

The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

College of the Liberal Arts

**REINVENTING CONFUCIUS AND HIS SHRINE:**

**THE TEMPLE OF CULTURE (*WENMIAO*) IN LATE IMPERIAL CHINA**

A Dissertation in

History

by

Kwok Leong Tang

© 2018 Kwok Leong Tang

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements  
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

August 2018

The dissertation of Kwok Leong Tang was reviewed and approved\* by the following:

On-cho Ng  
Head of the Asian Studies Department  
Professor of History, Asian Studies and Philosophy  
Dissertation Advisor  
Co-Chair of Committee

Kathlene Baldanza  
Associate Professor of History and Asian Studies  
Co-Chair of Committee

Ronnie Po-chia Hsia  
Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of History

Carol Reardon  
George Winfree Professor of American History

Madhuri Desai  
Associate Professor of Art History and Asian Studies  
Director of Graduate Studies in Art History

Gregory Smits  
Director of Graduate Studies  
Professor of History and Asian Studies

**\*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School**

## ABSTRACT

The dissertation is a political, institutional, and cultural history of the cult of Kongzi (Confucius) in late imperial China, the symbolic and physical center of which was the Temple of Culture. Since the time of the Tang dynasty, when the court elevated the veneration of Kongzi into a state cult, every subsequent regime followed suit, according the ancient master/sage the highest honor and utmost respect. Both the state and the literati saw the cult of Kongzi and the Temple of Culture as a supreme expression of “the transmission of the authentic Way” (daotong), a cultural authority and tradition that was independent from, albeit complementary to, the “succession of legitimate imperial rule” (zhitong). Ideally, it functioned as a check against the autocratic power of the throne. Yet, as this dissertation argues, the cult of Kongzi and the Temple of Culture also came to serve as a blunt political instrument for promoting imperial authority. In 1530, the Ming court purposefully changed Kongzi’s time-honored posthumous status from “king” (wang) to “teacher” (shi), thereby circumscribing the cult of the ancient sage specifically as a cultural entity. Significantly, the literati provided the Ming emperors with the theoretical arguments and ritual innovations to define the cult in such a way that it strengthened imperial authority, as evidenced by the ritual manuals published in the early seventeenth century, which consciously mitigated the political importance of Kongzi by clearly honoring him as the greatest “teacher” of all time. The Qing emperors, in their own ways and under different guises, utilized the Temple of Culture as a tool to assert imperial might and impose state ideology. In the process, they invented and ushered in new ritual traditions that defined the cult of Kongzi. By studying the commingling of politics, culture, religion, and institution in the evolution of the Kongzi cult and its temple, the dissertation seeks to reveal the complex process of the formation of imperial ideology in late imperial China.

## TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF ABBREVIATION	viii
LIST OF GRAPHS	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF TABLE	xi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xii
PROLOGUE: A KING? A TEACHER?	xv
CHAPTER ONE: FROM A “HOMELESS DOG” TO A KING	1
Subject of Studies	3
The Names of the Shrine	3
Three Aspects of the Temple	5
Enshrinements	5
Ranks of Enshrinement	7
Pei (Correlate)	7
Zhe (Savant)	9
Xian xian (Former Worthies) and Xian ru (Former Teachers)	11
Kongzi’s Father and Ancestors	12
Local Enshrinements	12
Daotong and Zhitong	13
Ritual	15
	iv



Space	19
Literature Review	22
From a Family Temple to a State Temple: a brief history prior to the Ming dynasty	28
Pre-Qin to Han Dynasty	28
Tang Dynasty	30
Song Dynasty	32
Conquest Dynasties	39
Conclusion	42
CHAPTER TWO: FROM A KING TO A TEACHER	44
The Paradox of Kongzi's Ritual Status	46
The problems left by the Yuan (1271-1368)	52
The Early Ming	55
The Jiajing Great Rites Controversy and Revision of the Kongzi Cult	68
The Great Rite Controversy	69
The 1530 Revision of Kongzi's Cult	74
Conclusion	79
CHAPTER THREE: THE LATE MING RITUAL MANUALS	81
Daoist monopoly of Temple ritual matters	83
Criticisms from the Confucian literati and Their Weaknesses	90
Instructions from the State	97
Three Ritual Manuals of the Late Ming	103

Qu Jiushi and the Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple	114
Li Zhizao and Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools	119
Shi Jishi & the Collection of the Rites and Music of the Great Completion	126
Conclusion	128
CHAPTER FOUR: NEW TRADITIONS IN AN OLD TEMPLE	130
The Qing Veneration of Kongzi	144
The Qing Imperial Plaques in the Temple of Culture	134
The Qing Victory Stelae	141
The Stone Stelae in the Imperial Academy	144
The Kangxi Stele	148
The Yongzheng Stele	158
The Qianlong Stelae in Beijing	161
The Qianlong Stele in Chengde	164
The Qianlong Stelae in the Localities	170
The Daoguang Stele	178
Conclusion	181
EPILOGUE	182
APPENDIX A: THE QING IMPERIAL STELAE	190
The Kangxi Reign (1661–1722):	191
The Yongzheng reign (1722–1735)	191
The Qianlong reign (1735–1796)	192

The Daoguang reign (1820–1850)	193
APPENDIX B: LIST OF MING-QING ERAS	194
BIBLIOGRAPHY	197
Primary Sources	197
Secondary Literature	202
Websites and Databases	214

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(for full citations, see Work Cited)

*CAWSTC: Confucius Analects: With Selection from Traditional Commentaries.*

*DCLYJ: Dacheng liyue ji* 大成禮樂集 [Collection of the rites and music of the Great Completion]

*DMHD: Daming huidian* 大明會典 [Collected statutes of the Ming, Wanli edition].

*GZJZ: Qinding guozijian zhi.* 欽定國子監志 [Gazetteer of the Imperial Academy].

*GZZZ: Gong zhong dang zouzhe.* 宮中檔奏摺 [Palace memorials].

*KMLYK: Kongmiao liyue kao.* 孔廟禮樂考 [Study of the rites and music of the Kong Temple].

*MS: Ming shi* 明史 [the official history of Ming].

*MSL: Ming shi lu* 明實錄 [Ming veritable records].

*NGDK: Neige daku dang'an.* 內閣大庫檔案 [Archives of the Grand Secretariat].

*PGLYS: Pangong li yue shu* 類宮禮樂疏 [Proposal of ritual and music in local schools].

*QSL: Qing shi lu* 清實錄 [Qing veritable records].

*SKQS: Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 [Books of the Four Treasures].

*WMSDK: Wenmiao sidian kao.* 文廟祀典考 [A study of sacrificial institutions of the Temple of Culture].

*XLSD: Xing lu sheng dian* 幸魯盛典 [Records of an imperial visit to Shandong]

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Kongzi's tomb	xvii
Figure 2: Succession of the mid-Ming emperors	70
Figure 3: Three of the Qing imperial plaques in the Tainan Confucius Temple	135
Figure 4: The First Victory Stele in the Imperial Academy	147
Figure 5: Two victory stelae in front of the gate of the Suzhou wenmiao	173
Figure 6: Locations of the imperial stelae in the Imperial Academy	190

## **LIST OF GRAPHS**

Graph 1: General understanding about the changes in Kongzi's posthumous status.	184
Graph 2: The author's understanding about the changes in the veneration of Kongzi.	185

## **LIST OF TABLE**

Table 1. Comparison chart of the three ritual manuals

103

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Every time I read the acknowledgement of a book, I always wanted to find out the friendship network of the author. Now, I have to write an acknowledgement for my dissertation, and I finally understand that it means much more than a network. I sincerely thank everyone in this acknowledgement.

The guidance of On-cho Ng, my doctoral advisor, is indispensable. He saved me from countless mistakes and errors I made, not only in this dissertation and my other writings but in every aspect of my daily life. Kathlene Baldanza tolerated my laziness and gave me many priceless suggestions in research and teaching. My committee members, Ronnie Hsia, Carol Reardon, and Maduri Desai spent a lot of their time to read this dissertation. Their advices are invaluable. Anne Rose and Ryan Holroyd read the very first draft of chapter four and provided many useful suggestions. David Atwill, Jade Atwill, Erica Brindley, Kate Merkel-Hess, Prakash Kumar, Shuang Shen, and Gregory Smits taught me to be a good academician.

When I finished my master thesis in 2007, I did not write an acknowledgement. I deeply indebted to Hung-lam Chu, my master thesis advisor, who brought me into the fields of intellectual history and the Ming studies. Before coming to Penn State, I studied two years with Liam Kelley at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Liam introduced the history of Vietnam to me. Kim Thu Ton taught me Vietnamese for two years. They opened a new world for me.

A lot of data in this dissertation was collected during my research trips in mainland China, Taiwan, and Vietnam in the last four years. The Department of History, the Department of Asian Studies, the Center of Global Learning, the Institute of Humanities at Penn State, the Institute of Advanced Studies in Humanities and Social Studies at the Nanjing University, and the Association of Asian Studies provided financial support for these trips. Many friends gave



me tremendous support during my travel. In mainland China, my old friends Jie Yang, Tan Weihua, and Liu Yong helped me to access the libraries and archives in Beijing, Hunan, and Guangzhou. Zhang Lihua introduced me to the museums and archives in Qufu. Cong Cong, Luo Xiaoxiang, and Chen Yong gave me a lot of support in Nanjing. In Hanoi, without the assistance from Phung Minh Hieu and Nguyen To Lan, I was not able to visit the Han-Nom Institute. Dam Thi Thuan, my Vietnamese language teacher, taught me how to survive in Vietnam. In Taiwan, because of Huang Yilong's help, I was able to access the facilities of the Tsinghua University.

Pursuing a doctoral degree in humanities is a lonely journey. I was lucky that there were friends who listened to my complains and encouraged me to carry on. The online conversation with Shiuon Chu and Ben Ma, who recently graduated with their doctoral degrees from Brown University and UC Santa Barbara respectively, always released me from stress. Many thanks to my friends in State College: Bin Chen, Courtney Fu, Xiaoran He, Ryan Holroyd, Yanan Qizhi, Joohyun Sheen, Ben Pin-yun Wang, Wei-chih Wang, Hsin-fang Wu, Hongyan Xiang, Xiangyun Xu, and Miaosi Zhang. I hope they forgive my loud and sometime too authoritative voice in our vigorous debates and happy meetings. All of them helped me to learn and grow.

As the only child of my parents, I have felt deeply guilty to them because I chose to be a student of history. It is not a game for a poor boy to play. However, my parents never complain that I left them alone in Hong Kong or did not bring any money home. They only provided me with full support in every decision I made. I dedicated this dissertation to them.

Last but not least, my wife Liza Yuen gave up her career in Hong Kong to take care of me in the States. I greatly appreciate that my parents-in-law allowed me to take their precious daughter far away from home and gave us support. Without Liza, this was a mission impossible.

Liza, I still remember the first time we met twenty-two years ago. It seems like yesterday to me.

Thank you very much.

## Prologue: Kongzi as a King, or a Teacher?

In the summer of 2015, I visited the tomb of Kongzi 孔子 (more commonly known in the western world as Confucius) in the Kong family cemetery in Qufu 曲阜. While we were looking around at the sage's monument, the local guide told me a story. As the yarn goes, in 1684, the Kangxi emperor visited Kongzi's burial place. Before the trip, officials of the Board of Rites had suggested that the imperial sovereign, to show his respect, perform one kneeling in front of Kongzi's tomb, but the emperor instead insisted on following the rite of kneeling three times. However, when Kangxi arrived at the tomb, he stood in front of it silently for a long time. Even when the musicians started to play the music, he still showed no sign of being ready to kneel. The officials had no clues as to why the emperor changed his mind. At this awkward moment, Kong Shangren 孔尚任 (1648-1718), a direct descendant of Kongzi and the emperor's local guide in Qufu, walked up to the tombstone with a scroll of yellow silk. The tombstone, which had been erected in the first half of the fifteenth century, bore these characters, "Da cheng zhi sheng wen xuan wang mu 大成至聖文宣王墓," that is, "The tomb of the King of Great Completion, Supreme Sage, and Exalted Culture." Kong covered the character, "*wang* 王" (king), with the yellow silk; whereupon the Kangxi emperor smiled, kneeled, and the entire ceremony proceeded apace. Kong wisely came to the realization that the emperor did not expect to see the posthumous title of Kongzi on the tombstone, which addressed and honored the sage as a king. His majesty was more than willing and happy to kneel to a teacher, not once but thrice. But as the supreme sovereign, he would not want to pay obeisance to another king.<sup>1</sup> After the Kangxi emperor's visit, to ensure that there would not be direct reference to the sage as a king

---

<sup>1</sup> *Xing Lu sheng dian* 幸魯聖典 (Record of an imperial visit to Shandong), which recorded the details of Kangxi's trip in Shandong, only tells us that the Kangxi emperor poured wine (*lei jiu* 酌酒) three times and kneeled three times. See *XLSD*, 10:2b-3a. I will further discuss Kangxi's southern tour in chapter four.

henceforth, a stone table was placed in front of the tombstone, which concealed a part of the character “*wang*/king.” As a result, people offering sacrifices can only see one half of the crucial character in question.<sup>2</sup> (See Figure 1) I asked the tour guide about the origin of the story. She, a native of Qufu, told me that it was a part of the local lore, supposedly transmitted from the generation that actually witnessed the imperial visit and ceremony. Regardless of the historical veracity of this orally transmitted local anecdote, it reflects one accepted belief that has been deeply rooted in the Chinese cultural memory: the emperor venerated Kongzi as a teacher, but as not a king. The Kangxi emperor no doubt admired Kongzi as “the Paragon Teacher of Ten Thousand Generations” (*wanshi shibiao* 萬世師表) but there was no way that he would pay homage to the sage as a political ruler.

---

<sup>2</sup> This story has been widely circularized in popular culture and has different variations online. See <https://kknews.cc/history/g5y6zr8.html>, accessed April 11, 2018.



(Figure 1. Kongzi's tomb, Konglin 孔林, Qufu, Shandong province. There are two tombstones.

The smaller one is said to be erected before the tenth century. The larger one was erected in the early fifteenth century. During the Cultural Revolution in 1970s, Red Guards tore down the large tombstone and cut it into pieces. They also blew up Kongzi's tomb with explosives. In 1980s, the government collected the broken pieces of the tombstone and restored Kongzi's tomb to the original form based on photos taken before the Cultural Revolution.)

Although Kongzi was severely criticized during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1977), he is occupying an important position in the so-called “Chinese dream,” which is being promoted by China’s current president, Xi Jinping, as the cultural and ideational encapsulation of Chineseness. Indeed, in the past two or three decades, Kongzi has been embraced and promoted as a symbol and personification of Chinese culture and learning.<sup>3</sup> In 2004, the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China established the first Confucius Institute in Seoul. The goal of the Confucius Institute is to promote Chinese language and culture worldwide. Fourteen years after the establishment of the first one, there are now 525 Confucius Institutes and 1,113 Confucius Classrooms in 147 countries (or regions).<sup>4</sup> In the last two decades, the Chinese government has restored many Temples of Culture, that is, shrines dedicated to honoring Kongzi, which were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. As Anna Sun points out, “ritual worship of Confucius is indeed undergoing a significant and diverse revival in temple settings in contemporary Mainland China.”<sup>5</sup> Every year before the National Higher Education Entrance Examination (*gaokao* 高考), Temples of Culture in major cities are crowded with examinees and their parents who pray to Kongzi for blessings. In Taiwan, the government designates September 29 as the birthday of Kongzi and the National Teachers’ Day. On that day, the government holds ceremonies in every Temple of Culture, during which county magistrates present ritual sacrifices to Kongzi. Sometimes, the president of the Republic of China also attends the ceremony at the

---

<sup>3</sup> For the comeback of Kongzi in contemporary China, see Sébastien Billioud, “Confucian Revival and the Emergence of ‘Jiaohua Organizations’: A Case Study of the Yidan Xuetang,” *Modern China* (37:3), 286–314; Billioud Sébastien, and Joël Thoraval. “Lijiao: The Return of Ceremonies Honouring Confucius in Mainland China.” *China Perspectives*, no. 4 (2009): 82–100; Anna Xiao Dong Sun, *Confucianism as a World Religion: Contested Histories and Contemporary Realities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); Hammond, Kenneth J., and Jeffrey L. Richey eds., *The Sage Returns: Confucian Revival in Contemporary China* (New York: SUNY Press, 2014).

<sup>4</sup> “孔子学院-关于孔院,” (About the Confucius Institute) accessed April 12, 2018, [http://www.hanban.edu.cn/confuciousinstitutes/node\\_10961.htm](http://www.hanban.edu.cn/confuciousinstitutes/node_10961.htm).

<sup>5</sup> Anna Xiao Dong Sun, *Confucianism as a World Religion: Contested Histories and Contemporary Realities*, 154.

Taipei Temple. In short, Kongzi's image as a "teacher of ten thousand generations" is deeply ingrained in Chinese minds, and it has been promoted as such at the governmental level.

However, being the paradigmatic teacher was only one of Kongzi's images and identities in the two millennia since his death. From 739 to 1530, Kongzi was primarily worshiped as a kingly figure, as opposed to the paragon teacher. This dissertation thus investigates how the courts and literati repeatedly re-defined and re-invented the historical and culture roles of Kongzi and his shrine in late imperial times, straddling both the Ming and Qing dynasties. Both the state and the literati saw the cult of Kongzi and the Temple of Culture as a supreme expression of "the transmission of the authentic Way" (*daotong*), a cultural authority and tradition that was independent from, albeit complementary to, the "succession of legitimate imperial rule" (*zhitong*). Ideally, it functioned as a check against the autocratic power of the throne. Yet, as I will argue, the cult of Kongzi and the Temple of Culture also came to serve as a blunt political instrument for promoting imperial authority. In 1530, the Ming court purposefully changed Kongzi's time-honored posthumous status from "king" (*wang*) to "teacher" (*shi*), thereby circumscribing the cult of the ancient sage specifically as a cultural entity. Significantly, the literati provided the Ming emperors with the theoretical arguments and ritual innovations to define the cult in such a way that it strengthened imperial authority, as evidenced by the ritual manuals published in the early seventeenth century, which consciously mitigated the political importance of Kongzi by clearly honoring him as the greatest "teacher" of all time. The Qing emperors, in their own ways and under different guises, utilized the Temple of Culture as a tool to assert imperial might and impose state ideology. In the process, they invented and ushered in new ritual traditions that defined the cult of Kongzi. By studying the commingling of politics, culture, religion, and institution in the evolution of the Kongzi cult and its temple, the

dissertation seeks to reveal the complex process of the formation of imperial ideology in late imperial China.

The first chapter, “From ‘Homeless Dog’ to King,” has two objectives. First, I introduce the three essential aspects—the process of enshrinement, the definition and performance of rituals, and the layout of the physical, monumental space—of the Temple of Culture, which serve as the analytical themes throughout my work. Existing scholarship related to the Temple of Culture tend to mainly focus on enshrinements. The dissertation emphasizes how rituals and space figured and factored in the process of enshrinements. Second, I provide a brief history of the veneration of Kongzi from the Han dynasty to the Song dynasty, as the context in which to view the significance of the changes wrought in the Ming and Qing periods. While the worship of Kongzi formally became a state cult in the Tang dynasty, as there had been no similar ritual precedence, the veneration of Kongzi was an invention of literati based on ancient Confucian classics. During this long period, Kongzi was primarily honored as a king and the other enshrined Confucians were regarded as nobles. Every dynasty formally confirmed and affirmed Kongzi’s posthumous status as a king to show the utmost respect, transforming the sage from a frustrated and unfulfilled aspiring statesman from the state of Lu in the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 B.C.E.) to a posthumous sage-king, an uncrowned king, as it were.

The second chapter, “From King to Teacher,” examines the changes of Kongzi’s cult during the Ming Dynasty. The thirteenth century witnessed a turning point in its development. On the one hand, the Mongol rulers of the Yuan dynasty lifted Kongzi to an unprecedentedly high posthumous status. On the other hand, the Neo-Confucian scholars began to seriously rethink Kongzi’s ritual status in accordance with the principle of “rectification of names” (*zhengming* 正名), a core teaching of Kongzi himself, in terms of which a title or a names should



truly represent the reality it seeks to denote and capture. These scholars were concerned with the question of whether Kongzi should at all be venerated as a king or even an emperor, since he never did rule over any territories. The vexing issue became the center of debates during the early Ming. The Hongwu emperor (b.1328, 1368-1398), the founder of the Ming, attempted to exclude Kongzi from the “general worship” (*tongsi* 通祀). However, facing vehement objections from the literati, he kept Kongzi in the general worship and continued to venerate him by following the practices inherited from the Yuan. The most significant change of Kongzi’s cult resulted from the 1530 ritual revision. Using rectification of names as the rationale, the Jiajing emperor (r. 1521-1567) changed Kongzi’s posthumous status from a king to a teacher, and such a ritual status and designation has remained unchanged from that point on until today.

The 1530 revision raised the Confucian scholars’ concern with and focused their attention on the cult of Kongzi, so much so that in the early seventeenth century, literati began to compose and produce ritual manuals related to the supposedly proper and orthodox sacrifices offered to Kongzi. Chapter three thus embarks on an in-depth study of three of these ritual manuals: the *Kongmiao liyue kao* 孔廟禮樂考 (Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple, published in 1607) by Qu Jiusi 瞿九思 (1543-1614), the *Pangong liyueshu* 頤宮禮樂疏 (Proposal of Rituals and Music in Local School, published in 1617) by 李之藻 (?-1630), and the *Dacheng liyue ji* 大成禮樂集 (Collection of the Rites and Music of the Great Completion, published in 1623) by Shi Jishi 史記事 (?). Although the sacrifices dedicated to Kongzi were meant to be Confucian rituals, during the Ming dynasty, Daoist priests became the dominant ritual masters as they had established almost a monopoly of the ritual knowledge of the ceremony. The three ritual manuals apparently aimed at introducing the proper ritual knowledge to the Confucian literati interested in performing a complete ceremony. However, it must be noted that each author had

his own agenda in writing the manual. Moreover, it is noteworthy that these manuals, albeit representing the views of the literati, tended to corroborate and consolidate the imperial view of Kongzi as a teacher rather than a king.

Chapter four explores how the Qing emperors utilized the Temple of Culture to legitimize their imperial governance. I argue that the Manchu monarchs, diverging from the previous rulers, adopted different strategies in honoring Kongzi. Instead of changing the institutions of the Temple of Culture, the Qing emperors invented many new rituals and architectural decorations to venerate the ancient master. The point to hammer home, however, is that these new inventions also enhanced the function of the cult of Kongzi as a political instrument of ideological manipulation and promotion. As illustrations and examples, I investigate and analyze two of these inventions in particular, the imperial plaques hanging in the Temple of Culture that represented the presence of the Qing imperial authority in the localities, and the victory stelae in the Temple of Culture that the Qing emperors used to legitimize their pursuit of expansive warfare.

The dissertation, as a project that focuses on China in the late imperial period (roughly from the fourteenth century to the eighteenth century) does exclude some interesting and important topics related to the cult of Kongzi that are beyond its geographical and temporal scope. However, insofar as these topics are worthy of further investigation, I will briefly introduce, in the epilogue, my preliminary and prospective impressions.

## Chapter 1

### From a “Homeless Dog” to a King

In the *Shi ji* 史記 (the records of the grand historian), Sima Qian 司馬遷 (135 or 145 - 86 BCE) offers the following anecdote of Kongzi:

Kongzi arrived at the State of Zheng and lost touch with his disciples. He stood alone at the east city gate. While Kongzi's disciples were searching for their master, a native of Zheng told Zigong, a close disciples of Kongzi, “There is a person at the east city gate. His forehead looks like Yao; His neck looks like Gaotao; His shoulder looks like Zichan; The lower part of his body is three inches shorter than Yu. However, he looks dejected like a homeless dog. When Zigong met Kongzi, he told Kongzi what the Zheng native said. Kongzi smiled happily and said, “Appearance is the least important. But, looking like a homeless dog, that's true! that's true!”

孔子適鄭，與弟子相失，孔子獨立郭東門。鄭人或謂子貢曰：「東門有人，其顙似堯，其項類皋陶，其肩類子產，然自要以下不及禹三寸。累累若喪家之狗。」子貢以實告孔子。孔子欣然笑曰：「形狀，末也。而謂似喪家之狗，然哉！然哉！」<sup>1</sup>

Yao, Gaotao, Zichan, and Yu were great sages and cultural heroes in ancient times. Both the Zheng native and Sima Qian could not have to know how these sages looked. Sima Qian portrayed an image of Kongzi with all the characteristics of ancient sages but also conveyed the idea that he was not able to put his teaching into practice.

Kongzi's full name was Kong Qiu 孔丘. Kongzi, which means Master (zi 子) Kong, is a honorific name that is most commonly used. The English term Confucius was the latinization of

---

<sup>1</sup> Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 (Taipei: Ding wen shuju, 1981), 1921-1922.

the Chinese term “Kong fuzi 孔夫子” (*Fuzi* has the same meaning as *zi*.)<sup>2</sup> Kong Qiu was born in Qufu, a small county in present-day Shandong province, in 551 BCE. It was said that the Kongs were descendants of the royal family of the Shang dynasty (ca. 1600-1046 BCE). Kong Qiu’s ancestors used to live in the State of Song 宋 and held high posts in the Song government. They fled to the State of Lu 魯 because of political turmoil in the State of Song. Kong Qiu’s father Shuliang He 叔良紇 held a minor post in the Lu government, but he died when Kong Qiu was three years old. Even as a very young child, Kong Qiu had already shown his interest in ritual and ceremonies. He entertained himself by arranging ritual vessels and rehearsing sacrifices. Without the support from a father, Kong Qiu had to become independent very early. According to him, the poverty of his early adulthood was the major cause of his erudition. (*Analects* 9:6) He worked as a clerk in the government of the State of Lu. Then, he started his teaching career when he was twenty-three years old. His first group of students mainly came from nearby regions of Lu. We do not know how Kongzi obtained his education. According to the master himself,

“At fifteen, I set my mind upon learning; at thirty, I took my place in society; at forty, I became free of doubts; at fifty, I understood Heaven’s Mandate; at sixty, my ear was attuned; and at seventy, I could follow my heart’s desires without overstepping the bounds of propriety.” (*Analects* 2:4)<sup>3</sup>

Kongzi lived in the Eastern Zhou period a time of declining authority of the Zhou kings. In order to avoid the invasions from the nomadic peoples, the Zhou people had relocated their capital to Luoyang. Many of the rulers of the Zhou vassal states no longer obeyed the orders of Zhou kings. These vassal states began to vie for supremacy among themselves, and wars broke

---

<sup>2</sup> #TODO, add a note about the English term of Confucius. Linoel’s book

<sup>3</sup> CAWTC, 9.

out between them. Kongzi and his students traveled around different states to search for opportunities to put his teachings into practice. However, he did not secure any long-term or important position. That was most likely the reason that Kongzi himself agreed with the description as a “homeless dog”. Finally, he returned to the State of Lu and passed away in his hometown.<sup>4</sup> Kongzi was not a successful in his political career, but he was considered the first person who broke the monopoly of education by the nobility by teaching everyone who loved to learn.

Although Kongzi was like a “homeless dog” when he was alive, he enjoyed the most honorable and longlasting posthumous veneration in Chinese history. The shrine dedicated to him was the symbol of Confucianism and the center of this study.

## **Subject of Studies**

### **The Names of the Shrine**

The state-sponsored shrine dedicated to Kongzi was variously named in the late imperial period, including but not limited to, Kongmiao 孔廟 or Kongzi miao 孔子廟 (Confucius/Temple of Confucius/Confucius Temple), *wenmiao* 文廟 (the Temple of Culture/the Culture Temple), *shengmiao* 聖廟 (the temple), Wenxuanwang miao 文宣王廟 (the Temple of Exalted King of Culture) and Xuansheng miao 宣聖廟 (the Temple of Exalted Sage). In 1530, the Jiajing 嘉靖 emperor (b.1507, r.1521-1567) ordered that thereafter the shrine should be named Xianshi miao

---

<sup>4</sup> For a detail biography of Kongzi, see Michael. Nylan and Thomas A. Wilson, *Lives of Confucius: Civilization's Greatest Sage Through the Ages* (New York: Doubleday, 2010), chap. 1.

先師廟 (the Temple of the Former Teacher).<sup>5</sup> However, official documents and private writings continued to use various names randomly. The name of “Kongmiao” obviously emphasized the prominent fact that the temple was specifically dedicated to Kongzi. Indeed, nowadays, Kongmiao has become the general and most widely used appellation of the shrines devoted to the veneration of Kongzi. However, the name of “Wenmiao” was the most common epithet in the Ming-Qing historical texts. Huang Chin-shing 黃進興 has argued that toward the end of the Qing dynasty, the meaning of the term, “Wenmiao”, was broadened in such a way that it included other deities that were supposedly to be auspicious force related to the fortunes in the imperial civil service examinations, such as Zitong 梓潼 and Wenchang 文昌.<sup>6</sup> However, according to my findings, the Qing literati seldom used Wenmiao to include the deities of Wenchang or Zitong. In other words, in most contexts, Wenmiao specifically referred to the state-sponsored shrine dedicated to Kongzi.<sup>7</sup>

During the Ming-Qing period, the state maintained at least one Temple of Culture side-by-side with a state-sponsored school in each prefecture, department, county, or military station (*wu zhou xian wei xue* 府州縣衛學). The temple-school complex was called *ruxue* 儒學 (Confucian school) or *xuegong* 學宮 (school palace). In many local gazetteers, matters related to the Temple of Culture are not included in the chapter of “altars and temples” (*tanmiao* 壇廟) but in that of “schools” (*xuexiao* 學校). Some scholars, such as Kao Ming-Shih 高明士, therefore chose the term “temple-school” to refer to the Kongmiao or *wenmiao* in order to highlight the

---

<sup>5</sup> Li Dongyang 李東陽 and Shen Shixing 申時行, eds., *Daming Huidian* (Wanli Reign) 萬曆大明會典, Reprinted, 1587 (Wanli 15) edition (Taipei: Guofeng chubanse, 1963), 1441b–1442c. Hereafter, *DMHD*.

<sup>6</sup> Huang Chin-Shing 黃進興, *Huangdi, yusheng yu kongmiao* 皇帝、儒生與孔廟 [Emperors, Confucians, and Confucius Temple] (Beijing: Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2014), 42.

<sup>7</sup> For a study of Wenchang, see Terry Frederick Kleeman, “Wenchang and the Viper: The Creation of a Chinese National God” (University of California, Berkeley, 1988).

educational aspects and functions of the complex.<sup>8</sup> But the problem is that the term, *miaoxue*, was also commonly used to refer to the Buddhist and Daoist shrines and their schools. Thus, “temple-school” may not be the best general descriptive term to use in my study, which focuses on Confucian temples.

In most of the Ming-Qing official documents and other East Asian historical sources of the same period, these shrines were generally called *wenmiao*. As the English translation, I use “Temple of Culture,” which reflects the broader sense of “wen 文” as culture or cultural pattern, as opposed to being merely literature or belle-lettres.<sup>9</sup> It should also be noted that in my research, even though I mainly focus on state-sponsored temples, where appropriate and relevant, the unofficial ones will be examined and brought into discussion.

### **Three Aspects of the Temple**

The Temple of Culture, as an institution, consisted of numerous tangible and intangible elements. For the purpose of analysis, I break down the elements into three aspects, enshrinements, rituals, and space.

#### ***Enshrinements***

The Temple of Culture was dedicated to Kongzi, but he did not enjoy sacrifices in the temple alone. Kongzi, his disciples, Confucians from different dynasties constituted the enshrined Confucians of the Temple of Culture. Enshrinement was the most important aspect of

---

<sup>8</sup> Kuo Ming-shih 高明士, *Zhongguo Jiaoyu Zhidu Shilun* 中國教育制度史論 [History of Chinese educational institutions] (Taipei: Linking Publishing, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> “Wen” in Chinese can mean “*wenxue* 文學” (literature) or “*wenhua* 文化” (culture).

the temple. Changes in enshrinement usually led to changes in rites and architectural plans. Elements in enshrinement included enshrined Confucians' hierarchy, posthumous title, and representation.

In ancient Chinese temples, primary deities were usually accompanied by some lesser ones. This institution was called *congsi* 從祀. “*Cong*” means “to follow”, and *si* means “sacrifices”. Together, they mean “to follow [the main deity] in sacrifices”. The Chinese term *congsi* can be a verb, a noun, or an adjective depending on the context. Some scholar have translated *congsi* as enshrinement.<sup>10</sup> Lin Yutang 林語堂 translated it as “to be included among spirits to be worshiped at a temple.”<sup>11</sup> Here, I translate *congsi* as “secondary enshrinement”, to the extent that Kongzi was the “primary enshrinement” in the temple. A deity in the secondary enshrinement of a temple could be a primary deity in his or her own temple. For example, when the Ming emperors offered sacrifices to the Heaven, *congsi* were the sun, moon, star, cloud, rain, wind, and lightning.<sup>12</sup> These subordinated deities of nature all had their own temple where they were the primary deities. The primary deities and their subordinates usually had direct connections. Kongzi himself was once enshrined to be a correlate to the Duke of Zhou. In the *Analects*, Kongzi admired the Duke of Zhou as the sage and the model of perfect virtue. Therefore, the Tang emperors enshrined Kongzi as a subordinate in the Duke of Zhou's temple. However, the *congsi* institution in the Temple of Culture was the most well-known one because it

---

<sup>10</sup> Examples of using “enshrinement” as English translation, see Thomas Wilson, ed., *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2002), 405; Khee Heong Koh, *A Northern Alternative: Xue Xuan (1389-1464) and the Hedong School*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 77 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2011).

<sup>11</sup> Lin Yutang 林語堂, “*congsi* 從祀,” *Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong), <http://humanum.arts.cuhk.edu.hk/Lexis/Lindict/>.

<sup>12</sup> *DMHD*, 81:1268b.



was the largest in scale and the longest in history among all state-sponsored temples. The state vigilantly supervised it and strictly controlled even the minor changes in the enshrinement.

### **Ranks of Enshrinement**

Thomas Wilson rightly points out that the Temple of Culture was “a venue for the court to assert its interpretation of the Confucian tradition by formally enshrining the Confucian scholars and exegete who it believed truly understood the Way and ranking them in a temple hierarchy.”<sup>13</sup> Kongzi was the primary enshrined resident of the Temple of Culture and the highest in the enshrinement. Below him, there were four ranks of enshrined Confucians: *pei* 配, *zhe* 哲, *xian xian* 先賢, and *xian ru* 先儒. Kongzi was the constant in the enshrinement, but the accompanying Confucians changed according to the political and cultural trends of the times.

### ***Pei* (Correlate)**

*Pei* 配 (Correlate) was the highest rank of the secondary enshrinement in the Temple of Culture. There were the Four Correlates (*sipei* 四配), including Yan Hui 顏回, Ceng Can 曾參, Kong Ji 孔伋, and Meng Ke 孟軻. Although the Four Correlates were enshrined in different periods, it was the Southern Song (1127-1279) court that finalized this quartet in 1267. The Song differentiated the Four Correlates from other Confucians with a higher status because of the emerging emphasis of the Four Books (*Sishu* 四書), that is, the *Daxue* 大學 (Greater Learning),

---

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Wilson, ed., *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2002), 79.

*Zhongyong* (Mean) 中庸, *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects), and *Mengzi* 孟子 (Mencius), in Neo-Confucianism.<sup>14</sup>

Yan Hui was Kongzi's best disciple. Kongzi considered Yan Hui as the only disciple who could transmit his Dao. When Yan Hui passed away, Kongzi said, "Oh! Heaven has bereft me! The Heaven has bereft me! 天喪予，天喪予" (*Analects* 11:9)<sup>15</sup> Later Confucians considered Yan Hui as the first of Kongzi's seventy (or sometime seventy-two) disciples. He probably was enshrined in the temple during the Han dynasty, but the exact time is unknown. When Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (b. 598, r. 626-649), the second emperor of the Tang dynasty, honored Kongzi as the "Former Sage" in 628, he also honored Yan Hui as the "Former Teacher" (*xian shi* 先師). Although Yan Hui did not leave any writings, he had been occupying the closest position to Kongzi in the Temple of Culture.<sup>16</sup> Zeng Can was four-six years younger than Kongzi. Zeng Can and his father Zeng Xi 曾皙 were students of Kongzi. Can was well-known for his filial piety. He had greatly contributed to the spread of Confucianism after the death of Kongzi. Confucians traditionally considered Zeng Can as the author of *Daxue* and *Xiaojing* 孝經 (Classic of filial piety).<sup>17</sup> Kong Ji, also known as Zisi 子思, was Kongzi's grandson. Confucians attributed to him

---

<sup>14</sup> *Daxue* and *Zhongyong* are both short chapters of *Liji* 禮記 (Records of rites). Cheng Yi 程頤 and Cheng Hao 程顥, two of the founders of Neo-Confucianism, assembled them with *Lunyu* (*Analects*) and *Mengzi* (*Mencius*), two time-honored Confucian texts, and wrote commentaries for them. Later, Zhu Xi 朱熹 laid enormous stress on the Four Books and wrote commentaries for them. He encouraged students to begin their learning with the Four Books instead the Five Classics. During the Southern Song, the Four Books began to appear in civil service examination. In 1315, the Yuan court assigned Zhu Xi's commentaries of the Four Books, *Sishu jizhu* 四書集注 (Collected commentaries on Four Books), as the official textbook of the civil service examination. Henceforth, every educated Chinese had to study the Four Books.

<sup>15</sup> CAWSTC, 114.

<sup>16</sup> For Yan Hui's biographies and changes of his status in the temple, see PGLYS, 2:20a-20b; WMSDK, 8:2b-5b; Thomas Watters, *A Guide to the Tablets in a Temple of Confucius*, 2-4.

<sup>17</sup> For Zeng Can's biographies and changes of his status in the temple, see PGLYS, 2:20b; WMSDK, 8:5b-10b; Thomas Watters, *A Guide to the Tablets in a Temple of Confucius*, 4-6.

the authorship of the *Zhongyong* (*The Mean*).<sup>18</sup> Meng Ke, also known as Mengzi 孟子 (Master Meng), appeared commonly as Mencius in Anglophone literature. He was born in 372 BCE, more than one hundred years after the death of Kongzi. Like Kongzi, Mengzi also traveled back and forth between great states during the Warring States period to look for opportunities of employment. *Mengzi* (Mencius), the eponymous book, recorded his conversations with the lords, nobles, and students.<sup>19</sup>

Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086) had been a correlate in the temple from 1104 to 1126, a short period of time before the fall of the Northern Song regime. Wang advocated the so-called “New Policies” (*xin zheng* 新政), a series of economic and social reforms, with the support of Song Shenzong 宋神宗 (b. 1048, r. 1067-1085). He and his followers dominated the court before the Jurchen invasion. Wang’s commentaries of classics became the textbook of the civil service examinations. After Wang died, the court enshrined him as a correlate and his son, Wang Pang 王雱 (1044-1076), as a “former worthy” (*xian ru* 先儒). But the Wangs did not stay in the temple for a long period of time. When the followers of Wang and the supporters of the “New Policies” lost power, the Wangs also lost their status in the temple. The court completely removed them from the temple in 1126.

### **Zhe (Savant)**

Zhe 哲 (savant) was the second rank of the secondary enshrinement. The “Ten Savants” (*shi zhe* 十哲) was a ambiguous concept that originated from a passage of the *Analects*, in which

---

<sup>18</sup> In most circumstances, he was referred as Zisi or Zisi zi 子思子 (master Zisi) without mentioning his last name. For Zeng Can’s biographies and changes of his status in the temple, see *PGLYS*, 2:20b; *WMSDK*, 9:1a-3b; Thomas Watters, *A Guide to the Tablets in a Temple of Confucius*, 7-8.

<sup>19</sup> For Meng Ke’s biographies and changes of his status in the temple, see *PGLYS*, 2:20b; *WMSDK*, 9:3b-7b; Thomas Watters, *A Guide to the Tablets in a Temple of Confucius*, 9-10.

Kongzi said, “Those known for virtuous conduct: Yan Hui 顏回 (Yan Yuan 顏淵), Min Ziqian 閔子騫 (Min Sun 閔損), Ran Boniu 冉伯牛 (Ran Geng 冉耕), and Zhonggong 仲弓 (Ran Yong 冉雍). Those known for eloquence: Zai Wo 宰我 (Zai Yu 宰予) and Zigong 子貢 (Duanmu Ci 端木賜). Those known for administrative skill: Ran You 冉有 (Ran Qiu 冉求) and Jilu 季路 (Zhong You 仲由). Those known for cultural learning: Ziyou 子游 (Yan Yan 言偃) and Zixia 子夏 (Bu Shang 卜商).”<sup>20</sup> (*Analects* 11:3) Based on this paragraph, Confucians argued that there were “four disciplines” (*si ke* 四科) in Kongzi’s teaching: virtuous conduct (*dexing* 德行), eloquence (*yanyu* 言語), administrative skill (*zhengshi* 政事), and cultural learning (*wenxue* 文學). The ten people mentioned in the paragraph were Kongzi’s students that excelled in the four disciplines. They also maintained the closest relationship with Kongzi among all his disciples. Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (b. 685, r. 712-756) enshrined the Ten Savants to the temple in 720. Although some Confucians, such as the Cheng brothers in the Song dynasty, did not agree that the Ten Savants were Kongzi’s own choice, the concept of “Ten Savants” had already become an institution of the enshrinement. When Yan Hui was elevated to be a Correlate in 1084, Zeng Can was made a Savant to fill the vacancy. In 1235, Kong Ji became the eleventh Savant. In 1267, the Song court elevated Zeng Can and Kong Ji to be a Correlate and added Zi Zhang 子張 to the Ten Savants. This combination had not been changed until 1712, when the Kangxi emperor added Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) to the list of Savants. In 1738, the Qianlong emperor made You Ruo 有若 a Savant for a total of twelve Savants.

---

<sup>20</sup> Confucius and Edward G. Slingerland, *Confucius Analects: With Selection from Traditional Commentaries* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub. Co, 2003), 112. In the original text, Kongzi called his students by their courtesy names (*zi* 字). I put their full names in blankets.

### ***Xian xian* (Former Worthies) and *Xian ru* (Former Teachers)**

*Xian xian* 先賢 (former worthies) and *xian ru* 先儒 (former teachers) were representatively the third and the fourth ranks of the secondary enshrinements. The division between the former worthies and former teachers was based on the era in which they were alive. Former worthies were mainly Kongzi's disciples, and former teachers were eminent Confucians from the Han dynasty to the Qing dynasty.

When the Tang court enshrined the “twenty-two worthies” (*ershier xian* 二十二賢) in 647, there was no clear hierarchy of the enshrined Confucians. The “twenty-two worthies”, except for Bu Shang 卜商 and Zuoqiu Ming 左丘明 (sometimes Zuo Qiuming), were exegetes of the canon from the Han dynasty to the Tang dynasty.<sup>21</sup> Bu Zixia was Kongzi's student whom scholars considered the person spread Kongzi's teachings of the *Book of Odes*, one of the five core Confucian classics.<sup>22</sup> Zuoqiu Ming, who most likely lived in the State of Lu during the late Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BCE), was the author of the *Zuo Commentary of the Spring and Autumn* (*Zuoshi chunqiu* 左氏春秋). Later, the Tang court added sixty-seven Kongzi's students to the enshrinements. As a result, there were seventy-seven of Kongzi's contemporaries, including the Ten Savants, and twenty-two Confucians of later dynasties enshrined in the temple. However, the numbers of Kongzi's contemporaries had kept changing from the Tang to the Yuan. Texts from the Han and before provided different numbers and names of Kongzi's disciples. Because of the insufficiency of information, scholars did not reach a consensus over the question

---

<sup>21</sup> The list of the enshrined Confucians in 739 had two versions. One version had twenty-two Confucians, and another version had twenty-one Confucians. The difference was Jia Kui 賈逵 (174-228). See Xining Dong 董喜寧, *Kongmiao jisi yanjiu* 孔廟祭祀研究, Yuelu shuyuan guoxue wenku (Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2014), 140.

<sup>22</sup> Bu Shang was one of the Ten Savants. He was also enshrined as one of the twenty-two worthies because his contribution to the transmission of the classics (*chuan jing* 傳經).

of who Kongzi's disciples were. The number varied, within the range of sixty-seven to seventy-seven range.

Compared to Kongzi's disciples, the enshrinement of Confucian scholars from the Han to the Qing had a closer relationship with politics and academic trends. Since the Song dynasty, any change in the enshrinements of "former teachers" reflected changes in ideologies and patronage of particular sects or schools of Confucianism.<sup>23</sup> In the early twentieth century, there were seventy-seven former teachers in the enshrinement.

### **Kongzi's Father and Ancestors**

In 1528, the court ordered that every temple should have a new building for housing the spiritual tablet of Kongzi's father, Shuliang He. The new building was called Qisheng ci 啓聖祠 (the Shrine for Initiating the Sage). In 1723, the Yongzheng emperor extended the enshrinement from Shuliang He to Kongzi's five-generation direct ancestors. The Yongzheng emperor also changed the shrine's name to Chongsheng ci 崇聖祠 (the Shrine for Venerating the Sage).

### **Local Enshrinements**

Some temples of culture in localities initiated enshrinements that integrated local figures into the state cult. The local enshrinements were usually fell into in four categories: *xiangxian* 鄉賢 (local worthies), *minghuan* 名宦 (famous officials), *jiexiao* 節孝 (the chaste and filial), and *zhongyi* 忠義 (the loyal). Enshrining of local worthies and famous officials had a long history in

---

<sup>23</sup> For case studies, see the "literature review" part of this chapter.

Chinese history.<sup>24</sup> It was common for prominent Confucians and capable officials to have individual shrines in their hometowns or regions under their administration. The burgeoning of local shrines began from the late fourteenth century. Some of these local shrines were built within local Temple of Culture. However, there was no strict regulation that the four groups of shrines mentioned above had to be located within a local Temple of Culture. For example, the Confucius Temple in Tainan 臺南 has two small houses in front of the Gate of Great Completion that house the spiritual tablets of the four groups of enshrinements. The Temple of Culture in Changhua county 彰化縣, not far from Tainan, did not practice the enshrinement of the chaste and filial natives. Instead, an independent shrine was built for worshipping them.

#### ***Daotong* (the transmission of the Way) and *Zhitong* (the transmission of the legitimate governance)**

The enshrinement in the Temple of Culture was a symbol of the *daotong* (the transmission of the Way). *Daotong* 道統 is arguably the most important notion of cultural orthodoxy and intellectual legitimacy in Neo-Confucianism, especially to those who pursued the so-called “Learning of the Way” (*daoxue* 道學), who were insistent on establishing the correct line of transmission of authentic teaching and genuine learning that could be traced directly back the sages.<sup>25</sup> *Daotong*, commonly translated as “transmission of the Way” or “lineage of the Way,” was not an idea unique to Confucianism. When Buddhism entered China and started to grow on

---

<sup>24</sup> For the history of enshrining local worthies in Song dynasty, see Ellen G. Neskari, “The Cult of Worthies: A Study of Shrines Honoring Local Confucian Worthies in the Sung Dynasty (960-1279)” (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1993).

<sup>25</sup> For definitions of Neo-Confucianism and *daoxue*, see Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, “A New Direction in Confucian Scholarship: Approaches to Examining the Differences between Neo-Confucianism and Tao-Hsueh,” *Philosophy East and West* 42, no. 3 (July 1992): 455; Wm. Theodore de Bary, “The Uses of Neo-Confucianism: A Response to Professor Tillman,” *Philosophy East and West* 43, no. 3 (July 1, 1993): 541–555; Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, “The Uses of Neo-Confucianism, Revisited: A Reply to Professor de Bary,” *Philosophy East and West* 44, no. 1 (January 1, 1994): 135–142.

Chinese soil, various Buddhist schools, in order to claim authenticity, and therefore authority, for their teachings, stressed their uninterrupted continuation of the original beliefs from the Buddha by referring to the intellectual genealogies of masters and disciples, many of which were of course constructed after the fact. Chan Buddhism in particular laid stress on the transmission of genuine teachings between masters and disciples, using “lamp” (*deng* 燈) as the metaphor of the true learning from the Buddha, such that transmission of teaching was akin to passing the lamp from one to another. In the Song dynasty, a Buddhist genre of writings called “records of lamp” (*denglü* 燈錄) appeared, and they elucidated how contemporary Chan Buddhism was connected to the Buddha. The Confucian notion of *daotong* seemed to have been borrowed from Buddhism. Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), famous for his anti-Buddhist writings, among other things, established the basic concept of *daotong* in the eighth century, which was later manipulated and fully developed by Zhu Xi and his disciples in the twelve century.<sup>26</sup>

Generally speaking, the Confucian *daotong* explained how the *dao*, the Way, was transmitted from the sage kings in antiquity to contemporary scholars. The sage-kings in antiquity, such as Yao 堯 and Shun 舜, held and transmitted both the Way and the legitimate power to rule. To the people in antiquity, the sage-kings combined the roles of teacher and ruler—they were at once virtuous cultural heroes, learned scholars, capable political leaders, and caring paternal figures. After antiquity, regrettably, such paradigmatic sage-kings no longer existed, so that the lineage of the Way and the transmission of legitimate power came to be

---

<sup>26</sup> For Zhu Xi and his contemporaries on the discourse of dao, see Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992); Thomas Wilson illustrates how Confucians used anthologies to construct the *daotong* since Song, see Thomas A. Wilson, “Genealogy and History in Neo-Confucian Sectarian Uses of the Confucian Past,” *Modern China* 20, no. 1 (January 1, 1994): 3–33; Thomas A. Wilson, *Genealogy of the Way: The Construction and Uses of the Confucian Tradition in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995).



separated; the *daotong* (the transmission of the Way) and the *zhitong* 治統 (the transmission of legitimate governance) were severed. Those who transmitted the great cultural Way, such as Kongzi, did not have the power and position to rule, and those who transmitted legitimate governance, namely the emperors of different dynasties, did not understand the true meaning of the Way. As a result, emperors needed Confucians, who were the custodians of the authentic Way, to help them govern, while Confucians relied on the emperors to put the ideal society into practice by ensuring the proper continuation of authority. This interdependent or symbiotic relationship constituted the culturo-political legitimacy in the Chinese imperial system.

The Confucian elites considered the Temple of Culture to be a crucial representation of the *daotong*, as the temple centered around Kongzi, the sage who was the most important and effective transmitter of the true antique Way of the earlier sages. The system of enshrinement was an elaboration and manifestation of the signal idea of proper continuation of the teachings and values of the Way. Theoretically, scholars who were enshrined to the Temple were members of the Confucian intellectual genealogy. However, in late imperial China, the enshrinement practices of the Temple of Culture had very significant political usages, meanings and implications, apart from intellectual ones. Enshrinement represented the state's definition and interpretation of orthodoxy, both cultural and political.

### ***Ritual***

There were three kinds of sacrifices to Kongzi: *shidian* 釋奠, *shicai* 釋菜, and *xingxiang* 行香. In term of scale, *shidian* is the grandest, and *xingxiang* is the smallest. *Shidian* and *shicai* were both ancient rituals performed at the schools during the Three Dynasties, namely the

antiquity of ancient China. “*Shi*” 釋 literally means setting out sacrifices or tributes. However, the details of the ancient rituals were lost during the Warring States period. The Han court did not perform these rituals. Between the third century to the sixth century, different regimes revived or, more accurately, re-invented the *shidian* and *shicai* based on the ancient classics. During the Tang dynasty, the court made these two rituals exclusively dedicated to Kongzi.<sup>27</sup> According to the *Six Statutes of the Tang Dynasty* (*Tang liudian* 唐六典), “There were four kinds of sacrifices: “*si* 祀” for deities in the Heaven (*tianshen* 天神), “*ji* 祭” for deities on earth (*diqu* 地祇), “*xiang* 享” for human ghosts (*rengui* 人鬼), and *shidian* for former sages and former teachers (*xiansheng xianshi* 先聖先師).”<sup>28</sup> Former sages and former teachers were human ghosts in nature, but they did not belong to the category of human ghosts. They constituted an individual category that was separated from human ghosts. From the Tang dynasty onward, *shidian* and *shicai* became solely dedicated to Kongzi and other enshrined Confucians in the Temple of Culture.

*Shidian* consisted of five essential steps: escorting the spirit to come to the temple (*yingshen* 迎神), the first offering (*chuxian* 初獻), the second offering (*yaxian* 亞獻), and the third offering (*zhongxian* 終獻), and escorting the spirit to leave the temple (*songshen* 送神). There were minor steps before and after the five essential steps, such as inspecting the animals that would be sacrificial offering on the previous day (*shengsheng* 省牲) and watching the cremation of tribute (*wangliao* 望燎) after *songshen*. *Shicai* was simpler than *shidian* in steps. It did not have *yingshen* and *songshen*, and only had one offering. The three offerings in *shidian* were accompanied by music and dance, while *shicai* did not have music and dance. Compared to

---

<sup>27</sup> Du You 杜佑, *Tongdian* 通典 [Encyclopaedic history of institutions](Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 1471-1474.

<sup>28</sup> Li Linfu 李林甫, *Tang Liu Dian* 唐六典(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 120.

*shidian* and *shicai*, *xingxiang* was a late comer. *Xiang* 香 is incense. Burning incense was popular in Buddhist and Daoist temples, but it was not an accepted practice in the Confucian traditions. However, during the Ming-Qing period, *xingxiang* became a common practice in the Temple of Culture.<sup>29</sup> *Xingxiang* did not have offerings or sacrifices. It was usually a way to show respect to Kongzi during casual visits to temples of culture. When the Qianlong emperor visited Chengde every summer, he must stop by the Chengde Temple of Culture before he entering the Summer Palace. The ritual he performed everytime was *xingxiang*, which will be discussed in chapter three.

There was not a particular date for offering sacrifices to Kongzi before the Tang dynasty. In 740, the Tang court ordered officials of state-sponsored schools to perform *shidian* on the first *ding* 丁 date of the second months in spring and autumn (*chun qiu shang ding* 春秋上丁), namely, the second and eighth month of a lunar year. This tradition continued until the early twentieth century. Besides the two *ding* dates in spring and autumn, officials also performed *shicai* or *xingxiang* on the first date and the fifteenth date of a lunar month. In 1383, the Hongwu emperor ordered the libationer of the Imperial Academy to perform *shicai* and officials in local schools and to perform *xingxiang* on the first date and the fifteenth date of a lunar month.<sup>30</sup> It became a routine practice to have small-scale sacrifices twice a month and large-scale sacrifices twice a year.

Besides semiannual sacrifices, *shidian* was also performed on special occasions. When there were significant events, such as military victories and births of imperial sons, emperors usually sent officials to perform *shidian* in the Imperial Academy and the temple in Qufu.

---

<sup>29</sup> PGLYS, 1:36a-b.

<sup>30</sup> PGLYS, 1:36a-b.

*Shidian* on these occasions had two functions: reporting the news to Kongzi and appreciating his blessings. When a major reconstruction of a Temple of Culture was completed, people usually performed *shidian* as the opening ceremonies for the new buildings.

Before the Qing dynasty, Confucians did not celebrate or offer sacrifices on the birthday of Kongzi. The Yongzheng emperor designated the twenty-eighth day of the eighth lunar month as the birthday of Kongzi and ordered everyone to fast on that day. During the Qianlong period, Dai Diyuan (1728-1789) submitted a memorial to request sacrifice on Kongzi's birthday. However, the Qianlong emperor refused this request. He stated that the celebration of birthday was a practice in Buddhism and Daoism, and so it was not appropriate for the honor Kongzi. Therefore, until the end of the Qing dynasty, there was no official sacrifice offered on Kongzi's birthday. However, some local elites did organize local sacrifices to celebrate the master's birthday.

One ritual characteristic of *shidian* was its music (*yue* 樂) and dance (*wu* 舞). Not all state-sponsored sacrifices included music and dance. However, music and dance played significant roles in Kongzi's teachings. Rites (*li* 禮), music (*yue* 樂), charioteering (*yu* 御), archery (*she* 射), calligraphy (*shu* 書), and mathematics (*shu* 數) were the Six Arts (*liu yi* 六藝) of Confucian learning. Kongzi emphasized that music could change the emotions and virtues of their listeners. Once Kongzi listened to the music of Shao 韶樂, which he considered to be the most virtuous and orthodox, and he forgot the taste of meat for three months. (*Analect* 7:14) On the other hand, Kongzi warned that the sound of Zheng 鄭聲 was degenerate and illegitimate, and people should therefore stay away from it. (*Analect*, 15:11) Dance had served as an important element in sacrifices in Zhou rites, and hence, music and dance were two

indispensable elements of *shidian*. The number of music instruments and dancers in sacrificial ceremony reflected the status of the cult -- the more music instruments and dancers, the more prestigious. In chapter two of this dissertation, I will discuss how these numbers became a contested ground between the imperial authority and Confucian scholars. In chapter three, I will further explore the difficulties in staging a full *shidian*, which included music and dance, in the localities.

### ***Space***

According to their locations, Temples of Culture in late imperial China: the temple at Qufu, the temples in political centers, and local temples.

The Kong Temple in Qufu was the first temple dedicated to Kongzi. In traditional texts, it is usually called Queli 闕里, or the Watchtower District. Kongzi supposedly was born here and died here. The temple in Qufu had two roles serving as a family temple and a state temple. The temple in Qufu was originally the site where Kongzi's descendents and disciples commemorated him after his death. It was a private memorial. When Kongzi became a state cult, the Temple was transformed into a symbol of the state ideology. There were two kinds of sacrifices offered to Kongzi. Emperors sent high-ranking courtiers to offer sacrifices to Kongzi on their behalf every year. This kind of sacrifices represented the state's tribute to Kongzi. Kongzi's descendants who inherited the title of "the Duke Fulfilling the Sage" (Yansheng gong 衍聖公) also offered sacrifices to Kongzi. They represented the family's memorial to Kongzi. Today, we still can see a family temple section in the Qufu Temple. The Qufu Temple was the largest temple dedicated to Kongzi. It set a model for other temples of culture. Major architectural components included

gates, halls, cloisters, kitchen for preparing sacrificial offerings, and storage rooms of music instruments and ritual implements. Temples of culture located beyond Qufu were smaller version of the Qufu Temple. The Qufu Temple was destroyed several times by lightning and fire during the Ming-Qing period. The court provided funding for reconstruction projects. However, the most devastated damage to the Temple was done during the Cultural Revolution. Although the building was preserved, artifacts such as wooden plaques written by the Qing emperors were totally destroyed. Even the tomb of Kongzi was damaged by explosives.<sup>31</sup>

The temples in political centers, namely capitals or cities of political significance, had a higher status than the other Temples of Culture in the localities. Temples of culture located beyond Qufu were usually adjacent to a state-sponsored schools. The temple in the capital was adjacent to the Guozijian 國子監, the Imperial Academy. When the Hongwu emperor (b. 1328, 1368-1398) founded the Ming dynasty, he chose Yingtian 應天, now Nanjing, as the capital of the new regime. The Ming Imperial Academy and a Temple of Culture were located there. The site is now known as Fuzi miao 夫子廟, an important tourist attraction in modern Nanjing. After usurping the throne from his nephew, the Yongle emperor (b. 1380, 1403-1424) moved the capital to Beijing, but he kept Nanjing as a secondary capital. As a result, the Ming government maintained a dual-capital system. The Yongle emperor set up a new Imperial Academy in Beijing. The name of the original one in Nanjing was changed to Nan guozijian 南國子監 (the

---

<sup>31</sup> For the history of the Duke of Fulfilling the Sage, see Lamberton, Abigail. "The Kongs of Qufu: Power and Privilege in Late Imperial China," in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 297–334; Christopher S. Agnew, "Culture and Power in the Making of the Descendants of Confucius, 1300–1800" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 2006). For the history of the Qufu Temple from an architectural history perspective, see James A Flath, *Traces of the Sage: Monument, Materiality, and the First Temple of Confucius* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016). For the Qufu Temple during the Cultural Revolution, see Wang Liang, "The Confucius Temple Tragedy of the Cultural Revolution," in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 376–400.

Southern Imperial Academy). The Temple of Culture in Beijing had the highest status among all temples of culture. Emperors who were enthroned in Beijing after 1403 visited the temple at least once during their reigns to offer sacrifices to Kongzi in person. For most of time, high-ranking courtiers or officials, such as the grand secretaries and ministers, represented the emperors in offering spring and autumn sacrifices in the capital temples. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Temple of Culture in Chengde, a city about one hundred miles north of Beijing, also enjoyed a high status. The Qing emperors visited the Summer Palace in Chengde every year. The Qianlong emperor built a Temple of Culture next to the Summer Palace. When the Qianlong emperor and the Jiaqing emperor visited the Summer Palace, they stopped by the Chengde temple to perform *xingxiang*. I will discuss the Chengde temple in chapter four.

Local temples were usually located in the cities where administrative seats of prefectures, departments, counties, and military stations were situated adjacent to state-sponsored schools. In local gazetteers, a complex of the two buildings was described as a school palace (*xuegong* 學宮). A local Temple of Culture usually consists of gates, halls, and cloisters. When a visitor enters a Temple of Culture, the first gate that one passes is the Gate of the Ling Star (Lingxing men 靈星門). Some large-scale temples may have honorific arches outside the Gate of the Ling Star. Some temples may have a semicircle pond, which is called the *panchi* 泮池, behind the Gate of the Ling Star. Then the visitor passes another gate named the Gate of Great Completion (Dacheng men 大成門). Passing through the Gate of Great Completion, the visitor stands in a square in front of the Hall of Great Completion (Dacheng dian 大成殿) which is the center of a temple. The Hall of Great Completion houses the spiritual tablets of Kongzi, the Four Correlates, and the Twelve Savants. Facing the Hall of Great Completion, the visitor can see two cloisters or

corridors on his both sides. Because the doors of the Hall of Great Completion face south, the two cloisters or corridors are usually called the east cloister (*dongwu* 東廡) and the west cloister (*xiwu* 西廡). The two cloisters house the spiritual tablets of the Former Worthies and the Former Teachers. Behind the Hall of Great Completion, there is another hall that houses the spiritual tablets of Kongzi's ancestors. This hall is called the Shrine for Venerating the Sage (Chongsheng ci 崇聖祠). It was very common that different parts of a local Temple of Culture were constructed in different periods of time. Some temples in remote and backward regions might only have a small house to serve as the Hall of Great Completion. It might take decades to have all parts constructed. Local gazetteers usually have detail records about the construction of local temples.

### **Literature Review**

My dissertation on the Temple of Culture, which deliberately interlards intellectual ideas with political machinations, engages with several dimensions of late imperial Chinese history and their historiography. The existing scholarship on the Temple of Culture mainly falls within the domain of intellectual history.

The first English monograph of studying the Temple of Culture was Thomas Watters' *A Guide to the Tablets in a Temple of Confucius*.<sup>32</sup> Watters collected and translated biographies of enshrined Confucians, aiming to "give the names of the men who have been canonized as followers of Confucius, with a few notices of the circumstances in which these men, were born,

---

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Watters, *A Guide to the Tablets in a Temple of Confucius* (Shanghai, China : America Presbyterian Mission Press, 1879).



and lived, and of the work which they severally accomplished.”<sup>33</sup> Although the book is a guide to the spiritual tablets, it serves as an excellent collection of biographies of the most significant Confucians. A more systematic and comprehensive analysis of the cult of Kongzi is John Knight Shryock’s *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius: An Introductory Study*. Shryock’s book examined the development of the cult of Kongzi, which he considered as the state cult of China, from Kongzi’s death to the Republic period. Based on the official histories, Shryock touches almost all aspects of the cult of Kongzi, but there is no in-depth exportation of its many political and cultural implications and impacts.<sup>34</sup>

However, after the publication of Shryock’s 1932 book, Anglophone scholars seemed to lost interests in the Temple of Culture. It had to wait for more than seventy years for another scholarship on Kongzi’s cult. Thomas Wilson’s 2002 edited volume, *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, serves as a hub for scholars who are interested in the various dimensions and expressions of Confucius’s cult. The varied research in this anthology provides some important points of departure for my own work on the intellectual dimensions of the temple. Thomas Wilson studies how the cult of Kongzi had been ritualized by the state from Kongzi’s death to Qing dynasty.<sup>35</sup> Deborah Sommer explores the iconoclasm in the Confucian Temple and how it connected to the elites’ perception of the body.<sup>36</sup> Joseph Lam, who has a monograph about the music of state sacrifices during the Ming

---

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Watters, *A Guide to the Tablets in a Temple of Confucius*, preface.

<sup>34</sup> John Knight Shryock, *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius: An Introductory Study* (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp, 1966).

<sup>35</sup> Wilson, Thomas. “Ritualizing Confucius/Kongzi: The Family and State Cults of the Sage of Culture in Imperial China.” In *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 43–94.

<sup>36</sup> Sommer, Deborah. “Destroying Confucius: Iconoclasm in the Confucian Temple.” In *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 95–132.

dynasty, contributes a chapter on the Confucian music used in *shidian* ceremony.<sup>37</sup> One article translated from the Chinese is especially useful: Chin-shing Huang (Huang Jinxing) examines the power relationship and tension between emperorship and scholar-officials by looking at the revision of the ritual arrangements and enshrinement in the Temple of Culture in Mid-Ming period.<sup>38</sup> Jing Jun reveals how two temples dedicated to Kongzi were transformed from being sites of the state cult to two local symbolic centers of knowledge and memory in contemporary China.<sup>39</sup> These scholars' explorations of the diverse aspects of the temple build a solid foundation for the sort of further investigation that I am pursuing in my dissertation.

The enshrinement of Confucian scholars to the temple, in particular, is one important focus of intellectual historians. As each enshrinement involved different political and intellectual interests, scholars tend to study the process of enshrinement on a case-by-case basis. Hung-lam Chu (Zhu Hunglin) studies how the publication of the *Complete Works of Wang Wencheng* [Wang Yangming] (王文成公全書) influenced Wang Yangming's 王陽明 enshrinement in the sixteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Yang Zhengxian (Cheng-hsien Yang) 楊正顯 shows how Wang Yangming's disciples revised their teacher's biographical chronicle in order to make him fit the enshrinement

---

<sup>37</sup> Joseph Sui Ching Lam, "Musical Confucianism: The Case of 'Jikong Yuewu,'" in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 134–175. For Lam's monograph, see Joseph Sui Ching Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music in Ming China: Orthodoxy, Creativity, and Expressiveness* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).

<sup>38</sup> Chin-Shing Huang, "The Cultural Politics of Autocracy: The Confucius Temple and Ming Despotism 1368-1530," in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, ed. Thomas A. Wilson, trans. Curtis Dean Smith and Thomas A. Wilson (Harvard University Asia Center; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2002), 267–296.

<sup>39</sup> Jun Jing, "Knowledge, Organization, and Symbolic Capital: Two Temples to Confucius in Gansu," in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 335–375.

<sup>40</sup> Hung-Lam Chu, "The Debate Over Recognition of Wang Yang-Ming," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48, no. 1 (June 1988): 47–70; Zhu Hunglin (Hung-lam Chu), "Wang Yangming Congsi Kongmiao de Shiliao Wenti 王陽明從祀孔廟的史料問題 [Issues of historical evidences related to the enshrinement of Wang Yangming in the Confucius temple]," *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊, no. 06 (2008); Hung-lam Chu, "Wang Wencheng Gong Quanshu Hanxing Yu Wang Yangming Congsi Zhengyi de Yiyi 《王文成公全書》刊行與王陽明從祀爭議的意義 [The publication of the *Complete Works of Wang Wencheng* and its meanings to the enshrinement of Wang Yangming]," in *Zhongguo Jinshi ruxue xizhi de xibian yu xuexi* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2006), 312–33.

standards.<sup>41</sup> Koh Khee Heong reveals how and why the Ming state enshrined the first Ming scholar, Xue Xuan 薛瑄 (1389-1464).<sup>42</sup> These case studies clearly tell us that a successful enshrinement often entailed long debates in court that interwove political struggles and intellectual conflicts, so much so that Chin-shing Huang compares the institution of enshrinement to the canonization of saints in Christianity.<sup>43</sup> Huang's study on the power relationship between rulers and intellectuals is particularly useful for my examinations of the political-intellectual nexus of dynamics in the construction and manipulation of the temple in various locales and settings.

Any study of the Temple of Culture naturally relates to the issue of religiosity in Confucianism. Huang Jinxing (Chin-shing Huang), for instance, argues that Confucianism should be seen as a state religion or public religion, which is different from a private religion. To Huang, people pray for individual interests in a private religion, whereas a state religion or public religion does not answer to prayers for individual longevity, profit, and fortune. A state religion or public religion only cares about the fortune and stability of the state. As a result, the Temple of Culture was in fact a holy ground and sacred site of Confucianism that represented the

---

<sup>41</sup> Cheng-hsien Yang, "Wang yangming nianpu yu congsi kongmiao zhi yanjiu 王陽明《年譜》與從祀孔廟之研究 [Wang Yangming's Chronicle and the Placing of His Tablet in the Confucian Temple]," *Chinese Studies* 29, no. 1 (2011): 153–87.

<sup>42</sup> Khee Heong Koh, "The Definition of Our Dynasty's True Confucian: The Process of Enshrining Xue Xuan in the Temple to Confucius and Some Aspects of Ming Intellectual History," *The Journal of Chinese Studies*, no. 47 (2007): 93–114; Khee Heong Koh, "Enshrining the First Ming Confucian," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 67, no. 2 (December 1, 2007): 327–74; Khee Heong Koh, *A Northern Alternative: Xue Xuan (1389-1464) and the Hedong School*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 77 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2011); Khee Heong Koh, "Defending the True Confucian of Our August Dynasty: An Important Aspect in the Discussion of Xue Xuan's Enshrinement by Ming Confucians," *Jinyang Xuekan*, no. 4: 32–34

<sup>43</sup> Huang Jinxing (Chin-Shing Huang), *Shengxian yu shengtu: lishi yu zongjiao lunwenji* 聖賢與聖徒：歷史與宗教論文集 (Taipei: Yun chen wen hua shi ye gu fen you xian gong si, 2001); Chin-Shing Huang, *You Ru Sheng Yu: Quan Li, Xin Yang Yu Zheng Dang Xing* 優入聖域：權力、信仰與正當性 (Xi an: Shan xi shi fan da xue chu ban she, 1998); Huang, *Huangdi, yusheng yu kongmiao*.

authority of the state.<sup>44</sup> It is interesting to compare Huang's study with Anna Sun's recent book, *Confucianism as a World Religion: Contested Histories and Contemporary Realities*. Huang assumes that Confucianism had been considered as a religion until the Republic period, when Liang Qichao and other modern intellectuals consciously played down its religiosity.<sup>45</sup> On the contrary, Sun's book assumes that Confucianism had not been a religion until western scholars such as James Legge classified it as a world religion in the late nineteenth century. Sun's recent participant observations and interviews in different temples of culture also show that people do pray for individual interest in the temple.<sup>46</sup> Her book thus calls into question the neat distinction established by Huang between the so-called public and private religions.

As the temple also functioned and operated as a school in the late imperial period, intellectual historians are interested in its educational functions. Ming-Shih Kao (Gao Mingshi), in a series of articles on the traditional education in East Asia, argues that temple schools were the most common and important educational apparatuses since the Tang dynasty. Kao highlights the fact that education in traditional China consisted of learning about books and learning about rituals. The temple school focused on the learning of rituals while other schools taught other branches of knowledge.<sup>47</sup> It is noteworthy that the new schools that replaced the temple schools in the Republic period excluded ritual learning—a new political and cultural entity required a new educational institution. The central question in my dissertation is how the educational dimension of the temple, namely, the teaching and learning of rituals, served to strengthen the

---

<sup>44</sup> Huang, *Huangdi, yusheng yu kongmiao* 皇帝、儒生與孔廟 [Emperors, Confucians, and Confucius Temple], 131–133.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 171–186.

<sup>46</sup> Anna Xiao Dong Sun, *Confucianism as a World Religion: Contested Histories and Contemporary Realities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

<sup>47</sup> Gao Mingshi (Ming-Shih Kuo), *Dongya jiaoyu quan xingcheng shilun* 東亞教育圈形成史論 [The history of East Asian education sphere] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003); Gao Mingshi, *Zhongguo jiaoyu zhidu shilu*.

late imperial political imperium and consolidate a cultural vision of proper behavior based on ritualized norms and values.

Social and local historians of China do often directly or indirectly engage with the question of the cultural and political unity of late imperial Chinese polity, but they seldom pay attention to the Temple of Culture, and when they do, they commonly refer to Stephen Feuchtwang's "the School temple and city god" in William Skinner's milestone edited volume, *The City in Late Imperial China*, published in 1977. Feuchtwang informed us that the "school temple" and the "city god," as official religions within the walled cities, were institutions of imperial control and governance.<sup>48</sup>

But what is particularly relevant for my purposes is James Watson's work. While studying Tianhou 天后 (the Queen of Heaven), a popular goddess in south coastal China, and death rituals, James Watson frames the concept of "cultural standardization." Watson contends that ritual standardization was the key to forging cultural unity in China. In the case of Tianhou, Watson points out how the elites used the cult of Tianhou to transform local deities into a part of the state approved and regulated religious belief-system.<sup>49</sup> In terms of death rituals, Watson emphasizes the fact that local variations of ceremony would be tolerated if the core principles and rituals were maintained and followed.<sup>50</sup> Although scholars have criticized and challenged Watson's framework for its top-down approach and perspective, it has remained quite influential in the past two decades. In 2007, the journal, *Modern China*, dedicated a special issue to the discussion of Watson's theoretical framework of "cultural standardization." In the issue, three

---

<sup>48</sup> William Skinner ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Taipei: SMC Pub., 1995), 586–612.

<sup>49</sup> James Watson, "Standardizing the Gods: The Empress of Heaven (Tianhou) Along the South China Coast, 960-1960," in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (University of California Press, 1987), 292–322.

<sup>50</sup> James L. Watson and Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, eds., *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, Studies on China ; 8 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), introduction.

scholars attempt to apply Watson's "cultural standardization" framework to their own case studies—Kenneth Pomeranz studies the Bixia Xuanjun 碧霞玄君, a goddess in Taishan;<sup>51</sup> Michael Szonyi investigates the Five Emperors of Fuzhou;<sup>52</sup> and Paul Katz examines the Marshal Wen cult in Taiwan.<sup>53</sup> They find that state standardization of the local cults did not always work, thus casting some doubt on the general usefulness of Watson's model. My dissertation plans to engage in this dialogue by looking at the state-sponsored and nation-wide cult of Confucius centered around the Temple of Culture, especially since neither Watson nor his critics paid any attention to it. Was the Temple an attempt at an expression of "cultural standardization?" How effective was it?

### **From Family Temple to State Temple: a brief history prior to the Ming dynasty**

#### **Pre-Qin to Han Dynasty**

The Temple of Culture has been the most time-honored monument in Chinese history. Its history can be traced back to 470 BCE. After Kongzi passed away, his disciples buried him in his hometown and built a small temple on the site of his former residence as a memorial. This was the first temple dedicated to Kongzi. The Kong Temple in Qufu 曲阜 in Shandong 山東 province today is supposedly the remnant of the ancient shrine. In the beginning, the temple was only a family affair, but people from faraway began visiting the temple to pay homage to Kongzi, thus

---

<sup>51</sup> Kenneth Pomeranz, "Orthopraxy, Orthodoxy, and the Goddess(es) of Taishan," *Modern China* 33, no. 1 (January 1, 2007): 22–46.

<sup>52</sup> Michael Szonyi, "Making Claims about Standardization and Orthopraxy in Late Imperial China: Rituals and Cults in the Fuzhou Region in Light of Watson's Theories," *Modern China* 33, no. 1 (January 1, 2007): 47–71.

<sup>53</sup> Paul R. Katz, "Orthopraxy and Heteropraxy beyond the State: Standardizing Ritual in Chinese Society," *Modern China* 33, no. 1 (January 1, 2007): 72–90.

creating a pilgrimage of sorts. Even the founding emperor of the Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE), well-known for his contempt for the Confucians (*rusheng* 儒生), honored Kongzi with the highest level of sacrifice when he travelled by the temple. Thereafter, the Kong family and the Temple received high recognition and respect from the Han throne. The head of the Kong clan became a hereditary official responsible for offering sacrifices to Kongzi. Four hundred years after the death of Kongzi, the great historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145 - 90 BCE) visited the Kong temple in Qufu. He left us the first first-hand record of the temple. According to him, Kongzi's clothes and carriage were still in the temple. Students of Confucianism were still rehearsing rituals there.<sup>54</sup> The solemn atmosphere of the temple greatly touched the great historian who later wrote the most influential biography of Kongzi in his celebrated magnum opus, *The Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記).<sup>55</sup>

The spread of the worship of Kongzi beyond Qufu was a major development of the cult during the Han. It is unclear when and where the second temple dedicated to Kongzi was built, but some records show that Kongzi was worshiped in schools in the Later Han period (27 - 220 CE). Dong Xining 董喜寧 considers the year of 59 CE as the starting point of worshipping Kongzi in schools.<sup>56</sup> During the Han dynasty, Kongzi was one of many historical and mythical figures worshipped in schools. These figures were usually printed on the walls of a room in schools. The most well-known example was “the stone house of Wen Weng” (Wen Weng shishi 文翁石室). Wen Weng 文翁 was a prefect of Shu 蜀, in present-day Sichuan around 188-140 BCE. He built a school which had a stone house (*shishi* 石室) with walls that were covered by

---

<sup>54</sup> Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi Ji* 史記 (Taipei: Ding wen shuju, 1981), 1947.

<sup>55</sup> For the significance of Sima Qian's writings about Kongzi, see Michael. Nylan and Thomas A. Wilson, *Lives of Confucius: Civilization's Greatest Sage Through the Ages* (New York: Doubleday, 2010), chap. 1.

<sup>56</sup> Xining Dong, *Kongmiao Jisi Yanjiu*, 35.

images of hundreds of mythical and historical figures which included Kongzi and his seventy-two disciples.<sup>57</sup> Prior to the Tang dynasty (唐, 618 - 907), schools had not yet devoted themselves solely worshiping Kongzi.

## **Tang Dynasty**

The Tang dynasty was the most important period in the development of Kongzi's cult. The Tang court substantially standardized and strengthened loose institutions, making the cult a general worship (*tongsi* 通祀) of the state. In 619, Tang Gaozu 唐高祖 (b. 566, r. 518 - 626), the founder of the Tang dynasty, ordered the imperial academy (*guozixue* 國子學) to build a temple to worship the Duke of Zhou (Zhougong 周公) and Kongzi. The Duke of Zhou was enshrined to be the "Former Sage" while Kongzi was enshrined to be his Correlate with the title "Former Teacher".<sup>58</sup> Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (b. 598, r. 626 - 649), son of the Gaozu, made the most significant moves in the history of Kongzi's cult. He made Kongzi the center of the cult in every state-sponsored school. In 628, Tang Taizong elevated Kongzi to be the "Former Sage" and enshrined Yan Hui 顏回, Kongzi's best disciple, to be his Associate. In other words, Taizong removed the Duke of Zhou from the temple in the imperial academy. Two years later, Taizong ordered every state-sponsored school to build a temple to worship Kongzi. Although there was a short period in which the Duke of Zhou returned to the temple after the death of Taizong, in 657, Tang Gaozong 唐高宗 (b. 628, r. 649 - 683) enshrined the Duke of Zhou as a correlate in the

---

<sup>57</sup> For the discussion about Wen Weng's stone house, see *ibid.*, 36–38.

<sup>58</sup> Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 and Song Qi 宋祁, *Xin Tang Shu* 新唐書 (Taipei: Ding wen shuju, 1981), 9.



temple dedicated to Zhou Wuwang 周武王, the founder of the Zhou dynasty. Thereafter, Kongzi became the primary deity in the temple of every state-sponsored school.<sup>59</sup>

Beside making Kongzi the sole sage of schools, the Tang court also elevated Kongzi's posthumous title and expanded the enshrinement of the temple. In 739, Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (b. 685, r. 712 - 765) made several institutional changes to the cult. He elevated Kongzi to the royal rank by giving him a posthumous title, the Exalted King of Culture. (Wenxuan wang 文宣王). Kongzi's iconic representations in the temple, including paintings or statues, changed their directional orientation to face south, the same direction as an emperor. Xuanzong also added new members to the enshrinement. In 647, Tang Taizong enshrined twenty-two commentators and exegetes of the classics from different dynasties prior the Tang to the temple.<sup>60</sup> In 720, Xuanzong enshrined the "Ten Savants" to the temple. In 739, other sixty-seven Kongzi's disciples were enshrined. As Xuanzong elevated Kongzi's posthumous title to the royal rank, he also gave titles of nobility to the enshrined Confucians. Xuanzong also standardized the *shidian* ritual by adding it to the most influential statutes of Tang rites, *Da tang kaiyuan li* 大唐開元禮 (Ritual Code of the Kaiyuan Period in the Great Tang).

Strictly speaking, the Tang dynasty marked the beginning of the practice of worshiping Kongzi in every state-sponsored school throughout empire-wide. As Thomas Wilson points out, "Because there was no classical precedent for a Kongzi cult, Tang ritualists devised a liturgy by gradually combining rites from ancient books with ritual precedents from later periods."<sup>61</sup> These

---

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 373–74.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 374.

<sup>61</sup> Wilson, Thomas. "Ritualizing Confucius/Kongzi: The Family and State Cults of the Sage of Culture in Imperial China." In *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 73.

institutions invented by the Tang court and ritualists became the foundational model of the temple in the later period.

## Song Dynasty

The cult of Kongzi witnessed two major developments during the Song dynasty. First, the court kept elevating the posthumous status of Kongzi and the other enshrined Confucians. Second, the Song court standardized the hierarchy of enshrinements. After a long turmoil following the fall of the Tang dynasty, the early Song emperors received and continued the Tang model in venerating the sage of culture. Song Taizong 宋太宗 (b. 939, r. 976-997), the second emperor of the Song dynasty, visited the temple in the Imperial Academy three times to offer sacrifices to Kongzi in person. Song Zhenzong 宋真宗 (b.968, r. 997-1022) who performed the *fengshan* 封禪 ceremony in Mountain Tai in 1008 visited Qufu on his way back to the capital. He paid homage to Kongzi and the sage's tomb and offered sacrifices at the temple. Song Zhenzong added the words "Mysterious Sage" (Xuansheng 玄聖) to Kongzi's posthumous title "the King of Exalted Culture".<sup>62</sup> He also elevated the posthumous noble ranks of the enshrined Confucians. Later, some court officials even suggested Song Renzong 宋仁宗 (b. 1010, r. 1022-1063), the successor of Zhenzong, that Kongzi's title to be elevated to "emperor" (*di* 帝). Renzong did not accept the suggestion. However, in 1105, Song Huizong 宋徽宗 (b. 1082, r. 1100-1126, d. 1135) changed the number of fringes of pearls (*liu* 旒) on Kongzi's crown (*mian* 冕) of the sage's images and statues, from ten to twelve.<sup>63</sup> The number of fringes of pearls on a

---

<sup>62</sup> Tuo Tuo 脫脫, ed., *Song Shi* 宋史 [the history of Song dynasty], Zhongguo xueshu leibian (Taipei: Ding wen shuju, 1980), 138-139.

<sup>63</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Song Shi*, 2550.

crown represents the status of the crown owner. The crown of an emperor has twelve fringes of pearls. In other words, even though the Song emperor did not elevate the posthumous title of Kongzi, he made him an emperor as far as his sartorial adornment was concerned. After the Jurchen Jin invaded and occupied the territories north of the Yangzi River, a new Song court was established in what is nowadays Hangzhou. The Duke of Fulfilling the Sage also fled to the new capital of the Southern Song. The Southern Song court continued the institutions of the Northern Song, including the cult of Kongzi. In 1441, the court elevated the cult of Kongzi from medium sacrifice to grand sacrifice.

The Tang court had finalized the enshrinement in 739. Throughout the Tang dynasty, there was no change to the 739 version of enshrinement model, which of mainly consisted of two groups of enshrined Confucians: Kongzi's disciples, who were contemporaries of Kongzi, and the "twenty-two worthies", who were later commentators and exegetes of the ancient classics. Except Yan Hui who was a Correlate, other Kongzi's disciples shared the same status in the temple. The Song was a different story. The enshrinement witnessed several significant developments during Song dynasty, including the formation of hierarchy, enshrinement of contemporary Confucians, and withdrawth of Confucians from the enshrinement. A lot of these developments were related to Wang Anshi and his politico-cultural activism.

The "New Policies" (*xin fa* 新法) of Wang Anshi and the fractionism it caused played pivotal roles in the political history of the Northern Song. When Wang Anshi was in power, Song politicians started to make use of Kongzi's cult as political capital in real the world of Realpolitik. There were three legacies of Wang Anshi and his supporters as far as the cult of Kongzi was concerned. The first one was the enshrinement of Mengzi (Mencius), Xunzi (Xun

Kuang 荀況, 316-237 BCE), Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53-18 BCE), and Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) in 1084.<sup>64</sup> The new enshrinement represented both a major academic trend of the Northern Song and Wang Anshi's personal academic preference. Facing the challenges of Buddhism and Daoism, Confucians in Northern Song became obsessed with teachings that would defend Confucianism against heterodoxies. Mengzi and Xunzi travelled around different states to promote Confucianism and to debate with scholars from other schools of thoughts during the Warring States period (475-221 BCE). Yang Xiong was a Han expert in the Classics and philosophy. All these three Confucians were highly admired by Han Yu. Han Yu was the pioneer of the so-called the "Ancient Prose Movement of the Tang-Song Period" (Tangsong guwen yundong 唐宋古文運動), and he was well-known for his anti-Buddhist position. As mentioned above, Han Yu formulated the early idea of *daotong*. In his famous essay, "The origin of the Way" (Yuan dao 原道), Han Yu explained that the Dao did not originate from Daoism or Buddhism, which discouraged agricultural and commercial productivity. He stated:

[Someone] asks, "what Dao is this?" [I] answer, "the Dao I am talking is not the Dao of Daoism or Buddhism. Yao transmitted it to Shun. Shun transmitted it to Yu. Yu transmitted it to Tang. Tang transmitted it to King Wen, the Emperor Wu, and the Duke of Zhou. King Wen, King Wu, and the Duke of Zhou transmitted it to Kongzi. Kongzi transmitted it to Meng Ke. After the death of Meng Ke, the transmission [of the Way] stopped. Xun [Kuang] and Yang [Xiong] did not select the best part [of the Way] and explain it in detail.

---

<sup>64</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Song Shi*, 2548.

曰：「斯道也，何道也？」曰：「斯吾所謂道也，非向所謂老與佛之道也。堯以是傳之舜，舜以是傳之禹，禹以是傳之湯，湯以是傳之文武周公，文武周公傳之孔子，孔子傳之孟軻。軻之死，不得其傳焉。荀與揚也，擇焉而不精，語焉而不詳。」

65

This was the early *daotong* formulated by Han Yu. Kongzi transmitted the Dao to Mengzi. Although Xunzi and Yang Xiong did not fully inherit the Dao, they made contribution to its transmission. Wang Anshi was an advocate in promoting the teaching of Mengzi and Han Yu. Under Wang's influence, in 1071, *Mencius*, the book, was included into the official content of civil service examinations. In 1084, the court enshrined Mengzi as a correlate and Xun Kuang, Yang Xiong, and Han Yu as former worthies. It was not exaggerated to say that Wang Anshi's personal preference was the major reason of these enshrinements. These new enshrinements also connected the idea of *daotong* with the enshrinement. Henceforth, the enshrinement in the Temple of Culture became a visible representation of the Daotong.

The second legacy was Wang Anshi and his son's enshrinement to the temple. After the death of Wang Anshi, his disciples and supporters started to persuade the court to enshrine Anshi and his son Wang Pang, who had died before Wang Anshi, to the temple. In 1113, the court of Song Huizong enshrined Wang Anshi as a Correlate and Wang Pang as a Former Worthy. The court also raised the posthumous title of Wang Anshi from "the Duke of Jing" (Jingguo gong 荊國公) to "the King of Shu" (Shu wang 舒王). As a result, Wang Anshi's posthumous title was

---

<sup>65</sup> Dong Gao 董誥, ed., *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 [complete prose of the Tang] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 5650-1.

even higher than Yan Hui who was enshrined as a duke at that time.<sup>66</sup> Before Wang Anshi and Wang Pang, the secondary enshrinement in the Temple of Culture only included Confucians from previous dynasties. In other words, there had not been the precedent to enshrine Confucians from the contemporary dynasty. Wang Anshi and Wang Pang became the first two that were enshrined by their contemporaries. At the time, the secondary enshrinement in the temple was divided into three hierarchies. The Correlates, who formed was the closest group to Kongzi in the main hall, included Yan Hui, Meng Ke, and Wang Anshi. The second group was the Ten Savants who were also in the main hall. As Yan Hui, one of the Ten Savants mentioned in the *Analects*, became a Correlate, Zeng Can took Yan's place to make up the total number of ten. Outside the main hall, there were forty-nine enshrined Confucians in the east cloister and forty-eight in the west cloister. All enshrined Confucians, including Kongzi, were represented in images or statues.

The third legacy was the removals of the Wangs from the temple at the end of the Northern Song and the early Southern Song. After the supporters of Wang Anshi gradually lost power and the support of the Song court following his death, officials who opposed Wang Anshi and his policies started to attack his teachings and his enshrinement in the temple. In 1126, right before the fall of Northern Song, Yang Shi 楊時 (1053-1135), a famous disciple of the Cheng brothers, requested the court to remove the Wangs from the temple. The court responded to Yang's request by demoting Wang Anshi from a Correlate to a Former Worthy. In 1177, the Southern Song court removed Wang Pang from the enshrinement. In 1241, Wang Anshi finally

---

<sup>66</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Song Shi*, 2551.

removed from the enshrinement.<sup>67</sup> The Wangs became the first cases of enshrined Confucians being removed from the Temple because of the changes in politics and academic trends.

The relationship between *daotong* and enshrinement became even closer during the Southern Song period (1127-1279). Neo-Confucianism became the dominant academic learning the south of the Yangzi River. For a short period, the court banned Neo-Confucian teachings during the last few years of the twelfth century. However, once the ban was lifted, Neo-Confucianism became ever more popular. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), the most influential scholar during this period and the next millennium, synthesized the teachings of the Northern Song Neo-Confucians and developed a very clear genealogy of *daotong*. Including Zhu Xi in this genealogy, Huang Gan 黃榦 (1152-1121), one of Zhu Xi's student, made the following statement,

The orthodox Dao has been waiting for the [right] people to transmit [it]. Since the Zhou dynasty, there had only been several people responsible for transmitting the Dao. There were only one or two people able to distinguish this Dao after Kongzi, Zhou Dunyi, Cheng brothers, and Zhang Zai inherited the Dao. It was not the master [Zhu Xi] that the Dao became well-known.

竊聞道之正統，待人而後傳。自周以來，任傳道之責、得統之正者，不過數人。而能使斯道章章較著者，一二人而止耳。由孔子而後，周程張子繼其絕，至先生而始著。<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi Wenji* 朱子文集 [the anthology of Master Zhu], De fu guji congkan 德富古籍叢刊 (Taipei: De fu wenjiao jijinhui, 2000), 5418.

In 1241, the court Song Lizong 宋理宗 (b. 1205, r. 1224-1264), who was well-known for his patronage of Neo-Confucianism, enshrined Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073), Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107), Cheng Hao 程顥 (1035-1085), Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077), and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) to the Temple of Culture, the same year in which the court removed Wang Anshi. It was obvious that Song Lizong completely followed the *daotong* constructed Zhu Xi and his disciples in revising the enshrinement of the temple. Song Lizong continued to enshrine Neo-Confucians to the temple during his reign. In 1261, he enshrined Zhang Shi 張軾 (1133-1180) and Lu Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137-1181). In 1267, Song Duzong 宋度宗 (b.1240, r.1264-1274), Song Lizong's successor, added Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077) and Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086). He also elevated Kong Ji and Ceng Can to the status of Correlates.<sup>69</sup> Zhu Xi considered Zhou Dunyi, Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao, Zhang Zai, Shao Yong, and Sima Guang as the “six masters” (*liu xiansheng* 六先生) of Daoxue in the Northern Song period.<sup>70</sup> Zhang Shi and Lu Zuqian were best friends of Zhu Xi. As mentioned in the section of this chapter, the court elevated Kong Ji and Ceng Can to the status of correlates because Zhu Xi's emphasis of the Four Books. Kong Ji and Ceng Can were considered as important contributors of the Four Books. The enshrinements during the Song Lizong and Song Duzong reigns were proclamations that the court recognized Neo-Confucianism as the state orthodoxy. So far, there were thirty-three former worthies in the enshrinements. Neo-Confucians started to occupy positions in the enshrinement which had been monopolized by commenters and exegete of classics. This trend would gradually become stronger which led to a large scale removal of exegete in the sixteenth century. The 1267

---

<sup>69</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Song Shi*, 897.

<sup>70</sup> Zhu Xi, *Zhuji Wenji*, 3209-3210.



revision was the last change of the institution of the cult of Kongzi during the Song dynasty. In 1279, Mongols completely conquered China.

## The Conquest Dynasties

After the fall of the Tang empire, a large part of north China came under the rule of different non-Han rulers. Nomadic leaders established several regimes which historians generally call the “conquest dynasties”, including the Liao 遼 dynasty (916-1125) of the Khitans, the Jin 金 dynasty (1115-1234) of the Jurchens, and the Western Xia 西夏 dynasty (1038-1227) of the Tanguts. According to the *History of Liao* (*Liao shi* 遼史), which was written by Yuan scholars almost two hundred years after the fall of the Liao, the Liao court did build temples to worship Kongzi. Liao Taizu 遼太祖 (b. 872, r. 916-926), the first emperor of Liao, as a ruler who had received mandate from the Heaven, asked his court officials as to what gods he should worship. Most of them answered that the emperor should worship the Buddha. The emperor replied, “the Buddha was not Chinese teachings.” (*fo fei zhonguo jiao* 佛非中國教) One of his sons said, “Kongzi was the great sage, honored by ten thousand generations. He should appropriately be the first.” (孔子大聖，萬世所尊，宜先。)<sup>71</sup> Liao Taizu ordered the building of Kongzi temples, Daoist temples, Buddhist temples in 918.<sup>72</sup> In the next year, Liao Taizu visited a Kongzi temple in person.<sup>73</sup> Unfortunately, this is all we know about the Kongzi temples of the Liao dynasty.

Comparing to the Liao, there are more records about the temples dedicated to Kongzi during the Jurchen Jin dynasty. These records show that the Jin court paid quite a lot of attention

---

<sup>71</sup> Tuo Tuo 脫脫, ed., *Liao Shi* 遼史 [The history of Liao], Zhongguo xueshu leibian (Taipei: Ding wen shuju, 1980), 1209.

<sup>72</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Liao Shi*, 13.

<sup>73</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Liao Shi*, 14.

to the cult of Kongzi. The Jin regime was forged from several Jurchen tribes originally under the rule of the Liao. When Aguda (ch. 阿骨打) (b.1068, r.1115-1123) unified all the Jurchen tribes, he proclaimed himself as the first emperor of the Jin in 1115. The Jin allied with the Northern Song and the Western Xia to fight with the Liao and finally captured the last emperor of the Liao dynasty in 1125. Henceforth, the Jin controlled the former Liao territories in north China. In 1126, the Jin invaded the Song capital and captured the Song emperors. After the fall of the Northern Song, the Duke of Fulfilling the Sage also fled to the Southern Song court in Hangzhou. In 1140, Jin Xizong 金熙宗 (b.1119, r.1135-1150) appointed one of Kongzi's decedents who remained in Qufu to be the new Duke of Fulfilling the Sage.<sup>74</sup> As a result, there were two Dukes of Fulfilling the Sage. In 1140, Jin Xizong performed *shidian* in person.<sup>75</sup> After he performed the ritual, he told the officials who attended the ceremony, "Although Kongzi did not hold any position [in government], his Dao should be venerated, so that it is respected for ten thousand generations." (孔子雖無位，其道可尊，使萬世景仰。) <sup>76</sup>

The changes of the cult of Kongzi happened during the reign of Jin Zhangzong 金章宗 (b.1168, r. 1189-1208) In 1191, Jin Zhangzong ordered the repair and renovation of the Qufu temple.<sup>77</sup> In the next year, the court ordered that the role of avoidance should be applied to the names of the Duke of Zhou and Kongzi. In other words, if a person whose last and first names were the same as the Duke of Zhou and Kongzi, he should change the characters. Such similar practices of name avoidance were applied in the cases of to the names of emperors.<sup>78</sup> The court

---

<sup>74</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Jin Shi* (Taipei: Ding wen shuju, 1980), 76.

<sup>75</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Jin Shi*, 77.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Jin Shi*, 214.

<sup>78</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Jin Shi*, 225.

especially reminded the *jinshi* degree-holders of this rule. If the first name of a *jinshi* contained the characters of Kongzi's name, he would have to change his name.<sup>79</sup>

During the Jin dynasty, the temple dedicated to Kongzi was called the Xuansheng miao 宣聖廟 (Temple of Exalted Sage). According to the *Collected Rites of the Great Jin Dynasty* (*Dajin jili* 大金集禮) and the official *History of Jin* (*Jin shi* 金史), the Jin institution of the temple and the *shidian* ritual followed the Tang model instead of the Song model.<sup>80</sup> The secondary enshrinement included Yan Yuan and Mengzi as Correlates, the seventy-two disciples of Kongzi, and the twenty-one exegetes enshrined in 739. However, Mengzi was enshrined by the Song not the Tang. Mengzi's appearance in the Jin temple reflected the fact that his teachings, which had been included in the Northern Song civil service examination system had become very influential in north China. In 1194, there was the suggestion to build a shrine for Ye Lu 葉魯 and Gu Shen 谷神, inventors of the Jurchen writing system. The idea was that the Jurchen and Han Chinese students should worship these two Jurchen worthies after worshiping Kongzi. One proposal was to enshrine Ye Lu and Gu Shen to the temple of Exalted Sage. The court chose to build an individual shrine for Gu Shen instead of enshrining them to the temple of Exalted Sage, because there was no precedent of enshrining inventors of a writing system to the temple dedicated to Kongzi.<sup>81</sup>

There were two *shidian* on the first *ding* dates of the spring and autumn of every year. The court also ordered the building of temples in localities. Jin Zhangzong once discussed with his officials about the situation of local temples. He noticed that the maintenance of local

---

<sup>79</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Jin Shi*, 271.

<sup>80</sup> *Da Jin Ji Li*, Wen Yuan ge siku quanshu edition., Wen Yuan ge siku quanshu 406 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 36:1a; Tuo Tuo, ed., *Jin Shi*, 815.

<sup>81</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Jin Shi*, 825.

Confucian temples was not as good as that of the Daoist temples and Buddhist temples. His court officials explained that, unlike the Daoist priests and Buddhist monks who lived within the temple, the students did not reside in the Confucian temples. Jin Zhangzong rejected this explanation. Instead, he accused the Daoist priests and Buddhist monks on making profits on the lavish decorations of their temples.<sup>82</sup>

Among all the conquest dynasties, the history of the Western Xia has been the least studied. When the Yuan court compiled the official histories for the previous dynasties, it did not have a specific volume for the Western Xia. We can only find information about the Western Xia in the official histories of the Song, the Liao, and the Jin. Even there have been a amount of texts in the Western Xia language discovered through archaeological finds since the early twentieth century, our knowledge about the Western Xia is rather limited. However, the Western Xia regime made one revision which was a huge move in the development of the cult of Kongzi. In 1146, the Western Xia emperor venerated Kongzi as an emperor, “the Emperor of Exalted Culture” (Wenxuan di 文宣帝).<sup>83</sup> Although the purposes and details of the elevation had been unclear, a lot of Confucian in later periods considered the Western Xia emperor made a bold action to boost the posthumous status of Kongzi.

## Conclusion

Although Kongzi did not have a successful political career during his life, he had been worshiped and venerated for generations after his death. His shrine which was first a family temple became the symbol of the transmission of the Way. Since the Tang dynasty, every

---

<sup>82</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Jin Shi*, 234.

<sup>83</sup> Tuo Tuo, ed., *Song Shi*, 14025.

state-sponsored school worshiped Kongzi. Every dynastic regime elevated Kongzi's posthumous status to demonstrate rulers' patronage to Kongzi's teaching. As we will see in the next chapter, the continuing elevation of Kongzi's posthumous status gradually developed into a paradox.

(#TODO: needs a better conclusion.)

## Chapter 2

### From King to Teacher

The Ming (1368-1644) and the Qing (1644-1911) were the last two regimes of the Chinese imperial era. The Ming, found by the Han people who were the ethnic majority of China, was chronologically sandwiched between two regimes founded by ethnic minorities, the Mongol Yuan and the Manchu Qing. In the traditional Chinese political and cultural contexts, the differences between the Han majority and ethnic minorities were the distinctions between Hua, the civilized and cultured, and the uncouth barbarians (*hua yi zhi bian* 華夷之辨). Kongzi was almost the first person in Chinese history to highlight these distinctions in his teachings. In the *Analects*, Kongzi praised Guang Zhong 管仲 (725-645 BCE) for protecting the civilization from invasions by barbarians,<sup>84</sup> strongly implying that ethnic minorities did not have the cultural authority and legitimacy to rule the Han people. This concept of Han ethnic cultural superiority was further consolidated by the Neo-Confucians since the Song times. As a result, when the Manchu conquered China and found a new dynasty, a lot of Han Confucians refused to serve the new ruler on grounds of his inferior ethnic and cultural identity. Some even committed suicide to mourn the death of the Han culture.<sup>85</sup> The *Dayi jue mi lu* 大義覺迷錄 (*Great Righteousness Resolving Confusion*) (#TODO: See ON-cho's revision) revealed the tension between the Han and the Manchu, highlighting anti-Manchu or anti-barbarian sentiments among Han people

---

<sup>84</sup> Guan Zhong was a significant politician of the State of Qi who coordinated an alliance of states under the leadership of Qi Huangong 齊桓公 (?-643 BCE), the ruler of the State of Qi, to defense invasions from nomads. Kongzi said, "If it were not for Guan Zhong, we would all be wearing our hair loose and fastening our garments on the left." (wei Guan Zhong, wu qi bei fa zuo ren yi 微管仲，吾其被髮左衽矣。 *Analects* 14:17) See Confucius, and Edward G. Slingerland. *Confucius Analects: With Selection from Traditional Commentaries*, 161.

<sup>85</sup> He Guanbiao 何冠彪, *Sheng yu si: Ming ji shidafu de jueze* 生與死：明季士大夫的選擇 [Live or death: the choices of scholar-officials during the late Ming](Taipei: Lianjing chubanse, 1997).

during the so-called High Qing period.<sup>86</sup> The anti-Manchu sentiment became a powerful propaganda weapon of the revolutionaries during the late Qing period.

Given such cultural preoccupations, one should expect Chinese Ming emperors to reinforce and utilize the cult of Kongzi as the symbol of Han culture while the Qing emperors, who were Manchus, should view the cult as an indictment of their legitimacy, both cultural and political. In fact, on the contrary, the Ming emperors, particularly the Hongwu emperor and the Jiajing emperor, saw the cult of Kongzi as threats to their authority and sovereignty.<sup>87</sup> In other words, in the minds of the two Ming emperors, the *daotong* 道統, “the lineage of the Way”, was antagonistic to the *zhitong* 治統, the legitimate transmission of governance. The rest of the Ming emperors were simply indifferent to the cult of Kongzi. On the other hand, the High Qing emperors, namely the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors, invented and reinvented rituals and traditions for the cult of Kongzi, which successfully integrated their legitimacy of governance with the cultural transmission of the orthodox Way. The Kangxi and Qianlong emperors visited the Qufu Temple ten times in total. The numbers of their Qufu visits exceeded the sum of visits by all emperors in Chinese history. Their successors followed these invented traditions. It turned out that the Manchu monarchs became, at least apparently, the strongest patrons of the cult of Kongzi in Chinese imperial history.

How to explain the difference in attitude toward the cult of Kongzi between the Ming and Qing emperors? In this chapter, I argue that the removal of all royal or noble titles from the enshrinements in 1530 by the Ming Jiajing emperor was the watershed in the development of

---

<sup>86</sup> Pamela Kyle Crossley, “The *Dayi Juemi Lu* 大義覺迷錄 and the Lost Yongzheng Philosophy of Identity,” *Crossroads - Studies on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World* 5, no. 0 (July 3, 2012): 63–80.

<sup>87</sup> Huang Chin-Shing, “The Cultural Politics of Autocracy: The Confucius Temple and Ming Despotism 1368-1530,” in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 267–296.

Kongzi's cult during the late imperial period. Since the Tang's court recognition of the worship of Kongzi as a state cult and institutionalized in every state-sponsored school in the seventh century, a paradox of Kongzi's ritual status had gradually developed. The continuing elevation of Kongzi's royal titles and the enshrined Confucians' titles of nobility made the idea of the transmission of the Way (*daotong*) subversive of imperial authority. The Ming emperors saw Kongzi's cult as a means for the official-scholars to limit and challenge the autocratic power of emperors. The Jiajing emperor removed all imperial and noble titles from Kongzi and the enshrined Confucians, thereby redefining Kongzi as a "teacher" whose influence benefited thousands of generations. The Jiajing revision paved the way for the Qing manipulation of the cult. The Qing emperors could utilize the cult as an ideological apparatus because they did not have the same concerns with the Ming emperors.

In the rest of this chapter, I will first examine the paradox of Kongzi's ritual status and other related ritual issues that had been gathering force before the Ming dynasty. Then I will account for the changes in the Kongzi cult during the Ming.

### **The Paradox of Kongzi's Ritual Status**

Since the Tang court ritualized the worship of Kongzi by instituting it in every state-sponsored school, a paradox revolving around his ritual status also emerged. As Thomas Wilson contends, "Because there was no classical precedent for a Kongzi cult, Tang ritualists devised a liturgy by gradually combining rites from ancient books with ritual precedents from later periods."<sup>88</sup> The Tang ritualists did not notice that their ritual invention was intrinsically

---

<sup>88</sup> Thomas Wilson, "Ritualizing Confucius/Kongzi: The Family and State Cults of the Sage of Culture in Imperial China." In *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 73.



controversial with regard to Kongzi's teaching. Thomas Wilson insightfully summarizes the differences in understanding among literati,

Much of the disagreement on Kongzi's ritual status hinged on questions of how and where to locate him in history. Should Kongzi be honored with titles, caps, and liturgies appropriate to someone of his station in his own day, or should these signs of honor be conferred within the context of his august status as teacher of the ten thousand generations?<sup>89</sup>

Wilson's summary is generally correct. However, he fails to pinpoint the paradox which was the reason for the Ming emperors' reluctance in engaging with Kongzi's cult. One core teaching of Kongzi was that the observance of proper rites (*li* 禮), and it was the essential foundation of an ideal Confucian society. Kongzi considered that everyone should observe the rites that were in accord with the rank and hierarchy of nobility and identity. In Kongz's own term, it was called "rectification of names" (*zhengming* 正名). The conversation between Kongzi and Zilu (Ji Lu's courtesy name), one of the Ten Savants, offers the guiding principle regarding *zhengming*.

Zilu asked, "If the Duke of Wei were to employ you to serve in the government of his state, what would be your first priority?" The Master answered, "It would, of course, be the rectification of names (*zhengming* 正名)." Zilu said, "Could you, Master, really be so far off the mark? Why worry about rectifying names?" The Master replied, "How boorish you are, Zilu! If names are not rectified, speech will not accord with reality; when speech does not accord with reality, things will not be successfully accomplished. When things are not successfully accomplished, ritual practice and music will fail to flourish; when ritual and music fail to flourish, punishments and penalties will miss the mark. And when punishments and penalties miss the mark, the common people will be at a loss as to what to do with themselves. This is why the gentleman only applies names that can be properly spoken and assures that what he says can be properly put into action. The gentleman

---

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 55.

simply guards against arbitrariness in his speech. That is all there is to it.” (*Analect*, 13:3)  
90

子路曰：「衛君待子而為政，子將奚先？」子曰：「必也正名乎！」子路曰：「有是哉，子之迂也！奚其正？」子曰：「野哉由也！君子於其所不知，蓋闕如也。名不正，則言不順；言不順，則事不成；事不成，則禮樂不興；禮樂不興，則刑罰不中；刑罰不中，則民無所措手足。故君子名之必可言也，言之必可行也。君子於其言，無所苟而已矣。」

In Kongzi’s perspective, rectification of names was the source of legitimacy. Performing the rites that were not in accord with one’s status was an act of ritual usurpation, and it might lead to conflicts and chaos. Kongzi condemned those rulers or nobles who did not observe their own rites. The most famous example of Kongzi’s anger toward improper ritual was recorded in Book Three of the *Analects*. The Ji 季 clan was a branch of the ruling family of the State of Lu. The clan had eight “rows of dancers” (yi 佾, each row consisted of eight dancers) performing in a sacrifice dedicated to their ancestors in front of the ancestral hall. According to the Zhou rites, only the Son of Heaven could have eight rows of dancers, while feudal lords six rows, ministers four rows, and officials two rows. The head of the Ji clan held the position of minister. They were allowed to have four rows. However, the Ji clan used eight rows of dancers in a family sacrifice which was an usurpation of the rites of the Zhou king. When Kongzi heard about this, he said, “If they can condone this, what are they not capable of?” (*shi ke ren, shu bu ke ren?* 是可忍，孰不可忍？)<sup>91</sup> (Ironically, Kongzi might not expect that later Confucians attempted numerous times to make eight rows of dancers a standard of the sacrifice dedicated to him. We will discuss this later in this chapter.)

---

<sup>90</sup> CAWTC, 140

<sup>91</sup> CAWTC, 17.

Sacrifices and worshiping deities were important rites during the Zhou dynasty. Kongzi's attitude toward gods, deities, ghosts, and afterworld was agnostic. In the *Analects*, Kongzi revealed his views about religious matters only on a few occasions. However, these few records became the guiding principles in the debates concerning proper veneration of Kongzi. The record that vividly describes Kongzi's view about the afterworld is, again, a conversation between him and Zilu.

Zilu asked about serving ghosts and spirits. The Master said, "You are not yet able to serve people—how could you be able to serve ghosts and spirits?" "May I inquire about death?" "You do not yet understand life—how could you possibly understand death?" (*Analects*, 11:12)<sup>92</sup>  
季路問事鬼神。子曰：「未能事人，焉能事鬼？」敢問死。曰：「未知生，焉知死？」

In Kongzi's opinions, it is more important for a person to know how to behave in a proper way when one is alive rather than knowing about the afterworld. How about gods, deities, and ghosts? Kongzi said, "To sacrifice to spirits that are not one's own is to be presumptuous." (*fei qi gui er ji zi, chan ye*. 非其鬼而祭之，諂也。)<sup>93</sup> "Respecting the ghosts and spirits while keeping them at a distance." (*jing guishen er yuan zhi*. 敬鬼神，而遠之。 *Analects* 6:22)<sup>94</sup> According to Kongzi, filial piety means that "when your parents are alive, serve them in accordance with the rites; when they pass away, bury them in accordance with the rites and sacrifice to them in accordance with the rites." (生事之以禮；死葬之以禮，祭之以禮。)<sup>95</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> CAWTC, 115.

<sup>93</sup> CAWTC, 16.

<sup>94</sup> CAWTC, 60.

<sup>95</sup> CAWTC, 9.

How were these guiding principles of *zhengming* controversial with regard to Kongzi's ritual status after the Tang dynasty? When Kongzi was alive, the highest position that he held was the Grand Minister of Justice (*da sikou* 大司寇) of the State of Lu. In other words, he was only a minor official of a feudal state. According to the principle of rectification of names, people should use the rite or sacrifice for a minor noble to worship Kongzi. However, when the Tang court decided to worship Kongzi in every state-sponsored school, it also gave the posthumous title of a king to Kongzi and different ranks of nobility to other enshrined Confucians. Throughout the Tang dynasty, or even during the early Song, royal and noble titles had not yet caused many debates. During the Southern Song dynasty, however, scholars of Neo-Confucianism paid more attention to the principle of rectification of names because of the fall of Northern Song and the confrontation with the Jurchen Jin. They began to ask questions about Kongzi's ritual status.

Confucian scholars were mainly divided into two groups concerning the debate of Kongzi's ritual status. The first group of scholars considered Kongzi's virtue and merits to be greatly influential to thousands of generation. Therefore, his posthumous status should not be limited by his social status before his death. Emperors and rulers should venerate him with the highest title; in other words, the title of a deceased "emperor." Members of this group always pushed the rulers to elevate Kongzi's posthumous title. As we will see in this chapter, Zhou Hongmo 周洪謨 (1420-1491) was a typical example during the mid-Ming period. Emperors and rulers were also concerned that this group of scholars might use Kongzi's cult to limit their autocratic power as they continued to push for the elevation of Kongzi's status. The second group of scholars insisted that the veneration of Kongzi should not contradict Kongzi's

teachings. Venerating Kongzi as a king and the enshrined Confucians as nobles might violate the principle of rectification of names, because their posthumous status was much higher than their actual social and official status when they were alive. However, most of these scholars would not suggest the removal of royal and noble titles. They mainly focused on how to restore the ancient rites (*gu li* 古禮) in the veneration of the sage and their association. Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381) was an example who emphasized the restoration of ancient rites in *shidian*. The literati of different eras suggested different ways to resolve the ritual paradox of Kongzi's cult. Less than a handful of scholars suggested removing Kongzi's title of royalty, including Wu Chen 吳沉 (?-1396), Xia Yin 夏寅 (1423-1488), and Qiu Jun 丘濬 (1423-1488). As we will see, the Jiajing emperor put their suggestions, which accorded with his political agenda, into practice. However, I have to emphasize that these scholars did not intend to subordinate Kongzi's cult to imperial authority.

Besides rectification of names, filial piety was another ritual issue in the enshrinement. Filial piety is an essential idea in Confucianism. Among the enshrined Confucians, there were several pairs of father-and-son, for example, Yan Hui and his father Yan Lu 顏路, and Zeng Can and his father Zeng Dian 曾點. Both the fathers and sons were Kongzi's disciples. When the enshrinements became more hierarchical during the Song dynasty, an issue related to filial piety emerged. Yan Hui and Zeng Can were two of the Four Correlates. Their statues or paintings were in the Hall of Great Completion next to Kongzi. The statues or paintings of Yan Lu and Zeng Dian were in the Two Coilists. The sons had a much higher ritual status and noble ranks than their fathers. During *shidian*, sacrifices were offered to the Four Correlates first, then the enshrined Confucians in the Two Coilists. The *Zuo Commentaries of the Spring and Autumn*

(*Zuo zhuan* 左傳) clearly states that “Although sons are equivalent to sages, they do not eat before their fathers have finished their meals.” (*zi sui qi sheng bu xian fu shi* 子雖齊聖，不先父食.)<sup>96</sup> The arrangement in the enshrinements clearly violated this principle of filial piety. Scholars had many proposals for resolving this ritual paradox. As we will see in this chapter, building an individual shrine for the fathers was the ultimate solution adopted by the Jiajing emperor in 1530.

### **The problems left by the Yuan (1271-1368)**

When Zhu Yuanzhang became the Hongwu emperor in 1368, he and his officials faced a lot of issues related to Kongzi’s cult that had been gathering force since the Tang dynasty. The first problem was the differences of the cult in different regions. The territory controlled by the Ming had been under the different regimes from the tenth century onward. From 938, the sixteen prefectures of Yan and Yun (*Yanyun shiliu zhou* 燕雲十六州), that is today’s Beijing and Tianjin areas, had been under the control of the Liao 遼 dynasty established by the Khitan nomads. Later, the Jurchens, another nomadic tribe, under the dynastic title of Jin 金 defeated the Liao and the Song and completely occupied the former Song territory north of the Yangzi River. The survivors of the Song set up a new court in Hangzhou. While the Jin controlled most of the former Song land in north China, there was a small regime Xixia 西夏, or Western Xia, established by an ethnic minority group Tangut, in nowadays’ Qinghai and Gansu provinces. In the early thirteenth century, the Mongols defeated both the Western Xia and the Jin, and started a prolonged war with the Southern Song. In 1271, the new Yuan dynasty was established. Kublai

---

<sup>96</sup> *Shisan Jing Zhushu* 十三經註疏 [the Thirteen Classics with commentaries](Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 18:137.

Khan (ch. 忽必烈) became the first Yuan emperor. He finally defeated the Southern Song regime in 1276 and ended nearly three centuries of political fragmentation.

Political separation and fragmentation led to cultural diversification. Although the Mongols unified China and ruled through the Yuan dynasty for more than ninety years before the Ming expelled them, cultural diversification still existed. The cult of Kongzi was institutionalized and practiced in varied ways under different regimes. The division of the Kongs in Qufu was the best example to show the impact of diversification. When the Jurchens occupied northern China in the early twelfth century, the Duke of Fulfilling the Sage in Qufu fled with the Song royal family to the south of Yangzi River. Thereafter, Qufu was under the rule of the Jurchen Jin and later the Mongol. The Jin and the Yuan, the two so-called “conquest dynasties”, supported the Kongs who remained in Qufu and gave them the official title of the Duke Fulfilling the Sage in order to maintain the Kong Temple there. The original Duke of Fulfilling the Sage who fled to the south with the Song court settled in Quzhou 衢州. He and his successors became the official inheritor of Kongzi’s bloodline in the Southern Song regime. The Kongs had there been divided into the northern and southern branches until Kublai Khan unified China. In 1282, the Kongs of the southern branch permanently gave up the candidacy of the Duke of Fulfilling the Sage. Ever since then, the Kongs who remained in Qufu became the official inheritor of Kongzi’s bloodline. If the Kongs, the center of the cult, had to experience division for more than a century, it was not difficult to imagine how diverse the institutions and rituals could be under different regimes.

The Yuan dynasty was the first regime established by non-Han people that successfully reunified China under one centralized government. In many traditional Han historical narratives,

Confucianism was severely discriminated by the Yuan court. But recent scholarship has modified this view and argued that Confucianism did in fact develop during Mongol rule.<sup>97</sup> The Yuan court itself also continued to venerate Kongzi and the other enshrined Confucians in the Temple of Culture. The most significant development of Kong's cult during the Yuan dynasty was the bestowal of a new posthumous title of Kongzi. In 1307, the newly enthroned Yuan Wuzong 元武宗 (b.1281, r. 1307-1311) venerated Kongzi with a new posthumous title, "the King of Great Completion, Supreme Sage, and Exalted Culture" (Dacheng zhisheng wenxuanwang 大成至聖文宣王). The term "*dacheng*" 大成 originated from Mengzi's praise of Kongzi. Mengzi compared Kongzi with other three sages in ancient time: Bo Yi 伯夷, Yi Yin 伊尹, and Hui of Liuxia 柳下惠. Mengzi praised the three sages for each having their own goodness, but Kongzi was like "a complete ensemble" (*ji dacheng* 集大成). Mengzi used a music concert as a metaphor here. Each of the three sages was like an individual music instrument which could only play one kind of sound. Kongzi was like an ensemble of different music instruments. In other words, Kongzi had the goodness of all sages.<sup>98</sup> Many Confucians in the ensuing periods approved of Yuan Wuzong's revision of Kongzi's posthumous title. For instance, Zhan Ruoshui 湛若水 (1466-1560), a Ming Confucian, said, "Since [the death of] Kongzi, many emperors had venerated him. However, none of them could compare with Yuan Wuzong. [The posthumous title] is perfect and comprehensive! It can be transmitted for ten thousand generations without

---

<sup>97</sup> One myth about the discrimination of Confucianism during the Yuan dynasty was the "ninth Confucians, and tenth beggars." ("jiu ru shi gai" 九儒十丐) According to the myth, the Mongolian court divided the society into ten ranks by occupations. Confucians were in the ninth rank which was just higher than beggars. This historical myth was widely spreaded in the twenty century by history textbooks. However, scholars have pointed out that the myth was fabricated based on unreliable resources. See Wang Xiaoxin, "Shuo jiu ru shi gai he rushi ruxue zai yuandai de diwei 說九儒十丐和儒士儒學在元代的地位," [Discussing "Confucians the ninth and beggars the tenth" and the status of Confucianism during the Yuan dynasty] *Lishi jiaoxue* 歷史教學, no. 6 (2010): 7-9.

<sup>98</sup> Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Sishu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集註 [the Four Books with a collection of commentaries] (Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 315.



any more elevation.” (自有孔子以來，帝皇之尊之者多矣，而未有如元武宗者。至矣，備矣，傳之萬世而無以有加矣。) <sup>99</sup>

Although the Yuan emperors, like their predecessors, continued to support the cult of Kongzi by conferring titles of respect, local temples of culture did not receive the same degree of respect from Mongol officials. In 1261, an edict from Khublai Khan stipulated that officials and commoners could not use Temples of Culture for purposes rather than worshiping Kongzi, and people were not allowed to trespass the temples. <sup>100</sup> However, people seemed not to take seriously this edict. In 1286, some teachers from the Jiangnan region stated that local officials used schools and temples as venues of banquets. Officials, with prostitutes as companions, had music concerts in local schools and temples. The court's response to these reports was to reaffirm the 1261 imperial edict, but no one was punished. <sup>101</sup>

### The Early Ming

The Hongwu emperor's attitude toward the cult of Kongzi was ambivalent and inconsistent. His policies also reflected a complicated situation caused by the paradox of Kongzi's ritual status during the founding period of the Ming dynasty. In 1370, he revised the titles of all deities in the official register of sacrifices (*sidian* 祀典) for the newly found dynasty. The state recognized the deities in the register, including deities of mountains and seas, city gods, specific historical figures, and Kongzi, as legitimate objects of worship. They enjoyed official

---

<sup>99</sup> Zhan Ruoshui 湛若水, *Gewu tong* 格物通 [Understanding the study of nature] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 414.

<sup>100</sup> *Miaoxue Dianli* 廟學典禮 [Compendium of rituals from temple schools] (Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1992), 12.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-42.

sacrifices offered by the court or local authorities.<sup>102</sup> As we mentioned above, since the Tang dynasty, emperors had been keen on honoring the natural deities of mountains and seas with titles of nobility and royalty, such as dukes, kings, or even emperors. The Hongwu emperor considered this practice to be inappropriate. He stated that deities of mountains and seas had existed since the beginning of the world. They received the mandate from Shangdi 上帝 (literally the High Lord). Honoring them with “titles of a state” (*guojia fenghao* 國家封號), in other words the title of nobility, was a profane practice that offended them. On the other hand, honoring deceased heroes, loyals and martyrs with titles that exceeded their status before their deaths was an arrogation (*jianyue* 僭越). As a result, all these honorable titles to deities should be removed. It was obvious that the Hongwu emperor adopted the principle of rectification of names as he understood it in revising the titles of deities. Yet, the Hongwu emperor made the cult of Kongzi an exception. He stated,

Only Kongzi elaborated the Way of the sage-kings and became the teacher whose teaching have benefitted later generations. Those [deities who] benefitted only a small place or a short period of time cannot match him. All his noble ranks should be appropriately retained.

惟孔子善明先王之要道，為天下師以濟後世，非有功於一方一時者可比。所有封爵，宜仍其舊。<sup>103</sup>

The above statement indicated that the Hongwu emperor considered that Kongzi’s merits to be universal and long-lasting. As a result, he retained all the titles of nobility and royalty that had been bestowed on Kongzi and the other enshrined Confucians by the rulers of the previous

---

<sup>102</sup> For a list of the deities in the Ming official register of sacrifices, see Li Yuan 李媛, *Mingdai guojia jisi zhidu yanjiu* [Study of the insitutions of the Ming state sacrifices] (Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2011), 235-310.

<sup>103</sup> *MSL* HW3/6/6.

dynasties. However, the cult of Kongzi was not given the status of universal worship (*tongsi* 通祀). Deities with the status of universal worship enjoyed regular sacrifices offered by officials in every dedicated temple empire-wide. In other words, unlike previous dynasties, the Ming court did not offer sacrifices to Kongzi in local schools or Temples of Culture during the early Hongwu reign.<sup>104</sup> Sacrifices to Kongzi were only allowed in the temple of the Imperial Academy and the Qufu Kong Temple. The emperor stated that the reason for not including Kongzi in universal worship is that the sage had argued against it. The Hongwu emperor conveyed the ancient sage's view in a elegiac prose,

Since the Han dynasty, the god (you) has been venerated with the status of universal worship empire-wide. I have replaced the previous kings to lead common people. When I read [your] books, I saw your instructions: "Offering a sacrifice to a ghost who is not your [ancestor] is a flattery"; "Respect gods and ghosts, but keep a distant"; "Worshipping them [gods and ghosts] with [the proper] ritual." Are these not the clear instructions from the sage? How can others argue against these? Therefore, [I] don't dare to [include you] in the universal worship. Thus, sacrifices will not be wasted, and your sagely virtue would not be impugned.

自漢之下，以神通祀海內。朕代前王統率庶民。目書檢點，忽覩神之訓言：「非其鬼而祭之，諂也」；「敬鬼神而遠之」；「祭之以禮」。此非聖賢明言，他何能道？故不敢通祀，暴殄天物，以累神之聖德。<sup>105</sup>

It is somewhat difficult to explain the Hongwu emperor's decision to not include Kongzi in the universal worship? Modern scholars have polarized opinions. Chu Hung-lam considers that the Hongwu emperor was sincere in worshiping Kongzi. He argues that the Hongwu emperor worried that local authorities might not perform *shidian* in a respectful and proper way

---

<sup>104</sup> In *MSL*, there was no record of an imperial order to remove Kongzi's status from the universal worship. The Hongwu emperor formally allowed local schools to offer sacrifices to Kongzi in 1382. In other words, before 1382, Kongzi was not in the status of universal worship. See *MSL* HW15/4/7.

<sup>105</sup> Xu Yikui 徐一夔, *Ming Jili* 明集禮 [collected rites of the Ming dynasty](Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 16:48a-b.

because a complete *shidian* required animal sacrifices and the performance of music and dance. (I will discuss the difficulties of performing a complete *shidian* during the Ming dynasty in the next chapter.) Therefore, he did not include Kongzi in the universal worship.<sup>106</sup>

Alternatively, Huang Chin-hsing regards the Hongwu emperor's decision as a desire to limit the authority of Kongzi's cult and to extend imperial autocracy. Huang connects the exclusion of Kongzi from the universal worship with the removal of Mengzi from the enshrinement. In 1372, the Hongwu emperor ordered the removal of Mengzi from the enshrinement after he had read the *Mencius*. It was said that the emperor was enraged by one sentence from the text: "When a ruler regards his ministers as dirt or weeds on ground, they regard him a bandit or an enemy." (君之視臣如土芥，則臣視君如寇讎).<sup>107</sup> Based on this evidence, Huang Chin-hsing sees the Hongwu emperor's decision as an expression of his desire to extent the autocratic power.<sup>108</sup>

Instead of taking sides in the debate over the Hongwu emperor's intention and sincerity, I would rather emphasize what the two scholars overlook. The emperor's argument for not including Kongzi in the status of universal worship was an manipulation of the paradox of Kongzi's ritual status. The Hongwu emperor used Kongzi's own words as the theoretical foundation for his own decision. His decisions in fact met strong objections. Qian Tang 錢塘 (1314-1394), one of the officials who protested against the removal of Mengzi from the enshrinement, stated in his memorial, "If I died for Meng Ke, my death would be an enduring

---

<sup>106</sup> Zhu Honglin, *Kongmiao congsi yu xiangyue* 孔廟從祀與鄉約 [Enshrinements in the Confucius temple and village compacts](Beijing: Sheng huo, du shu, xin zhi san lian shu dian, 2015), 81.

<sup>107</sup> Zhu Xi, *Sishu zhangju jizhu*, 289.

<sup>108</sup> Huang Chin-Shing, "Xiangzheng de kuozhang: Kongmiao sidian yu guojia lizhi 象徵的擴張：孔廟祀典與帝國禮制 [the symbolic expansion of the meaning and function of the rites of Confucian Temples in Imperial China]," *Bulletin of Institute of History and Philology*, 86:3 (September 2015), 488.

glory.” (臣為孟軻死，死有餘榮。)<sup>109</sup> Facing the strong objections, the Hongwu emperor gave up his decision on removal of Mengzi from the enshrinement. However, Kongzi did not attain the status of universal worship until 1382.

Did the Hongwu emperor’s decision truly follow the principle of rectification of names? The answer seemed to be “No”. The Hongwu emperor had ordered Song Lian 宋濂, a tutor (*siye* 司業) of the Imperial Academy, to study the proper rites and standard for worshiping Kongzi in the Imperial Academy. In 1371, Song Lian submitted a proposal which urged to revise the rituals based on ancient standards. He began his proposal with the following statement:

When people talk about rites, they all refer to Kongzi. Therefore, when [we] build a temple to worship him, should [we] not follow the ancient rites? Not following the ancient rites to worship Kongzi is disrespectful sacrifice. Disrespectful sacrifice is sacrilege. Sacrilege would not be blessed. Alas! People nowadays are different from people in ancient times.

世之言禮者，咸取法於孔子。然則為廟以祀之，其可不稽於古之禮乎。不以古之禮祀孔子，是褻祀也。褻祀不敬，不敬則無福。奈何今之人與古異也。<sup>110</sup>

What then were the ancient rites (*gu li* 古禮) in Song Lian’s opinions? He suggested the following<sup>111</sup>:

1. In ancient sacrifices, celebrants who offered sacrifices to deities had to face westward during the ceremony. The Ming rites followed the Tang model of 739. The

---

<sup>109</sup> Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, ed. *Ming shi* 明史 [the history of the Ming dynasty](Taipei: Ding wen shuju, 1980), 3982.

<sup>110</sup> Xu Xueju 徐學聚, *Guochao dianhui* 國朝典彙 [Compendium of the Ming laws and institutions](Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1965), 121:1b-2a.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 121:1b-4a.

representations of the sage faced southward and celebrants faced northward. In Song Lian's opinions, celebrants should follow the ancient rite to face westward.

2. In ancient times, people made wooden tablets to house gods or deities (*zao muzhu yi qi shen* 造木主以棲神). The Tang started to use clay statutes to represent Kongzi in 720.

The Ming followed this tradition. Song Lian saw clay statutes to be an inappropriate representation of the sage's spirit.

3. The wine, incense, and illuminators used in the Ming sacrifices did not follow the ancient rites.

4. In ancient times, meaning the pre-Qin period (before 221 BCE) in Song Lian's terms, every school had its own former teachers (*xianshi* 先師) and former sages (*xiansheng* 先聖). Scholars from a particular state only worshiped the former teachers and former sages from the state to which they belonged. They would not worship the former teachers and former sages of other states. For instance, in the schools of Zhou, scholars worshiped the Duke of Zhou, and in the schools of Lu, scholars worshiped Kongzi. In Song's opinions, Kongzi and the Four Correlates, who transmitted the Dao, should be worshiped in every school under the heaven. Kongzi's other students could be worshiped at the Imperial Academy.

5. Song Lian pointed out the paradox of observing filial piety among the enshrined Confucians, but he did not suggest any concrete solution.

At the end of Song Lian's proposal, he quoted Xiong He 熊禾 (1247-1312), a Yuan scholar. Xiong He had suggested that the transmission of the Dao originated from Fuxi 伏羲, and

followed by Huangdi 黃帝, Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹, King Tang 湯 of the Shang dynasty, King Wen 文 and King Wu 武 of the Zhou dynasty. Gao Tao 皋陶, Yi Yin 伊尹, Jiang Shang 姜尚, the Duke of Zhou 周公, Ji 暨, Ji 稷, Qi 契, Yi 夷, Yi 益, Fu Yue 傅說, and Qi Zi 箕子 were the officials of the sage kings previously mentioned. Both the sage-kings and the officials should be worshiped in the school of the Son of Heaven (*tianzi zhi xue* 天子之學), that is, the Imperial Academy. However, Kongzi was the one who spread the doctrines of the sage kings and carried forward the Dao (實兼祖述憲章之任). Therefore, Kongzi should be worshipped with the status of universal worship.<sup>112</sup>

The Hongwu emperor's response to Song Lian's proposal, again, was controversial. The emperor "disliked" (*shang bu xi* 上不喜) Song Lian's proposal, and he demoted Song Lian to the local magister of Anyuan 安遠, a remote county in the mountainous region of Jiangxi province. Existing historical evidence does not suggest which part of Song Lian's proposal the emperor disliked, but Song's suggestion of including Kongzi in the universal worship clearly contradicted the Hongwu emperor's decision.

In 1382, however, the Hongwu emperor changed his mind. In the first lunar month of that year, he ordered to replacing the statue of Kongzi with a spiritual tablet at the newly built Imperial Academy.<sup>113</sup> In the fourth lunar month, he ordered state-sponsored schools to perform *shidian* in the second and the eighth lunar months.<sup>114</sup> It meant that Kongzi was finally included in the universal worship again. The Hongwu emperor even offered sacrifice to Kongzi in person at the Imperial Academy.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> For Xiong He and his suggestions about the cult of Kongzi, see Zhu Honglin, *Kongmiao congsi yu xiangyue*, 24-83.

<sup>113</sup> *PGLYS*, 1:34b.

<sup>114</sup> *MSL* HW15/4/6.

<sup>115</sup> *MSL* HW15/5/17.

Concerning Hongwu's actions, two issues require further examination as they are closely related to our following discussion. Replacing statues with spiritual tablets was one of Song Lian's suggestions. Using paintings or statues to represent Kongzi in sacrifices had a long history which could be traced back to the Han dynasty. This tradition had not met serious objections until the Song dynasty. Confucians who opposed the use of paintings or statues to represent Kongzi usually held the following arguments. First, there was no way to know Kongzi's appearance. Paintings or statues of Kongzi were created based on the description of his appearance from texts. As Cheng Yi 程頤, a Song Neo-Confucian master, stated, "Images cannot be used in sacrifices. If an image is used, it should not differ from [the person it represents]. If [the person] had one more hair [in the image], he would be another person." (大凡影不可用祭，若用影祭，須無一毫差方可。若多一莖鬚，便是別人。)<sup>116</sup> The second argument was that paintings and statues were not components of ancient rites. Some Confucians even condemned that representing deities with statues was a Buddhist tradition.<sup>117</sup> As using paintings and statues to represent Kongzi and the enshrined Confucians was not a component of ancient rite, it created a lot of conflicts with other aspects of the sacrifice. For example, during the Song dynasty, a lot of Kongzi's statues were in a seating posture. However, according to ancient rites, ritual utensils filled with food should be placed on ground. Observing such an arrangement, Shu Shi 蘇軾

---

<sup>116</sup> Cheng Yi 程頤 and Cheng Hao 程灝. *Er Cheng yishu* 二程遺書 [Collected works of the Cheng's brothers] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 22:14b.

<sup>117</sup> Qiu Jun 丘濬. *Daxue yanyi bu* 大學衍義補 [Continuation of the extended meaning of the Great Learning] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 65:12a-b. Huang Chin-shing argues that both the Hongwu emperor and the Jiajing emperor did not like the statue because praying to a statue was a Mongolian tradition, see Huang Chin-shing, *Shengxian yu shengtu* 聖賢與聖徒 [Sages and Saints] (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2005), 241-242.



(1036-1101) made the very famous joke that Kongzi had to crawl before he could eat (*pufu jiu shi* 匍匐就食).<sup>118</sup>

The third reason, which was related to the principle of rectification of names, was the clothing of Kongzi in the paintings or on the statues. In 739, when Tang Xuanzong venerated Kongzi as a king, he also ordered that Kongzi in the paintings and statues should be dressed in the clothing of a king. The hierarchy of clothing in paintings or statues was represented by the numbers of *liu* 旒 (fringes of perils on crowns) in a formal hat and the numbers of *zhang* 章 in a formal costume. During the Tang dynasty, an emperor should have twelve *liu* and twelve *zhang* in regalia. For princes and kings, there were nine *liu* and nine *zhang*. Existing historical evidence does not mention how many *liu* and *zhang* Kongzi should have during the Tang. In the early Song, Kongzi had nine *liu* and nine *zhang*. In 1105, the Song court increased the numbers of *liu* to twelve. However, after the Jin controlled the north of Yangzi River, statues in local temples did not follow the same standard in the north and in the south. The Jin court elevated the numbers of *liu* and *zhang* to twelve. The Yuan and the Ming followed the Jin standard. In other words, during the Hongwu reign, Kongzi's statue was presented with the emperor's clothing, but Kongzi only had a posthumous title of a king. Song Lian's suggestion of replacing statues or paintings with tablets basically solved all the issues mentioned above. The Hongwu emperor finally adopted Song Lian's suggestion in the newly built Imperial Academy in Nanjing. Yet, Kongzi's statues and paintings in temples outside of the capital remained the same. Therefore,

---

<sup>118</sup> Su Shi 蘇軾. *Dongpo quanji* 東坡全集 [Complete work of Su Shi](Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 49:5b-6b.

the Jiajing emperor had to order all temples of culture empire-wide to replace statues with spiritual tablets in 1530.<sup>119</sup>

Besides housing spiritual tablets at the Imperial Academy, the Hongwu emperor's ceremony at the Imperial Academy is another issue to be further examined. According to the *Veritable Records*, the Hongwu emperor insisted on bowing two times instead of one time,

The Hongwu emperor told Liu Zhongzhi, the Minister of Rites, "the Imperial Academy is newly built. I will perform the *shicai* ceremony. I asked the Confucians to discuss the rites. Some of them said that although Kongzi was a sage, he was an official. The proper rite should be one libration and one bow. Kongzi elucidated virtues to teach the later generations. How he can be judged by his position? In the past, Zhou Taizu visited a Kongzi temple. When he was about to bow, his officials said, 'Kongzi was a minor official. It is not proper [for Your Majesty] to bow to him. Zhou Taizu said, '[Kongzi] was the teacher of emperors for a thousand generations. How can I not bow to him?' Then he bowed. I admired Zhou Taizu's decision. He was not confused by his officials. Now, I am the ruler of all under the heaven. I venerate the hundred deities as for the rite of veneration of the former teacher, it should appropriately be more respectful.

上謂禮部尚書劉仲質曰：國學新成，朕將釋菜。令諸儒議禮，議者曰：孔子雖聖人，臣也。禮宜一奠而再拜。朕以為孔子明道德以教後世，豈可以職位論哉。昔周太祖如孔子祠，將拜，左右曰：孔子陪臣，不宜拜。周太祖曰：百世帝王之師，敢不拜乎。遂再拜。朕深嘉其明斷，不惑於左右之言。今朕君天下，敬禮百神，於先師之禮，宜加尊崇。<sup>120</sup>

Finally, the Board of Rites decided that the emperor would have one libration and two bows. The image of the Hongwu emperor in this record was a humble ruler who sincerely venerated Kongzi. He honored Kongzi as a teacher. That was the reason that he cited the story of Zhou Taizu (b. 904 r. 951-954). It should be noted that the ceremony that the emperor performed

---

<sup>119</sup> Deborah Sommer has an in-depth study of the iconoclasm in the Confucian temple, see Deborah Sommer, "Destroying Confucius: Iconoclasm in the Confucian Temple," in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 95–132.

<sup>120</sup> MSL HW15/5/14.

was *shicai* which, was less formal than *shidian*.<sup>121</sup> It was the only time that the Hongwu emperor venerated Konzi in person. As we will see in next chapter, compared the Hongwu emperor, the Kongxi emperor of the Qing performed more formal and respectful rites to venerate Kongzi as different occasions.

The Ming emperors after inaugural emperor, except the Jiajing emperor, did not show much interest in Kongzi's cult. Besides performing *shidian* at least once during their reigns, the Ming emperors usually let the officials handle issues related to Kongzi's cult. Confucians' attempts to elevate Kongzi to the status of an emperor had not stopped, however, in 1453, Liu Xiang 劉翔 (?-?), a tutor of the Imperial Academy, suggested that the Jingtai emperor should elevate Kongzi's posthumous title to "emperor" and to increase the numbers of dancers performing in *shidian* to eight rows. Hu Ying 胡滢 (?-?), the Minister of Rites, rejected Liu Xiang's proposal. Hu Ying argued that Kongzi was born in Zhou dynasty. During the Zhou dynasty, there was no title of "emperor" (*di* 帝). Kongzi was a minor official when he was alive. He "must not receive a title that is virtualistically" (*bi bushou feili zhi cheng* 必不受非禮之稱). Kongzi condemned the Ji clan for having eight rows of dancers performing in family sacrifices as a improper rite. How could the court use eight rows of dancers to worship him? The court rejected thus Liu Xiang's proposal.<sup>122</sup>

During the fifteenth century, Zhou Hongmo 周洪謨 ([1420?]-1491, js.1455) was the scholar who was the most committed in trying to elevate Kongzi's posthumous status. In 1476, Zhou Hongmo, who was the libationer of the Imperial Academy (*guozijin jijiu* 國子監祭酒) at the time, submitted a memorial to elevate of Kongzi's posthumous status. Zhou argued that every

---

<sup>121</sup> For the difference between *shidian* and *shicai*, see Chapter One.

<sup>122</sup> MSL JT3/9/13.

previous regime had elevated Kongzi's status to demonstrate respect to him. In the eleventh century, Song Zhenzong had almost elevated Kongzi's posthumous title to "emperor." Some officials stopped Song Zhenzong by arguing that Kongzi was a minor official when he was alive, and the title "emperor" (*di* 帝) did not exist during the Zhou dynasty. Zhou Hongmo claimed that the "king" (*wang* 王) in Zhou dynasty was equivalent to the "emperor" in later dynasties. For those who thought Kongzi should not be venerated as an emperor because he was a minor official alive, Zhou Hongmo considered them to be people who "did not understand [the meaning] of ritual" (*buzhi li ye* 不知禮也). "[Some people] said Kongzi had been a minor official, therefore he should not be an emperor [in posthumous status]. That is not the true meaning of revering merits and repaying virtues." (*wei Kongzi peichen budang chengdi ze fei chonggong baod zhi yi* 謂孔子陪臣，不當稱帝，則非崇德報功之意矣。) Therefore, it would not be an issue if the Ming court turned Kongzi into an "emperor." However, Zhou Hongmo understood that it would not be easy to honor Kongzi with "emperor" as the posthumous title. In his memorial, Zhou Hongmo also suggested a backup plan. If the court decided not to give Kongzi the title of emperor, it should increase the numbers of ritual utensils from ten to twelve and the rows of dancers performing in the ceremony from six to eight. Also, the court should change the posthumous title of Kongzi from "the King of the Great Completion, Supreme Sage, and Exalted Culture" (*Dacheng zhisheng wenxuan wang* 大成至聖文宣王) to "the King of Sage Spirit, Fortune, and Exalted Culture" (*Shengshen guangyun wenxuan wang* 聖神廣運文宣王). Zhou Hongmo argued that since Kongzi's statue faced south(which was the orientation when an emperor met his officials), dressed in the clothing of an emperor, and wore the hat of an emperor,

the ritual utensils and the numbers of dancers should match the standard applied to an emperor.<sup>123</sup> For the new title “Shengshen guangyun 聖神廣運”, it comes from the *Book of Documents*. The original sentence is “the virtue of the *di* (emperor) was vast and incessant, saint and spiritual, and civil and martial.”(*dide guangyun, nai sheng nai shen, nai wen nai wu*. 帝德廣運，乃聖乃神，乃文乃武。 ) For a learned Chinese who had to memorize the *Book of Documents*, the title suggested by Zhou Hongmo obviously embedded the meaning of “emperor” in it. The intention of Zhou Hongmo’s backup plan was very clear. Even if the court did not elevate Kongzi’s posthumous title to “emperor”, the ritual status of Kongzi should connote that of an emperor.

The Board of Rites completely rejected Zhou Hongmo’s proposal. Zou Gan 鄒幹 (1409-1492), the Minister of Rites, argued that increasing the numbers of ritual utensils and rows of dancers did not increase the level of respect to Kongzi. In response to Zou Gan, Zhou Hongmo did not insist on changing Kongzi’s title. He changed his ground from “demonstrating more respect” to “rectifying names”. Zhou Hongmo emphasized that since the clothing of Kongzi’s statue and the number of music instruments used in the sacrifices dedicated Kongzi should follow the standard applied to the Son of Heaven, then if, the number of ritual utensils and the rows of dancers in the sacrifices should follow the standard applied to feudal lords (*zhuhou* 諸侯), this entire arrangement was “a ritual usurpation” (*qian* 僭). Zhou suggested to the court that the number of ritual utensils and rows of dancers be corrected so as to rectify the existing mistake. Zhou’s move had foresight. He understood that, on the one hand, the court could not completely ignore his suggestion, as he had pointed out the existing situation was a ritual usurpation, and on the other hand, the court could not rectify the name by downgrading

---

<sup>123</sup> MSL CH12/7/22.

Kongzi's ritual status which might lead to strong objections. As a result, the court did not have any other choice except elevating the number of ritual utensils and rows of dancers. As Zhou Hongmo expected, the court followed his suggestions.<sup>124</sup> At the time, in Temples of Culture empire-wide, Kongzi's statue was dressed in the emperor's garb, including an emperor's hat. As regards the sacrifice dedicated to Kongzi, the ritual standard followed was that applied to a deceased emperor. Although Kongzi's posthumous title remained that of a king, his ritual status had already become that of an emperor. Zhou Hongmo's success demonstrated the use "rectification of names" as a justification for promoting Kongzi's status. It was not difficult to imagine that other Confucians could use the same principle to ask the court to rectify Kongzi's status as an emperor because of his clothing and ritual utensils. However, the Great Rites Controversy in the early sixteenth century brought dramatic changes to Kongzi's cult as we shall see below.

### **The Jiajing Great Rites Controversy and Revision of the Kongzi Cult**

In 1530, the Jiajing emperor started a large-scale project to revise every aspect of state sacrifices. The cult of Kongzi was one of the Jiajing emperor's targets. The 1530 revision was the watershed in the development of Kongzi's cult in the late imperial period. However, it was a by-product of the Great Rites Controversy (*da li yi* 大禮議) of the early Jiajing reign. In order to fully understand the Jiajing emperor's decision to have a massive ritual revision in 1530, we should take note of the Great Rites Controversy that happened during the first few years of the Jiajing reign. It was the most impactful political event in the sixteenth century which reshaped

---

<sup>124</sup> MSL CH12/9/11.

the political culture of the Ming regime. In addition, the nature of the Great Rites Controversy was deeply related to the principle of rectification of names.

### **The Great Rites Controversy**

Zhu Houcong 朱厚熜, the Jiajing emperor, succeeded the Zhengde emperor as the twelfth emperor of the Ming dynasty in 1512, but he was not a son of the Zhengde emperor. The Zhengde emperor's sudden death in April 1512 occasioned a succession crisis in the Ming court. The Zhengde emperor was the only living son of the Hongzhi emperor. Confucian historians considered the Zhengde emperor as a worthless ruler. His life was occupied by risky adventures and licentiousness. Even the cause of his death was anomalous: He fell into water when he was learning how to cast a net on a boat as a game. His health rapidly deteriorated after the accident, and he died within a month. He was twenty-nine years old, and he had no child. In other words, there was no one to succeed the bloodline of the Hongzhi emperor. Empress Zhang, mother of the Zhengde emperor and wife of the Hongzhi emperor, and the grand secretariat led by Yang Tinghe 楊廷和 (1459-1529), the senior grand secretary, had to pick one of Zhengde's cousins to be the new emperor. A similar situation had only happened a handful of times in Chinese history. Finally, the decision was made and Zhu Houcong was chosen.<sup>125</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup> For the Zhengde emperor, see James Geiss, "The Leopard Quarter During the Cheng-Te Reign," *Ming Studies* 1987, no. 1 (January 1, 1987): 1–38. Carney Fisher has a monograph about the process of the Great Rite Controversy, see Carney Fisher, *The Chosen One: Succession and Adoption in the Court of Ming Shizong* (Sydney; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1990).



Figure 2. Succession of the mid-Ming emperors.

Although Zhu Houcong's father Zhu Youyuan 朱祐杭 (d. 1519) and the Hongzhi emperor were sons of the Chenghua emperor, they had been born of different mothers. Zhu Youyuan was appointed Prince Xing (Xing wang 興王) in 1487 when his father, the Chenghua emperor, was still alive, but he did not proceed to his estate at De'an 德安 prefecture, later renamed Anlu 安陸, until 1494. He died at his estate in 1519. The court bestowed on him the character "xian" 獻 as the posthumous designation. Therefore, his posthumous title was Prince Xian of Xing (興獻王). Zhu Youyuan had two sons, and Zhu Houcong was his only surviving son. When Zhu Houcong was chosen to be the new emperor, he was still in the mourning period of his father's death. Thirty-seven days after the death of the Zhengde emperor, Zhu Houcong arrived in Beijing and became the new ruler of the Ming empire.

It was mainly Yang Tinghe's idea to pick Zhu Houcong to be the new emperor. However, the honeymoon period between the Jiajing emperor and Yang Tinghe, and his colleagues did not last long. The emperor and the senior Grand Secretary had fundamental differences in their understanding of the succession. After the death of the Zhengde emperor, Yang Tinghe and his colleagues of the grand secretariat drafted an edict, in the name of the will of the Zhengde emperor, summoning Zhu Houcong to Beijing. The edict stated that the throne passed from the Zhengde emperor to Zhu Houcong because of the principle that "when the elder brother dies, the younger brother succeeds." (*xiong zhong di ji* 兄終弟及). From the new emperor's view, the



“elder brother” meant the Hongzhi emperor, and the “younger brother” was his father Prince Xian of Xing. Zhu Houcong considered that he was going to succeed the throne to continue the bloodline of his grandfather, the Chenghua emperor. However, Yang Tinghe and his colleagues expected the new emperor to continue the line of his uncle, the Hongzhi emperor. When they drafted the edict, they decided that the new emperor would succeed the throne in the name of “a younger brother” of the Zhengde emperor. In other words, Zhu Houcong would be an adopted son of the Hongzhi emperor.

Five days after he ascended to the throne, the Jiajing emperor asked the Grand Secretariat to draft a proposal to clarify his father posthumous status. After discussions, Mao Cheng 毛澄 (1461-1523), the Minister of Rites, insisted that the Jiajing emperor should use the posthumous designation “emperor’s deceased father” (*huangkao* 皇考) to venerate the Hongzhi emperor. For the Prince Xian of Xing, the Jiajing emperor should venerate him as “emperor’s deceased uncle, the Prince Xian of Xing” (*huang shu kao xing xian dawang* 皇叔考興獻大王). When the Jiajing emperor offered sacrifice to the Prince Xian of Xing, he had to claim himself as “nephew, the emperor” (*zhi huangdi* 侄皇帝). The mother of the Jiajing emperor, who was still alive at that time, would be bestowed the title of “the aunt, Princess-consort of Xing” (*huang shu mu xing xian dafei* 皇叔母興獻大妃). When the Jiajing emperor received the proposal, he exclaimed, “Can parents be changed so easily?”

Almost all officials in the central government support Mao Cheng’s proposal. Less than a handful of officials objected to Mao Cheng’s view. One of them was Zhang Cong 張聰 (1475-1539). In Zhang Cong’s opinions, the succession of the Jiajing emperor was “to continue the imperial transmission, not to continue [the Hongzhi emperor’s] bloodline” (*ji tong bu ji si* 繼

統不繼嗣). Zhang Cong submitted a memorial to suggest that the emperor should call the Prince of Xian of Xing as “the deceased father” and to build a temple in Beijing to venerate him. The Jiajing emperor ordered the hosting of court assemblies to discuss Zhang Cong’s memorial and asked the officials in Nanjing to join the discussion. However, most officials supported Mao Ceng’s proposal and condemned Zhang Cong. Under the mediation of Empress Dowager (the queen of the Hongzhi emperor), the Jiajing emperor, who did not have enough support, compromised. He venerated the Hongzhi emperor as “emperor’s deceased father” and Prince Xian of Xing as “emperor’s deceased natal father” (*bensheng kao* 本生考). Under the influence of Yang Tinghe, Zhang Cong was demoted to Nanjing as a punishment. The disputes between the Jiajing emperor and high ranking officials were temporarily settled.

However, the Jiajing emperor never gave up on the idea of venerating the Prince Xian of Xing as an deceased emperor. In 1523, a temple for the Prince Xian of Xing was built in Anlu. The emperor ordered that ceremonies in the temple should have eight rows of dancers (*bayi* 八佾) which was the standard of an emperor. More than one hundred official submitted memorials to objecting to this order, but they were not successful. In 1524, a new attempt to elevate the status of his natal parents started from Nanjing. Zhang Cong and Gui E 桂萼 (?-1531) submitted a memorial suggesting the removal of the word “natal” from Prince Xian of Xing’s posthumous title. This time around, the emperor had become much more stronger in his position and was prepared for a violent conflict in the Forbidden City.

During the Zhengde reign, officials kneeled and cried in front of the Left Gate of Smoothness (Zuo shun men 左順門) in the Forbidden City to demonstrate their disagreement with the Zhengde emperor’s military adventures in the northern frontiers. The Zhengde emperor

occasionally ordered imperial bodyguards “to beat officials with sticks in court” (*tingzhang* 廷杖). However, the popularity of the officials who received punishment increased rapidly afterward because of their bravery and loyalty. It became a popular way of demonstration during the Zhengde reign. On August 9 1527 (JJ6/7/3), some officials gathered at the Left Gate of Smoothness after the morning imperial audience. They decided to use the same way to stop the Jiajing emperor from removing the term “natal” from his parents’ titles. At the beginning, there were dozens of officials who kneeled and cried “long live the emperor!” (*wan sui* 萬歲) When the news spread, officials who had left the Forbidden City returned and joined the protest. Finally, two hundred and twenty-nine officials kneeled in front of the Left Gate of Smoothness. They even shouted out loudly the temple titles of the Hongwu emperor and the Hongzhi emperor. The Jiajing emperor heard the voice of the officials inside the inner palace. He sent a eunuch to persuade the officials to leave. However, none of them left. In the afternoon, the emperor ordered the eunuch to imprison eight officials, who were the leaders of the protest, and recorded all others’ names. The officials bursted into tears and banged on the doors of the Left Gate of Smoothness. The emperor became furious. He ordered imperial guards to arrest all the officials. The imperial guards arrested one hundred and thirty-four people on that day. In the next two days, all officials who had participated in the protest were arrested. Officials who were above the fourth rank were punished by suspension of salary, and those who were below that rank were beaten in court. Seventeen officials died because of the injuries from beating. This was the turning point of the Great Rites Controversy. After the incident at the Gate of Left Smoothness, objections to the emperor’s proposal diminished because officials were afraid of the brutality and revenge of the emperor. In the next few years, the Jiajing emperor, assisted by Zhang Cong,

elevated his father's posthumous status step-by-step. In 1538, he finally venerated his father as an emperor and housed his father's spiritual tablet in the temple of ancestors (*taimiao* 太廟).

The Great Rites Controversy, especially the 1527 incident at the Left Gate of Smoothness, completely changed the Ming political culture. After the Great Rite Controversy, the Jiajing emperor ordered the compilation of all related documents into a book, entitled *Minglun dadian* 明倫大典 (Great precedents for clarifying morality), published in 1529. It kept a clear record of who had supported the emperor and who had not.<sup>126</sup> Hu Jixun has traced the career of all the participants of the 1527 protest. His conclusion is that most of the participants did not have a successful career, compared to those who had similar backgrounds but did not join the protest. The Jiajing emperor simply did not forgive the officials who had disagreed with him. The Ming autocracy reached its peak after the Great Rites Controversy, as officials did not dare to disagree with the imperial authority.<sup>127</sup> Such development had a direct impact on the institution of the Temple of Culture.

### **The 1530 Revision of Kongzi's Cult**

Between 1527 to 1538, the Jiajing emperor and Zhang Cong revised every state sacrifice.

<sup>128</sup> In 1530, the emperor revised the institution of Kongzi's cult. The 1530 revision of Kongzi's cult considered of three major changes:

---

<sup>126</sup> Yang Yiqing 楊一清. *Minglun dadian* 明倫大典 [Great precedents for clarifying morality]. 1529 edition.

<sup>127</sup> Hu Jixun 胡吉勛. *Da li yi yu Mingting renshi bianju* 大禮議與明廷人事變局 [The Great Rites Controversy and the human relationship in the Ming court](Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2007).

<sup>128</sup> For revision of other state sacrifices, see Zhao Kesheng 趙克生, *Ming chao Jiajing shi qi guo jia ji li gai zhi* 明朝嘉靖時期國家祭禮改制 [Revisions of the state sacrifices during the Jiajing reign of the Ming Dynasty](Beijing Shi: She hui ke xue wen xian chu ban she, 2006).

1. Removing all titles of royalty and nobility from the enshrinement; Kongzi's posthumous title was changed to "Zhisheng xianshi" 至聖先師 (Supreme Sage, the First Master). All statues in the Temple would be replaced by spiritual tablets.
2. Adding new Confucians to, and withdrawing enshrined Confucians from, the secondary enshrinement;
3. Building a Shrine of Initiating the Sage (Qi sheng ci 啟聖祠) in every temple.<sup>129</sup>

The revisions were based on Zhang Cong's suggestions.<sup>130</sup> Zhang Cong's suggestions about the secondary enshrinement were in turn based on Cheng Minzheng's 程敏政 (1445-1499) ideas.<sup>131</sup> Scholars generally agree that, in the 1530 revision, the evaluation standard of the secondary enshrinement changed from "handing down the classics" (*chuanjing* 傳經) to "elucidating the Way" (*mingdao* 明道). As a result, exegete and commentators of classics were removed from the secondary enshrinement.<sup>132</sup> The political agenda behind the addition of the Shrine of Initiating the Sage was very clear. The Great Rites Controversy centered on the issue of filial piety. As a symbol of the state orthodoxy which was seen in every county and prefecture, the Temple of Culture also should present a view of filial piety that was politically correct.

Among the three major changes, the most significant one was the change in the posthumous titles of Kongzi and the enshrined Confucians. All titles of royalty and nobility were

<sup>129</sup> MSL, JJ9/11/15. For the details of the 1530 revision, see Huang, Chin-Shing. "The Cultural Politics of Autocracy: The Confucius Temple and Ming Despotism 1368–1530."; Wu Ching-fang 吳靜芳, "Ming Jiajingchao Kongmiao Sidian Gaizhi Kaoshi 明嘉靖朝孔廟祀典改制考析 [A Study on The Change of Confucius Ceremony in Jiajing Era of the Ming Dynasty]." *Cheng Kung Journal of Historical Studies* 31 (December 2006): 113–152.

<sup>130</sup> *Jiajing sidian kao* 嘉靖祀典考 [Study of the Jiajing Sacrificial Registrar](Ming edition), *juan* 5.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 5:9a-14b.

<sup>132</sup> Ho Wei-hsuan 何威萱, "Cong chuanji dao mingdao: Cheng Minzheng yu mingdai qianqi kongmiao congshi biao zhun de zhuanbian 從「傳經」到「明道」—程敏政與明代前期孔廟從祀標準的轉變 [From "academic achievement" to "moral conduct": Cheng Minzheng and the transformation of the criteria of the Confucian temple canonization in the early Ming]" *Historical Inquiry*, no. 56 (December 2015): 35–86.

removed. The new posthumous title for Kongzi was “Supreme Sage, the First Teacher”. The building was called “*miao* 廟” (temple). As the titles of royalty and nobility were removed, the number of ritual utensils was reduced from twelve to ten. The number of dancers in sacrifices was reduced from eight to six. In other words, Kongzi’s ritual status was downgraded.

Zhang Cong’s suggestion of changing Kongzi’s posthumous title was based on the arguments of the Ming Confucians who argued for the removal of Kongzi’s royal title. They included Wu Chen 吳沉 (?-1396), Xia Yin 夏寅 (1423-1488), and Qiu Jun 丘濬 (1423-1488).<sup>133</sup> The Jiajing emperor strongly supported this idea. He wrote, in person, an essay entitled “the Imperial Explanation for Correcting the Institution of Sacrifice to Kongzi” (*Yuzhi zheng kongzi sidian shuo* 御製正孔子祀典說). In the beginning of the piece, the Jiajing emperor clearly stated the ritual status of Kongzi,

I [see that] the teachings of Kongzi were the teachings of the great kings; his virtue was the virtue of the great kings; his merits were the merits of the great kings; his career was the career of the great kings. However, his status (or position) was not the the status (or position) of the great kings.

朕惟孔子之道，王者之道也；德，王者之德也；功，王者之功也；事，王者之事也。特其位也，非王者之位。<sup>134</sup>

The emperor explained that he received Zhang Cong’s proposal of revising of Kongzi’s cult, and he sent the proposal to court officials for further discussions. However, he had to clarify two most important issues. The two issues were Kongzi’s posthumous title (*hao* 號) and the clothing of Kongzi’s statue (*fuzhang* 服章). The Jiajing emperor emphasized that the Hongwu emperor

---

<sup>133</sup> *Jiajing sidian kao*, 5:1b-5a.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 5:9a.

inherited the transmission of the rulership from Fuxi, Shennong, Yao, and Xun,<sup>135</sup> and this transmission continued to his brother, the Zhengde emperor. He inherited the throne and the transmission of rulership. It was his duty to correct the mistakes in the state sacrifices.

The Jiajing emperor pointed out the paradox of Kongzi's ritual status. He contended that venerating Kongzi with the title of royalty was a mistake. The emperors of the previous dynasties who "loosely elevated Kongzi's title in the name of respect were de facto rebels and bandits [against Kongzi's teachings]" (漫加其號，雖曰尊崇，其實目為亂賊之徒。). He also expressed his opinions about some practices of the previous Ming emperors. In his opinion, the Hongwu emperor preserved Kongzi's title of royalty but he actually wanted his descendants to correct it. (特存其號，豈無望於後人哉) When the Yongle emperor moved the capital to Beijing, he did not destroy the old statues in the Imperial Academy because of mercy. The Chenghua emperor, grandfather of the Jiajing emperor, followed Zhou Hongmo's proposal to increase the number of ritual utensils and dancers. Therefore, the sacrifice dedicated to Kongzi was equivalent to the sacrifice dedicated to the Heaven. According to the Jiajing emperor, this went recklessly too far (*lue wuji* 略無忌). The Jiajing emperor believed that since Kongzi condemned the Ji clan for usurping the rite of the Son of Heaven, he absolutely would not enjoy the sacrifice dedicated to Heaven. The Jiajing emperor considered venerating Kongzi with a royal title as damaging to his virtue. He emphasized that Kongzi only had the virtue of the sage kings but not their position (*wei* 位).

There were great kings with the virtue [of Kongzi], like Yao and Xun. There were worthless kings without the virtue, like Jie, Zhou, You, and Li.<sup>136</sup> The rulers of later

---

<sup>135</sup> They were the sage-kings in the ancient period.

<sup>136</sup> Jie, Zhou, You, and Li were the tyrants of the Three Dynasties.

dynasties had not completely matched the virtue of Kongzi until the Hongwu emperor. Although the Hongwu emperor adopted the Way of Kongzi, his brilliance and merits were equivalent to Yao and Xun. Kongzi might not be able to compare to him. From this perspective, the title of “king” should not be used as a bogus appellation, and a king should not pretend to be virtuous. Venerating a bogus title is an usurpation. Pretending to be virtuous means the virtue is not perfect.

王者以有其德宜居是位，堯舜是也。無其德而居是位者，昏亂之君，如桀、紂、幽、厲是也。若至於後世之為君，而居王者之位者，其德於孔子，或二肖三之，十百肖之，未有能與之齊也。至我太祖高皇帝，雖道用孔子之道，而聖仁神智，武功文德，直與堯、舜並矣。恐有非孔子所可擬也。由是觀之，王者之名，不宜偽稱，王者之德，不容偽為。偽稱者，近於僭亂；偽為者，其實有未盡之也。<sup>137</sup>

As for the garment, the Jiajing emperor again argued that it should accord with Kongzi’s posthumous status. (至於服章之加，因其位耳。) If Kongzi did not have a kingly title, he should not be dressed like a king.<sup>138</sup>

When Zhang Cong’s proposal was sent to the officials for further discussions, it caused widespread objections. Li Guan 黎貫 (*jinshi* 1517), a censor, drafted a memorial which was signed by a lot of officials in the capital. The memorial compared the veneration of Kongzi with the veneration of the ancestors of the Hongwu emperor. He pointed out that the Hongwu emperor venerated his four generations of ancestors as deceased emperors. These ancestors of the Zhu family did not have the emperor status while living. By the same token, Xu Da 徐達 ([1332]-1385), the most important Ming general during the founding period, did not have a king title while living. The Hongwu emperor nevertheless venerated him as a king after his death. Even the ancestors of Xu Da were venerated as deceased kings.<sup>139</sup> In Li Guan’s opinions, if

---

<sup>137</sup> *Jiajing sidian kao*, 5:18b-19a.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> *MSL*, JJ9/11/9.



Kongzi's posthumous title should not be a king because he was not while living, then all these Ming ancestors should be the same.

The Jiajing emperor was furious when he received Li Guan's memorial because he thought that Li Guan mocked his veneration of his father, the Xingxian emperor, who was not an emperor while living. He ordered the arrest of Li Guan and others. At this time, Wang Hong 汪鉉 (?-1536), the chief-censor (*duyushi* 都御史), submitted a memorial to support the emperor's decision. Wang Hong argued, "If Kongzi was a former sage or former teacher, when the emperor visits the Imperial Academy, the emperor can bow to Kongzi. If Kongzi was a king, how can the Son of Heaven bow to a king!" (夫曰先聖先師，皇上幸太學，拜之可也。若曰王，則豈有天子而可以拜王者哉！)<sup>140</sup> The Jiajing emperor agreed with Wang Hong's argument. After interrogations, the Board of Law decided that the punishment for Li Guan and the co-signatories of his memorial was beating. They could atone for their offences by paying money and return to their office. However, the Jiajing emperor was not satisfied with the punishment. He ordered that Li Guan be removed from office permanently.<sup>141</sup> At this point, the Jiajing emperor rejected all objections to the revision.

## Conclusion

The 1530 revision was the watershed in the development of Kongzi's cult in the late imperial period. The Jiajing emperor changed Kongzi's ritual status from a king to a teacher. This significant revision was to remain unchanged. When the Manchus entered China, Kongzi's

---

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

ritual status had been a “teacher” for more than a hundred years. It served as the foundation of the Qing manipulation of Kongzi’s cult.

## Chapter 3

### The Late Ming Ritual Manuals

The Jiajing emperor's revision of Kongzi's cult not only brought great changes to the institutions of the Temple of Culture, but it also awoke the awareness of Confucians toward the Temple of Culture. In this chapter, I will focus on the late Ming ritual manuals related to the Temple. These texts offer a wealth of information on the general settings of the Temple, biographies of the enshrined Confucians, procedures of the central sacrificial ceremony of *shidian* (釋奠), and the music and dance that were performed during the ceremony. In theory, the court was supposed to send instructions to the local temples for the purpose of standardizing the rituals and settings of the temple. However, beginning in the sixteenth century, for a variety of reasons that shall be addressed below, literati in different localities, with the local agendas in mind, began to compile and publish these ritual manuals themselves, and before long, they became a flourishing genre of writings. Indeed, a plethora of versions of these manuals composed by the local literati in the long period between the early seventeenth century and the early twentieth century are extant and available. They usually followed the same format that the late Ming ritual manuals adopted. Scholars today employ these ritual manuals as crucial primary sources for studying specific aspects of the state sacrifices. For instance, Nicolas Standaert reconstructs the ritual dances in state sacrifices by comparing the different choreographies recorded in the manuals.<sup>142</sup> Joseph Lam scrutinizes the music played and performed in the state

---

<sup>142</sup> Nicolas Standaert, "Ritual Dances and Their Visual Representations in the Ming and the Qing," *The East Asian Library Journal* 12. 1(2006):68–181.

sacrifices by examining the scores and lyrics found in the manuals.<sup>143</sup> Plumbing and using the copious data from the ritual manuals, Standaert and Lam were able to restore a relatively full and vivid picture of the original sacrificial music and dances. My purposes are different. Instead of using these compilations to piece together the actual physical details of the rites and ceremonies, to the extent that my work seeks to reveal the local agency of literati, I am far more concerned with unpacking the individual authors' agenda and motivation for composing and publishing the ritual manuals, and their impacts on the continual production of the genre.

The chapter has a bipartite structure. In the first part, I will examine the causes and factors that contributed to the burgeoning of the ritual manuals in the early seventeenth century. In the second part, I will introduce and compare three seminal pieces of the genre: the *Kongmiao liyue kao* 孔廟禮樂考 (*Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple*, published in 1607) by Qu Jiusi 瞿九思 (1543-1614),<sup>144</sup> the *Pangong liyueshu* 類宮禮樂疏 (*Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local School*, published in 1617) by 李之藻 (?-1630),<sup>145</sup> and the *Dacheng liyue ji* 大成禮樂集 (*Collection of the Rites and Music of the Great Completion*, published in 1623) by Shi Jishi 史記事 (?).<sup>146</sup> These three texts were published within the first twenty years of the seventeenth century, establishing the basic format and structure of the genre. I will first investigate each author's goals and purposes for assembling the manuals, followed by comparisons of their contents.

---

<sup>143</sup> Joseph Sui Ching Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music in Ming China: Orthodoxy, Creativity, and Expressiveness* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998); Joseph Sui Ching Lam, "The Yin and Yang of Chinese Music Historiography: The Case of Confucian Ceremonial Music," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 27 (January 1, 1995): 34-51; Joseph Sui Ching Lam, "Musical Confucianism: The Case of 'Jikong Yuewu,'" in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 134-175.

<sup>144</sup> Qu Jiusi, *Kongmiao liyue kao* 孔廟禮樂考 (Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1996).

<sup>145</sup> Li Zhizao, *Pangong li yue shu* 類宮禮樂疏 (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1970).

<sup>146</sup> Shi Jishi, *Dacheng Liyue Ji* 大成禮樂集, Tianqi reign woodblock edition., n.d.

### Daoist monopoly of Temple ritual matters

Let it be stated that my main contention in this chapter is that the flourishing of the ritual manuals in the early seventeenth century was a reflection of the Ming court's relative inattention to the cult of Kongzi at the local level, which was the precondition that in turn encouraged and made possible the local production of these texts. Setting aside for the moment the reasons for this phenomenon, it is most important to bear in mind that in the first half of the Ming dynasty, it was the Daoist priests who monopolized the practical ritual knowledge that was required to perform a proper *shidian* 釋奠, the sacrificial ceremony dedicated to Kongzi. Consequently and paradoxically, Confucians became outsiders in the world of Confucian rituals. But as the imperial grip on ritual matters loosened, at least as far as those at the local level were concerned, the Confucian scholars took advantage of the circumstance and sought to regain their authority over rituals by compiling the germane texts. It is helpful here to take a brief look at history of the performance of the *shidian* in the Ming. The conventional impression or even understanding is that the *shidian*, a sacrificial ceremony dedicated to Kongzi, was a Confucian ritual,<sup>147</sup> and the participants in the ceremony were assumed to be Confucians. However, the fact of the matter was that from 1368 to 1743, Daoist priests played a major role in the supposedly Confucian cult. Unfortunately, scholars of Chinese religions and rituals have largely overlooked this syncretic confluence of Daoism and Confucianism. In his aforementioned study of the ritual dances in state sacrifices, Standaert alludes to the Daoist domination in his investigation of the history of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (Taichang si 太常寺) and, its subordinate office, the Office of

---

<sup>147</sup> For a thoroughful study of *shidian* from Kongzi's death to the end of imperial period, see Xining Dong, *Kongmiao Jisi Yanjiu*.

Sacrificial Music (Shenyue guan 神樂觀), the two offices responsible for hosting state sacrifices and performing sacrificial music and dances in the Ming and early Qing.<sup>148</sup> Liu Yonghua 劉永華, on the other hand, has given us a focused study on the influential roles of Daoist priests in the Confucian rituals and state sacrifices. He informs us that it was the Daoist priests who occupied most of the positions in the Office of Sacrificial Music, and through regular promotions, they also came to control the important positions in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. Although there were indeed occasional protests from the Confucian scholar-officials opposing and lambasting the leading roles of Daoist priests in state sacrifices, the Daoists' custodianship of the Confucian rituals did not quite end until 1743.<sup>149</sup> Based on the works of Standaert and Liu while complementing them, I will address the following questions: Why and how did Daoist priests control the authority of *shidian*? Why could the Ming Confucians not perform the ritual without the assistance of the Daoist priests? What obstacles were the Ming Confucians facing and what were their shortcomings? How did they attempt to break the tie between the *shidian* ritual and Daoist priests? And, how did these issues contribute to the blooming of ritual manuals in the early seventeenth century?

During the Ming dynasty, the Court of Imperial Sacrifices was responsible for state sacrifices, organizing, rehearsing, and hosting the requisite rites,<sup>150</sup> while the *yuewusheng* 樂舞生, masters of music and dance from the Imperial Music Office, a subordinate office of the Court

---

<sup>148</sup> Standaert, "Ritual Dances and Their Visual Representations in the Ming and the Qing," 69–83.

<sup>149</sup> Yonghua Liu, "Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices in Late Imperial China: The Case of the Imperial Music Office (Shenyue Guan), 1379–1743," *Late Imperial China* 33, no. 1 (June 29, 2012): 55–88; For Chinese version, see Yonghua Liu, "Mingqing shiqi de shenyue guan yu wangchao liyi: daojiao yu wangchao liyi hudong de yi ge cemiao," *Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu*, no. 03 (2008): 32–42.

<sup>150</sup> By state sacrifices, I mean regular sacrifices dedicated to the Heaven, Earth, and other deities in Ming official religion. See Romeyn Taylor, "Official Religion in the Ming," in *The Cambridge History of China. Volume 8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644. Part 2*, 1st ed., 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 840–892.

of Imperial Sacrifices, specialized in the music, singing, and dancing in the sacrificial ceremonies. Most of the officials in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, including the *yuewusheng*, were Daoist priests. Thus, contrary to general beliefs, Daoist practitioners, instead of Confucian literati, monopolized the knowledge of rituals, music, and dance in all of the state sacrifices, including the *shidian* rite that specifically honored Kongzi. The Court of Imperial Sacrifices had a long history that dated back to the Han dynasty. Although the title of the office had gone through minor changes in different dynasties, the office was always the one that was responsible for hosting state sacrifices.<sup>151</sup> The Ming bureaucracy was no exception to this tradition. However, the Imperial Music Office was a new institution established by the Hongwu emperor. When the Hongwu emperor was still the King of Wu 吳王, he paid close attention to the music components in the state rituals. He asked Zhu Sheng 朱升 (1299-1370), an erudite Confucian scholar, to lead a group of handsome and smart children in practicing the music and dance for the purpose of performing sacrificial rituals. One day, the Hongwu emperor decided to test Zhu and his *yuewusheng*. Much to the disappointment of the emperor, when he played a stone chime, Zhu could not recognize the correct scale of tone. The emperor was equally dissatisfied with the *yuewusheng*. After hearing their singing, he bitterly concluded, “The Confucian scholars nowadays barely have any knowledge of music. As for searching for the harmony of music, how difficult it is!”(近世儒者鮮知音律之學)<sup>152</sup> Even though he came from the lowest stratum of society, the Hongwu emperor considered himself to be someone with a better understanding of music than those well-educated Confucians. This might be the major reason that he later did not entrust Confucians with the task of taking charge of music and dancing in state sacrifices. One

---

<sup>151</sup> Wang Lijing 王丽静, “Mingdai tachangsi yanjiu 明代太常寺研究 [A study of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices during the Ming Dynasty]” (Master Thesis, Dongbei shifan daxue, 2015), 6–10.

<sup>152</sup> MSL W1/7/1.

month after the evaluation, the Hongwu emperor appointed Leng Qian 冷謙, a Daoist priest, to revise the music scores used in sacrificial ceremonies.<sup>153</sup> Two months later, the emperor did another evaluation to examine the music used in state temples. Afterwards, the emperor again asked Leng Qian to tune the scale of musical instruments used in the state temples.<sup>154</sup> Thus, even before the official founding of the Ming, the Daoist monks had already played important roles in state sacrifices.<sup>155</sup>

However, early in his reign, the emperor still considered venerations of Kongzi to be the duty and domain of the Confucians. In the fourth year of the Hongwu reign (1371), the Board of Rites standardized the ritual utensils used in the *shidian* rite. The Board also suggested selecting some residents in the capital to take up the position of *yuewusheng* for the performance of the *shidian* rite. The Hongwu Emperor rejected the suggestion and ordered, “Dance and music are the matters of Confucians, let alone the *shidian*. Therefore, for venerating the Former Teacher [i.e., Kongzi], it is better to select students from the Imperial Academy and the children of officials and nobles. [They] should be trained and rehearse in the Imperial Academy.”<sup>156</sup> In 1373, a group of scholar-officials, led by Le Zhaofeng 樂韶鳳 (?-?), submitted for imperial approval the new music scores and lyrics for use in the *shidian*.<sup>157</sup>

The establishment of the Imperial Music Office in 1379 marked a shift in the Hongwu emperor’s attitude toward state sacrifices. According to the *Ming Veritable Records*, “the emperor thought that the Daoists devoted attention to non-action and purity (*wuwei qingjing* 無

---

<sup>153</sup> *MSL*, W1/8/10.

<sup>154</sup> *MSL*, W1/10/15.

<sup>155</sup> For the influence of different Daoist sects, see Liu, “Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices in Late Imperial China,” 62–68.

<sup>156</sup> *MSL*, HW4/12/4.

<sup>157</sup> *MSL*, HW6/8/2.



為清淨), and so he appointed them to take part in sacrifices.”<sup>158</sup> As Liu Yonghua points out, “the internal state of mind is crucial in the performance of not only Daoist rituals but also Confucian rituals, and Zhu Yuanzhang may have thought that Daoist priests by profession were the most appropriate to participate in the imperial sacrifices.”<sup>159</sup> The Daoist *yuewusheng* were thus assembled and appointed, and they resided in the newly built Daoist hall (*guan* 觀). Zhou Xuanchu 周玄初(?-?) was appointed to be the head of the Imperial Music Office.<sup>160</sup> Different from other Daoist halls established by the state, the court allowed the Daoist priests in the Imperial Music Offices to recruit disciples (*tudi* 徒弟).<sup>161</sup> After the establishment of the Imperial Music Office, Daoist priests became the only source of *yuewusheng*. When there were *yuewusheng* vacancies, the Office usually recruited young and healthy Daoist priests from temples in Beijing and Nanjing.<sup>162</sup>

In the early Hongwu period, the total number of *yuewusheng* was 600 in Nanjing, the capital at that time. When the Yongle emperor moved the capital to Beijing, there were around 500 *yuewusheng* in Beijing, and 350 remained in Nanjing. However, a hundred years later, during the Jiajing period, there were 2,200 *yuewusheng* in Beijing. Although the court attempted to cut the numbers down, it consistently stayed around 1,200 until the end of the Ming dynasty. *Yuewusheng* also became the only initial position through which to obtain higher ranked offices, not only in the Imperial Music Office but also the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. There were at least four directors of the Board of Rites (*libu shangshu* 禮部尚書) who started their careers as a

---

<sup>158</sup> *MSL*, HW12/2/11; The citation is Liu Yonghua’s translation, see Liu, “Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices in Late Imperial China,” 59.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> *MSL*, HW12/12/1.

<sup>161</sup> *DMHD*, 2980.

<sup>162</sup> *MSL*, XD3/6/16; JT7/6/3; CH21/8/13; ZD3/1/22.

*yuewusheng* in the Imperial Music Office.<sup>163</sup> The Imperial Music Office was not only responsible for state sacrifices in the two capitals, Beijing and Nanjing, but also empire-wide.<sup>164</sup> The Hongwu emperor chose a hybrid political structure that consisted of a centralized meritocratic government and feudal clans. He appointed his sons to be feudal lords (*fanwang* 藩王) who were planted in different spots around the empire. The major purpose of setting up the feudal clans was to prevent rebellions and to control strategic outposts. In addition to military duties, the feudal lords were also responsible for state sacrifices in their localities. They performed sacrifices to the imperial ancestors, *sheji* 社稷, wind, cloud, lightning, rain, mountains, and rivers in their domains.<sup>165</sup> In these ceremonies, *yuewusheng* played music, sang, and danced. During the Hongwu reign, the Offices of the Feudal Lords (*fanwang fu* 藩王府) selected the *shengyuan* 生員, students from the local state-sponsored Confucian schools (*ruxue* 儒學), to serve as *yuewusheng*. The Imperial Music Office regularly sent the Daoist *yuewusheng* out to the feudal clans to deliver training to the selected *shengyuan*.<sup>166</sup> In so doing, the Imperial Music Office could standardize the rituals, music, and dances performed in local sacrifices.

However, the practice of selecting *shengyuan* to be *yuewusheng* did not last long. In 1429, Wang Lai 王來 (?-?), a teacher of the state-sponsored school in Xinjian 新建 county of Jiangxi province, asked the court to stop selecting students from local schools to fill *yuewusheng*

---

<sup>163</sup> For the numbers of *yuewusheng* in different periods, see *DMHD*, 2981; Standaert, “Ritual Dances and Their Visual Representations in the Ming and the Qing,” 82; For the institutional promotion in Shenyue guan and Taichang si, see Liu, “Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices in Late Imperial China,” 60–61; Li Yaping, “Mingdai shenyue guan yanjiu 明代神乐观研究 [A study of the Office of Sacrificial Music in the Ming Dynasty]” (Master Thesis, Heilongjiang daxue, 2015), 31–40.

<sup>164</sup> Dong Xining considers employing Daoist priests in state sacrifices was a temporary measure, and the local governments just followed the model of the court. See Dong Xining, *Kongmiao Jisi Yanjiu*, 335.

<sup>165</sup> *DMHD*, 976–977.

<sup>166</sup> *MSL* HW17/9/22; For the study of *shengyuan*, see Chen Baoliang 陈宝良, *Mingdai ruxue shengyuan yu difang shehui* 明代儒学生员与地方社会 [Students from the local state-sponsored Confucian schools and local society in the Ming Dynasty] (Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005).

positions. He complained that the *shengyuan* were wasting several months of time each year on rehearsals, negatively affecting studies. Wang suggested that Daoist priests from local temples replace the *shengyuan* as *yuewusheng*. The court accepted Wang's suggestion and ordered the Board of Rites to do so. If there were not enough Daoist priests in the area, the Offices of the Feudal Lords should recruit soldiers to fill vacancies.<sup>167</sup> It is not difficult to understand the rationale behind Wang Lai's proposal. Xinjian county was the fief of King Ning (Ning wang 寧王), and so the *shengyuan* in the area were asked to participate in several sacrificial ceremonies annually. But as their most important task was to prepare for the imperial examinations and obtained good results, sacrificial ceremonies might seem to be a waste of time. Their examination results also had a direct impact on the career of their teachers, in this case, the petitioner Wang Lai. Two months after the court accepted Wang Lai's request, five feudal lords left Beijing for their fiefs. The Board of Rites reinstated the practice of letting the feudal lords pick five *yuewusheng* from the Imperial Music Office to assist them in local sacrifices. When they arrived at their fiefs, they should select *yuewusheng* from among the Daoist priests in nearby regions.<sup>168</sup>

The change during the Xuande period ushered in the Daoist monopoly of state sacrifices not only in the two capitals but also empire-wide. It is no exaggeration to say categorically that the state sacrifices of the Ming empire, both at the central and local levels, were controlled by the Daoist priests, by virtue of their domination of the institutions of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and the Imperial Music Office.

---

<sup>167</sup> *MSL*, XD4/3/24.

<sup>168</sup> *MSL*, XD4/5/14.

## Criticisms from the Confucian literati and Their Weaknesses

As Joseph Lam points out, “The Confucian scholar-officials in the Ming court were always dissatisfied with the music and the Daoist monk/musicians”, and “the rivalry between the Confucians and Daoists became a distinctive element in the history of state sacrificial music in the Ming court.”<sup>169</sup> The Confucians’ dissatisfaction was not limited to the realm of music; they were particularly disturbed by the presence of Daoist priests in sacrifices, especially the *shidian* rite. Tian Yiheng’s 田藝衡 (1524 - ?) criticism and lament reflected the typical views of the Confucian literati:

Regarding our dynasty’s sacrificial ceremonies, those who host rituals are Daoist monks from the Court of Imperial Sacrifice, and those who play music are Daoist monks from the Imperial Music Office; both are heterodoxy (*yiduan* 異端). Why then would the heavenly deities participate [in the ceremony]? In the prefectures, departments, and counties, music is played by the Daoist monks while our Confucians attended the ceremony. The [teachings of the] sages and heterodoxy are mutually antagonistic. Confucians must exterminate [heterodoxy]. How could they willingly come to enjoy it?

我朝祭祀，贊禮者，太常寺之道士，奏樂者，神樂觀之道士，皆異端也。天神何為而格哉？至于府州縣，則樂奏於道士，相禮者乃吾儒也。聖賢與異端正相攻擊，而諸儒在所必誅者，安肯復來享乎？<sup>170</sup>

In Tian Yiheng’s view, since Daoism was a heterodoxy (*yiduan* 異端), deities would not want to be a part of the sacrifices offered by the heretics. For him, the most outrageous violation occurred with the local *shidian*, which was the ritual of offering sacrifices to Kongzi and the enshrined Confucians in the Temple of Culture. Tian Yiheng pointed out that some of the enshrined Confucians had severely attacked Daoism and Buddhism as heterodoxies when they

---

<sup>169</sup> Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music in Ming China*, 52.

<sup>170</sup> Tian Yiheng 田藝衡, *Liuqing rizha* 留青日札 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), 28:519.

were alive. But in the local state sacrifices, the Confucian literati who offered sacrifices were accompanied by music played by Daoist monks. Tian wondered how the sages who had criticized Daoism could have possibly enjoyed a feast served by the opponents of beliefs and values? Lang Ying 郎瑛 (1487-1566) expressed similar sentiments in his work. He said, “Now, the music is played by people from the Office of Sacrificial Music. The hosts of the sacrifices are Daoists of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. These people are responsible for the great rites and great music of the heavenly mandated dynasty. How could the deities enjoy it?”<sup>171</sup>

While Tian Yuheng and Lang Ying did not quite specify the local sacrifice they targeted for criticism, Zhu Yunming 祝允明 (1460-1526) explicitly voiced his displeasure with the Daoist monopoly of the *shidian* rite in the prefectures and counties. Zhu vehemently argued against employing Daoist priests in the local *shidian* rite:

What scholars learn are ritual and music. What are Kongzi’s works that [we] read every day? What is the Way that [we] learn every day? When it is time to offer sacrifice, do [we] delegate others to do the job? Somebody might say, “It’s difficult to learn and practice [the music and rituals].” Then, do [we] just not learn and practice? [Are we] so tolerant that [we] just stand northward [as participants of the ceremony] and watch the heretics perform the sacrifice? The Yellow Hats [i.e., the Daoists] are the heterodoxy of today. Although [we] cannot be sure what Kongzi thought about them, we, my friends, should make it clear that they be eliminated.

學者學夫禮樂也。素昔所誦孔子之文，何文？學道，何道？顧報祀之頃，委之人乎？借曰；「未易習。」則曷為不習？乃忍北面而立，以觀異類之舉措邪？黃冠者，今之所謂異端。雖未知孔子視為何如，要為吾黨昌言排之者矣。<sup>172</sup>

---

<sup>171</sup> Lang Ying 郎瑛, *Qi xiu lei gao* 七修類稿 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2001), 18:185.

<sup>172</sup> Zhu Yunming 祝允明, *Huaxingtang ji* 懷星堂集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 11:4b-7b. For the quotation, see 7a.

Interesting enough, the Confucian scholars in the late Ming and early Qing generally considered Zhu Yunming, nowadays widely known as Zhu Zhishan 祝枝山 in popular culture, as a heretic in Confucian terms. The editors of the Complete Works of Four Treasures (*siku quanshu* 四庫全書) counted him as one of the intellectual progenitors of the iconoclasts, Li Zhi 李贄 (1527-1602) and Tu Long 屠隆(1542-1605), whom the editors regarded as representatives of intellectual madness. Yet, it was Zhu Yunming who dared to speak against the Daoist domination of the Confucian rites while most of the scholars avoided the issue.<sup>173</sup>

Although some Ming Confucians were dissatisfied with the Daoist monopoly of ritual matters, none of them raised the issue in court until the late sixteenth century. There are several possible reasons for the absence of any concerted efforts at the highest level to combat the Daoist ascendancy. First, it was the Hongwu emperor, the founder of the dynasty, who established the institution of employing Daoist priest in state sacrifices. Any objection to it could easily be seen as a challenge to “the institution of the ancestors” (*zuzhi* 祖制). As Shang Lu 商輅 (1414-1486) claimed, employing Daoist priests in state sacrifices was an institution created by the ancestor of the dynasty, and therefore, “there must be deep meanings embedded in it.” (*gai you shenyi cun yan* 蓋有深意存焉).<sup>174</sup> The legitimacy of the Daoist components in state sacrifices came from the founder of the dynasty, therefore making change quite difficult, if not impossible. Even during the Great Rites Controversy, neither side of the debate paid much attention to the Daoist identity of the *yuewusheng*. Finally, the Yongzheng emperor in the Qing could remove the Daoist components from the Shengyue guan because he no longer had the burden of history; as the ruler

---

<sup>173</sup> Yong Rong 永瑤, and Ji Yun 紀昀, eds. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 [Annotated general catalogue of the complete collection of the Four Treasuries](Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933), 129:2707, 171:3648.

<sup>174</sup> *MSL*, CH12/8/15.

of a new regime, he did not have to be overly concerned with the dynastic legitimacy and tradition of an institution left over from the previous dominion.<sup>175</sup>

Second, there was the ever-present concern that any discussions on the institutions of the local *shidian* rite could be considered as infringement of the prerogatives of the state. For example, when Qu Jiushi completed his first study of the Temple of Culture, he did not dare to publish his draft, saying, “Any talk about the rituals and music of the Temple of Confucius could be construed as encroachment on the authority of the state, perilously close to an act of arrogation (輒言及孔庭禮樂，此疑於侵官，殆類僭).”<sup>176</sup> As mentioned above, the feudal lords were responsible for state sacrifices at the local level and so there was the tacit understanding that debates about the sacrificial rituals, including the *shidian*, might well be regarded as interference with the feudal lords’ authority. The general perception was that even the prefects and county magistrates should not engage in such deliberations. As a result, the Confucian scholar-officials tended to avoid talking about matters related to the Temple of Culture. In order to quash the rumors, Shi Jishi began his *Collection of the Rites and Music of the Great Completion* with the clarification that the *shidian* rite was not one that belonged exclusively to the feudal lords. Based on the *Collected Statutes of the Ming*, Shi Jishi made clear that the *shidian* had never been a sacrifice that only the feudal lords could host and participate.<sup>177</sup>

In addition to the political concern with treading on imperial turf, the Ming Confucians also faced several practical difficulties. Recruitment of non-Daoist *yuewusheng* in the prefectures and counties would have been very difficult, since the Daoist priests had occupied the *yuewusheng* positions for a long period of time. In some localities where there was a shortage of

---

<sup>175</sup> Liu Yonghua, “Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices in Late Imperial China,” 78–80.

<sup>176</sup> *KMLYK*, 0:11a-b.

<sup>177</sup> *DCLYJ*, Preface:5a-6b.

Daoist priests, local governments had to resort to employing actors and musicians of theaters to make up the shortfall. What complicated the matter was that the position of the *yuewusheng* was culturally associated with people from the lower social strata. Therefore, students of state-sponsored schools usually viewed with askance the recruitment to be such ritual performers. Li Weizhen 李維楨 (1547-1626) was one of the officials who enthusiastically sought to restore the proper conduct of the *shidian* rite at local level. When he was the deputy commissioner of education in Shannxi during the early years of Wanli reign, he saw that the local *shidian* was done in a manner that was entirely too informal. What happened was that the local government employed Daoist monks, commoners, and actors to fill the ranks of the *yuewusheng*, as students of state schools were generally quite disgusted and disgruntled by the duty that they regarded as being below their social status. As a result, Li Weizhen recruited some teenage boys by offering them examination exemptions. By serving as the *yuewusheng* in the *shidian* rite, the youngsters could enter local state school without taking the admission examination. In other words, Li Weizhen rewarded the volunteers with the status of *shengyuan*. However, when Li Weizhen got promoted and left Shannxi, the policy ended with his tenure.<sup>178</sup> Exemptions from examinations did seem to be an effective reward that boosted the recruitment of the *yuewusheng*, but it needed support from the local officials. Shi Jishi shared a similar experience with Li. In order to restore a complete performance of the *shidian*, Shi recruited eighty-eight teenagers. Unlike Li who was an active official in charge of education, Shi was only a retired official. But with the support of the official in charge of local education, some of the eighty-eight volunteers did obtain the status of *shengyuan* with exemption from examination. However, the official who

---

<sup>178</sup> KMLYK, Li's preface.



granted the exception to the rule emphasized that the privilege was a one-time deal and not a long-term practice.<sup>179</sup>

However, even if the scholar-officials could resolve the problem of recruitment, there was still one major difficulty—the insufficiency of knowledge about ritual music and dance. The case of Guo Shen 郭紳 vividly illustrates this predicament. In 1487, Guo Shen was appointed as the prefect of the Xiangyang 襄陽 prefecture. When Guo arrived at the precinct, the first thing he did was to visit the local Temple of Culture and to offer sacrifice to Kongzi. However, he found the musical instruments in the temple to be obsolete. Guo immediately wanted to make a new set of musical instruments, but the prefectural government did not have the budget to do so. Three years later, Guo finally had the resources and so he hired Zhou, a *yuewusheng* of the Imperial Music Office, to make the musical instruments. But Zhou told Guo that it was really difficult to find the suitable stones for making the *qing* 磬 (stone chime). Since ancient time, those stones had been gathered from a specific region in the Shandong province, but owing to growing scarcity, the state now imposed restrictions, requiring registrations for the mining of the stones in that very area. Guo thus embarked on a long and hard search in the nearby mountains for the same kind of stone, which he did manage to find. With the assistance of Zhou, Guo took months to make a new set of musical instruments that could be used to perform a proper *shidian*.<sup>180</sup>

Guo Shen's experience in Xiangyang reveals the difficulties faced by the local officials and elite who wanted to restore the proper and complete rituals in the Temple of Culture during the mid-Ming. By the time of Guo, more than a century had elapsed since the founding of the

---

<sup>179</sup> Shi included all official documents related to the exemptions and the correspondences between him and the local officials in *DCLYJ*, see *DCLYJ*, *shuzha* 書札 and *gongyi* 公移.

<sup>180</sup> Chen Xianzhang 陳獻章, *Chen Xianzhang ji* 陳獻章集 [Works of Chen Xianzhang] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 1:53.

dynasty. In the early Ming, during the Hongwu reign for example, the court sent musical instruments and ritual utensils to the local temples. But proper maintenance of these implements very much depended on the local officials, whose attitude toward the local Temple of Culture varied a great deal. There were indeed officials like Guo Shen who intended to renew and repair the instruments, even though they might face difficulties with the budgetary constraints. In fact, the main obstacle was not finance but the lack of music and ritual knowledge. Generally speaking, people who wanted to succeed in the civil service examinations so as to gain the necessary educational credentials to become officials were indifferent to music and ritual training. On the other hand, music, dances, and rituals were essential components in the training of Daoist priests. However, it must be noted that even trained Daoist priests were not necessarily knowledgeable enough to perform a complete and proper *shidian* if the state did not pay proper attention to maintaining its standard. Huang Zuo's 黃佐 (1490-1566) experience at the Nanjing Imperial Academy (Nanjing guozijian 南京國子監) shows that the Ming state did not take the details of the *shidian* rite very serious. Huang Zuo was a prominent polymath appointed to be the libationer (*jijiu* 祭酒, i.e., director) of the Nanjing Imperial Academy in 1543. When Huang attended the *shidian* rite of the South Imperial Academy, he was shocked. The Nanjing Court of Imperial Sacrifice (Nanjing taichangsi 南京太常寺) was responsible for the *shidian* rite, and the Daoist priests rehearsed at the premise beforehand. On the date of the *shidian*, they performed the ritual at the Imperial Academy. Much to his chagrin, Huang Zuo found that the *yuewusheng* did not know how to play the instrumental music of the *shidian* that had been written by Leng Qian. Therefore, during the *shidian*, the *yuewusheng* sang and danced without the instrumental music, even though there were actually musicians, who, however, were just there to make some

noise, without really playing the music.<sup>181</sup> The Nanjing Imperial Academy was an institution of very high status, almost on a par with the Beijing Imperial Academy, and the *yuewusheng* who performed in the *shidian* were under the tutelage of the Nanjing Imperial Music Office. As mentioned above, the practice was that the court sent them to the various regions to train the local Daoist priests responsible for local state sacrifices. But if they did not know how to play the original music written by Leng Qian, how could they train the local Daoist priests? Huang Zuo's experience showed that by the mid-Ming, the state no longer seemed to pay much attention to the details of the cult of Kongzi. If the *shidian* rite performed at the illustrious Nanjing Imperial Academy was incomplete, we may surmise that the versions conducted in the local temples would be even less authentic.

### Instructions from the State

The absence of step-by-step written instructions could well be the major reason that the *shidian* rite was so poorly performed by the mid-Ming. It was general practice that the Daoist priests transferred their ritual knowledge through oral means in the context of master-apprentice relations, so that outsiders might not gain access to their ritual resources and knowledge. So where and how could the Confucian scholars find information on the *shidian*? Before the Jiajing period, they mainly resorted to and relied on the pre-Ming historical texts. As the Tang dynasty was the first regime to worship Kongzi in institutionalized ways, the compilation of the *Datang kaiyuanli* 大唐開元禮 (Compendium of rituals of the Kaiyuan reign), which recorded the rites of

---

<sup>181</sup> Huang Zuo, *Nan Yongzhi* 南雍志 [Gazetteer of the Nanjing Imperial Academy] (Taipei: Weiwen tushu chubanshe, 1976), 11:2b-3a.

the Kaiyuan reign 開元 (714-941) of the Tang dynasty, was a major source of the institution in its early stages.<sup>182</sup> Chinese scholars generally regarded it as the ancestral code for all the later ritual codes. Another source was the *Tong dian* 通典 (Encyclopaedic history of institutions) compiled by Du You 杜佑 (735-812), the first encyclopedic reference of the administrative institutions.<sup>183</sup> In the section on ceremonies and rituals, it includes information on the *shidian*. Another authoritative source was Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130-1200) *Shaoxi zhouxian shidian yi tu* 紹熙州縣釋奠儀圖 (An illustrated manual of the *shidian* performed in states and counties during the Shaoxi reign [1190-1194]). Zhu Xi drafted this text during his tenure as a local official, as he found that the instructions given by the state did not include the procedures of the *shidian* at county level. Based on the ancient *Zhou li* (the Classic of Rites), the Tang texts, and Song edicts, Zhu compiled a ritual manual for local *shidian* rite, which included ritual procedures and images of the ritual utensils and ritual cloths.<sup>184</sup> It became an important standard and model for the later ritual codes.

To the Ming scholars, the pre-Ming texts could only be general references, because they obviously did not include the most recent changes in the Ming period itself. However, there seemed to be no clear and precise instructions about the contents and performance of the *shidian* in the first half of the dynasty. As mentioned above, the Hongwu emperor did send standardized ritual utensils and musical instruments to the local schools, but there is no evidence that they were accompanied by ritual manuals. So far, I have not found any detailed instructive texts of the *shidian* that were published in the first half of the Ming dynasty, even though there were

---

<sup>182</sup> Xiao Song 蕭嵩. *Da tang kaiyuan li* 大唐開元禮 [Compendium of rituals of the Kaiyuan reign] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987).

<sup>183</sup> Du You, *Tong Dian* 通典.

<sup>184</sup> Zhu Xi, *Shaoxi Zhouxian shidian yi tu* 紹熙州縣釋奠儀圖 [An illustrated manual of the *shidian* performed in states and counties during the Shaoxi reign [1190-1194]] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987).

discussions on the *shidian* in various writings and anthologies. For example, Qiu Jun 丘濬 (1421-1495) devoted at least two sections of his *Daxue yanyi bu* 大學衍義補 (Continuation of the extended meaning of the Great Learning) to the cult of Kongzi. Qiu's discussions mainly focus on the historical transformation of the cult and changes in enshrinements.<sup>185</sup> He gathered different scholars' views on related terms, institutions, and ritual theories. However, as far as practical utility was concerned, Qiu's text was of limited value, because it does not offer enough guidance at all for the restoration of a complete *shidian* rite.

The collected statutes compiled by the Ming court were supposed to have details about the *shidian*, and every local school, in theory, should have a copy of it. There were two published editions of the *Daming huidian* (the Collected Statutes of the Great Ming). The first published edition was printed in 1511, 143 years from the founding of the dynasty. Information on the *shidian* in this edition is short and brief. The major focus was the changes within the institution of the Temple, such as changes in Kongzi's enshrined title, and the new additions or withdrawals in enshrinements. In term of the rites themselves, the text only lists the name of each procedure, items of sacrifices (food, fruits, wine, etc.), and lyrics of the songs sung during the ritual.<sup>186</sup> It does not have detailed specific information on the procedures, music scores, and dance instructions. The second published edition of *Daming huidian*, which was printed in 1587, basically inherited the same information from the first edition, with added details on the changes that occurred from 1479 to 1584. Since the information related to *shidian* is limited in the *Daming huidian*, it could not serve as the textual basis on which to restore a *shidian* rite.

---

<sup>185</sup> Qiu Jun 丘濬, *Daxue yanyi bu* 大學衍義補 [Continuation of the extended meaning of the Great Learning] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987).

<sup>186</sup> Li Dongyang, ed., *Ming Huidian* 明會典 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 84:7b-16a.

Both the state and Confucian scholars changed their attitude toward the cult of Kongzi dramatically during the Jiajing reign. As we discussed in the last chapter, the Jiangjing emperor evaluated and revised almost all of the state sacrifices after the Great Rites Controversy. The cult of Kongzi was no exception. One significant result of the emperor's ritual project was the compilation of a revised edition of the *Collected Rites of the Great Ming* (*Daming jili* 大明集禮), the first edition of which was compiled in 1372. The Hongwu emperor paid serious attention to rites, including the state sacrifices. He assembled a large group of Confucian scholars for the compilation of the *Collected Rites*. But the Hongwu emperor did not publish the first edition of the *Collected Rites*. The manuscript was stored in the Forbidden City and it was not updated. Not many people had seen it before the Great Rites Controversy.<sup>187</sup> After the Great Rites Controversy, the emperor accepted his supporters' suggestions to revive and publish the *Collected Rites* in order to consolidate his late father's posthumous status. The *Collected Rites*, which contained fifty-three fascicles, was published in 1530. Based on the survived copies of the *Collected Rites*, Xiang Hui points out that at least the Board of Rites, the palace treasury, the provincial administration commissioner of Hunan, and some commercial publishers printed and published the *Collected Rites*.<sup>188</sup> The *Collected Rites* categorizes the rites in accordance with the system of the five traditional groups of *li* (rites): *ji* 吉 (auspicious), *xiong* 凶 (mourning), *jun* 軍 (military), *bin* 賓 (reception), and 嘉 *jia* (celebratory). The cult of Kongzi belongs to the first group, "*ji*". The *Collected Rites* dedicates a half fascicle to the *shidian*.<sup>189</sup> It records the historical

<sup>187</sup> Zhao Kesheng 赵克生, "Daming Jili de Chuxiu Yu Kanbu 《大明集礼》的初修与刊布 [The first edition of the Collected Rites of the Great Ming and its publication]", *Shixueshi yanjiu*, no. 03 (2004): 65–69.

<sup>188</sup> Hui Xiang, "Xiaoshi de xijie: jiajing keben daming jili zhuzhe yu banben kaolue," *Banben muluxue yanjiu*, no. 00 (2016): 234–238.

<sup>189</sup> Xu Yikui 徐一夔, *Ming jili* 明集禮 [Collected rites of the great Ming](Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 16:12b-29b.

transformations of the different components. It also contains three images showing the setting of musical instruments and ritual utensils. The information is certainly more detailed than that available in the *Daming huidian*, and so readers would gain a better understanding of the history of the sage's cult, but it was still not enough for anyone who wanted a practical manual for the *shidian*. Nevertheless, the publication of *Collected Rites* did rouse the attention of Confucian scholars toward the state sacrifices and stimulated further discussions and investigations of the *shidian* rites.

Gazetteers of the Imperial Academy were another source of information on the *shidian*, but they were not up-to-date and widely circulated. The first gazetteer of the Nanjing Imperial Academy was compiled during the Jingtai reign (1457-1499), but its circulation did not seem to be large. In any case, it is no longer extant. When Huang Zuo compiled the second edition, he used the first edition as a reference. Huang became the libationer (director) of the Nanjing Imperial Academy in 1543. Even though his tenure was very short—he left the position after a year to mourn his deceased mother in 1544—within that one year, he did compile the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Imperial Academy* (*Nanyong zhi* 南雍志). The primary goal of the *Gazetteer* was to provide an encyclopedic reference for officials who worked at the imperial academy. Huang's gazetteer became an important reference for the later ritual manuals because of its detailed information on the *shidian*. In this gazetteer with twenty-four fascicles, Huang devoted two to the ritual procedures of the *shidian* and another two to its music and dance. In the section of ritual procedures, Huang includes the so-called *yizhu* 儀注 of *shidian*, which was a step-by-step guidance, from its initial preparations to its conclusion. He also describes the items and contents

of sacrifice in each ritual utensil, and the positions of the ritual utensils on the table.<sup>190</sup> In the section on music, he includes music scores, lyrics, image and description of each musical instrument, and diagrams of the dance steps.<sup>191</sup> It was the first true step-by-step guide of the *shidian* rite in the Ming dynasty. However, the *Gazetteer* was so voluminous that it was impossible for every county and locality to own a copy of it.

In sum, the burgeoning of the late Ming ritual manuals was a response to the difficulties faced by the Confucian scholars who wanted to perform a complete *shidian* at the local level. Because of the preferences and policies of the Hongwu emperor, the Daoist priest had come to monopolize the practical ritual knowledge, which included presiding over the ritual procedures, playing the sacred music, singing, and dancing. Although the cult of Kongzi was one of a few of the state sacrifices that common people could attend, most of the ceremonies performed at the local level were incomplete. In the first half of the Ming dynasty, the performance of the local *shidian* rite depended only on Daoist priests. The Confucian scholars could not do much even if they were dissatisfied with Daoist domination, as the state did not offer step-by-step guidance to assist the local Confucian elites who wanted to restore the authentic and complete *shidian*. Thanks to the Great Rites Controversy, the Confucian scholars became far more interested in and conscious of the operation of rituals and ceremonies. The *Collected Rites of the Great Ming* and the *Gazetteer of Nanjing Imperial Academy*, both published after the Controversy, provided the theoretical framework and physical information for further investigations of the *shidian*. Such were the political and cultural factors that contributed to the production of the three late Ming ritual manuals concerning the Temple of Culture.

---

<sup>190</sup> Huang Zuo, *Nan Yongzhi*, juan 11 & 12.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, juan 13 & 14.



### Three Ritual Manuals of the Late Ming

Late Ming Confucian scholars published three ritual manuals dedicated to the cult of Kongzi within the first quarter of the seventeenth century: Qu Jiusi's *Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple* (*Kongmiao liyue kao*, 1607), Li Zhizao's *Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools* (*Pangong liyue shu*, 1617), Shi Jishi's *Collection of the Rites and Music of the Great Completion* (*Dacheng liyue ji*, 1623). A complete *shidian* rite involved and consisted of a lot of components. In an age without electronic devices and media, texts with written-words and hand-drawn images were the only vehicles with which to record, carry, and transfer information. The primary purpose of the ritual manuals was to preserve and transmit the information on the *shidian* to audiences and readers who wanted to replicate the same ritual. The target audiences and readers of the manuals were the county officials and local gentry. We may assume that their access to other references would be limited. If the readers of a ritual manual could replicate the *shidian* by referring only to that manual, then the manual was a success in term of its purpose. In other words, a successful ritual manual was a “one-stop/one-step” solution to the problem of replicating the *shidian*. The following table compares the contents of the three ritual manuals at a glance. Of the three, Li's *Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools* was the most successful ritual manuals because of its comprehensiveness and practicability. In the section following the table, I will analyze the intellectual background of the authors and their goals of publishing the ritual manuals.

Table 1. Comparison chart of the three ritual manual.

	<i>Qu Jiushi's Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple</i>	<i>Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local School</i>	<i>Collection of the Rites and Music of the Great Completion</i>
Total numbers of <i>juan</i> 卷 (fascicle) and their contents	Six <i>juan</i> . 1: appearance and settings of the temple. 2: enshrinements. 3: ritual procedures of the <i>shidian</i> . 4: <i>shidian</i> music and dance. 5 & 6: Qu's discussions and suggestions regarding the enshrinements.	Ten <i>juan</i> . 1: history of the cult from Kongzi's death to the Wanli period. 2: history of the enshrinements and Li's views on them. 3: guidance to each ritual step in the <i>shidian</i> . 4, 5 & 6: instrumental music. 7: songs. 8: dances. 9: the rituals of the Qi shengci 啓聖祠. 10: drinking and archery rituals in villages	Five <i>juan</i> . 1: history of Kongzi's cult, and appearance and settings of the Confucian temple. 2: ritual steps of the <i>shidian</i> . 3 & 4: instrumental music. 5: rituals of the Qi shengci.

		( <i>xiang yin she li</i> 鄉飲射禮).	
Structural Characteristics	<p>The text is a collection of notes and writings related to the Confucian temple. The two most frequently used terms in the title of notes are <i>shuo</i> 說 (theory) and <i>yi</i> 議 (discussion), both of which usually begin with the history of the subject in question. If Qu agreed with the contemporary treatment of the subject, he used <i>shuo</i> in the note title. If he had his own opinions</p>	<p>Every topic is discussed within a five-layer systematic framework. The five layers are <i>shu</i> 疏 (commentary), <i>gu</i> 詁 (explanation), <i>tu</i> 圖 (image), <i>fa</i> 法 (method), and <i>pu</i> 譜 (score). For example, the section on “string music” (<i>si yin</i> 絲音), which is in the fifth <i>juan</i>, begins with “the commentary on string music” (<i>si yin shu</i> 絲音疏) which explains the role of string music in the</p>	<p>Comparing to <i>Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple and Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools</i>, Qu Jiushi’s <i>Collection of the Rites and Music of the Great Completion</i> does not have special structural characteristics. Most recorded items are in form of short notes. Most of them are descriptive and instructive rather than argumentative. A</p>

	and suggestions, he used <i>yi</i> .	Confucian music system. There are two music instruments, <i>qin</i> 琴 and <i>se</i> 瑟, belonging to the “string music.” Therefore, there are “the explanation of the <i>qin</i> ” ( <i>qin gu</i> 琴詁) and “the explanation of the <i>se</i> ” ( <i>se 瑟詁</i> ). There are images of and scores for the two music instruments.	large part of <i>juan</i> 1 copies different sections of Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple.
History of the cult of Kongzi	It does not have a particular section to describe the history of the cult in chronological order. Although Qu usually	The first <i>juan</i> divides the history of the cult into two sections. The first section is from the death of Kongzi to the Yuan dynasty.	A half of the first <i>juan</i> concerns history. It is in two sections, the division of which is similar to the <i>Proposal of Ritual</i>

	<p>began his discussion with the history of a particular topic, there is not a comprehensive chronology of the cult.</p>	<p>The second section covers the Hongwu period to the Wanli period.</p>	<p><i>and Music in Local Schools.</i></p>
<p>Enshrinements (<i>congsi</i> 從祀)</p>	<p>Half of the compilation, i.e., three <i>juan</i> (2, 5, and 6), is devoted to the discussion of the enshrinements. Qu was very unsatisfied with the status of enshrinements. In Qu's opinions, the enshrinements of Kongzi's disciples had a lot of mistakes. As a scholar of</p>	<p>It has one <i>juan</i> that deals with the enshrinements. Following the order of positions in DMHD, it lists all the enshrined Confucians with a short biography for each of them. Li also had his own opinions and suggestions of the enshrinements. Besides showing his</p>	<p>It lists enshrined Confucians, each with a brief biography. It includes Qu Jiusi's suggestions on the re-enshrinement of scholars of the Classics. The section on enshrinements in this text is the shortest, of the three ritual manuals.</p>

	<p>classical studies, Qu also disagreed with the removal of enshrined scholars of Classics, which was a decision of the Jiajing emperor. He spent a lot of effort to prove his arguments. Qu's studies of the enshrinements were very influential.</p>	<p>arguments and evidences, Li also made a list of spiritual tablets' positions, following his suggestions and corrections. It is worth noting that Li praised Qu Jiusi's theory on the enshrinements as the most appropriated one.</p>	
<p>Ritual procedures (<i>yizhu</i> 儀注)</p>	<p>It has a step-by-step description of the ritual procedures. It explains the symbolic meanings of some ritual utensils and sacrifices.</p>	<p>It has a step-by-step description of the ritual procedures. It has illustrated description of the settings of the ritual utensils, positions of the musical</p>	<p>It has a step-by-step description of the ritual procedures. It also has recipes and cooking instructions for preparing sacrifices. It has short descriptions of some</p>

		<p>instruments, and positions of dancers. Every ritual step has a description about its historical transformation and ritual implication. In additions, the text has an image and description for every ritual utensil. It also has recipes and cooking instructions for preparing sacrifices.</p>	<p>uncommon ritual utensils, but not images.</p>
Music	<p>Qu focused on Confucian theory of the music in <i>shidian</i>. He argued at length that the music in the <i>shidian</i> should have</p>	<p>It has the most comprehensive information on the music of the <i>shidian</i>. At the beginning of the music section,</p>	<p>It has playing instructions, images, and scores of every music instrument used in the <i>shidian</i>. It is not as detailed as</p>

	<p>deep symbolic meanings and represent the teaching of Confucian classics. If readers were not an expert in Classics, they would be completely lost in Qu's arguments. For example, he correlated the five tones with the sixty-four hexagrams of the <i>Book of Changes</i>. Qu did not include instructions of music instruments. The only music instrument he discussed in detail was the <i>guqin</i> 古琴 (seven string zither).</p>	<p>there is a brief lecture on general music principles. Reader can learn some fundamental knowledge about tones and scale here. Each music instrument used in the <i>shidian</i> has its own sub-section. There are at least four elements in each section: history of the music instrument, an image of it, playing instruction, and its scores for the <i>shidian</i>.</p>	<p><i>Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools</i>, but it offers the essential knowledge.</p>
--	--	---	---



	<p>There are thirty-six images showing the shapes of the <i>guqin</i> in different music scales. However, the shape of the <i>guqin</i> actually does not have direct relationship with scales. The images raise questions about Qu's music knowledge.</p>		
Dance	<p>The dance section consists of Qu's own choreography, which is completely different from the traditional <i>yi</i> 倚 dance. In Qu's opinions, the dance</p>	<p>It has the most comprehensive information on the <i>yi</i> dance. Every step has its own illustration. Standeart describes that each dance image represents "two</p>	<p>It does not have any information on the <i>yi</i> dance.</p>

	<p>dedicated to Kongzi had a lot of room for improvement.</p> <p>Therefore, he had his own choreography.</p> <p>He did not provide any information on the original <i>yi</i> dance.</p>	<p>dancers, one on the east and one on the west. The dancers perform their gestures in mirrored form, that is, when the dancer on the east turns toward the center, the dancer on the west also turns toward the center. Even more important is that the explanation of the gestures is much more detailed than in the previous texts. In line with the mirror construction of the dance, they contain the differentiated details for each dancer, for example,</p>	
--	---	---	--

		<p>when the dancer on the east lifts his right hand up to his shoulder, the dancer on the west lifts the left hand.”<sup>192</sup></p>	
--	--	--	--

---

<sup>192</sup> Standaert, “Ritual Dances and Their Visual Representations in the Ming and the Qing,” 96.

## Qu Jiusi and the *Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple*

In 1547, Qu Jiusi was born in Huangmei, a county in today's Hubei province.<sup>193</sup> When Jiusi was ten years old, his father Qu Cheng 瞿晟 (js. 1553) was appointed as the prefect of Ji'an 吉安 Prefecture (in today's Jiangxi province). Ji'an was a center of the Wang Yangming school at that time. Jiusi studied with Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 (1504-1564), one of the important scholars of the Yangming school. When Jiusi was twelve years old, he obtained the status of *shengyuan*. Qu Cheng passed away when Jiusi was sixteenth. Jiusi continued his studies when he was mourning his father for three years at home. He studied with Geng Dingxiang 耿定向 (1524-1597), another famous scholar in the Yangming School. Jiusi become very famous as local officials invited him to lecture in prominent academies such as the Bailudong shuyuan 白鹿洞書院, the Yuelu shuyuan 岳麓書院, and the Lianxi shuyuan 濂溪書院. In 1573, Jiusi passed the provincial civil service examination and obtained the *juren* degree. However, his quest for further examination advancement stopped in 1573. In that year, riots broke out in Huangmei because Zhang Weihuan 張維翰, the magistrate, was too demanding in tax collection. It so happened that the leaders of the riot were relatives of Jiusi, and so Zhang accused Jiusi for leading the riots, resulting in his three-year imprisonment. When Jiusi was released, the court exiled him to the northern frontier. He visited Beijing when he was on his way to the north with his sons. His friends in the capital suggested that he appeal his case directly to the court. Jiusi and his sons did so, and the court accepted the appeal,<sup>194</sup> but Jiusi did not dare to wait for the court's decision in Beijing. He and his sons fled to a nearby village where a rich man offered them shelter. In

---

<sup>193</sup> For a discussion of Qu's birth year, see Meng Fanyun 孟凡云, "Wanli wugong lu yanjiu 《万历武功录》研究 [the study of the military successes during the Wanli reign]" (Ph.D., Zhongyang minzu daxue, 2005), 26–27.

<sup>194</sup> Tan Hanyuan, ed., *Huangmei Xianzhi* 黃梅縣志, 1878 edition. (Huangmei, 1876), for Tu Long's appeal, see 36:16a-19b; for Qu Jiusi's son's appeal, see 36:19b-23b.

exchange, Qu taught the kids in the village. The situation lasted for five years until Zhang Juzheng 張居正 (1525-1582), a grand secretary, helped him to return home. Although Qu was on the run, the situation was not entirely dangerous as far as his personal safety was concerned. According to him, he occasionally visited Beijing in disguise. These trips usually had two purposes: to obtain information on his case and to search for books. But at times, he would observe the annual *shidian* rite held at the Imperial Academy. When Jiusi's case was settled, he returned to Huangmei and spent the next eighteen years on writing. He became very famous and scholars flocked to meet him. In 1592, local officials recommended Jiusi to serve in the court, but the proposal did not receive an ardent response from him. In 1609, Shi Xueqian 史學遷 (*js.* 1592) again recommended Qu to the court. This time around, the court completely exonerated Jiusi and restored his *juren* status.<sup>195</sup> He was summoned to Beijing as an expectant official of the Hanlin Academy 翰林院待詔.<sup>196</sup> The appointment was a rare honor as the positions in Hanlin Academy were normally reserved for the examinees who had the best results in the court examination. However, Qu did not leave for Beijing. He submitted a memorial to excuse himself from the appointment, offering the reason that he wished to finish his writing projects in his hometown. The court allowed Qu to retire with the Hanlin Academy title, and the local government provided rice to Qu as a stipend to support his writing projects.<sup>197</sup> In 1612, Qu submitted a collection of twenty-five pieces of music scores for the celebration of the Wanli emperor's birthday, an anthology of the Ming poetry, and the *Wanli wugong lu* 萬曆武功錄 (The

---

<sup>195</sup> MSL WL37/7/12.

<sup>196</sup> MSL WL37/10/06.

<sup>197</sup> MSL WL38/r3/24.

record of the military successes in the Wanli reign), one of his most well-known historical works.

<sup>198</sup> Two years later in 1614, Qu Jiusi passed away.<sup>199</sup>

It is helpful here to take a brief look at Jiusi's relationship with different schools of the Ming Neo-Confucianism and his academic interests. As mentioned, Jiusi studied with Luo Hongxian and Geng Dingxiang, two prominent scholars of the Wang Yangming school, generally regarded as representatives of two different sects in Wang camps. In Huang Zongxi's *Mingru Xuean* 黃宗羲《明儒學案》, Luo was associated with the Jiangyou branch of the Yangming School (*jiangyou wangmeng* 江右王門), and Geng the Taizhou branch (泰州學派). Although Luo Hongxian did not study with Wang Yangming in person, Huang Zongxi nonetheless highly praised Luo's contribution to the development of Yangming learning, even stating that Luo had a better understanding of the true Yangming teachings than a lot of the disciples who studied with the master in person. On the other hand, Geng was less appreciated by Huang Zongxi, as Huang criticized most of the ideas of the Taizhou branch. In Huang's opinion, the Taizhou branch's teachings and arguments were too similar to Chan Buddhism. In fact, because of the Taizhou branch, a lot of Confucian scholars criticized Wang Yangming's teachings as a variant of Chan Buddhism. In some academic genealogies written by late Ming and early Qing scholars, Qu Jiusi was indeed categorized as a disciple of the Yangming school. For example, in Wan Sitong's 萬斯同 *Rulin zongpai*《儒林宗派》(Lineage of the Confucians), Qu's name was placed within the branch of Luo Hongxian's learning in the chapter on the Yangming school.<sup>200</sup> However, Qu Jiusi's works seemed to be different from the most of the scholars in the Yangming school. Qu

---

<sup>198</sup> MSL, WL40/8/11. For the studies of Wangli wugong lu, see Meng Fanyun, "Wanli wugong lu yanjiu."

<sup>199</sup> For the biographies of Qu Jiusi, see Tan, *Huangmei xianzhi* 黃梅縣志 [Local gazetteer of Huangmei county], 1a–2b; Zhang Xuecheng, *Zhang Xuecheng yishu* 章學誠遺書, Jiayetang woodblock version. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), 25: 259-260.

<sup>200</sup> Wan Sitong, *Rulin Zongpai* 儒林宗派, Zhangshi yueyuan kanben., n.d., 10:11a.

Jiushi was well-known for his classical studies (*jingxue* 經學) and history rather than Neo-Confucianism thought, that is, moral-metaphysical teachings of the mind-heart. When Shi Xueqian recommended him to the court in 1609, Shi emphasized that Qu belonged to “the orthodox lineage of Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤, the Cheng’s brothers 程頤、程顥, Zhang Zai 張載, and Zhu Xi 朱熹.” In the context of Neo-Confucianism, Wang Yangming inherited the teachings of Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵, not Zhu Xi. Thus, it is highly significant that Shi Xueqian identified Qu with the orthodox academic lineage that the disciples of Wang Yangming usually avoided or even attacked. But as Shi Xueqian published all of Qu’s works, he must have a good understanding of the latter’s teaching, and they should have a close relationship. Therefore, one many surmise that Shi Xueqian’s description reflected Qu’s own recognition of his academic affiliation. In other words, although some later scholars categorized Qu as a member of the Yangming school, Qu might have thought otherwise himself.

Three of Qu Jiushi’s works are mentioned in the *Catalog of the Books of the Four Treasures*. They are: the *Chunqiu yisi lu* 《春秋以俟錄》 (the awaiting record of the *Spring and Autumn*),<sup>201</sup> the *Yuejing yisi lu* 《樂經以俟錄》 (the awaiting record of the *Book of Music*),<sup>202</sup> and the *Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple*.<sup>203</sup> The editors of the *Books of Four Treasures* categorized the *Chunqiu yisi lu* and the *Yuejing yisi lu* as belonging to studies of the classics and the *Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple* as a text for policy-making (*zhengshu* 政書). However, none of them were not included the *Books of the Four Treasures* itself, only “preserved in the catalog” (*cunmu* 存目). In other words, the editors did not think Qu’s works were valuable enough to be included in the canonical collection. In the abstract of the *Chunqiu*

---

<sup>201</sup> Yong Rong and Ji Yun eds., *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 30:607.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 39:823.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 83:1748.

*yisi lu*, the editors commented that the book contained “a lot of eisegesis” (多穿鑿附會之談). Their assessments of the *Yuejing yisi lu* were even harsher. Pointing to a lot of mistakes in Qu’s understanding of music theories, they concluded that Qu invented and created a lot of fallacies. Of the three works, the *Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple* received the most positive comments from the SKQS editors:

This work, in examining the developments and changes of rituals and music in Confucian temple, is quite detailed in research and verification. It is better than other texts that copy information from old books like a laundry list. However, in the second *juan*, he made songs with the names of Kongzi’s enshrined disciples, strangely violating the established protocol and format.

是書於孔廟禮樂沿革同異。考證頗詳。勝他家鈔撮舊文。有同簿籍者。惟二卷以從祀諸弟子編為歌括。殊乖體例。<sup>204</sup>

The *Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple* has six fascicles (*juan*). The first begins with the two prefaces written by Shi Xueqian and Li Weizhen 李維楨 (1547-1625). According to the date of the prefaces, Shi Xueqian supported the publication of the book in 1607. Qu Jiusi included the very first draft, which had only twenty-two pages in the first *juan*. Qu wrote the first draft many years earlier. As I mentioned earlier, Qu had not dared to publish it because he was afraid of the suspicion or even the charge of arrogation. (See the comparative table for the contents of each *juan*.) It would be difficult to restore a comprehensive *shidian* rite solely based on the *Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple*, as its contents were quite uneven. Qu focused on the topics in which he was interested, but neglected a lot of essential

---

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 87: 1748.



aspects of the *shidian*. Even Dong Hanru 董漢儒(d. 1628), who proofread the *Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple* for Qu, later expressed his concern. In the preface Dong wrote for *PGLYS*, Dong said, “When I resided in Hunan, I read Qu’s *Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple*, and I took it to heart. It has its own style, but its practicability is questionable.” (余憶遊楚中時，觀瞿聘君《禮樂志》（按：即《孔廟禮樂考》）而心儀之也。顧亦獨自成家，致用或窒）。<sup>205</sup> Qu used half of the book to discuss enshrinements because they were his major concern. As a scholar of classics studies, Qu was upset that the Jiajing emperor removed renowned scholars of classical studies (*jingxue* 經學), such as Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), from the enshrinements.<sup>206</sup> The *Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple* was Qu’s attempt to show the significances of the Classics in the cult of Kongzi.

### **Li Zhizao and *Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools***

Arguably, Li Zhizao’s *Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools*, of the three texts in question, exerted the most profound influences. Since its publication in 1618, it has been well received. After reading Li’s *Proposal*, Wang Zheng 王徵 (1571-1644), a late Ming scholar-official and Christian convert, wanted to donate his salary in order to make the ritual instruments illustrated in it.<sup>207</sup> The editors of the *Complete Works of the Four Treasures* highly praised the book because it contained information which was lacking or absent in official documents.<sup>208</sup> It had great influence not only in China, but also Japan and Vietnam. When Zhu

---

<sup>205</sup> *PGLYS*, Dong’s preface.

<sup>206</sup> For the context of the removals, see He Weixuan, “Cong ‘chuanjing’ dao ‘mingdao’: Cheng Minzheng yu mingdai qianqi kongmiao congsi biaozhun de zhuanbian,” *Taida lishi xuebao*, no. 56 (December 2015): 35–86.

<sup>207</sup> Zheng Wang, *Wang Zheng yizhu* (Xi’an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1987), 2:70.

<sup>208</sup> Yong and Ji, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 83:1752.

Shunshui 朱舜水 (1600-1682) helped the Tokugawa shogun, Mitsukuni (1628-1701), to revise the Confucian rituals in Japan, he depended heavily on the *Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools* for the reconstruction of the shidian rite.<sup>209</sup> The *Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools* also served as the model for the Temple of Culture in Vietnam from the eighteenth century onward century. Furthermore, it played a pivot role in the so-called Chinese Cultural Renaissance in Taiwan, a state-sponsored political-cultural movement aiming to reconstruct Chinese culture during the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>210</sup>

Li Zhizao was a well-known Christian convert in late Ming period. Nowadays, Chinese Christians consider Li Zhizao, Xu Guangxi 徐光啟 (1562-1633), and Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠 (1557-1627) as the Three Pillars of Chinese Christianity. The trio contributed to the spread of Christianity as well as western scientific knowledge in China during the early seventeenth century. The *Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools* was published in 1618, eight years after Li's conversion. The compilation of the ritual text raises an interesting question: why did a Christian publish a book about worshiping Kongzi? As Li's civil service career and his relationship with the Jesuits was critical to the publication of the *Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools*, the genesis of the book warrants some examination.

Li was born in Renhe 仁和, a county in the Hangzhou prefecture 杭州府 in today's Zhejiang province. Scholars generally accept that 1565 was his year of birth, but there is evidence to suggest that Li might have been born in 1571.<sup>211</sup> Li obtained the *jinshi* degree in

---

<sup>209</sup> Lin Junhong 林俊宏, *Zhu Shunshui zai riben de huodong ji qi gongxian yanjiu* 朱舜水在日本的活動及其貢獻研究 [the study of Zhu Shunshui's activities and contribution in Japan] (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi, 2004), 201–208.

<sup>210</sup> The reprint of the book in 1970 mainly served the purpose for the Chinese Cultural Renaissance. See Fang Hao 方豪, “Pangong Liyue Shu Tiji 《類宮禮樂疏》提記 [the Bibliographic Summary of PGLYS],” *Guoli zhongyang tushugan gankan* 3, no. 2 (April 1970): 1–6; Li Zhizao, *PGLYS*, Preface.

<sup>211</sup> Based on Daniello Bartoli's record, Fang Hao suggested Li was born in 1565. See Fang Hao, *Li Zhizao yanjiu*

1598, whereupon he was appointed to work in the Board of Public Works. In 1601, Li met Matteo Ricci in Beijing.<sup>212</sup> According to Ricci, Li's enthusiasm about geography drew him to the Jesuit priests who had the best geographical knowledge of the world then. When Li was a youth, he had published a map of China with detailed descriptions of the fifteen provinces. Before meeting Ricci, Li thought his map had already included the entire world. But after seeing the European map at Ricci's place, Li was shocked by the superior European cartographic and geographic knowledge. "So he immediately made friends with Father Matthew and with the other Fathers for the purpose of studying geography, to which he gave all the time he could spare from his public duties."<sup>213</sup>

In 1602, a year after Li and Ricci had first met, Li helped Ricci to publish the third edition of the "Map of Universe and Thousand Countries," the Map that made him want to pursue European knowledge. In 1603, Li was appointed as the examiner of the provincial level examination of Fujian. The successful candidates that Li selected became a sort of his disciple in the context of the civil service examination culture, later playing important roles in the publication of *Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools*. When Li travelled back and forth between Beijing and Fujian, he used the astrolabe that Ricci gave him and the astronomic knowledge that he learned from the Jesuits to observe stars. When Li returned to Beijing, he was

---

(Taipei: Commercial Press, 1966), 2; For evidences supporting 1571, see Gong Yingyan 龚缨晏, and Ma Qiong 马琼, "Guangyu Li Zhizao shengping shiji de xin shiliao 关于李之藻生平事迹的新史料 [New Documents on Li Zhizao]." *Journal of Zhejiang University (Humanities and Social Sciences)* 38, no. 3 (May 2008): 90; For further debate on this issue, see Zheng Cheng 鄭誠, "Li Zhizao jiashi shengping buzhen 李之藻家世生平補正 [On the Life and Family of Li Zhizao]." *The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 39, no. 4 (December 2009): 151–182.: 656–657; Yu Liu, "The True Pioneer of the Jesuit China Mission : Michele Ruggieri," *History of Religions* 50, no. 4 (May 1, 2011): 434–435.

<sup>212</sup> Scholars question why Li Zhizao, who was appointed as an official in Nanjing, was able to meet Ricci in Beijing. For different explanations, see Yu Liu, "The Spiritual Journey of an Independent Thinker: The Conversion of Li Zhizao to Catholicism," *Journal of World History* 22, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 434–435.

<sup>213</sup> For Ricci's impression of Li, see Matteo Ricci and Nicholas Tregault, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610* (Random House, 1953), 397–399. Quote is from 397.

appointed to the river conservancy. However, Li failed the 1605 capital evaluation (*jingcha* 京察). The reason could be that Li might have offended the eunuchs who were sent by Emperor Wanli to collect taxes. As a result, Li was demoted from his position in the Board of Public Works. It is not known what positions in government Li held in the next three years. According to Ricci, Li returned to Hangzhou.<sup>214</sup>

In 1608, Li was appointed as the department magistrate of Kaizhou 開州, also known as Chanyuan 澧淵, in today's Hunan province. During his tenure in Kaizhou, Li was well-known for his reforms of the rituals in the local school. Two natives of Kaizhou, Wang Siyu 王思 and Wang Yingming, became Li's students. Wang Siyu later participated in the publication of the PGLYS. In 1610, Li went to Beijing for another capital evaluation. This short trip to Beijing not only changed Li's life but also the history of Christianity in China. Earlier in the year, Li fell fatally ill in Beijing and Ricci took care of him. When he recovered, he decided to convert and receive baptism, the last person to be baptized by Ricci himself. Exhausted from nursing Li, Ricci's health failed rapidly and on 11 May, he died.<sup>215</sup> Li asked Wu Daonan (1547-1620), the Vice-Minister of the Board of Rites, to lead a collaborative memorial. Wu also petitioned Emperor Wanli to bestow a piece of land in Beijing for Ricci's burial. Li left Beijing for his new position in Nanjing before Emperor approved the request on 14th June. The Jesuits and the Chinese converts considered the bestowal to be a great honor, because foreigners were usually not allowed to be buried in the capital.

Li did not stay long in Nanjing. His father died in 1611. In order to fulfill the mourning obligation, Li returned to Hangzhou, and stayed there for the next three years. He invited the

---

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 399.

<sup>215</sup> R. Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 285–286.

Jesuits to spread Christianity in Hangzhou. Because of Li and the Jesuits in Hangzhou, Yang Tingyun, another Pillar of Chinese Christianity, received baptism in 1611. In 1615, Li was assigned to the river conservancy in Gaoyou. During his tenure in Gaoyou, he finished and published the *PGLYS*. In the capital evaluation of 1621, Li was originally promoted to the position of Vice-Commissioner of Guangdong. However, before Li left the capital for Guangdong, the court re-assigned him to manage military supplies in Beijing. Meanwhile, the Manchus frequently attacked the northern frontiers of Ming. Li advocated the purchase of European artillery and suggested recruiting Portuguese mercenary from Macau. The court approved Li's proposal of artillery purchase and sent Zhang Tao, one of Li's students, to transport the artillery from Macau to Beijing. However, some officials criticized Li's connection with Jesuits and his religious beliefs. In 1623, before the European artillery arrived Beijing, Li was assigned to a new position in Nanjing. When Li arrived Nanjing, he was ordered to retire immediately. In late 1629, the court decided to revise the calendar and Li was summoned to Beijing. When Li left Hangzhou, he had been very sick. Upon arriving in Beijing, Li fell fatally ill and passed away in November 1630.

In a widely cited article, Nicolas Standaert argues that the late Ming Christian converts, especially the so-called three Pillars of Xu Guangqi, Yang Tingyun, and Li Zhizao, shared a common interest in the study of the Classics (*jingxue* 經學), and their interactions with the Jesuits “stimulated a ‘return’ to Confucian rites as is illustrated by Li Zhizao’s *Pangong liyue shu*.”<sup>216</sup> I partly agree with Standaert’s argument. The evidences that Standaert used to show a common interest among the late Ming converts in the study of Classics were indeed works

---

<sup>216</sup> Nicolas Standaert, “The Study of the Classics by Late Ming Christian Converts,” in *Cheng - All in Sincerity* (Großheirath: OSTASIEN Verlag, 2001), 19–40. For quotation, 36 .

related to the Confucian classics. However, they were not serious works on classical studies as such, since they were textbooks or primers for examination preparation. The fact that they compiled these texts does not in any way demonstrate that they were serious scholars of the classics. It should be noted that the contents of the *Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools* are obviously quite different from those of Qu Jiusi's *Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple* which admittedly does contain a lot of elements that fall within the purview of classical studies.<sup>217</sup>

However, it is plausible to suggest that Li's interest in the cult of Kongzi was stimulated by his close interactions with the Jesuits. Attending the Christian rituals performed by the Jesuits might well have led Li to rethink the Confucian rites, especially the *shidian* rites. Comparing to the Christian rituals which were strictly regulated, the *shidian* seemed to be terse and curt. In fact, even Li's ritual reforms in Kaizhou might have been a response to the Christian rituals. The interesting question remains as to why Li published a ritual manual that focuses on the worship of Kongzi, even after he had become a Christian. I think the answer lies in Li's conception and perception of the purposes of his compilation. In all likelihood, Li wrote *Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools* in order to highlight and emphasize the educational purposes of the *shidian* and downplaying its "religious" elements. Before Christianity's spread in China in the sixteenth century, the Chinese literati did not entertain the notion of a clear separation between "religiosity" and "secularity," if there were meaningful definitional or analytical categories at all to begin with; nor was that there any sharp awareness of monotheism. The contentions among

---

<sup>217</sup> In the addendum of Standaert's article, entitled "a provisional list of writing on the Classics by scholars who were in contact with Matteo Ricci and other early Jesuits," Standaert included Qu Jiusi. He stated that Qu was the "employer of Xiong Shiqi 熊士旂 before his conversion in 1619." I cannot find any connection between the Jesuits or Xiong Shiqi and Qu Jiusi. Standaert might have confused Qu Jiusi with someone from the family of Qu Rukui 瞿汝夔, Matteo Ricci's closest Chinese friend. See *ibid.*, 39.

the three teachings (Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism) did not hinge on the exclusive faith in the one and only true god. In the comments of Tian Yiheng 田藝衡, quoted above, we know that he obviously believed in deities. In fact, it is commonly known that in the late Ming, syncretism of the Three Teachings became a prominent trend, not only in popular culture but also high culture. The prominent novel *Journey to the West* (*Xi you ji* 西遊記) was the best popular reflection of the trend, but serious scholars contemplated the harmony and compatibility of the various ways of moral cultivation and intellectual pursuit in the Three Traditions. When Jesuits arrived in China, they adopted the policy of cultural accommodation. However, they still had to deal with two common practices that smacked of religious rituals, ancestor worship and the worship of Kongzi through the rite of *shidian*. When the Jesuits reported to Rome, they defined ancestor worship and the *shidian* rite as veneration of deceased family members and worthies, as opposed to religious rituals devoted to deities.

In the *Study of the Rites and Music of the Kong Temple*, Qu Jiusi described Kongzi as a human ghost (*rengui* 人鬼) who was different from spiritual deities in state sacrifices such as mountains and rivers. However, Li Zhizao did not use the term “ghost” in the *Proposal of Ritual and Music in Local Schools* except in cases of direct quotations from the Classics. Removal of the Daoist components in the *shidian* rite was also important to Li Zhizao. Therefore, he used a detailed ritual manual to downplay the religious components of the *shidian* rite while emphasizing its educational purposes.

## Shi Jishi & the *Collection of the Rites and Music of the Great Completion*

Among the three authors discussed in this chapter, Shi Jishi 史記事 (js.1595) is the least studied. Shi Jishi was from Weinan 渭南, a county in nowadays Shaanxi 陝西 province. He obtained the *jishi* degree in 1595.<sup>218</sup> Shi started his civil service career in the Shanxi 山西 province. He was appointed as the magistrate of the Jiexiu 介休 county in 1597.<sup>219</sup> In 1603, he became the magistrate of the Yuci 榆次 county.<sup>220</sup> According to the local gazetteers, Shi built a very good reputation in the two counties. When he left Yuci, people built a shrine (*shengci* 生祠) to honor him.<sup>221</sup> He seemed to be very effective at revealing the wrongdoings of officials in his tenure as magistrate.<sup>222</sup> Perhaps for this reason, before he finished the regular term of a magistrate, which was three years, Shi was appointed as a censor (*jicha yushi* 監察御史).<sup>223</sup> Within a short period of time, Shi quickly built up his fame by challenging high-ranking officials in Beijing.<sup>224</sup> He became a prominent member of the Donglin Party (Donglin dang 東林黨).<sup>225</sup> In 1612, Shi was promoted as the regional inspector (*xun'an yushi* 巡按御史) of Hugang 湖廣 province. At the end of the same year, Shi asked the court to let him retire because of illness. Without the formal approval from the court, Shi returned to his hometown from his Huguang position.<sup>226</sup> Staying in Weinan, Shi Jishi helped the local school to restore a complete *shidian*. He wrote the *Collection of the Rites and Music of the Great Completion* after the successful

---

<sup>218</sup> Zhu Baojiong 朱保炯 and Xie Peilin 謝沛霖, *Ming Qing Jinshi Timinglu Suoyin* 明清進士題名錄索引 [Index of the jinshi degree holders of the Ming-Qing period](Taipei: Wenhai chubanse, 1981), 1800.

<sup>219</sup> Zhi Wang and Zhizhou Wang, eds., *Jiexiu xianzhi* 介休縣志 (Jiexiu County, 1696), 5:5b.

<sup>220</sup> Shen, Qingya 沈青崖, ed. *Shannxi tongzhi* 陝西通志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 88:24b.

<sup>221</sup> Zhang, Heteng 張鶴騰 eds. *Yuci xianzhi* 榆次縣志 (Zhongguo difangzhi xuj. Yuci, 1609), 9:63b-69a.

<sup>222</sup> Dicheng He and Jingheng Yao, eds., *Chongji Weinan xianzhi* 重輯渭南縣志, Qing Daoguang jiu nian keban. (Weinan, 1829), 13:35a.

<sup>223</sup> MSL WL35/8/7.

<sup>224</sup> MSL WL36/8/29; WL36/10/15; WL39/1/11; WL39/2/20; WL39/1/23; WL39/4/24; WL39/4/28.

<sup>225</sup> MSL WL39/5/3.

<sup>226</sup> MSL WL40/12/14; WL43/1/11.



restoration. In 1622, the court summoned him to the Board of Rites as an administrative aide (*libu zhushi* 禮部主事).<sup>227</sup> He was promoted to be the deputy-director of the Messenger Office (*xingren si zuo fusi* 行人司左副司) in 1624.<sup>228</sup> However, he merely stayed in this position for two months, as he was again promoted to be an assistant Minister of the Seals Office (*shangbao si cheng* 尚寶司丞).<sup>229</sup> This was not the final position of Shi's career. Before he retired again, he was the chief Minister of the Court of Imperial Entertainments. I cannot exactly date when he was promoted and left the position. By 1630, he had already retired at home.<sup>230</sup> We do not know when Shi Jishi passed away. He was survived by his son, Shi Ruoji, who was a Usher of the Court of State Ceremonial (*honglu si xuban* 鴻臚寺序班).<sup>231</sup>

Shi Jishi was a very productive writer. According to the local gazetteers of Shi's hometown, Shi Jishi had a long list of works numbering more than fifteen titles, including studies of the Four Books, the Five Classics, history, and statecraft, a collection of his memorials, and selected quotations of classics.<sup>232</sup> As some of his works were listed in the famous catalog *Qianqingtang shumu* 千頃堂書目, we can assume that his works had attained a respectable degree of circulation in his time.<sup>233</sup> However, his name does not appear in the catalog of the SKQS, and the *DCLYJ* is the only book written by Shi Jishi that has survived. Shi showed his interest in the cult of Kongzi in the early stages of his civil service career. When he was the magistrate of Yuci, he initiated a large-scale renovation project for the local Temple of Culture.

---

<sup>227</sup> MSL TQ2/4/6; TQ2/10/6.

<sup>228</sup> MSL TQ4/4/1.

<sup>229</sup> MSL TQ4/6/5.

<sup>230</sup> MSL CZ3/1/3.

<sup>231</sup> He and Yao, *Chongji Weinan Xianzhi*, 13:39b.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 11:2b-3a.

<sup>233</sup> Yuji Huang, *Qianqingtang Shumu* 千頃堂書目, SKQS edition. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 2:44a; 3:31a; 9:20b; 11:34b; 25:38b.

He remodified and renovated the Hall of Great Completion and two cloisters. A new Gate of Completion was built. At that time, settlers occupied the avenue behind the Temple by building a lot of houses. Shi relocated the settlers and turned it into a board road.<sup>234</sup> After Shi quit his job and returned home in 1612, he began to focus on restoring the *shidian* rite in his hometown. There were two major causes for Shi's success in organizing a completely restored *shidian*. First, he recruited Wang Sixun 王思舜 (?), a local *shengyuan*, to assist him in the project. Wang was an expert in music, and unlike most of the Confucian scholars who did not have training in music and dance, he was able to help Shi Jishi with all things related to music. Wang compiled the scores for every music instrumental, and he also wrote instructions of how to play the instruments. Second, Shi's success owed much to the support from provincial officials. The *Collection of the Rites and Music of the Great Completion* includes all the correspondences between Shi and provincial officials. In order to keep the Daoist priests away from the *shidian* rites, Shi had to recruit young students to fill the ranks of the *yuewusheng*. With the support of the provincial officials, Shi managed to reward some of these *yuewusheng* with *shengyuan* status without examinations.<sup>235</sup> Shi's goal of publishing the *Collection of the Rites and Music of the Great Completion* was to share his experience with local elites who had the same interests in restoring local *shidian*.

## Conclusion

In the section above, I have shown each author's academic interests, experiences in officialdom, and their goals of publishing the ritual manuals. Li Zhizao and Shi Jishi who did

---

<sup>234</sup> Zhu Yunming, *Huaixingtang ji*, 2:10a-b.

<sup>235</sup> *DCLYJ*, *shuza* 書札 (correspondances) and *gongyi* 公移 (official documents).

organize the *shidian* rite themselves aimed at producing a practical ritual manual. On the other hand, Qu Jiusi focused more on theory rather than practicability. The format and structure of these late Ming manuals influenced the compilations of the Qing manuals.

## Chapter 4

### New Traditions in an Old Temple

This chapter investigates how the three High Qing emperors, Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong utilized the Temple of Culture as an apparatus to impose imperial might and state ideology. After the 1530 revision, Kongzi's posthumous status had been finalized as a teacher. Until the end of the Ming dynasty, there would be no further changes in Kongzi's posthumous status. The emergence of ritual manuals in the early seventeenth century showed that the attention to Kongzi's cult among Confucians had increased. During the fall of the Ming Dynasty, lamenting in the Temple of Culture (*kumiao* 哭廟) and burning Confucian robes (*fen rufu* 焚儒服) became two widespread forms of demonstrations among Confucians. Some Confucians cried at the Temple of Culture, as a kind of farewell to the sages, before committing suicides.<sup>236</sup> When the Manchus entered China, they inevitably faced the issues related to the Temple of Culture, especially the question how to position themselves, an ethnic minority, between “the transmission of the Way” and “the transmission of legitimate governance”. Instead of revising the institutions of Kongzi's cult, the High Qing emperors invented new traditions<sup>237</sup> in the Temple of Culture. In this chapter, I discuss two invented traditions of the Qing emperors: installing imperial authority and erecting victory stelae in the Temple of Culture. Through these

---

<sup>236</sup> Chen Kuo-tung 陳國棟, “Kumiao yu fen rufu - Mingmo Qingchu shengyuan ceng de shehui xing dongzuo 哭廟與焚儒服——明末清初生員層的社會性動作” (Temple lamentation and robe burning: gestures of social protest in the seventeenth-century China), *Xin shixue* 新史學, vol. 3:1(1992), 69-94.

<sup>237</sup> I borrow this term from Eric Hobsbawm; see Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Canto Classics Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.

two invented traditions, the network of Temples of Culture empire-wide became a symbol of imperial representation and an apparatus of legitimating wars of aggression.

### **The Qing Veneration of Kongzi**

According to the *Qing Veritable Records*, the Manchu rulers had the practice of offering sacrifice to Kongzi in Manchuria. On 4 September 1636, Huang Taiji sent Fan Wencheng 范文程 (1597-1666) to offer sacrifice to the spiritual tablets of Kongzi and the Four Correlates. However, we do not know where these spiritual tablets were housed and this ceremony was performed.<sup>238</sup> After entering China in 1644, the Manchu ruling class continued the Ming practice of sending officials to offer sacrifices on the second *ding* date of spring and autumn. When the Shunzhi emperor was enthroned in Beijing, he was just a five-year-old boy. Dorgon (ch. Duoergun 多爾袞, 1612-1650), the regent, was the de facto ruler of the empire. We have not enough information to assess Dorgon's understanding about Kongzi and his teaching, but he did visit the temple in Beijing to offer sacrifice in person after the Manchu troops captured Nanjing.<sup>239</sup> On the last date of 1650, Dorgon died of injuries of falling from horseback. The Shunzhi emperor, who was thirteen years old, assumed duties in person in 1651. In the autumn of 1652, the Shunzhi emperor visited the Imperial Academy to offer sacrifice to Kongzi in person.<sup>240</sup> Besides the 1652 ceremony, the Shunzhi emperor offered sacrifice to Kongzi at the Imperial Academy in 1660. This was a ceremony to celebrate the reconstruction of the Temple of Culture in the Imperial Academy.<sup>241</sup> During the Shunzhi reign, Kongzi's posthumous title changed two

---

<sup>238</sup> QSL: SD1/8/6.

<sup>239</sup> QSL: SZ2/6/8.

<sup>240</sup> QSL: SZ9/9/22.

<sup>241</sup> QSL: SZ17/1/24.

times. The first time was in 1645, the second year of the Shunzhi reign. The court followed the suggestion of Li Ruoyin 李若琳 (?-1651), the libationer (*jijiu* 祭酒) of the Imperial Academy, to change Kongzi's posthumous title from *zhisheng xianshi* 至聖先師 (the Supreme Sage and the First Master) to *dacheng zhisheng wenxuan xianshi* 大成至聖文宣先師 (the Great Completer, Supreme Sage, Exalted First Master of Culture).<sup>242</sup> However, in 1657, Zhang Wenguang 張文光 (?-?) argued that the title suggested by Li Ruolin was inappropriate. He suggested to use the title "Supreme Sage and the First Master".<sup>243</sup> The court changed Kongzi's posthumous title back to the Supreme Sage and the First Master,<sup>244</sup> which is still in use today.

In 1690, during the Kangxi reign, the court enforced a law which required everyone, including both civil or military officials, to dismount from a horse in front of the Temple of Culture.<sup>245</sup> A dismounting stele (*xiamai bei* 下馬碑) was erected in front of every Temple of Culture. In 1727, the Yongheng emperor included Kongzi's first name "*qiu* 丘" into the naming taboo of holiness (*shenghui* 聖諱). In Chinese history, characters used as the first names of emperors' should be avoided in daily usage. For example, the first name of the Kangxi emperor was Xuanye 玄燁. During the Qing dynasty, everything contained these two characters should change to a synonym or a character that sounded like the character being avoided. The Gate of Xuanwu (Xuanwu men 玄武門), a gate in the Forbidden City, therefore should change to the Gate of Shengwu (Shenwu men 神武門). The character "*qiu* 丘" was a popular last name and very common in place names. The Yongzheng emperor ordered the changing all of place names containing "*qiu*". For the last name, the emperor ordered to use the character "邱" which has the

---

<sup>242</sup> QSL: SZ2/1/23.

<sup>243</sup> QSL: SZ14/2/16.

<sup>244</sup> QSL: SZ14/3/13.

<sup>245</sup> QSL: KX29/9/18.

same sound.<sup>246</sup> Thus, the naming taboo that applied to the names of emperors would apply to the name of Kongzi. The Yongzheng emperor said, “From the Son of Heaven to common people, we all benefit from the teaching of the master.” (自天子以至於庶人，皆受師資之益。)<sup>247</sup> As a result, The Yongzheng emperor extended the taboo to Kongzi is nature to show his respect to the sage.

Besides the naming taboo, the Yongzheng emperor designated Kongzi’s birthday as a special day. In 1727, the Yongzheng emperor ordered everyone should fast on the twenty-seventh date of the eighth lunar month which he considered as Kongzi’s birthday. No butchering was allowed on that day. The emperor pointed out that the virtue and merit of the master benefit for billion generations. Therefore, his birthday should be honored. The Yongzheng emperor emphasized that he did not follow the Buddhist tradition to honor Kongzi.<sup>248</sup> However, during the Qianlong reign, some officials suggested offering sacrifices to Kongzi on his birthday. The Qianlong emperor rejected this suggestion. The Qianlong emperor considered that celebrating birthday was a tradition of Buddhism and Daoism. Veneration of Kongzi should follow the Confucian tradition.<sup>249</sup> The Qianlong emperor venerated Kongzi by changing the appearance of the Temple of Culture. In 1737, the Qianlong emperor changed the roof tiles of the Hall of Great Completion in the Imperial Academy to the color of yellow.<sup>250</sup> Yellow was the designated color used by emperors during the Qing dynasty. The roof tiles of the Forbidden City and temples of deceased emperors were yellow in color. Therefore, the change of the color of the Hall of Great Completion’s roof tiles was a great honor to Kongzi.

---

<sup>246</sup> QSL: YZ3/8/8.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> QSL: YZ5/2/7.

<sup>249</sup> QSL: QL32/4/8.

<sup>250</sup> QSL: QL2/9/11.

The Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors did not follow the tradition of the previous dynasties to venerate Kongzi by evaluating his title. The Qing emperors adopted unprecedented means to venerate him. Some of the means, such as changing the color of roof tiles might give people an impression that Kongzi had the same status as an deceased emperor. However, there was not any further change in Kongzi's title. Among the invented traditions of the Qing emperors, hanging imperial plaques and erecting victory stelae in the Temple of Culture were the one with the most profound influences.

### **The Qing Imperial Plaques in the Temple of Culture**

From the Kangxi emperor to the Xuantong emperor, the last emperor of the Chinese imperial history, every Qing emperor bestowed a wooden plaque to the Temple of Culture. Beginning from the Daoguang emperor, the plaque was bestowed within the first half year of their reign. Each imperial plaque had a four-character phrase, usually an excerpt from the Confucian classics, handwritten by an emperor. For those emperors who were too young to hold a pen, such as the Xuantong emperor who ascended to the throne as a three-year-old boy, a Senior Erudite (*hanlin* 翰林) from the Hanlin Academy would write the plaque on behalf of the emperor. The four-character eulogy usually came from the Confucian classics for admiring Kongzi's virtues and greatness. This tradition of sending plaques to the Temple of Culture when new rulers came to the throne did not end with the Qing. The government of the Republic of China (ROC) continues it till nowadays. In the Confucius Temple in Tainan, visitors can see eight Qing plaques and seven Republican plaques.<sup>251</sup> (See Figure 3)

---

<sup>251</sup> For the Kangxi imperial plaque in the Tainan Confucius Temple, see Chen Fang-mei 陳芳妹, "Taiwan Wenmiao Wanshi Shibiao Yubian: Jianlun Kangxi Yu Qingchu Wenmiao Yubian Zhidu de Xingcheng Yu Chuanbo 臺灣文廟萬世師表匾額：兼論康熙與清初文廟匾額制度的形成與傳承"





(Figure 3: Three of the Qing imperial plaques in the Tainan Confucius Temple. From above to bottom: the Kangxi plaque, the Tongzhi plaque, and the Guangxu plaque.)

---

「萬世師表」御匾——兼論康熙與清初文廟御匾制度的形成及傳播 [the Imperial Plaque ‘Model Teacher for All Ages’ at the Temple of Confucius in Tainan: With a Discussion of Kangxi and the Formation and Circulation of the Standard for Imperial Plaques in the Early Qing],” *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 31, no. 1 (September 2013), 199-230.

Emperors bestowing imperial writings to people or venues was a common way to show imperial favors. Presence of imperial writings could raise the stature of a person or a place. As an enthusiast of calligraphy, the Kangxi emperor always bestowed his work, in form of scrolls, to the high ranks officials in court.<sup>252</sup> In 1682, he sent the three characters of "*qing shen qin* 清慎勤", which meant purity, prudence, and diligence, to every governor-general as an encouragement.<sup>253</sup> When the emperors sent missions to the tributary states or received tributary envoy, they also bestowed imperial writings as a gift to the rulers of the tributary states.<sup>254</sup> The first imperial plaque in the Temple of Culture was originally the Kangxi emperor's gift to the Qufu Temple.

The Kangxi emperor visited Qufu in the last month of 1684. The previous imperial visit to Qufu had been Song Zhenzong's tour in 1008. Kongzi's descendants saw Kangxi's visit as a great honor to the Kong clan. They compiled all related documents of the trip into text called *Xing lu sheng dian* 幸魯盛典. Qufu was the last stop of the emperor's first southern tour before returning to Beijing.<sup>255</sup> 1684 was a year of significance in history of the Qing. The Rebellion of the Three Feudatories was completely suppressed in 1682. In 1683, the Cheng family in Taiwan surrendered to Beijing. All possible threats to the Manchu dominance had been eliminated until this point. In 1684, Kangxi re-opened the overseas trade which he had banned because of the war against the Cheng family. The thirty-year-old emperor decided to go on his first southern tour in order to proclaim the legitimacy of his rule and demonstrate the dominance of the Qing regime.

Kangxi's first southern tour was extremely well received by his contemporaries and historians of later generations. Every single detail of the tour reflected a brilliant image of the

---

<sup>252</sup> QSL:, KX19/06/27.

<sup>253</sup> QSL:, KX21/05/07.

<sup>254</sup> For the case of Ryukyu, see QSL KX21/08/25; for the case of Annam, see QSL: KX22/04/05.

<sup>255</sup> For the detail of Kangxi's first southern tour, see Michael G. Chang, *A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring & the Construction of Qing Rule, 1680-1785* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 75-79.

emperor. When the Kangxi emperor visited Mountain Tai 泰山, the emperor rejected the suggestion of performing the "fengshan" 封禪 ceremony. The "fengshan" ceremony, which had been criticized as grandiosity by generations of Confucian scholars, was an ancient way to demonstrate the emperor's reception of the Mandate of Heaven. Instead of "fengshan", the Kangxi emperor chose to pay homage to the Mountain Tai by "burning firewood" (*fan chai* 燔柴), a rite that the legendary rulers of the Three Generations performed.<sup>256</sup> When he stayed in Jiangning 江寧 (nowadays Nanjing), he venerated the Hongwu emperor, the founder of the Ming dynasty, by visiting his tomb and performed the "three kneelings and nine prostrations" (*san gui jiu koutou* 三跪九叩頭) in front of the spiritual tablet of the Hongwu emperor. This action did much appeasement to the Ming loyalists.

Qufu was the last stop of the Kangxi emperor's first southern tour. Kangxi offered sacrifice to Kongzi in person at the Qufu Temple. Officials from the Board of Rites suggested that the emperor followed the tradition of the previous dynasties by performing "two kneelings and six prostrations" 兩跪六叩頭. But, Kangxi insisted that he should perform the "three kneelings and nine prostrations,"<sup>257</sup> which had been the most august ritual performed by an emperor to Kongzi. After performing the *shidian* at the Qufu Temple, the Kangxi emperor asked a Grand Secretary to read his imperial edict to the Kong clan while the imperial bodyguards demonstrated a scroll. The imperial edict states,

The virtue of the Ultimate Sage was as brilliant as the Heaven, the Earth, the sun, and the moon. His erudition was impossible to describe. I have studied the meaning of the classics and thought about the ultimate Way. I wish to admire [the Sage] with eulogies, but I could not find the proper words. Therefore, I write four characters, *wanshi shibiao*

---

<sup>256</sup> *XLSD*, *juan* 2.

<sup>257</sup> *XLSD*, 3:1a-3b.

(the Paragon Teacher of Ten Thousand Generations) and hang it in the Hall of Great Completion. [These four characters] do not just expound and propagate the teachings of the Sage, but show it to the future generations.

至聖之德，與天地日月同其高明，廣大無可指稱。朕向來研求經義，體思至道，欲加贊頌，莫能名言。特書「萬世師表」四字，懸額殿中。非云闡揚聖教，亦以垂示將來。<sup>258</sup>

Besides the scroll, the Kangxi emperor also left his yellow imperial parasol as a gift. In Kangxi's opinions, the emperors of different dynasties who had visited Qufu usually left gold vessels or silverwares as gifts. The Kangxi emperor hoped his gift could be different from his predecessors. Therefore, he left the parasol detached from his personal retinue. In James Flath's view, both the scroll and the parasol suggested that "while the emperor could not advance the sages title, he nonetheless wished to revere Kongzi as an uncrowned king."<sup>259</sup> My understanding of Kangxi's actions is different from Flath's. The Kangxi emperor could honored Kongzi with the highest rites because the nature of Kongzi's cult had changed from royalty or nobility to a teacher during the Ming dynasty. The Kangxi emperor's veneration to Kongzi further consolidated Kongzi's identity and status as a 'teacher', not a king. The four-character phrase "wangshi shibiao", the Paragoned Teacher of Ten Thousand Generations, clearly affirmed that Kongzi was a teacher, not an uncrowned king.

The handwritten scroll was originally a gift to the Qufu Temple, but very soon it was made into wooden plaques and installed in every Temple of Culture empire wide. In 1685, Zhang Keqian 張可前 (js. 1652), the Left Deputy Censor-in-Chief 左副都御史, submitted a memorial with two suggestions. The first was to compile a work to demonstrate Kangxi's brilliance in his

---

<sup>258</sup> XLSD, 7:12b.

<sup>259</sup> James A. Flath, *Traces of the Sage: Monument, Materiality, and the First Temple of Confucius* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 73.

of policy-making during his reign. This book should follow the model of the *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 (Essentials of government of the Zhenguan reign), which records the policy-making process of Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (b. 598, r. 626-649) during the Zhenguan reign (627-649) Zhang's second suggestion was to hang Kangxi's imperial writing in every school.

Your Majesty visited Queli, wrote the four characters "*wanshi shibiao*", and put them on the Temple of Confucius. There was no precedence in history. Please order the Ministry to inscribe [the imperial writing on] the stone, to send [the ink rubbing to] every province, and to put [the plaque] on every school. It does not only show [Your Majesty's] great virtue of paying respect to the Master and emphasizing the Way to the students and scholars but displays the precious imperial writing, which is like the flying dragon and phoenix, to every corner under Heaven.<sup>260</sup>

Kangxi accepted both of Zhang's suggestions. The emperor ordered that every state-sponsored school should hang the imperial plaque in the Hall of the Great Completion. However, it took quite a long time to complete this project. The scroll that Kangxi left at the Qufu Temple was the only copy of the imperial handwriting. By following the emperor's order, the Duke of Fulfilling the Sage made the plaque and inscribed the imperial handwriting on a stone after the Kangxi emperor left Qufu. As every the plaque would be hanged in every Temple of Culture, Kangxi ordered the Duke to submit an ink rubbing of the inscribed stone to Beijing. The Board of Rites made copies based on the ink rubbing and delivered them who would make them to the governors-general. Then the governors-general sent the copies to the local officials for making plaques for each school within their administration. The imperial plaque was hung in the Hall of

---

<sup>260</sup> *XLSD*, 13:6a-6b.

Great Completion at the Imperial Academy in 1694, eight years after the decision had been made.

The Yongzheng emperor continued the Kangxi emperor's invented tradition. In 1725, the third year of the Yongzheng reign, the emperor bestowed a imperial plaque on the Qufu Temple. The Grant Secretariats asked the emperor to bestow the imperial plaque, which contained the four characters "*sheng min wei you* 生民未有" (Unprecedented since the birth of humanity), on every Temple of Culture. As a result, the court sent out copies of the imperial writing, most likely in form of ink rubbing, to the provincial officials.<sup>261</sup> When the Qianlong emperor succeeded to the throne, he bestowed the imperial plaque on the Temple of Culture in 1738, the third year of his reign.<sup>262</sup> His son, the Jiaqing emperor, bestowed the imperial plaque in the fourth year of the Jiaqing reign, after the Qianlong emperor, who had retired and abdicated, passed away.<sup>263</sup> The rest of the Qing emperors bestowed their imperial plaques within the first year of his reigns.<sup>264</sup> Even after the fall of the Qing empire, the presidents of the Republic of China continued this invented tradition. The ROC presidents who sent wooden plaques to the Temple of Culture included Li Yuanhong 黎元洪 (1864-1928), Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887-1975), Yen Chia-kan 嚴家淦 (1905-1993), Chiang Ching-kuo 蔣經國 (1910-1988), Lee Tung-hui 李登輝 (1923-), Chen Shui-bian 陳水扁 (1950-), Ma Ying-jeou 馬英九 (1950-), and Tsai Ing-wen 蔡英文 (1956-).

The imperial plaque was a significant imperial representation in localities that have been overlooked by historians. The Kangxi emperor was the first Chinese ruler to hang his

---

<sup>261</sup> QSL: YZ3/8/5.

<sup>262</sup> QSL: QL3/2/5.

<sup>263</sup> QSL: JQ4/5/18.

<sup>264</sup> QSL: JQ25/9/16; DG30/2/12; XF11/10/26; GX1/1/23; XT1/6/7.

handwriting in the Hall of the Great Completion. There were emperors, such as the Zhenzong of Song dynasty, wrote the plaque "Da Cheng Dian 大成殿", the name of the Hall of Great Completion, for the Qufu Temple. However, these name plaques usually adorned the doors and gates of the Temple, not inside the Hall of the Great Completion. The Kangxi plaque was the first one hung inside the Hall. The four characters on the imperial plaques, usually excerpted phrases from the classics, were the emperor's eulogy of Kongzi. The Qing imperial plaques which were above Kongzi spiritual tablet occupied a significant position in the *shidian* and *shicai* ritual. The Hall of Great Completion was the sacred ground for the *shidian* and *shicai* ritual. Before the installation of the imperial plaques, the participants of *shidian* only worshiped Kongzi, the symbol of the transmission of the Way. After the installation of the imperial plaques, when people offered sacrifices and bowed to Kongzi, they also bowed to the imperial plaques, the representations of the Qing emperors. They reminded people of the emperors who visited the Temples of Culture in person or in spirit, affirming the fact that they were the imperial patrons of the transmission of the Way.

### The Qing Victory Stelae

Erecting commemorative stelae for military campaigns at the Temple of Culture was another invented tradition of the Qing emperors. The rest of this chapter shows how the Qing emperors legitimated their wars of conquest to the Han subjects of the empire through eight commemorative stelae in the Temple of Culture and the ideological questions they faced in doing so.<sup>265</sup> Seven of the stelae were originally erected in the Imperial Academy (Taixue 太學) in

---

<sup>265</sup> I use "stele" for singular and "stelae" for plural.

Beijing and included the four characters of *gaocheng Taixue* 告成太學 (“reporting the successful completion [of a military campaign] at the Imperial Academy”) in their titles. The one exception, which did, however, include *gaocheng* (“reporting a successful completion”) in its title, was originally erected in the Temple of Culture in Chengde, where the Qing Summer Palace (Bishu shanzhuang 避暑山莊) was located. From this point on, all eight stelae will be referred to as “victory stelae.” Although the victory stelae were originally erected in Beijing and Chengde, the intended audience was not limited to the students, literati, and officials at these centers of empire. The Qing officials erected victory stelae in local Temples of Culture. Compared to other forms of imperial military commemorations and publications, such as military archives (*fanglüe* 方略) and “images of battle” (*zhanxun tu* 戰勛圖), the victory stelae constituted the most accessible way to convey information on the empire’s military activities to its subjects.

Inscribed stelae as a way to commemorate wars had a long history that had begun much earlier than the Qing dynasty. Stelae were usually erected on former battlefields, spots directly related to military successes, and along the routes that armies had marched. However, the practice of erecting victory stelae in the Imperial Academy was an “invented tradition” in the Qing dynasty. Before this time, no ruler had attempted to install a military monument in the Imperial Academy, the symbolic center of culture and civilian education. The Kangxi emperor referencing the Confucian classics, erected the first victory stele to connect his military success to the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties. The Yongzheng emperor, who erected the second victory stele, turned what might otherwise have been a one-off measure into a tradition. The Qianlong emperor erected four victory stelae in the Imperial Academy and one in the Chengde Temple of Culture. On the one hand, the Qianlong emperor was very committed to using the



victory stelae to justify his wars of conquest. On the other hand, he was concerned that the audience, namely his Han subjects, might see his victory stelae as a symbol of abusive warfare and arrogance. The Daoguang emperor was the last Qing emperor to erect a victory stele in the Imperial Academy. However, this stele was not widely erected in the localities, with the result that it did not serve its purpose as a tool of propaganda well.

By erecting the victory stelae in the Imperial Academy and local temples of culture the Qing emperors utilized the shrine dedicated to Kongzi to legitimize their wars of conquest to their target Han audience. Although the idea of erecting military commemorations in the Imperial Academy came from Han officials and Confucian classics, the high Qing emperors successfully turned it into a unique Qing apparatus for declaring the righteousness of their wars. However, the Qing emperors, the Qianlong emperor, in particular, understood that, according to Confucian values, wars of conquest and territorial expansion by military means were associated with “exhausting the army with excessive campaigns” (*qiongbing duwu* 窮兵黷武) and “delusions of grandeur” (*haoda xigong* 好大喜功)—characteristics typical of Chinese tyrants. Therefore, the emperors found it necessary to limit their commemorations to a few carefully selected campaigns and to explain the inevitability of the warfare in these instances in the accompanying inscriptions.

In the following pages, I will describe the locations of the victory stelae in the Imperial Academy, a location that clearly indicated the high level of importance the stelae possessed. Then, I will discuss the stelae in chronological order. As the Qianlong emperor erected five of the eight victory stelae and the Qianlong stelae were replicated all over the empire, I will divide

my analysis of the Qianlong stelae into three sections according to their locations: Beijing, Chengde, and localities beyond the empire's centers.

### The Stone Stelae in the Imperial Academy

The Imperial Academy (*Taixue* 太學 or *Guoxue* 國學) was the highest educational institution in late imperial China. With the exception of a short period during the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644), when the capital was Nanjing, the Imperial Academy, which was originally established by the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), was located on the same site in Beijing.

<sup>266</sup> The Imperial Academy complex in Beijing was rendered in the classic architectural style of a temple-school, which was the standard for all schools in traditional China. The eastern part was a Temple of Culture, and the western part was a school, the *Guozijian* 國子監. Most of the complex that we see today was built and regularly renovated over the course of the Ming-Qing period.

In modern times, the Imperial Academy has become a tourist site, and the stelae in the Imperial Academy are important tourist attractions.<sup>267</sup> The most famous group of stelae is the “Stelae Listing the Names of the *Jinshi* Degree-Holders” (*Jinshi timing bei* 進士題名碑), which lists the candidates who passed the highest level of the triennial civil service examinations.<sup>268</sup> Less well-known, but larger, is the group of stelae referred to as the “Imperial Stelae of the Stone

---

<sup>266</sup> Kong Zhe 孔喆, *Tushuo guozijian: fengjian wangchao de zuigao xuefu* 图说国子监: 封建王朝的最高学府 [An illustrated introduction of the Imperial Academy: The highest educational institute of the feudal dynasties] (Jinan: Shandong youyi chubanshe, 2006), 8–16; Li Yongkang 李永康, and Yan Gao 高彦, eds. *Beijing kongmiao guozijian shihua* 北京孔廟國子監史話 [A history of the Kong Temple and Imperial Academy in Beijing] (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan chu ban she, 2010), 1–15.

<sup>267</sup> In modern times, the complex is a museum: the “Museum of the Beijing Confucian Temple and Imperial College,” *Beijing kongmiao he guozijian bowuguan* 北京孔廟和國子監博物館.

<sup>268</sup> Xing 2006; Zhang 2014; *GZJZ*, 1102–1126.

Classics” (Yuding shijing bei 御定石經碑). Carved during the reign of the Qianlong emperor, these stelae display carefully etched court-sanctioned versions of all the important classics. These stelae clearly show the emperor’s intent to control and standardize the Confucian classics, thereby asserting imperial orthodoxy.<sup>269</sup> These *Stone Classics* used to be located outdoors, but are now in an air-conditioned corridor built to protect them from the natural elements.

The stelae with inscriptions authored by the emperors or copied from their calligraphy look quite different from the stelae for which this is not the case. Usually referred to as “imperial stelae” (yuzhi bei 御製碑 or yubei 御碑), each has a base in the shape of a turtle-like monster called a *bixi* 赑屭, which was capable of bearing heavy objects on its back. The imperial stelae in the square in front of the Hall of Great Completion were the most significant group, as this hall was the center of the Imperial Academy complex.

According to sources from the Qing period, only one Ming stele was erected in the square. When the Qing officials decided to renovate the building, they moved the Ming stele outside the Gate of Great Completion.<sup>270</sup> Unlike the Ming emperors, the Qing emperors fully utilized the space in front of the hall to display their presence on the Confucian sacred ground. They erected eleven stelae within the square and two outside the Gate of Great Completion when the square could afford no more space. Each was protected by a pavilion with thick walls. (See Figure 4.)<sup>271</sup> Seven of the thirteen Qing stelae in the center of the Imperial Academy were victory stelae. Through the non-military stelae, the Qing emperors expressed admiration for Kongzi and his disciples and offered advice to the academy’s students. These stelae also recorded explanations for major architectural changes in the temple. The inscriptions on the victory stelae

---

<sup>269</sup> For Qianlong’s reasons for putting up the Stone Classics, see *GZJZ*, 1036–46.

<sup>270</sup> *GZJZ*, 933.

<sup>271</sup> For the locations and detailed content of the thirteen imperial stelae, see Appendix 1 and Figure .

can be divided into two parts. The first part, in the form of prose, usually explained the reasons for launching the campaigns and recorded how the Qing emperor had defeated his enemies. The second part of the inscription comprised an epigraph (*mingwen* 銘文), usually rendered in the form of loosely rhyming four-character sentences.



Figure 4. The First Victory Stele in the Imperial Academy, erected in 1704. Sources: Photo by author.

The Imperial Academy represented imperial patronage of the cult of Kongzi and his teaching. Unlike battlefields or buildings such as the Temple of True Victory (*Shisheng si* 實勝寺) and the Pavilion of Purple Light (*Ziguang ge* 紫光閣), which were built to commemorate wars, the Imperial Academy was not a conventional site for installing war monuments.<sup>272</sup> According to Joanna Waley-Cohen, “the installation of stelae bearing military narratives at this particular location represented a bold effort to blur the traditional separation of civil and military, *wen* and *wu*.”<sup>273</sup> It also represented a bold effort to connect wars of conquest with the headquarters of the empire’s education network, a place with no direct relationship with warfare. Because the Imperial Academy was the model for state-sponsored schools, as we will discuss in later sections, local schools soon replicated the victory stelae. The victory stelae became a propaganda tool used by the Qing emperors to justify their wars throughout local districts.

### **The Kangxi Stele**

The victory stelae were an invention of the Kangxi emperor based on the record of Confucian classics. However, the idea of erecting a stele in the Imperial Academy came from Han officials. The first victory stele commemorated the war between the Qing and Galdan (1632?–1697), the leader of Zunghar Khanate from 1690 to 1697.<sup>274</sup> The Kangxi emperor personally led expeditions to the frontiers in 1690, 1696, and 1697. Upon returning from the battlefield in 1697, he held the typical celebratory ceremonies, which included reporting the

---

<sup>272</sup> For *Shisheng si* and *Ziguang ge*, see Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military Under the Qing Dynasty* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 30–31 and 40–44. The inscriptions of the victory stelae also were hung in *Ziguang ge* during the Qianlong reign, see Laura Newby, *The Empire and the Khanate: A Political History of Qing Relations with Khoqand c. 1760–1860* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 13.

<sup>273</sup> Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China*, 32.

<sup>274</sup> For a detailed account of the campaign, see Peter Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 133–93.

news of the victory to Heaven, the ancestors, and the deities of the mountains and seas. An official was dispatched to Qufu, the hometown of Kongzi, to report the news to the Sage and to perform a *shidian*.<sup>275</sup> The official also presented a 136-character eulogy on behalf of the emperor. In this brief eulogy, Kangxi stated that by following the teachings of the *Six Classics*, he had made the stability of society the top priority of his rule since ascending the throne. However, Galdan had raided the frontiers and caused great turmoil such that the emperor had been forced to lead the expedition in person to quell the danger to his state. In order to give thanks to the Sage (Kongzi) for his blessings, the emperor sent officials to offer sacrifices and to deliver the news of victory.<sup>276</sup>

Erecting a victory stele in the Imperial Academy was not a typical ritual associated with celebrating a victory.<sup>277</sup> Sun Yueban 孫岳頒 (*jinshi* 1682; d. 1708), the Han libationer (*jijiu* 祭酒) of the Imperial Academy, and Zhang Yuzhang 張豫章 (*jinshi* 1688), a Han tutor (*siye* 司業), submitted a memorial to the Kangxi emperor in 1697, asking that a stele in the Imperial Academy be erected in order to report the news of victory to Kongzi and commemorate the campaign.<sup>278</sup>

---

<sup>275</sup> QSL: KX36/7/18.

<sup>276</sup> For Kangxi's essay, see GZJZ, 436.

<sup>277</sup> The regular military rituals following a triumphant campaign consisted principally of two parts: a welcome for the victorious army upon its return (*jiaolao* 郊勞) and the presentation and reception of captives (*xianfu* 獻俘 and *shoufu* 受俘). For a detailed account of these rituals, see Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China*, 77–83 and Zhu Yuqi 朱玉麒, “Cong gao yu miao she dao gao cheng tianxia: qing dai xibei bianjiang pingding de liyi chongjian 從告於廟社到告成天下——清代西北邊疆平定的禮儀重建” [From Praying to the Ancestors and the Heaven and Earth to Declaration to the People: Reconstruction of the Celebration for Pacifying the Northwest Frontier of the Qing Dynasty (Author's original English title)]. In *Dongfangxue yanjiu lunji: Gaotian shixiong jiaoshou tuixiu jinian* 東方學研究論集：高田時雄教授退休紀念（中文分冊） [East Asian studies: festschrift in honor of the retirement of Professor Takata Tokio (Chinese volume)] (Shuppanchi fumei: Tohogaku kenkyu ronshu kankokai, 2014), 399–402. Here, I have followed Waley-Cohen in translating the names of the rituals.

<sup>278</sup> In most of the primary sources, including GZJZ and QSL, the author of the memorial discussed here was Sun Yueban. Zhang Yuzhang's name appears in the memorial only in XLSD. See XLSD, 14:27a.

Citing the *Shijing* 詩經 (*Odes*) and *Liji* 禮記 (*Records of Rites*), two orthodox Confucian classics, Sun and Zhang claimed that the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties (Xia, Shang, and Zhou) had announced their military victories and interrogated the captives on the grounds of an academy. According to the *Liji*, when the Son of Heaven decided to lead an expedition in person, he should first worship the gods in accordance with the recognized rituals: Then, “the Son of Heaven received the mandate from the ancestors, and the complete [strategic plan] at the school. After the expedition had seized the criminals and returned [home], he had to offer sacrifice at the school, question the captives, and cut off their ears there.”<sup>279</sup> In their memorial, Sun and Zhang stated that as the emperor had personally led the expeditions to defeat Galdan, his military victory exceeded the achievements of any other ruler in Chinese history. The rulers of the Han dynasty and Tang dynasty had not performed the ritual recorded in the *Liji* and the *Shijing*; therefore, the Kangxi emperor could begin the tradition. Sun and Zhang suggested that it was not necessary for the emperor to question the captives at the Imperial Academy, but he could perform a *shidian* in person to report his triumph to the sage and then erect a stele to commemorate the campaigns.<sup>280</sup>

In Sun and Zhang’s memorial, *Liji* and *Shijing* constituted the theoretical foundation for erecting a victory stele in the Imperial Academy. Book 3 of *Liji*, entitled “*Wangzhi*” 王制 (Royal Regulations), recorded the rituals that the son of Heaven must perform if he is to personally lead an army:

---

<sup>279</sup> QSL: KX35/07/15.

<sup>280</sup> There are at least three versions of Sun’s memorial. The full version is given in *XLSD*, 14:27a-31a. The version in *GZJZ* is slightly abridged; see *GZJZ*, 1172–73. For a more abridged version, see *QSL*: KX35/7/15.



When the son of Heaven was about to go forth on a punitive expedition, he sacrificed specially, but with the usual forms, to God; offered the Î sacrifice at the altar of the Earth, and the Zhào in the name of his father. He offered sacrifice also to the Father of War [on arriving] at the state which was the object of the expedition. He had received his charge from his ancestors, and the complete [plan] for the execution of it in the college. He went forth accordingly, and seized the criminals; and on his return he set forth in the college his offerings, and announced [to his ancestors] how he had questioned [his prisoners], and cut off the ears [of the slain].<sup>281</sup>

The date and origin of the *Liji* are controversial topics in Chinese intellectual history, and different sections of it may have come from numerous authors. However, Confucian scholars from the third century on had seen it as an orthodox anthology of ancient institutions and rites.<sup>282</sup> The *Shijing* was another classic cited by Sun and Zhang in their memorial. The *Liji* recorded the military rituals that the son of Heaven must perform at a school, whereas the *Shijing* provided evidence that a ruler of Lu 魯, a feudal state located in what is now Shandong province, had performed the ritual of celebrating victory at a school. An ode in the *Shijing*, entitled “Pan River” (*Panshui* 泮水), described the ceremony of presenting captives and the banquet celebrating victory at a school next to the Pan River after Duke Xi of Lu (*Lu xi gong* 魯僖公, r. 659–627 BCE) defeated the barbarians who had invaded his state.<sup>283</sup>

The first half of the *Liji* text quoted above clearly states the names of the deities to whom the son of Heaven should offer sacrifices and the names of the rituals dedicated to them. However, the state school, or “college” in Legge’s translation, was only a site at which the Son of Heaven performed rituals before and after an expedition. The text does not indicate that any

---

<sup>281</sup> The quotation is from James Legge’s translation; see James Legge trans., *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), bk. 3, 220.

<sup>282</sup> For the nature and history of “the three Rites” (*Yili*, *Zhouli*, and *Liji*), see Michael Nylan, *The Five “Confucian” Classics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 168–201.

<sup>283</sup> James Legge trans., *The She King* (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1991), vol. 4, 616–20; for background to the *Odes*, see Michael Nylan, *The Five “Confucian” Classics*, 72–119.

deity or sage was worshiped at the school. In addition, it was around the eighth century that state-sponsored schools began to worship only Kongzi. By that time, schools could also worship the Duke of Zhou (*Zhou gong* 周公) and other sages of antiquity.<sup>284</sup> In other words, records about the ancient military rituals in the *Liji* do not indicate that they were dedicated to Kongzi or to any other sage in particular. In the ode “*Panshui*”, the school next to the Pan River, a state school of Lu, is the site at which military rituals were performed and celebrations held. When Duke Xi of Lu performed there, it was more than a hundred years before the birth of Kongzi. However, when Sun and Zhang suggested erecting a stele in the Imperial Academy, Kongzi was the only sage worshiped there. For this reason, it was necessary that any war commemorated on the sacred ground of Kongzi be in accord with Confucian values.

Sun and Zhang were civilian officials in charge of education, and their ties with the campaigns seemed to be rather limited. Biographical information on Sun Yueban is scarce. However, we do know that he obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1682 and then entered the Hanlin Academy.<sup>285</sup> In 1685, he was appointed to the post of diarist of the *Imperial Diaries* (*Qiju zhu* 起居注).<sup>286</sup> He was made the Han libationer of the Imperial Academy in 1695.<sup>287</sup> In 1701, Sun was promoted to Vice Minister of the Board of Rites, although he retained the position of libationer.<sup>288</sup> Sun, who held these two positions until his death in 1708,<sup>289</sup> was also well-known as a master of calligraphy. According to a local gazetteer from Sun’s hometown, the Kangxi emperor always discussed calligraphy with Sun in the inner palace. He also ordered Sun to transcribe imperial

---

<sup>284</sup> Dong Xining, *Kongmiao jisi yanjiu*, 63–66.

<sup>285</sup> QSL: KX21/10/10.

<sup>286</sup> QSL: KX24/2/2.

<sup>287</sup> GZJZ, 713.

<sup>288</sup> QSL: KX39/7/24.

<sup>289</sup> QSL: KX47/11/4.

manuscripts for printing and inscribing.<sup>290</sup> Sun was the chief editor of *Midian zhulin* 秘殿珠林, a catalogue of the imperial collection of religious images, and *Yuding peiwenzhai shuhua pu* 御定佩文齋書畫譜, an encyclopedia of calligraphy and drawing. Overall, Sun's principal contributions during his civil career were in the fields of education and art. We know even less about Zhang Yuzhang, however. The Kangxi emperor hand-picked Zhang as *tanhua* 探花, the third top candidate in the palace examination, and then Zhang entered the Hanlin Academy.<sup>291</sup> He was made a Han tutor of the Imperial Academy in 1694.<sup>292</sup> The memorial for erecting the victory stele seems to be the only political writing by Sun and Zhang that has survived. Their response to Galdan's defeat by an expedition led by the emperor suggests that they found the victory to be overwhelming: "Your servants are only pedantic scholars. It is Your Majesty's grace to promote [us to the current position], and we were not able to serve [you] by carrying crossbows and holding *shu* [an ancient bamboo weapon] in the battlefield."<sup>293</sup> In this context, erecting the victory stele was a way, not only for Sun and Zhang but the Han fellows in the Imperial Academy, to connect to the campaign despite being absent from the expedition.

Kangxi ordered the Board of Rites to discuss Sun and Zhang's memorial. The Board of Rites generally agreed with Sun and Zhang's suggestion. However, they stated that as the Kangxi emperor had already performed *shidian* in person in 1696, this time he could send an official on his behalf to report news of the victory. A stele should be erected in the Imperial Academy to commemorate the campaign; the Hanlin Academy should draft the inscription, and ink-rubbings of the stele should be delivered to local schools. As a result, the future ten thousand generations

---

<sup>290</sup> *Qianlong Jiangnan tongzhi*, 165:75b–76a.

<sup>291</sup> *QSL*: KX27/3/28, KX27/4/11, and KX27/5/11.

<sup>292</sup> *GZZJ*, 715.

<sup>293</sup> *XLSD*, 14:30a.

would know that the Kangxi emperor had personally led expeditions to crush the rebels at the frontier.<sup>294</sup> The Kangxi emperor appeared to hesitate in accepting at the Board of Rites' suggestion. Sun and Zhang submitted their memorial on July 16, 1696 (KX35/6/25). Kangxi ordered the Board of Rites to discuss it on August 1 (KX35/7/4), and that the agency submit the result of the discussion on August 12 (KX35/7/12). However, it was not until July 23, 1697 (KX36/6/6), almost one year later, that Kangxi approved the suggestion.<sup>295</sup> The inscription for the stele was announced almost two years after Sun's memorial.<sup>296</sup> The stele was finally erected in 1704, seven years after Sun's memorial. Although the text for the stele inscription was drafted by the scholars of the Hanlin Academy, it was subject to the approval of the Kangxi emperor. We can, therefore, consider it to be Kangxi's opinion. The inscription, which consists of some prose and an epigraph, had 978 characters in total. In 514 characters, the prose explains the reasons for the campaign and the terrible hardships the emperor had overcome in leading three expeditions into the war zone.<sup>297</sup> The epigraph repeats the content of the prose in four-character rhyming sentences. At the end of the prose, Kangxi cited the same statement from the *Liji* that Sun and Zhang had quoted in their memorial. Thus, Kangxi made the following claims:

In ancient times, *wen* and *wu* were integrated as a unity. Therefore, whether it was the discussion of strategic planning or the offering of the ears of the enemies [for the purpose of body-count], they both took place at the school. Since I yearned for the Three Dynasties, I informed the deities [by offering sacrifices] before launching the campaign. Upon my return, I sent officials to Qufu to pay homage to [Kongzi]. Hereby, I grant the request from the court officials [to build the victory stele], because [the victory stele] honors the Sage-Teacher with the victory, and it also accords with the teachings of the *Six Classics*. By borrowing the meaning of "*Panshui*" [the ode], [I] made an ode as epigraph. It shows that

---

<sup>294</sup> *XLSD*, 14:31a–34b.

<sup>295</sup> *XLSD*, 14:34a.

<sup>296</sup> *QSL*: KX37/10/4.

<sup>297</sup> For Perdue's discussion of the stele, see Peter Perdue, *China Marches West*, 432–33.

the campaign was for the purpose of justice, and I had no alternative but to launch it. Maybe it did not violate the ancient sage-kings' belief of using [military force] to punish [a] tyrant and to give peace to people.<sup>298</sup>

Kangxi's emphasis on the integration of *wen* and *wu* supports Waley-Cohen's argument about the purpose of the Qianlong victory stelae, namely, that the stelae were an element of a conscious effort on the part of the Manchu Qing court to blur the traditional distinction between the civil and the martial.<sup>299</sup> However, Kangxi did not portray *wu* as a Manchu characteristic. On the other hand, the integration of *wen* and *wu* was only a means of achieving related greater goals, to which Sun Yueban had alluded in his memorial: the goals of transcending the Han and Tang dynasties and returning to the Three Dynasties. The Han and Tang dynasties were commonly considered to be the most prosperous and powerful periods in Chinese history, at least in material terms. Both dynasties were well known for their territorial expansion and transregional trading networks. As a result, even today, the largest ethnic group in China is generally referred to as the Han people or Tang people. However, many of the neo-Confucian scholars of the Song dynasty did not consider the Han and the Tang to be the ultimate models of excellence. Instead, the institutions and teachings of the Three Dynasties, recorded in the *Six Classics*, offered the ideal political model. Therefore, the rulers to emulate were not Han Wudi (b. 156 BCE, r. 140–87 BCE) or Tang Taizong (b. 598 CE, r. 626–649), held to be the most brilliant emperors of the Han and Tang dynasties, respectively. Rather, the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties were the models. "Returning to the Three Dynasties" was a shared dream

---

<sup>298</sup> GZJZ, 437.

<sup>299</sup> Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China*, 32.

among neo-Confucian scholars, and a sage-king was the critical precondition of “the return.”<sup>300</sup> Inspired by this neo-Confucian ideal, Sun Yueban’s memorial explicitly requests Kangxi to go beyond the Han and Tang dynasties to revive the rituals and institutions of the Three Dynasties. Kangxi, as we clearly see in the stele inscription, connected himself to the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties.

Moreover, the campaigns against Galdan matched a unique situation described in the *Classics*, thereby creating an opportunity to revive the ancient rituals. The *Liji* states that the ritual of announcing victory in the Imperial Academy was to be performed only for an expedition led by the Son of Heaven. Unlike their counterparts in medieval and early modern Europe, Chinese rulers were not supposed to be supreme military leaders. With the exception of the founders of the dynasties, most Chinese emperors seldom set foot on the battlefield. The scholar-officials in court generally rejected the idea of imperial activities beyond the capital, and *qinzheng* 親征, which means having the emperor personally lead a military expedition, was the riskiest kind of undertaking.<sup>301</sup> The Qing founders, Nurhaci (1559–1626) and Hong Taiji (1592–1643), each had extensive military experience. However, both the Shunzhi emperor and the Kangxi emperor who followed had ascended the throne as children. When Kangxi came to the throne in 1662, the Manchu regime was not yet entirely consolidated, and so when the Three Feudatories, led by Wu Sangui 吳三桂 (1608–1678), rebelled in 1673, many believed that the Qing regime would lose control of South China. With the defeat of the Three Feudatories and later the Zheng regime of Taiwan, the young Kangxi emperor showed himself to be a ruler with

---

<sup>300</sup> For a discussion of the Neo-Confucians’ nostalgia for the Three Dynasties, see Yu Ying-shih 余英时, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie* 朱熹的历史世界 [The historical world of Zhu Xi] (Beijing: Sanlian shuju, 2004), 184–99.

<sup>301</sup> Michael Chang’s study of the imperial southern tours shows the opposition to a mobile court during both the Kangxi and Qianlong reigns; see Michael Chang, *A Court on Horseback*, 72–113.

political acumen and military insight. However, in the face of oppositions from court officials, he did not personally lead any expeditions (although he did express a wish to do so). When he decided to lead a campaign in person to eliminate Galdan, he again encountered great resistance from the court officials. The Kangxi emperor ordered all courtiers above the third rank to express their opinions before the expedition, and according to his own account, only three or four out of hundreds fully supported his decision.<sup>302</sup> The Kangxi emperor's expedition turned out to be very successful. The officials who had opposed the emperor's decision may have needed a way to mend their relationships with him, whereby they could reconcile their rejection of the emperor's decision to lead an army with their unwavering support and admiration of him. This could be one reason that Sun and Zhang suggested erecting a stele in the Imperial Academy to honor and celebrate the campaign. In any case, the point to note is that the emperor's personal participation in the campaigns was the prerequisite for the first victory stele. Galdan's defeat was not the last military victory during the Kangxi period. In the last years of the emperor's reign, the Qing gained control of Tibet through a series of military successes. In 1721, the Mongolian princes and Manchu princes petitioned for a stele to commemorate the campaigns. The emperor consented and wrote the inscription for the stele erected in Tibet. However, it should be noted that he did not erect a victory stele for this campaign in the Imperial Academy.<sup>303</sup>

In sum, the Kangxi victory stele was an invention suggested by the Han officials of the Imperial Academy to revive an ancient ritual based on the Confucian classics. The imperial presence on the battlefield was the major reason for erecting the stele. The Kangxi emperor acted

---

<sup>302</sup> *Shengzu ren huangdi qinzheng pingding shuomo fanglüe* 聖祖仁皇帝親征平定朔漠方略 [the military archive of the Kangxi emperor's expedition for the pacification of the northern desert], Siku quanshu version, preface, 3b–4b; jilüe, 1a–1b.

<sup>303</sup> QSL: KX60/9/29.

on the officials' suggestion by using the stele to demonstrate his passion for the Three Dynasties and the Confucian sage-kings. From Kangxi's perspective, the victory stele in the Imperial Academy may have constituted a unique tribute, as he did not erect stelae for the later campaigns. However, the Kangxi stele turned the sacred ground of Kongzi into a site for the commemoration of war.

### **The Yongzheng Stele**

The second Qing victory stele was erected by the Yongzheng emperor in 1725. Thus, the stelae became a tradition. The stele commemorated a campaign during the previous year that saw the defeat of Lobzang Danjin 羅卜藏丹津, a Khushot prince, in Qinghai.<sup>304</sup> According to the *Veritable Records*, the Board of Rites submitted a memorial after the campaign suggesting that a new stele be erected in the Imperial Academy. Unlike his father, the Yongzheng emperor did not wait long before accepting the petition from his officials. The inscription was given to the Board of Rites three months after the campaign, and the stele was completed in less than a year.<sup>305</sup>

The inscription of the Yongzheng victory stele comprised 1,035 characters, 715 for the prose and 320 for the rhyming epigraph. The inscription began with Gusri Khan, Lobzang Danjin's grandfather, who had submitted to the Qing emperor during the empire's founding period. Because of his submission, the Qing emperor had allowed Khushot tribes to live and herd in Qinghai. The lenient Kangxi emperor bestowed noble titles on the Khushot princes during his wars against the Zunghars. However, the Khushot princes possessed "the heart of a wolf and the

---

<sup>304</sup> For a detailed account of the campaign, see Peter Perdue, *China Marches West*, 240–45. For a discussion of the victory stele, see 246.

<sup>305</sup> QSL: YZ2/6/14; GZJZ 438.



nature of an owl, and could not be educated with virtue” (*er langxin xiaoxing bukeyi dehua* 而狼心梟性，不可以德化). They hid their disloyalty for thirty years. When the Yongzheng emperor came to the throne, he bestowed gifts on the Khushot princes and elevated them to higher noble ranks with the expectation that they would be loyal to the Qing. Even so, Lobzang Danjin still collaborated with several Khushot princes in the rebellion. The emperor had no alternative but to send troops to suppress the rebels. In the inscription, the Yongzheng emperor claimed that he had secretly given the military plan to Nian Gengyao 年羹堯 (d. 1725), the general-in-chief of the expedition, and that he had hand-picked Yue Zhongqi 岳鍾琪 (1686–1754), the provincial commander-in-chief, as Nian’s assistant. The Yongzheng emperor emphasized that even as his troops were marching to the battlefield, he still expected Lobzang Danjin to surrender and that he remained ready to forgive the foolishness of the Khushot princes. However, the rebels continued to resist fiercely. Next, the inscription describes how the Qing army quickly defeated the rebels and captured Lobzang Danjin’s mother. Lobzang Danjin, however, disguised himself and fled to the nearby mountains. At the end of the prose passage, the Yongzheng emperor states that he has erected the stele because his officials informed him that it is an ancient ritual, thereby claiming that the decision was made in reverent conformity with tradition.<sup>306</sup>

The Kangxi victory stele invented a kind of war commemoration with reference to the *Six Classics*, and with the Yongzheng victory stele the practice became a tradition. Yet, although the personal participation of the emperor in the military campaign was the critical reason for erecting the Kangxi victory stele, this was not the case with the Yongzheng victory stele. The Yongzheng emperor was not personally present for the expedition to Qinghai, but he still considered the

---

<sup>306</sup> *GZJZ*, 439–40.

Qing victory to be a result of his leadership. In the inscription, Lobzang Danjin is depicted as an ungrateful rebel, whereas the Qing emperor is seen to be benevolent and forgiving. The Yongzheng emperor gives Lobzang Danjin opportunities to repent, but Lobzang Danjin's stubbornness forces the Yongzheng emperor to launch a campaign. The inscription justifies the war by invoking concepts in accordance with Confucian values, such as loyalty and righteousness, and it presents the Yongzheng emperor as a virtuous ruler.<sup>307</sup>

When Sun Yueban petitioned the Kangxi emperor to erect the first victory stele, the Board of Rites also asked the emperor to distribute the ink-rubbings of the inscription to local schools, so that students throughout the empire would know of the triumph.<sup>308</sup> Later on, for the same purpose, the Imperial Academy suggested that the Kangxi emperor order military archives and the stele inscriptions to be sent to local schools.<sup>309</sup> Similarly, the Yongzheng emperor sent the ink-rubbings of his victory stele to local schools. Prefectural schools stored the ink-rubbings of these victory stelae in their libraries, but some officials went one step further and made replicas of entire stelae. According to the *Provincial Gazetteer of Sichuan* (*Sichuan tongzhi* 四川通志) published during the Yongzheng period, every prefectural school in Sichuan erected the Kangxi victory stele in 1704 and the Yongzheng stele in 1730.<sup>310</sup> Archaeological evidence shows that the Yongzheng stele was replicated in schools in the Jiangnan area as well.<sup>311</sup>

---

<sup>307</sup> According to recent studies, the Qing troops took revenge on the lamas and villagers who had supported Lobzang Danjin. See Peter Perdue, *China Marches West*, 245.

<sup>308</sup> *XLSD*, 14:33b.

<sup>309</sup> *QSL*: KX36/6/6.

<sup>310</sup> *Sichuan tongzhi*, *Siku quanshu* version, v.5b, 2a, 4b, 7b–8a, 9b–10a, 11b, 13b, 14a, 16a, 18a, 19b, 20b, 21b, 22a–b, 23b–24a, 24b, 25b, 26b–27a, and 28b–29a.

<sup>311</sup> Di Fubao 狄富保, “Liyang xuegong yizhi faxian ‘pingding qinghai gaocheng taixue bei’” 溧阳学宫遗址发现《平定青海告成太学碑》 [Discovering the “Imperial stele reporting in the Imperial Academy the successful completion of the pacification of Qinghai” at the archaeological site of the Liyang school]. *Dongnan wenhua* 东南文化, 2006.5, 76–78.

## The Qianlong Stelae in Beijing

The Qianlong emperor erected a total of five victory stelae: four in the Imperial Academy and one in the Temple of Culture in Chengde. The four victory stelae in the Imperial Academy were erected in 1749 (for the first campaign in which rebellious chieftains were defeated in Jinchuan), 1755 (for campaigns in which the Zunghars were defeated), 1760 (for campaigns in which Muslim rebels were defeated in Xinjiang), and 1776 (for the second campaign in which rebellious chieftains were defeated in Jinchuan). The victory stele in the Temple of Culture in Chengde was erected in 1788 to commemorate a campaign in which a rebellion in Taiwan was suppressed.

The inscriptions on the Qianlong victory stelae reflect changes in the emperors' attitudes toward the construction of these monuments. References to the Confucian classics are not as important to the Qianlong stelae as they are to those constructed during the previous two reigns. In the inscriptions of the Kangxi stele and the Yongzheng stelae, the emperors clearly state that the commemorative stele was constructed at the suggestion of court officials based on the rituals described in the *Six Classics*. When the Qianlong emperor erected his first victory stele in 1749, he also explicitly stated that it was the court officials who had asked him to erect a stele in the Imperial Academy.<sup>312</sup> But this time, the rationale was that the Qianlong emperor should follow the tradition established by Kangxi and Yongzheng. Significantly, this emperor does not continue the practice of alluding to the classics as an inspiration for the inscription.<sup>313</sup> In the inscription of his second victory stele in 1755, the Qianlong emperor simply indicates that the stele was erected

---

<sup>312</sup> For a detailed account of the campaign, see Zhuang Jifa 莊吉發, *Qing Gaozong Shiquan Wugong Yanjiu* 清高宗十全武功研究 [A study of the Qianlong emperor's Ten Complete Victories] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 109–168.

<sup>313</sup> GZJZ 442.

in order to “just follow the precedents” (*li ye* 例也).<sup>314</sup> In the inscriptions of the 1760 and 1776 victory stelae, the last two Qianlong stelae placed in the Imperial Academy, neither the classics nor any precedents were mentioned. According to the *Veritable Records*, the emperor had simply ordered that the stelae be erected, and there is no indication that he was responding to a suggestion from officials.

In Waley-Cohen’s account, the Qianlong emperor “paid extremely close attention to every detail involved in the production of a war memorial.”<sup>315</sup> In the case of the victory stelae, he focused on ensuring that the audience would understand the intended meaning of the inscriptions. Qianlong’s inscriptions became longer with every stele: The 1749 stele has 1,121 characters; the 1755 stele has 1,706 characters; the 1760 stele has 1,724 characters; the 1776 stele has 4,281 characters in total and 1,624 characters without the commentary. In the inscription of the 1776 stele, the emperor even added detailed inline commentaries in the epigraph. These practices reflect the emperor’s concern over ensuring that the audience should understand his meaning. The inscriptions of the Kangxi and Yongzheng stelae were drafted by Hanlin scholars. However, the available evidence suggests that the Qianlong emperor wrote his inscriptions by himself. According to Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1729–1814), a famous writer and historian who served on the Grand Council, the emperor took only seventy-five minutes to write one of those inscriptions, which is a thousand words in length. Zhao admiringly described the draft as “truly a universally marvelous composition” (*zhen tianxia zhi qizuo ye* 真天下之奇作也).<sup>316</sup>

The emperor was extremely concerned as to whether or not the audience truly understood the message and meaning of his victory stelae, and the court career of Xie Yong 謝墉

---

<sup>314</sup> GZJZ, 446.

<sup>315</sup> Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China*, 25.

<sup>316</sup> Zhao Yi 趙翼, *Yan pu za ji* 簞曝雜記 [Miscellaneous notes] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 7.

(1719–1795) offers a good illustration of the ruler’s interest in them. In fact, it is evident that the ups and downs of Xie’s career are closely connected to the stele inscriptions. Xie had served in the Hanlin Academy but was demoted in 1757 when the Qianlong emperor found several serious mistakes in a stele inscription that Xie had drafted for a high-ranking Manchu official. Based on these errors, the emperor thought that Xie was attempting to defame the Manchu official.<sup>317</sup> Two years later, in 1759, Xie presented paeans he had written glorifying the military victories in Xinjiang. Fortunately for Xie, these paeans won imperial approbation, which helped him to recover his previous position.<sup>318</sup> It is likely that Xie drew his inspiration for the paeans from the victory stele, although we cannot be certain that this was the case. However, seventeen years later, he was rewarded for reading the inscription for a victory stele correctly. In 1776, the Qianlong emperor showed Xie the draft of the victory stele inscription for the second Jinchuan campaign. The emperor had received the triumphant news just one day before he met with Xie. After reading the draft of the inscription, Xie wrote an essay to explain why the emperor had no choice but to fight the war. At the very beginning of the essay, Xie claims that the emperor, like the sage-king, had attempted to change the rebels through virtue and education. But as the rebels were too obdurate and recalcitrant, the emperor had no other alternative than to use military power to pacify the rebellion. Xie claimed that after reading Qianlong’s draft of the victory stele, he had come to understand that the emperor had not fought the war just to demonstrate his military strength. The Qianlong emperor was so pleased with the draft that he bestowed his

---

<sup>317</sup> QSL: QL22/7/8.

<sup>318</sup> QSL: QL24/12/13.

imperial favor on Xie. Although we do not know the exact nature of the favor shown to Xie, the episode was so significant in Xie's life that it is recorded in the stele epigraph on his tomb.<sup>319</sup>

Xie's experience indicates the complicated and controversial nature of the victory stelae. On one hand, the stelae were indeed military monuments designed to glorify victory in war. On the other hand, the stelae were strategically located at the symbolic center of Confucian learning and civil virtues, which abhorred violent and aggressive military pursuits. Therefore, the emperors needed to express their reluctance to resort to violence and offensive warfare.

### The Qianlong Stele in Chengde

Unlike the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Daoguang emperors, who set up only one victory stele each, the Qianlong emperor erected five. Yet this number does not correspond to the total number of supposed Qing military victories during the Qianlong reign. The Qianlong emperor famously claimed that he had "ten complete military victories" (*shiquan wugong* 十全武功).<sup>320</sup> However, not all the campaigns were commemorated on stelae erected in the Imperial Academy. The stelae commemorated the campaigns on the western frontiers, including the northwestern and southwestern frontiers, begging the question of why the other military campaigns were not glorified in the same way. Why then were the military victories at the southern frontiers, such as the wars against Annam and Burma, not included? We can find the answer to this question in the last Qianlong victory stele, which scholars have yet to discuss in detail and in depth.

---

<sup>319</sup> The story of Xie can be found in his epitaph written by Ruan Yuan. See Ruan Yuan 阮元, *Yan jing shi ji* 掣經室集 [Collection of writings from the Yanjing studio]. Reprint in *Sibu congkan chubian* 四部叢刊初編, vol. 1857–1876. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1922), ji 2, v.3, 20a–24b; For Xie's prose, see Xie, *Tingzhong shanfang ji*, vol. 2.

<sup>320</sup> Zhuang Jifa, *Qing Gaozong Shiquan Wugong Yanjiu*.

The last Qianlong victory stele was not located in Beijing but in Chengde. Chengde, also known as Rehe or Jehol, is situated about 155 miles northeast of Beijing. Kangxi started to build the Summer Palace there in 1703. From that point onwards, Chengde served as the secondary political center of the Qing empire. Many significant events took place in Chengde, including a meeting between the Qianlong emperor and the British ambassador George McCartney. Many historians, especially proponents of the “New Qing History,” who emphasize the multi-ethnic dimensions and lineaments of the Qing empire, consider Chengde—the Manchu summer capital—a perfect example of the dynasty’s Eurasian orientations and its vast and deep connections to Inner Asia.<sup>321</sup> Some scholars have pointed out that the architectural landscape of Chengde was deliberately arranged as “a microcosmic representation of the geography of the Manchu empire.”<sup>322</sup>

Compared to the state-sponsored Buddhist temples in Chengde, the Temple of Culture was a latecomer, but it enjoyed much higher status than all the other local temples of culture elsewhere in the empire. In 1777, the Qianlong emperor issued an order for the construction of a temple of culture in Chengde (hereafter the Chengde Temple) that would also serve as the prefectural school of the city.<sup>323</sup> Later, this temple served as the first stop on the emperor’s summer tour to Chengde. It was necessary for the emperor to perform rituals in worship of Kongzi there before entering the Summer Palace.<sup>324</sup> Even after his abdication in 1796, the now

---

<sup>321</sup> Chengde was an important geographic focus of the “new Qing historians.” Philippe Forêt, *Mapping Chengde: The Qing Landscape Enterprise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000); James A. Millward, Ruth W. Dunnell, and Philippe Forêt, eds., *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), especially 1–4.

<sup>322</sup> Philippe Forêt, *Mapping Chengde*, 67.

<sup>323</sup> QSL: QL43/2/15. In most of the Qing texts, the temple in Chengde is referred to as *Rehe wenmiao* 熱河文廟.

<sup>324</sup> Joseph A. Adler claims that beginning in 1782, there is no longer any mention in the *Veritable Records* of Qianlong’s visiting the Temple of Culture upon arriving in Chengde. See Adler’s article in Millward, Dunnell, and Forêt, *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, 110. However, based on my own examination of the *Veritable Records*, it appears that every time he visited the Summer Palace Qianlong did, in

former Qianlong emperor maintained the itinerary of visiting the temple of culture upon arriving in Chengde.<sup>325</sup> The Jiaqing emperor, who was next to ascend the throne, also followed this tradition: he went to the Chengde Temple every time he visited the Summer Palace until his death in 1820.<sup>326</sup> According to the Qing administrative and ritual regulations, there were two ceremonies every year, one in spring and one in autumn, during which sacrifices were offered to Kongzi in every temple of culture. All officials, civil and military, in the nearby regions were required to attend. In comparison with the rituals performed at the other temples, the semiannual ceremonies held at the Imperial Academy in Beijing and in the temple at Qufu, Kongzi's birthplace, were of greater importance because the emperor usually sent high-ranking officials, such as grand secretaries or even princes, to represent him at the latter two ceremonies. After the Chengde Temple was built, the Qianlong emperor sent a grand secretary to attend the semiannual ceremonies on his behalf every year.<sup>327</sup> In other words, the Chengde Temple enjoyed the same status as the Imperial Academy and the temple at Qufu. However, the Jiaqing emperor's death in 1820 marked the beginning of the decline of the Qing empire. After 1820, internal rebellions and foreign invasions undermined the empire's financial system. Under the Daoguang emperor, the Qing court could not afford the expense of the annual imperial trips from Beijing to Chengde. As a result, the city lost its political significance and the Chengde Temple likewise lost its prestige.

In 1788, the Qianlong emperor erected a stele entitled *Yuzhi pingding Taiwan gaocheng Rehe wenmiao bei* 御製平定臺灣告成熱河文廟碑 ("Imperial stele reporting in the Rehe

---

fact, offer sacrifices to Confucius at the Chengde Temple. For records after 1782, see QSL: QL50/5/24, QL51/6/05, QL52/5/14, QL53/5/25, QL54/run5/11, QL55/5/15, QL57/5/22, QL59/6/2, and QL60/5/12.

<sup>325</sup> QSL: JQ1/5/24, JQ2/run6/5, JQ2/8/24, JQ3/5/17.

<sup>326</sup> QSL: JQ7/7/26, JQ8/7/26, JQ9/7/26, JQ10/8/24, JQ11/7/28, JQ12/7/24, JQ16/7/24, JQ17/7/24, JQ18/7/24, JQ20/7/24, JQ22/7/24, JQ24/8/26.

<sup>327</sup> QSL: QL46/run5/18.



Temple of Culture the successful completion of the pacification of Taiwan”) at the Chengde Temple, which, as the name suggests, commemorated the suppression of a rebellion in Taiwan led by Lin Shuangwen 林爽文 (1756–1788).<sup>328</sup> The prose part of the inscription presents important information about Qianlong’s thoughts concerning the erection of the victory stelae:

Yesterday, when I wrote an essay recording the capture of the two rebel leaders [Lin Shuangwen and Tian Dazhuang 田大莊], I mentioned three great campaigns: pacifying Yili [the Zunghar], stabilizing Muslim territories, and restoring Jinchuan. All of them were commemorated with stelae in the Imperial Academy. Unlike these three great campaigns, there were another three campaigns that killed Wang Lun 王倫, extinguished Su Sishisan 蘇四十三, and eliminated Tian Wu 田五, which I did not publicize. Because all [three] of them happened in China proper, I am ashamed of them. The pacification of Taiwan took place in the interval between these two groups of campaigns, and so it was not commemorated with a stele in the Imperial Academy. However, compared to China proper where the three campaigns occurred, Taiwan was isolated by seas. The rebellion [in Taiwan] lasted for a year. I dispatched high-ranking officials and deployed strong troops [for its suppression]. Within three months, the two rebel leaders were captured, and all the territories were stabilized. The campaign was indeed a serious matter and, therefore, there is no reason not to leave a record. Although the Chengde Temple of Culture is only the prefectural school of Chengde, when I visit the Summer Palace, I come here to pay homage [to Kongzi] first. I send grand secretaries to attend every semiannual ceremony at the Chengde Temple. The Temple indeed is the school of the Son of Heaven. In addition, last year, I planned the Taiwan campaign here. Fuk’anggan and Hailanqa, whom I ordered to lead a hundred *baturu* [“warriors” in Manchu, also a title awarded to brave Manchu and Mongol soldiers] and ten thousand soldiers, also left from here. Within a few months, these officials crossed the seas, overcame the difficulties, won every battle, and captured the two rebel leaders. None of them got hurt. How could this be possible if there were no blessings from Heaven and assistance from the deities of the seas? I cannot express my gratitude in words: planning [the campaign] here, [officials] departing [for the campaign from] here, and completing [the success of the campaign] here. The Temple of Culture is nearby, and the blessings from the Supreme Master [that is, Kongzi] must be here too. Here is the place where, according to the *Record of Rites*, “the completion [of campaigns] is received, and victories are reported.” Therefore, [we know that] the ritual of reporting the triumph at the

---

<sup>328</sup> QSL: QL53/6/24.

Chengde Temple of Culture is based on righteousness. It is not a creation but following [a tradition] (*li yi yi qi, fei chuang shi yin* 禮以義起，非創實因).<sup>329</sup>

The inscription reflects the Qianlong emperor's geopolitical perception of the Qing empire and his taxonomy of wars. Campaigns through which the empire had expanded its territories and suppressed non-Han rebels in its newly acquired territories should be commemorated with victory stelae. On the other hand, campaigns that suppressed internal uprisings did not merit commemoration. The emperor's thinking reflected the dominant Confucian view that rebellions were symptoms of political failure on the part of the state. If the rulers were capable, people would not choose to rebel. Therefore, the Qianlong emperor openly admitted that he was ashamed of the campaigns against the rebels within China proper, as they revealed the failings of his governance. Thus, these campaigns were nothing to commemorate or celebrate. In the emperor's mind, the difference between the two groups of campaigns represented the boundary between "inner" (*nei* 內) and "outer" (*wai* 外) of the Qing empire. Inner wars were a source of shame, whereas campaigns of the outer kind were an occasion for glory.

However, the case of the Taiwanese rebel Lin Shuangwen, is unique. The campaign was not an expedition for territorial expansion as such. Yet, as Taiwan was an island separated from the mainland and as it had been part of the empire for barely one hundred years, it was not part of China proper. The campaign against Lin Shuangwen also lasted more than a year, making its duration and scale more substantial than the campaigns fought in China proper against other Han rebels. Therefore, the Qianlong emperor decided that the Taiwan campaign should be commemorated at the prefectural school in Chengde. This decision was a compromise: although

---

<sup>329</sup> QSL: QL53/6/24.

not afforded the same status as the truly external campaigns that had expanded the realm, the Taiwanese campaign was elevated above the suppressions of internal Han rebellions. As the Qianlong emperor had planned the suppression of the Taiwanese rebels with his officials at the Chengde Temple, it seemed entirely fitting for him to place a stele celebrating the pacification of Taiwan there.

Interestingly enough, in the Chengde victory stele inscription, the Qianlong emperor finds it necessary to explain why the campaign against Burma is not commemorated by a victory stele. The reason given: the campaign had resulted in a very high number of casualties. Even though military actions against Burma had resulted in that country resuming its submission of tribute to the Qing court, the Qianlong emperor had deep regrets about the outcome. Therefore, he had decided not to erect a stele to commemorate that campaign. Thus, the stele in the Chengde Temple not only reveals the criteria that Qianlong used to determine which campaigns to commemorate with a stele, but it also shows that the expeditions against external foes were privileged.

The Chengde victory stelae reflected the complicated perspective of the Qianlong emperor. The differences between the two kinds of wars clearly show that the emperor regarded the idea of empire as limited by certain considerations. Although he used the verbs *ping* 平 (to pacify), *ding* 定 (to stabilize), and *shou* 收 (to restore or recover), all commonly associated with rebellions, readers clearly understood that the three wars afforded victory stelae were different from the three rebellions in China proper. Why were they different? There were two foundational reasons: the wars commemorated with victory stelae were not fought against the Han people, and these wars added new territories to the empire. The Qianlong emperor used the victory stelae to

promote his military successes in the wars of conquest, but he was afraid that the stelae might lead readers to think of him as a tyrant. The contradiction became more obvious in his handling of issues pertaining to local replicas of the victory stelae.

### **The Qianlong Stelae in the Localities**

In comparison with the efforts to replicate the Kangxi and Yongzheng victory stelae in local areas, the project of replicating the Qianlong victory stelae in the localities was much larger in scale. In 1759, Fang Guancheng 方觀承 (1698–1768), the governor-general (*zongdu* 總督) of Zhili 直隸, asked the court to reimburse the costs incurred by the local government in erecting the 1755 victory stele in Liangxiang county 良鄉縣.<sup>330</sup> The following year, Fang requested permission from the Qianlong emperor to erect replicas of the 1760 victory stele in the nine prefectures (*fu*) and six departments (*zhou*) around Beijing. Although the emperor rejected most of Fang's proposal, he did allow one stele to be built, stating that “erecting one stele in Baoding 保定 was enough.”<sup>331</sup> Liangxiang, a subordinate county of the Baoding prefecture, was an important post station for travelling in and out of Beijing. When the emperor sent troops to frontiers, he usually ordered high-ranking courtiers, sometimes even princes, to accompany the troops to Liangxiang.<sup>332</sup> Therefore, Liangxiang county, or even Baoding prefecture, had a direct connection with the campaigns. Zhu Yuqi contended that Fang's memorial marked the beginning of a large-scale trend towards erecting victory stelae in local schools. He argued that some local officials anticipated the Qianlong emperor's desire to see the stelae erected locally, and they

---

<sup>330</sup> NGDK 171681.

<sup>331</sup> QSL: QL25/3/29.

<sup>332</sup> QSL: QL13/11/3.

hoped to receive favor by requesting the erection of the stelae before the issuance of an imperial fiat.<sup>333</sup>

Although the Qianlong emperor did not issue a formal edict calling for victory stelae to be erected in every local school, we get the sense from his response to a memorial from Suldei 蘇爾德, the provincial administration commissioner of Suzhou 蘇州, that it was the emperor's wish that the local officials do so.<sup>334</sup> It certainly appears to be the case that Suldei was trying to curry favor with the throne by erecting a victory stele in the local schools under his administration. He submitted a memorial in the eleventh month of the twenty-ninth year of the Qianlong reign (late 1764 or early 1765), in which he began by praising the victory of the Zunghar campaign, and then reported that he would start erecting the victory stele to commemorate this campaign as soon as he received an ink-rubbing of the inscription. Suldei had looked at the replications of the Yongzheng stele and the 1749 Qianlong stele (for the first Jinchuan war), and he had discovered numerous mistakes in the Manchu inscription. Therefore, he would order Manchu bannermen who knew the language well to supervise the replication of the new stelae. But Suldei still faced two difficult tasks: stones of quality sufficient to meet the court's standards were scarce, and local schools had limited space for the placement of a stele. As noted, the victory stelae were huge in size, and local replicas were supposed to follow the measurements of the originals in the Imperial Academy. Some counties were unable to acquire suitable stones, and some small local schools did not have enough space to install a stele. Because of these difficulties in a number of localities, Suldei requested that the emperor allow

---

<sup>333</sup> Zhu Yuqi "Cong gao yu miao she dao gao cheng tian xia: qing dai xi bei bian jiang ping ding de li yi chong jian", 407–9.

<sup>334</sup> QSL: QL29/12/7.

local schools to scale down their replica stelae.<sup>335</sup> The Qianlong emperor did not answer Suldei individually on this question. Instead, he sent an imperial edict (*shangyu* 上諭) to all the governors-general and governors, allowing local schools to erect stelae based on local situations and conditions. In addition, he ordered that a Manchu version of the inscription be excluded from the replicas, because “students in the outer provinces (*waisheng* 外省) do not understand the national writing (*guoshu* 國書, meaning Manchu).”<sup>336</sup> The emperor’s edict reflects his determination that his target audience of Han subjects would see the victory stelae in local schools, and he made compromises to achieve this goal.<sup>337</sup>

---

<sup>335</sup> GZZZ 403019182.

<sup>336</sup> QSL: QL29/12/7.

<sup>337</sup> Figure shows the stelae erected by Suldei.



Figure 5. Two victory stelae in front of the gate of the Suzhou wenmiao 蘇州文廟. Photo by author.

Several Governors-general and Provincial Governors immediately responded to the Qianlong emperor's order. Liu Zao 劉藻 (1701–1766), Governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou, reported that although the construction of the victory stele had already been completed in the two provinces according to the original standards mandated by the Board of Rites, he would follow the new guidelines when erecting a new victory stele in his provinces in the future.<sup>338</sup> Cui Yingjie 崔應階 (?–1780), Governor of Shandong province, reported that the erection of the victory stelae in Shandong's local schools had indeed been hampered by a scarcity of stone and the schools' limited space. Expressing his admiration for the emperor's consideration, he urged his subordinates to complete the stelae commemorating the pacification of the Muslims as quickly as possible in accordance with the new guidelines.<sup>339</sup>

However, the erection of victory stelae in local schools does not seem to have proceeded quite as the Qianlong emperor expected. In 1774, the Board of Public Works reported that officials in Shandong province had requested the court to reimburse the construction costs of the 1755 victory stele in every school in the province. The Qianlong emperor, shocked by the expenditure, ordered the Grand Secretaries to investigate whether the court had, in fact, ordered the 1755 and 1760 victory stelae to be erected in every local school.

Having examined the related imperial edicts and documents, the Grand Secretaries concluded that the court had not ordered every local school to erect the victory stelae. The grand secretaries' report notes that in 1755 the court had decided to send ink-rubbings from the victory stele in the Imperial Academy to Governors-general, who were supposed to forward them to schools in the prefectures, departments, counties, and military stations (*fu zhou xian wei xuegong*

---

<sup>338</sup> GZZZ 403019780.

<sup>339</sup> GZZZ 403021222.



府州縣衛學宮) under their administration. The same procedure was applied to the 1760 victory stele. The court had ordered local officials to reprint the ink-rubbings. There was no mention of replicating the stele in every local school. In the opinion of the Grand Secretaries, even when local officials decided to replicate the stelae of their own accord, erecting one stele in the provincial school (*shenghui xuegong* 省會學宮), the school next to the provincial seat of government, was deemed to be enough. Other local schools should simply reprint the ink-rubbings and store them in their libraries. There was no need to replicate the stelae in every local school. Yet three provinces were asking to be reimbursed for the costs of erecting victory stelae in every local school. Shandong had built 123 stelae, which cost 12,090 taels in total, roughly equivalent to 14,387 ounces of silver. Hubei had built 77 stelae at a cost of 2,090 taels of silver. And Hunan had built 79 stelae at a cost of 10,350 taels of silver. The grand secretaries concluded that the three provinces had not followed the original order and had, therefore, made a serious mistake. The Board of Public Works would have to re-evaluate the provinces' requests for reimbursement. Other provinces, which had not asked for reimbursement for every stele, seemed not to have made the same mistake. Therefore, no further investigations would be needed in regard to the requested reimbursements. However, it was still necessary for the governors-general of these provinces to determine whether local officials had followed the original order, and then report their findings to the court.<sup>340</sup>

The erection of the victory stelae in local schools reveals some interesting facts and realities about interactions between the court and the localities. I have not been able to locate the edicts from the Kangxi or Yongzheng emperors regarding the erection of the stelae in local

---

<sup>340</sup> QSL: QL38/4/1.

schools. Based on the case of Sichuan, discussed in the section on the Yongzheng stele, it seemed that the two emperors did, indeed, order local officials to erect victory stelae in prefectural schools or department schools in that province. Suldei's memorial, mentioned earlier in this section, does not refer to a specific imperial edict from the Qianlong emperor about erecting victory stelae in every local school. According to the standard conventions governing the submission of memorials, any related imperial orders or edicts were to be included at the very beginning of the memorial. Therefore, in Liu and Cui's memorials, as mentioned earlier, the two petitioners both included the Qianlong emperor's response to the memorial submitted by Suldei. It is highly likely that the Qianlong emperor did not issue a formal order requiring that the stele be set up in local schools. As Suldei's memorial mentions, the prefectural school in Suzhou already had two victory stelae before he received a new ink-rubbing of the 1760 victory stele. He even checked the Manchu inscriptions on the existing stelae. Suldei became the provincial administration commissioner of Suzhou in 1762, and so the two existing victory stelae had been erected by his predecessors. For this reason, he may have thought that erecting stelae in local schools was a regular practice. However, Suldei took the step of expanding this practice to lower-level schools as well. As a result, he had to confront the difficulties of scarcity of building materials and limited space on an exponentially greater scale.

Upon receiving Suldei's memorial, the Qianlong emperor may not have asked the Grand Secretaries to examine the previous edicts related to erecting local victory stelae. He may have simply issued an edict based on his own impression of past practices and Suldei's memorial. In the imperial edict responding to Suldei's request, the Qianlong emperor said, "Schools in various provinces, prefectures, departments, counties, and military stations are not all spacious. If they

had to erect the stele by strictly following the standards of the Board of Rites, it would be difficult to attain the proper arrangements” (各省府州縣衛學宮自不能一律高敞，必照部頒碑式豎立，轉難位置適宜). As a result, the Qianlong emperor gave local officials permission to downsize the stelae. This statement does not clearly indicate whether the stelae should be erected at every school. Local officials may have interpreted it to mean that the victory stelae were to be erected in the schools of provincial capitals, prefectures, departments, counties, and military stations, i.e., at all local schools. Even if local officials had not been planning to erect the stelae in each school under their jurisdiction, this imperial order may have prompted them to build the stelae after all. From the investigations carried out by the Board of Public Works, we know that the construction costs of the stelae varied greatly in the three provinces. The differences may have arisen from many factors, including corruption. In any event, the imperial order gave local officials a legitimate pretext for carrying out more construction work.

In 1774, the Qianlong emperor had a dramatic change of heart in regard to the erection of victory stelae in local schools. As noted, the governor-general of Shandong reported an expenditure of 12,090 taels of silver on stelae in 1768, and it was in 1774 that the Board of Public Works reported his request for reimbursement.<sup>341</sup> The board's reasons for bringing this six-year-old case back to the table are not clear. The Qianlong emperor might have come to think that erecting the stelae in every local school appeared overly egotistical as an expression of his power and military prowess. As mentioned above, Qianlong rewarded and commended Xie Yong because the latter had emphasized the fact that the emperor had resorted to military force only when there was no longer any other option. The emperor, first and foremost, wanted people to

---

<sup>341</sup> *NGDK* 219185.

see him as a virtuous Confucian ruler who was neither aggressive nor ambitious. Thus, by erecting stelae glorifying war in every local school at significant cost, he was undermining efforts to present himself as a humble and restrained ruler. As a result, when the Qianlong emperor finished the inscription for the victory stele of the Taiwan campaign, he ordered that only the prefectural schools in Taiwan and Fujian should erect the stele.

### **The Daoguang Stele**

The final Qing victory stele erected in the Imperial Academy was commissioned by the Daoguang emperor. It commemorated a campaign that suppressed the Muslim rebels in Altishahr during his early reign. Jahangir 張格爾 (?–1828), a descendent of the Khojas, had led a group of Muslims in resisting Qing rule in Altishahr since 1814. In the summer of 1826, Jahangir successfully occupied the old city of Kashgar along with Yengisar, Yarkand, Khotan, and Aqsu, referred to as the four western cities of Altishahr. The Qing army suppressed the rebellion and captured Jahangir alive in 1828.<sup>342</sup> Since the late Qianlong period, the Qing's military forces had been mainly used to suppress uprisings in China proper, such as the White Lotus movement and pirate activities off the southern coast.<sup>343</sup> After the elimination of the Zunghar during the Qianlong reign, Qing rule in Xinjiang had been consolidated. As James Millward comments, “The main threat to Qing rule in Xinjiang before 1864 did not in fact arise directly from the Uyghur population, but from Central Asia.”<sup>344</sup> The Jahangir crisis posed an unprecedented threat

---

<sup>342</sup> For background to and a more detailed description of the rebellions, see Laura Newby, *The Empire and the Khanate*, 2005, 73–123, and James A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 109–15; for the family background of Jahangir, see Laura Newby, *The Empire and the Khanate*, 54 and 58; QSL: DG1/1/5.

<sup>343</sup> Wang 2014.

<sup>344</sup> Millward 2007, 109.

to the Qing rule of Xinjiang, and this danger came to a head at the beginning of the Daoguang reign. It may have been for this reason that the Daoguang emperor paid close attention to military rituals after the victory.

After receiving the news that Jahangir had been captured alive, the Daoguang emperor ordered that preparations be made for rituals in order to “report the victory” (*gaogong* 告功).<sup>345</sup> The emperor stated that he would perform the spring *shidian* ritual in person the following year. He also ordered that the stone be prepared for carving the victory stele.<sup>346</sup> When Jahangir was brought to Beijing, he was led before the imperial ancestors in the ritual of “the presentation of captives” (*xianfu* 獻俘).<sup>347</sup> On the following day, in the ritual of “the reception of captives” (*shoufu* 受俘), the Daoguang emperor formally received the captives.<sup>348</sup> Jahangir was then sent to the court to be tried. Not surprisingly, he was found guilty and sentenced to death. Because of the gravity of his transgression as a rebel against the throne, he was executed via a slow process of mutilation, known as “the thousand cuts.”<sup>349</sup> In the following year, 1829, the Daoguang emperor attended the spring ceremony to offer sacrifices to Kongzi in the Imperial Academy, which brought to completion the ancient ritual of “reporting successful completion” (*gaocheng* 告成) by publicly announcing the imperial victory against the Muslim rebels.<sup>350</sup>

What is particularly noteworthy about the set of rituals conducted by the Daoguang emperor and his court was that the emperor himself attended the ceremony of “reporting successful completion” in person. According to the *Six Classics*, the victory rituals should be

---

<sup>345</sup> QSL: DG8/2/2.

<sup>346</sup> QSL: DG8/2/10.

<sup>347</sup> QSL: DG8/5/11.

<sup>348</sup> QSL: DG8/5/12.

<sup>349</sup> QSL: DG8/5/14.

<sup>350</sup> QSL: DG9/2/3.

performed at the school of the Son of Heaven. The Daoguang emperor, therefore, revived the ancient ritual in a more comprehensive way. Performing the ritual in person in the Imperial Academy was clearly the emperor's idea. When the officials of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices prepared for the regular spring *shidian* ritual in 1829, they suggested that the emperor should send officials to host the ceremony on his behalf. As the Daoguang emperor had already stated that he would attend the next spring *shidian* to report the victory to the sage, he seems to have been annoyed that the official from the Court of Imperial Sacrifices ignored this. He insisted that he would perform the *shidian* ritual in person and that the Court of Imperial Sacrifices should prepare for it.<sup>351</sup>

This was to be the last time that a Qing monarch announced military victories in the Imperial Academy. In 1839, military conflicts broke out between Britain and China. It was considered to be the beginning of a long series of military calamities in the late Qing period. The Daoguang stele became the last victory stele to advertise the military strength of the Qing empire. It appears that the Daoguang stele was not replicated in local schools. In the local gazetteers published after the Daoguang period, there is no mention of the construction of replica stele in that context.<sup>352</sup>

---

<sup>351</sup> QSL: DG8/12/8.

<sup>352</sup> This argument is based on my extensive searches in the *Database of Chinese Local Gazetteers (Zhongguo fangzhi ku 中國方志庫)*. However, further in-depth and systematic study is needed in order to ascertain that local versions of the Daoguang stele were not built, as the database I searched comprised only some 4,000 local gazetteers, and coverage of regions and time periods is not comprehensive. Nevertheless, it seems safe to say that by the Daoguang reign, there was little if any effort to replicate the imperial stele at the local level.

## Conclusion

The Qing emperors venerated Kongzi with the highest standard of rites. They always manipulated the implications that Kongzi had the same status as a deceased emperor. However, they did not change Kongzi's ritual status. As a teacher, Kongzi would not pose a threat to the legitimacy of governance. He was a just model for everyone to follow. The Qing emperors utilized the Temple of Culture through invented traditions. The imperial plaques reminded people who visited the Temple that the emperors were the most powerful patronage of Kongzi's cult. The victory stelae legitimized the wars of expansion in the western frontiers. Kongzi was not a pacifist, but he did not consider warfare and military strength to be a good way to solve problems. Confucians did not thoroughly examine the concept of "righteous war" because a ruler had many options—among which self-cultivation was always the first priority—before considering using warfare.<sup>353</sup> However, once resort was had to arms it was believed that wars should be "righteous" (yi 義), although ideas pertaining to what is righteous have varied over time. A shared characteristic among the eight victory stelae is the tone of "righteousness." The enemies are disloyal, rebellious, and treacherous. The emperors are forgiving, courageous, and virtuous. Each war was unavoidable. But each war had bought new territories to the empire—new territories that would be under virtuous rule. The victory stelae justified this process.

---

<sup>353</sup> For the Chinese concept of "righteous war," see David A. Graff, "The Chinese Concept of Righteous War," in Howard M. Hensel ed., *The Prism of Just War: Asian and Western Perspectives on the Legitimate Use of Military Force Justice, International Law and Global Security* Burlington (VT: Ashgate, 2010); on Confucian ideas, see 198–99. For examples of debating wars in China, see Peter Allan Lorge, *Debating War in Chinese History* (Leidsn: Brill, 2013).

## Epilogue

When Huang Chin-shing compares the Ming and Qing emperors' attitudes toward Kongzi's cult, he comes to the following conclusion:

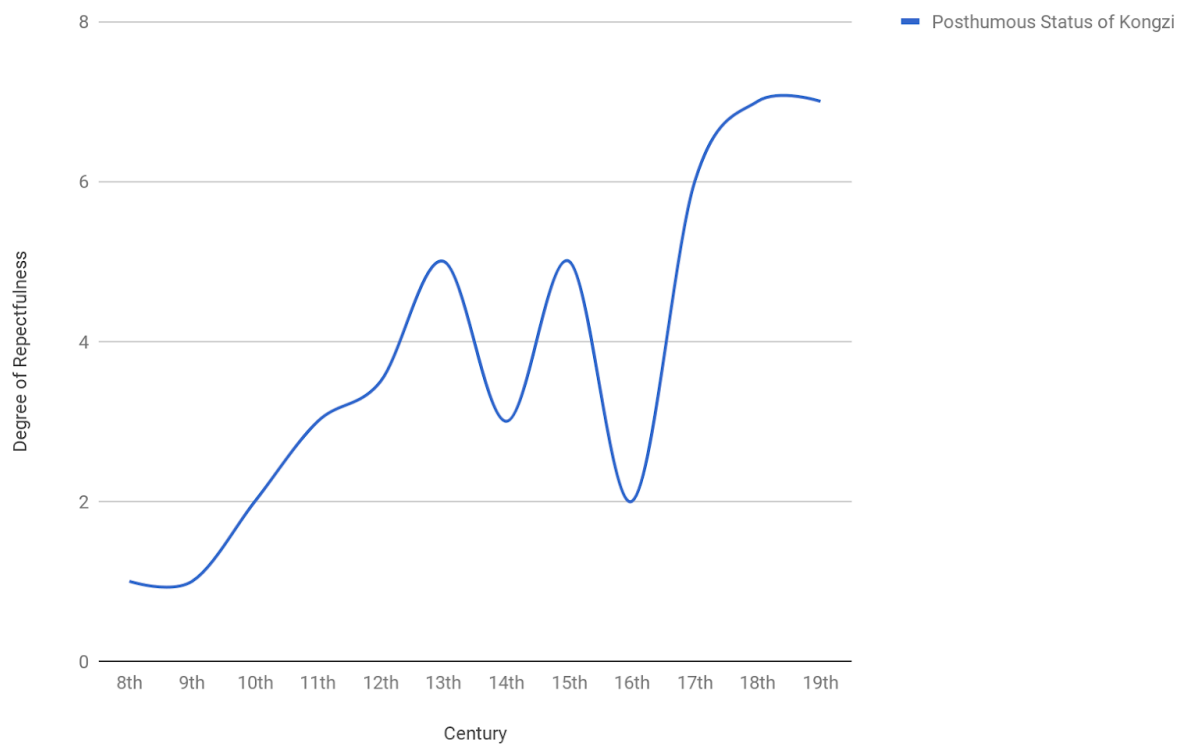
Undermining an independent tradition of the Way is a perfectly logical step in the process of strengthening autocracy. The methods used to do this vary, however, as is clear from the differences between the tactics of Ming Taizu (the Hongwu emperor) and Ming Shizong (the Jiajing emperor), on the one hand, and those of the Qing emperor Kangxi, on the other. In retrospect, the Qing emperor, although an alien ruler, was much more successful. Unlike the Ming founder, the Kangxi emperor did not directly confront the tradition of the Way as the symbol of cultural authority. The Kangxi emperor was more sensitive to, and more conscious of the subtle influence of Confucian symbols on Chinese politics and society. His promotion of the Confucius temple rituals was only one of many demonstrations of this sensitivity. The Qing emperor used the Confucian cultural heritage as a means of reinforcing his political legitimacy. Through his restructuring of the relationship between the tradition of the Way and the tradition of imperial governance, the Kangxi emperor assumed the leadership of both, an ideal that had never been realized by the Ming rulers.<sup>354</sup>

Huang's view represents the general, current understanding among scholars about the development of the cult of Kongzi during the Ming-Qing China. My dissertation argues that the Qing emperors in general, not only the Kangxi emperor, were more successful in utilizing the Temple of Culture, the symbol of the cultural authority, to legitimize their rule. However, their success owed much to the foundation built by the Ming emperors, the Jiajing emperor in particular. The following two graphs offer a visualized conceptualization of the difference between my dissertation and other studies with regard to the understanding of the development of the cult of Kongzi.

---

<sup>354</sup> Huang Chin-Shing, "The Cultural Politics of Autocracy: The Confucius Temple and Ming Despotism 1368–1530", 292-293.





Graph 1. General understanding about the changes in Kongzi's posthumous status.



Graph 2. The author's understanding about the changes in the veneration of Kongzi.

Graph 1 shows the general understanding among scholars of the changes in the veneration of Kongzi's cult from the eighth century to the nineteenth century. Scholars commonly agree that the state gradually elevated Kongzi's posthumous status from the Tang to the Yuan dynasty. The first downward movement of Kongzi's posthumous status in Graph 1 represents the Hongwu emperor's exclusion of Kongzi from the "general worship." Kongzi's posthumous status was soon restored to the pre-Ming status when the Hongwu emperor changed his mind and preserved Kongzi in the "general worship." The second fall of Kongzi's posthumous status in Graph 1, which started from the sixteenth century, is represented by the 1530 revision. The Jiajing emperor successfully changed the posthumous status of Kongzi from "king" to "teacher." However, Kongzi's posthumous status was raised again after the mid-seventeenth century because the Qing emperors, the Kangxi emperor in particular, reconstructed the redefined their relationship with the tradition of the Way. The Qing veneration was a demonstration of the rise of Kongzi's posthumous status.

Graph 2 represents the argument of this dissertation. I agree by and large with the conventional understanding of other scholars about Kongzi's posthumous status before 1530. Concerning the debates about Kongzi's proper posthumous status, I emphasize the critical role of the principle of "rectification of names" among the Confucian literati, which other works on the cult of Kongzi and the Temple of Culture seem to have overlooked. My dissertation highlights the important fact that the revisions adopted by the Hongwu emperor and the Jiajing emperor stemmed from the ritual innovations of literati, which aimed to resolve the controversy regarding Kongzi's appropriate posthumous status in accordance with the principle of the rectification of names. In other words, the literati unintentionally and unwittingly provided the Jiajing emperor

with the rationale (the rectification of names) and tools (the ritual inventions) to limit the political authority of Kongzi's cult, which the literati considered as a symbol of the transmission and lineage of the authentic Way, an independent tradition of cultural values that could restrain unlimited imperial power.

My dissertation, distinct from much existing scholarship, offers a new understanding of the role and development of the Temple of Culture especially after the 1530 revision. Some literati in the late Ming period might have objected to the 1530 revision that established Kongzi as the paradigmatic teacher, as opposed to the uncrowned king. But the publications related to Kongzi's cult in this period, mainly the ritual manuals, tended to consolidate Kongzi's image as the paragon teacher. When the Manchus established the Qing regime, this iconic image of the sage had been already deeply rooted in the minds of the literati for more than a hundred years. Although a few literati did attempt to restore Kongzi to be a posthumous king, the Qing emperors chose not to reverse the 1530 revision. Therefore, in Graph 2, the posthumous status of Kongzi remained the same level after 1530. Instead of changing or elevating Kongzi's posthumous status, the Qing emperors invented ritual traditions (for example, the dismounting stele, fasting on Kongzi's birthday, the imperial plaques, and victory stelae in the Temple of Culture) to venerate him. In Graph 2, the dotted line represents these invented traditions because they were not regular institutions. Some of these traditions, such as bestowing an imperial plaque to every Temple of Culture, were strictly followed by every Qing emperor. On the other hand, the continuation of some traditions depended very much on the attitude and policy of individual emperors. For instance, the Yongzheng emperor accorded Kongzi's birthday the same importance as the birthday of a deceased emperor, but the Qianlong emperor did not agree to

host any celebration on the sage's birthday. Undoubtedly, the invented traditions do demonstrate that the Qing emperors did venerate Kongzi with the utmost respect, but their honoring of the sage must be seen in the context of their affirmation of Kongzi's posthumous status as a teacher. There seems little question that most of these invented traditions acted as ways and means by which the Qing emperor asserted imperial might and imposed state ideology. In the end, they utilized the cult of Kongzi and his shrine, the Temple of Culture, as political apparatuses.

Since this dissertation studies the institutional changes of the Temple of Culture in China by and large from the fourteenth century to the eighteenth century, with particular reference to the court and the central government, some interesting and important topics related to the cult of Kongzi are beyond the geographical and temporal foci of this project. They await future and further investigation. Suffice it here to give them some brief mention. After the Yongzheng emperor had ordered people to fast on Kongzi's birthday, in some local communities, literati started to hold regular celebration on that date. The Cantonese migrants in southern Taiwan, for instance, started to celebrate Kongzi's birthday during the Qianlong period. Literati in Liling 醴陵, a small county in the Hunan province, began to perform a sacrificial ceremony called the "*dacheng si*" (大成祀 the great completion sacrifice) on the sage's birthday. However, the annual rite lasted for only a couple of decades and was discontinued because the locality ran out of funds. In the early nineteenth century, the Liling literati decided to revive the ceremony. For that purpose, they sent scholars to Beijing and Qufu to study the two major Temples and observe their ceremonies. In order to maintain the annual ceremony over the long run, they brought agricultural land with money from fundraising to generate long-term basis support of the performance of the sacrificial rituals as well as subsidizing students' travels to the civil service

examinations. Unlike the lineage organizations that were prevalent and dominant as in south China as the central social units, in southern Taiwan and Lining, the center and linkage of communal lives and holdings seemed to be the sacrificial ceremonies and rituals dedicated to Kongzi. It is my plan to study the Lining and south Taiwan Temples of Culture as local iterations of the imperial institution, while comparing them with similar organizations such as the renowned Xuehaitang 學海堂 (the Academy of the Sea of Learning) in Guangzhou.<sup>355</sup>

The development of Kongzi's cult after the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) also warrants further investigation. The Qing court and literati used the Temple of Culture as a moral symbol in the rebuilding of localities after the Taiping devastation. Many literati seized upon this opportunity to request enshrinement of their favorite Confucians by the court. I am currently building a database of the enshrined Confucians <<http://www.confucians.net>>. Beside those who were successfully enshrined, the database also gathers data of Confucians who were recommended but did not end up in the Temple.

Another intriguing topic is the development of the cult of Kongzi in Manchukuo, which remains largely unstudied, even though Kuo Ya-pei has produced a general account of the development of the cult from the late nineteenth century to the early twenty century.<sup>356</sup> Interestingly, when the Xuantong emperor proclaimed the establishment of the Manchukuo, shidian was one of the ceremonies that the new ruler performed. It shows the lingering ritual importance of the time-honored rite as a powerful political symbol in the forging of a regime and an ideology. The promotion of Kongzi's cult in Manchukuo is also related to the question of the

---

<sup>355</sup> Steven Miles, *The Sea of Learning: Mobility and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Guangzhou* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

<sup>356</sup> Ya-Pei Kuo, "'Christian Civilization' and the Confucian Church: The Origin of Secularist Politics in Modern China." *Past & Present* (218:1), 235–64; "'The Emperor and the People in One Body': The Worship of Confucius and Ritual Planning in the Xinzheng Reforms, 1902-1911." *Modern China* (35:2), 123–54.

Japanese attitude toward Confucianism. When the Japanese colonized Taiwan in 1895, they allowed the Han people in Taiwan to build Confucian temples but banned Daoist worship. Some Daoist temples, in order to survive under Japanese rule, worshiped Kongzi as the primary deity in the main hall, and moved the Daoist deities to the back hall. A famous example is the Xiangshan Academy 象山書院 in Miaoli 苗栗.

The Japanese discriminating attitude toward Daoism and their affirmation of Confucianism may be related to the history of the Temple of Culture in East Asia. The Temple of Culture, like other China-inspired cultural apparatuses in East Asia, was adopted in Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. As mentioned in chapter three, as early as the seventeenth century, Tokugawa Japan had already established the shrine and rituals dedicated to the honoring and worship of Kongzi, based on the Ming model. Regimes in imperial Korea and Vietnam also built the Temple of Culture to venerate Kongzi and enshrined their own preferred Confucians in the Temple. I have started the research on the Vietnamese cases and presented my preliminary study in several conferences.

In sum, this dissertation is a beginning rather than an end of my study of Kongzi's cult. In the final analysis, it serves as a starting point for future study of the cult and its temple from the perspectives of local history as well as transnational history in the East Asian context.

## Appendix A

### The Qing Imperial Stelae

The thirteen Imperial Stelae in the square in front of the Hall of Great Completion and outside the Gate of Great Completion, in chronological order according to the dates of completion, are as follows:

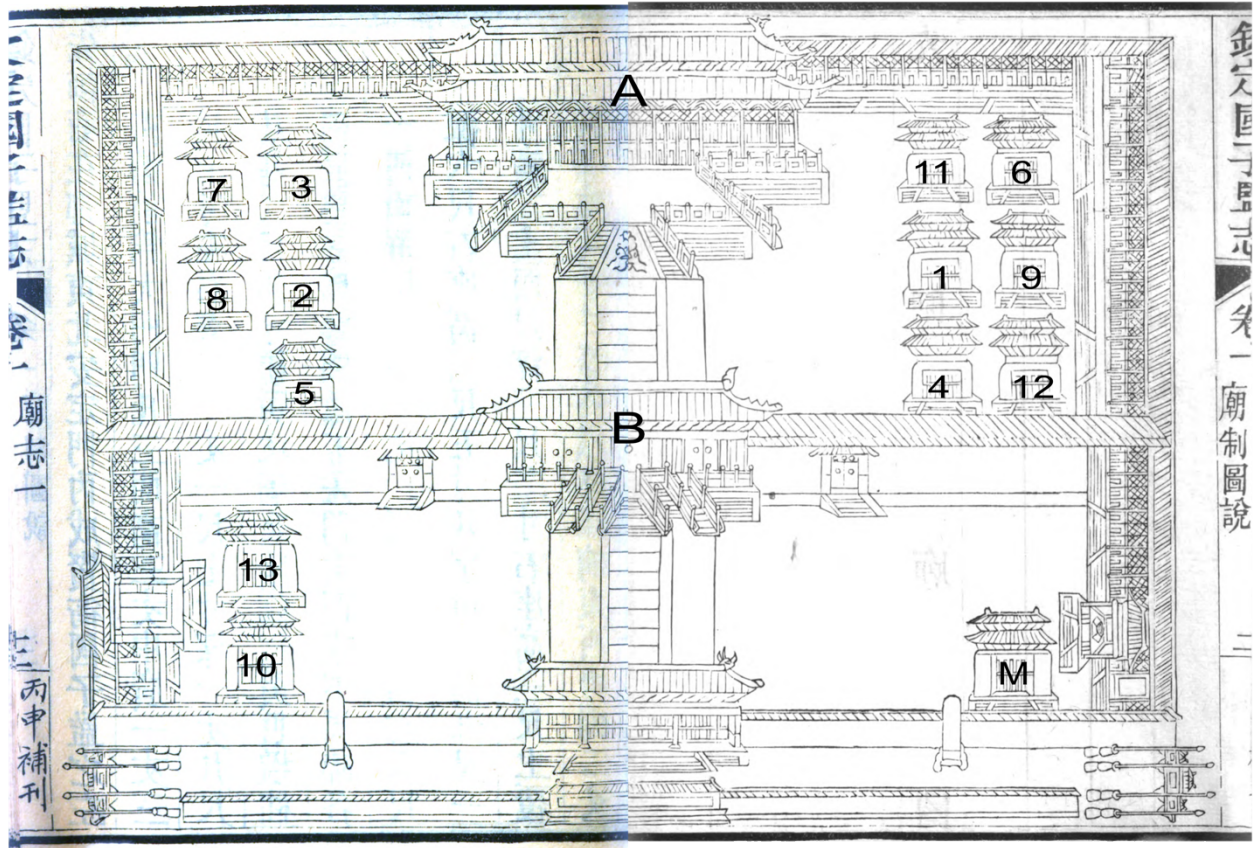


Figure 6: Locations of the imperial stelae in the Imperial Academy.

(Caption of Figure 6: Plan of the temple of the Imperial Academy. A: Hall of Great Completion; B: Gate of Great Completion; M: Ming stele with pavilion. 1–13: Qing stelae with pavilions.

Source: Qinding guozijian zhi 1897, v.1, 12a-b. Combined and labelled by author.)



### The Kangxi Reign (1661–1722)

1. *Yuzhi zhisheng xianshi kongzi zan* 御製至聖先師孔子贊 (Imperial eulogy of Kongzi, the Supreme Master). Construction completed in 1686 (KX 25).<sup>357</sup>
2. *Yuzhi yan zeng si meng sizi zan* 御製顏曾思孟四子贊 (Imperial eulogy of Yanzi, Zengzi, Zisizi, and Mengzi). Construction completed in 1689 (KX 28).<sup>358</sup>
3. *Yuzhi pingding shuomo gaocheng taixue bei* 御製平定朔漠告成太學碑 (Imperial stele reporting in the Imperial Academy the successful completion of the pacification of the northern desert). Construction completed in 1704 (KX 43).<sup>359</sup>

### The Yongzheng reign (1722–1735)

4. *Yuzhi pingding qinghai gaocheng taixue bei* 御製平定青海告成太學碑 (Imperial stele reporting in the Imperial Academy the successful completion of the pacification of Qinghai). Construction completed in 1725 (YZ 3).<sup>360</sup>
5. *Yuzhi zhongding qinji shi* 御製仲丁親祭詩 (Imperial sacrificial poem [dedicated to Kongzi] in person [on the date of] *zhongding*). Construction completed in 1728 (YZ 6).<sup>361</sup>

---

<sup>357</sup> GZJZ, for the construction detail, 924; for the inscription, 4-5.

<sup>358</sup> GZJZ, for construction detail, 924; for the inscription, 5-6.

<sup>359</sup> GZJZ, for construction detail, 924-25; for the inscription, 436-38.

<sup>360</sup> GZJZ, for construction detail, 925-26; for the inscription, 438-41.

<sup>361</sup> GZJZ, for construction detail, 926; for the poems, 383.

### The Qianlong reign (1735–1796)

6. *Yuzhi wenmiao yigai huangwa linyong jishi bei* 御製文廟易蓋黃瓦臨雍紀事碑  
(Imperial stele recording the change of the Temple of Culture's roof tiles to the color of yellow and the Emperor's visit to the Imperial Academy). Construction completed in 1740 (QL 4). The back of the stele bears inscriptions of two poems composed by the Qianlong emperor about offering sacrifice in person to Kongzi.<sup>362</sup>
7. *Yuzhi pingding jinchuan gaocheng taixue bei* 御製平定金川告成太學碑 (Imperial stele reporting in the Imperial Academy the successful completion of the pacification of Jinchuan). Construction completed in 1749 (QL 14). The back of the stele bears an inscription of a poem composed by the Qianlong emperor about offering sacrifice in person to Kongzi.<sup>363</sup>
8. *Yuzhi pingding zhungeer gaocheng taixue bei* 御製平定準噶爾告成太學碑 (Imperial stele reporting in the Imperial Academy the successful completion of the pacification of the Zunghar). Construction completed in 1755 (QL 20). The back of the stele bears the inscription from the stele erected in Yili commemorating the same campaign.<sup>364</sup>
9. *Yuzhi pingding huibu gaocheng taixuebei* 御製平定回部告成太學碑 (Imperial stele reporting in the Imperial Academy the successful completion of the pacification of Muslims). Construction completed in 1760 (QL 24). The back of the stele bears an inscription of a poem composed by the Qianlong Emperor about offering sacrifice in person to Kongzi.<sup>365</sup>

---

<sup>362</sup> GZJZ, for details about the construction, 926; for the inscription, 50–51; for the poems, 386.

<sup>363</sup> GZJZ, for details about the construction, 926–27; for the inscription, 441–43; for the poems, 386.

<sup>364</sup> GZJZ, for details about the construction, 927; for the inscriptions, 443–48.

<sup>365</sup> GZJZ, for details about the construction, 927; for the inscription, 449–52; for the poems, 387.

10. *Chixiu wenmiao bei* 敕修文廟碑 (Imperial stele bearing the edict for the renovation of the Temple of Culture). Construction completed in 1767 (QL 32). The stele is located outside the Gate of Completion.<sup>366</sup>
11. *Yuzhi chongxiu wenmiao bei* 御製重修文廟碑 (Imperial stele recording the renovation of the Temple of Culture). Construction completed in 1769 (QL 34). The back of the stele bears inscriptions of two poems composed by the Qianlong Emperor about offering sacrifice in person to Kongzi.<sup>367</sup>
12. *Yuzhi pingding jinchuan gaocheng taixue bei* 御製平定兩金川告成太學碑 (Imperial stele reporting in the Imperial Academy the successful completion of the pacification of the two Jinchuan). Construction completed in 1776 (QL 41).<sup>368</sup>

### **The Daoguang reign (1820–1850)**

13. *Yuzhi pingding huijiang jiaoqin niyi gaocheng taixue bei* 御製平定回疆剿擒逆裔告成太學碑 (Imperial stele reporting in the Imperial Academy the successful completion of the pacification of the Muslim territories and the extermination and capture of the rebels). Construction completed in 1829 (DG 9). The stele is located outside the Gate of Completion.<sup>369</sup>

---

<sup>366</sup> GZJZ, for details about the construction, 928; for the imperial edict, 51.

<sup>367</sup> GZJZ, for details about the construction, 928; for the inscription, 51–52; for the poems, 387.

<sup>368</sup> GZJZ, for details about the construction, 928; for the inscription, 453–59.

<sup>369</sup> GZJZ, for details about the construction, 931; for the inscription, 460–63.

## Appendix B

### LIST OF MING-QING ERAS

For emperors before the Ming-Qing period, I use their posthumous titles, for example, Han Wudi 漢武帝 (the Martial Emperor of Han). For emperors of the Ming-Qing period, I use their reign titles, for examples, the Hongwu emperor (whose posthumous title was Ming Taizu 明太祖, the Great Ancestor of Ming.)

#### Ming 明 1368-1644

Abbr.	Era Names	Period	Birth Year of the Emperor
HW	Hungwu 洪武	1368-1398	1328
JW	Jianwen 建文	1399-1402	1377
YL	Yongle 永樂	1403-1424	1360
HX	Hongxi 洪熙	1425	1378
XD	Xuande 宣德	1426-1436	1399
ZT	Zhengtong 正統	1436-1450	1427
JT	Jingtai 景泰	1450-1457	1428
TS	Tianshun 天順	1457-1465	1427

CH	Chenghua 成化	1464-1487	1447
HZ	Hongzhi 弘治	1488-1506	1470
ZD	Zhengde 正德	1506-1522	1491
JJ	Jiajing 嘉靖	1521-1567	1507
LQ	Longqing 隆慶	1567-1573	1537
WL	Wanli 萬曆	1573-1620	1563
TQ	Tianqi 天啟	1621-1628	1582
CZ	Chongzhen 崇禎	1628-1644	1611

### Qing 清 1644-1911

Abbr.	Era Names	Period	Birth Year of the Emperor
SZ	Shunzhi 順治	1644-1661	1638
KX	Kangxi 康熙	1662-1722	1654
YZ	Yongzheng 雍正	1723-1735	1678
QL	Qianlong 乾隆	1736-1796	1711, death 1799

JQ	Jiangqing 嘉慶	1796-1820	1760
DG	Daoguang 道光	1821-1850	1782
XF	Xianfeng 咸豐	1851-1861	1831
TZ	Tongzhi 同治	1862-1875	1856
GX	Guangxu 光緒	1875-1908	1871
XT	Xuantong 宣統	1909-1911	1906, death 1967

For dates, KX1/2/3 indicates the third day of the second month of the first year of the Kangxi reign. I have converted dates, when necessary, to their equivalents on the Gregorian calendar.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- Chen Xianzhang 陳獻章. *Chen Xianzhang ji* 陳獻章集 [Works of Chen Xianzhang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
- Cheng Yi 程頤 and Cheng Hao 程灝. *Er Cheng yishu* 二程遺書 [Collected works of the Cheng's brothers]. Reprint in *Siku quanshu*, vol. 698. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987.
- Confucius, and Edward G. Slingerland. *Confucius Analects: With Selection from Traditional Commentaries*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub. Co, 2003.
- Dong Gao 董誥, ed. *Quan tangwen* 全唐文 [Complete prose of the Tang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
- Du You 杜佑, *Tong dian* 通典 [Encyclopaedic history of institutions]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988.
- He, Dicheng 何耿繩, and Yao Jingheng 姚景衡, eds. *Chongji Weinan xianzhi* 重輯渭南縣志. Qing Daoguang jiu nian keban. Weinan, 1829.
- Huang Yuji 黃虞稷. *Qianqingtang shumu* 千頃堂書目 [Catalog of Qianqing tang]. Reprint in *Siku quanshu*, vol. 676. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987.
- Huang Zuo 黃佐. *Nan Yongzhi* 南雍志 [Gazetteer of the Nanjing Imperial Academy]. Reprint. Taipei: Weiwen tushu chubanshe, 1976.
- Jiajing sidian kao* 嘉靖祀典考 [A study of the Jiajing Sacrificial Registrar]. Ming edition.

- Lang Ying 郎瑛. *Qi xiu lei gao* 七修類稿 [Categorized notes in seven revisions]. Reprint in *Li dai bi ji cong kan* 歷代筆記叢刊. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2001.
- Li Dongyang 李東陽, and Shen Shixing 申時行, eds. *Daming Huidian (Wanli Reign)* [Collected statutes of the Ming, Wanli edition]. Reprint, 1587 (Wanli 15) edition. Taipei: Guofeng chubanshe, 1963.
- Li Linfu 李林甫, ed. *Tang liu dian* 唐六典 [Compendium of administrative law of the six divisions of the Tang bureaucracy]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992.
- Li Zhizao 李之藻. *Pangong li yue shu* 類宮禮樂疏 [Proposal of ritual and music in local schools]. The 1617 edition. Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1970.
- Miaoxue dianli* 廟學典禮 [Compendium of rituals from temple schools]. Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1992.
- Ming shilu* 明實錄 [Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty]. Accessed via Hanji dianzi wenxian ziliaoku 漢籍電子文獻資料庫. <http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/>.
- Neige daku dang'an*. 內閣大庫檔案 [Archives of the Grand Secretariat]. Held at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan.
- Qianlong jiangnan tongzhi*. 乾隆江南通志 [Local gazetteers of the Jiangnan area compiled during the Qianlong period]. Reprint. Yangzhou: Guangling shu she, 2010.
- Qinding guozijian zhi*. 欽定國子監志 [Gazetteer of the Imperial Academy]. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2000.
- Qing shilu* 清實錄 [Veritable Records of the Qing Dynasty]. Accessed via Hanji dianzi wenxian ziliaoku 漢籍電子文獻資料庫. <http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/>.



- Qiu Jun 丘濬. *Daxue yanyi bu* 大學衍義補 [Continuation of the extended meaning of the Great Learning]. Reprint in *Siku quanshu*, vols. 712–713. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987.
- Qu Jiusi 瞿九思. *Kongmiao liyue kao* 孔廟禮樂考. The 1607 (Wanli 35) edition. Reprint in *Siku cunmu congshu* 四庫存目叢書, vol. 270. Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1996.
- Shengzu ren huangdi qinzheng pingding shuomo fanglue* 聖祖仁皇帝親征平定朔漠方略 [the military archive of the Kangxi emperor's expedition for the pacification of the northern desert]. Reprint in *Siku quanshu*, vol. 354–355. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987.
- Shi Jishi 史記事, *Dacheng liyue ji* 大成禮樂集 [Collection of the rites and music of the Great Completion], Tianqi reign woodblock edition., n.d. Held at the National Central Library, Taiwan.
- Ruan Yuan 阮元. *Yan jing shi ji* 掣經室集 [Collection of writings from the Yanjing studio]. Reprint in *Sibu congkan chubian* 四部叢刊初編, vol. 1857–1876. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1922.
- Shen, Qingya 沈青崖, ed. *Shannxi tongzhi* 陝西通志. Reprint in *Siku quanshu*, vol. 551–556. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987.
- Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經註疏 [the Thirteen Classics with commentaries]. Reprint. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980.
- Sima Qian 司馬遷. *Shi ji* 史記 [the records of the grand historian]. *Zhongguo xueshu leibian*. Taipei: Ding wen shuju, 1981.

- Su Shi 蘇軾. *Dongpo quanji* 東坡全集 [Complete work of Su Shi]. Reprint in *Siku quanshu*, vol. 1107-1108. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987.
- Tan Hanyuan, ed. *Huangmei xianzhi* 黃梅縣志 [Local gazetteer of Huangmei county]. 1876 (Guangxu 4) edition. Huangmei, 1876.
- Tian Yiheng 田藝衡. *Liuqing rizha* 留青日札. Reprint in *Ming Qing biji congshu* 明清筆記叢書. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992.
- Tuo Tuo 脫脫, ed. *Jin shi* 金史 [the history of the Jin dynasty]. *Zhongguo xueshu leibian*. Taipei: Ding wen shuju, 1980.
- Tuo Tuo 脫脫, ed. *Liao shi* 遼史 [the history of the Liao dynasty]. *Zhongguo xueshu leibian*. Taipei: Ding wen shuju, 1980.
- Tuo Tuo 脫脫, ed. *Song shi* 宋史 [the history of the Song dynasty]. *Zhongguo xueshu leibian*. Taipei: Ding wen shuju, 1980.
- Wan, Sitong. *Rulin Zongpai* 儒林宗派 [Lineage of the Confucians]. Zhangshi yueyuan kanben., n.d.
- Wang, Zhi, and Wang Zhizhou, eds. *Jiexiu xianzhi* 介休縣志 [Local gazetteer of Jiexiu]. Kangxi 35 (1696) edition. 8 vols. Jiexiu County, 1696.
- Xie Yong 謝壩. Unpublished manuscript. *Ting zong shanfang ji*. 聽鍾山房集 [Collection of writings from the Tingzhong mountain cottage]. Reprint in *Qingdai shiwen ji huibian* 清代詩文集彙編, vol.356. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010.
- Xiao Song 蕭嵩. *Da tang kaiyuan li* 大唐開元禮 [Compendium of rituals of the Kaiyuan reign]. Reprint in *Siku quanshu*, vol. 646. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987.

- Xu Yikui 徐一夔. *Ming jili* 明集禮 [Collected rites of the great Ming]. Reprint in *Siku quanshu*, Vol. 649–650. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987.
- Xu Xueju 徐學聚. *Guochao dianhui* 國朝典彙 [Compendium of the Ming laws and institutions]. Reprint, 1621 edition. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1965.
- Yang Yiqing 楊一清. *Minglun dadian* 明倫大典 [Great precedents for clarifying morality]. 1529 edition. Held at the Library of Congress, the United States of America.
- Yong Rong 永瑤, and Ji Yun 紀昀, eds. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 [Annotated general catalogue of the complete collection of the Four Treasuries]. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933.
- Yuan beiping gugong bowuyuan wenxian guan 原北平故宫博物院文献馆, ed. *Qingdai wenziyu dang* 清代文字獄檔 [the archive of the Qing literary inquisition]. Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2007.
- Zhan Ruoshui 湛若水. *Gewu Tong* 格物通. Reprint in *Siku quanshu*, vol. 716. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987.
- Zhang, Heteng 張鶴騰 eds. *Yuci xianzhi* 榆次縣志. Wanli 37(1609) Edition. Zhongguo difangzhi xuji. Yuci, 1609.
- Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, ed. *Ming shi* 明史. Taipei: Ding wen shuju, 1980.
- Zhang Xuecheng, *Zhang Xuecheng yishu* 章學誠遺書 [Collected work of Zhang Xuecheng], Jiayetang woodblock version. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985.
- Zhao Yi 趙翼. 1982. *Yan pu za ji* 簞曝雜記 [Miscellaneous notes]. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982

Zhu, Yunming 祝允明. *Huaixingtang ji* 懷星堂集 [Collected works of Zhu Yunming]. Reprint in *Siku quanshu*, vol. 1260. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987.

Zhu Xi 朱熹. *Sishu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集註 [the Four Books with a collection of commentaries]. Reprint in *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng* 新編諸子集成. Zhonghua shuju, 1983.

———. *Shaoxi zhouxian shidian yi tu* 紹熙州縣釋奠儀圖 [An illustrated manual of the *shidian* performed in states and counties during the Shaoxi reign (1190-1194)]. Reprint in *Siku quanshu*, vol. 648. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987.

### Secondary Literature

Agnew, Christopher S. “Culture and Power in the Making of the Descendants of Confucius, 1300--1800.” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 2006.

Bary, Wm. Theodore de. “The Uses of Neo-Confucianism: A Response to Professor Tillman.” *Philosophy East and West* 43, no. 3 (July 1, 1993): 541–555.

Chang, Michael G. *A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring & the Construction of Qing Rule, 1680-1785*. Harvard East Asian monographs 287. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007.

Chen Baoliang 陈宝良. *Mingdai ruxue shengyuan yu difang shehui* 明代儒学生员与地方社会 [Students from the local state-sponsored Confucian schools and local society in the Ming Dyansty]. Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanse, 2005.

Chen Fang-mei 陳芳妹. “Taiwan Wenmiao Wanshi Shibiao Yubian: Jianlun Kangxi Yu Qingchu Wenmiao Yubian Zhidu de Xingcheng Yu Chuanbo 臺灣文廟「萬世師表」御匾——兼論

康熙與清初文廟御匾制度的形成及傳播 [the Imperial Plaque ‘Model Teacher for All Ages’ at the Temple of Confucius in Tainan: With a Discussion of Kangxi and the Formation and Circulation of the Standard for Imperial Plaques in the Early Qing].” *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 [The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly] 31, no. 1 (September 2013), 199-233

Chen Kuo-tung 陳國棟. “Kumiao yu fen rufu - Mingmo Qingchu shengyuan ceng de shehui xing dongzuo 哭廟與焚儒服——明末清初生員層的社會性動作” (Temple lamentation and robe burning: gestures of social protest in the seventeenth-century China). *Xin shixue* 新史學, vol. 3:1(1992), 69-94.

Chu Hung-Lam. “The Debate Over Recognition of Wang Yang-Ming.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48, no. 1 (June 1988): 47–70.

Chu Hung-lam 朱鴻林 (Zhu Hunglin). “Wang Yangming congshi Kongmiao de shiliao wenti 王陽明從祀孔廟的史料問題 [Issues of historical evidences related to the enshrinement of Wang Yangming in the Confucius temple],” *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊, no. 06 (2008).

———. “Wang Wencheng Gong Quanshu Hanxing Yu Wang Yangming Congsi Zhengyi de Yiyi 《王文成公全書》刊行與王陽明從祀爭議的意義 [The publication of the *Complete Works of Wang Wencheng* and its meanings to the enshrinement of Wang Yangming],” in *Zhongguo Jinshi ruxue xhizhi de xibian yu xuexi* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2006), 312–33.

———. *Kongmiao congshi yu xiangyue* 孔廟從祀與鄉約 [Enshrinements in the Confucius temple and village compacts]. Beijing: Sheng huo, du shu, xin zhi san lian shu dian, 2015.

- Crossley, Pamela Kyle. "The *Dayi juemi lu* 大義覺迷錄 and the Lost Yongzheng Philosophy of Identity," *Crossroads - Studies on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World* 5, July 3, 2012: 63–80.
- Di Fubao 狄富保. "Liyang xuegong yizhi faxian 'pingding qinghai gaocheng taixue bei'" 溧阳学宫遗址发现《平定青海告成太学碑》 [Discovering the "Imperial stele reporting in the Imperial Academy the successful completion of the pacification of Qinghai" at the archaeological site of the Liyang school]. *Dongnan wenhua* 东南文化, 2006.5, 76-78.
- Dong Xining 董喜寧, *Kongmiao jisi yanjiu* 孔廟祭祀研究 [A study of the sacrifices in the Confucius Temple], Yuelu Shuyuan Guoxue Wenku. Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2014.
- Fang, Hao 方豪. *Li Zhizao yanjiu* 李之藻研究 [Study of Li Zhizao]. Taipei: Commercial Press, 1966)
- . "Pangong Liyue Shu Tiji 《類宮禮樂疏》提記 [the Bibliographic Summary of PGLYS]," *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan guankan* 3, no. 2 (April 1970): 1–6.
- Fisher, Carney T. *The Chosen One: Succession and Adoption in the Court of Ming Shizong*. Sydney; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1990.
- Flath, James A. *Traces of the Sage: Monument, Materiality, and the First Temple of Confucius*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.
- Forêt, Philippe. *Mapping Chengde: The Qing Landscape Enterprise*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.
- Gao Mingshi (Kuo Ming-shih) 高明士. *Zhongguo Jiaoyu Zhidu Shilu* 中國教育制度史論 [History of Chinese educational institutions]. Taipei: Linking Publishing, 1999.

- . *Dongya jiaoyu quan xingcheng shilun* 東亞教育圈形成史論 [The history of East Asian education sphere]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 2003.
- Geiss, James. "The Leopard Quarter During the Cheng-Te Reign." *Ming Studies* 1987, no. 1 (January 1, 1987): 1–38.
- Gong Yingyan 龚缨晏, and Ma Qiong 马琼. "Guangyu Li Zhizao shengping shiji de xin shiliao 关于李之藻生平事迹的新史料 [New Documents on Li Zhizao]." *Journal of Zhejiang University (Humanities and Social Sciences)* 38, no. 3 (May 2008): 89–97.
- Graff, David A. "The Chinese Concept of Righteous War." In Howard M. Hensel, ed. *The Prism of Just War: Asian and Western Perspectives on the Legitimate Use of Military Force* Justice, International Law and Global Security Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.
- He Guanbiao 何冠彪. *Sheng yu si: Ming ji shidafu de jueze* 生與死：明季士大夫的選擇 [Live or death: the choices of scholar-officials during the late Ming]. Taipei: Lianjing chubanse, 1997.
- Ho Wei-hsuan 何威萱, "Cong chuanji dao mingdao: Cheng Minzheng yu mingdai qianqi kongmiao congsi biao zhun de zhuanbian 從「傳經」到「明道」—程敏政與明代前期孔廟從祀標準的轉變 [From "academic achievement" to "moral conduct": Cheng Minzheng and the transformation of the criteria of the Confucian temple canonization in the early Ming]" *Historical Inquiry*, no. 56 (December 2015): 35–86.
- Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Canto Classics Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Hsia, R. Po-chia. *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

- Hu Jixun 胡吉勛. *Da Li Yi Yu Mingting renshi bianju* 大禮議與明廷人事變局 [The Great Rites Controversy and the human relationship in the Ming court]. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanse, 2007.
- Huang, Chin-Shing. “The Cultural Politics of Autocracy: The Confucius Temple and Ming Despotism 1368–1530.” In Thomas A. Wilson, ed., *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 2002, 267-296.
- Huang Chin-Shing (Huang Jinxing) 黃進興. *You ru shengyu: quanl, xinyang yu Zhengdangxing* 優入聖域：權力、信仰與正當性 [Entering the realm of the Sage: power, belief, and legitimacy]. Xi an: Shan xi shi fan da xue chu ban she, 1998.
- . *Shengxian yu shengtū* 聖賢與聖徒 [Sages and Saints]. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanse, 2005.
- . *Huangdi, yusheng yu kongmiao* 皇帝、儒生與孔廟 [Emperors, Confucians, and Confucius Temple]. Beijing: Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2014.
- . “Xiangzheng de kuozhang: Kongmiao sidian yu guojia lizhi 象徵的擴張：孔廟祀典與帝國禮制 [the symbolic expansion of the meaning and function of the rites of Confucian Temples in Imperial China]” *Bulletin of Institute of History and Philology*, 86:3 (September 2015): 471–511.
- Hummel, Arthur W., ed. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*. 2 vols. Washington: United State Government Printing Office, 1943.
- Jing, Jun. “Knowledge, Organization, and Symbolic Capital: Two Temples to Confucius in Gansu.” In *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 335–375.



Kleeman, Terry Frederick. "Wenchang and the Viper: The Creation of a Chinese National God."

Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, 1988.

Kong Zhe 孔喆. *Tushuo guozijian: fengjian wangchao de zuigao xuefu* 图说国子监: 封建王朝的最高学府 [An illustrated introduction of the Imperial Academy: The highest educational institute of the feudal dynasties]. Jinan: Shandong youyi chubanshe, 2006.

Kuo, Ya-pei. "'The Emperor and the People in One Body': The Worship of Confucius and Ritual Planning in the Xinzheng Reforms, 1902-1911." *Modern China* 35, no. 2 (March 1, 2009): 123–154.

———. "'Christian Civilization' and the Confucian Church: The Origin of Secularist Politics in Modern China." *Past & Present* 218, no. 1 (February 1, 2013): 235–264.

Lam, Joseph Sui Ching. "The Yin and Yang of Chinese Music Historiography: The Case of Confucian Ceremonial Music." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 27 (January 1, 1995): 34–51.

———. *State Sacrifices and Music in Ming China: Orthodoxy, Creativity, and Expressiveness*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.

———. "Musical Confucianism: The Case of 'Jikong Yuewu.'" In *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 134–175.

———. "Reading Music and Eroticism in Late Ming Texts." *NAN NU -- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China* 12, no. 2 (December 2010): 215–254.

Legge, James, trans. *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism*. Sacred books of the East, v. 3, 16, 27, 28. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879.

- . *The She King: (Or The Book of Poetry)*. Repr. der 2.ed. with minor text corrections and a concordance table. Vol. 4. 5 vols. The Chinese classics with a transl.,crit. and exegetical notes, prolegomena, and copious indexes / by James Legge; 4. Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1991.
- Li Ling 李零. *Sangji Gou* 丧家狗 [A homeless dog]. Shanxi renmin chubanse, 2007.
- Li Yaping 李亚平. “Mingdai Shenyue Guan Yanjiu 明代神乐观研究 [A study of the Office of Sacrificial Music in the Ming Dynasty]”. Master Thesis, Heilongjiang daxue 黑龙江大学, 2015.
- Li Yongkang 李永康, and Yan Gao 高彦, eds. *Beijing kongmiao guozijian shihua* 北京孔庙国子监史话 [A history of the Kong Temple and Imperial Academy in Beijing]. Beijing: Beijing Yanshan chu ban she, 2010.
- Li Yuan 李媛. *Mingdai guojia jisi zhidu yanjiu* 明代国家祭祀制度研究 [Study of the insitutions of the Ming state sacrifices]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanse, 2011.
- Liang, Wang. “The Confucius Temple Tragedy of the Cultural Revolution.” In *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 376–400. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002.
- Lin Junhong 林俊宏. *Zhu Shunshui zai riben de huodong ji qi gongxian yanjiu* 朱舜水在日本的活動及其貢獻研究 [the study of Zhu Shunshui’s activities and contribution in Japan]. Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi, 2004.
- Liu, Yonghua. “Mingqing shiqi de shenyue guan yu wangchao liyi: daojiao yu wangchao liyi hudong de yi ge cemian 明清时期的神乐观与王朝礼仪——道教与王朝礼仪互动的一个侧面 [the Office of Sacrificial Music and imperial rites during the Ming-Qing period: a facet

- of the interaction between Daoism and imperial rites]”. *Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [Studies of world religions], no. 03 (2008): 32–42.
- Liu, Yonghua. “Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices in Late Imperial China: The Case of the Imperial Music Office (Shenyue Guan), 1379–1743.” *Late Imperial China* 33, no. 1 (June 29, 2012): 55–88.
- Liu, Yonghua. *Confucian Rituals and Chinese Villagers: Ritual Change and Social Transformation in a Southeastern Chinese Community, 1368-1949*. Religion in Chinese societies 6. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Liu, Yu. “The True Pioneer of the Jesuit China Mission : Michele Ruggieri.” *History of Religions* 50, no. 4 (May 1, 2011): 362–383.
- . “The Spiritual Journey of an Independent Thinker: The Conversion of Li Zhizao to Catholicism.” *Journal of World History* 22, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 433–453.
- Lorge, Peter Allan. *Debating War in Chinese History*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Meng Fanyun 孟凡云. “Wanli wugong lu yanjiu 《万历武功录》研究 [the study of the military successes during the Wanli reign].” Ph.D., Zhongyang minzu daxue, 2005.
- Millward, James A. *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Millward, James A., Ruth W. Dunnell, and Philippe Forêt, eds. *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*. London; New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Neskar, Ellen G. “The Cult of Worthies: A Study of Shrines Honoring Local Confucian Worthies in the Sung Dynasty (960-1279).” Ph.D. Dissertation., Columbia University, 1993.

- Naquin, Susan. *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400–1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Newby, Laura. *The Empire and the Khanate: A Political History of Qing Relations with Khoqand c. 1760–1860*. Brill’s Inner Asian Library. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005.
- Ng, On-cho. *Cheng-Zhu Confucianism in the Early Qing: Li Guangdi (1642-1718) and Qing Learning*. SUNY series in Chinese philosophy and culture. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001.
- Nylan, Michael. *The Five “Confucian” Classics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Nylan, Michael, and Thomas A. Wilson. *Lives of Confucius: Civilization’s Greatest Sage Through the Ages*. New York: Doubleday, 2010.
- Perdue, Peter. *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Ricci, Matteo, and Nicholas Tregault. *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610*. Random House, 1953.
- Shryock, John Knight. *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius: An Introductory Study*. New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp, 1966.
- Skinner, G. William. *The City in Late Imperial China*. Taipei: SMC Pub., 1995.
- Sommer, Deborah. “Destroying Confucius: Iconoclasm in the Confucian Temple.” In *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 95–132.
- Standaert, Nicolas. “The Study of the Classics by Late Ming Christian Converts.” In *Cheng - All in Sincerity*, 19–40. Großheirath: OSTASIEN Verlag, 2001.
- . “Ancient Chinese Ritual Dances.” *IIAS Newsletter* 39, no. 11 (2005).

- . “Ritual Dances and Their Visual Representations in the Ming and the Qing.” *The East Asian Library Journal* 12, no. 1 (2006): 68–181.
- . *The Interweaving of Rituals Funerals in the Cultural Exchange Between China and Europe*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.
- Sun, Anna Xiao Dong. *Confucianism as a World Religion: Contested Histories and Contemporary Realities*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Taylor, Romeyn. “Official Altars, Temples and Shrines Mandated for All Counties in Ming and Qing.” *T’oung Pao* 83, no. 1/3 (1997) Second Series: 93–125.
- . 1998. “Official Religion in the Ming.” *The Cambridge History of China. Volume 8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644. Part 2*, 1st ed. 8 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland. “A New Direction in Confucian Scholarship: Approaches to Examining the Differences between Neo-Confucianism and Tao-Hsueh,” *Philosophy East and West* 42, no. 3 (July 1992): 455.
- . “The Uses of Neo-Confucianism, Revisited: A Reply to Professor de Bary,” *Philosophy East and West* 44, no. 1 (January 1, 1994): 135–142.
- Waley-Cohen, Joanna. *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military Under the Qing Dynasty*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2006.
- Wang, Lijing 王丽静. “Mingdai tachangsi yanjiu 明代太常寺研究 [A study of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices during the Ming Dynasty]” Master Thesis, Dongbei shifan daxue 东北师范大学, 2015.
- Wang Xiaoxin 王曉欣. “Shuo jiu ru shi gai he rushi ruxue zai yuandai de diwei shu 說九儒十丐和儒士儒學在元代的地位,” [Discussing “Confucians the ninth and baggars the tenth” and

- the status of Confucianism during the Yuan dynasty], *Lishi jiaoxue* 歷史教學, no. 6 (2010): 7–9.
- Wang, Wensheng. *White Lotus Rebels and South China Pirates: Crisis and Reform in the Qing Empire*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Watson, James L. and Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, eds., *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Watters, Thomas. *A Guide to the Tablets in a Temple of Confucius*. Shanghai, China : America Presbyterian Mission Press, 1879.
- Wilson, Thomas. *Genealogy of the Way: The Construction and Uses of the Confucian Tradition in Late Imperial China*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- . “Ritualizing Confucius/Kongzi: The Family and State Cults of the Sage of Culture in Imperial China.” In *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, 43–94.
- Wilson, Thomas, ed. *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Wu, Ching-fang 吳靜芳. “Ming Jiajingchao Kongmiao Sidian Gaizhi Kaoshi 明嘉靖朝孔廟祀典改制考析 [A Study on The Change of Confucius Ceremony in Jiajing Era of the Ming Dynasty].” *Cheng Kung Journal of Historical Studies* 31 (December 2006): 113–152.
- Xing Peng 邢鵬. “Beijing guozijian kongmiao jinshi timing bei shike diaocha 北京国子监孔庙进士题名碑石刻调查” [A survey of “Stelae Listing the Names of the *jinshi* Degree-Holders” in the Imperial Academy and Kong Temple in Beijing]. *Guozijian*

- kongmiao yanjiu* 孔庙国子监丛刊 [Journal of Kong Temple and Imperial Academy]. 2006: 222–28.
- Yang, Cheng-hsien. “Wang Yangming Nianpu Yu Congsi Kongmiao Zhi Yanjiu 王陽明《年譜》與從祀孔廟之研究 [Wang Yangming’s Chronicle and the Placing of His Tablet in the Confucian Temple].” *Chinese Studies* 29, no. 1 (2011): 153–187.
- Yu Ying-shih 余英时. *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie* 朱熹的历史世界 [The historical world of Zhu Xi]. Beijing: Sanlian shuju, 2004.
- Zhang Hui 张慧. “Kongmiao jinshi timing bei yu keju 孔庙进士题名碑与科举.” [“Stelae Listing the Names of the *jinshi* Degree-Holders” and the civil service examination]. In *Kongmiao Guozijian Congkan* 孔庙国子监丛刊 [Journal of Kong Temple and Imperial Academy]. 2014:165–69.
- Zhao Kesheng 赵克生. “Daming jili de chuxiu yu kanbu 《大明集礼》的初修与刊布 [The first edition of the *Collected Rites of the Great Ming* and its publication]” *Shixueshi yanjiu* 史学史研究, no. 03 (2004): 65–69.
- . *Ming chao Jiajing shi qi guo jia ji li gai zhi* 明朝嘉靖時期國家祭禮改制 [Revisions of the state sacrifices during the Jiajing reign of the Ming Dynasty]. Beijing Shi: She hui ke xue wen xian chu ban she, 2006.
- Zheng Cheng 鄭誠. “Li Zhizao jiashi shengping buzhen 李之藻家世生平補正 [On the Life and Family of Li Zhizao].” *The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 39, no. 4 (December 2009): 151–182.

- Zhu, Baojiong 朱保炯, and Xie Peilin 謝沛霖. *Ming Qing Jinshi Timinglu Suoyin* 明清進士題名錄索引 [Index of the jinshi degree holders of the Ming-Qing period]. Jindai zhongguo shiliao con kang xubian 785–790. Taipei: Wenhai chubanse, 1981.
- Zhu Yuqi 朱玉麒. “Cong gao yu miaoshe dao gaocheng tianxia: qingdai xibei bianjiang pingding de liyi chongjian 從告於廟社到告成天下——清代西北邊疆平定的禮儀重建” [From Praying to the Ancestors and the Heaven and Earth to Declaration to the People: Reconstruction of the Celebration for Pacifying the Northwest Frontier of the Qing Dynasty (Author’s original English title)]. In *Dongfangxue yanjiu lunji: Gaotian shixiong jiaoshou tuixiu jinian* 東方學研究論集：高田時雄教授退休紀念（中文分冊） [East Asian studies: festschrift in honor of the retirement of Professor Takata Tokio (Chinese volume)]. Shuppanchi fumei: Tohogaku kenkyu ronshu kankokai, 2014.
- Zhuang Jifa 莊吉發. *Qing Gaozong Shiquan Wugong Yanjiu* 清高宗十全武功研究 [A study of the Qianlong emperor’s Ten Complete Victories]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.

### Websites and Databases

- Academia Sinica. 1997. Hanji dianzi wenxian ziliaoku 漢籍電子文獻資料庫.  
<http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/>.
- Lin Yutang. “Congsi.” *Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage*. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, n.d. <http://humanum.arts.cuhk.edu.hk/Lexis/Lindict/>.
- Liu, Junwen 劉俊文. 2010. Zhongguo fangzhi ku 中國方志庫. Beijing: Beijing airusheng shuzihua jishu yanjiu zhongxin. <http://server.wenzibase.com/>



**Kwok-leong Tang**  
Curriculum Vitae

Old Botany Building  
University Park,  
PA 16802, United States

[www.kwokleongtang.net](http://www.kwokleongtang.net)  
814-441-4018  
[kltang@psu.edu](mailto:kltang@psu.edu)

**EDUCATION**

- 2018 PhD. Dual-title Program of History and Asian Studies, Pennsylvania State University.  
Dissertation title: “Reinventing Confucius and his Shrine: The Temple of Culture (*wenmiao*) in Late Imperial China”.
- 2012 Graduate Coursework. History and Vietnamese Language. University of Hawaii at Manoa.
- 2007 M.Phil. History, Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- 2004 BA. First Class Honor, History, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

**PUBLICATIONS**

**Articles in refereed journals**

- 2018 “Reporting to the Sage: Military Monuments in the Imperial Academy in the Qing China”. *The Journal of Chinese Military History*, 7.1 (2018.5), 1-36.
- 2012 “Difangshi yanjiu de wenxian wenti: mingdai guangxi tuguan Huang Hong jiazuo ‘luanfan sishi’ shuo de jiantao [Textual Problems in the Research of Local History: the Case of ‘Rebellion for Four Generations’ by the Native Chieftain Huang Hong’s Family in Ming Guangxi]” (in Chinese), Co-authored with Hung-lam Chu, *Lishi Wenxian Yanjiu*, Vol. 31 (2012.9), 122-150.
- 2010 “Tianzhou shi fei wo ben xin: Wang Shouren (1472-1528) de Guangxi zhi yi [The Tianzhou Event Wasn’t My Intention: Wang Shouren’s Campaign in Guangxi]” (in Chinese). *The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, 40.2 (2010.6), 265-293.
- 2006 “Ziliao buzhi dui *Mingru xuean* bianzhuan de xianzhi: yi yuemin wangmen xuean weilu [The Impacts of the Inadequacy of Information on the Writing of *The Records of the Ming Scholars*: Using “The School of Guangdong And Fujian” as an Example]” (in Chinese). *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, Vol. 21(2006), 85-106.

**Translation**

- 2010 Chinese translation of Edward Farmer’s “The Great Ming Commandment: Social Legislation in Early-Ming”, in *Mingshi Yanjiu Luncong*, Vol. 8, 36-46.