

Jennifer W.
Jay

A Change
in
Dynasties

Jay / A Change in Dynasties

Center for East Asian Studies
Western Washington University

Studies on East Asia, Volume 18

A Change in Dynasties: Loyalism in Thirteenth-Century China,
by Jennifer W. Jay

The Center for East Asian Studies publishes scholarly works on topics
relating to China, Japan, Korea, and Mongolia.

Editor:

Professor Henry G. Schwarz

A CHANGE IN DYNASTIES:
LOYALISM IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY CHINA

by

Jennifer W. Jay



Western Washington

Copyright 1991
by
CENTER FOR EAST ASIAN STUDIES
Western Washington University
Bellingham, Washington 98225

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Jay, Jennifer W.
A change in dynasties : loyalism in thirteenth-century China /
by Jennifer W. Jay.
p. cm. -- (Studies on East Asia ; v. 18)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-914584-18-9 ; \$30.00 (est.)
1. China--History--Sung dynasty, 960-1279. 2. China--History
--Yüan dynasty, 1260-1368. 3. Loyalty. I. Title. II. Series.
DS751.J38 1991
951'.024--dc20 91-14475
CIP

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

To my late grandfather, Jay Bon Ming

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------|
| Acknowledgments | vii |
| Guidelines | viii |
| Abbreviations | ix |
| Preface | xi |
| One / Introduction | 1 |
| Two / The Surrender of the Southern Song and Loyalist Resistance | 13 |
| Three / The Hagiography and Historiography of Song Loyalism | 61 |
| Four / The <i>Zhongyi</i> Tradition of Loyalty: Wen Tianxiang and the Martyrs, 1273-1279 | 93 |
| Five / Regional Loyalist Centers and Personalities, ca. 1276-1300 | 137 |
| Six / Zhou Mi and Marginal Loyalism in Hangzhou and Huzhou | 195 |
| Seven / The Transformation of Song Loyalism | 243 |
| Appendixes | 265 |
| Bibliography of Works Cited | 273 |
| Index-Glossary | 295 |
| About the Author | 309 |

APPENDIXES AND MAPS

APPENDIXES

| | |
|--|-----|
| A. <i>Songshi</i> Biographies of <i>Zhongyi</i> Men | 265 |
| B. <i>Zhongyi</i> Biographies Throughout the Dynasties | 265 |
| C. Wen Tianxiang's Career Before the Resistance | 266 |
| D. <i>Zhongyi</i> Loyalists in Wen Tianxiang's <i>mufu</i> | 266 |
| E. Loyalist Centers and Major Personalities | 268 |
| F. Zhou Mi's Traveling Companions | 271 |

MAPS

| | |
|--|-----|
| 1. Song-Yuan China, ca. 1276 | xiv |
| 2. Song-Yuan Military Campaigns, ca. 1273-1279 | 12 |
| 3. Loyalist Centers, ca. 1276-1300 | 140 |

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Both the research and writing of this monograph took place at the Australian National University in Canberra. I would like to thank the Australian National University for granting me a postgraduate scholarship and in providing research facilities during 1979-83. Professor Wang Gungwu guided me through difficult stages of research; for this and for personal encouragement I indeed owe him an immense debt of gratitude. To Dr. Igor de Rachewiltz, I am likewise indebted for guidance and assistance, as well as for generously lending me source materials. I thank Drs. Ho Hon-wai, Jennifer Holmgren, and L. W. Preston for reading through the entire draft and making valuable suggestions for improvement. Thanks are also due to Mr. William Mills, who proofread the manuscript and assisted with the maps. I am fortunate to have the expert guidance and abundant patience of Dr. Henry G. Schwarz, the editor and publisher of my book. I would also like to express a special gratitude and enduring respect to Professor E. G. Pulleyblank, who initiated me into the field of medieval Chinese history and who continued to provide ample encouragement.

Parts of Chapters Three and Six have appeared in different form in *Papers on Far Eastern History* 28 (1983) and *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50:2 (1990), respectively. Permission to include the material in these two articles is much appreciated.

My children, Trevor and Graham, deserve a mention for putting up with babysitters to enable me to work undisturbed.

For any errors and misinterpretations in this study, however, I am solely responsible.

GUIDELINES

1. Pinyin is used to romanize personal names and place names with the following exceptions: i) actual references, titles and names used by the authors of works in Western languages (e.g. Chang Fu-jui); ii) Tsin 晉 for the dynasty to distinguish it from the Jin 金 and Foochow for 福州 to distinguish it from Fuzhou 撫州. Modern equivalents of place names are given in brackets.
2. The dates for Song and Yuan men are in accordance with Chang Bide *et al.*, *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* (Taibei, 1976) and Wang Deyi *et al.*, *Yuanren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* (Taibei, 1981). In some cases I have amended the dates using the *Songshi* or *Yuanshi*, and in reference to an individual's collected writings (for example, Shu Yuexiang [1217-1298], not [1236-1298] as given in Wang Deyi). For individuals from other periods, the dates are drawn from Jiang Liangfu's *Lidai mingren nianli beizhuan zongbiao* (Taibei, 1970).
3. The translations of offices are mostly from E. A. Kracke, *Translation of Sung Civil Service Titles* (Paris, 1957) and supplemented by Chang Fu-jui, *Les Fonctionnaires des Song: Index des Titres* (Paris, 1962). Some exceptions are such as translating *chengxiang* as "chief minister" and not "grand councilor."
4. The maps were prepared from Tan Qixiang's *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* (Shanghai, 1982), vols. 6 and 7.
5. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations in this monograph are my own.

PREFACE

This book is a study of loyalists during the transition from the Song to Yuan dynasties, from about 1273 to 1300. By means of an examination of their background and loyalist activities, and a reconstruction of relationships between individual loyalists, I obtain a broad view of Song loyalism and its significance to contemporaries and their response to alien rule. After a critical examination of official histories and the writings of the Song loyalists, I suggest that Song loyalism should be observed in terms of a spectrum of relative rather than absolute values. In addition, the intensity and duration of loyalty changed over time and through circumstances. I delineate three traditions of Song loyalists in this spectrum: the *zhongyi* loyalists who died during or for the Song cause; the *yimin* loyalists who survived the collapse of the dynasty and/or loyalist resistance and lived some years under Mongol rule, and the marginal loyalists (a subgroup of the *yimin*) whose conduct during their later years drew strong criticism from traditional historians. Contrary to traditional views of Song loyalists as individuals totally uncompromising to the new government, evidence indicates that after the defeat of loyalist resistance in 1279, even among the exemplars accommodation was more often the case than resistance.

In the introductory chapter I briefly outline the divergent interpretations of Mongol rule and its impact on the structure of Chinese society, and indicate the lack of a broad and comprehensive view of the Song loyalists. Chapter Two is a reappraisal of the events of the end of the Southern Song and the political circumstances under which the leaders of the loyalist movement planned and carried out their resistance from 1276 to 1279. I offer some new interpretations, such as showing Wen Tianxiang to have been a newcomer rather than the leading personality of the Southern Song court and

Preface

the loyalist movement, contrary to traditional misconceptions that he had single-handedly planned and executed the resistance. In this reconstruction, Chen Yizhong and Li Tingzhi are found to be the senior officials who emerged as the unchallenged leaders in 1275-76.

Chapter Three examines some aspects of both official and unofficial historiography of the Song loyalists. Wen Tianxiang's writings, along with his prejudices, are shown to have influenced both the *Songshi* and the works of the Song loyalists, and accounted for certain discrepancies among the sources. I also discuss the possibility of censorship under the Yuan, concluding that more likely the Song loyalists, their descendants and editors were cautious and censored themselves. I then look at later writings reflecting a local concern, which produced favorable accounts at the expense of historical objectivity. One example raised is Quan Zuwang's research into the contributions his local district and his ancestors made in connection with Song loyalism. In this chapter I also deal with several myths in the traditional portrayal of the Song loyalists.

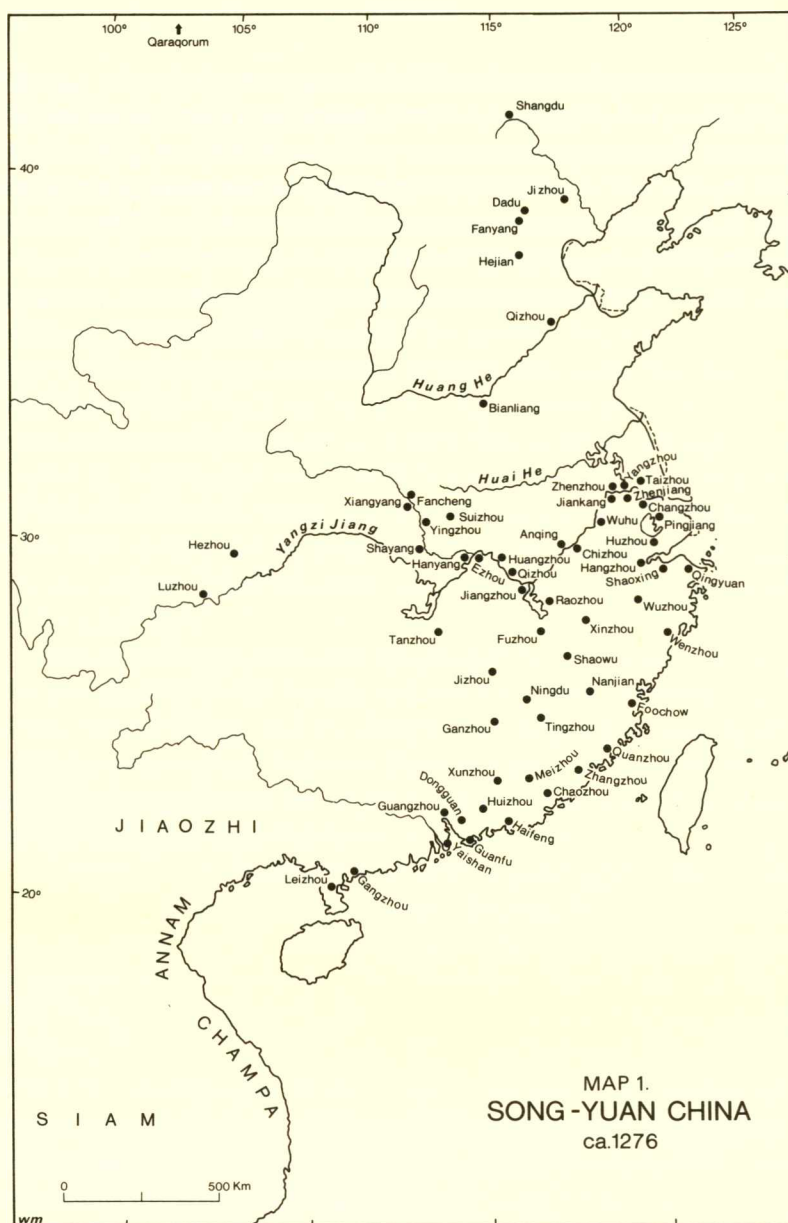
The next chapter deals with the *zhongyi* loyalists (martyrs); in particular, the participation in the loyalist resistance by Wen Tianxiang, Li Tingzhi, Lu Xiufu, Chang Shijie, and Xie Fangde are discussed in more detail. I also examine the relationships between these key personalities and their loyalist followers, and suggest that the organization and structure of their support was within the traditional *mufu* (tent government) system.

Chapter Five reconstructs nine *yimin* loyalist groups (survivors) in the first generation of Mongol rule: Annam, Beijing, Kuaiji, Wuzhou, Luling, Ningbo, Raozhou, Suzhou, and Dongguan. The key loyalist figures active in these centers--Wang Yuanliang, Jia Xuanweng, Wang Yingsun, Lin Jingxi, Xie Ao, Fang Feng, Wang Yinglin, Hu Sanxing, Liu Chenweng, Ma Tingluan, Zheng Sixiao, Gong Kai, and Zhao Bixiang--are discussed with respect to their attitudes towards the conquest and life under Mongol rule. I indicate that in most cases the loyalism of these individuals became less intense as they socialized with Yuan officials and gave tacit approval for their sons to seek employment in the new government.

The Hangzhou and Huzhou loyalists such as Deng Mu and Mou Yan are examined in Chapter Six, which is concerned with the relationships of Zhou Mi, a versatile writer and artist. Among Zhou Mi's extensive circle of

Preface

friends were many in the employ of the Yuan government and a young generation of artists and scholars who later, with deep regret, accepted official appointments. This change was evident in the late 1280s and 1290s, by which time their loyalty had become transformed into accommodating positions disapproved of by some contemporaries and later historians. The concluding chapter summarizes my findings on the essence and duration of Song loyalism and looks at its impact on later generations experiencing dynastic collapse.



MAP 1.
SONG -YUAN CHINA
ca.1276