

## The Life and Legend of Chong Fang: The Journey from Recluse to Imperial Favorite to Master of *Yi* Learning\*

Douglas Skonicki\*\*

Department of Chinese Literature  
National Tsing Hua University

### ABSTRACT

The noted eremite, poet, official and proponent of *guwen* 古文, Chong Fang 种放 (955-1015), was one of the most interesting intellectuals of the early Song 宋 dynasty. While living in relative seclusion with his mother in the mountains outside of Chang'an 長安, Chong became a well-known teacher, achieving fame for both his intellectual views and moral integrity. In the late tenth century, Emperors Taizong 太宗 (r. 976-997) and Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997-1022) summoned Chong for imperial audiences and bestowed him with monetary and titular rewards. Zhenzong in particular showered Chong with an unprecedented degree of imperial favor, and after granting him an official position, he allowed Chong to move relatively freely between the court and his mountain hermitage. Following his death, Chong's exploits attracted the attention of Song *biji* 筆記 authors, who recorded numerous stories about his idiosyncratic lifestyle and the largess he received from court in their *biji*. In this article, I analyze these stories chronologically in an effort to determine how Chong was depicted and how those depictions changed over time. My analysis focuses on anecdotes that linked Chong with Chen Tuan 陳搏 (?-989), the purported creator of several important diagrams on the *Yijing* 易經, and attempts to show how Chong came to be regarded as an important interpreter of the text and placed in lineages of *Yi* learning 易學.

**Key words:** Chong Fang 种放, *biji* 筆記, recluses, *Yi* learning 易學, lineages

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\*\* The author's email address: douglas@mx.nthu.edu.tw

## 1. Introduction

Chong Fang 种放 (955-1015) was one of the most enigmatic figures of the early Song 宋. He was by all accounts a man of many talents, achieving renown as a filial son, a teacher, a recluse, an imperial advisor, a poet, a practitioner of *guwen* 古文, and, nearly a century after his death, as a transmitter of *Yi* learning 易學. Following the passing of his father, Chong chose to accompany his mother in a life of semi-seclusion on Mt. Zhongnan 終南山 outside of Chang'an 長安, where he lived simply and earned a modest income through teaching. By the early 990s Chong had attained a degree of local prominence for both his learning and filial conduct, prompting regional officials to recommend him as a potential imperial advisor. Although he declined an initial summons from Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 976-997), feigning illness, Taizong's successor, Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997-1022), succeeded in convincing him to come to court and accept a position as a remonstrance official. Zhenzong evidently became enamored with Chong's persona, and in addition to showering him with gifts and official titles, he granted Chong an unprecedented degree of freedom to move between the capital and his hermitage on Mt. Zhongnan. Chong's exploits, both in seclusion and at court, would become the subject of numerous anecdotes, which later came to be recorded in many of the *biji* 筆記, or notebooks, composed during the dynasty. These anecdotes would heavily influence Chong's posthumous image and play an extremely important role in shaping his reputation down to the present day.

Scholarship on Chong is relatively scarce, and it has by and large focused on one of the following three topics: Chong's life as a recluse;<sup>1</sup> his role in the development of Song

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<sup>1</sup> Scholars examining Chong's eremitism have generally tended to view his conduct, particularly his willingness to serve the state and his engagement with elite society, as representative of Song approaches to seclusion. See Li Yan 栗艷, "Ru, dao zhi yinyiguan yanjiu: yi Chong Fang weili 儒、道之隱逸觀研究：以种放為例," *Kexue jingji shehui* 科學經濟社會, 33 (2015), pp. 20-24; Ma Doucheng 馬斗成, "Zou 'Zhongnan jiejing' de ming yinshi Chong Fang 走 '終南捷徑' 的名隱士种放," *Wenshi zhishi* 文史知識, 8 (1995), pp. 49-53; Wang Hongfang 王洪芳, "Chong Fang yu Songdai yinshi wenhua 种放與宋代隱士文化," *Nei Menggu nongye daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 內蒙古農業大學學報 (社會科學版), 51 (2010), pp. 327-330.

*guwen*;<sup>2</sup> and his place in Song lineages of *Yi* learning.<sup>3</sup> Although the scholars behind this body of research have shed light on Chong's political career, eremitic proclivities, literary style, and the basic contours of his thought, they have in my opinion done a poor job of adjudicating the veracity of the sources on Chong that have survived to the present.<sup>4</sup> In particular, many of the anecdotes found in *biji*, which influenced later perceptions of Chong's life and thought, have been taken at face value, despite their questionable provenance and authenticity. In this article, I examine these *biji* anecdotes in an effort to determine how depictions of Chong changed in the decades following his death. I focus my analysis on stories that linked Chen Tuan, the purported progenitor of several important diagrams on the *Yijing* 易經, with Chong, and attempt to show how such stories more than likely contributed to Chong's later placement in lineages of *Yi* learning.

My investigation of Chong's life and historical legacy proceeds in four parts. In Part One, I describe Chong's transition from mountain recluse to trusted imperial advisor, examine the progression of his career at court, and recount his frequent movements between the capital and different mountain retreats. In Part Two, I analyze Chong's extant writings, paying close attention to poems and essays in which he discusses the Confucian classics and defends his decision to alternate between official service and seclusion.

<sup>2</sup> Studies on Chong's role in Song *guwen* have sought to rectify Chong's omission from historical accounts of *guwen*'s development and highlight his important contribution to the movement. See Guo Peng 郭鵬, "Cong Guanshan dao Bianluo: Songdai guwen yundong faduan de ling yi xiangdu: yi 'Guanshan fuzi' Chong Fang wei zhongxin 從關陝到汴洛：宋代古文運動發端的一向度——以‘關陝夫子’種放為中心," *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu* 中國文化研究, 3 (2013), pp. 132-143; Ma Maojun 馬茂軍, "Chong Fang: Songdai guwen yundong de zhongyao yihuan 種放：宋代古文運動的重要一環," *Qiqihaer daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 齊齊哈爾大學學報 (哲學社會科學版), 4 (2005), pp. 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> During the late Northern and early Southern Song, Shao Bowen 邵伯溫 (1057-1134), Chao Yuezhi 晁說之 (1059-1129) and Zhu Zhen 朱震 (1072-1138) identified Chong as a key member of these lineages, asserting that he was a key disciple of Chen Tuan 陳搏 (?-989). Contemporary scholars have by and large failed to critically interrogate Chong's place in these lineages, opting instead to either accept its veracity or dismiss it out of hand as a later fabrication. See, for example, Zhu Bokun 朱伯崑, *Yixue zhexue shi* 易學哲學史, vol. 2 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1995), ch. 6; Wang Tie 王鐵, *Songdai Yixue* 宋代易學 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), ch. 3; Pan Yuting 潘雨廷, "Song Yi de shoushou ji qi zhuzuo 宋易的授受及其著作," in Zhang Wenjiang 張文江 (ed.), *Yixueshi luncong* 易學史論叢 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), pp. 357-365.

<sup>4</sup> This problem has been complicated by the loss of the majority of Chong's literary output and the emergence, decades after his death, of new claims about his intellectual positions and his impact on Song classical learning.

Having laid out the essential aspects of Chong's life and thought, in Part Three I conduct a chronological analysis of how Chong was depicted in *biji* that were composed during the Northern and Southern Song. As noted above, my discussion here focuses on anecdotes that describe encounters between Chong and Chen Tuan. This discussion sets the stage for Part Four, where I examine Chong's placement in various lineages of *Yi* learning towards the end of the Northern Song, and evaluate the reliability of the evidence identifying Chong as a key proponent of several important diagrams tied to the *Yijing*. The goal of this study is thus not only to provide a more accurate account of Chong's life and thought, but also to shed light on the process via which he came to be identified as an important authority on the *Yijing*. Song *biji* provide important clues regarding this process, and furthermore have the potential to elucidate how the posthumous images of notable figures like Chong develop and change over time.

## 2. Chong's Eremitism and Political Career

Although Chong would achieve renown for being a recluse, he was born into a family with a tradition of political service in urban locales. In one of the earliest surviving sources on Chong's life and family ancestry – a funerary inscription for Chong's nephew, Chong Shiheng 种世衡 (985-1045),<sup>5</sup> penned by Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052) – we learn that Chong's ancestors were from Luoyang 洛陽 and that both Chong Fang's grandfather (Cunqi 存啟) and father (Renxu 仁詡) held prefectural level offices in Henan 河南 and Chang'an.<sup>6</sup> Fan observes that Chong's brother, and Shiheng's father, Zhaoyan 昭衍, entered official service by attaining the *jinsshi* 進士 degree, which suggests that the family educated their sons to prepare them for government service. In the funerary inscription, Fan devotes several lines to Chong Fang, describing him as a man of high learning and impeccable morals who lived as a recluse before accepting

<sup>5</sup> See Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊 and Liu Lin 劉琳 (eds.), *Quan Songwen* 全宋文 [hereafter *QSW*], vol. 19 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2006), *juan* 390, pp. 61-65.

<sup>6</sup> For a comprehensive study of the Chong clan during the Song dynasty, which focuses on their military accomplishments, see Zeng Ruilong 曾瑞龍, *Bei Song Chongshi jiangmen zhi xingcheng* 北宋种氏將門之形成 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 2010).

office during Zhenzong's reign. He notes that Fang took on the responsibilities of caring for and educating his nephew, eventually securing an official position for him through the use of the *yin* 隱 privilege. He moreover records that Fang attained the right to do so after rising to a high level rank in the Ministry of Works.

Fan does not explain the reasons why Fang, unlike his brother Zhaoyan, chose to become a recluse; however, several other sources from the period state that his decision was motivated by a filial concern for his mother's well-being. Chong's father, Renxu, died at a young age, and following his passing, his mother purportedly experienced a strong desire to live as a hermit in the Panther Forest Valley (*Baolingu* 豹林谷) of Mt. Zhongnan. The Panther Forest Valley was located just outside of Chang'an, which enabled Chong, like many other recluses from the period, to support himself, as well as his mother, through a combination of small-scale farming and teaching.<sup>7</sup> Chong's decision to engage in teaching allowed him to maintain ties with literati society, and it surely facilitated the spread of his reputation as a filial son and learned individual.

While literati eremitism is oftentimes explained via reference to the Confucian approbation of political withdrawal during periods when the state "lacks the way," there is no evidence that Chong's reclusion was a protest against the moral condition of the Song state. Not only did both his father and brother serve the dynasty in official capacities, his writings also evince a strong concern for the well-being of the polity. He moreover, like a large number of "literati recluses,"<sup>8</sup> chose to engage with society and remain culturally active while living at his hermitage. Indeed, many Song hermits, like Chong, actively sought out relationships with their fellow literati and worked to disseminate their intellectual views by composing poetry, essays and commentaries on

<sup>7</sup> Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 (954-1001) describes how Chong supported his mother in a memorial he submitted requesting the court to pay for her funeral expenses. See *QSW*, vol. 7, *juan* 146, p. 317. On Song recluses engaging in teaching to support themselves, see Wang Xiaolan 王小蘭, "Songchu yinyi zuojia de renge bianyi yu shifeng zhuiqiu 宋初隱逸作家的人格變易與詩風追求," *Xibei shida xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 西北師大學報 (社會科學版), 45.6 (2008), pp. 7-13; Zhang Haiou 張海鷗, "Songdai yinshi zuojia de ziyou jiazhi guan 宋代隱士作家的自由價值觀," *Xueshu yanjiu* 學術研究, 6 (2000), pp. 117-123.

<sup>8</sup> See the early Song examples of Qi Tongwen 戚同文 (904-976), who became famous as a teacher, and Pan Lang 潘閔 (?-1009), who developed close ties with many officials and even served in a minor official capacity for a brief period.

classical texts. During the Song, becoming a recluse did not necessarily entail disengaging from society, but rather oftentimes provided an advantageous platform from which to spread one's opinions on matters that literati regarded as important.

By the final decade of the tenth century, Chong appears to have earned a degree of local renown for his learning and his decision to care for his mother. In the eighth month of 992, the *zhuanyunshi* 轉運使 of Shanxi 陝西, Song Weigan 宋維幹 (?-?), recommended him to Emperor Taizong as a potential advisor. Chong refused Taizong's summons claiming illness; however, the relevant entry in the *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 asserts that the real reason for his refusal was that his mother wished to continue their eremitic lifestyle. Taizong was purportedly impressed by Chong's integrity and willingness to sacrifice a court audience out of what he perceived to be a sense of filial responsibility. In addition to bestowing Chong with 30,000 in cash, he ordered that the administrative unit supervising Chang'an and its environs (Jingzhao fu 京兆府) send envoys at seasonal intervals to express the government's regards.<sup>9</sup>

Following his rejection of Taizong's summons, Chong disappears from the historical record until the death of his mother in 998.<sup>10</sup> In that year, Chong sought monetary assistance to pay for his mother's funeral from the Hanlin Academician, and fellow native of Chang'an, Song Shi 宋湜 (950-1000). Song, together with Qian Ruoshui 錢若水 (960-1003) and Wang Yucheng memorialized the throne in an effort to persuade Zhenzong to pay for his mother's casket and burial plot.<sup>11</sup> In the memorial, Song, Qian and Wang noted that they knew Chong personally and admired his integrity, comparing his conduct to famous hermits of the past. They moreover maintained that the bestowal of funerary expenses would constitute an excellent investment, for in their view this one

<sup>9</sup> See Li Tao 李燾, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* [hereafter *Changbian*], rpt. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), *juan* 33, p. 738. The entry in the *Changbian* also provides some insight into his mother's personality, describing how she enjoyed their life of reclusion and engaging in Daoist cultivation techniques. It moreover quotes her as admonishing Chong for drawing attention to himself through his teaching and writing. Following his reception of the imperial summons, she purportedly burned his writing implements and insisted they relocate to a location deeper in the mountains.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, *juan* 43, p. 916.

<sup>11</sup> This information is also relayed in a poem by Wang Yucheng titled "Zeng Chong Fang chushi" 贈种放處士. See Beijing daxue guwenxian yanjiusuo 北京大學古文獻研究所 (ed.), *Quan Songshi* 全宋詩 [hereafter *QSS*], rpt., vol. 2 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1995), *juan* 71, p. 803.

minor act of beneficence would stimulate competition for good reputation and encourage filial and fraternal conduct among the masses. Zhenzong acceded to their request and contributed an unstipulated amount of grain, silk and cash to fund the funeral.<sup>12</sup>

Three years later, in the third month of 1001, Chong was once again recommended to court by Zhang Qixian 張齊賢 (?-1014), who probably got to know Chong during his stint as an official in Jingzhao fu. The *Changbian* records that Zhang praised Chong's moral conduct and asked that he be invited into official service as a man of "talent and integrity" (*xianliang fangzheng* 賢良方正).<sup>13</sup> In response, the court issued another summons as well as a gift of 50,000 cash, which it instructed emissaries from the Jingzhao fu to deliver to Chong at his hermitage.<sup>14</sup> Once again Chong used the pretext of illness to refuse the summons. A little over a year later, at the bequest of Zhang Qixian, the court delivered an additional 100 bolts of silk and 100,000 in cash in an effort to convince Chong to journey to the capital for an audience.<sup>15</sup> This show of imperial largess appears to have changed Chong's mind, and in the ninth month of 1002, Chong arrived at court and met with Zhenzong.

Chong presented himself to the emperor in a simple black headscarf and, after being commanded to sit, he was asked for his opinions on governing the people (*minzheng* 民政) and affairs at the border (*bianshi* 邊事). During the audience, Chong offered a terse reply to Zhenzong's query on the first topic, stating that: "The government of the enlightened ruler is just loving the people, and consists simply in gently transforming them."<sup>16</sup> Chong politely declined to answer any remaining questions; yet, despite this, Zhenzong awarded him the office of *zuo sijian* 左司諫, the title of *zhi zhaowen guan* 直昭文館, a variety of official accouterments, a residence, and the meal privileges afforded to high-ranking officials. Realizing that these rewards were incommensurate with

<sup>12</sup> *Changbian*, vol. 7, *juan* 146, p. 317.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, *juan* 48, p. 1053.

<sup>14</sup> The edict summoning Chong to court is preserved in the *Song da zhaoling ji* 宋大詔令集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), *juan* 158, p. 594.

<sup>15</sup> See *Changbian*, *juan* 52, p. 1144; *Song da zhaoling ji*, *juan* 158, p. 594. Unlike Zhenzong's first edict, which offered a few lines of praise for Chong's learning and conduct, in this second edict, Zhenzong goes on at greater length about how Chong's understanding of past and present, as well as his comprehensive knowledge of government, could assist him in ordering the state.

<sup>16</sup> 「明王之治，愛民而已，惟徐而化之。」 *Changbian*, *juan* 52, p. 1151.

Chong's status and his performance during their meeting, Zhenzong explained his rationale for offering them by telling his ministers: "It is possible to encourage the people of the empire by rewarding one individual."<sup>17</sup>

Several days later, Chong sent a memorial declining Zhenzong's offer and requesting that the court allow him to return to Mt. Zhongnan. This request was denied, and after several days, Chong was again summoned for an imperial audience; however, this time Zhenzong pulled out all the stops and presented Chong with a lavish array of gifts, which included a scarlet robe, an ivory tablet, a rhinoceros skin belt, a silver fish satchel, a five-line poem written by the emperor, a residence in the *Zhaoqing* 昭慶 ward of the capital, 500 *liang* 兩 of silver and 300,000 cash. Zhenzong's munificence apparently persuaded Chong to change his mind, and on the day he submitted the customary memorial thanking the emperor, he was rewarded with a banquet at the *Xueshi yuan* 學士院.<sup>18</sup>

Chong's initial stay at court lasted only six months, and when spring arrived he requested to return to Mt. Zhongnan. In the edict approving his request, Zhenzong praised Chong's valued counsel and indicated that it was Chong's longing for his dead mother that prompted his urge to go back home. He decided to allow Chong to temporarily leave the court, but he hoped that Chong would see fit to come back in two or three months. Before departing, Zhenzong, in what can be construed as an effort to increase the likelihood of Chong's return, rewarded him with a promotion to *qiju sheren* 起居舍人, feted him at the *Longtu ge* 龍圖閣 and *Qionglin yuan* 瓊林苑, and gave him three seven-character poems.<sup>19</sup>

For the next several years, Chong would move between the court and various mountain retreats on a fairly consistent seasonal schedule. He would typically arrive in Kaifeng 開封 in the late autumn or early winter and stay at court for a period of several months. In the spring, he would ask to be relieved of his official duties to either travel or return to his hermitage. Zhenzong repeatedly acquiesced to these requests, and rewarded

<sup>17</sup> 「賞一人可勸天下矣。」 Ibid. Several days after his audience with Chong, Zhenzong explained to his prime ministers that he wanted to seek out extraordinary talent in order to broaden his knowledge and aid him in the way of governance.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 1151-1152. Li Tao adds that this type of favoritism was unprecedented in recent history.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., *juan* 54, p. 1184.

his brief stints at court with banquets, imperial gifts, and progressively higher office. Historical records indicate that Chong was granted permission to move between the court and the mountains a total of five times between 1002 and 1011, and that the last several years of his life were spent away from Kaifeng after a conflict with Wang Sizong 王嗣宗 (944-1021) appears to have resulted in a decision to remain at Mt. Song (Songshan 嵩山) and Mt. Zhongnan until his death in 1015.<sup>20</sup>

Despite this desultory approach to his official duties, Chong turned down an unstated, but purportedly extremely high-ranking, position in 1007, and was gradually promoted to the office of *gongbu shilang* 工部侍郎, ranked at 3b (從三品) in the Song bureaucratic hierarchy.<sup>21</sup> He moreover was granted an extraordinary degree of imperial attention, with Zhenzong holding several banquets to mark his departures and also issuing numerous edicts to request his return to court. Zhenzong's actions naturally give rise to the question of why he would choose to treat Chong with such extraordinary favor.

While acknowledging the impossibility of identifying Zhenzong's motives with precision, it is possible, I think, to gain a better understanding of his conduct by considering the early Song court's stance towards hermits as well as Zhenzong's conception of, and vision for, his reign. As a small part of their effort to legitimize the dynasty, the rulers of the early Song adopted a welcoming posture towards recluses. As noted above, traditional Confucian theory endorsed the decision to withdraw from political affairs during times of disorder and turmoil. By inviting recluses to imperial audiences, and occasionally extending offers of bureaucratic appointment, the Song court sought to lend credence to their claims that the upheaval of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms had ended and that order had been restored.

Zhang Haiou has argued that there was in fact a mutually reinforcing relationship between literati recluses and dynastic legitimacy. He notes that of the forty-nine recluses given biographies in the *Songshi* 宋史, twenty-eight were recommended to the court, and of those eight received imperial audiences.<sup>22</sup> During these audiences, emperors would

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<sup>20</sup> The conflict between the two men purportedly started when Chong and his family members treated Wang disrespectfully while he was serving as an official in Chang'an. *Ibid.*, *juan* 76, p. 1742.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, *juan* 67, p. 1496.

<sup>22</sup> See Zhang Haiou, "Songdai yinshi yinju yuanyin chutan 宋代隱士隱居原因初探," *Qiusuo* 求索, 4 (1999), p. 85.

show the recluses a great deal of respect by discussing the issues facing the empire, listening to their recommendations, judging their talent, and making a decision on whether or not to present them with an official appointment. When offered a post in the bureaucracy, the recluses would frequently decline, after which they would return home with gifts, and on occasion, an imperially conferred title. Zhang argues, correctly I think, that this arrangement benefited both sides; the recluse gained increased fame for being recognized by the court, and the emperor demonstrated his willingness to search the farthest reaches of the empire for political counsel.<sup>23</sup>

Historical records indicate that Chong was initially on track to follow this standard procedure – to appear at court, gain imperial recognition, and return home to Mt. Zhongnan. However, Zhenzong was intent on retaining him as an imperial advisor, refusing Chong's request to take leave and making a concerted effort to convince him to remain by bestowing him with offices, gifts, and honors. As is well known, Zhenzong viewed his reign as both marking the end of his forbear's consolidation of the empire and as ushering in an era of "great peace" (*taiping* 太平).<sup>24</sup> Persuading a noted eremite like Chong to serve at court may have been a part of the larger effort to propagate this message to his officials and the people. Indeed, the *Changbian* records that Zhenzong justified his preferential treatment of Chong to his high-ranking ministers by highlighting the effect it would have on encouraging the populace to act morally. Although he does not state so explicitly, we can speculate that Zhenzong's determination to employ Chong, which involved Chong's implicit renunciation of withdrawal and endorsement that the Song "possessed the way," may have been tied to his desire to promote the dynasty's accomplishments and announce that the era of great peace had begun.

Yet, even if his initial motivations were to use Chong for propagandistic purposes, Zhenzong clearly developed a fondness for Chong and came to value his counsel and friendship. With respect to Chong's official service, Zhenzong unfailingly defended his learning and conduct against critiques put forth by his ministers. He praised the policy proposals Chong advanced in the "Thirteen Memorials" (*Shisan yi* 十三議) he presented

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<sup>23</sup> In the edict issued in the seventh month of 1002 summoning Chong to court, Zhenzong expressed his willingness to search high and low to find men of talent. See *QSW*, vol. 11, *juan* 219, p. 55.

<sup>24</sup> See Chang Wei-ling 張維玲, "Song Taizong, Zhenzong chao de zhi taiping yi fengshan 宋太宗、真宗朝的致太平以封禪," *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報, 43.3 (2013), pp. 481-524.

to the throne, expedited his promotion through the official ranks, and advocated for placing him in a position of even more responsibility (which Chong declined).<sup>25</sup> In addition, Zhenzong seems to have genuinely enjoyed Chong's company, been fascinated with his eremitic lifestyle, and missed him during the periods when he was not at court.

Beyond the bestowal of material rewards and the approbation of his political counsel, other aspects of Zhenzong's conduct towards Chong indicate that the two men shared a close personal bond. For example, in 1004, after Chong used the pretext of illness to refuse a summons to return to Kaifeng, Zhenzong dispatched an emissary to bring him medicine.<sup>26</sup> He moreover composed several poems for Chong, wrote a personal letter urging him to return to court,<sup>27</sup> gave him copies of Taizong's writings and the classics,<sup>28</sup> had an envoy draw a picture of his hermitage on Mt. Zhongnan so he could gain a greater appreciation of it,<sup>29</sup> issued an edict prohibiting the collection of firewood in the proximity of Chong's mountain retreat,<sup>30</sup> provided official employment for Chong's nephew and several of his students,<sup>31</sup> and penned a funerary encomium for him after his death.<sup>32</sup> These gestures of imperial concern and beneficence suggest that Zhenzong truly cared for Chong and that their relationship went beyond mere political expedience.

Chong's identity as an early Song literati recluse was thus at once both conventional and extraordinary. Like many literati recluses of the time, Chong chose to preserve his ties to learned society, to write and teach, and to remain engaged with political affairs. However, he also found himself in a unique position, where Zhenzong showered him with an unprecedented degree of favoritism, insisted on employing him at court, and, perhaps as a condition for his service, allowed him to move relatively freely between his hermitages and the capital. As we shall see, the exceptional circumstances of his employment, as well as the derision and enmity he provoked among his fellow ministers, became the subject of numerous stories, which came to be recorded in the *biji* of the

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<sup>25</sup> *Changbian*, *juan* 67, p. 1496.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, *juan* 56, p. 1225.

<sup>27</sup> See *QSW*, vol. 12, *juan* 238, p. 28.

<sup>28</sup> *Changbian*, *juan* 63, pp. 1415-1416.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, *juan* 55, p. 1213.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, *juan* 75, p. 1715.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, *juan* 62, pp. 1395-1396.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, *juan* 85, p. 1956.

period. Before turning to those stories, however, it is necessary to first investigate his surviving writings in an effort to understand the basic contours of his thought as well as his views of reclusion and official service.

### 3. Chong's Writings and Thought

Even though the majority of Chong's writings are no longer extant, bibliographic records from the Song indicate that he was a fairly prolific writer. Biographical entries in the *Longping ji* and the *Songshi* identify Chong as the author of the *Taiyici lu* 太一祠錄, the *Mengshu* 蒙書, the "Si Yu shuo" 嗣禹說, a two-part essay on the *Mencius*, and a set of "Thirteen Memorials."<sup>33</sup> With the exception of his work on the *Mencius*, none of these writings seems to have circulated for long following his death, for they are not listed in Southern Song bibliographical texts such as the *Junzhai dushu zhi*, the *Zhizhai shulu jieti*, or the *Yiwen zhi* 藝文志 from the *Songshi*.<sup>34</sup> However, these texts do note that Chong's literary compositions were compiled into two different *wenji* 文集, the *Chong Mingyi ji* 种明逸集 in six *juan* and the *Chong Yinjun jiangnan xiaoji* 种隱君江南小集 in two *juan*,<sup>35</sup> and that his correspondence with high-ranking officials was collected into a work titled *Mingchen zhi Chong Yinjun shuqi* 名臣贊种隱君書啟 in one *juan*. Unfortunately, as was the case with the writings listed in the *Longping ji* and *Songshi*, these *wenji* have not survived and only a very small portion of Chong's literary output has been passed down to the present. In this section of the article, I examine these extant writings in order

<sup>33</sup> See Zeng Gong 曾鞏, *Longping ji* 隆平集, *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 371 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), *juan* 13, p. 131; Tuotuo 脫脫 et al., *Songshi* 宋史 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1972), *juan* 457, p. 5527. In the "Tuishi zhuan" 退士傳, Chong references the *Mengshu*, notes that it consists of twelve parts, and states that the goal of the text was to expel heterodox theories and convince readers to return to correct ideas.

<sup>34</sup> Chong purportedly burned his writings just before he died, which may be the reason why so few have survived.

<sup>35</sup> The *Chong Mingyi ji* is listed in the *Junzhai dushu zhi*, while the *Chong Yinjun jiangnan xiaoji* is recorded in the *Zhizhai shulu jieti*. The latter work notes that the *Chong Yinjun jiangnan xiaoji* contained 294 writings and that it was compiled in 992. See Sun Meng 孫猛 (ed.), *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* 郡齋讀書志校證 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), *juan* 19, pp. 975-976; Chen Zhensun 陳振孫, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1978), *juan* 17, p. 680.

to shed light on Chong's intellectual positions and the manner in which he justified his eremitic lifestyle.

In addition to a handful of poems that have survived in Song dynasty poetry collections, the editors of the *Quan Songwen* have recovered eleven of Chong's prose compositions from various historical compilations. These writings include: one *fu* 賦, one *biao* 表, two letters (*shu* 書), two prefaces (*xu* 序), Chong's two-part defense of the *Mencius*, three pieces on various intellectual matters, and one autobiographical essay. Despite this small body of material, it is possible to discern several recurring interests and themes in these writings that seem to have featured prominently in Chong's intellectual outlook. These interests and themes, which I will discuss in turn, concern: an engagement with *guwen* ideas about the *dao* 道 and its transmission, a repudiation of Buddhism, an emphasis on the political purport of the classics, and a defense of the eremitic lifestyle he chose to pursue.

Chong is perhaps the most obscure early Song proponent of *guwen*, and there have been relatively few studies on the role he played in the movement's development. Given the scant number of his writings that survive, it is difficult to get a sense of his contributions to either the *guwen* style or its intellectual agenda. In the pieces contained in the *Quan Songwen*, Chong speaks of "using *guwen*" (*yong guwen* 用古文) and he praises important Tang 唐 *guwen* figures such as Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), Pi Rixiu 皮日休 (?-883) and Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙 (?-881). Like other early Song *guwen* adherents, he advocates a hermeneutic approach to the classics that focuses on discerning the intent of the sages. He moreover defines the *dao* in terms that echo the conceptions advanced by the Tang *guwen* thinkers Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) and Han Yu, identifying it as the "dao of great centrality" (*dazhong zhi dao* 大中之道),<sup>36</sup> and asserting that it involved the practice of benevolence and righteousness, the perfection of public spiritedness and the elimination of selfish concerns.<sup>37</sup> In addition, he invokes the *guwen* claim that the *dao* of antiquity has been subject to repeated attack over the past thousand years, and he calls upon his peers to defend it.<sup>38</sup> Finally, in making these arguments, he

<sup>36</sup> This term was popularized by the Tang dynasty *guwen* adherent Liu Zongyuan. For Chong's use of it, see *QSW*, vol. 10, *juan* 206, pp. 213, 219.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219. This definition is similar to that provided by Han Yu in "Yuandao" 原道.

<sup>38</sup> Chong advances this position in his "Song Ren Mingyuan donghuan xu" 送任明遠東還序 and his

references the lineage of former worthies, or the select group of individuals first identified by Han Yu and elaborated upon by his later followers, who wrote texts to propagate the *dao* and ensure that it was not destroyed.<sup>39</sup>

Chong moreover carried forward Han Yu's repudiation of Buddhism by critiquing it for harming Chinese mores and obscuring the sages' *dao*. His most famous work in this regard, the "Si Yu shuo," is no longer extant; however, the early Song monk, Zhiyuan 智圓 (976-1022), wrote a detailed rebuttal of its positions in an essay titled "Bo si Yu shuo" 駁嗣禹說.<sup>40</sup> From the synopsis Zhiyuan provided in that essay, it appears that Chong, in the "Si Yu shuo," compared the sage-king Yu's taming of the flood waters to the efforts of Confucian worthies such as Mencius, Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 B.C.-A.D. 18), Wang Tong 王通 (584-618), and Han Yu to promote the sages' *dao* and suppress Buddhism and Daoism.<sup>41</sup> Chong advanced a similar line of argument in his "Bianxue" 辯學, where he discusses how these four worthies worked to continue and elucidate Confucius' teachings. He particularly celebrates Han's castigation of Buddhism, and maintains that his efforts caused Confucius' *dao* to once again become brilliantly illuminated.<sup>42</sup>

The final piece in which Chong criticizes Buddhism, titled "Baiyu" 敗諭, tells the story of Wu Dun 吳遁 (?-?), a Buddhist adherent who, after reading the works of the sages, began to experience doubts about his beliefs. He discarded his Buddhist robes, donned Confucian garb and began to study with literati. Despite the sincerity of his intentions, Wu was critiqued for "undermining his [Buddhist] *dao*" (*zibai qi dao* 自敗其道) and for attempting to join the ranks of Confucian literati. Chong defends Wu's decision, arguing that anyone who renounces Buddhism and resolutely studies the teachings of the sages has returned to the Confucian fold and can be identified as a *ru*

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"Tuishi zhuan." Ibid., pp. 213, 220-221.

<sup>39</sup> On the development and application of this lineage, see Ho Chi-peng 何寄澎, *Tang Song guwen xintan* 唐宋古文新探 (Taipei: Da'an chubanshe, 1990), pp. 251-286; Douglas Skonicki, "'Guwen' Lineage Discourse in the Northern Song," *Journal of Song Yuan Studies*, 44 (2014), pp. 1-32.

<sup>40</sup> *QSW*, vol. 15, *juan* 312, pp. 265-266.

<sup>41</sup> For an analysis of Zhiyuan's argument, see Douglas Skonicki, "Viewing the Two Teachings as Distinct yet Complementary: Gushan Zhiyuan's Use of Parallelisms to Demonstrate the Compatibility of Buddhism and Ancient-style Learning," *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 38 (2010), pp. 1-35.

<sup>42</sup> *QSW*, vol. 10, *juan* 206, pp. 218-219.

儒.<sup>43</sup>

In “Baiyu” and other essays, Chong placed the works of the sages at the center of what it meant to be a Confucian. Chong’s conception of, and approach to, the classics was grounded in two key assumptions. First, he held that the sages composed the classics in order to provide later generations with the tools necessary to govern the people effectively. In his surviving writings, Chong mentions the classics, or the texts of the sages, numerous times, and while these discussions are usually brief, they without exception tie the classics to the creation of political order and the moral rectification of the populace.<sup>44</sup> Second, following in the footsteps of Han Yu and the *Chunqiu* 春秋 exegetes Dan Zhu 啖助 (724-770), Zhao Kuang 趙匡 (?-?) and Lu Chun 陸淳 (?-805), Chong argued that it was possible to discern the sages’ purport (*zhi* 旨) or intent (*yi* 意 or *zhi* 志) through a close reading of the classics.<sup>45</sup> In the opening lines of his “Song Zhang sheng fuju xu” 送張生赴舉序, Chong contended that this type of close reading was “the means whereby one inquires into the *dao* of the sages.”<sup>46</sup>

Chong maintained that this ability to discern the purport of the classics not only enabled one to comprehend the *dao*, it also provided the foundation for good writing. In “Song Zhang sheng fuju xu,” Chong discourses on the link between interpreting the classics and literary style, noting that correct writing rooted in the classics had a political focus, that it necessarily expressed respect towards the son of heaven, and that it assisted the implementation of political affairs. He moreover castigates those whose writings commended the conduct of hegemonies such as Duke Huan 桓公 and Duke Wen 文公, contending that they had completely failed to grasp the classics’ purport (*jingzhi* 經旨).<sup>47</sup> He concludes by extolling Mencius’ decision to focus his writing on those who possessed benevolence and righteousness, arguing that it showed his intent was directed towards the sages.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 219-220.

<sup>44</sup> For example, in his “Song Zhang sheng fuju xu,” Chong defines the fundamental purport of the classics as involving respect for the son of heaven and working on his behalf to establish the state. This political emphasis is also evident in his two-part essay on the *Mencius*. Ibid., pp. 214-217.

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, the positions on this issue that Chong advances in “Bianxue” and “Song Zhang sheng fuju xu.” Ibid., pp. 218, 214.

<sup>46</sup> 「斯所以索聖人之道者也。」 Ibid., p. 214.

<sup>47</sup> In his “Tuishi zhuan,” Chong singles out Sima Qian 司馬遷 for particular condemnation in this regard.

Mencius' intent with regards to the sages' teachings receives much fuller treatment in Chong's "Shu Meng zhi erpian" 述孟志二篇.<sup>48</sup> In the short preface he penned for the work, Chong asserts that Mencius' text completely accords with the *dao* of the sages, and further explains that he composed these essays to defend Mencius against those who criticized him for not discoursing on the political methods of Guan Zhong 管仲, Duke Huan, and Duke Wen. In the first essay, he argues that Mencius' intent was to continue the *dao* of Confucius, Yao 堯 and Yu 禹 by attempting to persuade rulers to implement benevolence, righteousness and ritual. He contrasts this style of rule with that practiced by hegemonies such as Huan and Wen, which emphasized the use of punishment and force over moral suasion, and concludes that Mencius was correct to repudiate the hegemonic mode of government. In the second essay, Chong entertains the argument that these three men implemented policies appropriate to the time (*shi qi shi* 適其時) and that their actions did not necessarily contradict the sages' political objectives. Chong rejects this position and lays out in detail the differences between the conduct of the hegemonies and that of the sages, concluding that there was indeed a vast difference in their ruling styles.

This interest in discerning the intent of the sages and the purport of the classics also figured prominently in Chong's justifications of the eremitic lifestyle. Chong maintained that a key benefit of eremitism was that it increased one's focus and facilitated one's ability to grasp the sages' intentions. The ideal notion of reclusion that Chong presented in his writings was grounded in the Confucian belief that eremitism should be taken as an opportunity to prepare oneself to serve the state and implement good government. In "Ziming" 自明, Chong asserted that the sages themselves advocated this type of withdrawal, and that their method of preparation involved three steps: acquiring the intent (to realize political order), cultivating the mind, and illuminating the *dao*.<sup>49</sup>

Chong personally embraced this eremitic ideal, and he used his failure to live up to it as a reason for declining official service. In his "Xie Shi taiwei shu" 謝石太尉書, for example, he described how his talents failed to measure up to famous recluses from the past who succeeded in assisting the people and reinvigorating the state.<sup>50</sup> Chong's

<sup>48</sup> *QSW*, vol. 10, *juan* 206, pp. 215-217.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

biography in the *Songshi* records a conversation with Chen Yaosou in which he declines a promotion because he felt he had nothing of substance to offer the emperor.<sup>51</sup> And, in the “Duanju fu” 端居賦, he states that he preferred a life of reclusion to the prospect of serving in a position that he was not qualified to occupy.<sup>52</sup>

While these types of self-effacing statements can be read as polite expressions of humility, given Chong’s record of service, and his frequent requests to return to Mt. Zhongnan, it seems likely that they contained a grain of truth. Indeed, Chong’s fondness for, and defense of, the eremitic life is a key theme in the “Tuishi zhuan.” In this autobiographical essay, Chong describes how he came to reject his family’s tradition of learning and seek the *dao* for himself by reading the classics, the histories, and the works of philosophers. He moreover identifies his intellectual objectives with the larger project of propagating and defending the *dao* of the sages championed by the proponents of *guwen*. Like the advocates of *guwen*, he praised the power of written texts to spread this *dao* and lay bare the faults of those who contravened it. Yet, in contrast to the majority of *guwen* thinkers who sought to attain positions of political influence, Chong extolled the virtues of reclusion, praising the value of losing himself in the beauty of the mountains and the solitude of his hermitage. This approbation of the eremitic life is also found in several of Chong’s surviving poems, where he champions the benefits of reclusion over a life at court.<sup>53</sup>

The foregoing analysis of Chong’s thought demonstrates that he embraced many of the intellectual positions advanced within *guwen*. He promoted the lineage of former worthies, criticized the deleterious effects of Buddhism, maintained that classical exegesis should be aimed at uncovering the intent of the sages, and asserted that written texts could suppress heterodox teachings and spread the *dao*. Despite his interest in the classics, and his later inclusion in several lineages of *Yi* learning, it is noteworthy that his surviving writings fail to discuss the *Yi* at any length. He mentions the text on only three

<sup>51</sup> See Tuotuo et al., *Songshi*, *juan* 457, p. 5529.

<sup>52</sup> *QSW*, vol. 10, *juan* 206, pp. 209-210.

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, his poems titled “Jihuai” 寄懷, “Ji erhua yinzhe” 寄二華隱者, and “Xiari shanju” 夏日山居. *QSS*, vol. 2, *juan* 72, pp. 819-820. For a cursory analysis of these poems, see Wang Guolin 汪國林, “Shilun Songchu fangwai shiren xue Bai ji qi shizuo: yi Shi Zhiyuan, Zhu Zhenbai, Chong Fang wei li 試論宋初方外詩人學白及其詩作——以釋智圓、朱貞白、种放為例,” *Lanzhou wenli xueyuan xuebao* (*shehui kexue ban*) 蘭州文理學院學報 (社會科學版), 30 (2014), pp. 68-73.

occasions, twice in connection with other classics, and once in a quote by an anonymous interlocutor who questions his decision to live as a recluse.<sup>54</sup> In addition, Chong explicitly repudiates the mantic arts in the “Tuishi zhuan,” a position at odds with later stories that have Chong seeking his fortune from Chen Tuan.<sup>55</sup> While only a small portion of Chong’s literary output survives, the above facts, and the absence of any contemporary sources that make note of his *Yi* learning, require that we carefully examine how and why Chong came to be regarded as master of the text.

#### 4. Depictions of Chong in Song *Biji*

The above descriptions of Chong’s political career and thought reveal that he led an extraordinary, and highly controversial, life. It was no doubt because of this that he became the subject of numerous anecdotes, which were recorded in nearly twenty different *biji* from the Song. These anecdotes can be categorized under four main topics: his reclusive lifestyle and devotion to his mother; the extraordinary favor that Zhenzong bestowed upon him; his conflicts with officials, in particular Yang Yi 楊億 (974-1020) and Wang Sizong; and the different prognostications that Chen Tuan divined about his fate. The events informing the first three topics are all clearly attested to in the *Changbian*, in Chong’s own writings, and in the writings of Chong’s contemporaries. In contrast, his connection with Chen Tuan first appears in two *biji* compiled by the monk Wenying 文瑩 (?-?) in the 1070s – the *Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄 and the *Yuhu qinghua* 玉壺清話. In these and other late Northern Song *biji*, which contain the earliest records of a link between the two men, we can see the beginnings of the process whereby Chong came to be identified as Chen’s disciple and placed in lineages of *Yi* learning.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *QSW*, vol. 10, *juan* 206, pp. 209, 214, 218.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.

<sup>56</sup> Chong’s earlier reputation as a recluse and imperial favorite were never completely subsumed by his later image as a master of the *Yi*. For an insightful analysis of the process whereby new images of historical figures came to contest, and oftentimes partially supplant older ones, see Prasenjit Duara, “Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War,” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 47.4 (1988), pp. 778-795. For a study of how tales about notable historical figures were appropriated and altered by literati authors, see Sarah M. Allen, *Shifting Stories: History, Gossip and Lore in Narratives from Tang Dynasty*

Before analyzing the stories connecting Chen and Chong, it is necessary to first assess earlier writings in order to determine how Chong was portrayed prior to the compilation of these *biji*. In addition to the funerary inscription Fan Zhongyan composed for Chong's nephew, discussed above, Chong receives mention in a piece by Su Song 蘇頌 (1020-1101) on the merits of rewarding Wang Sizong with a posthumous title. Su recounts the conflict between Chong and Wang, condemns Chong's disreputable conduct in this affair, and praises Wang's decision to stand up to him.<sup>57</sup> In a similarly critical portrayal titled "Shu Chong Fang shi" 書种放事, Wang Hui 王回 (1023-1065) lambastes Chong for failing to step up when Zhenzong offered him a high-ranking position and for abandoning his filial duties by refusing to marry and have offspring.<sup>58</sup> In contrast to Su and Wang, the *guwen* thinkers Shi Jie 石介 (1005-1045) and Sun Fu 孫復 (992-1057) discuss Chong in a more positive light, identifying him as an example of the court finding talented men in the hinterlands and noting his contributions to the propagation of *guwen*.<sup>59</sup> Finally, Chong's biographical entry in the *Longping ji* discusses his mother's influence on his decision to become a recluse, the content of his writings, his recommendations to office, the favoritism showed to him by Zhenzong, his conflict with Wang Sizong, and the circumstances surrounding his death. The descriptions of Chong found in the above pieces by and large corroborate information found in various historical records and in Chong's own writings; they neither make note of his *Yi* learning nor mention any connection with Chen Tuan.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to the information found in the above works, Chong is also discussed briefly in two *biji* that predate the 1070s – Yang Yi's *Yang Wengong tanyuan* 楊文公談苑 and Wang Junyu's 王君玉 (?-?) *Guolao tanyuan* 國老談苑. The entry concerning Chong in the *Yang Wengong tanyuan* describes the reasons why Chong refused the imperial summons issued by Taizong in 992. Yang, who served at the same time as Chong and, by all reports, held him in disdain, asserts that a confidante advised Chong to decline Taizong's summons, assuring him that doing so would result in the bestowal of

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*China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014).

<sup>57</sup> *QSW*, vol. 61, *juan* 1322, pp. 64-65.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 69, *juan* 1515, pp. 367-368.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 19, *juan* 401, pp. 292-293; vol. 29, *juan* 621, pp. 217-218.

<sup>60</sup> Zeng Gong, *Longping ji*, *juan* 13, pp. 131-132.

even greater rewards. Yang also provides an account of the circumstances surrounding the emperor's conferral of funeral expenses for Chong's mother that accords with that found in historical documents from the period.<sup>61</sup> Interestingly, the text has a separate lengthy entry on Chen Tuan, which does not disclose the existence of any type of personal relationship between the two men.

The two entries in Wang Junyu's *Guolao tanyuan* that concern Chong are very brief.<sup>62</sup> The first identifies Chong as a Mt. Zhongnan recluse who cared for his mother, refused to marry, farmed his own food, and had hundreds of students. The second describes an imperial banquet given in Chong's honor after he requested to return to his mountain hermitage. The entry notes that the attendees took turns composing poems, and that instead of crafting a poem, Du Gao 杜鎬 (938-1013), decided to poke fun at Chong by reciting the *Beishan yiwen* 北山移文, the Six Dynasties work composed by Kong Zhigui 孔稚珪 (447-501) that ridiculed the discrepancy between the hermit Zhou Yong's 周顥 (?-493) conduct before and after his official service. As was the case with the *Yang Wengong tanyuan*, Chong's *Yi* learning and relationship with Chen Tuan are not noted.

In addition to the above two texts, anecdotes about Chong also appear in several *biji* that date from the 1070s and 1080s, roughly around the same time as those written by Wenying. Sima Guang's 司馬光 (1019-1086) *Sushui jiwen* 涑水紀聞 contains two entries on Chong: the first depicts his conflict with Wang Sizong and the second lists the various rewards and offices he received over the course of his official career.<sup>63</sup> Kong Pingzhong 孔平仲 (1044-1111), in his *Tanyuan* 談苑, recounts Yang Yi's low opinion of Chong, and how Zhenzong rebuffed Yang's criticisms by presenting him with Chong's in-depth policy prescriptions.<sup>64</sup> And Guo Ruoxu's 郭若虛 (?-?) *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖

<sup>61</sup> Yang Yi, *Yang Wengong tanyuan*, in *Song Yuan biji xiaoshuo daguan* 宋元筆記小說大觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), p. 527.

<sup>62</sup> Wang Junyu, *Guolao tanyuan*, in Yan Yiping (ed.), *Yuanke yingyin baibu congshu jicheng*, *Baichuan xuehai* 原刻景印百部叢書集成·百川學海 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1966), *juan* 2, pp. 3, 6.

<sup>63</sup> Sima Guang, *Sushui jiwen*, in Yan Yiping 嚴一萍 (ed.), *Yuanke yingyin baibu congshu jicheng*, *Wuying dian juzhen banye shu* 原刻景印百部叢書集成·武英殿聚珍版業書 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1966), *juan* 6, pp. 1-2, 15-16.

<sup>64</sup> Kong Pingzhong, *Tanyuan*, in Yan Yiping (ed.), *Yuanke yingyin baibu congshu jicheng*, *Baoyantang miji* 原刻景印百部叢書集成·寶顏堂秘笈 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1966), *juan* 4, p. 3. In the entry,

畫見聞志 records a story of when Zhenzong, out on imperial tour, dispatched an emissary to summon Chong.<sup>65</sup> Chong used the pretext of illness to refuse the summons, prompting a disappointed Zhenzong to ask what Chong was doing when the emissary arrived at his hermitage. The emissary responded that he was sitting in a thatched room looking at a painting, a fact that elicited Zhenzong's approval and moved him to reward Chong with over forty scrolls of paintings. As was the case with earlier *biji* by Yang Yi and Wang Junyu, these later works do not cite the existence of any relationship with Chen.

Before turning to an analysis of the *biji* that mention a connection between Chong and Chen, it would be prudent to first clarify my view on the value of *biji* as historical sources in connection with this particular problem. First, even though the earliest documented links between Chong and Chen in the surviving textual record occur in the pages of *biji*, it is not my contention that the authors of these *biji* fabricated their association out of whole cloth or that anecdotes connecting the two men did not have earlier provenance, for it is certainly possible that such anecdotes circulated orally prior to their being put down in writing or that other written accounts attesting to their relationship have not survived to the present. The *biji* discussed here are useful in that they furnish a partial record of the stories about Chong that were in circulation at different points in time. They moreover provide a *terminus ad quem* for the appearance of specific details and storylines, enabling us to get a rough idea of how Chong's image changed and developed over time. Second, the incomplete nature of the textual record with respect to both Chen and Chong complicates the postulation of definitive conclusions regarding their relationship. It is impossible to determine the provenance or adjudicate the veracity of many of the claims found in these stories; all we have are the dates when they were written down and authorial assurances of their accuracy. Yet, despite these limitations, the anecdotes recorded in *biji* provide important, and hitherto neglected, clues as to how Chong came to be associated with Chen and his *Yi* learning, and a close reading of their content has the potential to clarify several factors informing the membership of Song *Yi*

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Kong references ten political memorials, a figure that differs from the thirteen memorials identified in the *Longping ji*. Given the amount of information on Chong's writings that survives, it is impossible to determine which figure is correct.

<sup>65</sup> Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, in Yan Yiping (ed.), *Yuanke yingyin baibu congshu jicheng, Xuejin taoyuan* 原刻景印百部叢書集成·學津討原 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1966), *juan* 6, pp. 3-4.

lineages.

As noted above, the anecdotes contained in Wenying's *biji* are the first references in the surviving textual record that Chong had any association with Chen Tuan.<sup>66</sup> As was relatively common for monks of his time, Wenying befriended numerous literati and took a strong interest in secular affairs.<sup>67</sup> The *biji* he compiled, which appear to have circulated widely, recounted sundry events about consequential political and intellectual figures from the beginning of the dynasty until the *xining* 熙寧 reign period (1068-1077). For the purposes of the present study, it is important to point out that both the *Xiangshan yelu* and the *Yuhu qinghua* contain numerous factual errors, which have been identified by later literati as well as modern scholars.<sup>68</sup> Analyses of these texts have demonstrated that Wenying recorded several stories which contradicted more reliable information found in the historical record and which appear to have been based in rumor or hearsay.

Of the five entries that mention Chong in the *Xiangshan yelu* and the *Yuhu qinghua*, two recount events that tied Chong and Chen together. The first describes how Chen predicted Chong's political career and subsequent fall from grace long before his initial summons to court.<sup>69</sup> It states that when Chong was young, he went with his younger brother to visit Chen, presumably at his mountain hermitage on Mt. Hua (Huashan 華山). Chen foresaw that the brothers would be coming and after instructing his servant to only

<sup>66</sup> Although an entry in the *yiwen* 佚文 section of Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 (1007-1072) *Guitian lu* 歸田錄 describes a relationship between the two men, this entry is almost certainly a later interpolation as it matches almost verbatim an anecdote contained in Shao Bowen's *Shaoshi wenjian lu* 邵氏聞見錄. In the *Wuchao mingchen yanxing lu* 五朝名臣言行錄, which also records this passage, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) notes that he obtained it from Shao's text.

<sup>67</sup> On Wenying's relations with literati, see Gu Jichen 顧吉辰, "Xiangshan yelu de zuozhe Seng Wenying 《湘山野錄》的作者僧文瑩," *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究學刊, 2 (1987), pp. 27-31, 64.

<sup>68</sup> Li Tao identified several errors in Wenying's *biji*. See *Changbian*, *juan* 11, p. 244; *juan* 17, pp. 377-378; *juan* 98, pp. 2285-2287; *juan* 108, pp. 2526-2527. In addition, the compilers of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 make note of several later thinkers who disputed the veracity of claims made in Wenying's *biji*. See Ji Yun 紀昀 et al., *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目, *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 2 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), *juan* 89, pp. 829-830; *juan* 119, pp. 581-582; *juan* 140, pp. 963-964; *juan* 140, pp. 964-965; *juan* 141, p. 965; *juan* 143, pp. 1023-1024. For a contemporary study of the errors in these works, see Xu Gui 徐規, "Xiangshan yelu, Yuhu qinghua dingwu 《湘山野錄》《玉壺清話》訂誤," *Wenxian* 文獻, 4 (1997), pp. 155-169.

<sup>69</sup> Shi Wenying, *Xiangshan yelu*, in *Tang Song shiliao biji congan* 唐宋史料筆記叢刊 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), *juan* 1, pp. 6-7.

allow Chong Fang in for an audience, he presented him with the following prognostication: he would befriend the emperor, he would fail to pass the exams, and he would be brought down late in life by power and wealth. Chong did not reply to Chen's divination, but instead asked to study his techniques for living simply (*sulü zhi shu* 素履之術), a phrase taken from the *lü* 履 hexagram of the *Yijing*. Chen responded by stating that if Chong were to reduce his desires, he could live out his years. The entry ends by stating that Chong followed Chen's advice by not marrying or taking concubines, dying at the age of sixty-one.<sup>70</sup>

The second anecdote, found in the *Yuhu qinghua*, provides a more detailed description of Chen's accurate auguring of Chong's fate.<sup>71</sup> In the entry, which opens with a brief account of Chen's life and exploits, Wenying identifies Chong as Chen's disciple (*menren* 門人). He quotes a warning that Chen purportedly once issued to Chong, saying that he would meet with an enlightened ruler and that his fame would extend throughout the empire. The quotation continues with a fuller account of the points made in the above entry from the *Xiangshan yelu*, with Chen admonishing Chong about the perils of fame, and predicting that he would be destroyed by his desire for material things. The entry then describes how Chong's avarice led to his dispute with Wang Sizong, and recounts his fall from grace thereafter. It ends by narrating the circumstances prior to Chong's death, when he purportedly donned Daoist robes, gathered his students together to drink, burned his writings, and passed after quaffing several cups of wine.

The next extant *biji* that records stories about Chong and Chen is Wang Pizhi's 王闢之 (1031-?) *Shengshui yantanlu* 澗水燕談錄, which dates to 1089. Of the five entries that center on Chong in the text, one contains an anecdote that adds new information to earlier stories about how Chen predicted Chong's fate.<sup>72</sup> In the anecdote, Chong journeys to see Chen after failing the official exams, and Chen informs him that he will become a standout in the future provided he keeps traveling until coming across a panther.

<sup>70</sup> On the widespread practice of divination among Song literati, see Liao Hsien-huei, "Exploring Weal and Woe: The Song Elites' Mantic Beliefs and Practices," *T'oung Pao*, 91.4-5 (2005), pp. 347-395.

<sup>71</sup> Shi Wenying, *Yuhu qinghua*, in *Tang Song shiliao biji congkan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), *juan* 8, pp. 76-77.

<sup>72</sup> Wang Pizhi, *Shengshui yantanlu*, in *Tang Song shiliao biji congkan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), *juan* 4, p. 46.

Following his consideration of this advice, Chong decided to locate his hermitage in the Panther Forest Valley of Mt. Zhongnan. Wang then provides the obligatory confirmation that Chen's prediction came true. Thus, in contrast to earlier tales where Chen attempts to warn Chong that avarice will bring about his downfall, here we see him providing the conditions necessary for Chong to embark on his predetermined journey.

The final *biji* from this period that contains an anecdote linking Chen together with Chong is Shao Bowen's *Shaoshi wenjian lu*.<sup>73</sup> In the entry, Shao notes that Chong went to visit Chen after he had already established his hermitage in the Panther Forest Valley of Mt. Zhongnan. Chong approached as a simple woodcutter, and upon greeting him Chen immediately pronounced that he would be a high-ranking official and that his fame would redound to all corners of the empire. Chong responded by denying any interest in such worldly matters, stating that he had come to inquire into the meaning of the *dao*. Chen smiled and replied that Chong could not choose his destiny. In the latter half of the entry, Shao writes that Chen also helped Chong divine an auspicious location for his ancestral burial plot under the Panther Forest Valley. Chen purportedly predicted that the gravesite would ensure that the Chong clan would produce successive generations of famous generals, which of course they did. Finally, Shao observes that Chong erected a stele for Chen at the site where he transformed into an immortal, which praised his learning as "elucidating the *dao* of emperors and kings" (*ming huangdi wangbo zhi dao* 明皇帝王伯之道).

Although the content of the above stories differs in certain respects, their central narrative thrusts are more or less of a piece. They all place Chen in a position of authority, and have Chong approaching Chen for advice on a specific matter, be it self-cultivation, the meaning of the *dao*, the best location for a burial plot, or how to proceed after failing the official exams. Upon seeing Chong, Chen immediately recognizes his extraordinary destiny and counsels that it will be impossible for him to fulfill his desire of living simply as a hermit. In two of the anecdotes, Chen moreover predicts his future conflict with Wang Sizong and warns Chong that he will be brought down by avarice. These stories thus portray Chen as a master of the mantic arts and Chong as his client, hoping to attain

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<sup>73</sup> Shao Bowen, *Shaoshi wenjian lu*, in *Tang Song shiliao biji congan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), *juan* 7, pp. 69-70.

instruction or advice on specific matters.

In addition to arrogating to Chen a position of knowledge and authority, these anecdotes also contain snippets of information that may have contributed to Chong's identification as Chen's disciple and transmitter of his *Yi* learning. First, the *biji* record that the two men lived in close physical proximity, with Chen's residence on Mt. Hua only a short sojourn from Mt. Zhongnan. Second, the entry contained in Shao Bowen's *Shaoshi wenjian lu* asserts that Chong visited Chen to inquire into the meaning of the *dao*, and that he erected a stele praising Chen's illumination of it following his transformation into an immortal. And third, the stories in Wenying's *biji* identify Chong as Chen's disciple and moreover note that he hoped to learn the techniques of "living simply," a phrase derived from the *Yi*.

The information contained in the above *biji* that ties the two men together in a master-disciple relationship is admittedly sparse; yet, it does provide written evidence of a rudimentary association that was available to later thinkers intent on constructing lineages of *Yi* learning. As we shall see, the men who advanced these lineages – Chao Yuezhi, Shao Bowen, and Zhu Zhen – posited different membership lists and lines of transmission. This suggests either that they did not have access to concrete, verifiable information on the history of early Song *Yi* exegesis or that they had their own reasons for including and excluding specific individuals, reasons that were undoubtedly tied to their personal intellectual objectives. In the following section, I briefly examine their lineage discourse and their decision to use Chong to provide a temporally credible link between Chen and later generations of *Yi* scholars.

## 5. Chong's Placement in Lineages of *Yi* Learning

In the early decades of the twelfth century, Chao Yuezhi, Shao Bowen, and Zhu Zhen began to use lineages to promote the historical provenance, and intellectual legitimacy, of certain traditions of *Yi* learning that had become important during their day. Although the specific lineages proposed by the three men differed in certain respects, they shared a concern with establishing the school of "image and number" (*xiangshu xuepai* 象數學派) as an important and viable hermeneutic approach to the text. They

moreover identified Chen Tuan as the founding figure of Song dynasty *Yi* learning,<sup>74</sup> and asserted that his views on the *Yi* informed the interpretations of an intellectually diverse set of later exegetes such as Liu Mu 劉牧 (?-?), Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077), and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107). They maintained that Chen's learning, which was diagrammatic rather than textual in nature, was passed down orally through a series of master-disciple relationships.<sup>75</sup> This claim of person-to-person transmission at the very least mandated that they devise a lineage of teachers and students that was temporally viable. It was this concern, I would argue, that resulted in Chong's placement in these lineages. Put simply, extant evidence points to the conclusion that Chong was chosen as a placeholder, a position made reasonable by the anecdotes recorded in *biji* linking him with Chen, and in spite of the fact that his surviving writings reveal little interest in the *Yi*.

As is well known, during the Song, lineages became an important means of legitimating intellectual traditions. Writings from the period indicate that the initial idea to create lineages of Song dynasty *Yi* learning probably began with Chao Yuezhi, or

<sup>74</sup> Much of what has been passed down on Chen's life and thought is not trustworthy. As was the case with Chong, most of the information we have on his *Yi* learning dates from long after his death. The most reliable Song description of Chen's life and learning is found in Zhang Fangping's 張方平 (1007-1091) "Huashan chongxiu Yuntaiguan ji" 華山重修雲臺觀記, which dates to 1067. In the inscription, Zhang notes that "Tuan was fond of reading the *Yi* and never put it down" (*Tuan haodu yi, shou bushi juan* 搏好讀易·手不釋卷). Yet, although Zhang lists several of Chen's works, he does not mention any specific composition on the *Yi*. See *QSW*, vol. 38, *juan* 817, pp. 157-159. Later sources indicate that Chen purportedly authored a work, now lost, titled the *Yi longtu* 易龍圖. The *Yi longtu* is recorded in the *Songshi yiwenzhi* 宋史藝文志, and a preface attributed to Chen survives; however, no writings by Chen are documented in either the *Junzhai dushu zhi* or *Zhizhai shulu jieti*, despite the fact that the latter work invokes Chen's place as the progenitor of this lineage several times. For contemporary studies of Chen Tuan's life and *Yi* learning, see Xu Zhaoren 徐兆仁, "Songshi Chen Tuan zhuan pangkao 宋史陳搏傳旁考," *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊, 1 (1999), pp. 81-84; Hu Xiao 胡曉, "Chen Tuan shengping shiji shulun 陳搏生平事迹述論," *Anhui shixue* 安徽史學, 5 (2007), pp. 31-37; Li Shen 李申, *Yitu kao* 易圖考 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), pp. 168-171; Zhu Bokun, *Yixue zhaxue shi*, pp. 9-30.

<sup>75</sup> The Qing scholar Hu Wei 胡渭 (1633-1714) compared the construction of these lineages to the situation in the Han, when *Yi* scholars regularly claimed that their ideas had originated with earlier figures. Although he did not question the assertion that Chong was a key proponent of the text, he argued that later intellectuals in this lineage falsely identified Chong as the progenitor of their learning in an effort to lend legitimacy to their views. In a separate passage, he contended that the interpretations of several later thinkers in these lineages differed substantially from the *Yi* learning espoused by Chen Tuan. See Hu Wei, *Yitu mingbian* 易圖明辨, in Yan Yiping (ed.), *Yuanke yingyin baibu congshu jicheng, Shoushang congshu* 原刻景印百部叢書集成·守山閣叢書, *juan* 4, pp. 3-4; *juan* 3, pp. 34-35.

resulted from a collaborative effort between Chao and Shao Bowen.<sup>76</sup> The earliest work that mentions *Yi* lineages is an inscription Chao penned in 1107 for a shrine on Mt. Hua dedicated to the transmission of *Yi* learning (the Chuan *Yi* tang 傳易堂).<sup>77</sup> According to Chao, the shrine originally served as Chen Tuan's ancestral hall (*citang* 祠堂); however, its function later changed after images of Chong Fang and Shao Yong were painted alongside that of Chen by local recluses. In the inscription, which Chao indicates was written at Shao Bowen's urging, Chao laid out his conception of the development of *Yi* learning from antiquity to the Song, giving particular emphasis to the *xiangshu* school of *Yi* exegesis that he supported.

Chao began the inscription, titled "Chuan *Yi* tang ji" 傳易堂記, by tracing the *Yi*'s transmission from the ancient sages to Han exegetes. He argued that during this period knowledge of the *Yi* was passed down via master-disciple relationships and that it was not until Tian He 田何 (?-?), who lived in the Western Han, that the content of the *Yi* came to be written down.<sup>78</sup> He continued by criticizing Wang Bi's 王弼 (226-249) *yili* 義理 (meaning and pattern) based interpretation of the text, arguing that it was too heavily influenced by Daoist thought. According to Chao, Wang's views held sway for the next several hundred years, and although there occasionally arose "great men" (*weiren* 偉人) who were able to penetrate the profundities of the *Yi* by themselves, they failed to have their teachings continued by their students. This situation changed in the Song with Chen Tuan, for unlike the "great men" of the past, he managed to successfully transmit his learning via two separate lineages of disciples.

The first lineage consisted of the following individuals:

Chen Tuan→Chong Fang→Mu Xiu 穆修 (979-1032)→Li Zhicai 李之才  
(980-1045)→Shao Yong

<sup>76</sup> An important precursor to their more fully formed positions was Cheng Hao's 程顥 (1032-1085) 1077 funerary inscription for Shao Yong, which advanced the claim that Shao's learning was passed down from Mu Xiu and Li Zhicai, two intellectuals who played important roles in these lineages. See *QSW*, vol. 79, *juan* 1736, pp. 360-361.

<sup>77</sup> At the end of the inscription, Chao explicitly states that Bowen asked him to write it. *Ibid.*, vol. 130, *juan* 2815, p. 264.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262-264.

In connection with this lineage, Chao asserts that although Su Shunqin 蘇舜欽 (1009-1049) also studied with Mu Xiu,<sup>79</sup> Mu's *Yi* learning was only passed down to Li Zhicai.<sup>80</sup> He moreover singles out Shao for particular praise, noting that his exemplary talents and work ethic enabled him to greatly clarify the connections between Heaven, Earth and man as well as the principles underlying change. Finally, in what can be read as an attempt to circumvent the problem that several members of this lineage lacked any extant writings on the *Yi*, Chao contends that this transmission did not occur through texts, but rather was conducted orally, through person-to-person instruction, just like the situation in antiquity.

Chao continued the inscription by referencing a second lineage, which diverged from the first following Chong Fang's instruction of another disciple, Fan Echang 范諤昌 (?-?).<sup>81</sup> The membership of this second lineage included:

Chen Tuan→Chong Fang→Fan Echang→Liu Mu→Huang Xi 黃晞 (997-1057) and Chen Chunchen 陳純臣 (?-?)<sup>82</sup>

While this lineage shared the same origins as the first, Chao suggests that the learning advocated by its members differed from, and lacked the profundity of, Shao's doctrines.

<sup>79</sup> In his "Ai Mu xiansheng wen" 哀穆先生文, Su Shunqin maintains that soon after Mu's death, he had a difficult time compiling Mu's surviving writings, noting that what he could find did not amount to a single *juan*. Ibid., vol. 41, *juan* 881, pp. 136-138. Similarly, in his preface to Mu's literary compilation titled "Henan Mugong jixu" 河南穆公集序, Zu Wuze 祖無擇 (1011-1085) contends that despite contacting Mu's old friends and family, he only managed to recover three *juan* of his compositions. Ibid., vol. 43, *juan* 935, pp. 311-312. These pieces suggest that Mu's writings did not circulate widely and that little effort was made to preserve them. In addition, in the above pieces neither author mentions that Mu wrote on, or had any particular interest in, the *Yi*.

<sup>80</sup> The *Jingyi kao* 經義考 records that Li Zhicai composed two works on the *Yi*, the *Guabian fandui tu* 卦變反對圖 and the *Liushisi gua xiangsheng tu* 六十四卦相生圖. See Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊, *Jingyi kao dianjiao buzheng* 經義考點校補正, eds. Lin Ching-chang 林慶彰 et al. (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiusuo, 1997), vol. 1, *juan* 16, pp. 377-378.

<sup>81</sup> According to the *Jingyi kao*, Fan Echang wrote two texts on the *Yi*, the *Dayi yuanliu tu* 大易源流圖 and the *Yizheng zhuijian* 易證墜簡. In the preface to the latter text, Fan indicates that his *Yi* learning was attained from Li Chuyue 李處約 (?-?), who in turn was instructed by Xu Jian 許堅 (?-?). Importantly, Chong is not listed as Fan's teacher in the preface. Ibid., *juan* 17, pp. 379-383.

<sup>82</sup> Liu Mu's works on the *Yi* include: the *Xinzhu Zhouyi* 新注周易, the *Guade tonglun* 卦德通論, the *Zhouyi xianru yilun jiushi* 周易先儒遺論九事, and the *Yishu gouyin tu* 易數鉤隱圖. Ibid., *juan* 15, pp. 358-362. Huang Xi composed one work on the text titled *Yiyi* 易義.

Finally, it is important to point out that, besides Chen Tuan, Chong is the only individual found in both lineages.

The second key piece in which Chao discussed these lineages of *Yi* learning, a biography of Li Zhicai, titled “Li Tingzhi zhuan” 李挺之傳, also shows signs of Shao Bowen’s influence.<sup>83</sup> Although Chao does not state directly that Bowen asked him to write the biography, he does include a short quote from Bowen at its denouement, which identifies Li as Shao Yong’s teacher and describes the close friendship that Li shared with Yin Yuan 尹源 (1005-1054). In addition, Chao includes a dialogue between Li and Shao Yong that matches quite closely with one found in Bowen’s *Yixue bianhuo* 易學辨惑. With respect to *Yi* lineages, Chao mentions only the first iteration, tracing it from Li back through Mu Xiu, Chong Fang and Chen Tuan. He notes that Shao Yong received instruction from Li and indicates that he was next in the line of succession. Finally, Chao reiterates a key claim made in the “Chuan *Yi* tang ji” concerning the learning of this lineage, noting that it was grounded in the “image and number” exegetical tradition.

Given that Chao only mentions *Yi* lineages in the above two essays, and that they do not figure in the numerous other writings he produced on the *Yi*, his reasons for proposing them are unclear. His invocation of *Yi* lineages may have been inspired by the specific occasions that gave rise to these pieces – an inscription for a shrine commemorating the *Yi*’s transmission and a biography devoted to demonstrating Li Zhicai’s intellectual import. It may also have been the case that he decided to write about *Yi* lineages in response to Shao Bowen’s requests. In any case, it is important to note that he chose not to invoke lineages in two other pieces that lent themselves to doing so. In these essays, which date from the 1120s, he describes how he received instruction, and attained several of Shao Yong’s diagrams, from a former student of Shao’s named Yang Baoxian 楊寶賢 (?-?).<sup>84</sup> The implicit goal of these writings was to situate himself as the heir to Shao’s learning; however, he does not cite lineage to legitimate either Shao’s or his own interpretation of the *Yi*. This suggests that Chao’s views on lineage may have changed or that he may not have regarded it as a particularly effective means of promoting his views

<sup>83</sup> *QSW*, vol. 130, *juan* 2817, pp. 302-304.

<sup>84</sup> The essays are the “Taiji zhuan houxu” 太極傳後序 and the “Kangjie xiansheng shiyi houji” 康節先生謚議後記. *Ibid.*, vol. 130, *juan* 2804, pp. 65-66; *juan* 2806, pp. 101-102.

on the text. Finally, it is important to stress that in his discussions of these lineages Chao evinces no evidence that Chong Fang wrote on, or had opinions about, the *Yi*.

As noted above, Chao's friend, Shao Bowen, also composed an important work in which he promoted these lineages of *Yi* learning – the *Yixue bianhuo*.<sup>85</sup> In this text, Shao set out to defend his father's (Shao Yong) *yixue* from individuals who falsely claimed to be his intellectual heirs. In particular, in the preface to the work, Shao notes that he wrote the text to refute an entry in Shen Gua's 沈括 (1031-1095) *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談, which suggested that Zheng Guai's 鄭夬 (?-?) theory on hexagram changes (*guabian zhi shuo* 卦變之說) was derived from Shao Yong. In the *Yixue bianhuo*, Shao Bowen claimed that any similarities between their ideas were superficial, and further that they resulted from a despicable case of intellectual perfidy. According to Shao, Zheng had bribed a servant to steal writings held by Shao's student, Wang Yu 王豫 (?-?), while Wang was on his death bed. He maintained, however, that Zheng could not have truly grasped Shao's *Yi* learning by simply reading these texts, for correct understanding required personal instruction from Shao. To bolster this point, Bowen referenced the first lineage of *Yi* learning proposed by Chao, and stressed that its transmission occurred through direct teacher-disciple instruction. Since Zheng was not Shao's student, his ideas were heterodox; while he tried to appropriate his ideas, he could not but fail to grasp their fundamental purport.

Shao proposed two separate lineages in the *Yixue bianhuo* that mirrored those advanced in Chao's "Chuan *Yi* tang ji." The first, which centered on the transmission of diagrams tied to the *Yi*, is noteworthy for excluding Chong Fang, and claiming that Mu Xiu was Chen Tuan's intellectual heir. The second, which Shao identified with Chen's *xiangxue* 象學 (learning of images) was described as an ancillary branch, and it departed from Chao's by inserting Xu Jian between Chong Fang and Fan Echang.<sup>86</sup> Perhaps because it did not include his father, Bowen decided not to elaborate on this second

<sup>85</sup> The *Yixue bianhuo*'s exact date of composition is unclear, but in the text Shao references Chao Yuezhi's "Kangjie xiansheng shiyi houji," which is dated to 1122. The work thus must have been composed after that date. Shao Bowen, *Yixue bianhuo*, *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 9.

<sup>86</sup> As was the case with Chong Fang, bibliographic records from the Song do not record Xu as having composed any works on the *Yi*. There is also no evidence that he and Chong knew one another or entered into a teacher-disciple relationship. His inclusion in this lineage probably stemmed from Fan's identification of Xu as the progenitor of his *Yi* learning in his preface to the *Yizheng zhuijian*.

lineage, noting only that it was responsible for transmitting Chen's *xiangxue* to the south.

Shao devotes a large portion of his discussion regarding the first lineage to Chen Tuan in an attempt to appropriate and redefine Chen's reputation. He asserts that while his contemporaries know Chen primarily as a master of immortality techniques and as a promoter of moral integrity, these aspects of his persona only scratched the surface of his true identity, which, Shao argues, was intricately connected to the *Yijing*. Like Chao, Shao situates the origins of Chen's *Yi* learning in high antiquity, asserting that its provenance stretched back to the sage-king Fu Xi 伏羲. He differed from Chao, however, in insisting on an unbroken line of transmission, which was at times hidden, but nonetheless never experienced a discontinuation. He moreover maintained that his father, in addition to being heir to this learning, also altered and supplemented it in important ways. As a result, Zheng Guai could only have truly grasped Shao Yong's understanding of the *Yi* by studying the text with him.

In the *Yixue bianhuo*, Shao thus put forth a four-fold strategy to vouchsafe his father's learning: first, demonstrate to the reader that he knows detailed facts about the lineage members' lives; second, amid this extensive biographical information assert the existence of a teacher-disciple relationship; third, stipulate that their *Yi* learning was the product of an unbroken line of transmission that extended back to antiquity; and fourth, argue that each teacher's knowledge of the *Yi* was only passed down to the next individual in the lineage. In this way, he sought to nullify any possibility that outsiders, such as Zheng Guai, could have understood the text correctly.<sup>87</sup>

The final individual from the early twelfth century who crafted lineages of *Yi* learning in which Chong played an important role was Zhu Zhen. The most famous expression of these lineages is found in his "Jin *Zhouyi* biao" 進周易表, written on the occasion of submitting his writings on the *Yi* to court in the early 1130s.<sup>88</sup> In the memorial, Zhu begins by tracing the exegetical history of the text, emphasizing the rift

<sup>87</sup> Given this strategy, it is strange that Bowen decided to omit Chong Fang from the first lineage. Bowen's argument depended on one key claim: that the members of this lineage lived at the same time and could have known one another. However, there was a rather obvious problem with his assertion that Mu Xiu studied with Chen Tuan. Other texts such as the *Longping ji* and the *Yang wengong tanyuan* record that Chen announced his death (or date of transitioning to immortality) to the court in 989, at which time Mu Xiu would have been only ten years of age.

<sup>88</sup> See *QSW*, vol. 142, *juan* 3061, pp. 185-187.

that occurred between the *xiangshu* and *yili* traditions with the advent of Wang Bi's Daoist influenced reading. He continues by delineating three distinct lineages that were responsible for transmitting several important diagrams during the Song. The first lineage, which transmitted the *Xiantian tu* 先天圖, consisted of:

Chen Tuan→Chong Fang→Mu Xiu→Li Zhicai→Shao Yong.

The second, which concerned the *Hetu* 河圖 and *Luoshu* 洛書, was comprised of:

(Chen Tuan)→Chong Fang→Li Gai 李溉 (?-?)→Xu Jian→Fan Echang→Liu Mu.<sup>89</sup>

And the third, which concerned the *Taiji tu* 太極圖, had the following members:

Mu Xiu→Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073)→Cheng Yi and Cheng Hao.<sup>90</sup>

After laying out these lineages, Zhu stresses that, despite their different areas of focus, the positions advocated within them were nonetheless compatible with one another. He then trumpets his personal capacity to uncover these points of commonality, and demonstrate how they can shed light on the *Yi's dao*.

Zhu thus set out to be comprehensive and show how his unique hermeneutic perspective could synthesize these disparate traditions into a unified whole. His lineages are moreover noteworthy for focusing on specific diagrams as opposed to broader exegetical approaches to the text. In the “Jin *Zhouyi* biao,” as well as in his *Hanshang Yizhuan* 漢上易傳, Zhu maintains that Chong Fang played a key role in transmitting the

<sup>89</sup> The *Jingyi kao* records that Li Gai composed one work on the *Yi*, titled the *Guaqi tu* 卦氣圖. See Zhu Yizun, *Jingyi kao dianjiao buzheng*, vol. 1, *juan* 15, pp. 355-356. It is unclear whether Li Gai is the same person as Li Chuyue, who Fan Echang identified as the progenitor of his *Yi* learning.

<sup>90</sup> In his “Zhouzi *Taiji tongshu* houxu” 周子太極通書後序, Zhu Xi criticizes Zhu Zhen for claiming that Zhou Dunyi's *Taiji tu* was derived from Chong Fang and Mu Xiu, dismissing the suggestion that the learning of Chong and Mu, which Zhu pronounced inferior, could have influenced Zhou's thought. See *QSW*, vol. 250, *juan* 5619, pp. 304-305.

*Xiantian tu* as well as the *Hetu* and *Luoshu* to later generations.<sup>91</sup> The lineages tied to these diagrams roughly correspond to the first and second lineages proposed by Shao Bowen and Chao Yuezhi, the key difference being the inclusion of Li Gai in the secondary lineage. Again, like Shao and Chao, Zhu does not provide any evidence that Chong actually wrote on the *Yi* or had personal contact with Mu Xiu or Li Gai.

There is in fact no indication that Chong's inclusion in these lineages stemmed from anything he actually did, wrote or thought. Indeed, the different roles that Chao, Shao and Zhu attributed to him strongly suggests that his main criterion for membership was a presumed, yet unsubstantiated, relationship with Chen Tuan. The only textual evidence indicating the existence of such a relationship is found in *biji*, and it seems likely that the anecdotes recorded within these texts played a role in the decision to place Chong in these lineages. Yet, even if he only served as a convenient placeholder linking Chen with later figures whose ties to Shao Yong or Liu Mu could be more readily substantiated, his incorporation into lineages of *Yi* learning spurred an important transformation of his intellectual profile. Indeed, going forward, his earlier identity as a reluctant recluse, imperial favorite and proponent of *guwen* recede into the background, and come to be overshadowed by his newly constructed persona as a master of the *Yi*.

## 6. Conclusion

In this article, I have attempted to shed light on Chong Fang's eremitism, his career at court, his intellectual positions, and his subsequent transformation into a key disciple of Chen Tuan and proponent of the *Yi*. While a significant portion of Chong's writings have been lost, the pieces that do survive, together with the substantial information on Chong found in the historical record, provide a fairly coherent picture of his character and intellectual proclivities. These materials indicate that in spite of the favoritism shown to him by Zhenzong, Chong remained uncomfortable at court and consistently exploited opportunities to return to the eremitic life. In addition to providing justification for his

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<sup>91</sup> See Zhu Zhen. *Hanshang Yizhuan, Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 11 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), pp. 5, 309.

decision to become and continue living as a recluse, his surviving writings reveal that he supported mainstream *guwen* positions on literary composition, the classics and the *dao*. They do not indicate that he had any particular interest in the *Yijing*.

The unique circumstances of Chong's life became the subject of numerous stories, several of which found their way into the *biji* of the period. For the first few decades following his death, the stories documented in *biji* focused on events for which corroboration can be found in the historical record and/or his own writings. However, in the 1070s, a new narrative thread emerges in *biji*, linking Chong to Chen Tuan, a connection that is not attested to in other textual sources of the time. Extant materials suggest that these anecdotes, which placed Chen in a position of authority, contributed to Chong being identified as Chen's disciple. In the early twelfth century, Chao Yuezhi, Shao Bowen and Zhu Zhen more than likely took advantage of the associations found in these anecdotes to insert Chong into *Yi* lineages that were designed to further their own ideological objectives and promote the "image and number" tradition of *Yijing* exegesis.

Thus, in addition to shedding light on Chong's life, thought, and the factors influencing his intellectual legacy, this study also has important implications for our understanding of the history and development of Song dynasty *Yi* learning. While certain scholars since the Southern Song have expressed doubts about the authenticity of the *Yi* lineages in which Chong played a crucial role, their suspicions were for the most part grounded in incongruous factual information or what they perceived to be incompatible interpretive stances, not detailed analyses of the historical and textual record. As the only early member from these lineages for whom verifiable writings survive and for whom reliable historical data has been preserved, the extant information on Chong's life and learning is of vital importance for evaluating the veracity of this lineage discourse. Put simply, the absence of any clear proof tying Chong to the *Yi*, and the fact that the earliest records of his associations with Chen Tuan date from several decades following his death, provide ample cause for questioning the narratives set forth by Chao, Shao and Zhu.

The evidence presented here strongly suggests that there was neither a single origin, in the person of Chen Tuan, nor a defined line of transmission, running through Chong Fang, leading to the revitalization of the "image and number" tradition in the Song. Rather, it seems more likely that, at least prior to the 1030s, the scholars promoting this

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interpretive approach to the *Yi* had not yet organized into a distinct school and that their learning did not follow a single trajectory of transmission and development. As was the case with the lineages proposed within Chan Buddhism and *daoxue*, the *Yi* lineages advanced by Chao, Shao and Zhu can be read as an attempt to impute order to their school's development, and establish the roots of a tradition that could be used to validate its intellectual stances. As such, these lineages should not be understood as an accurate reflection of the history of *Yi* learning in the Northern Song, but rather as an effort to shape this history and elevate the importance of the “image and number” tradition vis-à-vis competing approaches.

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# 种放的生平與傳說

## ——從領受皇恩之隱士到易學大師的旅程

侯道儒

國立清華大學中國文學系

douglas@mx.nthu.edu.tw

### 摘 要

种放 (955-1015) 為宋初著名的隱士，也是真宗喜愛的臣子。种放的父親逝世後，他決定陪母親到終南山的豹林谷隱居，以耕種及講學謀生。到十世紀末葉，种放的聲望傳到朝廷，被太宗和真宗皇帝召見。入朝後，真宗對种放特別優渥，不僅賞賜他大量的禮品，也命他擔任越來越重要的職位。在這些職位上，真宗也給种放很大的自由權，讓他數次休假、回去終南山隱居。种放逝世後，他的故事被紀錄在許多宋代的筆記中。本文的主旨即在探討這些故事，試圖釐清种放的形象演變的過程。尤其特別注意种放與陳搏 (?-989) 兩人關係的故事，探究种放如何被視為陳搏的繼承者以及放入北宋圖書《易》學的譜系中。

**關鍵詞：**种放，筆記，隱士，易學，譜系

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