cherish a local identity nor to ‘return’ to the burial ground of his paternal ancestors. It was a natural choice for this metropolitan soul, as for many others of his generation, to discard his provincial origin and embrace the inchoate Song identity. When he handed over all his Daozhou properties to his nephew in late 1060s, he must have found it neither necessary nor appropriate to promote hometown loyalism.

The resurgence of the ‘feudal (*fengjian* 封建)’ system discourse in the Southern Song, on the other hand, reflects a marked shift in the Chinese political imagination. As Jaeyoon Song (2011) demonstrates, the devastating failure of the Northern Song centralisation model pushed the Southern Song elites in the opposite direction. National security had become a pressing concern, and it seemed obvious to some of them that the feudal system had an edge over the centralisation model, which, in 1127, proved to be shockingly futile. As an alternative, Southern Song feudalists envisioned a matrix of small scale, autonomous communities highly connected to each other through the mediation of the central authority. The enfeoffed states, the individual nodes of the matrix, were expected to commit themselves to fending off foreign menace as best served their interests, which would contribute to the overall security of the system as a whole.

It is interesting that the vassal states the Southern Song feudalists imagined closely resembled prefectures and counties in their size and structure. Many believed that the ideal number of vassal states should be about 1,800, on the same order of magnitude as the 1,500 counties of the Northern Song (Song 2011, 316). Certainly, prefectures and counties remained the sub-units of the empire throughout the Southern

Song and were never actually replaced by feudal states; but the elites came to view them as quasi-feudal states, that is, as relatively autonomous small units buttressing the whole order, and it is this vision that invigorated the activism of rising Southern Song local elites.

The founders of Zhou Dunyi shrines in the Southern Song were not untouched by this emerging ‘feudal’ discourse. Zhu Xi saw Huizhou as tantamount to a pre-Qin period feudal state (*guo* 國) (LXJ 222) and Wei Liaoweng drew parallels between Zhou Dunyi’s serving in different prefectural posts and ancient literati serving in multiple vassal states (LXJ 211, 225–7). They believed that, much as each pre-Qin feudal state was expected to promote and champion its own ancestors and masters, Southern Song prefectures should equally promote their own heroes, such as Zhou Dunyi. Praising local masters was to praise original local scholarly traditions, and the precondition for any appraisal of a locality’s originality is the existence of comparable others—other prefectures with their own original masters and scholarly traditions. Through the process of comparison and promotion, the claim to originality evolves into a claim to distinction, and claims to distinction galvanise other prefectures into following suit. This is a highly sketchy schematic, at best, yet it is helpful in capturing the social mood of the early Southern Song that resulted in the extensive mapping of famous literati, of which Zhou Dunyi was one of the most salient examples.

However, the proliferation of this cult of local pride did not prompt the disintegration of the Southern Song, since the competition among localities was rooted in the fairly homogeneous literati culture that all of them shared. Just as Lian Brook, Luo River, and Min River are differently configured but all flow into the sea of Zou and

Lu, elite local activism may look indifferent to national affairs but serves nonetheless to buttress the entire social order. In other words, there may be antagonism among players in the competition, but the participation itself allows the players to imagine a community of other similar players who have their own literati heroes to promote (Anderson 2006).

Lastly, I would point out that the regional fragmentation of the commemoration of a national symbol is not limited to Zhou Dunyi nor the Southern Song. The modern Chinese government's devolution to local governments of the right and power to develop, maintain, and promote cultural heritage sites has been well reported. From planning and budget control to long-term management of the sites, the whole process remains essentially outside the direct control of the central government (Zan et al. 2018), and multifarious initiatives for such projects come from various groups with vested interests in each locality (Chan and Lang 2017).<sup>263</sup> This time-honoured formula, which Robin McNeal succinctly summarises as the 'promotion of local Chinese identity' that paradoxically 'reinforces cultural unity at the national level and beyond' (McNeal 2015), is perhaps a solution the Song and its sub-units discovered after centuries of search for the reintegration of the Chinese society. It was through this provincial pursuit of fame—the localities' endeavour to surpass their neighbours in their alignment with the redefined standard—that the Southern Song inspired a unified Chinese elite literati community, if not a prototype of Chinese 'nation' (Tackett 2017). In a sense, Southern

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<sup>263</sup> Commemoration of Zhou Dunyi in modern China is no exception (Hunansheng Lianxixue yanjiuhui 2006, 39–46).

Song Zhou Dunyi shrines contributed to the ‘transformation (*jiaohua* 教化)’ of the localities into legitimate members of the late imperial Chinese society.

## Appendix I: Construction and Reconsctruction of Zhou Dunyi Shrines in the Southern Song

**Table 10. Year, Place, Location, and Sizes of Zhou Dunyi Shrines**

Order	Year (built)	Place	Region(m)	Location	Size
1	1181	Huizhou 徽州 Wuyuan County 婺源縣	Anhui	Local school	
2	1246	Taipingzhou 太平州 Daxin Market Town 大信鎮	Anhui	Tianmen Academy 天門書院	
3	1181?	Hezhou 合州	Chongqing	Next to the county office	A fasting studio
4	1221	Hezhou 合州	Chongqing	Detached office	
5	1266	Fuzhou 福州	Fujian	Unknown	
6	1209–1230	Fuzhou 福州, Huai'an County 懷安縣	Fujian	Local school	
7	1240 (TPQ)*	Nanjianzhou 南劍州 Jiangle County 將樂縣	Fujian	School	
8	1245	Nanjianzhou 南劍州 Sha County 沙縣	Fujian	Local school	
9	1173	Nanjianzhou 南劍州 Youxi County 尤溪縣	Fujian	Local school	
10	1266	Quanzhou 泉州	Fujian	Quanshan Academy 泉山書院	
11	1209–1211	Shaowu Commandery 邵武軍	Fujian	Unknown	
12	1212	Zhangzhou 漳州	Fujian	Local school	
13	1228	Chaozhou 潮州	Guangdong	Local School	
14	1243	Chaozhou 潮州	Guangdong	Hanshan Academy 韓山書院	
15	1249	Chaozhou 潮州	Guangdong	Next to School	
16	1260?	Chaozhou 潮州	Guangdong	Lord Yuan Academy 元公書院	
17	1269?	Chaozhou 潮州	Guangdong	Hanshan Academy 韓山書院	
18	1222(TPQ), possibly 1264	Duanzhou 端州	Guangdong	Local school	
19	1264	Duanzhou 端州 Sihui County 四會縣	Guangdong	Next to school	
20	1272	Duanzhou 端州 Sihui County 四會縣	Guangdong	Next to school	
21	1247(TAQ) **	Guangzhou 廣州	Guangdong	Yaozhou 藥洲	
22	1248?	Kangzhou 康州 (Deqingfu 德慶府)	Guangdong	Outside the city wall (Sanzhou Rock 三洲岩)	

23	1251?	Kangzhou 康州 (Deqingfu 德慶府)	Guangdong	Local School	
24	Southern Song	Nan'enzhou 南恩州 Yangjiang County 陽江縣	Guangdong	Lianxi Academy 濂溪書院	
25	1227	Nanxiongzhou 南雄州	Guangdong	Local school	
26	1172	Shaoyzhou 韶州	Guangdong	Local school	
27	1175	Shaoyzhou 韶州	Guangdong	Next to Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 Shrine	3 <i>ying</i>
28	1184	Shaoyzhou 韶州	Guangdong	Local school	3 <i>ying</i>
29	1189	Shaoyzhou 韶州	Guangdong	Superintendent's office	3 <i>jian</i>
30	1216	Shaoyzhou 韶州	Guangdong	In the city	
31	1228–33	Shaoyzhou 韶州	Guangdong	Local school	
32	1246	Shaoyzhou 韶州	Guangdong	Xiang River Academy 湘江書院	A few buildings
33	1253	Shaoyzhou 韶州	Guangdong	Superintendent's office	
34	1264	Shaoyzhou 韶州	Guangdong	Xiang River Academy 湘江書院	A few buildings
35	1230s (early)	Shaoyzhou 韶州 Lechang County 樂昌縣	Guangdong	Local school	
36	1175	Jingjiangfu 靜江府	Guangxi	Local school	
37	1215	Quanzhou 全州	Guangxi	Unknown	
38	1188	Xunzhou 潯州	Guangxi	Unknown	
39	1215	E'zhou 鄂州	Hubei	Local school	
40	1215	Hanyang Commandery 漢陽軍	Hubei	School	
41	1225?	Changsha 長沙 (Tanzhou 潭州)	Hunan	Unknown	
42	1236?	Changsha 長沙 (Tanzhou 潭州)	Hunan	Local school	3 <i>ying</i>
43	1214–16	Chenzhou 郴州	Hunan	Unknown	
44	1251(TPQ)?	Chenzhou 郴州	Hunan	Local school	
45	1222	Chenzhou 郴州 Guiyang County 桂陽縣	Hunan	Local school	
46	1222	Chenzhou 郴州 Guiyang County 桂陽縣	Hunan	Office	
47	1222	Chenzhou 郴州 Guiyang County 桂陽縣	Hunan	Office	3 <i>jian</i>
48	1253–8	Chenzhou 郴州 Guiyang County 桂陽縣	Hunan	Before school	
49	1159	Daozhou 道州	Hunan	Local school	
50	1175	Daozhou 道州	Hunan	Local school	
51	1178	Daozhou 道州	Hunan	Local school	4 <i>ying</i> 楹
52	1180	Daozhou 道州	Hunan	Old Abode	24 <i>ying</i>
53	1212–3	Daozhou 道州	Hunan	Unknown	
54	1218	Daozhou 道州	Hunan	Old Abode	8 buildings
55	1219	Daozhou 道州	Hunan	3 li away from the seat	20 people capa

56	1241-44	Daozhou 道州	Hunan	Hunan Daoyuan 湖南道院	
57	1258	Daozhou 道州	Hunan	Primary school	
58	1263	Daozhou 道州	Hunan	Primary school	
59	1224	Daozhou 道州 Ningyuan County 寧遠縣	Hunan	Local school	
60	1211-14	Guiyang Commandery 桂陽軍	Hunan	Local school	
61	1186-88	Hengzhou 衡州	Hunan	Local office	
62	1172 (or, 1173)	Shaoyou 邵州	Hunan	Local school	
63	1179	Shaoyou 邵州	Hunan	Local school	
64	1193(TAQ)	Shaoyou 邵州	Hunan	Local school	
65	1230	Shaoyou 邵州	Hunan	Old school site	4 <i>ying</i> 楹
66	1256	Shaoyou 邵州	Hunan	Old school site	at least 8 buildings
67	1215	Wugang Commandery 武岡軍	Hunan	School	
68	1158	Yongzhou 永州	Hunan	Local school	
69	1215	Yongzhou 永州	Hunan	Office	
70	1216	Yongzhou 永州	Hunan	Next to Zhuotang 拙堂	
71	1200-1220	Yuezhou 岳州	Hunan	Local School	
72	1230	Changzhou 常州	Jiangsu	Local school	
73	1241-1252	Jiankangfu 建康府	Jiangsu	Local school	
74	1227	Jiankangfu 建康府 Jurong County 句容縣	Jiangsu	Local school	
75	1208-1224 (early)	Jiankangfu 建康府 Liyang County 溧陽縣	Jiangsu	Local school	
76	1192	Jianningfu 建寧府 Jianyang County 建陽縣	Jiangsu	Bamboo Forest Cloister 竹林精舍	
77	1239	Runzhou 潤州	Jiangsu	Local school	
78	1253	Runzhou 潤州	Jiangsu	Next to Crane Forest Monastery 鶴林寺	
79	1236	Suzhou 蘇州 Changshu County 常熟縣	Jiangsu	Local school	
80	1216	Zhenzhou 真州	Jiangsu	Local School	
81	1172?	Ganzhou 贛州	Jiangxi	Local school	
82	1218-1219	Ganzhou 贛州	Jiangxi	North west corner of the city	
83	1225-27	Ganzhou 贛州	Jiangxi	Lianxi Academy 濂溪書院, 3 <i>li</i> from the walled city	
84	1226	Ganzhou 贛州	Jiangxi	Local school	
85	1231-33	Ganzhou 贛州	Jiangxi	Local school	
86	1272	Ganzhou 贛州 Xingguo County 興國縣 Yijin Canton 衣錦鄉	Jiangxi	Anhu Academy 安湖書院	
87	1240	Ganzhou 贛州 Yudu County 雩都縣	Jiangxi	Unknown	
88	1179(TAQ)	Hongzhou 洪州	Jiangxi	Local school	
89	1213	Hongzhou 洪州 Nanchang County 南昌縣	Jiangxi	Next to she 社	A few buildings

90	1242	Hongzhou 洪州 Nanchang County 南昌縣	Jiangxi	On Longsha 龍沙 Hill	
91	1240?	Hongzhou 洪州 Fenning County 分寧縣	Jiangxi	Unknown	3 <i>jian</i>
92	1166	Jiangzhou 江州	Jiangxi	Local school	
93	1174	Jiangzhou 江州	Jiangxi	Local school	
94	1176	Jiangzhou 江州	Jiangxi	Old Abode	
95	1211	Jiangzhou 江州	Jiangxi	Old Abode	24 <i>ying</i>
96	1234	Jiangzhou 江州	Jiangxi	Studio	
97	1246	Jiangzhou 江州	Jiangxi	Old Abode	
98	1264	Jiangzhou 江州	Jiangxi	Local school	
99	1218	Jiangzhou 江州 De'an County 德安縣	Jiangxi	Unknown	
100	1241	Jizhou 吉州	Jiangxi	Isle	A few buildings
101	1240?	Jizhou 吉州 Wan'an County 萬安縣	Jiangxi	Unknown	3 <i>jian</i>
102	1165	Nan'an Commandery 南安軍	Jiangxi	Local school	1 <i>ying</i>
103	1219(TAQ)	Nan'an Commandery 南安軍	Jiangxi	Next to local school	4 buildings
104	1225	Nan'an Commandery 南安軍	Jiangxi	Studio	
105	1233(TAQ)	Nan'an Commandery 南安軍	Jiangxi	Next to local school	4 buildings
106	1242	Nan'an Commandery 南安軍	Jiangxi	Next to local school	
107	1267	Nan'an Commandery 南安軍	Jiangxi	Office	
108	1179	Nankang Commandery 南康軍	Jiangxi	Local school	
109	1216 (1217?)	Nankang Commandery 南康軍	Jiangxi	Local school	
110	1228–1230	Nankang Commandery 南康軍	Jiangxi	Studio	
111	1228–1230	Nankang Commandery 南康軍	Jiangxi	Academy	
112	1242	Nankang Commandery 南康軍	Jiangxi	Unknown	At least 6 <i>jian</i>
113	1235	Xinzhou 信州	Jiangxi	Local school	
114	1178	Yuanzhou 袁州	Jiangxi	Local school	
115	1241–1252	Yuanzhou 袁州 Fenyi County 分宜縣	Jiangxi	Qiangang Academy 鈐剛書院	
116	1220s (mid)	Yuanzhou 袁州 Luxi Market Town 蘆溪鎮	Jiangxi	Unknown	
117	1227	Yuanzhou 袁州 Ping Canton 萍鄉	Jiangxi	Next to the station	30 <i>ying</i>
118	1228	Yuanzhou 袁州 Wanzai County 萬載縣	Jiangxi	Next to local school	3 <i>ying</i>
119	1225?	Changning Commandery 長寧軍	Sichuan	Local school	
120	1207?	Chengdu 成都	Sichuan	Local school	
121	1210(TAQ)	Chengdu 成都	Sichuan	Local school	
122	1214?	Chengdu 成都 Zhongjiang County 中江縣	Sichuan	Local school	

123	1220	Jianzhou 簡州	Sichuan	Local school	
124	1215	Puzhou 普州	Sichuan	Local School	3 <i>ying</i>
125	Southern Song	Hangzhou 杭州 Qiantang County 錢塘縣	Zhejiang	At a bay	
126	1236	Hangzhou 杭州 Xincheng County 新城縣	Zhejiang	Local school	
127	1237–1240	Mingzhou 明州	Zhejiang	Local school	
128	1212	Taizhou 台州	Zhejiang	Local school	
129	Southern Song	Yanzhou 嚴州 Shouchang County 壽昌縣	Zhejiang	Local school	
130	1192	Yanzhou 嚴州 Suian County 遂安縣	Zhejiang	Local school	

\*Terminus Post Quem \*\* Terminus Ante Quem

**Table 11. People Involved in Zhou Dunyi Shrine Projects**

Order	Found/Rebuilt/Added	Initiator	Initiator's Office	Others Involved	Writer
1	F	Zhou Shiqing 周師清	Prefect	Local elites	Zhu Xi
2	F	Chen Kai 陳塏	Prefect		Mou Zicai 牟子才
3	F	He Yu 何預	Local official		He Yu
4	R	About 10 local elites	Local elites	Shui Shenzhi 稅申之, An Guizhong 安癸中	Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁
5	F	Wu Ge 吳革	Prefect		Unknown
6	F	Xu Zhuo 徐琢	Magistrate		Chen Mi 陳宓
7	F	Fang Dacong 方大琮	Unknown		Fang Dacong 方大琮
8	F	Duan (or Jia 段) Zhenwu 段震午	Magistrate		Hu Qingxian 胡清獻
9	F	Shi Dun 石塾	Magistrate	Zhu Xi 朱熹	Zhang Shi 張栻
10	F	Zhao Xicong 趙希悰	Prefect		Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊
11	F	Zhao Chongdu 趙崇度	Unknown		
12	A	Zhao Rudang 趙汝譜	Prefect		Zhao Rudang 趙汝譜
13	R	Sun Shuqin 孫叔勤	Prefect		Chen Mi 陳宓
14	F	Zheng Liangchen 鄭良臣	Prefect		
15	F	Zhou Meisou 周梅叟	Prefect		Huang Bichang 黃必昌
16	R	Chen Wei 陳煒	Prefect		Lü Dagui 呂大圭
17	R	Lin Shizhi 林式之	Prefect		Lin Xiyi 林希逸
18	F	Lü Zhong 呂中	Professor		Bao Hui 包恢
19	F	Song Youwan 宋有萬	Magistrate		Unknown
20	R	Zhao Shifang 趙時昉	Magistrate		Unknown
21	F	Fang Dacong 方大琮	Prefect	Zhou Meisou 周梅叟	Unknown

22	F	Xu Jian 許鑒	Magistrate		Unknown
23	R	Chen Menglong 陳夢龍	Prefect		Unknown
24	F	Unknown	Unknown		Unknown
25	F	Chen Yinglong 陳應龍	Professor		Zhen Dexiu 真德秀
26	F	Zhou Shunyuan 周舜元	Prefect		Xie'E 謝諤
27	F	Zhan Yizhi 詹儀之	Superintendent of penal affairs		Zhang Shi 張栻
28	R	Liao Deming 廖德明	Professor		Zhu Xi
29	F	Lu Shiliang 陸世良	Superintendent of penal affairs		Zou Buzhi 鄒補之
30	R	Chen Guangzu 陳光祖	Superintendent of penal affairs		Chen Chun 陳淳
31	R	Su Sigong 蘇思恭	Professor		Unknown
32	F	Yang Dayi 楊大異	Superintendent of penal affairs	Fang Dacong 方大琮	Yang Dayi 楊大異
33	R	Zhou Meisou 周梅叟	Superintendent of penal affairs		Cai Kang 蔡抗
34	R	Yang Yungong 楊允恭	Unknown		Ouyang Shoudao 歐陽守道
35	F	Chen Fu 陳紘	Magistrate		Unknown
36	F	Zhang Shi 張栻	Governor		Zhang Shi 張栻
37	F	Unknown	Unknown		Lin Jie 林岳
38	F	Liao Deming 廖德明	Prefect		Liao Deming 廖德明
39	F	Shi Jiyu 石繼喻	Professor	Zhang Xisun 張熙孫	Huang Gan 黃幹
40	F	Huang Gan 黃幹	Prefect		Huang Gan
41	R	Li Kang 李亢	Magistrate		Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁
42	R	Chen Yuanjin 陳元晉	Prefect	Two local officials	Chen Yuanjin 陳元晉
43	R	Chen Yuanxun 陳元勳	Prefect		Unknown
44	F	Unknown	Unknown		Unknown
45	F	Zhou Sicheng 周思誠	Magistrate		Zhou Sicheng 周思誠
46	F	Zhou Sicheng 周思誠	Magistrate		Zhou Sicheng 周思誠
47	F	Zhou Sicheng 周思誠	Magistrate		Zhou Sicheng 周思誠
48	F	Li Jing 李勁	Registrar (Zhubu 主簿)	Huang Sui 黃遂	Unknown
49	F	Xiang Zimin 向子忝	Prefect	Hu Anguo 胡安國	Hu Quan 胡銓
50	R	Zou Fu 鄒粵	Professor		Unknown
51	R	Zhao Ruyi 趙汝誼	Prefect		Zhang Shi 張栻
52	F	Hu Yuanding 胡元鼎, et. al	Local elites	Zhao Shanyan 趙善言	Zhang Ying 章穎
53	R	Fang Xinru 方信孺	Prefect		Unknown
54	F	Gong Weifan 龔維蕃	Professor	Zhou Yue 周鑰	Gong Weifan 龔維蕃
55	F	Dong Yuji 董與幾	Prefect	Zhao Rudang 趙汝譚	Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁
56	F	Xu Gong 徐拱	Prefect		Unknown

57	R	Yang Yungong 楊允恭	Prefect	Yang Yungong 楊允恭	Teng Xunzhen 滕巽真
58	A	Local elites	Local elites	Local elites	Unknown
59	F	Huang Daming 黃大明	Magistrate		Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁
60	F	Zhou Duanchao 周端朝	Professor		Unknown
61	F	Liu Qingzhi 劉清之	Prefect		Unknown
62	F	Hu Huagong 胡華公	Prefect	Chen Baizhen 陳伯震, Huang Wei 黃洵	Zhang Shi 張栻
63	R	Wang Ke 汪恪	Prefect		Jiang Lishu 江立叔
64	F	Pan Tao 潘燾	Prefect		Zhu Xi
65	F	Liang Shiyong 梁士英	Professor	Zhao Shanqi 趙善洪	Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁
66	R	Song Zhongxi 宋仲錫	Prefect		Gao Side 高斯得
67	F	Shi Ming 史彌寧	Prefect		Wang Zhizhi 王之制
68	F	Chen Hui 陳輝	Prefect	Liu Anshi 劉安世, Fang Chou 方疇	Zhang Shi 張栻
69	F	Zang Xinbo 臧辛伯	Vice Prefect		Unknown
70	F	Lü Zhaoliang 呂昭亮	Prefect		Yuan Xie 袁燮, Lin Jie 林岳
71	F	Unknown	Unknown		Unknown
72	A	Zheng Biwan 鄭必萬	Prefect		Unknown
73	A	Unknown	Unknown		Unknown
74	F	Unknown	Unknown		Unknown
75	F	Li Dayuan 李大原	Magistrate	Wang Tang 王棠	Unknown
76	F	Zhu Xi 朱熹	Unknown	Huang Gan 黃幹	Unknown
77	F	Wu Qian 吳潛	Governor	Liu Qingyue 劉卿月	Wu Qian 吳潛
78	F	Xu Li 徐棗	Prefect		Xu Li
79	F	Wang Yue 王燾	Magistrate		Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁
80	F	Li Daochuan 李道傳	Prefect		Unknown
81	F	Liu Jingzhi 劉靖之	Professor	Luo Yuan 羅願	Unknown
82	F	Hu Ju 胡榘	Prefect		Unknown
83	F	Local elites	Unknown		Unknown
84	R	Zhang Zhongshu 張忠恕	Prefect		Unknown
85	R	Yao Yong 姚鏞	Prefect		Unknown
86	F(A)	He Shi 何時	Magistrate		Wen Tianxiang 文天祥, Fang Fengchen
87	F	Jiang Wanli 江萬里	Superintendent of fiscal affairs	Zhou Song 周頌	Unknown
88	F	Huang Hao 黃灝	Professor		Zhu Xi
89	F	Shi Yi 史沂	Magistrate	Lord Zhao 趙公	Li Fan 李燾
90	F	Jiang Wanli 江萬里	Superintendent of fiscal affairs	Local officials	None

91	F	Jiang Wanli 江萬里	Superintendent of fiscal affairs	Local officials	None
92	F	Lin Li 林栗	Prefect	Zhu Xi 朱熹	Lin Li
93	R	Zhou Shunyuan 周舜元	Prefect		Xie E 謝諤
94	F	Pan Ciming 潘慈明	Prefect	Lü Shengji 呂勝己	Zhu Xi
95	F	Zhao Chongxian 趙崇憲	Assistant superintendent of fiscal affairs		Chen Kongshi 陳孔碩
96	R	Zhao Shanliao 趙善璪	Prefect		Zhao Shanliao
97	R	Lord Wei 魏公	Unknown	Li Yu 李與	Feng Mengde 馮夢得
98	R	Deng Feiying 鄧蜚英	Professor		Wang Bi 王泌
99	F	Local elites	Unknown	Ma Jie 馬价	Lin Shiyong 林時英
100	F	Jiang Wanli 江萬里	Superintendent of fiscal affairs	Local officials	Jiang Wanli
101	F	Jiang Wanli 江萬里	Superintendent of fiscal affairs	Local officials	Unknown
102	F	Guo Jianyi 郭見義	Professor		Guo Jianyi
103	F	Liu Qiangxue 劉強學	Prefect		Ye Shi 葉適
104	F	Xu Gao 徐杲	Penal official		Xu Luqing 徐鹿卿
105	R	Zheng Lin 鄭霖	Professor	Peng Xuan 彭鉉	Zheng Lin 鄭霖
106	R	Jiang Wanli 江萬里	Superintendent of fiscal affairs	Lin Shougong 林壽公, Zhao Junmei 趙君美	Lu Fangchun 盧方春
107	R	Zhao Mengshi 趙孟適	Prefect		Chen Zongli 陳宗禮
108	F	Zhu Xi 朱熹	Prefect		Zhang Shi 張栻
109	R	Chen Bi 陳宓	Prefect		Unknown
110	F	Shi Wenqing 史文卿	Prefect		Yuan Fu 袁甫
111	F	Shi Wenqing 史文卿	Prefect		Yuan Fu 袁甫
112	R	Ni Zhuo 倪灼	Prefect		Xie Fangshu 謝方叔
113	R	Zhao Yuqin 趙與勤 (or 懃)	Prefect		He Chutian 何處恬
114	F	Zhang Jin 張杓	Prefect		Zhu Xi
115	F	Wang Hang 王杭	Magistrate		Unknown
116	F	Zhang Gengde 張耕得	Prefect	Huang Tangchen 黃唐臣 and his two nephews	Unknown
117	F	Shang Yingsun 商應孫	Magistrate	Hu Anzhi 胡安之	Li Fan 李燔
118	F	Zhu Qizhang 朱起章	Magistrate		Zhen Dexiu 真德秀
119	F	Gao Dingzi 高定子	Prefect		Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁
120	F	Wu Lie 吳獵	Prefect	Gao Chong 高崇, Du Zheng 度正, Yang Yingong 楊寅恭, Wang Zusun 王祖孫	Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁
121	R	Students	Students		Du Zheng 度正
122	F	Yuwen Tong 宇文峒	Liquor Office		Du Zheng 度正

123	F	Yu Gangjian 虞剛簡	Prefect		Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁
124	F	Yu Fangjian 虞方簡	Prefect	two local elites	Cao Yanyue 曹彥約
125	F	Unknown	Unknown		Unknown
126	F	Xie Mengsheng 謝夢生	Magistrate		Xie Mengsheng 謝夢生
127	F	Unknown	Unknown		Unknown
128	F	Huang Xun 黃愷	Prefect		Huang Gan 黃幹, Zhang Bu 張布
129	F	Unknown	Unknown		Zheng Ying 鄭穎
130	F	Sun Yingshi 孫應時	Magistrate		Sun Yingshi 孫應時

\*‘Added’ is for cases where Zhou Dunyi’s image was added to an existing shrine for someone else.

**Table 12. Types, Accompanying Honorees, and Textual Sources of Zhou Dunyi Shrines**

Order	Type	Other Honorees	Source
1	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 221
2	Academy	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Zai, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi, Lü Zuqian	Ming Jiajing chongxiu Taipingfu zhi 明嘉靖重修太平府志 2:23a
3	Shrine		LXJ 203
4	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 204
5	Studio	Various worthies and officials	Ming Hongzhi Bamin tongzhi 明弘治八閩通志 36:23b
6	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	QSW 305:201
7	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Yang Shi, Cheng Guan 陳瓘, Luo Congyan, Li Tong, Zhu Xi	QSW 322:337
8	Library	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Yang Shi, Luo Congyan 羅從彥, Li Tong 李侗, Zhu Xi	Ming Jiajing Shaxian zhi 明嘉靖沙縣志 5:1a, 9:22b
9	Library	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 223
10	Academy	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi, and 23 others	QSW 330:350
11	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Zai, Zhu Xi	QSW 314:126
12	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	QSW 304:14
13	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Zai, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi, Lü Zuqian, Liao Deming	QSW 305:203
14	Academy	Han Yu, Zhao De 趙德, Liao Deming	QSW 336:23
15	Academy	Zhang Zai, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	Ming Jiajing Chaozhoufu zhi 明嘉靖潮州府志 4:5a, YLDD 5343:45a–b
16	Academy	Zhang Zai, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	YLDD 5343:45b
17	Academy	Han Yu, Zhao De, Liao Deming	QSW 336:24
18	Shrine	Bao Zheng 包拯	QSW 319:345
19	Academy		Qing Daoguang Guangdong tongzhi 清道光廣東通志 222:22a
20	Academy		Qing Daoguang Guangdong tongzhi 清道光廣東通志 222:22a
21	Academy		Fang 1998, 21:38b
22	Academy		Ming Jiajing Deqingzhou zhi 明嘉靖德慶州志 7:4a

23	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	Ming Jiajing Deqingzhou zhi 明嘉靖德慶州志 7:4a
24	Academy		Qing Kangxi Yangjiangxian zhi 清康熙陽江縣志 1:3a
25	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	LXJ 224
26	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 215
27	Shrine		LXJ 216
28	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 215
29	Shrine		LXJ 217
30	Shrine	Yu Jing 余靖, Zhang Jiuling, Yang Wanli 楊萬里, Wang Yi 王益	Ming Hongzhi Bamin tongzhi 明弘治八閩通志 71:21b, QSW 296:66
31	Shrine		Ming Jiajing Guangdong tongzhi chugao 明嘉靖廣東通志初稿 22:8b
32	Academy	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi	Qing Daoguang Guangdong tongzhi 清道光廣東通志 139:5a-b
33	Shrine		LXJ 218
34	Academy	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi	QSW 347:85
35	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	QSW 331:329
36	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 222
37	Shrine	Zhang Zai, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi, Liu Kai 柳開	QSW 305:133
38	Shrine	Cheng Xiang, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	Yuexi wenzai 粵西文載 37:34a
39	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	LXJ 205
40	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, You Zuo 游酢, Zhu Xi	QSW 288:390
41	Shrine	Hu Hong 胡宏, Zhang Shi, Zhu Xi	LXJ 225
42	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Yang Shi, Hu Anguo, Hu Hong, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi, Wei Liaoweng	QSW 325:62
43	Shrine		QSW 293:114
44	Studio/ Shrine		Ming Wanli Chenzhou zhi 明萬曆郴州志 7:16a
45	Shrine		QSW 318:407
46	Studio		QSW 318:407
47	Shrine		QSW 318:407
48	Shrine	Shao Yong, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Zai, Zhu Xi	Qing Jiaqing Guiyangxian zhi 清嘉慶桂陽縣志 8:48a
49	Shrine		LXJ 179
50	Shrine		LXJ 183
51	Shrine		LXJ 181
52	Shrine		LXJ 181
53	Shrine		QSW 330:364
54	Shrine		LXJ 182
55	Academy		LXJ 184
56	Daoyuan 道院		QSW 342:383
57	Shrine	Zhou Fucheng	QSW 354:420
58	Shrine	Yang Yungong	QSW 354:420
59	Shrine		LXJ 186
60	Shrine		Ming Jiajing Yongjiaxian zhi 明嘉靖永嘉縣志 6:12a
61	Shrine	Zhang Jiuling, Han Yu, Kou Zhun 寇準, Hu Anguo	Ming Jiajing Hengzhoufu zhi 明嘉靖衡州府志 4:13b

62	Shrine		LXJ 207, 210, 211
63	Shrine	Zhang Jiucheng 張九成	LXJ 210
64	Shrine		LXJ 211
65	Shrine		LXJ 211
66	Studio	Unknown	QSW 344:223
67	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	QSW 305:439
68	Shrine		LXJ 206
69	Shrine		QSW 281:207, QSW 305:138
70	Shrine		QSW 281:207, QSW 305:138
71	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Shi, Zhu Xi	YDJS 69:8b:2350
72	Shrine	13 others	Ming Chenghua chongxiu Piling zhi 明成化重修毗陵志 27:9b
73	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	Song Jingding Jiankang zhi 宋景定建康志 31:2a
74	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	Song Jingding Jiankang zhi 宋景定建康志 30:10a
75	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Yang Shi	Song Jingding Jiankang zhi 宋景定建康志 30:23b
76	Academy	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Zai, Sima Guang, Shao Yong	Ming Chongzhen Minshu 明崇禎閩書 14:10a
77	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	Song Jiading Zhenjiang zhi 宋嘉定鎮江志 10:3a–b
78	Academy	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	Yuan Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi 元至順鎮江志 11:32b
79	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Zai, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi	Song Baoyou chongxiu Qinchuan zhi 宋寶祐重修琴川志 1:5b, QSW 310:390
80	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	Ming Longqing Yizhenxian zhi 明 隆慶儀真縣志 8:2b
81	Shrine		QSW 255:474, 259:282
82	Shrine	Zhao Bian	Ming Jiajing Jiangxi tongzhi 明嘉靖江西通志 34:51a
83	Academy		Qing Tongzhi Ganxian zhi 清同治贛縣志 22:6a, 25:41a, 27:50a
84	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Hu Hong, Zhang Shi, Zhu Xi, Lü Zuqian	Ming Jiajing Jiangxi tongzhi 明嘉靖江西通志 34:52a
85	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Hu Hong, Zhang Shi, Zhu Xi, Lü Zuqian, Cheng Xiang	Ming Jiajing Jiangxi tongzhi 明嘉靖江西通志 34:52a
86	Academy	Cheng Xiang, Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao	Ming Jiajing Ganzhoufu zhi 明萬曆贛州府志 6:18a, Ming Jiajing Jiangxi tongzhi 明嘉靖江西通志 34:52a–b, QSW 359:187, 353:262,
87	Academy/ Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 201, Qing Guangxu Jiangxi tongzhi 清光緒江西通志 78:31a–b
88	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 201
89	Shrine		LXJ 202
90	Academy	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 201, Ming Jiajing Jiangxi tongzhi 明嘉靖江西通志 4:37a
91	Academy	Huang Tingjian	LXJ 201
92	Shrine		LXJ 171
93	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 171
94	Studio		LXJ 172

95	Academy		LXJ 173, Qing Tongzhi Jiujiangfu zhi 清同治九江府志 22:1a-b
96	Studio		QSW 308:277
97	Academy		LXJ 174
98	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	LXJ 176
99	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 177
100	Academy	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 199
101	Academy		LXJ 201, Qing Guangxu Jiangxi tongzhi 清光緒江西通志 81:50b
102	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 196
103	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 197
104	Studio		QSW 333:255
105	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Cheng Xiang	LXJ 197
106	Academy	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Cheng Xiang 程珣	LXJ 198
107	Shrine		QSW 350:8
108	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 219
109	Shrine	Zhu Xi	LXJ 221
110	Studio	Zhu Xi, Senior Liu, Junior Liu	QSW 324:63
111	Studio		QSW 324:55
112	Shrine	Zhu Xi	LXJ 219
113	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Zai	QSW 333:357
114	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	LXJ 193
115	Academy	Zhang Zai, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	Ming Jiajing Jiangxi tongzhi 明嘉靖江西通志 32:40b
116	Shrine		LXJ 193
117	Studio	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Zai, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi	LXJ 193
118	Shrine	Han Yu	LXJ 195
119	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Zai, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi	LXJ 226
120	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi	LXJ 227
121	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi, Fan Zhongfu 范仲黼, Wu Lie 吳獵	QSW 301:161
122	Shrine	Many	QSW 301:148
123	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Jiucheng	LXJ 228
124	Shrine	Zhang Zai, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi	QSW 293:62, YDJS 158:5a:4289
125	Shrine		Qing Kangxi Qiantangxian zhi 清康熙錢塘縣志 13xia:23a
126	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	QSW 335:205, Ming Wanli Hangzhoufu zhi 明萬曆杭州府志 42:7a-b
127	Shrine	Zhang Zai, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	Song Baoqing Siming zhi 宋寶慶四明志 2:5b
128	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi	Song Jiading Chicheng zhi 宋嘉定赤城志 4:3a, QSW 288:401, 277:102
129	Shrine		Qing Kangxi Shouchangxian zhi 清康熙壽昌縣志 12:18b
130	Shrine	Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Shi, Lü Zuqian	QSW 290:87

## Appendix II: Zhou Dunyi's Names Found in the *Airusheng Local Gazetteers* DB

**Table 13. Search Results Classified by Region**

Region\keywords	Lianxi 廉溪	Lianxi 廉溪	Lianxi 廉溪	Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤	Yuangong 元公	Total
Guangdong 廣東	566	9	170	124	184	1,053
Guangxi 廣西	64	0	23	25	56	168
Hunan 湖南	1,814	9	410	147	702	3,082
Hubei 湖北	70	1	16	36	24	147
Jiangxi 江西	1,467	13	361	181	366	2,388
Zhejiang 浙江	146	6	42	52	213	459
Jiangsu 江蘇	268	5	68	61	170	572
Fujian 福建	157	55	69	98	91	470
Sichuan 四川	60	0	21	31	28	140
Chongqing 重慶	14	0	3	3	1	21
Guizhou 貴州	47	1	6	27	13	94
Others	451	19	90	502	716	1,778
Total	5,124	118	1,279	1,287	2,564	10,372
Guangdong/Total	11.05%	7.63%	13.29%	9.63%	7.18%	<b>10.15%</b>

Figure 30. Search Results for 'Lianxi 濂溪' Mapped via LoGart



### Appendix III: Search Results from the Three Selected National Gazetteers

**Table 14. Search Results from the Three Selected National Gazetteers**

<i>Daming yitong zhi</i> 大明一統志	Guangdong	Total	Guangdong/Total
Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤	8	56	14.29%
Lianxi 濂溪	6	51	11.76%
Yuangong 元公	2	6	33.33%
Total	16	113	<b>14.16%</b>
<i>Daqing yitong zhi</i> 大清一統志			
Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤	5	18	27.78%
Lianxi 濂溪	13	78	16.67%
Yuangong 元公	2	16	12.50%
Total	20	112	<b>17.86%</b>
<i>Fangyu shenglan (Song)</i> 方輿勝覽			
Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤	0	0	
Lianxi 濂溪	3	29	
Total	3	29	<b>10.34%</b>

## Appendix IV: Guangdong Officials' Places of Origin

Figure 31. Chaozhou Officials' Places of Origin

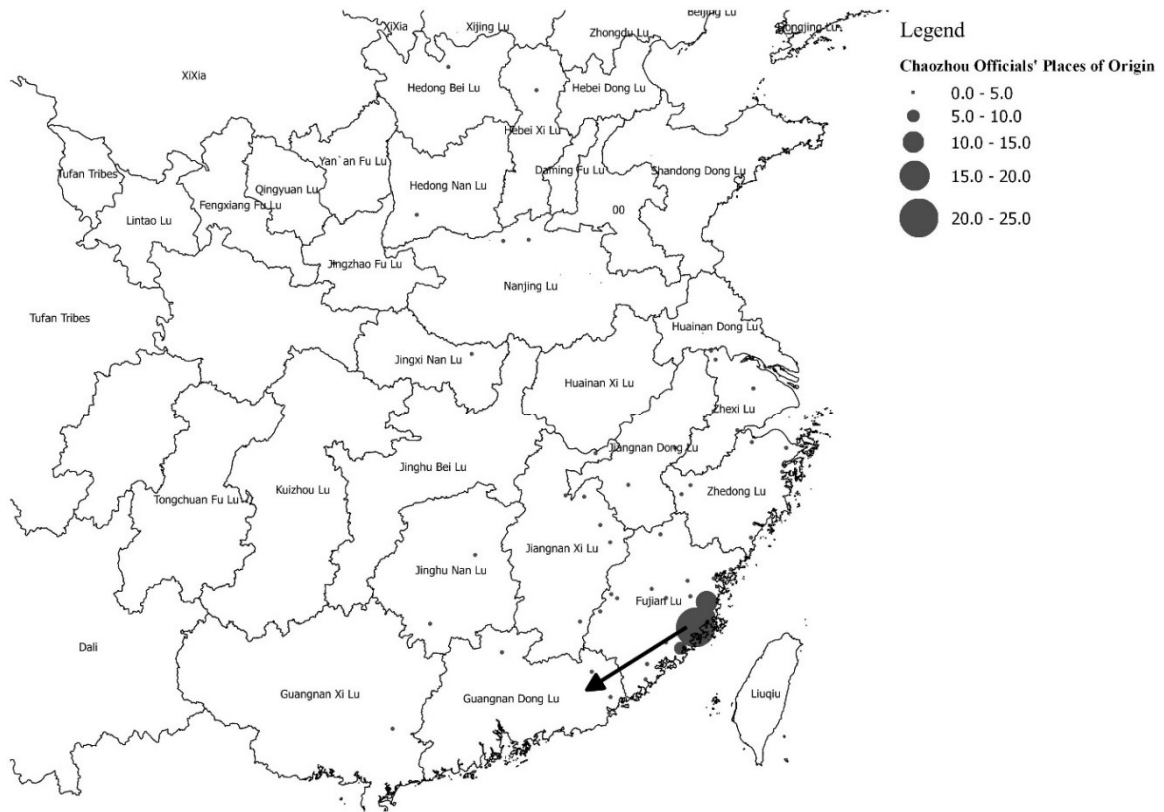
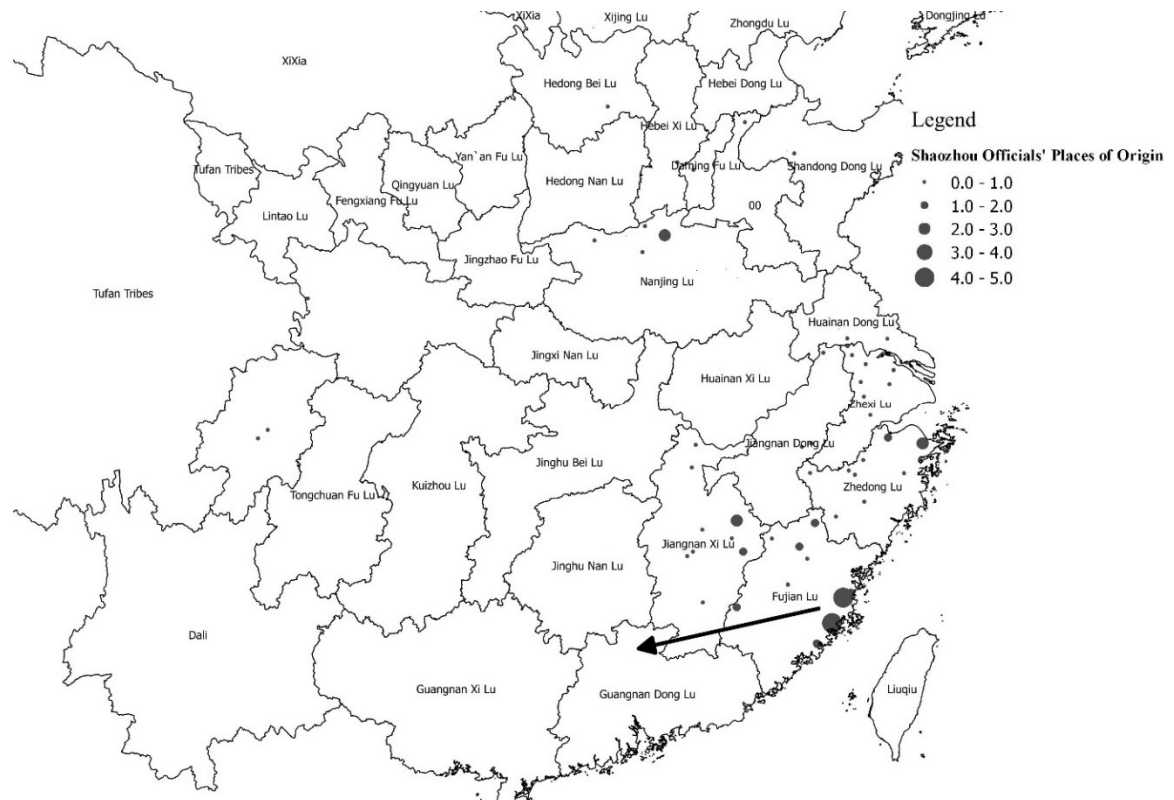
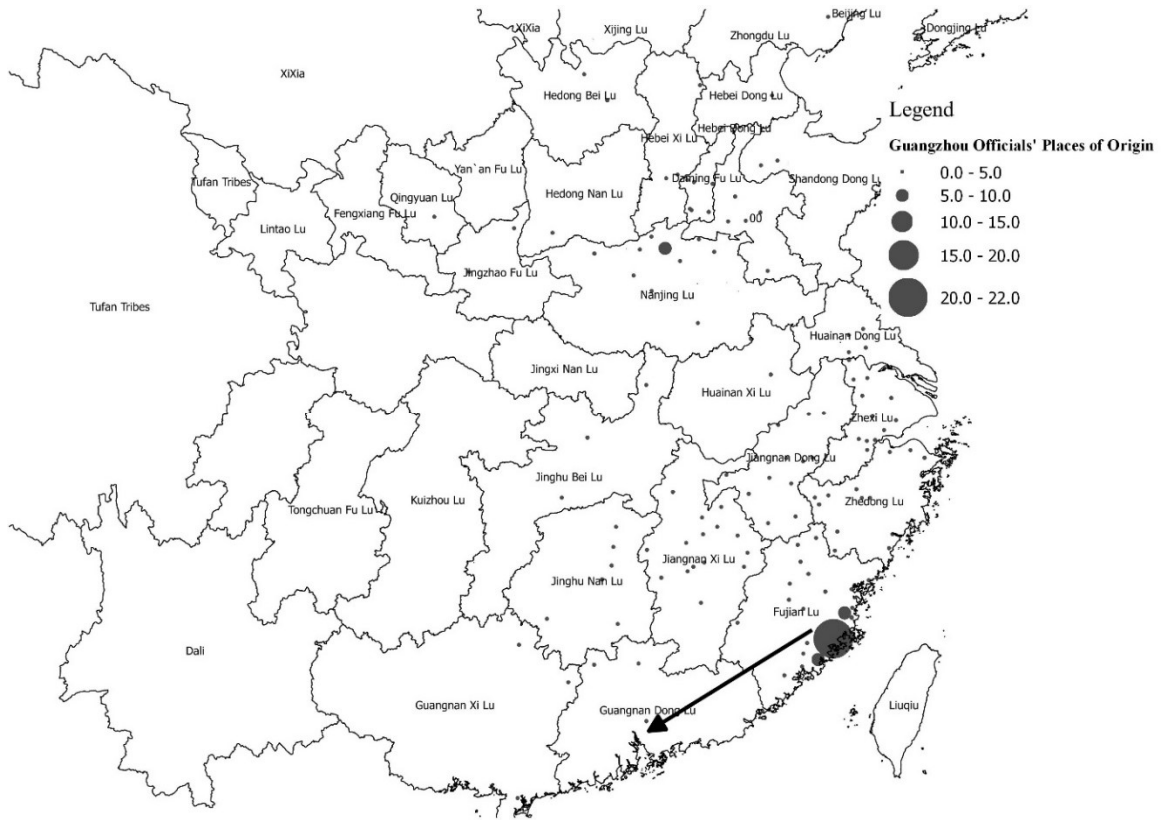


Figure 32. Shaozhou Officials' Places of Origin



**Figure 33. Guangzhou Official's Places of Origin**



## Appendix V: The Tomb of Zhou Dunyi (1922)

Following photographs were taken by Tokiwa Daijo in 1922 and reprinted in 1975 (Tokiwa and Sekino 1940, 44–6).

Figure 34. The Façade of Zhou Dunyi's Tomb Complex



Figure 35. Inscriptions for Zhou Dunyi's Tomb



Left: Commemorative Essays for Renovation of the Tomb Complex and Diagram of the Great Ultimate.

Right: Inscription for the Tombs of Zhou Dunyi, his Mother, and his Two Wives.

Figure 36. The Love of Lotus Flowers Pond



Left: The Love of Lotus Flowers Pond (*Ailian chi* 愛蓮池) and the Pavilion.

Right: Inscribed Image of Zhou Dunyi.



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Song Jiading Chicheng zhi 宋嘉定赤城志 1223

Song Baoqing Siming zhi 宋寶慶四明志 1227

Song Baoyou chongxiu Qinchuan zhi 宋寶祐重修琴川志 1254

Song Jingding Jiankang zhi 宋景定建康志 1261

Yuan Dade Nanhai zhi 元大德南海志 1304

Yuan Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi 元至順鎮江志 1332

Daming yitong zhi 大明一統志 1461

Ming Hongwu Suzhoufu zhi 明洪武蘇州府志 1379

Ming Chenghua chongxiu Piling zhi 明成化重修毗陵志 1484

Ming Hongzhi Bamin tongzhi 明弘治八閩通志 1491

Ming Zhengde Helinsi zhi 明正德鶴林寺之 1512

Ming Jiajing Jiangxi tongzhi 明嘉靖江西通志 1525

Ming Jiajing Jiujiangfu zhi 明嘉靖九江府志 1527

Ming Jiajing chongxiu Taipingfu zhi 明嘉靖重修太平府志 1530

Ming Jiajing Guangxi tongzhi 明嘉靖廣西通志 1531

Ming Jiajing Guangdong tongzhi chugao 明嘉靖廣東通志初稿 1535

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Ming Jiajing Hengzhoufu zhi 明嘉靖衡州府志 1537

Ming Jiajing Shaxian zhi 明嘉靖沙縣志 1545  
Ming Jiajing Chaozhoufu zhi 明嘉靖潮州府志 1547  
Ming Jiajing Yongjiaxian zhi 明嘉靖永嘉縣志 1566  
Ming Longqing Yizhenxian zhi 明隆慶儀真縣志 1567  
Ming Wanli Chenzhou zhi 明萬曆郴州志 1576  
Ming Wanli Hangzhoufu zhi 明萬曆杭州府志 1579  
Ming Wanli Dantuxian zhi 明萬曆丹徒縣志 c.1580  
Ming Wanli Xinningxian zhi 明萬曆新寧縣志 1606  
Ming Wanli Helinsi zhi 明萬曆鶴林寺之 1614  
Ming Wanli Leizhoufu zhi 明萬曆雷州府志 1614  
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Qing Kangxi Huguang tongzhi 清康熙湖廣通志 1684  
Qing Kangxi Chenzhou zongzhi 清康熙郴州總志 1685  
Qing Kangxi Yangjiangxian zhi 清康熙陽江縣志 1688  
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Qing Tongzhi Jiujiangfu zhi 清同治九江府志 1874  
Qing Tongzhi Suzhoufu zhi 清同治蘇州府志 1874/83  
Qing Guangxu Daozhou zhi 清光緒道州志 1878

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