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Lu You's *Draft Entries for the Sagacious Policies of the Restoration* (*Zhongxing shengzheng cao*)

ABSTRACT:

A small piece of working Song-dynasty historiography titled *Zhongxing shengzheng cao* 中興聖政草 was compiled by the famous poet Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210) in 1163, shortly after emperor Gaozong's 高宗 (1107–1187; r. 1127–1162) abdication in favor of the new emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (1127–1194; r. 1162–1189) in 1162. It is a rare, intact example of a Song historical genre known as “Sagacious Policies” (*shengzheng* 聖政), or sometimes “Precious Instructions” (*baoxun* 寶訓). Lu You's work selects twenty historical events from the first two years of Gaozong's rule, giving a commentary for each. This article offers a topical analysis of these twenty selections and a close reading of Lu's comments to demonstrate that he selected topics in order to provide the new emperor precedents for reform. It also demonstrates Lu's criticism of Gaozong's early actions and his reign's political decay. We see Lu You's dreams both for the founder he wished Gaozong had been and for the ruler he hoped Xiaozong would be. So understood, the work reveals much about the *shengzheng* genre and mid-12th century political culture.

KEYWORDS:

Song-dynasty historiography, Sagacious Policies (*shengzheng*), *Lu You* (1115–1210), *Emperor Gaozong*, *Southern Song history*

THE SHENGZHENG GENRE AND LU YOU'S WORK

As has often been described, official Song historiography operated through a process of redaction and concision that transformed the raw administrative documents of governance into a finished history of the dynasty. At 496 *juan*, the resulting dynastic history of the Song, the *Song History* (*Songshi* 宋史) of 1345, is the longest of the twenty-four dynastic histories. The earlier Veritable Records (*shilu* 實錄) that were compiled after the death of each emperor in Song and that comprised the principal source-base from which the Yuan historians compiled the

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Song History were even more voluminous. For this reason, many Song readers found the Veritable Records difficult to access and consult.¹ As a consequence, in the 1030s a genre known as “sagacious policies” (*shengzheng* 聖政, to be referred to as Shengzheng) or “precious instructions” (*baoxun* 寶訓, Baoxun) arose to create a more compact, accessible, and immediate historical record. The “sagacious” and “precious” in these descriptions refers to actions of previous Song emperors that the compilers have selected and foregrounded as his “instructions” to his descendants, in this case the reigning emperor. They were not intended as comprehensive, or even abridged, annalistic histories but were compiled as practical, accessible readers that would inform emperors, especially new emperors, about the “policies of [their] ancestors 祖宗之法.” Each entry comprised a quoted primary source along with a comment by the compiler. In their original format, these works were arranged into topical categories and subcategories within which the individual entries were then chronologically ordered. These works provided basic historical materials that were studied at the imperial Classics Mat sessions and consulted during the course of imperial policy formation.²

Works in the “Shengzheng” genre presented two conflicting sets of demands. On the one hand, after the mid-eleventh century, a Shengzheng was quickly compiled after the death of each emperor to present an exemplary record of his reign. On the other hand, the works presented a program or handbook of politically chosen possibilities for future action. They thus attempted to “fix” the actions of the last emperor in relation to a set of immutable policies that supposedly derived from the dynastic founders. But, in actuality, the “policies of the ancestors” were a continually evolving set of “precedents 故事” that evolved over time in response to ongoing political developments. The major goal of these works was to show, for the benefit of the new emperor, how his predecessor had adhered to these precedents and to make the political case that the new emperor should adhere to a similar course. But the content of that “course” changed over time as the political culture of the dynasty evolved.

¹ For an overview of official Song historiography see Charles Hartman, *The Making of Song Dynasty History: Sources and Narratives* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.), pp. 1–19; Sung Chia-fu, “The Official Historiographical Operation of the Song Dynasty,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 45 (2015), pp. 175–206.

² For basic overviews of the genre see Deng Xiaonan 鄧小南, *Zuzong zhi fa: Bei Song qianqi zhengzhi shulue* 祖宗之法, 北宋前期政治述略 (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2006), pp. 370–421, and Wang Deyi 王德毅, “Songdai de shengzheng he baoxun zhi yanjiu” 宋代的聖政和寶訓之研究, in Songshi zuotanhui 宋史座談會, ed., *Songshi yanjiu ji* 宋史研究集 (Taipei: Guoli Bianyi guan, 2000), vol. 30, pp. 1–26.

The first such work, *Precious Instructions from the Three Courts* (*Sanchao baoxun* 三朝寶訓), was completed in 1032 and presented to the young emperor Renzong 仁宗 (1010–1063; r. 1022–1063), then age twenty-three, as a practical guide to imperial statecraft. Although no Shengzheng work survives intact, Southern Song encyclopedias contain many quotations of individual entries.³ This prevalence reflects the fact that because their primary purpose was imperial edification, the genre was easily adapted for more general pedagogic use; and, as we shall explore below, commercial printers adapted and modified the genre for distribution to a much wider audience.⁴

The Southern Song poet Lu You had a checkered official career that included three tours of service in court historiographical positions. The first occurred during the nine months between 1162/9 and 1163/5. (In this article, the number after the Western year is the lunar month in the related reign-year, and if present, the day number follows.) This is when he served as junior compiler in the Bureau of Military Affairs and examining editor in the Office for the Classification and Compilation of Imperial Policy (*shumiyuan bianxuanguan jian bianlei shengzhengsuo jiantaoguan* 樞密院編修官兼編類聖政所檢討官). His tenure in this position, although brief, coincided with a tumultuous yet seminal period in Southern Song history. Less than a year before Lu You began his service, the Jurchen had invaded Song territory; three months before, in 1162/6, emperor Gaozong had abdicated, and Xiaozong ascended the throne as the second emperor of the restored Southern Song.

The work that we examine here, entitled *Draft Entries for the Sagacious Policies of the Restoration* (*Zhongxing shengzheng cao* 中興聖政草), survives and is evidence of Lu You's first effort as an official historian. Although copied into the early-Ming dynasty's *Yongle Encyclopedia* (*Yongle dadian* 永樂大典), the work escaped the attention of the eighteenth-century editors of the *Complete Writings from the Four Treasuries* (*Siku quanshu* 四庫全書). It was presumed lost until 1996, when Kong Xue printed the *Yongle Encyclopedia* text of it, along with a short introduction.⁵ Since then, to my knowledge, scholars of the Song have

³ See for example Xu Zhenxing 許振興, "Gujin yuanliu zhilun zhong de Songdai baoxun yiwen" 古今源流至論中的宋代寶訓佚文, *Gujin zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究學刊 86 (2000.4), pp. 53–60.

⁴ See Hilde De Weerd, *Information, Territory, and Networks: The Crisis and Maintenance of Empire in Song China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), pp. 44, 65–72.

⁵ Kong Xue 孔學, "Lu You ji Gaozong shengzheng cao," 陸游及高宗聖政草, *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊 (1996. 4), pp. 32–38. For the original text, see *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), j. 12929, pp. 1a–6b.

largely ignored the work, and there has been no systematic study.⁶ As its name implies, *Zhongxing shengzheng cao* is a primary, intact, Song-era document and sheds important light on the operations of official historiography, on the compilation of a Shengzheng work, and on the intersection between history writing and politics in Southern Song.

As is characteristic of the Shengzheng genre, Lu You's work comprises twenty entries arranged in chronological order. These begin with Gaozong's ascension to the throne on 1127/5/1; the concluding, twentieth, entry is dated over two years later, 1129/18/20. Each entry contains two parts. The first part is a quotation from a primary source. Eighteen entries begin with a quotation, cited with attribution, from the various *Records of Current Administration* (*Shizheng ji* 時政記) and diaries written by members of the Council of State during this period. The two remaining entries begin with quotations from an amnesty (entry #15) and from an edict (entry #17).⁷ A comment follows each quotation, forming the second part of each entry. These begin with the customary phrase "Your servitors remark 臣等曰," but there is no doubt that Lu You wrote these comments himself.

A colophon, whose text is also transmitted in Lu You's collected works, follows the final entry.⁸ The colophon is dated 1164/10/1 and is signed by Lu You in his capacity as controller-general of Zhenjiang (*Zhenjiang tongban* 鎮江通判). He writes that after receiving the order to begin work on the *Sagacious Policies of the Emperor Resplendent as Yao* (*Guang Yao huangdi shengzheng* 光堯皇帝聖政), he drafted, literally "roughed out 草創," the general guidelines (*fanli* 凡例) for the project and collected sources. He also states that because he dared not take this work with him when he left the history office, he has now recalled these entries from memory, and his son has recorded them. Kong Xue concludes that Lu You can have worked only several months on the project: the formal order to begin work on the *Sagacious Policies of Emperor Gaozong* seems to have come on 1163/3/16, and Lu You resigned his historiographer's position on 1163/5/3.⁹

⁶ The work is included, unfortunately without commentary, in Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 and Ma Yazhong 馬亞中, eds., *Lu You quanji jiaozhu* 陸游全集校注 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 2011), vol. 13, pp. 127–35.

⁷ Kong Xue's edition adds numbers for each entry, and I adopt these for ease of reference. Lu You cites the records and diaries of the following chief councilors and assisting chief councilors: Wang Boyan 汪伯彥 (1069–1141), Geng Yanxi 耿延禧, Wang Zao 汪藻 (1079–1154), Li Gang 李綱 (1083–1140), Lu Yundi 路允迪, Lü Yihao 呂頤浩 (1071–1139), Zhang Jun 張浚 (1097–1164), and Wang Tao 王鈞.

⁸ Lu You, *Weinan wenji* 渭南文集 (SKQS edn.), j. 26, p. 1b; *Yongle dadian*, j. 12929, p. 6b.

⁹ Kong, "Lu You ji Gaozong shengzheng cao," p. 33; Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223–1296), *Yuhai* 玉海 (Shanghai: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1988) 49, pp. 11b–12a; Toghto, *Songshi* 宋史

The bibliography compiled by Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (1179–1262) lists *Gaozong shengzheng cao*, paraphrases its colophon, and specifies that the work comprised twenty entries in one *juan*.¹⁰ Since Chen's bibliography was based on works in his own library, his description strongly suggests that manuscripts of Lu You's work circulated in Song and that the *Yongle Encyclopedia* version is a faithful transcription of the Song-era work. A careful reading of the twenty entries, and especially Lu You's comments, confirms this bibliographic evidence. As we shall see, the *Yongle Encyclopedia* version is not a random collection of stray, unrelated events; nor is it a fragment of a larger work. It manifests a unified structure with a beginning and an end, and maintains a consistent focus on a small number of related themes that add up to advocacy for a distinctive political perspective.

The year-and-a-half interval between Lu You's departure from his history-office position and the date of his colophon saw the culmination of hostilities between Song and Jin as well as the completed transition to Xiaozong's rule. In 1163/4, when Lu You was still at work on the project, the Song launched a counterattack that ended in the disastrous defeat at Fuli 符離 on 1163/5/24. Several weeks before, Lu You's political patron, Shi Hao 史浩 (1106–1194), who opposed military action against the Jin, resigned his position as chief counselor. By the time Lu You assumed his next position in Zhenjiang in 1164/2, treaty negotiations between the two sides had begun. As he dictated his work in the winter of 1164, the Song court debated the final terms of the peace, which were agreed to at the end of 1164 and announced in the spring of 1165.

The *Sagacious Policies of the Emperor Resplendent as Yao*, the official Shengzheng compilation for the reign of emperor Gaozong, for which Lu You's draft entries were originally composed, was eventually submitted to the court in 1166; it contained 905 entries in 60 *juan*.¹¹ Although Southern Song encyclopedias quote material from a long list of dynastic Baoxun and Shengzheng, the only such work to survive more or less intact to the present is the *Sagacious Policies of the Two Restoration*

(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977; hereafter *SS*) 33, p. 622; Lu, *Weinan wenji* 24, p. 11a. However, as we shall see below, there is some evidence the compilation was underway as early as the winter of 1162, in which case Lu You could have worked over six months on the project.

¹⁰ Chen Zhensun, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987) 5, p. 168.

¹¹ *Yuhai* 49, pp. 11b–12a; *SS* 33, p. 635. Chen Kui 陳騏 (1128–1203), *Nan Song guange lu* 南宋館閣錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998) 4, pp. 35–37, contains a detailed description of the presentation ritual. Emperor Xiaozong and the court traveled to Gaozong's residence at the Deshou gong 德壽宮 where the work was personally presented to the retired emperor.

Courts of the August Song (*Huang Song zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* 皇朝中興兩朝聖政; referred to below as *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng*).¹² “Two courts” refers to the reigns of emperors Gaozong and Xiaozong. As Liang Taiji 梁太濟 has brilliantly demonstrated, however, the surviving text is not the original work but rather a drastic reworking of the original *Gaozong shengzheng* of 1166 and the *Xiaozong shengzheng* 孝宗聖政 that was completed in 1192. This surviving *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* was executed by a commercial bookshop, probably in the mid-thirteenth century.¹³ Nevertheless, this surviving work covers the period 1127 through 1189 and thus overlaps chronologically with the material in Lu You’s *Zhongxing shengzheng cao*. Thus, as I hope to explain in this article, Lu You’s work, when read in the context of its surviving descendant, the *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng*, represents a rare opportunity to view both the alpha and the omega of the Song historiographical process.

THE IMMEDIATE POLITICAL CONTEXT

In political terms, the immediate context of both Lu You’s draft entries and the completed *Gaozong shengzheng* of 1166 were the Jurchen invasion of 1161 and the abdication of Gaozong the following year. In bureaucratic terms, however, the compilation of *Gaozong shengzheng* evolved directly from two prior initiatives. These were 1) the collection of edicts issued during Gaozong’s reign and 2) an updating of the dynastic list of “meritorious servitors” (*xunchen* 勳臣).

Less than two weeks after Xiaozong assumed the throne, on 1162/6/23 he ordered the Law Code Office (Chiling suo 敕令所) to assemble the edicts (*zhaozhi* 詔旨) that Gaozong had issued during his reign so they could be preserved as a collection and serve as guidance for the new administration.¹⁴ Periodic maintenance and updating of the vast corpus of dynastic regulations was a routine court function.¹⁵

¹² The work is hereafter referred to as *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* (see the Wanwei biezang 宛委別藏 edn., rpt. Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967; also edn. of Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 2007).

¹³ See “Shengzheng jinben fei yuanben zhi jiu xiangbian” 聖政今本非原本之舊詳辨, in Liang Taiji, *Tang Song lishi wenxian yanjiu congkao* 唐宋歷史文獻研究叢稿 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004), pp. 311–41.

¹⁴ Xu Song 徐松 (1781–1848), comp., *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿, ed. Liu Lin et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014; hereafter *SHY*), *zhiguan*, j. 41, pp. 70b–71a; *Yuhai* 49, p. 11b.

¹⁵ Cf. Li Xinchuan 李心傳, *Jiyanan yilai chaoye zaji* 建炎以來朝野雜記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), pp. 111–12. Li groups law code compilations together with works of official historiography.

Operations at the Law Code Office, however, had been suspended the previous year on grounds of bureaucratic bloat and excessive cost; and Xiaozong's order was perhaps also intended to restart the office under new supervision and with a new, small-scale project.¹⁶ The *Song State Compendium* (*Song huiyao* 宋會要) and the *Ocean of Jade* (*Yuhai* 玉海) both trace the origins of *Gaozong shengzheng* to Xiaozong's order to collect his predecessor's edicts. When the Office for the Classification and Compilation of Imperial Policy (*Bianlei shengzheng suo* 編類聖政所) was established three months later, on 1162/9/11, it occupied the same space as the Law Code Office, next to the Imperial Library, and was presumably created by simply changing the designation of the space. The collection of Gaozong's edicts was completed in short order and submitted the following year. Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137–1181) ghost-wrote the submission memorial on behalf of the chief councilor Chen Kangbo 陳康伯 (1097–1165).¹⁷

In addition to compiling Gaozong's edicts, the new Office was also charged with updating the dynastic list of “meritorious servitors” and compiling their biographies for eventual inclusion in the dynastic history. The concept of “meritorious servitors” originated in the midst of the Qingli 慶曆 reform period in 1043, when emperor Renzong ordered Wang Zhu 王洙 (997–1057) and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) to search the state's history archives for evidence of officials who had rendered the dynasty especially meritorious service. The order came only days after submission of the reformers famed “ten-point memorial” and was clearly linked to the administrative and political reforms that the memorial proposed. The result was a list of 204 officials whose descendants were then permitted to enroll one member per family for office.¹⁸ Early in the emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1082–1135; r. 1100–1125) era, the list was updated to include an additional 116 individuals who has served through the end of emperor Shenzong's reign in 1085.¹⁹ At

¹⁶ The new project to collect Gaozong-era edicts was much smaller in scope than the enormous compilations of detailed regulations, often running to several thousand *juan*, that the Law Code Office usually produced. For a survey of the office and its productions, see Li, *Chaoye zaji*, pp. 592–95; also, *Yuhai* 67, pp. 25a–26a.

¹⁷ *Yuhai* 203, p. 22b; Lü Zuqian, *Donglai ji* 東萊集, *waiji* 外集 (SKQS edn.) 4, pp. 20a–21b.

¹⁸ Li Tao 李燾 (1115–1184), *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004) 143, p. 3447; 145, p. 3512.

¹⁹ *Yuhai* 135, pp. 41b–42a. There is an interesting contradiction between the *Yuhai* documents and Ling Jingxia's memorials from 1161–62 on the subject of the Huizong-era “meritorious servitor” list. *Yuhai* is unequivocal that the list was generated in 1113 and contained 116 names as follows: 28 added to the existing list for the three reigns between 960–1022; 66 served under Renzong and Yingzong; and 26 under Shenzong (there must be a typographical mistake, since the sum is 120, not 116). Ling Jingxia, however, refers only to a list from 1101

the start of the Southern Song, in 1133, Gaozong authorized a search for descendants of these 320 Northern Song officials; and their descendants were likewise enrolled for office.²⁰ The move was a transparent attempt to create tangible links between Gaozong's administration and these "meritorious servitors" of the early Song and thus enhance the legitimacy of the "restoration."

On 1161/7/27, the acting vice-director of the Ministry of Personnel, Ling Jingxia 凌景夏 (d. 1175), requested that the state histories be consulted in order to update the list to include those who had served after 1085. His request seems to have encountered resistance in the ministry and was not implemented.²¹ A year later, under the new emperor and with an additional portfolio as editor of the newly-formed Office for the Classification and Compilation of Imperial Policy, Ling renewed and expanded his proposal. His memorial of 1162/9/12 begins by noting that the list was last revised during the inquisitions against the Yuanyou 元祐 period (1086-1094) administrators under Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047-1126) in the first decade of Huizong's reign. As a result, well-known Yuanyou officials such as Wen Yanbo 文彦博 (1006-1097), Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), and Lü Gongzhu 呂公著 (1018-1081) had been excluded from consideration as well as many others whose names had gone unrecorded. Ling proposed that his Office both survey the pre-1085 list for possible additions and review the historical evidence for those who had served after 1085, emphasizing the Yuanyou officials and the many who had fought in the wars of the 1120s against the Jin. He proposed that his office update the list and assemble the required historical documentation, in preparation for enrolling the descendants of the new additions into office. His request was approved, and the office was granted the requisite authority to collect its own documents and to work through local officials to solicit requests and supporting evidence from the descendants of possible candidates in the provinces.²²

Although Ling did not rule out the possibility that there had been "meritorious servitors" during the Huizong period, his formulation

that contained 116 names. It is possible there were two lists, but more probable that Ling is trying to conceal the fact that the 116 Huizong-era additions were compiled under Cai Jing's administration and thus doubtless included the major administrators of the New Policies.

²⁰ Li Xinchuan, *Jiānyán yilai xīnián yàolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988; hereafter, *Yàolu*) 67, p. 1130.

²¹ *Yàolu* 191, pp. 3204-5; Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊 and Liu Lin 劉琳, eds., *Quan Song wen* 全宋文 (Shanghai and Hefei: Shanghai cishu chubanshe and Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006; hereafter *QSW*), vol. 190, j. 4194, p. 271.

²² *SHY*, *zhiguan* 41, p. 71a-b; *QSW*, vol. 190, j. 4194, p. 273.

linked the Yuanyou officials backwards in time with the Qingli reforms and forward in time with those whom his Office would deem had been meritorious under Gaozong. His proposal was based upon a conception of Song history in which positive administrative value proceeded from the Qingli reforms through the Yuanyou partisans to whomever Ling and his colleagues would add to the list. In Ling's view, this process would correct the distortions of the Huizong inquisitions and thus track "merit" away from the administrative values espoused by Cai Jing and Qin Gui 秦檜 (1090–1155). It was the function of Ling and his new Office for the Classification and Compilation of Imperial Policy to make the specific historical determinations that would form these distinctions. But their decisions would also have direct implications for the administration of emperor Xiaozong's new reign, since the descendants of the new additions would be granted expedited entry into office.

Ling Jingxia, who retained his post as vice-director of the Ministry of Personnel, headed the new Office. Xu Du 徐度 (1006–1166), also concurrently in Personnel, and Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126–1204) were mid-level assistant editors. Lu You was a lower-level, examining editor. It is not clear exactly when the order to compile the Gaozong *Sagacious Policies* was issued, but the project was clearly underway by the winter of 1162, when Ling requested additional resources.²³ Another edict, dated 1163/3/16, which may be the official start-date for the project, specifies the precise compilation process.²⁴ The staff was ordered to review the assembled Gaozong edicts as well as major administrative actions of the period "for those that might be adopted and implemented today and to classify their selections into categories and subcategories 凡大號令、大政事今日合遵行者，並編類門目." The editors were to submit such items monthly; and the finished book was to be compiled by arranging the items chronologically within each subcategory. Li Xinchuan 李心傳 (1167–1244) described the resulting work as "divided into categories with evaluative comments, like a *baoxun*, but with added detail 分門立論視寶訓而加詳焉."²⁵

Liang Taiji notes that this characterization by Li Xinchuan of the finished *Gaozong shengzheng* accords with the production process mandated in the edict. Liang further argues that Li's description better fits

²³ *Yaolu* 200, p. 3400; *SHY*, *zhiguan* 41, p. 72a–b; *QSW*, vol. 190, j. 4194, p. 279, misreading the *SHY* chronology, misdates this document to a year later. See Liang, "Shengzheng jinben," p. 312, n. 1.

²⁴ *SHY*, *zhiguan* 41, p. 72b; *Yuhai* 49, pp. 11b–12a. *SS* 33, p. 622, seems to date the beginning of the project to this day.

²⁵ Li, *Chaoye zaji, jia* 4, p. 112.

Lu You's draft than it does the existing *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng*, whose surviving exemplar contains 2,800 events, each with a discrete heading that appears above the top margin. These headings also appear in a "classified digest of events 分類事目" that is divided into fifteen categories and 321 subcategories. This lengthy index precedes the main work and occupies the entire first volume of the Taipei, Wenhai, reprint. Since the original *Gaozong shengzheng* had only 905 entries, Liang shows how the thirteenth-century bookshop editor combined the *Gaozong shengzheng* of 1166 with the *Xiaozong shengzheng* of 1192, retained their original categories and subcategories, added new "events" from Li Xinchuan's *Chronological Record of Important Events since 1127*, then composed a heading for each event. Liang concludes that the fifteen categories and many of the subcategories of the present *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* were part of the original *Gaozong shengzheng*; and he assigns, with varying degrees of certainty, fifteen of Lu You's twenty entries to the extant categories and subcategories of *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng*.²⁶

Whereas in Lu You's draft a comment follows each of the twenty "events" (*shi* 事), the comments in *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* appear randomly scattered among the much more numerous "events." Liang demonstrates that each subcategory of the original *Gaozong shengzheng* comprised a number of discrete "events" and that each subcategory concluded with a comment. For example, he links a thirteenth-century quotation from *Gaozong shengzheng* that relates eight events between 1133 and 1139 in which Gaozong conferred calligraphy works on his senior officials with a section of surviving "comment" recorded in the commentary of the Li Xinchuan's *Chronological Record*.²⁷ With great insight, he notes that Lu You's comments often delve far beyond the individual "event" to which they are attached in the *Yongle Encyclopedia* drafts. He reasons that Lu You wrote each of these draft comments as the "pivot" (*guanjian* 關鍵), or capstone, comment for an intended subsection of the finished work, in this case the "imperial calligraphy" subsection in the "Way of the ruler" category 君道門, 聖翰.

We may recall, above, that Lu You's colophon stated he had "roughed out the *fanli*" for the work. This is unlikely to be literally the case, since Lu was a junior in the Office. However, the edict of 1163/3/16 as well as the format of Lu You's draft suggest that each of the editors on the project selected their own sample events, composed

²⁶ Liang, "*Shengzheng jinben*," pp. 314–20.

²⁷ Anon., *Qunshu huiyuan jie jiang wang* 羣書會元截江網 (SKQS edn.) 2, pp. 5b–6a; *Yaolu* 129, p. 2086.

comments for those events, and submitted their selections monthly. Each of Lu You's entries would have thus been intended as an anchor or capstone comment for a potential subcategory of the finished work. At some point in the process, probably after Lu You had departed, the editors selected and fixed the subcategories, each of which already had its concluding comment, then fleshed out the subcategory by adding similar events to the chosen prototype. Lu You's twenty "events and comments" would have thus served as a model for fleshing out the appropriate subcategories, and he may have considered this as "roughing out the *fanli*."²⁸

LU YOU'S IMAGE OF GAOZONG,
HIS MESSAGE FOR XIAOZONG

Liang Taiji's research on the relationship of Lu You's draft to the surviving *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* underscores the importance of Lu You's comments as framing narratives in the earliest effort to shape Gaozong's historical image. As this section hopes to demonstrate, Lu You's comments form a consistent image of Gaozong's policies and present a clear agenda for the new administration of Xiaozong.

Five entries in Lu You's draft, the first and the last, plus #6, 11, and 18, address Gaozong's personality and its connection to his effectiveness as a ruler. As an example of the style of the work, I translate in full the concluding entry, #20; the sentence in parentheses is the original's small-character interlinear note:

[1129/18/]26: The officer in charge of prepositioning food and arranging transport reported that on the [departure] day of [His Majesty's] inspection tour the kitchens and cooking vessels would not be ready. He requested that the imperial guards be provided with only gruel and cooked pork. His Majesty said, "There is no need to harass anyone over this tour. When I just recently crossed over the Yangtze, there was no time even to take my bedding, and only by chance could I take a sable fur that covered only half my body. Yet I never requisitioned a single item. I don't know why my officials need 400 soup caldrons! Just put up posters along the route of the prefectures and countries through which we will travel [stating that] they are to provide nothing except gruel. If anyone

²⁸ Why Lu You's draft spans only the years 1127-1129 remains unanswered. It is possible the editors divided the Gaozong years chronologically, and that this was Lu You's assignment/portion. It is also possible that the entire group of editors began at the beginning in 1127 and that they had only progressed through 1129 by the time Lu You left the office.

violates this order, he will be subject to severe punishment. (This was entered from Wang Tao's *Record of Current Administration*).

Your servitors comment: During troubled times in previous dynasties, emperors pursued lenient administrative measures, but these often turned counterproductive and only enticed further disorder. Only our Highest Supreme Emperor, divinely martial and brightly wise, drew deep lessons from this error. He believed that the sovereign should be energetic and industrious, should suffer hoarfrost and dew, and did not think it right that he should impose additional hardship on the people just so his guards could eat their fill of steamed buns. Therefore, the more pressing were the barbarian invasions, the more he held his soldiers to strict discipline. And even though our danger was extreme, he never lost the hearts of the people. Thus, was he able through his Sageliness to pass on the great enterprise of the Restoration to ten thousand generations.²⁹

丙申, 主管頓遞官奏: “巡幸日迫, 爨竈器皿不備. 請惟給衛士蒸餅、熟豬肉.” 上曰: “今來巡幸, 豈可搔擾? 如朕昨匆遽渡江, 被褥亦不以自隨, 偶攜得一貂皮, 披卧蓋各半, 未嘗取索一物. 而有司借湯瓶至四百枚, 不知何用. 只今可出黃榜, 告諭所過州縣, 除蒸餅外, 皆勿供. 如違, 當重寘之法.” 以王絢時政記修入.

臣等曰: “前代當多故時, 人主務行姑息之政, 往往反以階亂. 獨太上皇帝神武英睿, 深鑒茲弊, 以爲人主猶暴衣露蓋, 蒙犯霜露, 宿衛之士得飽餅餌多矣, 其可重困吾民哉? 故戎寇雖深, 而軍律愈整; 艱危雖極, 而民心不離. 卒以中興大業, 垂裕萬世, 聖矣.”

This entry is an excellent example of the Shengzheng practice of drawing momentous conclusions from vivid depictions of minor incidents. I focus on #20 because no other Song source mentions the event. It was either never included in the finished *Gaozong shengzheng* or omitted by the thirteenth-century editor of *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng*. The story not only emphasizes Gaozong's concern for the populace but also insists that popular support was vital to the success of the Restoration. Lu You also stresses this aspect of Gaozong's rule in entry #1 of the draft, where the primary text reads: “His Majesty, because the four quarters encouraged him to advance and all the servitors strongly requested it, ascended the throne at the Southern Capital 上以四方勸進, 群臣固請, 即皇帝位于南京.”³⁰

²⁹ *Yongle dadian*, j. 12929, p. 6a-b.

³⁰ Interestingly, all other Southern Song sources omit the pleading of the officials. See *Yaolu* 5, p. 115; anon., *Huangchao zhongxing jishi benmo* 皇朝中興紀事本末 (Beijing: Beijing

Lu You's comment for this opening entry on Gaozong's ascension stresses the link between Heaven's support and popular support for Gaozong. His vehicle is *Mencius* 5A/5, which describes the transmission of rule from Yao to Shun as an example of the Will of Heaven expressed through the people, who flocked to Shun to settle their lawsuits and sing his praises rather than to Yao's son. Renowned emperors, such as Han Gaozu 漢高祖 (r. 206–195 BC) and Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 626–649), acquired their positions through force, and rigid transmission of power to their heirs engendered subsequent chaos. After Yao and Shun, only Tang Taizu 太祖 (927–976; r. 960–976) and Gaozong accepted the emperorship in response to popular appeal. Lu You alludes here to the image of the Song founding as a peaceful transition in which Taizu accepted the throne reluctantly and only after the repeated urgings of his soldiers. Not only did Gaozong accept the position because the populace flocked to him, he also based his decision to abdicate in favor of Xiaozong not on political calculus or augury but solely on his understanding of the Will of Heaven as expressed through the people. Or, as Mencius concludes, quoting the *Book of Documents*, "Heaven sees with the eyes of its people."³¹

Lu You's opening comment formed one of the basic narratives of the finished *Gaozong shengzheng* of 1166 and appears verbatim in the present *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng*.³² Both the surviving preface, ghost-written for Xiaozong, and the postface by the chief councilor Jiang Fu 蔣芾 (*jinshi* 1151) amplify Lu You's rhetoric. Xiaozong writes that Gaozong's inner moral cultivation earned him the support of the people and grounded the Restoration. Jiang Fu writes that Xiaozong stands to Gaozong as Shun stood to Yao. Taken together, the preface and the postface make specific the following analogies that are adumbrated in Lu You's comment: Gaozong = Yao, Xiaozong = Shun, the work *Gaozong shengzheng* = the classic *Shujing*.³³

tushuguan chubanshe, 2005) 1, p. 1a; *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* 1, p. 3b; Chen Jun 陳均 (1174–1244), *Zhongxing liangchao biannian gangmu* 中興兩朝編年綱目 (Zhonghua zaizao shanben edn., Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2006) 1 p. 4a; and anon., *Songshi quanwen* 宋史全文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2016) 16A, p. 1037.

³¹ *Mencius*, trans. with an Introduction by D.C. Lau (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 143–44.

³² *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* 1, p. 3b. Most of Lu You's initial comment also occurs in the anonymous, late-Song handbook of political rhetoric, *Hanyuan xin shu* 翰苑新書, *houji* 後集 (SKQS edn.) 2, pp. 2b–3a, where it is quoted from the now lost Southern Song portion of *Taiping zhiji tonglei* 太平治跡統類.

³³ Qian Yueyou 潛說友, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 (1830 edn., rpt. *Song Yuan difangzhi congshu* (Taipei: Dahua shuju, 1990) 7, pp. 2a–4b; *QSW*, vol. 210, j. 4670, p. 334; 236, j. 5279, pp. 291–92.

But these analogies only mimic the political rhetoric already created both to fortify the Restoration and sanction Gaozong's abdication. As is well-known, Gaozong – whose only son died in 1129 – rather than continue his own Taizong line, began in 1131 a selection process for a suitable successor from the Taizu lineage of the imperial house. The move was calculated to distance Gaozong from emperors Huizong and Qinzong 欽宗 (1100–1162; r. 1126–1127), then imprisoned in the North, and enhance the legitimacy of the Restoration by linking the struggling emperor to the Song founder Taizu. The direct connection in Lu You's comment between the founding achievement of Taizu and that of Gaozong develops this long-standing political theme. Upon his abdication in 1161, Gaozong was conferred the title "Venerable Sage Who Illumines Yao" (*Guang Yao shousheng* 光堯壽聖) and the abdication ceremony made direct reference to the fact that he had "trodden the high path of Yao and Shun 高蹈堯舜."³⁴

As Jiang Fu's postface makes clear, a major task of *Gaozong sheng-zheng* was to extend the Gaozong=Yao analogy by casting Xiaozong in the role of Shun. This formulation not only flattered the new emperor but also enjoined upon him to follow those policies that "Yao" had already laid down. Continuing the theme of how Gaozong's personality influenced the Restoration, two entries (#6, 18) address the issue of his supposed frugality. Entry #6, included in the subcategory "the virtue of frugality 君道門, 儉德," describes two similar incidents from 1127/6 and 1127/10. In both cases, eunuchs from the former court presented to Gaozong precious objects from the Inner Treasury (*neiku* 內庫) at Kaifeng. Lu You structures the entry to begin with the second incident from 1127/10: the emperor personally dumped two bags of pearls and jades into the Bian canal, quoting to his chief councilor from *Zhuangzi* to the effect that if you "break the jades, crush the pearls, then the petty thieves will not rise up."³⁵ Gaozong says he hopes by destroying the pearls to end such "thievery." Lu You understands the "petty thieves" to refer to the Jurchen invaders and laments that what appeared as fascination with harmless baubles in peacetime, by luring the "thieves," destroyed the country. His intent here is to draw a sharp contrast between the frugality of Gaozong and the opulence of Huizong. He at-

³⁴ *Yaolu* 200, p. 3395; *SS* 110, p. 2642. The title was proposed by the historian Li Tao and the chief councilor Chen Kangbo. There was considerable opposition in the deliberative assembly (*jiyi* 集議) on the grounds that no one could "illumine Yao 光堯." See *SS* 387, p. 11879; 389, p. 11941; and Lau Nap-yin, "The Absolutist Reign of Sung Hsiao-tsung," Ph.D. diss. (Princeton U., 1986), pp. 36–37.

³⁵ Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1968), p. 110.

tributes the success of the Restoration to Gaozong's personal disdain for such objects, from which he distanced himself as from "poisonous snakes."³⁶ But there are larger implications.

Lu You's interpretation of this event, linking Gaozong's personal morality to his larger political goals, is manifest in the later use of this incident. Sometime in the 1230s, the official Hong Zikui 洪咨夔 (1176–1239?), who was associated with the Daoxue 道學 movement, submitted Gaozong's destruction of the Inner Treasury pearls and jades as a "precedent 故事" for emperor Lizong 理宗 (1205–1264; r. 1224–1264) to follow. Song military forces active in Shandong had been sending cartloads of precious objects south as personal presents for emperor Lizong. Hong argues that the emperor's receipt of such booty encouraged military corruption and presented a bad image of Song intentions in the North to the Shandong populace. He urged Lizong to publicly destroy the objects to curtail these developments. In so doing, he would, as Gaozong had done, "make known to all that your intention is toward the large and not the small."³⁷

The details of Lu You's second example from 1127/6, in which Gaozong ordered costly imported objects made from glass and carnelian from the former Inner Treasury publicly destroyed in the courtyard, suggests another major theme of Lu You's draft entries. The fuller context for this event in Li Xinchuan's *Chronological Record of Important Events since 1127* shows the chief councilor Li Gang 李綱 (1083–1140) as urging Gaozong to destroy these objects in order to thwart the looming influence of eunuchs from the former Qinzong court.³⁸ As we shall see below, a full quarter of Lu You's twenty entries is directed against eunuch influence and the larger issue of their role in what Lu You portrays as imperial corruption. The mid-twelfth-century account of this incident by Xiong Ke 熊克 (1118–1190) preserves a comment from Gaozong's councilor Wang Boyan 汪伯彥 (1069–1141): only by nourishing his ambition through the Way and not becoming ensnared by "things" can the emperor bring about the Restoration 以道養志, 不略於物.³⁹

³⁶ *Yongle dadian*, j. 12929, p. 2b; *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* 2, p. 17b; *Yaolu* 10, p. 234; Xiong Ke 熊克, *Zhongxing xiaoji* 中興小紀 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1984) 2, p. 22. This story occurs often in Southern Song texts; cf. Wang Mingqing 王明清, *Huizhu lu* 揮塵錄, *qianlu* 前錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961) 1, p. 6; anon., *Songshi quanwen* 16A, pp. 1069–70.

³⁷ *Pingzhai ji* 平齋集 (SKQS edn.) 7, pp. 1a–2b; *QSW*, vol. 307, j. 7006, pp. 140–41.

³⁸ *Yaolu* 6, p. 168.

³⁹ Xiong, *Zhongxing xiaoji* 1, p. 15. Although Lu You acknowledges Wang Boyan's *Record of Current Administration* as one of his sources for this entry, and Wang's remark is clearly behind Lu's interpretation of the event, neither Lu You nor Li Xinchuan quote Wang's remark.

Entry #18 also shows Gaozong again rejecting gifts, in this case from his relatives. On 1129/8/2, princess Wu 吳國長公主 visited the court and presented a painting (probably a screen) by Yi Yuanji 易元吉, a jade writing brush, and an artificial mountain of jade. Remark- ing that he had never appreciated painting, Gaozong returned the ob- jects.⁴⁰ Princess Wu was the third daughter of emperor Zhezong 哲宗 (1077–1100; r. 1085–1100) and married to Pan Zhengfu 潘正夫, whose family interests she promoted until her death in 1164.⁴¹ She was still alive as Lu You penned this entry. He comments simply that found- ing emperors, especially those on par with Yao and Shun, devoted all their energy to administration; thus, Gaozong was “thrifty and tem- perate 儉約.” As this entry implies, however, “thrift and temperance” is code language for resisting corruption, in this case the special con- sideration for princess Wu’s family that Gaozong’s acceptance of her gifts would entail.

Entries directed against activities of the traditional “Inner Court” make up a large portion of Lu You’s draft (#6, 7, 9, 10, and 14 con- cern eunuchs; entries #2 and 18 discuss imperial kin). Lu You creates a sharp divide between the membership and functioning of the regu- lar court bureaucracy and various actors such as eunuchs, imperial relatives, and clergy that he frames as their opposition. His entries all show Gaozong acting to promote the former and suppress the latter. Entry #10 is Lu You’s most direct attack on eunuchs 官職門, 宦寺. In 1128/4, a eunuch remarked that, while attending Gaozong’s Classics Mat, he had been particularly impressed with one of the lecturers and had taken the liberty of drafting an edict of citation. Gaozong reprimanded the eunuch for overstepping his authority and ridiculed the style of the edict. He reminded the eunuch that composing edicts was the responsibility of the academicians. The following day he related the incident to the chief councilor and provided a detailed description of his daily work routine. After court, he retired to a small veranda where he worked alone, reading memorials and contemplating affairs of state. Only two eunuchs attended him, one to fetch and carry and

The biographies of Wang and his confrere Huang Qianshan 黃潛善 (d. 1129) would eventu- ally become prologue to that of Qin Gui in the “nefarious servitors” (*jianchen* 姦臣) section of *Songshi*. This process of characterizing Wang and Huang and writing them out of the historical record is already apparent in Lu You’s entry #6. Also, Xiong Ke’s account does not conclude with the phrase that Gaozong had the objects destroyed publicly “in the courtyard.” This de- tail would appear to be Lu You’s addition.

⁴⁰ *Yaolu* 25.516; *Yuhai* 91.32b. The entry is not in the *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng*.

⁴¹ *SS* 248, p. 8782, describes her relentless lobbying on behalf of the Pan family.

one to guard the door. For secretarial assistance he used elderly palace women from the former court.⁴²

Lu You's comment on this event is a standard literati diatribe against the perfidy of eunuchs: beclouding the imperial judgment with frivolous pastimes is minor compared to such efforts to intervene in the imperial decision-making process. Had Gaozong not stopped such interference early in his reign, the Restoration could never have been achieved. He did this through moral resolve, by "purifying his mind and reducing his desires 清心寡欲." Once again, Lu You attempts to distance Gaozong from the practices of the Huizong court, at which eunuchs were deeply involved in the emperor's paper flow.

Entry #2, directly after Gaozong's ascension in entry #1, is Lu You's most direct attack on affinal influence 皇親門, 外戚. Lu You may have cheated slightly in order to raise the profile of this entry, since he chronicles the event in 1127/6. In actuality, the entry encompasses three events that occurred on 1127/12/9, 1127/12/25, and 1128/1/29. On the first date, the remonstrant Wei Fumin 衛膚敏 (1081-1129) protested the impropriety of attendant (*shicong* 侍從)- and academic-level appointments for imperial in-laws and asked that the appointments for Xing Huan 邢煥 (d. 1132) and Meng Zhonghou 孟忠厚 (d. 1157) be changed. Xing Huan was the father of empress Xing (1106-1139); Meng was the elder brother of empress Meng (1077-1135). Gaozong agreed to change the first appointment but balked at the second, out of deference to empress Meng. The move was pure political calculus, since Xing Huan was Gaozong's own father-in-law, "empress" Xing being Gaozong's first spouse, whom the Jurchen had taken north in 1126. Therefore, Gaozong lost little by distancing himself from Xing Huan. Empress Meng, on the other hand, was the spouse of emperor Zhezong and one of the few senior Northern Song royals not in Jurchen captivity. Her support for Gaozong bolstered his legitimacy as emperor. However, after other senior policy critics supported Wei and attacked Meng, Gaozong relented and changed Meng's position.⁴³

Lu You's comment cites a Northern Song precedent from 1033 when the young emperor Renzong continued the policies of the deceased re-

⁴² *Yongle dadian*, j. 12929, p. 3b; *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* 3, pp. 13b-14b; *Yaolu* 15, pp. 310-11. Both *Shengzheng* and *Yaolu* have been heavily edited to remove important details of this account, such as Gaozong's criticism of the edict's style and his use of palace women as secretaries.

⁴³ *Yaolu* 11, pp. 249-51; *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* 2, p. 20b; *Yaolu* 11, pp. 258-59; *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* 2, pp. 21b-22b; *Yaolu* 12, pp. 277-78; *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* 3, pp. 5b-6a. See also *SHY*, *houfei* 2, p. 1b; *QSW*, vol. 161, j. 3502, pp. 256-58.

gent, empress Liu (969–1033), but immediately removed her in-law, Ma Jiliang 馬季良 from attendant status.⁴⁴ Lu You remarks that one cannot abandon the regulations of the ancestors for the sake of private favor: as much as Gaozong honored empress Meng, he would not go against the court policy critics to favor Meng Zhonghou. He concludes that Gaozong's action constitutes "our Song's family policy that should be maintained for 10,000 years," a formulation certainly aimed at Xiaozong.

In Lu You's telling, emperor Gaozong's capitulation to the policy critics indicates his underlying support for the "policies of the ancestors," and Xiaozong should follow these policies too. Although here is not the place for a detailed examination of these "policies," a central tenant was their concern for what may be called "due process." In contrast to the "private" interests of groups like eunuchs and in-laws, Lu You supports government through regular, literati-staffed units of the central court administration. Many of his entries touch upon this subject, but none more clearly than #9, a highly technical entry on the administration of the Office of Imperial Armaments (Yuqian junqisuo 御前軍器所).

On 1128/4/7, an edict ordered craftsmen who had been seconded to the Office of Imperial Armaments transferred back to their original duty assignment in the Silk Brocade Workshop (Lingjin yuan 綾錦院). Their temporary duty at the Office had been to manufacture special silk brocade uniforms as gifts for meritorious generals. The Office of Imperial Armaments had initially been established during the Shenzong years under the Ministry of Works (Gongbu 工部), but during the Huizong years had come under the control of eunuch administrators from the Palace Guard. It had employed over 10,000 people at the end of Northern Song, and in the 1130s still had almost 3,000 employees. Gaozong's edict was only one small skirmish in a long struggle by regular line bureaucrats to wrest control of the weapons industry away from the eunuchs. In this case, critics, fearing that the seconding would become permanent, objected to the diversion of resources from the Silk Brocade Office to a eunuch-controlled agency.

Lu You comments that wise rulers constantly monitor the established duty parameters of each bureaucratic office 法度; for, violations of these boundaries lay the seeds of administrative disorder. Officials lose control of their offices, duties are usurped by "precious servitors," and central authority dissipates 官失其守, 而事奪于貴臣, 法廢其舊, 而利

⁴⁴ Li, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 112, p. 2614; cf. *SS* 463, p. 13552.

出于一切，則亂由之而作。⁴⁵ In this case, contemporary politics certainly shaped Lu You's choice of historical exempla. In 1162/6, Zhang Zhen 張震 objected to eunuch supervision of the Office of Imperial Armaments, and on 1162/7/25 Xiaozong ordered the Office returned to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Works.⁴⁶ In this case, Lu You is writing history that provided Xiaozong with a useful "precedent" for an action he had already taken.

Related to maintaining the administrative integrity of bureaucratic line offices, "due process" also insisted on the robust exercise of offices directly connected to the processing of court documents. Entry #14 insisted on the right of literati officials to screen memorials submitted to the emperor and to rank them for appropriate action before submission. Lu You envisions this function as an injunction on the emperor to accept "public opinion 公論" as expressed through properly designated literati officials. On 1128/3/3, Gaozong approved a request from his policy critics, citing precedents from the Tang and from the "old regulations of the ancestors," that all memorials be screened inside the palace by a rotating team of Hanlin scholars, supervising secretaries (*jishizhong* 給事中), and secretariat drafters (*zhongshu sheren* 中書舍人). These officials would classify the merits of the memorials as expressions of "public opinion" 條陳具奏，使是非與奪，盡從公論. In addition, eunuchs were no longer to transmit the memorials, which were to be sealed both on entry and departure from the palace. The intent was to forestall eunuchs and personal retainers from commenting on the contents of the memorials and from forming factional alliances.⁴⁷

Lu You names Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 (r. 221–210), Sui Yangdi 隋煬帝 (r. 604–617), and Tang Dezong 唐德宗 (r. 779–805) as intelligent sovereigns whose flaw was to attempt to govern without consultation. As a result, they became estranged from their advisors, were ignorant of public opinion, and were unaware that "close retainers had already secretly usurped their authority 近習小人已陰竊其柄." Gaozong did not make the same error. By approving these measures, he prohibited his retainers and eunuchs from interfering in state matters. In concluding his comment, Lu You directly mentions that Xiaozong has followed the

⁴⁵ *Yaolu* 15, pp. 309–10; *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* 3, p. 13a–b.

⁴⁶ *SHY*; *zhiguan* 16, p. 17a; *QSW*, vol. 234, j. 5207, p. 21. For an excellent survey of the struggle for control of the Office of Imperial Armaments, see Li, *Chaoye zaji*, *chia*, 18, pp. 433–35.

⁴⁷ *Yongle dadian*, j. 12929, pp. 4b–5a; *Yaolu* 21, p. 414; *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* 4, p. 10b; Xiong, *Zhongxing xiaoji* 5, p. 59; *SHY*, *yili* 7, p. 27b.

“Jiyanan precedent” by ordering the Secretariat-Chancellery (*Zhongshu menxia* 中書門下) to review memorials prior to submission.⁴⁸

Lu You’s draft also contains several entries that support the historical valuations inherent in the “meritorious servitors” list. Entry #15 begins with items from the amnesty issued by Gaozong on 1129/4/8 following suppression of an insurrection in the previous month. Lu You cites two provisions from the amnesty text. First, when promulgating a revised law code, emperor Renzong era statutes should take precedent. Second, rehabilitation of the Yuanyou administrators being still incomplete, their families are encouraged to petition for adjudication. The full text of this amnesty does not survive, but the genre usually contained a preamble and a list of specific provisions, of which Lu You has foregrounded these two.⁴⁹

In his comment, Lu You extols Renzong as the emperor who elevated “tolerance for loyalty 忠厚” as a guiding principle of the Song polity, and he attributes the success and prosperity of Gaozong’s reign to the emperor’s observance of Renzong policy: legal regulations manifested tolerance from the sovereign in return for loyalty from the servitor. Lu You’s position on the Yuanyou administrators mirrors the earlier position of his superior, Ling Jingxia. Although those who died prior to 1094 have been rehabilitated, deliberations 議 for those legally black-listed during the Huizong years had yet to be completed. Although this amnesty showed Gaozong’s intentions in the matter, the deliberations were still not finished, and Lu You thus directly urges Xiaozong to order the process completed.

Five of the entries concern issues of military organization and state finance (#4, 5, 7, 8, 19). In these entries, Lu You directly challenges the existing structure of the dynasty’s military forces and their relation to the rest of Song government. In 1141/4, emperor Gaozong and Qin Gui reasserted imperial control over the so-called “house armies 家軍” and established the “assembled imperial armies 御前諸軍.” Shortly thereafter, they created four General Command Offices (*Zonglingsuo* 總領所), headquartered at Zhenjiang, Jiankang, Ezhou, and in Sichuan, to provision the reorganized imperial armies. These offices were newly created, transregional units of Song government with authority to levy

⁴⁸ Lu You may be referring to a surviving edict, dated 1162/7/26, which orders the secretariat drafters to review memorials and forward them through the Department of State Affairs (*Shangshu sheng* 尚書省) for approval; cf. *Yaolu* 200, p. 3392, and *QSW*, vol. 234, j. 5207, p. 22.

⁴⁹ For surviving fragments of the amnesty see *Yaolu* 22, p. 472; *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* 5, p. 5b; Xu Mengxin 徐夢莘 (1126–1207), *Sanchao beimeng huibian* 三朝北夢會編 (Taipei: Dahua shuju, 1979), vol. 3, pp. 35–36; *QSW*, vol. 201, j. 4450, pp. 273–74.

taxes and draw resources across existing prefectural boundaries in order to pay the professional soldiers of the newly reformed imperial army. Twenty years later, when Lu You drafted these entries, many literati officials viewed this system as corrupt and a threat to dynastic stability. In their opinion, long-entrenched senior army commanders had conspired with elements at court – eunuchs, imperial affines, and the “close 近習” – to thwart the oversight function of the General Command Offices and to siphon off and privatize large quantities of money and material destined for the army. This corruption had led to lax military training and decline in battle readiness in the imperial army. For many such officials, the disastrous performance of these forces at the battle of Caishi 采石 on 1161/11/8 revealed the weakness of these forces in actual military combat against the Jin invasion and justified calls for reforms.

Against this background, entry #5 proposes a return to a complicated system of regional military organization that the chief councilor Li Gang had first proposed to deal with the immediate military crisis that emperor Gaozong faced in 1127/6. This plan envisioned army units stationed in militarily critical civil jurisdictions in a specified number of circuits. These forces were to be jointly administered by interlocking civil and military appointments.⁵⁰ Although the plan was soon abandoned when Li Gang was forced from office, deteriorating military conditions forced Gaozong in 1130 to approve a modified version of the concept, known as regional defense commissioners (*zhenfushi* 鎮撫使). The commissioners were appointed by the court but granted authority to retain local tax revenues and to appoint their own subordinates – a model of regional defense organization that descended from the original Tang-dynasty military governors (*fanzhen* 蕃鎮).

Lu You's comment defines the issue in terms of the dynastic problem of how to concentrate and retain military control in the capital but at the same time to permit flexible local control during emergencies. He acknowledges the theoretical conflict between the dynastic precedent that Taizu took military power away from provincial governors (*fanzhen*) in order to concentrate it in the capital, whereas Gaozong's approval of the “strategic headquarters” (*shuaifu yaojun* 帥府要郡) plan did the opposite. But Lu You remarks that each emperor reacted appropriately to the needs of his own time, and he calls for rejuvenation and revamping of Gaozong's system as preparation for future attacks

⁵⁰ For a brief description see Gong Yanming 龚延明, *Songdai guan zhi cidian* 宋代官制辞典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), pp. 501–2.

from the North. Considering that the “strategic headquarters” plan would preserve the integrity of prefectural boundaries (and not rely upon trans-prefectural authorities such as the General Command Office) and would place civil officials in charge of key military units in the field, it is difficult not to understand Lu You’s proposal as a direct challenge to the existing military leadership and its allies at court.

Entry #19 returns to the tension between centralized versus regional control over military forces and its implications for both officialdom and state finance. Beginning in the Huizong era, the emperor had authorized agents of the Inner Court to grant provisional personal-rank appointments (*jiebu guanzi* 借補官資) in return for services rendered toward various palace infrastructure projects. Such appointments were low-ranking, usually military class personal ranks (*wuguan jie* 武官階) and carried no functional position (*chaiqian* 差遣). However, if the court confirmed the appointments, those granted such status could then transform their provisional status into regular, salaried positions in the bureaucracy. In the desperate military and financial conditions of 1127, military commanders issued such appointments in extremely large numbers. On 1129/18/10, Gaozong remarked to his chief councilors that somewhere between 300,000 and 500,000 such appointments had been issued, while there were only 20,000 available positions to fill 闕. Lu You’s remark praises Gaozong for his foresight and blames his advisors for permitting commanders to continue to make such appointments even in times of peace.⁵¹

Lu You concludes that he is including this entry for emperor Xiaozong’s consideration. Again, Lu You selected this entry because of its relation to contemporary events. In response to the Jin invasion of 1161, Song commanders had issued large numbers of the provisional personal-rank appointments, especially to attract defections from the northern forces. Such provisional appointments were given on the expectation that the court would approve their conversion to regular salaried positions. They were thus promises made by provincial military commanders on behalf of the Song court. But the court did not have control over the numbers issued nor did it have funds available to cover the cost of conversions. By 1172, the court was still trying to discharge obligations that had been made over a decade earlier and still ordering regional authorities not to issue such appointments.⁵² Lu You’s concern is not only for the cost of these obligations, but also that

⁵¹ See *Yaolu* 27, p. 531.

⁵² *SHY*, *zhiguan* 62, p. 8a

many conversions to regular status threatened to undermine the quality and status of the regular bureaucracy.

LU YOU'S MEMORIALS OF 1162

Summarizing the historiography and politics of Lu You's draft entries in *Zhongxing shengzheng cao*, his preferences are clear. He advocates a construction of Song history that posits "tolerance for loyalty" as a central political value and traces the development of this value from the Qingli reforms through the Yuanyou and into the early Southern Song under Gaozong. And he directly advocates that Xiaozong continue this line. In contrast, several of his entries (#3, 12) specifically oppose the New Policies of the Shenzong and Huizong periods. For example, #3 argues against continued subvention and official appointments for Daoist clergy.

Although the association is not direct, Lu You's historical evaluation also posits two differing conceptions of how the Song state should operate. The former conceived the state as a fixed and permanent hierarchy of interlocking offices, each with a carefully prescribed function, staffed by literati officials – the well-known "*shi*" of modern Song scholarship – who were recruited and ranked through the civil service examinations system. We may characterize this viewpoint as a form of Song institutionalism favored by many literati committed to Confucian political principles. The latter conceived the state as a utilitarian technocracy, a flexible and shifting collection of ad hoc agencies, each created to achieve a specific temporary goal, staffed by technical experts who were recruited through a variety of non-examination as well as examination venues. Lu You associates the former with his preferred, Qingli/Yuanyou historical line, the second with the New Policies line. A major task of the draft entries is thus to demonstrate that Gaozong also advocated the former concept of the state and its historical conception of positive political values.

However, as the book-title chosen by Gaozong's most eminent modern biographer, Wang Zengyu 王曾瑜, makes clear, namely, 荒淫無道宋高宗, there is overwhelming evidence that, at best, the emperor vacillated between the two options.⁵³ Gaozong's early policy of abjuring the New Policies was largely political rhetoric. For example, his instructions that the new law code give preference to the Renzong code ran into immediate logistical hurdles. Wang Yang 王洋 (1087–1154),

⁵³ Wang Zengyu 王曾瑜, *Huangyin wudao Song Gaozong*, rev. edn. (Baoding: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1999).

who worked on the project, which was completed in 1131/8, reported that the editors had difficulty adapting the Renzong code, which described an integrated, centralized system, to the fragmented and ad hoc administration of early Southern Song. Additionally, much of the Renzong code could no longer be reconstructed. Since the editors were low-level clerks and former adherents of Cai Jing, they simply adopted, with minor revisions, the existing Zhenghe 政和 period (1111–1117) code with which they were familiar.⁵⁴ The implications are considerable: although Gaozong may have ordered a return to the centralized Renzong model of government, what he got was a validation and continuation of the ad hoc Huizong-era model.

Likewise, Lu You's many examples of Gaozong's injunctions against eunuchs show that they were more political policy rhetoric than action. For example, a conversation from 1135/7 between Gaozong and his then chief councilor Zhao Ding 趙鼎 (1085–1147) shows Gaozong reluctant to bring back to court a retired eunuch notorious for his "outside affairs" that occurred during the siege of Kaifeng. He insists that his eunuchs are few and under his control. He praises one Li Zhidao 李至道, whose accounting skills he credits with bringing order to the Office of Imperial Armaments. In short, Gaozong viewed his eunuchs as legitimate personal retainers and key administrators of imperial policy.⁵⁵

There is also often less than meets the eye in Gaozong's injunctions against imperial in-laws. A detailed reading of Wei Fumin's memorial indicates that Gaozong used selected "policies of the ancestors" to purge from power Huizong- and Qinzong-era affines (*waiqi* 外戚) and their networks. Only several days after his 1128 edict, Gaozong appointed Xing Huan, his erstwhile father-in-law, to be a recipient of edicts in the Bureau of Military Affairs (Shumi yuan 樞密院), one of the most powerful positions in Song government, and appointed him again in 1132 despite professing reservations about it.⁵⁶ Over the course of his reign, Qin Gui and empress Wu (1115–1197) would build a dominant political coalition based on marriage ties between the chief councilor and imperial affinal kin. Struggles between literati like Lu You and permutations of such alliances would dominate Southern Song politics, culminating

⁵⁴ *QSW*, vol. 177, j. 3871, pp. 105–7; cf. *Yaolu* 46, p. 830.

⁵⁵ The best text of this conversation is anon., *Huangchao zhongxing jishi benmo* 34, p. 1a–b; for truncated versions see Xiong, *Zhongxing xiaoji* 19, p. 232, and *Yaolu* 91, p. 1517.

⁵⁶ *Yaolu* 13, p. 286; *SS* 465, pp. 13589–90; *SHY*, *zhiguan* 6, p. 10a; Li, *Chaoye zaji*, jia, 10, p. 204.

in the ascendancy and rule of Han Tuo Zhou 韓侂胄 (1152–1207), empress Wu's nephew, from 1194 through 1207.

Lu You submitted two series of memorials in 1162. Both were written after he had begun work in the Office for the Classification and Compilation of Imperial Policy but before the formal beginning of work on the *Sagacious Policies of the Emperor Resplendent as Yao* in 1163/3. The first, shorter, memorial from 1162/11 could well stand as a summary of his larger historiographical view of Song history. The memorial urges emperor Xiaozong to complete the historical process of Restoration that Gaozong had begun, but which remains unfinished. The sources of the Restoration go back to the roots of the dynasty under Taizu and Taizong when its policies and their implementation were simple and straightforward. Major matters were treated in detail; minor matters were omitted. But the long periods of peace engendered a flowery prolixity of detail. Clever clerks and nefarious officials worked this detail to their own benefit, ignored major issues, and fragmented the unity of the founders. Gaozong tried to streamline the system and return it to its roots, but his officials were unable fully to follow his lead. Lu You urges Xiaozong to order his officials to examine ways to restore the integrity of the central units of government and to purge their units of complexity and duplication. The end of the memorial urges Xiaozong to study the precedents of the Renzong period as key to fulfilling the incomplete promise of the Restoration and establishing a peaceful and prosperous reign.⁵⁷

Another memorial, written shortly afterward, on 1162/12/6, in response to an edict soliciting opinion from senior officials, spells out in seven sections Lu You's vision for the new administration.⁵⁸ Since Lu You positions his proposals as reforms, the clear implication is that the outgoing administration has been doing something different. The second section of the memorial argues against excessive authority granted to eunuchs. The monarch should not depute them to special duty assignments outside the palace, where they abuse and usurp his authority. Recent incidents where eunuchs have been assigned to establish wine shops and pursue tea bandits have been expensive and achieved no results. Such tasks are the responsibility of line officials from the Ministry of the Treasury (Hubu 戶部) and provincial intendants. There is no need for the emperor to be personally involved. Lu

⁵⁷ Qian and Ma, eds., *Lu You quanji jiaozhu*, vol. 9, pp. 84–90; *QSW*, vol. 222, j. 4924, pp. 200–3.

⁵⁸ *SS* 33, p. 620; Qian and Ma, eds., *Lu You quanji jiaozhu*, vol. 9, pp. 122–31; *QSW*, vol. 222, j. 4925, pp. 218–22.

You's suggestions clearly argue against Gaozong's view that eunuchs, as personal retainers, could be empowered to undertake any task the emperor chose to give them. Officials selected for special assignments should be chosen from the ranks of line court officials. Employment of eunuchs for such tasks loses the structure of government 失國體.

The next section develops the principle that the proper organization of government should rest upon clear hierarchical distinctions among subordinate levels within the bureaucracy. He argues against the liberal conferral of high offices such as the "three dukes and three preceptors" (*sangong sanshi* 三共三師). Such awards blur the proper distinctions between offices and present the potential to create separate bases of power apart from the monarchy. Lu You cites, without naming them directly, two recent examples. The general Yang Cunzhong 楊存中 (1102–1166) has recently been named grand preceptor (*taifu* 太傅) and the imperial affine Zheng Cao 鄭藻 as defender-in-chief (*taiwei* 太尉). Both had received major support from Gaozong and were fixtures of his reign. Both were targets of literati administrators who hoped for a change under the new administration, and Lu You's attack was part of a larger political move to degrade military and affinal elements that had grown powerful during the Gaozong years.⁵⁹ Lu You frames their influence as detrimental to the proper functioning of the regular bureaucratic structure.

Another section argues against placing circuit supervisors (*jiansi* 監司) in charge of undertaking regular performance evaluations of the prefects in their jurisdictions. Lu You writes sarcastically that "only a worthy can recognize a worthy" and that the current supervisors hardly fall into that category. He urges Xiaozong to first consult the chief councilors and replace deficient supervisors with "literati who have knowledge and learning 才智學術之士" before the evaluations proceed. Lu You clearly objects to establishing an additional evaluation system for officials that is beyond established governmental structures.

CONCLUSION

Although the *Draft Entries for the Sagacious Policies of the Restoration* represents Lu You's contribution to an official court historiographical project, both the selection of entries and Lu You's comments closely mirror his own personal views, views that are also reflected in the memorials he wrote while he was at work on the historiographical project.

⁵⁹ *Yaolu* 188, p. 3149; 199, p. 3376; *SS* 367, p. 11438; 395, p. 12057.

This should not be surprising. This article has demonstrated that the composition of the *Sagacious Policies of Emperor Gaozong* was intimately connected to the politics of the transition from emperors Gaozong to Xiaozong. As such, the project had two competing goals; and these two goals often acted at cross-purposes with each other. The work's primary task was to eulogize Gaozong and, by comparing him to Taizu, to bolster his status as the Southern Song founder. The secondary goal, however, was to suggest to Xiaozong ways in which he could reform the many administrative problems that had arisen during Gaozong's reign. Lu You frames these as an over-reliance by the monarch on his non-literati officials and as a corrupt alliance between these agents and the Song military. His solution is to curtail the power of these imperial agents and to return authority over the government functions they have usurped to literati administrators within the traditional structure of Song government as Lu You believed it had functioned during the Qingli and Yuanyou periods. Lu You – and his *Draft Entries for the Sagacious Policies of the Restoration* – clearly represents the views of a group of younger literati officials like Chen Junqing 陳俊卿 (1113–1186) and Zhou Bida, who would later ascend to the councillorship under Xiaozong. And the struggle between these two competing visions and administrative systems of how to exercise government power would dominate and ultimately undermine the success of Xiaozong's reign.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- QSW Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊, Liu Lin 劉琳, eds., *Quan Song wen* 全宋文
 SHY Xu Song 徐松, *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿
 SS Toghto, *Songshi* 宋史
 Yaolu Li Xinchuan 李心傳, *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄