Comparing sources for Lu Jiuyuan’s Social Network

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The origins of this project go back to my dissertation research on Lu Jiuyuan. At the time that, I compiled a non-systematic database of individuals encountered in Lu Jiuyuan’s collected works, local gazetteers, biographical compendia, the Song-Yuan xue’an, and other sources. Most of the 160+ individuals were disciples, family members, those mentioned in the yulu and nianpu of Lu’s collected works, people for whom Lu Jiuyuan had written funerary inscriptions, or to whom he had written in life. The goal of the current paper is to compare family connections and social network information compiled from four sources: the Chinese Biographical Database (CDBD), the dissertation database, Robert P. Hymes’s detailed study of Fuzhou, Jiangxi, found in Statesmen and Gentlemen: the elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung, and from the list of disciples compiled by Xu Jifang based off of the Song-Yuan xue’an.1 With rich sources external to the CBDB we can see how useful the database could be as a single source of information or used in conjunction with other materials. It is clear that each source has its strengths and weaknesses, none provides as clear a picture as information garnered from all of them together.

To understand the family and social networks of Lu Jiuyuan, it is important to understand his family. The Lus of Qingtian, Jinxi, Fuzhou, were famous for their strong sense of solidarity and, in 1242, the family was commended by the government for harmonious multi-generational cohabitation.2 Of his grandfather, Lu Jian,3 Jiuyuan wrote: “Our grandfather was the fourth [of

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2 Cheng Fang 程芳, 金溪縣志 [Gazetteer of Jinxi County], ed., Tongzhi ed. (1870), 33d.20b
four] sons. [At the time] there were forty men sharing the same paternal great-grandfather, and
our grandfather was the youngest. He enjoyed the words of Buddha and Laozi and did not work
[lit. oversee production of income]. He had four sons.”
Lu Jian's second son was Lu He, Lu Jiuyuan's father. Lu He was known, perhaps in reaction to his father's indolence, for using rituals of “former Ru” as the basis of keeping order within his family.
Lu Jiuyuan noted in the tomb inscription for his brother, Jiugao, that the family ran a medicine shop which helped to feed “over a thousand” mouths. While there is no record of Lu Jian’s wife’s family origins, Lu He married a woman from the Rao family. The couple produced six sons: Jiusi, Jiuxu, Jiugao, Jiushao, Jiuling, and finally Jiuyuan. We know the maiden names of the wives of three of the brothers (Jiuxu, Jiuling, and Jiuyuan) and should note that Jiuxu and his wife, neé Yü, were prodigious in contributing to the mouths to be fed, raising four sons and six daughters.

Family solidarity played a direct a part in the upbringing of Lu Jiuyuan. One account has it that the family almost gave Lu Jiuyuan, the youngest, up for adoption when he was born, due to the already large number of sons Lu He and his wife had. Lu Jiusi, who would be given charge of family management, argued against the move and, since his wife had just given birth to

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3 The family tree of descendants of Lu Jian, Lu Jiuyuan’s paternal grandfather, is figure 1 in the appended family trees. The chart was developed using Family Tree Builder, a free genealogy software. Unfortunately, the program inverts the surname in Western fashion.

4”Quanzhou jiaoshou Lu Xiansheng xingzhuang”, Lu Jiuyuan 陆九淵, 陆九淵集 [The Collected Works of Lu Jiuyuan], ed. (Taipei: Liren shuju, 1980), 27.312.

5“Quanzhou jiaoshou Lu xiansheng xingzhuang”, Ibid.. See also Xu Yingheng 許應鑅, 撫州府志 [Local Gazetteer of Fuzhou Industrial Prefecture], ed., Guangxu ed. (1876), 57.5a-5b ; 程芳, 金溪縣志, 20.1a-1b ; and Tuotuo 脫脫, 宋史 40 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977; reprint), XXXVII.434.12877.. The two gazetteers mention that Lu He preferred Sima Guang's rituals, while the brief entry in the Songshi merely says “the rituals of former Ru.” Huang Zongxi similarly states “the rituals or former Ru,” but places Lu He within Sima Guang's school without making the connection clear. See Huang Zongxi, et al. 全祖望 陳金生 梁運華 黃宗羲, 宋元學案 [Record of Song and Yuan Dynasty Scholars], Beijing : Zhonghua shuju : Xin hua shu dian Beijing fa xing suo fa xing, 1986), I.8.359.

6 陆九淵, 陆九淵集 28.322.

their first son, Huanzhi, she nursed Lu Jiuyuan as well. “When Jiuyuan was grown,” the account continues, “he served his older brother and sister-in-law as if they were [his] parents.”

Lu Jiuyuan may also have repaid this kindness by soliciting the rank granted to Lu Jiusi via yin-privilege. Lu Jiusi's handling of this matter may not seem surprising to us, but according to at least one Southern Song source, giving sons up for adoption was commonplace. Perhaps the problem with this adoption was that the prospective adoptive parents were not relatives. The passage says simply that they were locals. It may be that Lu Jiusi did not want to see his younger brother brought up outside the Lu kin-group.

The Lus were active members of Jinxi's elite. They fulfilled and were asked to fulfill numerous local needs. In times of dearth they built a charitable granary and oversaw disaster relief. Jinxi went through a particularly bad spell with drought and dearth in 1180, 1182, 1186, and 1187. In 1188, Lu Jiushao established a community granary near the Lu residence. In the same year, Lu Jiugao was asked to oversee disaster relief due to drought. The officially-sponsored attempt to establish the community granary was probably a response to these natural disasters. It is also interesting to note that Lu Jiushao was the only member of the Fuzhou elite to respond to the call. This strikes me as strong evidence against the Robert Hymes’s notion that the Lus disdained community service. In a particularly extreme period, when state-run institutions were obviously not able to cope with the disaster and concomitant dearth, Lu Jiushao

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8 许应镖, 抚州府志, 56.1b and 63.2b.
9 Ibid., 63.3a.
11 Hymes, Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-Chou, Chiang-Hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung, 23.
12 See Hymes' reconstruction of the process for building the granary in Ibid., 153.
13 "Lu Xiuzhi mubiao,” 陸九淵, 隱士歌集 28.333.
was willing to step in and found the granary along the lines suggested by Zhu Xi. Similarly, Lu Jiugao's participation as head of disaster relief shows both his willingness to help in his home district and his trustworthiness in the eyes of local officials. I would argue that this is not simply a strategy to enhance local status and make further connections, since Lu Yun (a cousin), Lu Jiuling, and Lu Jiuyuan had all received their jinshi degrees many years before. It is not unlikely that the Lus were entrusted with and accepted these semi-official tasks because of their family tradition of dependable local service and connections to officialdom. As Lu Jiuyuan wrote in Lu Jiugao's epitaph, during the latter's relief efforts “the village gained a shi trusted by many, and the clerks did not gain the power to plot their aggrandizement.”

This trust was probably fostered by the resources the Lus could draw upon to ensure success of the granary and relief, their prominence in local society, and their previous record of service in the local militia. In a piece entitled “Discussing Village Militias in Jinxi,” Zhou Bida (1126–1204) wrote “Previously there was also in [Jinxi] county a Lu family that was the most dominating in the countryside. In past years the Financial Intendancy had named them to act of Overall Commander of the Societies with the Dengs and Fus both subordinate to them.”

Though the Lus themselves seem not to have had their own village militia, they did lead the combined forces of the Dengs and Fus. This role had been filled by Lu E, an older relative and during another bandit crisis in 1175, was filled by Lu Jiuling, despite some protest by friends that a scholar should not sully himself military affairs.

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15On Lu Jiushao as the only respondent, see Hymes, Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-Chou, Chiang-Hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung, 153.; on using Zhu Xi’s plan for the granary, see “Yu Zhao Jian, #2,” 陸九淵, 陸九淵集 1.10.
The Lus were also heavily involved in local education both as students and teachers. While Lu Jiusi oversaw family matters and Lu Jiu Xu's labors provided the material needs of the family, Lu Jiugao became the first teacher among the brothers. In prefectural school he attracted the notice of the prefectural Erudite Xu Jiayan and was made proctor (zhai zhang) of his class.18 However, Jiugao was unable to translate his early promise into success in the examinations. As Lu Jiuyuan noted, “When he was over thirty years old, he began to garner recommendations, but repeatedly did not pass. When he was old he received an office. Is this not fate?”19 His education did translate into a profitable job, though. As noted above, the income Lu Jiugao received for teaching in the local school supplemented the profits of the medicine store. Only after his father died, did Jiugao leave Qingtian to teach at Tongling, Liangzhedong Lu. After Jiugao took up the position, “the scholars of Tongling thereupon changed and delighted in discussing ethics, loathing the vulgarity of the examinations,” expressing a sentiment similar to Lu Jiuyuan’s. Moreover, Lu Jiugao’s reputation spread beyond the academy, so that “the shidafu heard rumors, and everyone wanted to converse with him. The drumming tread of those coming from afar was unceasing, and [those] stirred were numerous.”20

Lu Jiushao, though famous for his family manuals, was also an active scholar.21 An examination of all the titles of Jiushao’s works reveals a wide-ranging interest extending beyond family manuals. Aside from the family instruction manuals, Lu Jiushao also composed a thirty-five juan literary collection, a diary, an atlas or map of prefectures, and an exposition of the

18 “Lu Xiuzhi mubiao,” 陸九淵，陸九淵集 28.331.. This text names the Erudite simply as Mr. Xu (); however, in the Record of Conduct Lu Jiuyuan wrote for Lu Jiuling, the prefectural Erudite’s name is given in full as Xu Jiayan.
19 “Lu Xiuzhi mubiao,” Ibid., 28.332.. In light of this statement, the Fuzhou fuzhi’s claim that Lu Jiugao did win a jinshi degree cannot be true. See the brief biography of Lu Jiushao in 许應鑅, 撫州府志, 56.2a.
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Classics. He was also a scholar in communication with Zhu Xi. In fact, it was he who first questioned attributing to Zhou Dunyi authorship of the *Diagram of the Great Ultimate* and *Tongshu*—a debate from which he withdrew and into which Lu Jiuyuan entered, producing the famous set of letters debating cosmology. In light of Lu Jiushao’s output and participation in local institutions, it is surprising that there is a dearth of biographical information. It was, in fact, one of his dying wishes not to have an epitaph composed; yet no reason is given. Lu Jiuling was precocious enough to first attempt the *jinshi* examinations at the age of thirteen. After this unsuccessful try, Jiuling attended the prefectural school and caught the attention of Xu Jiayan, the same Erudite who had taken an interest in Lu Jiugao. When Xu Jiayan died in 1149, though, Lu Jiuling left the school, since the new Erudite was interested in Huang-Lao thought, which disagreed with Jiuling's Confucian sensibilities. Lu Jiuling entered the National University in 1160, rising to the top echelon in 1167. In 1169, Lu Jiuling became the first successful *jinshi* candidate in the nuclear family. After the bandit threat of 1175 passed, he resumed official service with a position in Fuchuan, where actions like simplifying edicts and putting the registers in order were said to have brought more shi into the area each day.

In the “Record of Huaitang Academy,” an academy established in Jinxi, Lu Jiuyuan's disciple, Fu Ziyun, wrote that Lu Jiuyuan “often lectured on Dao to the students; therefore, in 1192 the Town Elder Wang Youda first established an altar to [Lu Jiuyuan] along with his discip

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22 许应镖, 抚州府志, 56.1b
23 Ibid.
24 “Quanzhou jiaoshou Lu xiansheng xingzhuang,” 陆九渊, 陆九渊集 27.313-14. In 1145, a third cousin from Jinxi, Lu Yun, passed the *jinshi* examinations. See 許應鏘, 抚州府志, 49.13b; and Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-Chou, Chiang-Hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung*, 40 & 58.
25 “Quanzhou jiaoshou Lu xiansheng xingzhuang,” 陆九渊, 陆九渊集 27.316.
brother, Mr. Fuzhai [Lu Jiuling], in the school's lecture hall.” In 1223, after Lu Jiuyuan received posthumous honors from the court, an altar to him was established to the east of the school.

The activities of the Lus remained focused in the Jinxi area. The case of Lu Jiugao's brief time at the Tongling Academy shows both his initial reluctance to move beyond Jinxi, and when he did so, the move was only to neighboring Anren county in Zhedong. Lu Jiuling refused his first posting, because “he believed the road to Guiyang too far, and the customs and things [there] different from his hometown.”27 Out of the twenty-one years between passing the jinshi and his death, Lu Jiuyuan, the most peripatetic of the brothers, spent only six years in official service. Most of his time was spent either in Jinxi, or at his academy on Xiangshan, just over the border in Zhedong. And, as Hymes notes, “one will search the sources in vain for any Lu who married outside Fu-chou’s immediate region.”28

The integration of the Lus with local society becomes even clearer when we look at Lu Jian’s descendents compiled from information generated by querying the CBDB using the “Look at Networks” form, selecting Lu Jiuyuan, excluding non-kin, and setting the nodal distance at five; then taking that data and creating genealogical tables for relatives by marriage. But first, it might be beneficial to see some of the quirks of the CBDB.29

1. Via the “Kinship” tab in the “Biog Main” form, Lu Jiuyuan is linked to only three other people: his father, Lu He(2); his father-in-law, Wu Jian; his eldest son, Lu Chizhi.

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26 Fu Ziyun, "Huaitang shuyuan ji," in 程芳, 金溪縣志, 33b.24a
27 "Quangzhou jiaoshou Lu xiansheng xingzhuang," 陸九淵, 陸九淵集 27.314..
29 Here one might want to flip to the appended charts to compare the family tree generated through textual research (figure 1) with the one generated from information gleaned from the CBDB (figure 2).
2. To develop the rest of the family tree one needs to go from the relational database links to these figures. Lu He(2) is linked to Jiuyuan and his five brothers, Jiugao, Jiusi, Jiuxu, Jiushao, and Jiuling.

3. Eight of Lu Jiuxu’s ten children do not show up in the CBDB. The two who do do not have records but are inferred; they are daughters married to Huang Shufeng and Zhou Qingsou, both students of Lu Jiuyuan.

4. Other relations who do not appear in the CBDB search are Lu Jiuyuan’s second son, Xunzhi, Lu Jiuling’s son Liangzhi, Lu Jiushao’s son, Youzhi, and three of Lu Huanzhi’s sons.

The key benefit of the CBDB is that it broadens the scope of relationships to include marriage in ways that my gleanings from textual sources did not.

Lu Jiuyuan’s wife, Wu Shi(a)30 was the grand-daughter of Wu Wanshi of Linchuan (descendant’s chart, figure 3), her father was Wu Jian.31 Wu Jian’s wife, Huang Shi(1), was the daughter of Huang Wei(5), also of Linchuan.32 According to Hymes, the Huangs were “of particularly illustrious pedigree,” having members holding office prior to Southern Song33 and for being related to the poet Huang Tingjian.34 Another daughter of Huang Wei(5), Huang Shi(7), was the step-mother of Liang Shichang, a friend of Lu Jiuyuan’s. Lu Jiuyuan wrote Huang

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30 Parentheses enclosing letters indicate individuals not in the CBDB, which uses numbers enclosed in parentheses to differentiate females with the same surname, or men with the same Romanized surname and given name.
31 See chart of Wu Wanshi’s descendants (figure 3).
32 See chart of Huang Wei’s descendants (figure 4).
33 Hymes, Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-Chou, Chiang-Hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung, 71.
34 Ibid., 294-95.
Shi(7)’s epitaph (*muzhiming*),\(^{35}\) as well as of another daughter of Huang Wei (not in the CBDB), who was married to Liang Guangyuan.\(^{36}\)

Another significant Linchuan connection is to the family of Wang Jian. Wang Jian’s daughter married Lu Jiuling. Wang Jian was the great-grandson of Wang Anli, brother of Wang Anshi. Hymes’s work notes that the Wangs of Linchuan and the Wus of Jinxi\(^ {37}\) were two families who had early and sustained Northern Song success in the examinations and established national marriage connections.\(^ {38}\) The marriage connection might, in part, explain the positive assessment that Lu Jiuyuan wrote of Wang Anshi, when most Daoxue figures were critical of Wang’s “New Policies” and the realpolitik practiced by his intellectual successors at the Southern Song court. Many of the serving officials had grown up during the period of “Restored Reform” prior to 1125, and were probably reluctant to change the way governmental business was done.\(^ {39}\) When asked to write a record for the rebuilt school in Wang's home county of Linchuan, Lu Jiuyuan produced a respectful, though critical, account of Wang; and later, when criticized for writing the piece, Lu retorted that a truer assessment of Wang did not exist.\(^ {40}\)

Earlier, I had credited Lu Jiuyuan’s positive assessment to his agreement with Wang’s stress on returning the “rightness” inherent in the models of ancient sage-kings.\(^ {41}\) In part, this is true, but the CBDB also demonstrates strong family connections to the Wangs of Linchuan and to other Linchuan *shidafu* families. Linchuan was also the residence of eleven of the eighty-two men

\(^{35}\) 陸九淵, 陸九淵集 28.320.
\(^{36}\) Ibid., 28.324.
\(^{38}\) Ibid., 87.
\(^{40}\) “Yu Hujisi, 2,” 陸九淵, 陸九淵集 1.7.
linked to Lu Jiuyuan in the Song-Yuan xue’an, and for ten of the 117 people linked via two nodes in the CBDB’s “LookAtNetworks” output.

Turning to this larger social network, we can compare the listing of men linked to Lu Jiuyuan in the Song-Yuan xue’an with those linked to him at a two-node distance using the “LookAtNetworks” form on the CBDB. Xu Jifang has developed a list of eighty-two men connected to Lu in the Song-Yuan xue’an.42 When compared to the 117 people linked to Lu Jiuyuan in the CBDB, we find that forty-six of the men from the Song-Yuan xue’an are not in the CBDB. One of the more interesting people to not be in the CBDB is Fu Mengquan, leader of the Huaitang group43 comprising sixty-five out of the eighty-two men.

If we turn to the people in the CBDB who are not in Xu Jifang’s listing, we find twenty-three men. But, if we winnow away those who do not have established kinship relations with Lu Jiuyuan,44 we find eleven non-kin men mentioned as close associates in the CBDB, who seem to be intellectually connected to Lu, but who are not mentioned in the Song-Yuan xue’an.45 So the CBDB is providing new information on connections beyond family that are not clear in the Song-Yuan xue’an. However, the CBDB does not have information on an even greater number of men linked to Lu Jiuyuan intellectually.

The interaction between Lu Jiuyuan and Zhu Xi was a key moment in the intellectual history of Neo-Confucianism. The two exchanged letters and, at the behest of Lü Zuqian, met for the “Goose Lake Debate,” to discuss their intellectual differences. According to Xu Jifang, of the

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42 徐紀芳, 陸象山弟子研究 /Lu Xiangshan Di Zi Yan Jiu.
43 Named for the school in Jixi noted on page 6.
44 This is problematic, since there may be kinship connections for which we simply have no records. For example, we don’t know the family origins of the wives of Lu Jiuxu and Lu Jiusi. Bearing this in mind, I have excluded those surnamed Huang, Liang, and Wu.
45 Here I raise the question for database terminology as to what the difference is between “Student of” (學生為 Y, eg. Zhao Shiyong, ID#10423), “Menren of” (門人為 Y, eg. Zhao Yanjie, ID#27690), “Disciple was” (弟子為 Y), and “Member of his school was” (該學派的成員為 Y)?
eighty-two men in the *Song-Yuan xue’an* group, twenty-two were also linked to Zhu Xi’s school. Combining the data gathered from 2-node searches for both Lu Jiuyuan and Zhu Xi produced 353 records. Yet of that group, only thirteen were reduplicated. Of Lu Jiuyuan’s brothers, only Jiuling, whom Zhu met at Goose Lake, is found in Zhu Xi’s 2-node social network, although Lu Jiushao was also in correspondence with Zhu Xi and seems to have opened the intellectual debate that led Jiuling and Jiuyuan (but not Jiushao) to Goose Lake.

Clearly the CBDB has some gaps, but it does provide a great deal of information and opens further avenues of exploration. Possible spin-offs from this brief study of Lu Jiuyuan’s familial and social networks would be to compare success rates for certain groupings. If the accusation that imperial examiners had a proclivity to pass, or reject, candidates who used key words from the teachings of certain schools, we could examine the *jinshi* passing rates for candidates with known affiliations. We could also correlate *jinshi* degrees with marriage patterns, as Hymes did for Fuzhou, for larger areas of China. We could, as suggested on the Warwick Forum, export the geographic coordinates from the CBDB to produce maps of marriage alliances and intellectual networks to broadly test the paradigm that marriage patterns localized during the Southern Song.

However, it is only fair to point out the difficulty of using the database if one is not well-schooled in Access. It is clear that this paper barely scratches the surface of the compiled information, but for it to become a truly useful tool for research there are at least two key issues to face: creation of a user’s manual, or a more user-friendly interface, on the one hand, and an efficient and trustworthy means of opening the database to further data entry. It might help to determine how scholars and students of Chinese history can individually contribute to this resource.
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Xu Yingheng 许應鐙. 撫州府志 [Local Gazetteer of Fuzhou Industrial Prefecture]. Guangxu ed, 1876.
Figure 1: Lu Jian’s descendants generated from textual work
Figure 2: Lu Jian’s descendants generated from CBDB data
Figure 3: Wu Wanshi’s descendants generated from CBDB data
Figure 4: Huang Wei’s descendants generated from CBDB data