

Heirloom and Exemplar: Family and School Portraits of Confucius in the Song and Yuan Periods

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Source: *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, No. 41 (2011), pp. 227-266

Published by: Society for Song, Yuan, and Conquest Dynasty Studies

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23496211>

Accessed: 29-11-2017 21:35 UTC

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HEIRLOOM AND EXEMPLAR:
FAMILY AND SCHOOL PORTRAITS
OF CONFUCIUS IN THE SONG
AND YUAN PERIODS

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The Song was a crucial period in the formation and circulation of several kinds of visual representation of Confucius (Kongzi 孔子). Sculptural images in temples where he received official sacrifices displayed imperial garb and paraphernalia related to posthumous honors bestowed on him by successive Song and Jin emperors, which remained standard until 1530.¹ In addition to temple icons, whose attributes did not reflect Confucius's social status in life or convey his personality, several pictorial compositions evolved during the Song from portraits possessed by his alleged descendants, the Kong 孔 lineage of Qufu 曲阜, Shandong.² Although these pictures had no role in official sacrifices, they were venerated in other ways. Reproductions of the images were disseminated and inscribed both by Kong descendants and by the educated elite, who honored Confucius for his teachings.

Documents mentioning depictions of Confucius suggest that people held

1. I treat sculptural representations more fully in "Idols in the Temple: Icons and the Cult of Confucius," *Journal of Asian Studies* 68.2 (May 2009): 371–411. For the 1530 ritual reform, which removed icons from government temples, see Deborah A. Sommer, "Images into Words: Ming Confucian Iconoclasm," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 29 (1994):1–24.

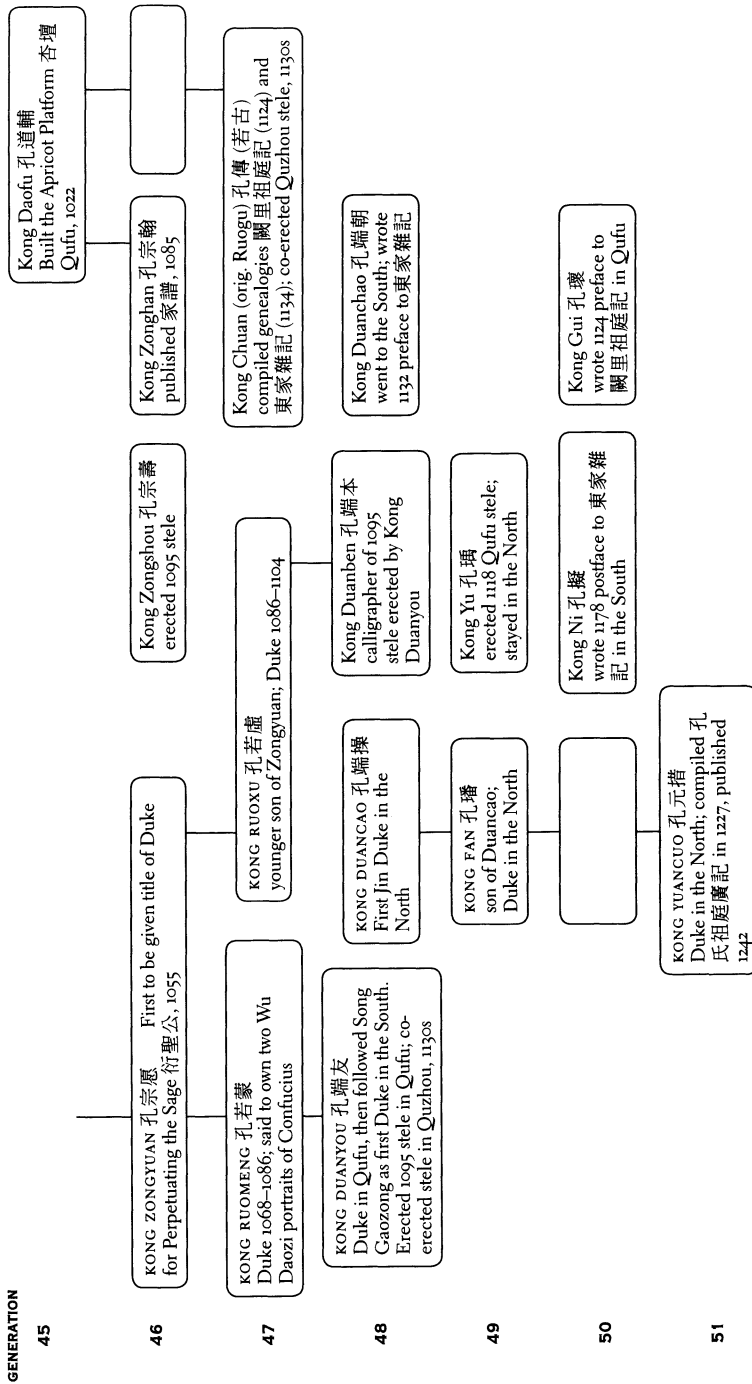
2. The present article updates and summarizes my more detailed and more art-historically oriented discussion of the Kong family's portraits in "Pedagogue on the Go: Portraits of Confucius as an Itinerant Teacher," in *Bridges to Heaven: Essays in Honor of Wen C. Fong*, edited by Jerome Silbergeld et al. (Princeton: Tang Center for East Asian Art, 2011). Some of the arguments are also presented in my paper "Descendants and Portraits of Confucius in the Early Southern Song" for the National Palace Museum symposium, "Dynastic Renaissance: Art and Culture of the Southern Song" 文藝紹興南宋藝術與文化, held in November 2010; see <http://www.npm.gov.tw/hotnews/9910seminar/download/all/B10.pdf>.

Journal of Song-Yuan Studies 41 (2011)

conflicting views about their reliability as representations of the ancient sage. Some texts reflect contemporary concerns about what constituted true resemblance and whether portraits were appropriate to use in ancestral rituals. In general, Kong descendants placed greater emphasis on the origins of an image in evaluating its accuracy, while men of the scholar-official class initially appear to have been more attentive to its expressiveness, particularly how successfully it captured Confucius's personal qualities. For the Kongs, Confucius was the illustrious ancestor from whom their own prestige and power stemmed. Portraits of him signified this connection, so their authenticity depended largely on their provenance, and idiosyncratic representational features were rarely discussed. For scholars and political figures, steeped in Confucian learning from an early age, Confucius was the wise teacher and moral exemplar. A portrait that conveyed his humane qualities could be inspirational, regardless of when the image was created or by whom, and it might be particularly effective to display in a school or office. Commissioning portraits of Confucius conveyed the patrons' endorsement of the values that he stood for, and such images might be used to promote ideological orthodoxy or to encourage group identity. Although the literati sometimes discussed provenance when writing inscriptions for replicas of specific portrayals, they generally did not share the descendants' interest in tracing the image back to the lifetime of Confucius himself. Moreover, some writers expressed skepticism about the feasibility of ever achieving a true physical likeness, and others considered visual portrayals of Confucius superfluous altogether, since he was abundantly represented in texts.

The roles played by members of the Kong lineage were particularly important in creating, preserving, and transmitting pictorial representations of Confucius. (See Chart 1 for the Kong descendants mentioned in this article.) In the Northern Song, various Kongs began reproducing pictures of Confucius on stone tablets, from which rubbings could be made, and these in turn could be—and were—used to carve new stones elsewhere. Portraits also were described and sometimes reproduced in family genealogies. Perhaps the most significant portrayal was a three-quarter-profile depiction of Confucius as an elderly, slightly stooped figure, standing with his hands clasped together at his chest and a sword tucked under his arm. A small composition showing him accompanied by one disciple, a shorter and younger man standing in a similar pose, was replicated in Qufu and at government schools elsewhere in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Confucius later appears

Chart 1. Members of the Kong Lineage Mentioned (Dukes in Small Caps)



alone in a modified version, which was created in the 1130s by senior Kong descendants who had left the ancestral home in Qufu to join the Southern Song restoration. The new image was a large portrait incised on a stele erected at the Kongs' provisional southern base in Quzhou, Zhejiang. It too was subsequently reproduced at government schools and private academies, and woodblock-printed renditions in popular encyclopedias circulated it more widely. Often labeled *yi xiang* 遺像, which I translate as legacy portrait, the designation suggests an image transmitted from his lifetime down through the ages.³ This iconic portrayal of Confucius was repeatedly revived in later centuries, and more recently it has inspired artifacts ranging from monumental statues to popular votive prints. In the present article, I trace its origins, examine its relationships with other depictions of Confucius associated with Kong lineage members, and consider the functions of such images.

The Kongs lineage and its facilities in Qufu

Under the Northern Song emperors, the documented descendants of Confucius received generous imperial patronage in return for maintaining sacrifices in his temple and tending his grave in Qufu.⁴ Imperial beneficence enabled the facilities to become increasingly grand, particularly after the emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) visited in person and performed a sacrifice in 1008. The Kongs enjoyed grants of lands, households assigned to farm them and provide services, exemptions from taxes and labor obligations, and hereditary offices and noble titles. Lineage members periodically compiled genealogies to control access to the various endowments and privileges, as well as to preserve family history and traditions. In 1055, the title of Duke for Perpetuating the

3. Jan Stuart and Evelyn S. Rawski interpret *yi xiang* as a portrait created shortly before the sitter's death, to leave behind for family veneration; see *Worshipping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits* (Washington D.C. and Stanford: Smithsonian Institution and Stanford University Press, 2001), 94.

4. 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). On the Kong descendants and their genealogical strategies, also see Wilson, "The Ritual Formation of Confucian Orthodoxy and the Descendants of the Sage," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55:3 (August 1996), 559–584; and Christopher S. Agnew, "Culture and Power in the Making of the Descendants [sic] of Confucius, 1300–1800" (Ph.d. diss., University of Washington, 2006).

roofed buildings and enclosed courtyards (Fig. 1).⁹ The structures labeled Book Tower (Shu lou 書樓) and Hall of Imperial Encomia (Yuzan dian 御贊殿) housed books and commemorative inscriptions bestowed by various emperors, who also wrote calligraphy for signboards.¹⁰ Sacrifices to Confucius were performed in the large double-roofed building labeled Main Hall (Zhengdian 正殿), in front of which was a stepped stone platform called the Apricot Platform (Xingtian 杏壇), built in 1022 to mark the supposed site where Confucius lectured to his disciples.¹¹ 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 鄆國夫人), 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 (Qiguo gong 齊國公 and Luguo taifuren 魯國太夫人) and the Five Worthies

9. The Song temple's layout may have been illustrated in Kong Zonghan's 1085 *Jiapu* and carried over into Kong Chuan's update of the genealogy; if not, then it may have originated with Kong Chuan. Kong Yuancuo probably copied the picture from Kong Chuan's now-lost *Zuting zaji* 祖庭雜記 of 1124 (discussed in note 19), and it matches Kong Chuan's verbal description of the temple in his 1134 *Dongjia zaji*, xia 下 .16a–17a (133–135); also see note 42. Despite various fires and rebuilding, the configuration was only slightly altered under the Jin; compare Fig. 1 with Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, preliminary section (11). A slightly rearranged diagram of the Song temple and an enumeration of its buildings are preserved in late Yuan versions of the late Southern Song illustrated compendium *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記; for example, see the edition in the Naikaku bunko, Japan (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; Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC-5829), *hou ji* 後集 3.2a–b; for further references on *Shilin guangji*, see note 69. The picture is labeled with the temple's Song name, Zhi sheng wen xuan wang miao 至聖文宣王廟, in other words predating the Yuan emperor Wuzong's (r. 1307–1311) addition of the epithet "Dacheng 大成" in 1307. Yang Huan 楊奐 visited the Qufu temple in 1252 and described its layout in detail; see his "Record of a Journey to the East" ("Dongyou ji" 東遊記), in *Huanshan yigao* 還山遺稿, rpt. *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, v. 1198 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), *shang*.20a–23a (1198–233–1198–234).

10. Yang Huan specifically mentions that the Yuzan dian housed Song Zhenzong's encomium to Confucius and the encomia composed by his courtiers for the 72 disciples; "Dongyou ji," *shang*.22a (1198–234).

11. The Apricot Platform was installed by 45th-generation descendant Kong Daofu 孔道輔 (986–1039), who rebuilt the Qufu temple; see Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, xia.2b (106). A comparison of the Song and Jin ground plans of the Qufu temple (see note 9) shows the Jin addition of a stele and pavilion on top. The reference to Confucius teaching his disciples at the Apricot Platform comes from *Zhuangzi* "Yufu pian" 漁父篇; see *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩, comp. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 1023.

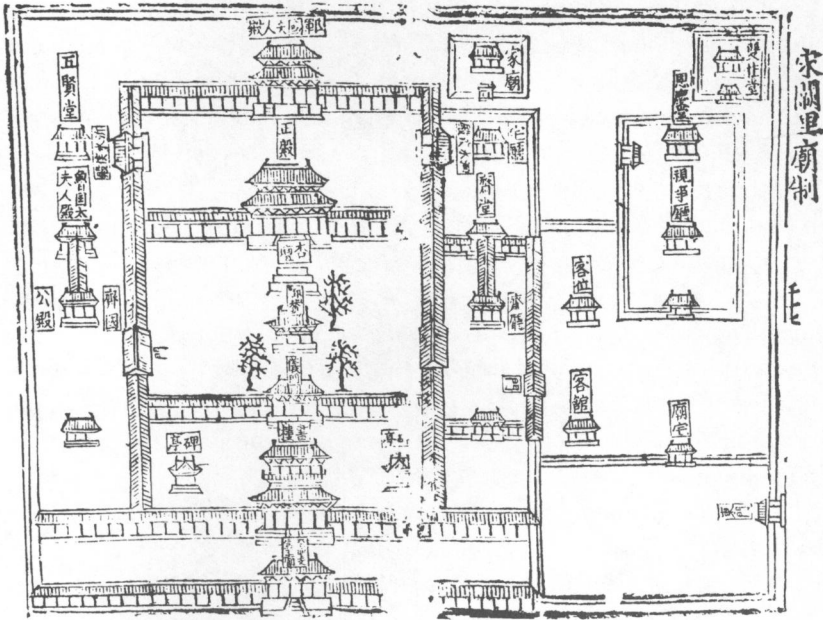


Fig. 1 Plan of the Song Temple in Qufu (*Song Queli miao zhi*). Woodblock-printed illustration in Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi Zuting guangji*. Yuan dynasty, 1242. After *Zhongguo zaizao shanben, Tang Song bian, Shi bu*, v. 82 (Beijing, Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2005).

五賢,¹² and to the east a family temple (*Jiamiao* 家廟) for worshiping more immediate lineage ancestors. Yet further east are the Kong lineage’s administrative offices and facilities for receiving guests. 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 differed somewhat from those of the typical Confucian temple associated with government schools throughout the empire.

Kong Zonghan’s 1085 genealogy included a detailed list of Confucius’s physical attributes and summary descriptions of four pictorial representations,

12. 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*,” *shang*. 21b (1198–233). The shrine appears behind that of Confucius’s mother on the Song plan (i.e., Fig. 1), and along the west side of the parental compound on the Jin plan (labeled *Wuxian tang* 五賢堂); see Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, preliminary picture section (11).

starting with a portrait that was currently kept in the family temple (*jin jia miao suo cang hua xiang* 今家廟所藏畫像).¹³ The Jiamiao was an ancestral shrine used only by the members of the senior Kong lineage, unlike the “scholars’ temple” (i.e., the grand ceremonial hall labeled Zhengdian), where scholar-officials also participated in sacrificial rituals.¹⁴ According to Kong Zonghan, the picture was called simply the *Small Portrait* (*Xiao ying* 小影; literally “small shadow”) and was “the truest of the Sage’s portraits” (*yu sheng xiang wei zui zhen* 於聖像爲最眞).¹⁵ The composition portrayed Confucius dressed in leisure robes and accompanied by Yan Hui 顏回, his favorite disciple (*yi yan ju fu, Yan zi congxing* 衣燕居服, 顏子從行). The work was probably a painting, although the term *hua xiang* could also indicate an incised tablet. Kong Zonghan gave no further information about it, nor his reasons for proclaiming that it was the most genuine among all depictions of Confucius.

Besides the *Small Portrait*, Kong Zonghan described three other pictures that had come down to recent generations.¹⁶ Two showed Confucius seated 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 a canopy and another a jade chime-stone. In the other composition, seventy-two disciples stood in a row, some of them grasping a bow or arrow or opening a scroll. The third

13. Identically quoted in later genealogies, the passage on portraits begins by enumerating the heavenly omens surrounding Confucius’s birth, lists his 49 supernatural physical features, then describes the four pictorial compositions; see Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, xia.3b–4a (108–109); and Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, 8.3a–4a (51). I examine the documentary record in more detail in “Pedagogue on the Go.”

14. Thomas Wilson provides an illuminating account of the different functions of the two spaces during the Qing dynasty, which largely holds true for the earlier period; see “The Cultic Confucius in the Imperial Temple and Ancestral Shrine,” in Michael Nylan and Thomas A. Wilson, *The Lives of Confucius: Civilization’s Greatest Sage through the Ages* (New York: Doubleday, 2010), 165–191.

15. As quoted in Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, xia.4a (109); also Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, 8.3b (51). On various terms referring to portraits and criteria for reliability, see Stuart and Rawski, *Worshiping the Ancestors*, 93–95.

16. Quoted in Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, xia.4a (109); also Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, 8.3b–4a (51). As discussed below, Kong Yuancuo illustrated three of the four pictures and gave them titles, perhaps inspired by Kong Zonghan’s descriptions. The illustrations were later incorporated into the various editions of *Queli zhi* 闕里誌, a hybrid gazetteer compiled jointly by Kong descendants and scholar-officials in the Ming and Qing periods, starting with Chen Hao 陳鏞 as lead compiler in 1505 and continued by Kong Honggan 孔弘幹 as lead compiler in 1552.

picture showed Confucius riding in a carriage, accompanied by ten disciples. Without saying exactly where these pictures were or what they were called, Kong Zonghan disparaged them 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).¹⁷ The implication is that later people who had never seen Confucius just depicted their own conceptions of him and thus could not have portrayed him accurately. As discussed below, some of the pictures disparaged by Kong Zonghan were owned by his close relatives, and his comments may be emblematic of intra-lineage competition for prestige and power.

Kong Zonghan’s notes on the four portraits were transcribed by his nephew, Kong Chuan 孔傳 (ca. 1059–ca. 1134),¹⁸ into an expanded edition of the genealogy completed around 1124.¹⁹ Following the lengthy passage, Kong Chuan

17. Quoted in Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, *xia*.4a (109); also Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji* 8.4a (51), where it is the end of the entry on portraits of Confucius.

18. 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*, *shang*.36b (100). For additional biography and his many titles, see Kong Decheng, comp., *Kongzi shijia pu*, *chu ji*:2.5b (86), and *er ji* 二集:17–1.1a (2381); also Chang Bide 昌彼德, comp., *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 宋人傳記資料索引 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1977), 387–388.

19. The bibliography (*yiwenzhi* 藝文志) of the official Song history lists two genealogies under Kong Chuan’s name: *Queli zuting ji* 闕里祖庭記 in three *juan*, and *Dongjia zaji* in two *juan*; see Toqto 脫脫, comp., *Song shi* 宋史 (1345; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 203.5122. Kong Yuancuo reproduces an “old preface” (*jiu yin* 舊引), allegedly composed in Qufu by Kong Gui 孔瓌 in 1124, for a work by Kong Chuan called *Zuting zaji* 祖庭雜記; see *Kongshi zuting guangji*, *Zuting zaji jiu yin*.1a–b (4). Extant editions of *Dongjia zaji* contain a very similarly worded preface signed by Kong Chuan, dated 1134, and written in the South; see Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, *shou*.1a–b (13–14). Kong Duanchao’s 孔端朝 1132-dated postface to *Dongjia zaji* implies that Kong Chuan compiled two works: a genealogy that he brought 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; Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, *hou xu*.1b–2b (166–168). Therefore, it seems possible that, in the South, Kong Chuan revised an earlier, fuller version of the genealogy that he had initially prepared in the Qufu, and Kong Yuancuo subsequently used the earlier version as the basis for his own edition. Careful scrutiny of the National Library of China’s early edition of *Dongjia zaji*, which it calls a “Song edition with ongoing revisions” (*Song ke di xiu ben* 宋刻遞修本), shows that Song taboos are observed for emperors through Gaozong, supporting a compilation date between 1127–1162; see the facsimile published 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). However, it also includes descendants through the end of the Southern Song, and the pages in various sections are cut in different

quoted a panegyric called “Encomium for the *Small Portrait* (*Xiao ying 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).²⁰ The first few lines of Yin’s ode to “the truest of the Sage’s portraits” link the ancient heirloom to Confucius’s home and imply that it was made around his lifetime:

夫子之象	The image of the master,
其初孰傳	Who initially passed it down?
得于其家	Obtained [seen?] at his home,
几二千年	It is almost 2000 years [old].
仰聖人之容色	I look up to the sage's countenance,
瞻古人之衣冠	And gaze upon the ancient's robe and cap.
信所謂溫而厲	Truly, this is what was called "genial yet strict,
威而不猛	imposing and yet not intimidating,
恭而安	courteous and yet at ease” ²¹ . . .

Yin Fuzhen’s references to the portrait’s great antiquity and family provenance probably reflect oral traditions among the Kong descendants and suggest the main reasons for regarding it as a genuine and reliable representation. The image also reminded Yin of a well-known passage in the *Analects* (*Lun yu* 論語) that described Confucius’s appearance, a further confirmation that the portrait was accurate. After Yin Fuzhen’s encomium, Kong Chuan restated his uncle’s verdict on portraits of Confucius: “Of the pictorial portraits trans-

typefaces, suggesting a compilation from multiple sources. 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 characterization in earlier bibliographies; their comments are transcribed at the front of the *Kongzi wenhua daquan* reprint, 9–12. Finally, *Dongjia zaji* includes an illustration of Confucius seated with disciples at the Apricot Platform, which is not mentioned anywhere in the text and probably was added later. I discuss all these matters further in “Descendants and Portraits of Confucius in the early Southern Song.”

20. Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, xia.4a (109). Yin Fuzhen’s appointment as teacher in 1089 and his acquisition of 20 *qing* 頃 (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), 240–242. I have not found an independent text containing Yin’s “Encomium for the *Small Portrait*,” nor biographical information on him.

21. This is a line from *Lun yu* 論語 7.38; translation by Raymond Dawson, *Confucius: The Analects*, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 27.

mitted to this generation, except for the *Small Portrait*, all are false versions” (*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

Next, Kong Chuan quoted several lines from the late Tang literatus Liu Yuxi’s 劉禹錫 (772–842) *Stele for the New Temple in Xuzhou* (*Xuzhou xin miao bei* 許州新廟碑), dateable to around 836.²³ In his commemorative record for a recently reconstructed temple at the Xuzhou Prefectural School (modern Xuchang 許昌, Henan), Liu Yuxi described its image of Confucius as “A likeness with the head of Yao, the body of Yu, a fine cap and ivory ornaments, acquired from Zou Lu [Qufu]” (*Yao tou Yu shen, hua guan xiang pei zhi rong, qu zhi zi Zou Lu* 堯頭禹身,華冠象佩之容,取之自鄒魯).²⁴ In the next sentence of the temple stele, not transcribed by Kong Chuan, Liu asserted that the sculptural icons and painted images in the sacrificial hall were in accord with regulations obtained from the Imperial University.²⁵ The two sentences are structurally parallel, and both invoke authoritative models elsewhere; the ritual layout was correct because it came from the most prestigious school in the capital, and the portrait of Confucius was reliable because it came from the Sage’s home region. Liu’s text thus endorsed provenance as the guarantor of authenticity. Kong Chuan concluded the entire 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.²⁶

22. Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, xia.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* 劉禹錫集 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1975), 3.27–29.

24. My translation is based on the stele text as given in *Liu Yuxi ji*, 3.28. As transcribed in the edition reprinted in *Kongzi wenhua daquan*, Kong Chuan’s excerpt has the words *xiang fu* 像服 (portrait dress) instead of *xiang pei* 象佩 (ivory ornaments); see Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, xia.4b (110). The edition in the National Library of China (see note 12) renders it as *xiang pei* 像佩 (portrait ornaments). Earlier in the passage quoted from Kong Zonghan’s *Jiapu*, Confucius’s bodily features are described as resembling those of ancient sage-emperors; see Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, xia.3b (108).

25. *Liu Yuxi ji*, 29. The Imperial University was the highest of the “scholars’ temples” and an appropriate model for a prefectural school’s temple to follow.

26. I suspect that Liu Yuxi was not describing a two-dimensional portrayal of Confucius and Yan Hui, but rather, the Xuzhou temple’s main icon, which displayed emblems of posthumous kingly rank and probably was a sculptural image. If so, then Kong Chuan’s conclusion would not be justifiable.

Northern Song images

Kong Chuan's *Dongjia zaji* did not include an illustration of the *Small Portrait*, but 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, such as a 1095-dated stele in Qufu, from which the rubbing in Fig. 2 comes (Fig. 2), discussed below. Other early examples are mentioned in a recorded inscription for a newly carved portrait stele erected in 1088 at the Gaoping 高平 (Shanxi) District School.²⁷ Composed by acting prefect Zhang Chi 張持, the inscription says that the portrayal of Confucius attended by Yan Hui was copied from one at the Dizhou 棣州 Prefectural School (modern Yangxin 陽信, Shandong), which had been installed by an official named Wang Boyu 王伯瑜.²⁸ According to Zhang Chi, the Dizhou stele in turn reproduced a picture called the *Small Portrait*, belonging to Kong Ruomeng 孔若蒙 (c. 1032–1098), the forty-seventh-generation Duke for Perpetuating the Sage.²⁹ This probably refers to the same *Small Portrait* that Kong Zonghan had described as being in the Kong family ancestral temple, which was under the duke's purview. The link is corroborated by Yao Yuxi's 姚禹錫 1124-dated inscription on a stele in the Shaoxing 紹興 Prefectural School reproducing the same image, as Yao calls it "the legacy portrait in the Master's Shadow [ancestral portrait] Hall" (*Fuzi yingtang yi xiang* 夫子影堂

27. 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), 433, entry titled "Kongzi hua xiang bei" 孔子畫像碑.

28. Zhang Chi was still active in 1108, as an official involved with salt administration; see *Song shi*, 181.4405. An earlier man of the same name, who died in 1047, has an entry in *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 1256. Wang Boyu is mentioned as an official in salt administration in Henan and Hebei during the 1050s; *Song shi*, 181.4429; he does not appear in *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*. Zhang Chi refers to Wang as Director of the Transit Authorization Bureau (*Simen langzhong* 司門郎中).

29. Hu Mi, *Shanxi jinshi ji*, 433. Zhang Chi refers to the *Small Portrait's* owner as "Confucius's 47th-generation descendant who inherited enfeoffment as Duke for Perpetuating the Sage, Mengzhi, of Xianyuan [Qufu]" (仙源孔子四十七代孫襲封衍聖公蒙之). Kong Ruomeng held the 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, *Queli zhi* (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), 2.42a (481).



Fig. 2 Confucius and Yan Hui. Rubbing of incised stone tablet sponsored by Kong Duanyou 孔端友 in the Temple of Confucius, Qufu, Shandong. Northern Song dynasty, dated 1095. After Baba Harukichi 馬場春吉, *Kōshi seiseki shi* 孔子聖蹟志 (Tokyo: Daitō bunka kyōkai, 1934), 168.

遺像), a reference to the Jiamiao.³⁰ 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, 獨此爲真).³¹ However, Zhang says that the image depicted Confucius as Minister of Justice in Lu (Lu sikou 魯司寇), suggesting that the costume was more formal than leisure garb.³² Zhang also attributes the portrayal to a specific artist, the Tang master-painter Wu Daozi 吳道子 (ca. 689-after 755), who is not mentioned in the genealogical account.³³

Although authorship by Wu Daozi would seem to refute any possibility that the portrait of Confucius with Yan Hui had come down from Confucius's lifetime, the contradiction could be resolved by positing that Wu had copied an ancient work. If that were the case, the Kongs might have understood Wu's role as merely facilitating the transmission of the authentic image. For the literati who sponsored replicas of the portrait, however, it may have been more important that Wu's depiction captured essential qualities associated with Confucius. Discussions of figure painting had long given priority to achieving lifelike vitality (*sheng qi* 生氣), and Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) had recently written an essay emphasizing the importance of conveying the subject's inborn nature (*tian* 天).³⁴ Wu Daozi's portrayal of Confucius with

30. A rubbing of the Shaoxing stele is reproduced in *Beijing tushuguan cang huaxiang taben huibian*, 1.4. 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. ca. 1124), respectively, are transcribed in Ruan Yuan 阮元 comp., *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), 7.33a–34b, entry titled "Song ke Kongzi xiang zan bei" 宋刻孔子像贊碑.

31. Hu Mi, *Shanxi jinshi ji*, 433.

32. Confucius reputedly held the post for three months in 499 BCE; Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 47.1915. For extant pictures of Confucius as Minister of Justice, which typically portrayed him wearing an elaborate headdress, see Wensheng Lu and Julia K. Murray, *Confucius: His Life and Legacy in Art* (New York, 2010), 21, 32–35, and 42–43.

33. Hu Mi, *Shanxi jinshi ji*, 433. The only other early mention of Wu Daozi is in a 1095-dated inscription by 46th-generation descendant Kong Zongshou 孔宗壽, discussed below. 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), 9.108–109. I examine his connection to portraits of Confucius further in "Pedagogue on the Go."

34. For relevant discussion and translations, see *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, edited by

Yan Hui must have been judged successful, because it was copied for display at a number of late Northern Song schools.³⁵ Not for use in formal sacrifices but as an inspiration to students, the image held meaning even for those who believed it futile to strive for an authentic depiction of Confucius's physical appearance. In an inscription dated 1107, Shang Zuojun 尚佐均 (12th c.), a professor at Yaozhou 耀州 District School (part of modern Xi'an, Shaanxi), rejected the possibility that any visual representation of Confucius could be a true likeness, since what was true was something that could neither be seen nor heard. Even so, Shang concluded, "if students follow his face to contemplate his Way and follow his form to contemplate his nature, there may yet be something that can be gained" (*ran xue zhe yuan mao guan qi dao, yuan xing guan qi tian, yi huo you ke de yun* 然學者緣貌觀其道，緣形觀其天，亦或有可得云).³⁶

In 1095, Kong Ruomeng's son and ducal heir Kong Duanyou 孔端友 (d. 1132) had the *Small Portrait* composition incised on a stele in Qufu, along with the texts of two imperial encomia (*zan* 贊) to Confucius, one composed in 962 by the Northern Song founding emperor Taizu (r. 960–976) and the other in 1008 by Zhenzong (Fig. 2).³⁷ The same picture of Confucius accompanied

Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 14–15, 20, 225. Su Shi's essay, "Record on Transmitting the Spirit" (*Chuanshen ji* 傳神記), is dateable circa 1078; *Zhongguo hualun leibian* 中國畫論類編, compiled by Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 454. Such views contrast with the impossibly high standard of resemblance that Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107) prescribed for a portrait to be used in ancestral rites; discussed in Deborah A. Sommer, "Destroying Confucius: Iconoclasm in the Confucian Temple," in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, edited by Thomas A. Wilson (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), 112–113.

35. Besides those already mentioned, schools in Wenshui and Shouyang [both in Shanxi] also had copies of the image from the Dizhou school; Hu Mi, *Shanxi jinshi ji*, 433. This information appears as an annotation to the Dizhou entry, opening the slight possibility that Hu Mi (*jinshi* 1404) added it. I have not made a comprehensive search for recorded Northern Song examples.

36. Shang Zuojun wrote his inscription for a portrait-stele that was erected in 1107 at the Yaozhou school and is no longer extant, but his text was transcribed on a portrait of Confucius with Yan Hui carved at the Xi'an Prefectural School in 1563; 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), 1:107. I translate and discuss it in more detail in "Pedagogue on the Go."

37. The badly effaced tablet still stands in the Qufu temple and is never reproduced in tourist books or photographic surveys. The only recent reproduction I have found is Luo Chenglie, *Huaxiang zhong de Kongzi* 画像中的孔子 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2003), 17. The imperial odes by Song Taizu and Zhenzong, carved on stelae at the temple, are transcribed in Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji, shang*. 5a (57) and 17b–18a (62–63), respectively. Kong Duanyou's own

by Yan Hui was reproduced on another stele erected in 1118 by a forty-ninth-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*," composed for its prototype (Fig. 3).³⁸ The two compositions are virtually identical and probably represented the precious heirloom fairly accurately. Its appearance is further confirmed by a line-drawing labeled with two titles, *Small Portrait* (*Xiao ying* 小影) and *Master Yan Following in Attendance* (*Yanzi cong xing* 顏子從行), which is reproduced in the front section of a later genealogy, Kong Yuancuo's 孔元措 (1181–c. 1251) *Kongshi zuting guangji* 孔氏祖庭廣記 (Fig. 4).³⁹

Zhang Chi's 1088 inscription on the Gaoping School's replica of the *Small Portrait* also asserted that Kong Ruomeng had a second portrait of Confucius as Minister of Justice by Wu Daozi.⁴⁰ Known as *Picture Standing* (*Tu li* 圖立), it showed Confucius riding in a carriage attended by a group of disciples. This description matches the last of the three compositions that Kong Zonghan had disparaged as "re-creations by later people" in the passage quoted by Kong Chuan.⁴¹ It also fits an image that Kong Chuan himself praised in another section of his *Dongjia zaji*, in a building-by-building description of the Qufu

brief inscription is dated Shaosheng 紹聖 2/3/1, corresponding to April 7, 1095. The calligrapher is identified as Kong Duanben 孔端本, a son of Kong Ruoxu (see note 29) and first cousin of Kong Duanyou; see his brief biography in Kong Decheng, *Kongzi shijia pu, chu ji*: 2.5a and 6b (86).

38. Kong Yu remained in Qufu under the Jin regime and became the assistant magistrate of Qufu in 1142, holding several prestige titles; see Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, 8.8a (53).

39. As discussed below, Kong Yuancuo was the 51st-generation duke under the Jin but lost control of Qufu in 1225, when the Southern Song briefly retook it and installed another Kong as duke, who then sided with the Mongols against the Jin in 1226. Christopher S. Agnew argues convincingly that Kong Yuancuo compiled *Kongshi zuting guangji* in 1227 "to naturalize his claim as the most senior living descendant of Confucius," because he lacked the military ability to impose it; see "Memory and Power in Qufu," *Journal of Family History* 34.4 (Oct. 2009), 331. Kong Yuancuo positioned his genealogy as a continuation of Kong Chuan's *Queli zuting (zaji)* (see note 19), from which he probably excerpted Kong Zonghan's discussion of paintings. The extant edition of the book dates from 1242, from blocks recut after Kong Yuancuo regained his position as duke in 1233.

40. Hu Mi, *Shanxi jinshi ji*, 433.

41. Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, xia.4a (109). If this is indeed the same picture, Kong Zonghan's comment may signal some kind of intra-Kong rivalry. He was Kong Ruomeng's second cousin once removed and generationally higher, but Kong Ruomeng outranked him as the senior descendant in the primary line.



Fig. 3 Confucius and Yan Hui. Rubbing of incised stone tablet sponsored by Kong Yu 孔瑀 in the Temple of Confucius, Qufu, Shandong. Northern Song dynasty, dated 1118. After Édouard Chavannes, *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1909), 6:pl. CCCXCVIII.871.



Fig. 4 *Small Portrait [of Confucius] / Master Yan in Attendance* (*Xiaoying* 小影/*Yanzi cong xing* 顏子從行). Woodblock-printed illustration in Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*. Yuan dynasty, 1242. After *Zhongguo zaizao shanben, Tang Song bian, Shi bu*, v. 82 (Beijing, Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2005).

temple and Kong lineage facilities.⁴² There Kong Chuan commented, “On the temple wall there was a Wu Daozi picture of the First Sage [Confucius] successively invited to serve in the states, with carriage, clothing, and figures displaying pomp and ceremony, which was exceedingly fine” (*miao bi you Wu Daozi hua xian sheng li pin zhu guo, ju fu ren wu wei yi, ji wei jing miao* 廟壁有吳道子畫先聖歷聘諸國，車服人物威儀，極為精妙).⁴³ The seeming contradiction suggests that Kong Chuan appreciated the artistry of this representation, even if it was one of the “re-creations by later people” disparaged by Kong Zonghan. In any case, a composition that corresponds to these verbal descriptions appears as a line-drawing in Kong Yuancuo’s *Kongshi zuting guangji*, under the title *Riding in a Carriage* (*Cheng lu* 乘輅) (Fig. 5).

42. Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, xia.16a–17a (133–135). Highly consistent with Fig. 1, the entire section reads as a commentary to a pictorial plan that was probably included in an earlier version of the genealogy; see note 9. It is possible that picture and text both came from Kong Zonghan’s 1085 *Jiapu*, as the latest date mentioned is 1048.

43. Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, xia.17a (135).



Fig. 5 *Riding in a Carriage* (*Cheng lu* 乘輅). Woodblock-printed illustration in Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*. Yuan dynasty, 1242. After *Zhongguo zaizao shanben*, *Tang Song bian*, *Shi bu*, v. 82 (Beijing, Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2005).

Its depiction of Confucius traveling in grand style as a high official with a large retinue presents a sharp contrast to the modest representation in the *Small Portrait*, where he has only one attendant and appears to be walking (cf. Figs. 2–4). The grandiose image may have appealed to Kong descendants' pride in their ancestor, but it seems not to have inspired replications elsewhere, perhaps because it conflicted with the more prevalent concept of Confucius as a frustrated statesman and humane teacher.

Seven months after Kong Duanyou erected his stele juxtaposing the two Song emperors' encomia to Confucius with a replica of the *Small Portrait*, a forty-sixth-generation descendant named Kong Zongshou 孔宗壽 (fl. 11th c.) set up a stone incised with the same two imperial odes above a different image (Fig. 6).⁴⁴ Instead of Confucius standing with Yan Hui, it portrayed the master holding a *ruyi* scepter, seated on a dais with an armrest and attended by ten disciples, one of whom grasps the pole of the canopy over Confucius's head.

44. Kong Zongshou's inscription is dated Shaosheng 2/10/1, corresponding to October 31, 1095. For his biography, see Kong Decheng, *Kongzi shijia pu*, *chu ji*:2.4b (85).

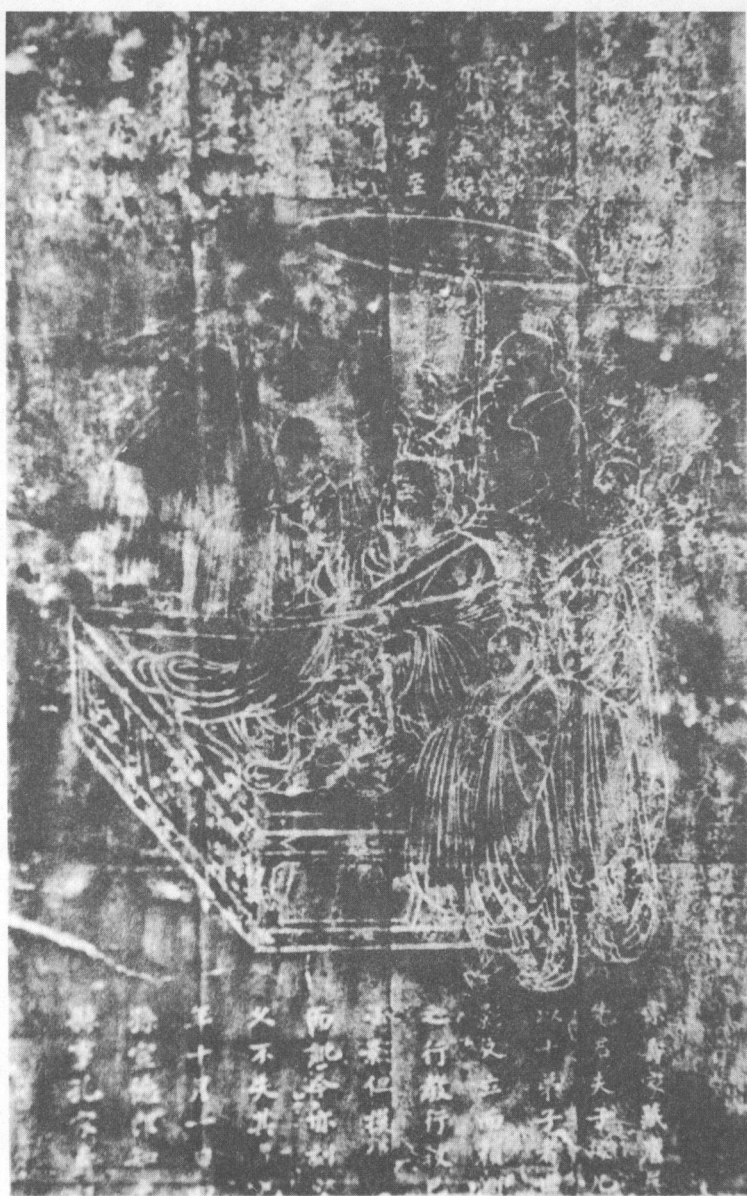


Fig. 6 Confucius seated with ten disciples. Rubbing of incised stone tablet sponsored by Kong Zongshou 孔宗壽 in the Temple of Confucius, Qufu, Shandong. Northern Song dynasty, dated 1095. After Edouard Chavannes, *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1909), 6:pl. CCCXCVII.870.

Kong Zongshou's own inscription, incised beneath the scene, claimed that his family had two pictures by Wu Daozi; this one, which he rather confusingly calls the *Small Portrait* (*Xiao ying*), and a standing image of Confucius with Yan Hui, which he refers to as *Practicing the Teaching* (*Xing jiao* 行教).⁴⁵ Kong Zongshou notes that the latter had already been reproduced in stone, undoubtedly referring to the tablet that Kong Duanyou had erected in the third lunar month of the same year, 1095. Therefore, Kong Zongshou continues, he was having the seated portrait carved on durable polished stone as well, in order to prevent the many imitations from ever becoming confused with the genuine (*zhen* 真).

Perhaps the reason why Kong Zongshou called the picture he reproduced "the *Small Portrait*" was to lay claim to the authenticity associated with that title in Kong Zonghan's genealogy and Yin Fuzhen's "Encomium for the *Small Portrait*."⁴⁶ However, the composition of Confucius seated with ten disciples largely fits the description of the first portrayal that Kong Zonghan, his first cousin, had dismissed as one of the "re-creations by later people."⁴⁷ The regal canopy and ornate dais again aggrandize Confucius, although somewhat less than the aristocratic carriage of the previous picture. The line-drawing of the composition in Kong Yuancuo's *Kongshi zuting guangji*, titled *Leaning on a Small Table* (*Pingji* 憑几; Fig. 7) differs slightly from Kong Zongshou's stele,

45. Kong Zongshou's inscription is the earliest use I have found of the *Xing jiao* title on an image of Confucius. It next occurs in Yang Huan's account of his 1252 visit to the Qufu temple, which records a stele carved with the *Xing jiao* portrait attributed to Gu Kaizhi (ca. 345–ca. 406); "Dongyou ji," *shang*.22b–23a (1198–234). A 1294-dated inscription by Si Jujing 司居敬 describes both compositions in more detail: "The *Queli* [Qufu] portrait of [Confucius] practicing the teaching, with Master Yan following behind, is from the brush of Gu Kaizhi. The *Small Portrait* [of Confucius] at the *Apricot Platform* is from the brush of Wu Daozi" (*Queli xing jiao xiang, Yanzi cong hou zhe, Gu Kaizhi bi. Xingtian xiaoying xiang, Wu Daozi bi* 闕里行教像, 顏子從後者, 顧愷之筆; 杏壇小影像, 吳道子筆); see Chen Hao, comp., *Queli zhi* (1505), 9.50b or Kong Honggan, comp., *Queli zhi* (1552), 9.39b (620). Gu Kaizhi's portrayal was later identified with Kong Yu's 1118 stele (i.e., Fig. 3) and described as Gu's copy (*chongmo* 重摹) of a posthumous sketch (*zhuixie* 追寫) by the disciple Zi Gong 子貢 (called Duanmu zi 端木子); see Yu Zhaohui 俞兆會, *Shengmiao tongji* 聖廟通記 (1687), as quoted in Kong Jifen 孔繼汾, *Queli wenxian kao* 闕里文獻考 (1762; rpt. Taipei: Zhongguo wenxian chubanshe, 1966), 34.32b (892). Perhaps documenting an oral tradition, Yu's description echoes Yin Fuzhen's suggestion that the *Small Portrait* had been passed down for almost 2,000 years.

46. Another more obvious explanation might be that the seated portrait was small in size. However, the stone table reproducing it is almost twice as large as Kong Duanyou's tablet depicting the standing figures of Confucius and Yan Hui.

47. As quoted by Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, *xia* 4a (109; also Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, 8.3b–4a (51).

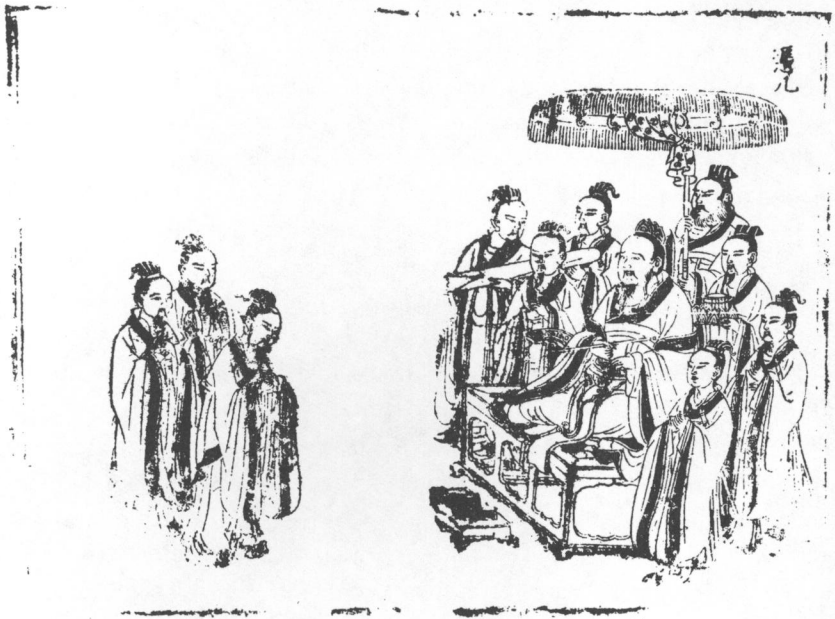


Fig. 7 *Leaning on a Small Table* (*Pingji* 憑几). Woodblock-printed illustration in Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*. Yuan dynasty, 1242. After *Zhongguo zaizao shanben, Tang Song bian, Shi bu*, v. 82 (Beijing, Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2005).

showing three of the disciples standing in front of Confucius, rather than all ten around the sides and back of his dais.⁴⁸ This more interactive arrangement suggests a narrative in which a disciple's question elicits a pronouncement from Confucius, very like (and possibly influenced by) the opening scene of illustrated Song versions of the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiao jing* 孝經).⁴⁹ Although it is impossible to say whether Kong Zongshou's stele or Kong

48. The one later replication of Kong Zongshou's stele that I have found is a stone erected around 1338 at the Jiangning 江寧 Prefectural School by education officials; see rubbing reproduced in *Beijing tushuguan cang huaxiang taben huibian*, 1:93. To the right of the image is the notation "respectfully copied by Wang Yuan of Qiantang" (錢唐王淵敬摹). The dedicatory inscription below conflates Kong Zonghan's description of portraits with Kong Zongshou's comments attributing this "Small Portrait" to Wu Daozi, and says that the censor Zhou Shunju 周舜舉 saw a version at the Yaozhou school and ordered a replica carved.

49. The *Xiao jing* was traditionally said to embody Confucius's responses to the disciple Zengzi's questions. For its many illustrated versions and the opening scene, see Richard M. Barnhart, *Li Kung-lin's Classic of Filial Piety* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 74–84.

Yuancuo's woodblock illustration was more faithful to the family painting they both purported to reproduce, the iconic quality of the stele's figural arrangement is echoed in closely related illustrations of Confucius and disciples at the Apricot Platform, such as the one included at the front of Kong Chuan's *Dongjia zaji* (Fig. 8).⁵⁰

The one portrayal that Kong Yuancuo did not illustrate in his expanded thirteenth-century genealogy was a composition that Kong Zonghan had characterized as showing Confucius seated with his seventy-two disciples arranged in a row, some of them holding a bow, arrow, or handscroll.⁵¹ Although the picture may simply have been too wide to reproduce well in a small book, it also had acquired a problematic new association since Kong Zonghan's time. As described below, the portrayal became closely identified with the Southern Song restoration in Lin'an (Hangzhou), and Kong Yuancuo served the rival Jin dynasty as the fifty-first-generation Duke for Perpetuating the Sage. He not only lost control of Qufu while staying in the Jin capital at Kaifeng, but also another duke was installed when the Southern Song recaptured Qufu in 1225. Kong Yuancuo compiled his ambitious genealogy in part to reassert his claims as senior descendant and rightful duke, an effort that succeeded in 1233.⁵² He bolstered his case by augmenting the text with visual representations of portraits and precincts that were significant to the Kongs' history, which were later adopted into a more comprehensive Ming gazetteer, *Queli zhi* 闕里誌.⁵³ Kong Yuancuo would not have gained any advantage from reproducing an image that had become associated with the Southern Song.

50. Since Kong Chuan's text does not mention a picture, it may have been added to *Dongjia zaji* after his time; see note 19. A very similar scene was included in *Shilin guangji* (*xu ji* 續集 4.2b), which might also have reminded the viewer of disciples gathering around their master at Southern Song academies. A more elaborate version of the composition appears in an illustrated edition of the *Lun yu*, published in 1296 in Pingyang 平陽 Prefecture, Shanxi; see reproduction in *Zhonghua wuqiannian wenwu jikan, banhua pian* 中華五千年文物集刊, 版畫篇 (Taipei: Zhonghua wuqiannian wenwu jikan bianji weiyuanhui, 1991), 51 no. 49. Unlike other versions of the scene, it includes the names of the ten disciples, perhaps to encourage the reader to visualize them in their dialogues with Confucius.

51. As quoted in Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, xia.4a (109); also Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji* 8.3b (51).

52. See note 39.

53. See note 16. The first item in the *Queli zhi*'s general guidelines (*fanli* 凡例), reprinted in all editions, explains that because legacy portraits of Confucius varied so much, the compilers had decided to reproduce illustrations from books; it then lists the titles of the pictures in Kong Yuancuo's *Kongshi zuting guangji*.



Fig. 8 Confucius and disciples at the Apricot Terrace (*Xing tan* 杏壇). Woodblock-printed illustration in Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*. Song dynasty, probably 13th century. After *Zhongguo zaizao shanben, Tang Song bian, Shi bu*, v. 142 (Beijing, Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2006).

*The Move to the South:
Southern Song and Jin Images*

The Jin invasion and conquest of North China had a far-reaching effect on the Kong lineage and its ancestral cult of Confucius. In the autumn of 1128, Song emperor Gaozong summoned Kong Duanyou, by then the forty-eighth-generation Duke for Perpetuating the Sage, to perform a sacrifice in the Song temporary capital at Yangzhou. The Jin installed his younger brother Kong Duancao 孔端操 (c. 1062–c. 1133) as duke in Qufu, and Kong Duanyou followed Gaozong south to Lin'an in early 1129, along with other members of the senior lineage.⁵⁴ When the advancing Jin armies temporarily drove Gaozong out of Lin'an, the Kongs went on to Quzhou 衢州, a more protected area up a mountain valley to the southwest.⁵⁵ Gaozong awarded them offices and titles to provide them with subsistence and enable them to resume their ancestral sacrifices in the South. As performances there were supposed to be just a temporary expedient, Gaozong did not build a grand new temple for the Kong ancestral sacrifices.⁵⁶ Instead, in 1136, he issued an edict to use the Quzhou school as a proxy (*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.⁵⁷ Only in about 1255 was a separate facility constructed

54. 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 to stay in Qufu to take care of the ancestral sites. Liu Yu 劉豫 (r. 1130–1137), whose short-lived Qi 齊 regime briefly held Qufu, conferred the ducal title on Kong Duancao's son Kong Fan 孔璠 (c. 1103–1140) in 1132; see Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, 1.15a (19). Kong Fan was Kong Yuancuo's grandfather.

55. Nonetheless, Kong Duanchao's 1132-dated postface to *Dongjia zaji* (see note 19) 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; Kong Chuan, *Dongjia zaji*, *houxu*.2a–b (167–168).

56. 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).

57. 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* 中國地方志集成: 浙江府縣志輯, v. 55, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1993), 7.4a (153). Southern Kong 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*.3a (169).

to serve as the Kong Family Temple, located northeast of the prefecture at Caltrop Lake (Linghu 菱湖).⁵⁸

The Southern Song and Jin regimes both patronized the cult of Confucius and invested successive generations of Kongs with the hereditary title of Duke for Perpetuating the Sage, thus creating rival dukes in the South and North.⁵⁹ Although the Jin controlled the ancient homeland of Confucius, the Southern Song harbored his senior descendants, and its legitimacy was enhanced by protecting and supporting them. Song Gaozong also used visual media to associate his restorationist regime with the Confucian legacy in order to ensure the allegiance of the educated elite, particularly after making a controversial peace settlement with the Jin in 1142.⁶⁰ Among other things, between 1143 and 1146, he transcribed the complete texts of six Confucian classics and had them carved on stone tablets erected in the imperial university, so that rubbings could be distributed to prefectural schools.⁶¹ In 1144, after visiting the imperial university, Gaozong composed a poetic encomium in honor of Confucius and also had it carved for further dissemination. Subsequently, he wrote an encomium for each of the seventy-two disciples, outdoing his imperial predecessors Taizu and Zhenzong, whose officials had composed these subsidiary texts. In 1155, Gaozong re-transcribed his eulogies for Confucius and the seventy-two disciples and had each text paired with a pictorial image. When the imperial university moved into spacious new quarters, the set of texts and pictures was carved on stone tablets and installed there in the twelfth month of 1156 (January 1157 by the Western calendar).⁶² Its stated purposes

58. This is the date given in Yang Tingwang comp., (*Kangxi*) *Quzhou fuzhi*, 7.4a (153); Xiaobing Wang-Riese 王霄冰 dates the founding to 1253; *Nanzong ji Kong* 南宗祭孔 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Renmin chubanshe, 2008), 31. Perhaps a reason why the Kong descendants only gained proper facilities in the South this long after fleeing from Qufu was that the Mongol conquest of the Jin made their return even more unlikely; for additional discussion, see “Nanzong Kong miao” 南宗孔廟, *Hudong baike* 互動百科, note 56 above).

59. For a detailed study of this situation, see Wilson, “The Ritual Formation of Confucian Orthodoxy and the Descendants of the Sage.”

60. For further discussion and references to Gaozong’s political use of the visual arts, see my *Ma Hezhi and the Illustration of the Book of Odes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 10–31; and “The Role of Art in the Southern Sung Dynastic Revival,” *Bulletin of Sung-Yuan Studies* 18 (1986), 41–59.

61. Rubbings of the fragmentary and battered extant tablets are reproduced and catalogued in Du Zhengxian 杜正賢, comp., *Hangzhou Kongmiao* 杭州孔廟 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshu chubanshe, 2008), 21–63.

62. I treat this project in depth in “The Hangzhou Portraits of Confucius and Seventy-Two

were to inspire these elite students and facilitate broader distribution through rubbings, which were sent to schools throughout the South (Fig. 9). The composition shows Confucius sitting on a low dais, facing a line of disciples holding various objects, with inscriptions appearing in the intervening spaces. The pictorial array generally corresponds to Kong Zonghan's verbal description of Confucius seated with a jade whisk and accompanied by seventy-two disciples arranged in a row.⁶³ Although a Southern Song court painter probably designed the figures simply from verbal prompts, it is possible that they were modeled on a painting brought from the North.⁶⁴ In any case, the ancillary inscriptions say nothing about the authenticity or antiquity of the portrayals, which must have been deemed satisfactory for the emperor's political goals of displaying his commitment to Confucian ideals of governance and promoting ideological conformity among students.

According to family traditions recorded in later sources, the Kong refugees brought with them precious documents and heirlooms from Qufu. These allegedly included a pair of pistache wood (*kai mu* 楷木) votive statues depicting Confucius (Fig. 10) and his wife, which were believed to have been carved by Zi Gong 子貢, the devoted disciple who had kept a six-year

Disciples (Sheng xian tu): Art in the Service of Politics," *Art Bulletin* 74.1 (March 1992), 7–18. Various sets of 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, 1963); *Beijing tushuguan cang huaxiang taben huibian*, 1:6–76; and Du Zhengxian, comp., *Hangzhou Kongmiao*, 255–267 (with cataloging information). A recent study of its colophon by the controversial prime minister Qin Gui 秦檜 (1090–1155), whose mansion was appropriated for the imperial university, is Cho-ying Li and Charles Hartman, "A Newly Discovered Inscription by Qin Gui: Its Implications for the History of Song *Daoxue*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 70.2 (Dec. 2010): 387–448.

63. The main differences are that the Hangzhou stones do not show Confucius resting against a low table, and he holds a stiff implement shaped like a back-scratcher, perhaps meant as a *ruyi* scepter, rather than a jade whisk.

64. In addition to the remote possibility that the Kong refugees brought a painting from Qufu, there is a persistent later tradition that associates the subject with a Northern Song artist, Li Gonglin 李公麟 (c. 1049–1106). Various forgeries purport to be Li's work, such as a colored handscroll in the Beijing Palace Museum, which has a fake signature and date of 1088, reproduced 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. 30; and one in the Eisei Bunko, Japan, reproduced in *Chūgoku 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. 2. I examine reasons for and against attributing the prototype of the Hangzhou tablets to Li Gonglin in "The Hangzhou Portraits of Confucius and Seventy-Two Disciples," 15–18.



Fig. 9a Portraits of three disciples, with biographies and encomia by Song Gaozong. Rubbing of incised stone tablet (detail of no. 14 of 15) depicting Confucius and 72 disciples, sponsored by Song Gaozong in the Temple of Confucius, Hangzhou. Southern Song dynasty, dated 1156. After Du Zhengxian, comp., *Hangzhou Kongmiao* (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2008), 266.

vigil at his master's grave.⁶⁵ Between 1132 and 1134, Kong Chuan compiled a second version of his genealogy, *Dongjia zaji*, in order to preserve records of legitimate descent lines.⁶⁶ After settling in Quzhou, he and Kong Duanyou also erected a stone stele incised with a large standing image of Confucius.

65. Recently exhibited in New York, the wooden figurines are reproduced and discussed in Lu and Murray, *Confucius: His Life and Legacy in Art*, 36. As objects for family-ancestral veneration, they have come to symbolize the Southern Kongs' claim to seniority only in the last century. For the assertion that Kong Duanyou brought them to the South, quoted from the 1699 edition of the local administrative gazetteer, and for details of their installation 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 ed. rpt. *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng: Zhejiang fuxian zhiji*, v. 55; Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1993), 3.16b (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," 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) 孔氏南宗之作爲及其影響 (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, and they may have been fabricated in the Ming as part of the Southern Kong resurgence.

66. See note 19. Kong Duanchao's 1132 postface mentions family documents, and Kong Chuan's 1134 preface expresses his concerns about interlopers.



Fig. 9b Portrait of Confucius, with preface, biography, and encomium by Song Gaozong. Rubbing of incised stone tablet (detail of no. 1 of 15) depicting Confucius and 72 disciples, sponsored by Song Gaozong in the Temple of Confucius, Hangzhou. Southern Song dynasty, dated 1156. After Huang Yongquan, *Li Gonglin 'Sheng xian tu' shike* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963), pls. 1–2.

Although the original stone seems to have been destroyed at the end of the Southern Song, a replacement was carved in about 1520 (Fig. 11), when a new temple for the Southern Kong descendants was built in the eastern part of the city, its present location.⁶⁷ The lifesize Confucius depicted on the tablet looks like an enlarged version of his figure in the *Small Portrait* compositions (cf. Figs. 2–4). Given the importance of the *Small Portrait*, which Kong Zonghan and Kong Chuan had called the truest portrayal of Confucius, perhaps Kong Duanyou had brought it from Qufu, or at least a rubbing of his 1095 tablet reproducing it (Fig. 2). In any case, the two-man composition was widely preserved in rubbings and on stone tablets at government schools.⁶⁸ Moreover,

67. Wang-Riese, *Nanzong ji Kong*, 40–41. A plan of the new temple's layout appears on the back of the portrait stele; reproduced in Quzhou shi bowuguan 衢州市博物館, comp., *Quzhou muzhi beike jilu* 衢州墓誌碑刻集錄 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2006), 80–81. The new temple marked the re-emergence of the Quzhou Kongs after they lapsed into centuries of obscurity upon relinquishing the ducal title in 1282, rather than return to Qufu. Northern and Southern Kong accounts are partisan about this history; for an objective analysis, see Wilson, "The Ritual Formation of Confucian Orthodoxy and the Descendants of the Sage," 574–577.

68. E.g., at the Shaoxing Prefectural School; see above at note 30.

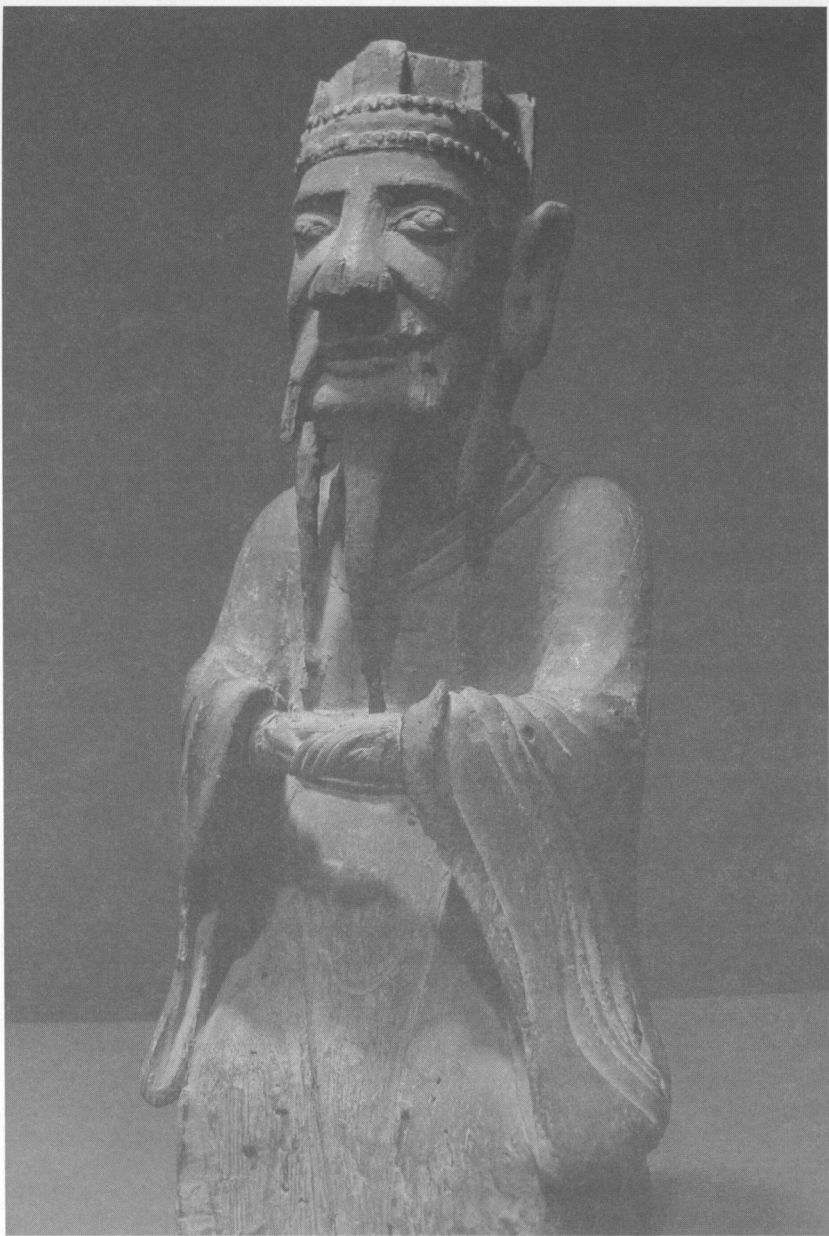


Fig. 10 Votive figurine of Confucius (det.), one of a pair allegedly carved by the disciple Zi Gong 子貢. Wood, with traces of pigment. Date uncertain. Formerly in the Kong Family Temple, Quzhou. Kong Residence Cultural Relics Archive, Cultural Relics Administrative Committee of Qufu City, Shandong.



Fig. 11 *Legacy Portrait of the First Sage* (*Xian sheng yi xiang* 先聖遺像). Rubbing of incised stone tablet in the Quzhou Kong Family Temple. Ming dynasty, ca. 1520, replacing lost original erected by Kong Duanyou and Kong Chuan ca. 1132. Zhejiang Archaeological Research Institute, Hangzhou. After Nanjing Gongxueyuan jianzhuxi 南京工學院建築系 and Qufu wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 曲阜管理委員會, comps., *Qufu Kongmiao jianzhu* 曲阜孔廟建築 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1987), fig. 1-1-2.

the title on the Quzhou stele, *Legacy Portrait of the First Sage* (*Xian sheng yi xiang* 先聖遺像), implies a likeness made late in Confucius's lifetime and handed down through the ages. This characterization evokes the claim in Yin Fuzhen's "Encomium on the *Small Portrait*," which Kong Chuan quoted in *Dongjia zaji*, that the depiction was 2000 years old. The creation and display of a lifesized portrayal of Confucius made him more visibly present in the new locale of the family-ancestral cult.

Indirect evidence suggests that the portrait stele recarved in the Ming 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 popular compendium *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 reproduce a similar line-drawing of Confucius as a solitary standing figure (Fig. 12).⁶⁹ The image is accompanied by two texts, a passage containing Kong Zonghan's description of the sage's extraordinary features and visual representations, and a transcription of Song Gaozong's 1144 encomium to Confucius.⁷⁰ The printed picture is entitled *Legacy Portrait of the First Sage* (*Xian sheng yi xiang* 先聖遺像), the same as the recarved Quzhou image. A reliable portrait of Confucius endorsed by his descendants 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 stele erected by Kong Duanyou and Kong Chuan 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 portrayal had survived from his lifetime and thus was authentic.⁷¹

69. *Shilin guangji* was initially compiled by Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 in 1269 as an illustrated compendium of useful information for the aspiring literatus and published in late Southern Song Fujian, then evolved in successive editions; for details, 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, 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, reprinted in the Zhonghua shuju edition of *Shilin guangji* (Beijing, 1999), 559–565 and 566–572, respectively.

70. The description is identified as an excerpt from *Queli zuting ji* 闕里祖庭記, meaning Kong Chuan's genealogy; see note 19; for Kong Zonghan's 1085 genealogy and the quoted passage, see notes 7 and 13. Transcriptions of Gaozong's encomium may be compared in Figs. 9 and 12.

71. There is also an undated inscription along the side of the Quzhou stele, identifying its sponsors as Kong Chuan and Kong Duanyou. It is possible that the wording was created for the



Fig. 13 *Legacy Portrait of the Ultimate Sage* (*Zhi sheng yi xiang* 至聖遺像). Rubbing of incised stone tablet inscribed with Chen Hao's "Record for the Stele of the Legacy Portrait of the Ultimate Sage." Yuan dynasty, 1327. After *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian*, v. 19 (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), cat. 70.

陳澔 (*zi* Keda 可大, 1261–1341), Instructor (*jiaoyu* 教諭) in the Huangmei 黃梅 District School in Huangzhou 黃州 Prefecture (eastern Hubei).⁷³ According to Chen's convoluted account, a circuit official named Luo Feng

Jiangsu tongzhi gao 江蘇通志稿 (rpt. *Jiangsu jinshi zhi* 江蘇金石志, in *Shike shiliao congshu, jia bian* 甲編之 19, v. 43, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1967), *jin shi* 金石 18.73a.

73. For Chen Hao's 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), 2:1296. His text originally was carved on a stele in the Huangmei District School. Lu Jun 盧濬, a prefect of Huangzhou

羅封 had discovered an incised stone portrait while traveling near Jiangling 江陵 (Jingzhou 荊州, western Hubei) at some unspecified earlier time. Luo's horse had reared up and refused to cross a bridge, which turned out to contain a slab incised with a figural image. Luo had the stone removed and installed in the Xuanmiao guan 玄妙觀 Daoist temple in Jiangling. Some time later, in 1322, Jin Liangshu 靳良叔, Assistant Magistrate of Jingling 景陵 in Mianyang 沔陽 (central Hubei), went to Jiangling on business and happened to visit the temple.⁷⁴ He immediately recognized the stele as Wu Daozi's portrait of Confucius at leisure (*Xian sheng yan ju zhi xiang* 先聖燕居之像) and learned the story of its unusual provenance from the Daoist priests. Jin discussed his discovery 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. After the stone was transferred, rubbings were made and sometimes used to carve new stelae elsewhere. One of them was the stele at the Huangmei school, for which Chen Hao wrote this commemorative inscription soon after arriving at his post in 1326.⁷⁵ Versions of

in the late fifteenth century, transcribed Chen's inscription under the title *Legacy Portrait of the Exalted Sage* (*Xuan sheng yi xiang* 宣聖遺像) in a book of poems on Huangzhou's traces of the past (*guji* 古蹟); see *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. Wang Shizhen 王士禛 recorded a slightly variant version of Chen's text on a stele portrait of Confucius that he saw in 1684 at the White Deer Grotto Academy (Bailudong shuyuan 白鹿洞書院) in Nanchang, Jiangxi; see *Huanghua jiwen* 皇華紀聞 (rpt. *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, *Zibu* 子部 245, Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1997), 4.19b-20b (245-234-245-235). Wang does not mention a title but refers to the image as *Portrait of the Master, Carved in Stone* (*Fuzi shike xiang* 夫子石刻像). The modern catalogue entry for the rubbing of the unidentified stone that I reproduce in Fig. 13, titled *Legacy Portrait of the Ultimate Sage* (*Zhi sheng yi xiang* 至聖遺像), dates Chen's inscription to 1327 and transcribes it yet again differently; see *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian* 中國美術全集, 繪畫編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), v. 19 cat. 70.

74. I have not found Jin Liangshu in biographical sources. Jingling is between Jiangling and Huangmei. Most versions of the story date Jin's discovery of the tablet in the Xuanmiao guan to 1322. The date is given as 1323 in Wang Shizhen's transcription; see *Huanghua jiwen*, 4.19b (245-234).

75. Chen Hao says that he heard the story from Secretarial Assistant Tao Jingshan 陶景山 soon after starting his job at the Huangmei District School. Tao claimed to have been in Jiangling when Jin Liangshu discovered the portrait and took credit for proposing the petition to move it to the Chongwen'ge. Chen Hao subsequently obtained the portrait (presumably a rubbing) from the Li Hefu Family School (Li Hefu jiashu 李和甫家塾; unidentified). When he showed it to the magistrate, a Mr. Li of Jingshan 景山李氏, the latter was overjoyed and ordered a new stone carved to reproduce it, for which Chen wrote the inscription. The connection between the

the tale are repeated on a number of stelae that reproduce the large standing image, although they sometimes omit mention of Chen Hao and Huangmei, simply focusing on the miraculously discovered stele in Jiangling.⁷⁶

The details of this narrative may have been embellished with stock elements from other tales of images that displayed paranormal signs of their heavenly efficacy. The story suggests that the incised stone Luo Feng 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. The tablet probably had been removed from its original location amid some kind of social breakdown, such as the fighting and turmoil associated with the Mongol conquest. Perhaps the portrait stone had belonged to a Southern Song school or academy that was subsequently destroyed. The stone's incorporation into a bridge and the failure of the official who found it to recognize the subject suggest that the cult of Confucius had been disrupted for some time, as was the case in the early Yuan. The supernaturally-tinged account of the tablet's discovery and the prominence it gained from being moved to the Jiangling Prefectural School made the image especially appealing to reproduce elsewhere to spread its efficacious benefit. The resemblance between this portrayal and the Ming replacement stele in Quzhou suggests that they had a common source, which I suggest 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 Quzhou *Legacy Portrait of the First Sage* differs from the Qufu *Small Portrait* in three major ways that made its iconography more suitable for the relocated family and state cults in the early Southern Song. In the Quzhou

Huangmei stone and the one in Jiangling thus seems indirect. However, the notations "Stele in the Huangmei School" (Huangmei xian bei 黃梅縣碑) and "brush of Wu Daozi" (Wu Daozi bi 吳道子筆) appear on a 1547-dated stone with the same image, under the title *Legacy Portrait of the Ultimate Sage* (cf. Fig. 13); see rubbing reproduced in Jean Keim, *Chinese Art* (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1961), v. 1 pl. 8.

76. For example, a Yuan military official, Sengjianu 僧家奴, erected a stele titled *Legacy Portrait of the Exalted Sage* (*Xuan sheng yi xiang* 宣聖遺像) at the Guangzhou Prefectural School in 1345, based on a rubbing he had acquired in 1341, and his inscription recounts the discovery of the Jiangling stone without mentioning Chen Hao; see illustration and partial transcription in Luo Chenglie, *Huaxiang zhong de Kongzi*, 27. I obtained a more complete version of Sengjianu's text by examining the National Library of China's rubbing of a 1440-dated stele that was made to replicate the Guangzhou stele for the Huating 華亭 District School in Songjiang 松江 prefecture; a poor reproduction appears in *Beijing tushuguan cang huaxiang taben huibian* 1:97.

stele, Confucius stands alone, without the attending disciple Yan Hui, who also had a temple and tomb in Qufu receiving Jin patronage. Thus, the portrait was perhaps less likely to evoke the loss of the northern homeland. Also, Confucius appears to be more elderly and wears the simple cloth cap of the scholar-recluse, signifying the last years of his life. By contrast, the *Small Portrait* shows a flower-shaped cap with a large pin, which was associated with depictions of him traveling around the northern states in search of a worthy ruler to serve. Finally, the enlargement of Confucius's figure rendered him more vividly present, outside the limits of time and place, inviting the viewer to engage and commune with him. This evocative image, attested as a true portrayal handed down by his direct descendants, offered latter-day viewers the possibility of a transformative encounter with the ancient sage.

The creation in the South of a large, iconic portrait of Confucius standing alone seems not to have affected representations in the North, where the *Small Portrait* of Confucius with Yan Hui retained primacy. According to the early Yuan scholar-official and court connoisseur Wang Yun 王恽 (1227–1304), the Jin court artist Ma Yunqing 馬雲卿 painted a portrait of Confucius and Yan Hui in 1161, which was later inscribed by Kong Yuancuo.⁷⁷ In fact, the image reproduced in *Kongshi zuting guangji* (i.e., Fig. 4) may well have been made from Ma's version of the heirloom composition, as a note at the front of the book credits the illustrations to one Ma Tianzhang, Imperial University student from Jieshan (Shanxi) (Taixue sheng Jieshan Ma Tianzhang 太學生介山馬天章).⁷⁸ In 1275, Ma Yunqing's painting was copied by a scholar-commoner named Wang Youren 王友仁 for Wang Yun, perhaps related to his efforts to "Confucianize" early Mongol rule.⁷⁹ Even though the large solitary portrayal

77. Wang Yun, *Qiujuan ji* 秋澗集, rpt. *Yingyin Wenyuange Sikū quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, v. 1201 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 71.9a (1201-69).

78. Kong Yuancuo, *Kongshi zuting guangji*, unpaginated preface section (2). Xia Wenyan 夏文彥 (active ca. 1365) records three Ma brothers who were noted painters during the Jin dynasty. The eldest was Ma Tianlai 馬天駟, *zi* Yunzhang 雲章, whose names suggest that he is the Ma Tianzhang in question. The Jin court painter Ma Yunqing was the middle brother. See Xia Wenyan, *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑, rpt. *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書, comp. Yu Anlan 于安瀾, v. 1 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963), 4.123.

79. Wang Yun, *Qiujuan ji*, 71.9a (1201-69). On Wang Yun's role as an important advocate of Han civilization, see Franke, Herbert, "Wang Yun (1227–1304): A Transmitter of Chinese Values," in *Yuan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion under the Mongols*, Hok-lam Chan and W.T. de Bary, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 153–196. I have not found biographical information on Wang Youren.

of Confucius in leisure clothing was eventually replicated on a stele at the Qufu temple, without a title but a notation attributing it to Wu Daozi, it was never illustrated in any edition of the gazetteer, *Queli zhi*, which always included the portrayal with Yan Hui.⁸⁰ And from the mid-Ming onward, the two-man portrait often served as the pictorial frontispiece to serial narrative illustrations of Confucius's life, the *Shengji tu* 聖蹟圖.⁸¹

Concluding Remarks

Although Kong descendants and unrelated men of the educated class both were involved in transmitting and reproducing portraits of Confucius, they seem to have held different views on the significance of the images. For the Kongs, Confucius was the founding ancestor, and heirloom portraits facilitated familial worship. Moreover, descendants owed the social and economic entitlements they received from successive rulers to his posthumous recognition as a sage, and the possession of authentic portraits symbolized legitimate claims to favored treatment. Perhaps the creation of a lifesize and approachable image of Confucius on a stele in Quzhou was a means of affirming Kong family identity, as well as providing psychological comfort to members displaced from their

80. A rubbing of the stele incised with the "legacy portrait" in the Hall of the Sage's Traces (Shengjidian 聖蹟殿) of the Qufu temple is reproduced in Édouard Chavannes, *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale* (Paris: Leroux, 1909), 6:CCCC, no. 874. I have checked five different editions of the gazetteer *Queli zhi*, ranging in date from 1505 to 1870. Four include a more impressive-looking, full-length portrait of Confucius standing alone and wearing elaborate headgear and official clothing, but no sword, and clasping a tablet (the corresponding picture in the 1552 edition [see note 16] is just bust-length). Titled *Portrait of the Minister of Justice* (*Sikou xiang* 司寇像), the image was not taken from *Kongshi zuting guangji* and probably postdated the 1242 publication. Si Jujing's 1294 inscription (see note 45), mentions a "recent" (*jin* 近) *Sikou xiang* in the Qufu temple, in addition to the Gu Kaizhi *Xingjiao xiang* (Confucius standing with Yan Hui) and Wu Daozi *Xingtian xiao ying* (Confucius seated with a group of disciples). My tentative conclusion is that the inspiration for including a solo portrait in *Queli zhi* came from the informal "legacy portrait," but its accoutrements were changed to represent Confucius as a more imposing figure in his highest official role.

81. I provide references on dozens of examples in "Illustrations of the Life of Confucius" Their Evolution, Functions, and Significance in Late Ming China," *Artibus Asiae* 57.1-2 (1997), Appendix. The portrayal of Confucius and Yan Hui (retitled *Xian sheng xiao xiang* 先生小像) is often given a landscape setting; e.g. Idem, Fig. 3. One noteworthy exception is the frontispiece in *Complete Pictures of the Traces of the Sage* (*Shengji quantu* 聖蹟全圖), which shows Confucius standing alone; see examples in the Columbia University Library (1786.2/0622) and Harvard-Yenching Library (1786.2/1546d).

ancestral homeland. In other situations, Kong descendants endorsed images that depicted Confucius as an honored statesman.

For the scholar-elite, Confucius was the archetypal teacher and the exemplar of both high-minded official service and principled withdrawal. In the brutally factionalized sphere of Song politics, literati viewers may have found images of Confucius in retirement particularly resonant. After years of frustration in his quest to implement his ideals of governance, he had finally given up seeking official appointment, making him a consoling model for later men who suffered career setbacks in adverse political conditions. Failure also had enabled Confucius to become the charismatic figure who inspired legions of disciples and later followers to preserve and spread his teachings.⁸² In schools, a large image of Confucius dressed in the informal robes of a scholar invited quotidian veneration outside the formal sacrificial rites in the temple. The *daoxue* master Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) is said to have led students at the Cangzhou Academy 滄州書院 in offering obeisance to a portrait of Confucius every morning.⁸³ By contrast, the depictions of Confucius and seventy-two disciples with Song Gaozong's encomia, replicated for government schools from the incised stones in the Hangzhou imperial university, probably did not attract the same kind of reverential engagement. Not only are the figures much smaller, their varied postures and animated facial expressions have the lively and entertaining character of narrative illustrations, rather than the solemn stasis of icons. Moreover, the accompanying texts, composed by the emperor, may have seemed more important.

References to replication repeatedly come up in connection with portraits of Confucius. Favored images were often reproduced, sometimes in other media, thereby becoming more widely known. Kong descendants preserved the compositions of their heirloom paintings by having them copied in stone and woodblock, from which rubbings and prints enabled additional versions to be made elsewhere. I have not found any indication that a replica was considered to represent Confucius less well than its prototype or to have less efficacy. Through reproductions of a true portrait of Confucius, he could be

82. Michael Nylan insightfully analyzes the evolution of Confucius's personality and character in Nylan and Thomas A. Wilson, *The Lives of Confucius: Civilization's Greatest Sage Through the Ages* (New York: Random House/ Doubleday Religion, 2010), 1–3, 7–8.

83. *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類, Li Jingde 黎靖德, comp. (rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 107.2674. Linda Walton translates the relevant passage in *Academies and Society in Southern Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 39.

made present anywhere. Nonetheless, it is difficult to match extant images with textual descriptions, and connections must always be considered tentative. Accounts that were originally written for or about a specific portrayal, such as Chen Hao's record of the stele carved for the Huangmei School, were freely appropriated for other images and sometimes excerpted in misleading ways. The rather generic titles given to depictions of Confucius also make it hard to trace individual examples. Filiations suggested by slight variations in iconographical details, such as the direction Confucius faces, the exact position of his hands, the type of headdress he wears, and the way his sword protrudes, are of only limited help in identifying possible prototypes. Although writers sometimes refer to the extraordinary features of his physical appearance, these elements were not incorporated into visual representations.⁸⁴ Neither the Kong descendants nor most literati seem to have been particularly concerned about the specific visual details of the portraits; validation as a true image depended on other qualities.⁸⁵ Ultimately, the Tang artist Wu Daozi came to be associated with all the variations on the large solo portrait.

84. As enumerated by Kong Zonghan (see note 13), many of these features seem metaphorical and would have been difficult to render visually. However, a small painting in the Beijing Palace Museum, attributed to Ma Yuan 馬遠 (fl. late 12th-early 13th c.), depicts Confucius with a prominently bulging forehead; reproduced in *Kongzi baitu* 孔子百圖, Wang Shucun 王樹村, comp. (Guangzhou: Lingnan meishu chubanshe, 1997), 40. It brings to mind Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (ca. 145–ca. 86 BCE) comment that Confucius was born with a hill-shaped head; *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 47.1905.

85. One exception is Huang Zhongyuan 黃仲元 (1231–1312, js 1271), who pointed out that images of Confucius with a beautiful beard and long moustache contradicted an ancient description of him and wondered what it was based on; see *Siru ji* 四如集, rpt. *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, v. 1188 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 1.34a–b (1188–610). The reference is to Zi Si's description of Confucius in *Kong congzi* 孔叢子 sec. 7.2, rpt. *Yingyin Wenyuan'ge Siku quanshu*, v. 695 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshu guan, 1983), *shang*.27a–b (695–323). Huang's comments are excerpted in a 1563-dated inscription by Sun Ying'ao 孫應鰲 on the replica of the *Small Portrait* in the Xi'an school; see note 36.