

Descendants and Portraits of Confucius in the Early Southern Song

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First, I wish to thank everyone at the National Palace Museum for the wonderful "Dynastic Renaissance" exhibition and symposium. It has been 30 years since I wrote my Ph. D. dissertation on Song Gaozong 宋高宗 and the *Shijing* 詩經 illustrations attributed to Ma Hezhi 馬和之, so I am very pleased to see this emperor's dynastic revival being celebrated. The negative evaluation of Gaozong in the *Song shi* 宋史 has dominated ideas about him for far too long.

My paper today is part of a larger study on the formation and functions of various kinds of visual representation of Confucius (Kongzi 孔子), both in their original contexts and as they developed in new ones. I will start by simply summarizing my main points. One, the Southern Song was a crucial period in the formation of the image of Confucius that is most familiar to us today. Two, this portrayal was created by his descendants, surnamed Kong 孔, who left the ancestral home in Qufu, Shandong, to join the Southern Song restoration. Three, the image was based on one of several portraits possessed by lineage members in Qufu. Four, the descendants' criteria for authenticity was primarily based on provenance; and five, portraits of Confucius were important forms of cultural capital deployed differently by descendants than by scholars and political figures.

Descendants of Confucius have long played an important role in preserving and transmitting visual representations of the ancient sage. (See Appendix for a chart of the descendants mentioned in this paper.). Portraits owned by various members of the Kong lineage were authoritative images that were reproduced on incised stones and in woodblock-printed versions, which circulated them more widely. Perhaps the most influential portrayal was a lifesize depiction of Confucius standing in three-quarter profile with his hands clasped together at his chest, which was incised on a stone stele erected by senior descendants at the beginning of the Southern Song.¹ This image subsequently was extensively replicated at government schools and private academies throughout China, and woodblock-printed versions were reproduced in popular encyclopedias. Versions of the image have also become increasingly familiar in our own

1.I examine its origins in more detail in "Pedagogue on the Go: Portraits of Confucius as an Itinerant Teacher," in *Bridges to Heaven: Essays in Honor of Wen C. Fong*, edited by Jerome Silbergeld et al. (Princeton: Tang Center for East Asian Art, forthcoming).

time through its revival as a model for many kinds of representation, including monumental sculpture, postage stamps, and even lottery tickets.

The Jin invasion and conquest of North China, which devastated the Song royal house, also disrupted the ancestral cult of Confucius maintained by his documented descendants in Qufu 曲阜, Shandong, over the centuries.² Particularly under the Northern Song emperors, the senior Kong lineage had received generous imperial patronage in return for continuing sacrifices in the temple of Confucius and tending his grave. The Kongs enjoyed grants of lands, households assigned to farm them and provide services, and exemptions from taxes and labor obligations. Starting in 1055, Song emperors began awarding the hereditary noble title Duke for Perpetuating the Sage (Yansheng Gong 衍聖公) to the senior male in each generation. Moreover imperial beneficence helped the temple of Confucius in Qufu become increasingly grand, particularly after the emperor Zhenzong (r. 997-1022) visited in person and performed a sacrifice there in 1008.

A diagram of the temple in its configuration under the Northern Song shows an elaborate complex of tile-roofed buildings and multiple courtyards.³ The structures labeled Book Tower (Shulou 書樓) and Imperial Encomia (Yuzan 御贊) housed books and commemorative inscriptions bestowed by various emperors, who also wrote calligraphy for signboards.⁴ Sacrifices to Confucius were performed in the large double-roofed building labeled Main Hall (Zhengdian 正殿), in front of which was a stepped platform called the Apricot Terrace (Xingtan

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2. A good introduction to many aspects of the cult and its history is *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Temple of Confucius*, edited by Thomas A. Wilson (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002).
 3. See Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji* 孔氏祖庭廣記 (1242; rpt. *Sibu congkan guangbian* 四部叢刊廣編, v. 18, Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1981), preliminary picture section (10). The same book's illustration of the temple under the Jin (Idem, 11) shows very little alteration, despite various fires and rebuilding. Its layout and condition in the spring of 1252 are described in vivid detail by Yang Huan 楊奐, "Dongyou ji 東遊記" ("Traveling in the East"), *Huanshan yigao* 還山遺稿 (rpt. *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, v. 1198, Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1983), *juan shang*, pp. 19b-23a (1198-232--1198-234). A slightly rearranged version of the Northern Song temple plan and an enumeration of its buildings appear in the late Southern Song illustrated compendium *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 (*Comprehensive Record of the Forest of Affairs*); for example, see the undated Yuan edition in the Naikaku bunko, Japan (Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC-5829, whose interior title is given as *Xinbian zuantu zenglei qunshu yilan shilin quanbi* 新編纂圖增類群書一覽事林全璧), *hou ji*, *juan* 3, pp. 2a-b. Yuan editions use a Song title for the temple of Confucius, *Zhisheng wenxuan wang miao* 至聖文宣王廟, although the Yuan emperor Wuzong (r. 1307-1311) added the epithet "Dacheng 大成" to it in 1307. For further references on *Shilin guangji*, see note 16.
 4. According to Yang Huan (see note 3), the Yuzan housed Song Zhenzong's encomium to Confucius, composed by the emperor himself, and the encomia composed by his courtiers for the 72 disciples; "Dongyou ji," p. 22a (1198-234). Under the Jin, in 1191, the Kuiwen'ge was built on the site of the Shulou; Idem, p. 22b (1198-234); compare temple plans in Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, preliminary picture section (10-11). It is not clear whether the old building was merely repaired and renamed, or whether it had been destroyed and built anew.

杏壇), built in 1022 to mark the supposed site where Confucius lectured to his disciples.⁵ Behind the grand ceremonial hall was another two-story building for separate offerings to the wife of Confucius, Madame Qiguan 亓官 (titled Yunguo furen 鄆國服人), and smaller shrines for his son Boyu 伯魚 (Sishui hou 泗水侯) and grandson Zi Si 子思 (Yishui hou 沂水侯) on the east and west sides, respectively. Flanking the main axis of the temple to the west were shrines to the father and mother of Confucius (on the left, Qiguo gong 齊國公 and Luguo taifuren 魯國太夫人, and the Five Worthies 五賢⁶) and to the east a family temple (Jiamiao 家廟) for worshipping more immediate lineage ancestors. The diagram also includes an area with the lineage's administrative offices and facilities for receiving guests.⁷ Because the Kong descendants worshiped their own recent ancestors in addition to maintaining the cult of Confucius on behalf of the emperor, the ritual complex and practices in Qufu differ from those of the typical Confucian temple associated with government schools throughout the empire.

In the autumn of 1128, after the Jin had invaded North China, Song Gaozong summoned the 48th-generation Duke, Kong Duanyou 孔端友 (d. 1132), to perform a sacrifice at the temporary capital at Yangzhou. When the Jin gained control of Qufu, they installed his younger brother, Kong Duancao 孔端操 (c.1062-c.1133), as duke.⁸ Instead of trying to return to Qufu, Kong Duanyou and other members of the senior lineage followed Gaozong south to Lin'an (Hangzhou) in early 1129. As the Jin pursued the attack and chased Gaozong out of Lin'an, the Kongs went on to Quzhou 衢州, a more protected area up a mountain valley to the southwest.⁹ Gaozong awarded offices and titles to provide them with subsistence, enabling them to resume their ancestral sacrifices in the South. By protecting and supporting these recognized senior

5. The Apricot Platform was built by 45th-generation descendant Kong Daofu 孔道輔 (986-1039); see Kong Chuan 孔傳, *Dongjia zaji* 東家雜記 (1134; rpt. *Kongzi wenhua daquan* 孔子文化大全, Jinan: Shandong Youyi shushe, 1990), *juan xia*, p. 2b (106). A comparison of the Song and Jin ground plans of the Qufu temple (see note 3) shows the Jin addition of a stele and pavilion on top.

6. According to Yang Huan, the Five Worthies were Meng(zi) 孟子, Xun(zi) 荀子, Yang (Xiong) 揚雄, Wang (Chong) 王充 and Han (Yu) 韓愈; "Dongyou ji," p. 21b (1198-233). The shrine appears behind that of Confucius's mother on the Song plan and in a separate courtyard west of the parental axis in the Jin plan; see Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, preliminary picture section (10-11).

7. See Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, preliminary picture section (10).

8. According to Southern Kong versions of this history, which is illustrated on modern tablets displayed in the renovated Quzhou temple, Kong Duanyou *told* his brother, Kong Duancao, to stay in Qufu to take care of the ancestral sites. The Jin gave Duancao the ducal title in 1128. Liu Yu's 劉豫 (r. 1130-1137) "Qi" 齊 regime, which briefly occupied the Qufu area, conferred the title on Duancao's son Kong Fan 孔璠 (c.1103-1140) in 1132; Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, *juan 1*, p. 15a (19).

9. Nonetheless, a 1132-dated preface to *Dongjia zaji* by Kong Duanchao 孔端朝 (also called Duanmu 端木) describes how the Kongs had to flee into the mountains when the warlord Zhang Qi 張琪 invaded the area (modern Anhui and northern Zhejiang) in 1131; see Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, *houxu*, pp. 2a-b (167-168).

descendants of Confucius, Gaozong enhanced the legitimacy of his own regime. However, Gaozong did not build a grand new temple for the Kong ancestral sacrifices, as their performance in the South was supposed to be just a temporary expedient.¹⁰ Instead, in 1136, Gaozong issued an edict to use the Quzhou school as a temporary (*quan* 權) Kong Family Temple (Kongshi jiamiao 孔氏家廟), and in 1138 he awarded five hectares (*qing* 頃) of land to support Kong sacrifices there.¹¹ Only in about 1255 was a separate facility constructed to serve exclusively as the Kong Family Temple, located at Caltrop Lake (Linghu 菱湖) northeast of the prefecture.¹²

According to family traditions of later descendants in Quzhou, the refugees brought with them precious documents and heirlooms from Qufu, including a pair of pistache wood (*kai mu* 楷木) votive statues of Confucius and his wife, which were believed to have been carved by the disciple Zi Gong 子貢 shortly after the death of Confucius.¹³ After settling in Quzhou, Kong Duanyou and his cousin Kong Chuan 孔傳 (d. 1134) also erected a stone stele incised with a large standing image of Confucius. Although the original stone seems to have been destroyed at the end of the Southern Song, the image was recarved in the early sixteenth century, when Kong

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10. In addition to symbolizing an abandonment of the North, a new temple might suggest that Gaozong lacked the capability to recover Qufu and enable the duke to return; see "Nanzong Kong miao 南宗孔廟," *Hudong baike* 互動百科, <http://www.hudong.com/wiki/%E5%8D%97%E5%AE%97%E5%AD%94%E5%BA%99> (accessed 2010-09-27).
11. Yang Tingwang 楊廷望, comp., (*Kangxi*) *Quzhou fuzhi* 康熙衢州府志 (1711; 1882 ed. rpt. *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng: Zhejiang fuxian zhiji* 中国地方志集成: 浙江府縣志, v. 55, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1993), *juan* 7, p. 4a (153). Kong family sources beginning with Kong Ni's 孔擬 1178-dated postface to *Dongjia zaji* claim that Gaozong awarded 10 hectares; see Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji, hou xu*, p. 3a (169).
12. This is the date given in Yang Tingwang comp., (*Kangxi*) *Quzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 7, p. 4a (153); Xiaobing Wang-Riese 王霄冰 dates the founding to 1253; see *Nanzong ji Kong* 南宗祭孔 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Renmin chubanshe, 2008), p. 31. Perhaps a reason why the Kong descendants only gained proper facilities so long after the titleholding duke fled to the South was that the Yuan conquest of the Jin by 1234 made their return to Qufu even more unlikely; for additional discussion, see "Nanzong Kong miao."
13. Recently included in an exhibition in New York, the wooden figurines are reproduced and discussed in Wensheng Lu and Julia K. Murray, *Confucius: His Life and Legacy in Art* (New York, 2010), cat. no. 2. For the assertion that Kong Duanyou brought the images to the South, quoted from the 1699 edition of the local gazetteer, and for details of their display in a two-storied building called Thinking of Lu (Si Lu ge 思魯閣) in the Quzhou Kong family temple, see Zheng Yongxi 鄭永禧, comp., (*Min'guo*) *Quxian zhi* 民國衢縣志 (1926; 1937 edition rpt. *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng: Zhejiang fuxian zhiji*, v. 55 Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1993), *juan* 3, p. 16b (692); also Kong Xiangkai 孔祥楷, comp., *Quzhou Kongshi Nanzong jiamiao zhi* 衢州孔氏南宗家廟志 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Renmin chubanshe, 2001), "Jiamiao," pp. 27 and 33. I have not found earlier references to the wooden effigies, but Cui Mingxian 崔銘先 claims that Gaozong ordered the prefect of Quzhou to install them in the prefectural school temple in 1129; see "Kongshi Nanzong zhi zuowei ji qi yingxiang (shang) 孔氏南宗之作为及其影响(上)," *Zhongguo Kongzi wang* 中國孔子網 (China Confucius Internet) http://www.chinakongzi.org/gxdt/200801/t20080111_3153121.htm, posted 2008-01-11 (accessed 2010-9-28). My personal opinion is that the figures do not predate the Song.

descendants in Quzhou gained new recognition after over 200 years of obscurity. I will discuss the portrayal further below, after providing some details on these pivotal figures and relevant developments in the late Northern Song period.

Kong Chuan and images of Confucius in the late Northern Song

A member of the 47th generation of descendants, Kong Chuan was a prominent literatus and Qufu official, who is represented in the National Palace Museum's collection by *Six Writings of Master Kong* (*Kongshi liu tie* 孔氏六帖).¹⁴ He also compiled *Miscellaneous Records of the Eastern House* (*Dongjia zaji* 東家雜記), containing a biography of Confucius, a genealogy of his ancestors and descendants, a chronology of imperial beneficence to Confucius and his descendants, a description of portraits of Confucius, and extensive documentation on the Qufu temple and other sites significant to his cult. Although Kong Chuan's preface is dated 1134 (Shaoxing *jiayin* 紹興甲寅/3rd month /*xinhai* 辛亥), various evidence suggests that he initially compiled the work in Qufu in 1124, under the title (*Miscellaneous*) *Records of the Kong Lineage Ancestral Court* (*Queli zuting zaji* 闕里祖庭[雜]記), and subsequently had to reconstruct it in the South.¹⁵ Extant editions of the book include an illustration in which Confucius is playing the

14. Kong Chuan's original name was Ruogu 若古, which he changed in 1089, upon attaining the position of assistant magistrate (*zhubu* 主簿) of Xianyuan 仙源 (i.e., Qufu); see Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, *juan shang*, p. 36b (100). For additional biography and his many titles, see Kong Decheng 孔德成, comp., *Kongzi shijia pu* 孔子世家譜 (1937; rpt. *Kongzi wenhua daquan*, Jinan: Shandong Youyi chubanshe, 1990), *chu ji*, *juan 2*, p. 5b (86), and *er ji*, *juan 17-1*, p. 1a (2381); also Chang Bide 昌彼德, comp., *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 宋人傳記資料索引 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1977), pp. 387-388. The National Palace Museum has the earliest extant exemplar of *Kongshi liu tie*, printed in 1166; see http://www.npm.gov.tw/zh-tw/collection/selections_02.htm?catno=14&docno=224&pageno=2&fp=true (accessed 5-31-10).

15. The bibliography of the official Song history lists two books under Kong Chuan's name: *Queli zuting ji* 闕里祖庭記 in three *juan*, and *Dongjia zaji* in two *juan*; Toqto 脫脫, comp., *Song shi* 宋史 (1345; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), *juan 203* (*yiwenzhi* 藝文志), p. 5122. Kong Yuancuo's *Kongshi zuting guangji* includes a preface by 49th-generation descendant Kong Gui 孔瓌 for a re-edited (*chongbian* 重編) version of a work by Kong Chuan referred to as *Zuting zaji* 祖庭雜記, compiled in Qufu and dated in the third lunar month of 1124; see Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, *zuting zaji jiu yin*, pp. 1a-b (4). A slightly variant version of this preface under Kong Chuan's name, dated 1134 and written in the South, appears in freestanding editions of *Dongjia zaji*; see Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, *juan shou*, pp. 1a-b (13-14). Kong Duanchao's 1132-dated postface to *Dongjia zaji* implies that Kong Chuan compiled two works: a genealogy that he brought with him to the South, which was scattered during a raid in 1131 but substantially recovered; and an abridged version that excluded collateral branches of the Kong lineage; *Ibid.*, *hou xu*, pp. 1b-2b (166-168). Therefore, it seems possible that in the South, Kong Chuan revised an earlier, fuller version of the genealogy he had prepared in the North, and Kong Yuancuo subsequently used the earlier version as the basis for his own edition. The Qing editors of *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 were puzzled by numerous discrepancies between the edition of *Dongjia zaji* that they saw and the work's

qin and attended by ten disciples. The elaborate pedestal on which he is seated can be identified as the Apricot Platform, a three-tiered structure similar to the one depicted in the diagram of the Qufu temple, which the text on the facing page says was built by Kong Chuan's grandfather Kong Daofu 孔道輔 (986-1039). The connection with the Apricot Platform is made explicit in a version of this composition included in a Yuan edition of the *Comprehensive Record of the Forest of Affairs* (*Shilin guangji* 事林廣記), an illustrated compendium of useful information for the aspiring literatus, which was initially published in late Southern Song Fujian.¹⁶ However, there is no information about the picture itself in *Dongjia zaji*, nor does the composition match any of the four portrayals of Confucius that the text does describe.¹⁷

Kong Chuan took much of his discussion of visual representations of Confucius from an earlier genealogy, identified simply as the *Family Register* (*Jiapu* 家譜), which was published in 1085 by his uncle, Kong Zonghan 孔宗翰 (fl. mid-late 11th c.), the younger son of Kong Daofu.¹⁸ The quoted passage begins by describing Confucius's extraordinary physical appearance, which included 49 auspicious bodily marks and features like those of ancient sage emperors Yao, Shun, and Yu.¹⁹ Kong Zonghan's discussion then turns to the topic of pictorial representations of Confucius, starting with one that he says was then in the family temple (*jin*

characterization in earlier bibliographies; their comments are transcribed at the front of the *Kongzi wenhua daquan* reprint, pp. 9-12. An exemplar in the National Library of China, Beijing, catalogued as a "Song edition with ongoing revisions" (*Song ke di xiu ben* 宋刻遞修本), observes Song taboos only through Gaozong but has entries for descendants through the Southern Song and pages cut in different typefaces; see the facsimile reproduction in *Zhongguo zaizao shanben, Tang Song bian, Shi bu* 中華再造善本. 唐宋編, 史部, v. 142 (Beijing, Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2006).

16. *Shilin guangji* (as in note 3) is believed to have been initially compiled by Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 in 1269; for analyses of its numerous and variable (and variably titled) later editions, see Hu Daojing 胡道靜, "Yijiuliusan nian Zhonghua shuju yingyin ben qianyan 一九六三年中華書局影印本前言," reprinted in the Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 edition of *Shilin guangji* (Beijing, 1999), pp. 559-565; and Morita Kenji 森田憲司, "Guanyu zai Riben de *Shilin guangji* zhuben 關於在日本的“事林廣記”諸本," *Ibid.*, pp. 566-572.
17. The four portrayals described in *Dongjia zaji* are called *hua xiang* 畫像 and probably were paintings, but they also could have been incised stones. It is possible that the illustration of Confucius at the Apricot Platform was not in the original edition of *Dongjia zaji* but was added in later ones, based on the image in *Shilin guangji* (see notes 3 and 16). The exemplar of *Dongjia zaji* in the National Library of China, Beijing (see note 15) includes the picture and an accompanying text called "Statement on the Apricot Terrace" (*Xingtian shuo* 杏壇說); Qian Daxin suggests in a handwritten 1801-dated colophon to this exemplar that the picture and text, and other material at the front of the book, were later additions.
18. Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji, juan xia*, pp. 3b-4a (108-109). A noted literatus, Kong Zonghan became magistrate of Xianyuan 賢源 (Qufu) in 1056 and later served as prefect in several other regions, ending his career as Vice Minister in the capital Ministry of Justice; see Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji, juan shang*, pp. 36a-b (99-100); Kong Decheng, *Kongzi shijia pu, chu ji, juan 2*, pp. 4a-b (85); and Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin, pp. 392-393.
19. Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji, juan xia*, p. 3b (108). Some of these details appear in much earlier texts and are faithfully preserved in later descendants' compilations of family and temple history and lore.

Jiamiao suo cang hua xiang 今家廟所藏畫像). The *Jiamiao* was an ancestral shrine used only by the members of the senior Kong lineage, unlike the ceremonial hall where scholar-officials also participated in sacrificial rituals (labeled *Zhengdian* on the Song temple plan). Although the text's wording seems to imply a portrait that was physically kept in the *Jiamiao*, perhaps the reference can be interpreted metaphorically as meaning a picture that had passed down through the primary line of descendants. The portrait itself probably was a painting, although the term *hua xiang* could also refer to a picture incised on stone.

In any case, Kong Zonghan says that it depicted Confucius in clothing indicating that the sage was at leisure (*yi yan ju fu* 衣燕居服), and attended by his favorite disciple, Yan Hui 顏回 (514-483 BCE) (*Yanzi congxing* 顏子從行). People called it the *Small Portrait* (*Xiaoying* 小影, literally "small shadow"), probably not only because of the size but also because of the relative informality of the image, which differed from iconic memorial portraits. Kong Zonghan acclaimed it as "the truest of the Sage's portraits" (*yu Sheng xiang wei zui zhen* 於聖像為最真). His excerpt continues by describing three other portrayals that had been passed down in recent generations (*jin shi suo chuan* 今世所傳). Two showed Confucius seated, supported by a curved low table and holding a jade whisk. In one of the two, he was attended by ten disciples, among them someone holding up a canopy and another a jade chime-stone. In the other composition, 72 disciples stood in a row, some of them grasping a bow or arrow or opening a scroll. A third picture showed Confucius riding in a carriage, accompanied by ten disciples who were walking. Kong Zonghan dismisses all three compositions as "all re-creations of later people, hardly true portraits of the First Sage" (*jie hou ren zhui xie, dai fei Xian Sheng zhi zhen xiang* 皆後人追寫, 殆非先聖之真像).²⁰

After quoting this lengthy passage from his uncle's text, Kong Chuan then transcribed a panegyric called "Encomium for the *Small Portrait* (*Xiaoying zan* 小影贊), which had been composed by Yin Fuzhen 尹復臻 (active late 11th century), probably after his 1089 appointment as a teacher at the school associated with Qufu temple (Queli miaoxue jiaoshou 闕里廟學教授).²¹ The opening lines of Yin's ode claim that the portrait was nearly 2000 years old and came

20. Quoted in Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji, juan xia*, pp. 3b-4a (108-109); and in later compilations, such as Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji, juan 8*, p. 4a (51). It is not clear whether this evaluation of the image's accuracy was Kong Zonghan's own or one that he quoted from some earlier source.

21. Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji, juan xia*, p. 4a (109). Yin Fuzhen's appointment as teacher in 1089 and his acquisition of 20 hectares of land to support the students are noted in a 1299-dated stele recording the history of the temple school; transcribed in Luo Chenglie 駱承烈, *Shitou shang de rujia wenxian: Qufu beiwen lu: 石頭上的儒家文獻: 曲阜碑文錄* (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 2001), pp. 240-242. I have not found an independent text containing Yin's "Encomium

directly from Confucius's house, a provenance that would virtually guarantee that the representation was reliable:

The image of the Master,
Who initially passed it down?
Gotten at his house,
It is almost 2000 years [old]...

夫子之象，其初孰傳，得于其家，几二千年。

At the end of Yin Fuzhen's encomium, Kong Chuan reiterates the verdict on portraits of Confucius:

Apart from the *Small Portrait*, all the painted portraits that have been transmitted to [our] generation are fakes" (*shi zhi suo chuan, fei xiao ying hua xiang, jie wei yan ben*

世之所傳，非小影畫像，皆為贗本。²²

Finally, Kong Chuan quotes several lines from the late Tang literatus Liu Yuxi's (772-842) *Stele for the New Temple in Xuzhou* (*Xuzhou xinmiao bei* 許州新廟碑), dated 836.²³ In his commemorative record for the recently reconstructed temple at the Xuzhou (modern Xuchang 許昌, Henan) prefectural school, Liu described its image of Confucius as coming from Qufu:

A likeness with the head of Yao, the body of Yu, a fine cap, and ivory ornaments, acquired from Zou Lu [Qufu].²⁴

堯頭禹身，華冠象佩之容，取之自鄒魯。

for the *Small Portrait*."

22. Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, *juan xia*, p. 4a-b (109-110).

23. Liu Yuxi's collected writings include the text under the title "Stele for the New Temple of the King of Exalted Culture [Confucius] in Xuzhou" (*Xuzhou Wenxuan wang xinmiao bei* 許州文宣王新廟碑); *Liu Yuxi ji* 刘禹锡集 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1975), pp. 27-29. The National Palace Museum has an early Southern Song edition, titled *Liu Binke wenji* 劉賓客文集, which is displayed in the "Dynastic Renaissance" exhibition; see http://www.npm.gov.tw/zh-tw/collection/selections_02.htm?docno=225&catno=14&pageno=2 (accessed 2010-12-02).

24. My translation is based on the stele text as given in *Liu Yuxi ji*, *juan 3*, p. 28. As transcribed in the edition reprinted in *Kongzi wenhua daquan*, Kong Chuan's excerpt erroneously has the words *xiang fu* 像服 (portrait dress) instead of *xiang pei* 象佩 (ivory ornaments); Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, *juan xia*, p. 4b (110). The Southern Song edition in the National Library of China, Beijing (see note 15), renders the term as *xiang pei* 像佩 (portrait ornaments).

Kong Chuan concludes the discussion by declaring that the image described by Liu Yuxi was none other than the *Small Portrait* that had come down to his own era.

Although Kong Chuan's *Dongjia zaji* does not include an illustration of the *Small Portrait*, his description of Confucius in leisure clothing with Yan Hui following behind generically fits an image reproduced on a number of late Northern Song stone tablets. A stele depicting Confucius attended by Yan Hui was erected in 1088 at the Gaoping 高平 (Shanxi) district school, with an inscription by prefect Zhang Chi 張持 (d. after 1108) describing the newly carved portrait as copied from an image at the Dizhou 棣州 prefectural school (modern Yangxin 陽信, Shandong).²⁵ Schools in Wenshui 文水 and Shouyang 首陽 (both in Shanxi) also had copies.²⁶ The Dizhou stele in turn reproduced a picture called the *Small Portrait*, belonging to Kong Ruomeng 孔若蒙 (c.1032-1098), the 47th-generation Duke in Qufu.²⁷ This probably refers to the same *Small Portrait* that Kong Zonghan's *Jiapu* had described as being in the Kong family ancestral shrine, which was under the duke's purview. The link is corroborated by an inscription on a 1124-dated stele depicting the two figures in the Shaoxing 紹興 Prefectural School, which explicitly refers to "the legacy portrait in the Master's Shadow [ancestral portrait] Hall" (*Fuzi yingtang yi xiang* 夫子影堂遺像) in Qufu.²⁸ Moreover, Zhang Chi's 1088 inscription echoes Kong Zonghan and Kong Chuan by concluding, "Of all the portraits of the sage, past and present, only this one is genuine" (*gu jin Sheng xiang, du ci wei zhen* 古今聖像獨此為真).²⁹ However,

25. Hu Mi 胡謐, *Shanxi jinshi ji* 山西金石記 (1475; rpt. *Shike shiliao xinbian, di san ji* 石刻史料新編, 第三輯, v. 30, Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1986), p. 433, entry titled "Kongzi hua xiang bei" 孔子畫像碑.

26. Hu Mi 胡謐, *Shanxi jinshi ji*, p. 433. The information about images in the Wenshui and Shouyang schools appears to be a note added by Hu Mi (*jinshi* 1404). In addition to these examples, a version of the *Small Portrait* carved in 1563 transcribes an inscription that Shang Zuojun 尚佐均 (fl. early 12th c.) composed for a portrait stele erected in 1107 at the Yaozhou 耀州 (part of modern Xi'an, Shaanxi) District School; see rubbing in *Beijing tushuguan cang huaxiang taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏畫像拓本匯編 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1993), v. 1, p. 107. I discuss it further in "Pedagogue on the Go."

27. Hu Mi, *Shanxi jinshi ji*, 433. Zhang Chi refers to the *Small Portrait's* owner as "47th-generation descendant inheriting enfeffment as Duke for Perpetuating the Sage, Kong Mengzhi" (四十七代孫襲封衍聖公蒙之). Kong Ruomeng held this title from 1068 to 1086, when it was changed to Duke for Sacrificing to the Sage (*Fengsheng gong* 奉聖公) and his duties limited to sacrificing in Qufu, while his younger brother, Kong Ruoxu 孔若虛 (d. 1104), became Duke for Perpetuating the Sage, requiring periodic appearances at court; see Kong Honggan 孔弘幹, *Queli zhi* 闕里誌 (1552; rpt. *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊, v. 23, Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987) *juan* 2, p. 42a (481).

28. A rubbing of the Shaoxing stele is reproduced in *Beijing tushuguan cang huaxiang taben huibian*, v. 1, p. 4. The texts that appear above and below the image, an encomium by Hanlin Academician Mao You 毛友 (*jinshi* 1107) and a documentary account by Shanyin native Yao Yuxi 姚禹錫 (fl. 12th c.), respectively, are transcribed in Ruan Yuan 阮元, *Liang Zhe jinshi zhi* 兩浙金石志 (1824; rpt. *Shike shiliao congshu, di yi ji* 石刻史料叢書, 第一輯, no. 18, v. 5, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1966), *juan* 7, pp. 33a-34b.

29. Hu Mi, *Shanxi jinshi ji*, p. 433.

Zhang Chi attributes the portrayal to the Tang artist Wu Daozi 吳道子 (ca. 689-after 755) and says it was one of two depicting Confucius as Minister of Justice (*Sikou* 司寇) in Lu 魯.³⁰

In 1095, Kong Duanyou, Kong Ruomeng's son and ducal heir, had the *Small Portrait* incised on a stele in the Qufu temple itself. Two imperial encomia to Confucius are inscribed above the image, one composed in 962 by the Northern Song founding emperor Taizu (r. 960-976) and the other in 1008 by Zhenzong.³¹ The same picture was reproduced on another stele erected in the temple in 1118 by a 49th-generation descendant named Kong Yu 孔瑀 (d. after 1142), whose inscription below the image consists primarily of a quotation from Yin Fuzhen's "Encomium for the *Small Portrait*."³² The two compositions are virtually identical and probably are fairly accurate representations of the precious heirloom portrait. Further confirmation comes from a line-drawing of the *Small Portrait* at the front of a genealogy compiled in 1227 and published in 1242 by Kong Yuancuo 孔元措 (1181-c.1251), who also quotes Kong Zonghan's discussion of Confucius's physical appearance and visual representations.³³

A few months after Kong Duanyou erected the stele depicting Confucius and Yan Hui, a 46th-generation descendant named Kong Zongshou 孔宗壽 (fl. 11th c.) set up a stone incised with the same two imperial odes but a different image. It depicted Confucius holding a scepter,

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30. Hu Mi, *Shanxi jinshi ji*, p. 433. Confucius reputedly held the post for three months in 499 BCE; see Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), *juan* 47, p. 1915. Wu Daozi had held the post of District Defender 縣尉 of Xiaqiu 瑕丘 (Yanzhou 兗州), a short distance from Qufu, and may well have painted Confucius with one or more of his disciples; see his biography in Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (847; rpt. *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書, v. 1, Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963), *juan* 9, pp. 108-109.
31. For rubbings of the badly effaced tablet, which still stands in the Qufu temple, see Baba Harukichi 馬場春吉, *Kôshi seiseki shi* 孔子聖蹟志 (Tokyo: Daitô bunka kyôkai, 1934), p. 168; and Luo Chenglie, *Huaxiang zhong de Kongzi* 画像中的孔子 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2003), p. 17. The imperial odes by Song Taizu and Zhenzong are transcribed in Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, *juan shang*, pp. 15a (57) and 17b-18a (62-63), respectively. Kong Duanyou's own brief inscription is dated the first day of the third lunar month of the second year of the Shaosheng era, corresponding to April 7, 1095. The calligrapher is identified as Kong Duanben 孔端本, a son of Kong Ruoxu (see note 27) and first cousin of Kong Duanyou; see his brief biography in Kong Decheng, *Kongzi shijia pu*, *chu ji*, *juan* 2, p. 5a (86).
32. Reproduced in *Beijing tushuguan cang huaxiang taben huibian*, v. 1, p. 3. For a brief biography of Kong Yu, see Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, *juan* 8, p. 8a (53). Unlike Kong Duanyou, he remained in Qufu under the Jin regime, becoming the assistant magistrate of Qufu in 1142 and holding several prestige titles.
33. Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, preliminary picture section (6). Kong Yuancuo was the 51st-generation Duke under the Jin but lost the title just before the Jin regime fell to the Mongols. He prepared his genealogy in 1227, ostensibly continuing Kong Chuan's (see note 15). His quotation of Kong Zonghan's discussion of paintings probably came from Kong Chuan. Christopher S. Agnew analyzes this period's power struggles within the Kong lineage in Qufu, which the Southern Song briefly retook in 1225; see "Culture and Power in the Making of the Descendants [sic] of Confucius, 1300-1800," (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2006), pp. 86-90.

seated on a dais and attended by ten disciples, one of whom holds up a canopy.³⁴ In his inscription, dated the tenth lunar month of 1095, Kong Zongshou says that his family had two pictures by Wu Daozi; this one, which he rather confusingly calls the *Small Portrait* (*Xiao ying*), and a depiction of Confucius standing with Yan Hui, which he calls *Practicing the Teaching* (*Xing jiao* 行教). Kong Zongshou notes that the *Xing jiao* portrait had already been reproduced in stone, undoubtedly referring to the tablet that Kong Duanyou set up in the third lunar month of the same year. Therefore, Kong Zongshou continues, he himself was having the seated portrait carved on durable polished stone, in order to prevent the many imitations from ever becoming confused with the genuine (*zhen* 真). The composition largely fits the description of the first portrayal that Kong Zonghan had dismissed as one of the "re-creations by later people."³⁵ And again, Kong Yuancuo's 1242 edition of the family genealogy includes a line-drawing of a composition that matches the description, under the title *Leaning on a Small Table* (*Pingji* 憑几).³⁶

One other line-drawing reproduced by Kong Yuancuo is a work he titles *Riding in a Carriage* (*Cheng lu* 乘輅), which also corresponds to earlier descriptions.³⁷ It matches Zhang Chi's description of the second Wu Daozi portrait of Confucius as Minister of Justice, mentioned in the recorded 1088 inscription,³⁸ as well as the last of the three pictures Kong Zonghan disparaged in the passage quoted in *Dongjia zaji*.³⁹ However, the composition also fits the description of a work that a different section of *Dongjia zaji* records as an "exceedingly fine" (*ji wei jing miao* 極為精妙) depiction by Wu Daozi.⁴⁰ Kong Chuan mentions it near the end of his building-by-building description of the Qufu temple and Kong establishment, a section written circa 1124 in his own voice, not a quotation from an earlier text. He says the picture showed "the First Sage (Confucius) successively invited to serve in the states, with carriage, clothing, and figures displaying pomp and ceremony" (*Xian Sheng li pin zhu guo, ju fu ren wu*

34. The clearest rubbing I have found is reproduced in Edouard Chavannes, *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1909), v. 6, pl. CCCXCVII, no. 870. Kong Zongshou's inscription is dated the first day of the tenth lunar month of the second year of the Shaosheng era, corresponding to October 31, 1095. For his biography, see Kong Decheng, *Kongzi shijia pu, chu ji, juan 2*, p. 4b (85).

35. As quoted in Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji, juan xia*, p. 4a (109).

36. Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, preliminary plates section (7).

37. Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, preliminary picture section (7).

38. Hu Mi, *Shanxi jinshi ji*, p. 433.

39. Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji, juan xia*, p. 4a (109).

40. Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji, juan xia*, p. 17a (135). The entire section reads as a commentary on a pictorial plan, but there is none in extant editions of *Dongjia zaji*. However, the plan may have appeared in Kong Chuan's 1124 *Queli zuting [zaji]* (see note 15) because the description fits the pictorial plan reproduced by Kong Yuancuo in *Kongshi zuting guangji* (see note 3), which purports to be a continuation of Kong Chuan's 1124 work.

wei yi 先聖歷聘諸國，車服人物威儀). Its display on the wall of the temple suggests that the representation was acceptable to the scholar-officials who sacrificed there.

The one portrayal that Kong Yuancuo did not illustrate is the composition that Kong Zonghan had described as showing Confucius seated with his 72 disciples arranged in a row, some of them holding a bow, arrow, or handscroll. The portrayal had also acquired a problematic new association by the time Kong Yuancuo compiled his expanded genealogy in 1227. Specifically, it was closely identified with the Southern Song restoration in Lin'an, and Kong Yuancuo served the rival Jin dynasty as its 51st-generation Duke.

Images of Confucius in the South

Kong Duanyou became the 48th-generation Duke for Perpetuating the Sage under Song Huizong (r. 1100-1125) and followed Song Gaozong to Lin'an in 1129.⁴¹ Because both the Southern Song and Jin regimes patronized the cult of Confucius and invested successive generations of Kongs with the title, there were competing dukes in the South and North.⁴² As I have analyzed elsewhere, Gaozong made great efforts to re-establish dynastic institutions and governance in the "temporary" capital at Lin'an, particularly after making peace with the Jin in 1142.⁴³ Among other things, he built a new imperial ancestral temple, re-established the imperial university, resumed the civil service examinations, and bestowed selections in his own calligraphy on successful candidates. Between 1143 and 1146 he transcribed the complete texts of six Confucian classics for carving on stone tablets erected in the imperial university, so that rubbings could be sent to prefectural schools.⁴⁴ In 1144, after visiting the imperial university, Gaozong composed a poetic encomium in honor of Confucius and also had it carved for wider circulation. Subsequently, he personally wrote an encomium for each of the 72 disciples, outdoing his imperial predecessors Taizu and Zhenzong, who had had high officials compose these subsidiary texts. By identifying himself so closely with the moral authority of the

41. Kong Duanyou probably gained the title in 1104, as recorded in Kong Honggan, *Queli zhi*, *juan* 2, p. 42a (481); but the date is given as 1121 in Toqto, comp., *Song shi*, *juan* 119, p. 2800. Edicts with both dates appear in Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, *juan shang*, pp. 27a-b (81-82) and pp. 29b-30a (86-87), respectively.

42. For a detailed study of this situation, see Thomas A. Wilson, "The Ritual Formation of Confucian Orthodoxy and the Descendants of the Sage," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55 no. 3 (August 1996): 559-584. See also notes 8 and 10.

43. For further discussion and references, see Julia K. Murray, *Ma Hezhi and the Illustration of the Book of Odes* (Cambridge, 1993), chapter 2; also "The Role of Art in the Southern Sung Dynastic Revival," *Bulletin of Sung-Yuan Studies* 18 (1986): 41-59.

44. Some of the tablets are extant; for reproductions and transcriptions, see Du Zhengxian 杜正賢, comp., *Hangzhou Kongmiao* 杭州孔廟 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2008), pp. 21-63.

Confucian tradition, Gaozong enhanced his political power and asserted the continued legitimacy of his dynastic house, transplanted to the South.

Gaozong's encomia and brief biographies of Confucius and his disciples were paired with idealized portraits, to which the emperor added a preface expressing his desire to govern by the Way. Prime Minister Qin Gui 秦檜 (1090–1155) wrote a colophon making a clear connection between the Way of Confucius and current political ideology. After Qin Gui died in late 1155 and the imperial university moved into his spacious mansion, Gaozong had the ensemble carved on stone tablets that were installed there in the twelfth month of 1156 (January 1157 by the Western calendar), again to facilitate broader distribution through rubbings.⁴⁵ The figures generally correspond to Kong Zonghan's description of a composition portraying Confucius seated with a jade whisk and accompanied by 72 disciples arranged in one long row, some of them holding a bow, arrow, or handscroll.⁴⁶ A persistent later tradition associates the subject with the late Northern Song painter Li Gonglin 李公麟 (c.1049-1106), as visually attested by a handscroll in the Beijing Palace Museum with a forged signature and date of 1088.⁴⁷ However, it seems more likely that the lively figures on the Hangzhou tablets were drawn by a contemporary court artist, perhaps even the enigmatic Ma Hezhi.⁴⁸

The Quzhou stele portrait

I return now to the tablet erected in Quzhou by Kong Duanyou and Kong Chuan, which depicted Confucius as a single large, standing figure. The original portrait stone evidently disappeared at the end of the Southern Song, but was re-cut when a new Kong family temple was

45. I treat this project in depth in "The Hangzhou Portraits of Confucius and Seventy-Two Disciples (*Sheng xian tu*): Art in the Service of Politics," *Art Bulletin* 74 (March 1992): 7-18. Rubbings of the tablets are reproduced in Huang Yongquan 黃涌泉, *Li Gonglin 'Sheng xian tu' shike* 李公麟聖賢圖石刻 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1959); *Beijing tushuguan cang huaxiang taben huibian*, v. 1, pls. 6-76; and *Hangzhou Kongmiao*, pp. 258-266.

46. Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji, juan xia*, p. 4a (109). However, in the Hangzhou series, Confucius is not holding a whisk but rather a stiff implement shaped like a back-scratcher, perhaps meant as a *ruyi* scepter.

47. The handscroll, in ink and color on silk, is fully reproduced in color in *Jin Tang Liang Song huihua: Renwu fengsu* 晉唐兩宋繪畫: 人物風俗, in the series *Gugong bowuyuan cang wenwu zhenpin daxi* 故宮博物院藏文物珍品大系 (Shanghai: Shanghai Kexue jishu chubanshe, 2005), cat. no. 30. Another handscroll in ink and color on silk is in the Eisei Bunko, Japan, fully reproduced in monochrome in *Chûgoku no e to sho, Eisei Bunko ten - roku* 中国の絵と書: 永青文庫展-- 六, (Kumamoto: Kumamoto kenritsu hakubutsukan, 1978), cat. no. 2. I discuss reasons for and against linking Li Gonglin with the subject in "The Hangzhou Portraits of Confucius and Seventy-Two Disciples," pp. 15-18.

48. I discuss its relationship to Ma Hezhi's work in "The Hangzhou Portraits of Confucius and Seventy-Two Disciples," p. 17.

built in 1520 at its present location in the eastern part of the city.⁴⁹ The lifesize Confucius looks like an enlarged version of his figure in the tablets reproducing the hallowed *Small Portrait*, as represented by Kong Duanyou's 1095- and Kong Yu's 1118-dated stelae.⁵⁰ Given the importance of the image that Kong Zonghan had called the truest portrayal of Confucius, perhaps Kong Duanyou had brought the *Small Portrait* with him from Qufu, or at least a rubbing of his 1095 stele reproducing it. Even if the Kong refugees came south without it, the composition was available on stelae at government schools, such as the Shaoxing Prefectural School. Moreover, the title on the Quzhou stele, *Legacy Portrait of the First Sage* (*Xiansheng yixiang* 先聖遺像), implies a likeness made during Confucius's lifetime, matching the characterizations of the *Small Portrait* quoted by Kong Chuan.

In 1282, after the Mongols had conquered the Southern Song and reunited north and south, Yuan emperor Shizu (r. 1264-1294) summoned Kong Zhu 孔洙, the 53rd-generation duke in the South, to return to Qufu. Perhaps out of loyalty to the fallen Song, Kong Zhu declined, claiming that he could not bear to abandon his immediate ancestors who were buried in Quzhou.⁵¹ Soon after giving up the hereditary ducal title, the Kongs of Quzhou fell into obscurity, although they maintained their lineage identity and a modest family temple into the mid-Ming. In 1506, as the result of petitions by officials serving in the area, the senior line in Quzhou received a new hereditary title, Hanlin Erudite of the Five Classics (*Hanlin wujing boshi* 翰林五經博士).⁵² In 1520, government funds were awarded to build a much grander temple for the Southern Kongs (Nan Kong 南孔), as they were now known, to be commensurate with their renewed prestige and responsibility to conduct regular sacrifices.⁵³ A plan of the new temple's layout appears on the back of the re-cut portrait stele.

Indirect evidence suggests that the re-cut portrait of Confucius closely resembled the lost original that Kong Duanyou and Kong Chuan had erected in the early 1130s. For example, successive woodblock-printed editions of the late Southern Song popular compendium *Shilin guangji* reproduce a very similar line-drawing of Confucius as a solitary standing figure, along with a quotation describing Confucius's auspicious features and the text of Song Gaozong's 1144

49. Xiaobing Wang-Riese, *Nanzong ji Kong*, pp. 40-41.

50. See notes 31 and 32 for references on these tablets.

51. Writers in Qufu and Quzhou give competing accounts of this poorly documented but crucial period in the history of the Kongs, when other lines of descendants were installed as dukes in Qufu. For critical analyses, see Wilson, "The Ritual Formation of Confucian Orthodoxy and the Descendants of the Sage," pp. 572-574; and Agnew, "Culture and Power in the Making of the Descendants of Confucius, 1300-1800," pp. 85-91.

52. For more details, see Wilson, "The Ritual Formation of Confucian Orthodoxy and the Descendants of the Sage," pp. 574-577. The same title was also held by the eldest son of the duke in Qufu.

encomium.⁵⁴ The printed picture is entitled *Legacy Portrait of the First Sage* (*Xiansheng yixiang* 先聖遺像), the same as the recarved Quzhou image, and a wording that suggests a representation transmitted from a period close to Confucius's lifetime. A legacy portrait associated with his descendants, particularly the senior lineage of dukes, was the kind of authoritative material that *Shilin guangji* aimed to provide to its intended audience of men seeking practical literati knowledge. It is possible that the original Quzhou stele did not bear a title, or exactly this title, because other versions of the image refer to Confucius as Ultimate Sage (*Zhi sheng* 至聖) or Exalted Sage (*Xuan sheng* 宣聖). Nonetheless, whether the title was on the original stone or just on the printed pictures and the Ming re-cut stele, the designation implied that the portrait had survived through the ages and attested to its authenticity.⁵⁵

Another reason for thinking that the Ming re-cut stele faithfully reflected the lost original is because it resembles Yuan and early Ming paintings and rubbings whose mutual similarities suggest a common archetype. A portrait stele erected by Kong Duanyou and Kong Chuan certainly would have had the prestige to make it a desirable model to reproduce elsewhere.⁵⁶ Inscriptions on several Yuan and Ming stelae quote a text entitled "Record for the Stele of the Legacy Portrait of the Ultimate Sage" (*Zhi sheng yi xiang bei ji* 至聖遺像碑記), which describes a portrait stone that probably was carved during the Southern Song.⁵⁷ The text was composed in about 1327 for a stone in the Huangmei 黃梅 District School in Huangzhou fu 黃州府, eastern

53. Wang-Riese, *Nanzong ji Kong*, pp. 40-41.

54. *Shilin guangji*, Naikaku exemplar (see notes 3 and 16), *hou ji*, *juan* 3, pp. 1a-b. The source of the passage describing Confucius is given as *Queli zuting ji* 闕里祖庭記, indicating Kong Chuan's genealogy; see note 15.

55. There is also an undated inscription along the side of the stele, identifying its sponsors as Kong Chuan and Kong Duanyou. It is possible that the wording was created for the Ming re-cut, as Kong Chuan's title is given as Minister of War (*Bingbu shangshu* 兵部尚書), which is not one of the many attributed to him in various biographies. A quotation from an encomium by Chen Fengwu 陳鳳梧 (1475-1541, *js* 1496) also appears in seal script just under the title of the stele.

56. However, I have not found any examples that mention the Quzhou stele specifically as a model. The Suzhou Prefectural School had a 1274-dated portrait stele of comparable dimensions, of which a rubbing measuring 6 feet 8 inches in height and 3 feet 5-1/2 inches in width is recorded in *Jiangsu tongzhi gao* 江蘇通志稿 (rpt. *Jiangsu jinshi zhi* 江蘇金石志, in *Shike shiliao congshu*, *jia bian* 甲編 no. 19, v. 43), *jinshi* 金石 18, p. 73a.

57. E.g., see *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, *huihua bian* 中國美術全集, 繪畫編, v. 19 (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), cat. no. 70. The *Record* was originally carved on a stele entitled *Legacy Portrait of the Exalted Sage* (*Xuan sheng yi xiang* 宣聖遺像) in the Huangmei District School, it is transcribed in Lu Jun 盧濬, *Gu Huang yiji ji* 古黃遺蹟集 (c. 1490; rpt. *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書, *Ji bu* 集部 292, Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1997), 292-744--292-745. A slightly different version of the *Record* is inscribed on the stele portrait of Confucius in the White Deer Grotto Academy (*Bailudong shuyuan* 白鹿洞書院) in Nanchang, transcribed in Wang Shizhen 王士禎, *Huanghua jiwén* 皇華紀聞 (rpt. *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書, *Zibu* 子部 245 [Ji'nan, Qi Lu shushe, chubanshe, 1997]), *juan* 4, p. 19b (245-234).

Hubei, by the Instructor (*ruxue jiaoyu* 儒學教諭) Chen Hao 陳浩 (*zi* Keda 可大, 1261-1341).⁵⁸ Chen's account includes a lot of hearsay centering on an incised stone tablet that had been recovered at some unstated earlier time and taken to Jiangling 江陵 (Jingzhou 荊州), a bit further west. After the image was belatedly identified in 1322 as a portrait by Wu Daozi of Confucius, rubbings made from the tablet inspired replications in new stelae and paintings.

According to the convoluted tale that Chen Hao recounts, a circuit official named Luo Feng 羅封 had discovered the portrait stone when his horse reared up and refused to cross a bridge, which turned out to contain a slab incised with an image. Luo had the stone removed and installed in Jiangling's Xuanmiaoguan 玄妙觀 Daoist temple. Some time later, in 1322, an assistant magistrate named Jin Liangshu 靳良叔 went to Jiangling on business and happened to visit the temple.⁵⁹ He immediately recognized the stele as Wu Daozi's portrayal of the Confucius at leisure (*Xiansheng yan ju zhi xiang* 先聖燕居之像). After learning the story of its discovery from the Daoist priests, Jin discussed the matter with colleagues and they submitted a petition to move the tablet to the Tower of Revering Culture (Chongwen'ge 崇文閣), a building in the Jiangling Prefectural School. Once the stone was transferred and installed there, rubbings were made and used to carve replicas elsewhere. Probably one of them was the stele for which Chen Hao wrote his record soon after arriving at his Huangmei post in 1326.⁶⁰ In any case, the tale is repeated on a number of examples.

Although the details may be embellished, the story suggests that the incised stone found in the bridge did not bear an identifying title, or if it did, the writing was in archaic seal script and not easily read. Moreover, the tablet's removal from its original location probably occurred amid some kind of social breakdown, perhaps the fighting and turmoil associated with the Mongol conquest. Perhaps the portrait had belonged to a Southern Song school or academy that was

58. For Chen Hao's brief biography, see Wang Deyi 王德毅, comp., *Yuanren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 元人傳記資料索引 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1979-1982), v. 2, p. 1296.

59. I have not found either Luo Feng nor Jin Liangshu in biographical sources. The story describes Jin as assistant magistrate of Jingling 景陵 in Mianyang 沔陽, between Jiangling and Huangmei. The version of the story transcribed by Wang Shizhen dates Jin's discovery of the tablet in the Xuanmiaoguan to 1323; see *Huanghua jiwén*, *juan* 4, p. 19b (245-234).

60. Chen Hao says he heard the story soon after starting his job at the Huangmei school, from Secretarial Assistant Tao Jingshan 陶景山. Tao claimed to have been in Jiangling when Jin Liangshu discovered the portrait, and he claimed credit for proposing the petition to move it to the Jiangling Chongwenge. Chen subsequently got a rubbing of a portrait of Confucius in the Li Hefu Family School (Li Hefu jiashu 李和甫家塾; I have not been able to identify its location). When he showed the rubbing to the prefect, a Mr. Li of Jingshan 景山李氏, the latter was overjoyed and ordered a new stone carved from it. I presume that this is the stone for which Chen wrote his record, so its connection with the found image in the Jiangling school is somewhat speculative.

subsequently destroyed. The stone's incorporation into a bridge and the failure of a high official to recognize the portrayal after finding it suggest that the cult of Confucius had been disrupted for some time, as was the case in the early Yuan. The supernaturally-tinged story of the discovery of the tablet and the prominence it gained from being moved to the Jiangling Prefectural School gave the portrayal an aura of heavenly efficacy, which made it appealing to reproduce elsewhere. The resemblance between the Huangmei portrayal and the Quzhou stele suggests that they have a common source, which I believe was the stele originally erected in the early 1130s by Kong Duanyou and Kong Chuan, ultimately based on the family heirloom known as the *Small Portrait*.

The *Legacy Portrait of the First Sage* differs from the hallowed *Small Portrait* in three important ways that made its iconography more suitable for the relocated family and state cults in the early Southern Song. In the Quzhou stele, Confucius stands alone, without the attending disciple Yan Hui, who also had a temple and tomb in Qufu that received Jin patronage. Thus, the portrait was less likely to evoke the loss of the northern homeland. Also, the enlargement of Confucius's figure rendered vividly present, outside the limits of time and place, inviting the viewer to engage and commune with him. Attested as a true portrayal handed down by his direct descendants, this evocative image offered latter-day scholars the possibility of a transformative encounter with the ancient sage. Finally, Confucius appears older and wears the simple cloth cap of the scholar-recluse, signifying the last years of his life. By contrast, the *Small Portrait* shows the flower-shaped cap with a large pin, which evoked his travels around the northern states in search of a worthy ruler to serve. It was only after he accepted the failure of this ambitious quest that he developed into the charismatic teacher who inspired legions of disciples and followers to preserve and spread his teachings.⁶¹ In his final years, he developed the greatness of spirit that made him such a compelling exemplar, particularly for later men who did not achieve their career goals or suffered setbacks in adverse political conditions. All these features made the image very desirable to replicate at schools and academies. And in later centuries, its replications became too numerous to count.

61. Michael Nylan insightfully psychoanalyzes the evolution of Confucius's character; see Nylan and Thomas A. Wilson, *The Lives of Confucius: Civilization's Greatest Sage Through the Ages* (New York: Random House/Doubleday Religion, 2010), chapter 1.

APPENDIX: Members of the Kong lineage mentioned in this paper

Generation

(DUKES in all-caps)

- 45 Kong Daofu 孔道輔
erected Apricot Platform 杏壇, 1022
- 46 KONG ZONGYUAN 孔宗憲
First to be awarded the title of Duke for
Perpetuating the Sage 衍聖公, 1055
- Kong Zongshou 孔宗壽
erected 1095 stele in Qufu
- Kong Zonghan 孔宗翰
published *Jiapu*, 1085
- 47 KONG RUOMENG 孔若蒙
son of Zongyuan; 衍聖公 1068-
1086; said to own 2 Wu Daozi
portraits of Confucius
- KONG RUOXU 孔若虛
younger son of Zongyuan;
衍聖公 1086-1104
- Kong Chuan (Ruogu) 孔傳 (若古)
compiled *Queli zuting ji* (1124) and
Dongjia zaji (1134); co-erected original
Quzhou stele (w. Kong Duanyou)
- 48 KONG DUANYOU 孔端友
son of Ruomeng; Duke in the
North and then in South; erected
1095 stele in Qufu; co-erected
original Quzhou stele (w. Chuan)
- KONG DUANCAO 孔端操
son of Ruomeng;
first Jin Duke in Qufu
- Kong Duanben 孔端本
son of Ruoxu; calligrapher
of Duanyou's 1095 stele
- Kong Duanchao 孔端朝; wrote 1132
preface to *Dongjia zaji*
in the South
- 49
- KONG FAN 孔璠
son of Duancao; Duke in
the North
- Kong Yu 孔瑀
erected 1118 stele;
stayed in the North
under the Jin
- Kong Gui 孔瓌
wrote 1124 preface to
Zuting zaji [sic] in the North
- 50
- Kong Ni 孔擬
wrote 1178 postface to *Dongjia zaji* in the South
- 51
- KONG YUANCUO 孔元措
grandson of Kong Fan; Duke in
the North; published *Kongshi zuting
guangji* 1227/1242
- 53 KONG ZHU 孔洙
last Duke in the South (1241-1282);
refused to return to Qufu under the Yuan