

SIX / ZHOU MI AND MARGINAL LOYALISM IN HANGZHOU AND HUZHOU

Absolute loyalism to the Song ruled out any kind of contact with the Yuan government or its officials. The martyr loyalists who died during or shortly after the Song demise were absolute in their loyalty because they did not live under the new regime, nor did their loyalty need to be tested over the passage of time and changed circumstances. As for the *yimin* loyalists discussed in the previous chapter, the cases of Zheng Sixiao and Xu Yueqing were exceptional: the former kept his loyalty unblemished by total withdrawal and the latter by insanity. As a result of their behavior, both were considered irrational and eccentric even in their own times. The others could not avoid some contact with the Yuan dynasty in their social, economic, political, and personal lives. With them, loyalism could not exist in a vacuum, but had to take into account social and family responsibilities. For these men who lived ten, twenty, or even thirty years after the fall of the Song to adhere to the narrow and absolute dimensions of loyalty from 1276 to 1300 was virtually impossible and rarely accomplished.

For a detailed study of the connection between absolute and marginal manifestations of loyalty, Zhou Mi and his circle of friends in Huzhou (Center 10) and Hangzhou (Center 11) provide a rich source.¹ Among the *zhongyi*

1. The primary sources for a biography of Zhou Mi consist of his *biji* collections and poetry and prefaces on these writings by his contemporaries. Among art historians, Zhou is known for his art connoisseurship and special relationship to Zhao Mengfu, the eminent Yuan artist and official. See van Gulik, 200-15; Li Chu-tsing, *Autumn Colors*, 21-22; Li Chu-tsing's biography of Zhou Mi in Franke, *Sung Biographies*, 261-68. Zhou is considered a poet of the *yongwu* genre and associated with Zhang Yan and Chen Yunping. See Wang Yinghua. Xia Chengtao's chronobiography of Zhou Mi, "Zhou Caochuang nianpu" (pp. 315-22), was first written in 1935 and based on the Qing scholar Gu Wenbin's earlier work. Zhou is perhaps best known for his *biji*, of which there are six major extant collections, all written after the fall of the Song.

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and *yimin* loyalists, Zhou was the most sociable, versatile, and intriguing personality. He is traditionally regarded as the key loyalist figure in Hangzhou in the same ardent manner as Zheng Sixiao in Pingjiang.¹ He was a prolific writer of *biji* (random jottings), poet, artist, connoisseur, historian, and official whose personal experiences included the loyalist centers in Hangzhou and Huzhou. In addition, he was the only loyalist who had contact with almost all other loyalist groups discussed in the previous chapter. Many of these "like-minded friends" and "traveling companions" reemerged into public office after a period of withdrawal, but Zhou Mi resisted taking this crucial step and preserved his integrity as an unblemished loyalist in the eyes of traditional historians. Apart from former loyalists who became Yuan officials, Zhou socialized openly with northerners and foreigners, often bringing together loyalists and nonloyalists. Excited by the positive impact of political reunification on culture and the arts, Zhou's antipathy to alien rule gradually dissipated. This chapter examines the life of Zhou Mi before and after the dynastic collapse in order to observe the transformation of his loyalism and that of his many friends and associates. A reconstruction of his activities and personal relationships, followed by a study of the predicament of accepting employment faced by individual members of his circle, provides a new perspective on the marginal loyalists--the middle-ground of Song loyalism between the exemplars and collaborators.

Before and During the Song Demise

Zhou Mi's life before the Mongol conquest was carefree and extravagant, typical of well-to-do scholar-officials of his time. He was born to an eminent clan originally based in Qizhou (Shandong province) which had dis-

1. "On the portrait of Zhou Mi" (dated 1366?) in which Wang Xing (1331-95) states that neither Zhou Mi nor Zheng Sixiao compromised their integrity in any way. See Zheng Sixiao, *Zheng Suonan*, appendix.5a-b.

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tinguished members during the preceding six generations.¹ When the Song transferred its capital to Hangzhou, Zhou's great-grandfather, who held office as executive censor, moved the family base to Huzhou. Zhou's grandfather and father were both officials, but by the latter's time, the family wealth was already in decline.² No doubt much of it was spent on the some 42,000 books and 1,500 rubbings and other art objects acquired over three generations. In Zhou's time, the family still owned the former Huzhou residence of the disgraced chief minister Han Tuo Zhou (1152-1207); its grandeur ranked alongside the magnificent mansions of imperial clansmen and high officials.³ One such home had previously belonged to Zhou's maternal grandfather Zhang Liangneng (d. 1214), a distinguished official.⁴

Zhou Mi grew up in Huzhou but spent a great deal of his childhood, youth and early adulthood traveling through Zhejiang and Fujian while accompanying his father on official duties.⁵ Zhou Jin (d. 1265?), himself a cal-

1. The sixth-generation ancestor Fang was a hermit on Mount Li who refused a summons to the court in ca. 1070. The fifth-generation ancestor Xiaogong was a second-degree graduate and senior secretary in the Ministry of Personnel. Zhou's great-great-grandfather Wei received posthumous honors. His great-grandfather Pi moved to Huzhou with sixteen family members during the transfer of the capital to Hangzhou. His grandfather Bi was senior secretary in the Ministry of Justice. See "Self-obituary of the old man of Bianyang," in Zhu Cunli, vol. 5, 428-32.

2. As evidence of declining family fortunes, Zhou Mi recalls that his father could not afford some rare books in Hangzhou, which later went into the collection of Chai Wang, a *yimin* loyalist. See Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, xu b.2b.

3. On Han Tuo Zhou, see his biography in SS 474.13771-78. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, qian.5b-12b, is a description of the famous Huzhou gardens and residences whose magnificence declined by Zhou Mi's time.

4. *Ibid.*, qian.7a. There are also many references to him in Zhou Mi's *Qidong yeyu*, 11.140, 16.211, 18.239. He was a third-rank official and one of the ten top officials in the 1210s. See also Peterson, "First Sung reactions," 217, note; Xia Chengtao, 317-18.

5. In Jianning, Fujian, Zhou Mi caught golden-backed turtles and in Hangzhou watched performances by snake and animal charmers. See Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, hou.17b and hou.27a-28b. The latter reference is partially translated in Gernet, 224-25.

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ligrapher, poet, and connoisseur, exerted a singular influence on his only son's life, especially on his feelings for family roots, passion for the arts, and choice of friends and acquaintances.¹ Zhou Mi's mother was conversant with poetry and he inherited that talent along with her family's interest in antiques.²

In his youth Zhou had already met through his travels some of his lifetime friends including Mou Yan (1227-1311),³ Zhao Yuyin (1213-65), father of the eminent Yuan artist and official, Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322),⁴ and his wealthy father-in-law Yang Boyan (d. 1254).⁵ Both the Mou and Zhao families also lived in Huzhou. Yang's family home was one of the most prominent and affluent in Hangzhou, where Zhou stayed in the 1250s. Zhou was then attending the National University and disapproved of the abuses committed by his fellow students who accepted bribes and impeached honest

1. Zhou Mi does not seem to have had any brothers; there were three half-sisters by his father's secondary wives (Zhu Cunli, 430). He also had a cousin or uncle who lived in Qingyuan, where Zhou might have owned some property (Xia Chengtao, 347).

2. Zhou also writes about himself and his mother being plagued by frequent illnesses. See his *Qidong yeyu*, 14.184-85.

3. Mou Yan was the son of Mou Zicai (*jinsi* 1221), a chief minister in Lizong's reign (biography in *SS* 411.12355-61). Mou Yan and Zhou Mi first met in 1246-47 in Quzhou, where their fathers were holding office and keeping company with Yang Boyan and Hong Shuzhai (fl. 1250-70). See Zhou Mi, *Pinzhou yudi pu*, 2.1a-b; "Postscript to Zhou Mi's self-obituary," in Mou Yan, 16.9b.

4. Zhao Yuyin, an imperial clansman, owned and lived in the prominent residences of Huzhou. In Zhou's *Caochuang yunyu* there is a mourning poem for him (5.190-91). His son, Zhao Mengfu, was probably introduced to Zhou later in the 1260s, when both Zhou and Zhao Yuyin found themselves involved with Jia Sida's public-land reform. Yuyin was appointed the official in charge of the scheme in Huzhou. Liu Yiqing, 5.2; *Xianchun yishi*, 1.1b-2a.

5. Yang Boyan was a descendant of Yang Yizhong, a meritorious subject enfeoffed by Emperor Gaozong. Yang Boyan was also an official and scholar of the Confucian classics: his extant writings are entitled *Jiuqing buyun*. Zhou and Yang may have shared a mutual interest in poetry and art.

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officials.¹ Soon Zhou passed and ranked thirteenth in an examination held at the Ministry of Personnel, whereupon Yang sent congratulations to Zhou's father.² A short time later, he apparently married Yang's daughter, and in 1255-57 he accompanied his father to Tingzhou (Fujian) where the latter was appointed prefect.³ Zhou Jin may have died soon after the termination of his post, whereupon Zhou Mi went into mourning.⁴

Zhou Mi passed the *jinshi* examination in 1260, before he turned thirty.⁵ However, in about 1261 he launched his official career through the merits of his grandfather, who had been a third-rank official. His first appointment was in the treasury department in Jiankang (Nanjing), where his honesty and diligence impressed his superiors.⁶ In 1263 he was promoted to supervise Jia Sidao's land reform in Changzhou, where the problem of private hoarding of grain by large landowners was most acute.⁷ By acting upon the instructions of the central government, Zhou incurred the hostility of the

1. Xia Chengtao, 317. The abuses of the students were most rampant in 1253-60: they would raise the notorious example of the Qin burying the scholars alive if they did not get what they wanted. Neither the emperor nor the ministers dared reprimand them too severely; they intimidated also the city merchants. See Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, *hou*.11a-13b. Zhou admits that only Jia Sidao managed to curtail their power and abuses; he particularly upbraids them for flattering Jia while he was powerful and criticizing him when Jia fell into disgrace. In 1275-76, however, these students seem to have played a loyalist role: they mourned loyalist martyrs, requested the court to take an aggressive defense policy, and accompanied the imperial entourage to Dadu.

2. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, *hou*.31b-32a. Yang Boyan had also ranked thirteenth in an earlier examination.

3. *Ibid.*, *qian*.18b.

4. Zhou Jin's life after 1257 is not known. It is certain, however, that he predeceased Zhou Mi's mother, who died in 1264. Contrary to the occasion of his mother's death which he discusses at length, Zhou mentions neither the date or the mourning period for his father.

5. "Preface to bidding Peng Tinglan farewell," in Liu Jiansun, 12.18-19b.

6. Zhu Cunli, 429.

7. *Ibid.*

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powerful local magnates who suffered most seriously from the policy. Soon he resigned to look after his ailing mother, who died the following year.¹ During and after the mourning period, Zhou for the first time felt the burden of family responsibilities.

In 1267 Zhou resumed his political career, and until 1274 was based in Hangzhou, where he worked in the water transport department, the imperial pharmacy, the Fengqu granary, and other offices. Among his colleagues were Yuan Hong, Chen Guo (fl. 1270-90), Gao Side (*jinshi* 1229), Li Lailao and his brother Penglao (both fl. 1260-1300).² In 1270 he befriended the chief minister Ma Tingluan.³ In spite Ma's patronage, distinguished family background, and influential marriage connections, Zhou's seventh and final post was subprefect of Yiwu (in Wuzhou) from 1275 to the prefecture's surrender just before Hangzhou collapsed. This means that with a public service of twenty-five years less the mourning periods, Zhou merely reached the sixth rank--certainly not an impressive record.⁴

Zhou later claimed to have done his utmost to advance his political career to bring glory to his family, and he attributed his lackluster performance to the dynasty's collapse.⁵ That, however, is only partly true. During the entire time he held office, he displayed greater interest in creative activities than in administration. It was through his father that Zhou entered the literary world at a young age. In Huzhou and wherever Zhou Jin was posted,

1. *Ibid.*, 429-30.

2. For the colleagues of Zhou and Yuan Hong, see "Former teachers and friends of my late father," in Yuan Jue, 33.570-74. The collected writings of the Li brothers, *Guixi eryin ji*, contain many poems to Zhou Mi. The Zhou and Li families may have been friends for generations.

3. Xia Chengtao, 341; Ma Tingluan, 15.3a. Zhou states that in 1274 he was often visiting Ma, who was plagued with illness. See Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, hou.15b.

4. It normally took a Tang official 23.6 years from his first assignment to chief minister ranked 3b or higher. See Sun Guodong, 334. If this study is indicative of promotions in the Song bureaucracy, then Zhou Mi's record is certainly not impressive.

5. Zhu Cunli, 429.

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father and son entertained excellent scholars and illustrious men of the day; in return, they were invited to similar social functions. In the company of singing girls and amidst a serene setting of "plum trees, bamboo, ponds, willows and lotus plants" they would in a state of drunken euphoria "write poetry and discuss prose, make music and sing songs."¹ During these "pleasures of the brush, inkstone, lute and cup--not a day passed without them," Zhou poured wine and composed poetry with his seniors and peers.

But it was in Hangzhou, where the eminent poets gathered, that Zhou explored the literary scene on his own. There, in the late 1250s he may have met Wu Wenying (1200-60), the leading *ci* poet who was then patronized by the wealthy Zhang Shu (fl. 1250-80).² Both Zhang Shu and his son Yan turned out to be Zhou's lifetime friends.³ In Hangzhou Zhou also studied *ci* under Yang Zuan (d. 1268), founder of the Yinshe (Recital society) to which belonged the Li brothers as well as friends and colleagues of Zhou's father.⁴ Yang's daughter was in the imperial harem; she later became the consort of Duzong and mother of Prince Shi, who was the half brother of Gongdi and the first prince enthroned by the loyalist movement in 1276. Yang's son, Liangjie, also occupied a high position in the Song court; he later escorted the two Song princes to the southeastern provinces in anticipation of a loyalist restoration. Yang Zuan was probably also related to Zhou's father-in-law, who may have first brought Zhou and Yang Zuan together.

Yang Zuan's school of *ci* concentrated on elegant and refined compo-

1. Zhou Mi, *Pinzhou yudi pu*, 2.1a-b.

2. Xia Chengtao, 331. Zhou Mi wrote a few poems relating to Wu Wenying. See, e.g., Zhou Mi, *Pinzhou yudi pu*, 1.24a-b.

3. Zhou Mi wrote many poems to Zhang shu. See *Caochuang yunyu*, 3.120-21; *Pinzhou yudi pu*, 1.11b, 1.21b-23a, 2.4a-b. Zhang's "Jixian" studio was a popular meeting place among Zhou Mi and his friends at this time.

4. The teacher Zhou had as a youth was Yao Rong (fl. 1240-70) from Fujian. See Zhou Mi, *Qidong yeyu*, 14.182-84. Yang Zuan is credited with creating two hundred new meters of *ci* form, now lost. On Yang's relationship with the Song imperial family through his daughter, see Rao Zongyi, *Jiulong yu Songji*, 84-90.

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sition, achieved by rigid adherence to set musical patterns and painstaking choice of language. His poetry society, one of the many that gained popularity in the upper classes of Southern Song, had as its major activity poetry readings combined with pleasure outings, often on West Lake or in the Kanbi Garden owned by Zhou's in-laws.¹ Poems were written to each other's rhymes, usually describing in minute details objects such as plums, daffodils, chrysanthemums, and scenery. With Yang's death in 1268, the poetry society dissolved but Zhou maintained close ties with the Li brothers who became his colleagues in the water transport department. The three went on excursions to scenic spots in Hangzhou and Huzhou, where Zhou frequently returned in spite of his official appointment in the capital.²

During the 1260s Zhou also exchanged poems with Yang Zuan's former students. Other close poet friends were Chen Yunping of Qingyuan and Wen Jiweng of Huzhou, and the Daoist priests Zhang Ruoxu (fl. 1270-90) and Liu Lan (d. 1276). In the early 1270s in Kuaiji he also met Wang Yisun, a poet usually ranked the best among Zhou Mi's circle.³ Even before the demise of the Song, Zhou Mi was recognized as a talented poet and his *ci* were considered among "the most marvelous in the world."⁴ By 1276 his poetry volumes were compiled with prefaces contributed by some of the friends just

1. Wu Zimu, *Mengliang lu*, 10.299, says these Hangzhou societies were popular and unique in the empire.

2. Zhou Mi, *Pinzhou yudi pu*, records such excursions (1.10a-11b).

3. For poems to Li Ruoxu, see *Caochuang yunyu*, 4.156-59; to Liu Lan, see *Pinzhou yudi pu*, 2.19b-20a. For poems to Chen Yunping, see *Caochuang yunyu*, 6.230-31; *Pinzhou yudi pu*, 1.19a-21b. Wang Yisun wrote several poems to Zhou Mi. See Zhou Mi, *Juemiao haoci jian*, 7.14b-15b, 7.17a-b. On Wang Yisun's poetry, see Chia-ying Yeh Chao, "Wang I-sun."

4. Modern literary critics do not consider Zhou Mi and his circle of friends (Chen Yunping, Wang Yisun, Zhang Yan, Qiu Yuan) to be major poets, but anthologies of Song poetry normally include large selections from their works. Wang Guowei states that Zhou and his group were limited by their experience; in their search for exquisite forms and refined words, their poems fall short of expressing spontaneity and emotions. He opines that their poems could be written by the hundreds in a day. See Adele Rickett, 59-61, 79-81, 83, 89.

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mentioned.¹

Apart from poetry, Zhou also nurtured a budding antiquarian interest. In the late 1250s he inherited some antique objects from his maternal grandfather and father-in-law.² These treasured acquisitions added substantially to the impressive family collection. At this time he was already known to the best artists and connoisseurs; in 1260 he invited the imperial clansman, calligrapher and painter Zhao Mengjian (1199-1267) to an outing on the West Lake where, in the company of other art lovers, they inspected and commented on objects from each other's collections.³

Thus until the dynasty's fall, Zhou Mi's life was filled with pleasure outings, poetry gatherings, and antiquarian exhibitions, combined comfortably with an official career. This life-style was typical of upper middle-class officials of the day--the essence of which was to enjoy life, generally unperturbed by political events. Although the Mongols had posed a threat for more than forty years, Zhou, like most officials from Wen Tianxiang to Jia Sidao, never really envisioned that the Song could be completely conquered. His poetry up to 1274 certainly did not reflect this concern, although some close friends in political circles, such as Ma Tingluan and Wen Jiweng, would surely have kept him informed on current developments.⁴ By late 1274, however, Zhou found the Hangzhou bureaucracy apprehensive with rumors about the impending Mongol crisis, which happened to coincide with two unexpected

1. The *ci* and *shi* collections are known as *Pinzhou yudi pu* and *Caochuang yunyu*, respectively. Calligraphic prefaces by Li Lailao, Li Penglao, Chen Cun, and Wen Jiweng are found in the latter, preface, 1-14.

2. In 1259 Zhou obtained a rubbing of a tripod from his father-in-law's studio (Xia Chengtao, 330). The collection of his father-in-law's family was substantial and listed in Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu*, 3.1a-3b.

3. Zhao Mengjian's collected writings survive as the *Yizhai wenbian*. His date of death was established to be 1267, thus proving his alleged hostility against his distant cousin Zhao Mengfu who served the Yuan to have been groundless. See Jiang Tiange.

4. There are only several poems with political content in his poetry before 1275 (*Caochuang yunyu*, 6.228-29, 6.231-32, 6.235-36). Two are on the flood in Huzhou and one is on Emperor Duzong's death.

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ed natural disasters--a devastating flood in Huzhou and a landslide in the capital. Returning to Hangzhou from Huzhou that fall, his colleague Chen Guo told him about his nightmares concerning the Song demise:

"In the first month of spring I [i.e. Chen Guo] repeatedly dreamed about arriving at a large palace hall Approaching close I saw a strange creature squatting on the imperial bed. Next to it was a child in mourning clothes. Just at that moment I woke up in fear. Now the successor is in fact an infant, occupying the throne because the late emperor has passed away. The child in mourning clothes [thus] turned out to be an accurate premonition--nothing could be more inauspicious than this!" I [i.e., Zhou Mi] at the time thought it unreliable, being merely a dream. And yet during that winter, the crossing [of the Yangzi by the Mongol army] in fact took place.¹

It was only after the Song had collapsed that Zhou realized the full significance of the event. He was not an eyewitness of the last days of Hangzhou as the Song capital, since he was then briefly assigned as the subprefect of Yiwu. After hearing the news of the Song surrender, he went to Qingyuan to visit a cousin, and there met Dai Biaoyuan and his friends. The meeting might have been arranged by his friend and colleague in the water transport department, Yuan Hong, a native of Qingyuan who defected to the Yuan in 1276. In the first half of 1279, shortly after the defeat of loyalist resistance, Zhou was in Kuaiji with thirteen other poets mourning the fall of the Song and expressing outrage at the violation of the Song mausolea.² Out of thirty-seven poems in the anthology compiled on this occasion, Zhou contributed three. The other participants included local Kuaiji men and central figures involved in the mission to recover the imperial relics. Half of this circle had

1. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, *qian*.5a.

2. Zhou Mi was a contributor to the series of *Yuefu buti* poems.

been acquainted with Zhou and included his cousin Wang Yingsun, the two Li brothers, Zhang Yan, and Qiu Yuan.

Being with friends during this time helped Zhou alleviate the pain and sorrow caused by the Song demise. But when returning to his family home in Huzhou later that year Zhou was unprepared for the personal suffering that awaited him. Huzhou was the last Song stronghold before Hangzhou surrendered; prolonged resistance and subsequent plundering resulted in extensive destruction and waste.¹ Gone were the residence, library, and gallery owned by his family for many generations, and so were his concubines and servants. Fortunately his primary wife, son and daughter were still alive. At forty-seven and destitute, he took his family to live permanently in Hangzhou, returning to Huzhou only for brief visits.

In Hangzhou, Yang Dashou (fl. 1270-1300), his wife's relative, provided the family with lodging in the Guixin quarter.² Yang's residence and gardens were a familiar sight, where Zhou had spent much time during the previous three decades. Since fighting did not take place in Hangzhou during the Mongol invasion, and perhaps because Yang Dashou cooperated with the Mongols, the Yang family did not lose its wealth and status. Shortly thereafter, Zhou was given land and presumably money with which he built his own residence and several studios "among mulberry trees and bamboo, pavilions and pond." Having a generous and affluent relative spared Zhou the frustrations and hardships involved in making a meager living from private tutoring, selling essays, and attracting patrons--a fate from which many of his friends could not escape.

After the Collapse: Life in Huzhou and Hangzhou, 1280-98

For a brief period after settling in Hangzhou, Zhou withdrew from his large circle of friends and colleagues and pondered his personal suffering. His losses--an official career, wealth, and home--were made worse by prema-

1. Zhao Liangchun was the defending general in Huzhou. See his biography in *SS* 451.13265-66.

2. "Preface to the poetry composed at the banquet by the Yang family pond," in Dai Biaoyuan, 10.91-92; Zhu Cunli, 431.

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ture old age and ill health. The most poignant wound inflicted on him was the nagging feeling of being permanently relegated to a sojourner's status in Hangzhou. Writing poetry was no longer a frivolous and purely convivial pastime but became a private and compelling activity to which he turned for solace, reaching the point where "it was not that he could write poetry, but that he could not abstain from [it]." ¹ The two volumes produced during the early 1280s are no longer extant, but the profound emotional impact of dynastic change may be sensed through prefaces to these poems by his friends Ma Tingluan, Dai Biaoyuan, and Deng Mu. ² As if they themselves were experiencing the same emotions and turmoil, they observed that Zhou's poetry had become mature and skilled through personal tragedy, aging, and poverty. The poems of his youth were described as "talented," those of his adulthood as "erudite," but the work now produced as "deep-feeling and explosive, disquietingly pensive and sadly sublime." ³

Like his early poetic styles, his carefree and extravagant life also belonged to the past. Although earlier he had often complained about premature aging and frequent illness, now ill health (and probably a lack of sufficient funds) restricted his travels. His last concubine left him by 1281. Zhou told himself that it would be healthier for him to have fewer desires of the flesh and better to relive pleasures and travels through fond and vivid reminiscence. ⁴ An anthology of travel notes by Tang and Song literati, the *Cheng-*

1. "Preface to the *Laji ji*," in Ma Tingluan, 15.2b.

2. The two poetry collections, *Laji ji* and *Bianyang shiji*, are no longer extant; the former was still listed in the Ming catalog, Yang Shiqi's *Wenyuan ge shumu*, 436, while the latter was listed in the Qing catalog, Zheng Yuanqing's *Hulu jingji kao*, 2.29a-b. For prefaces to these collections, see Ma Tingluan, 15.2a-4a; Dai Biaoyuan, 8.76-77; Deng Mu, *Boya qin*, 30a.

3. Dai Biaoyuan, 8.76-77.

4. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, *qian*.30a-31b.

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huai lu, was probably edited in this quiet and pensive state of mind.¹

The introspective period seems to have ended by 1282, and on the whole helped Zhou to make and abide by the major decision of his life--not to seek appointment in the new government. This move was a "compulsory withdrawal" for him, as it was for former officials of the Song. The fact that his family had been in Song service for several generations put additional responsibility on him to preserve its honor and integrity as loyal subjects. Such sentiments, rather than a strong ethnic antipathy for alien rule, were the essence of his loyalism. Unlike Wen Tianxiang, he did not feel committed to take up militant resistance and, if that failed, to die in order to "requite the country." His friends and colleagues were of a similar mind. Unlike Zheng Sixiao, he did not interpret political withdrawal to mean total exclusion of social and cultural life. In fact, for the next two decades he was preoccupied with an extensive network of old friends and new acquaintances, whose companionship alleviated his suffering and developed his versatile talents.

In the 1280s, reemerging into society after a period of introspection, Zhou naturally found himself among old friends, their children and associates, many of whom had been Song officials. Having suffered similarly to Zhou during the dynasty's collapse, they initially could not bring themselves to work for the new government. Zhou kept up communications with his former colleagues and veteran officials, including Ma Tingluan and Chen Guo, who had gone home after the Song demise and were relieving their boredom by writing commentaries on the Confucian classics and copying Buddhist sutras.² Through Ma he was apparently introduced to Fei Jietang, a native of Sichuan who had gone to live in Raozhou and Hangzhou after the dynasty fell. Fei became his principal informant on Sichuan in his random jottings. With these old veterans of the Song court Zhou held discussions on the collapse of the Song and shared the remorseful feelings of being displaced

1. Zhou refers to this mood as *chenghuai guandao* which appears in the above reference as well as in the preface to the *Chenghuai lu*. It is an allusion to Zong Bing (fl. 420-79), who traveled throughout the country for thirty years; when he was old and sick he sketched the landscapes he had visited on his walls to invoke the pleasures of his earlier travels.

2. Zhou Mi, *Zhiya tang zachao*, b.21b.

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persons.

Zhou Mi was the only loyalist who had some contact with almost all the loyalist centers described in the previous chapter. Among the refugees in Annam he apparently knew a Jiang Dacheng (fl. 1280-90), who gave him information about that group.¹ Zhou Mi may have heard about the events of the loyalist resistance through returned members of the Yang family, who had accompanied the two princes to the southeastern provinces and with whom Zhou was acquainted through his former teacher Yang Zuan. In the Dadu group he shared a friend with Wang Yuanliang, namely Xu Xuejiang.² It was perhaps through Xu that he learned of the exchanges of poems among Deng Guangjian, Wen Tianxiang, Wang Yuanliang, and the imperial concubine Wang Qinghui. Zhou had numerous contacts with the Kuaiji group through participating in poetry gatherings in 1279; in addition, he was Wang Yingsun's cousin and a close friend of Wang Yisun. With Fang Feng and Xie Ao in Wuzhou he shared several intimate friends, including Deng Mu and Dai Biaoyuan. Zhou was acquainted with the Luling group through Liu Chenwang and his son Jiangsun; furthermore, Zhou was a colleague of Zeng Feng (d. 1277), Wen Tianxiang's former teacher who died in the loyalist resistance.³ Zhou's connection with the Qingyuan group was his friendship with Chen Yunping, Dai Biaoyuan, and his former colleague Yuan Hong. He also had a cousin or uncle in the prefecture. As for the Raozhou group, Zhou maintained contact through his mentor Ma Tingluan and his new acquaintance, Fei Jietang. Gong Kai, a close friend living in Pingjiang, also participated in Zhou's gatherings, inscribed his art possessions, and gave him presents of paintings.⁴ Finally, Zhou kept in touch with the Dongguan group

1. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, xu a.8a-9a.

2. Xu Xuejiang was a member of the Yinshe to which also belonged Zhou Mi in the 1260s. For the reference to Zhang Yan's *Ciyuan* on this information, see Xia Chengtao, 334. Xu was a close friend of Wang Yuanliang when the latter returned from the north.

3. Liu Jiangsun, 12.18a-19b. On Liu Chenwang, see *Guixin zazhi*, bie a.37b-38a, 42a-b. On Zeng Feng, see *Qidong yeyu*, 14.184-85.

4. See Ye Shaoweng, postscript.183-84.

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most likely through Fang Youxue, a close friend of Fang Feng and Xie Ao.

Zhou was personally connected with another loyalist center in Huzhou, his native home before the collapse of the dynasty. Although he resettled in Hangzhou, he returned at least once a year to tend the family graves. There he renewed old friendships with his former colleagues and friends Gao Side, Chen Cun (*jinshi* 1247), Wen Jiweng, and Mou Yan; he also socialized with the imperial scion Zhao Mengfu and his circle.

Gao Side, a veteran official, was the son of a celebrated loyal martyr who sacrificed his life in the 1230s fighting the Mongols. Probably influenced by his father's patriotism, Gao went to Huzhou to live after the surrender of Hangzhou. Chen Cun, also a veteran official, returned to his native prefecture of Huzhou and mourned deeply its loyalist martyr, Zhao Liangchun. He refused Yuan employment seven times, and instead, taught students for a living.¹ Both Chen Cun and Gao Side were preoccupied with copying Confucian classics and Buddhist sutras.

Wen Jiweng claimed Sichuan as his native home, but in fact lived in Huzhou and knew Zhou Mi before 1275, when he contributed a preface to Zhou's early poetry volume.² A veteran high-ranking official (2B), he was criticized by the Song court for fleeing from his responsibilities during its collapse. Returning to Huzhou, Wen devoted his time to scholarship on the classics and repeatedly turned down recommendations to office. Wen apparently did not socialize much, but corresponded with his student He Menggui and his former colleague Fang Fengchen, both of whom had retired to Yan-

1. Gao Side's biography is in *SS* 409.12322-28; his collected writings, *Chitang cungao*, contain some exchanges with Huzhou personalities, including the Daoist monk and poet Liu Lan, also Zhou Mi's close friend. On Chen Cun, see Lu Xinyuan, 34.8a. Mou Yan's *Lingyang ji* contains several essays and poems to him (4.12a, 6.15a-b).

2. Wen Jiweng has no biography in *SS*, in spite of his 2B rank. These biographical details are based on Lu Xinyuan, 34.9b.

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zhou.¹ Like their sons, Wen's son served as an instructor in a prefecture under the Yuan.

Of the Huzhou personages, Mou Yan was closest to Zhou Mi. Mou's family was originally based in Sichuan, but he had lived in Huzhou as a child. A childhood friend of Zhou Mi, he was almost as gregarious as Zhou; furthermore, his family connections were even more influential. His father was a chief minister, and he himself was on intimate terms with Prince Fu, Duzong's father.² In spite of its political prominence, his family was poor; after the collapse of the Song, Mou was often cold and hungry and depended on donations from his friends.³ A former official of the Song, after its demise he returned to Huzhou and for the next thirty-six years of his life did not leave the prefecture. He taught students and kept company with old and new friends, and gladly responded to their requests for essays and poems. He wrote at least four pieces for Zhou Mi, commenting on Zhou's changed lifestyle and devotion to his past.⁴

In the late 1280s, through Zhou Mi and his friends, Mou Yan was introduced to other acquaintances including Zhang Zhongshi (1260-1325), who subsequently became his son-in-law. Zhang Zhongshi and Mou's other friends, Deng Wenyan and Dai Biaoyuan, later took up positions with the Yuan, as did Mou's three sons, Yinglong (1247-1324), Yingfu and Yinggui

1. He Menggui was in contact with Wen Jiweng and his sons after the Song demise. See "On Wen Jiweng's diet" and "Preface to Wen Benren's poetry," in He Menggui, 5.9a-b and 5.21a-b. Wen Jiweng considered himself as close to Fang Fengchen as his own brother and wrote a lengthy funerary inscription for Fang, "Funerary inscription for the late president Fang Fengchen," in Fang Fengchen, 3.5a-20a.

2. Mou Yan's *Lingyang ji* contains some personal addresses, including birthday wishes, to and for Prince Fu (19.8a-b, 20.7b-8a, 21.6b-7b, 21.8b).

3. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, xu b.21b.

4. "Encomium on Zhou Mi," "Descriptive essay on Zhou Mi's Fu hut," "Preface to Zhou Mi's *Qidong yeyu*," and "Postscript to Zhou Mi's self-obituary," in Mou Yan, 7.2b, 10.1a-2b, 12.5a-6a, 16.9b-10b.

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(both fl. 1280-1335).¹ Mou also stayed on friendly terms with Fang Hui, who was Zhou's enemy, and Liu Mengyan, the former Song chief minister who rose to high rank in the Yuan and recommended Mou's children to office.²

In Huzhou, Zhou Mi and Mou Yan both related to a vibrant group of young scholars, poets, and painters, who in the first decade after the Song collapse had also withdrawn from politics. Known as the Eight Talents of Wuxing (Huzhou), they included Qian Xuan, Zhao Mengfu, Mou Yinglong (Mou Yan's eldest son), Xiao Zizhong, Chen Wuyi (Chen Cun's grandson), Chen Zhongxin, Yao Shi, and Zhang Fuheng (all fl. 1270-1300).³ Like their teacher Ao Junshan (fl. 1270-1300), they were natives of Huzhou and previously associated with Zhou Mi directly or through their fathers, teachers, or friends. For instance, Zhao Mengfu's father, Yuyin, an imperial relative and official of the Song, had been a close associate of Zhou. With this circle Zhou Mi shared a passionate interest in painting and calligraphy as well as in poetry. Returning to Huzhou once a year, Zhou joined them and pursued his artistic interests. Although none of Zhou's paintings and calligraphy has survived, he is known to have practiced calligraphy and excelled in painting plums, bamboos, orchids, and rocks.⁴ Zhou Mi, in turn, imparted his poetic skills to the other members of the group. Like Zhou, the Eight Talents did not participate in the military resistance, but they also lamented the fall of the dynasty. In the early 1280s they did not entertain thoughts of reemerging into

1. Mou Yinglong has a biography in *SS* 190.4337-38. Yingfu was pacifying commissioner of Zhedong when he wrote the preface to his father's *Lingyang ji* (Mou Yan, preface.1a-b). On Yinggui, see Dong Sizhang, 12.39b.

2. Fang Hui wrote several poems to Mou Yan, who was born the same year as Fang. See Fang Hui, *Tongjiang xuji*, 21.4b-5b, 21.28a-b. In 1299 Mou wrote a poem to his former teacher, Liu Mengyan, when the latter was eighty years old. See Mou Yan, 4.7a.

3. On the names and biographical sketches of the Eight Talents, see Don Sizhang, 12.33b.

4. Zhou Mi states that his father was skilled in calligraphy, but he himself failed in attempts to emulate the styles of the masters. See Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, *qian*.44b-45a. On Zhou Mi's reputation as a painter, see Xia Wenyan, 5.2b.

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public life under the new dynasty. In gathering with friends to talk of the past, compose poetry and pursue their artistic passions, they were not unlike the other loyalist groups discussed in Chapter 5. Beginning in 1286 with the recruitment of Zhao Mengfu by Cheng Jufu, all of the Eight Talents except for Qian Xuan eventually entered Yuan employment. Thus almost all members of this group have traditionally been classified as collaborators rather than Song loyalists, ignoring the fact that for an entire decade, from 1276 to 1286, their life-style was identical to that of Zhou Mi and the other loyalists.

Qian Xuan, considered by art historians as the most important of the loyalist artists, was a generation older than Zhao Mengfu and the other members of the group.¹ After the collapse of the Song, as a *jinshi* and former official of the conquered dynasty, Qian felt deep sorrow and could not respond to the summons to office. Subsequently, Qian preferred to keep his own company; he painted only in solitude and when drunk. His protest against the new government manifested itself in his archaic styles, in which he showed a nostalgic longing for the past and a search for his cultural roots. In spite of the different road he took from Zhao Mengfu and the others, the rumor about a break with Zhao seems to have been groundless. On the contrary, Qian showed keen interest in Zhao's acquisitions of paintings and art objects in the course of the latter's official travels under the Yuan.²

Although Zhou Mi went often to Huzhou, it was in Hangzhou that he became the focus of a loyalist group that embraced his old friends: the Li brothers, Qiu Yuan, Zhang Yan, Bai Ting (Qiu Yuan's friend), and Zhang Zhongshi (Mou Yan's son-in law).³ With the exception of the Li brothers,

1. On Qian Xuan, see Cahill, "Ch'ien Hsüan;" Lee and Ho, 92-93; Chen Gaohua, 309-25; Xia Wenyan, 5.3a. On Qian Xuan's extant paintings, see Cahill, *Index*, 264-70.

2. For a comparison of the art of Qian Xuan and Zhao Mengfu, see Li Chu-ting, "The role of Wu-hsing," 346-57.

3. Zhang Zhongshi's *ming* often appears as Ying, but is given as Mo by Dai Biaoyuan and Mou Yan (e.g., "Postscript on the genealogy of the Zhang family of Xiqin," in Mou Yan, 16.9a). On Zhang Zhongshi, see, among many prefaces to his writings, "Descriptive essay of the Xuegu studio," in Dai Biaoyuan 2.33-34; and "Admonition to the Xuegu studio," in Mou Yan, 7.3a-b.

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most of his earlier friends from Hangzhou had died or gone home after the collapse of the Song. Zhou's companions at this time thus belonged to a younger generation. Zhang Yan was related to him through his father Zhang Shu; Zhang Zhongshi came from the same lineage as Zhang Yan and could well have been a cousin. Zhang Yan, Qiu Yuan (a native of Hangzhou), and Bai Ting (a native of Qingyuan whose original surname was Shu) were young, promising poets in Hangzhou. Zhang Yan and Qiu Yuan had accompanied Zhou to Kuaiji in 1279 and participated in the poetry gatherings deprecating the looting of the imperial tombs.

In the early 1280s Zhou wrote poetry and went on short excursions with these young friends, sharing with them the sorrowful sentiments about the Song collapse. Of these young companions, Zhang Yan was the only one who did not serve the Yuan. From an aristocratic family which in its heyday patronized excellent poets, after the collapse of the dynasty Zhang Yan suffered heaviest from the loss of material wealth.¹ For the next four decades of his life he became a pathetic figure, wandering through various parts of the country in search of wealthy patrons, the only alternative to selling essays and teaching. In 1286-87 Bai Ting and Qiu Yuan participated in the Yuequan yinshe poetry competition held in Wuzhou, where they became acquainted with the loyalist circle of Xie Ao and Fang Feng, as well as Lian Wenfeng, the top winner of the competition. Upon returning to Hangzhou, Qiu and Bai most likely brought these new friends to Zhou Mi, Zhang Zhongshi, and Zhang Yan. A new friend that was made in Hangzhou at this time was the scholar-poet Tu Yue (fl. 1260-1300), a native of Hangzhou.²

At the end of the Song a few Buddhist monks and Daoist priests took up the loyalist cause; after the dynasty collapsed, some former Song officials

1. Zhang Yan's poetry collection is the *Shanzhong baiyun ci*. On Zhang Yan's travels to seek patrons, see "Preface to seeing off Zhang Yan on his travels to the west," in Dai Biaoyuan, 13.116-17. For its translation, see Shuen-fu Lin, 195-97.

2. On Tu Yue, see "Preface to seeing off Tu Yue to Wuzhou," in Dai Biaoyuan, 13.109-10; "Preface to seeing off Tu Yue to Linshui as an instructor," in Mou Yan, 5.7a.

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entered monasteries to demonstrate their loyalty to the former order.¹ Wen Riguan (fl. 1270-1300) was a Buddhist monk, a skilled painter of grapes, who expressed indignation at Byan-sprin lCan-skyā for desecrating the Song mausolea.² The Song loyalists were, by and large, eclectic in their religious views, but Zhou Mi and his circle tended to favor Daoism and consorted with a large number of Daoist priests.

In 1289 Zhou was accompanied by Qiu Yuan, Lian Wenfeng, and Zhang Zhongshi on an outing (his second) to the nearby Dadi Mountain retreat, where he met Deng Mu, a native of Hangzhou, Daoist recluse and Confucian scholar.³ Having never served the Song, Deng's withdrawal to the mountains was a purely voluntary gesture prompted by loyalist feelings for the Song. In his allegorical autobiographical essay, he shows that he could tolerate life (presumably under Mongol rule) only if he had no knowledge of anything, including the names of Heaven, Earth, and man.⁴ Like Zhou, the change of dynasties convinced him of the ephemeral nature of material things and, taking the idea a level higher, he felt that the change itself was activated by the incessant transformation of all matter. Zhou was impressed with Deng's loyalist feelings as well as his intimate knowledge of Daoism; he felt close enough to request a preface to his poetry collection. But the two occasionally differed in opinion: while Zhou attributed the collapse of the Song to the so-called "spurious learning" and empty talk of Neo-Confucianists,⁵

1. SS 455.13382 contains the biographies of a Daoist priest and a Buddhist monk who perished in the loyalist resistance. On former officials withdrawing into monasteries, see Zheng Yuanyou, 1.2-4, 1.9.

2. Wen Riguan was befriended by Xianyu Shu. On Wen, see Zheng Yuanyou, 1.8-9; Chen Gaohua, 300-08.

3. Deng Mu's collected writings are entitled *Boya qin*. Zhou Mi and his companions composed poems at the Daoist retreat during both visits, the first being in 1265. See Deng Mu, *Dongxiao shiji*, 5.3a-b, 9.7b-8b, 10.8a-9b.

4. "Biography of no such man," in Deng Mu, *Boya qin*, 11a-12a.

5. For Zhou Mi's attack on Neo-Confucians, see Haeger, "Intellectual context," 505-09, 512.

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Deng compared the Song demise to a foolish man who shared his killings with a dog whose greed was not appeased and later gobbled up its benefactor.¹ Another parallel was drawn in which a ghost oppressed the common people until the god of Heaven destroyed it and reversed its evil doings. While Zhou Mi's loyalism was not racial in substance, Deng vehemently opposed foreign rule and argued against sharing territory with foreigners whose greed he considered to be insatiable.

Deng has been considered the only philosopher and political thinker among the Song loyalists on the basis of his two political essays, *Jundao* (Way of the ruler) and *Lidao* (Way of the magistrates).² In the former, he set forth the premise that in the ideal era of the sage kings the throne was a coveted, prestigious position and nobody wished to be king. At that time the sage kings were only concerned with what they could do for the people, and not what the people could do for them. Since the Qin dynasty, which Song loyalists often compared with Mongol rule, the throne became coveted and the opposite became true.³ The latter essay states that because the virtuous disdained society and withdrew from it, it was no longer possible to employ only the virtuous and the talented in government. Thus incompetent and evil officials came to power and exploited the common people. It concludes by advocating the elimination of officials and prefects so that people could rule themselves, suggesting something akin to democracy and anarchy.⁴ In his criticism of despotic rulers and corrupt officials and in his advocacy of revo-

1. "A man of Yue meeting a dog" and "A ghost flattered in Chu," in Deng Mu, *Boya qin*, 10a-11a.

2. Deng Mu has also been credited with the theory of a plural galactic universe. See Joseph Needham and Wang Ling, 221. For discussions of Deng's political philosophy, see Fu Lo-shu, "Teng Mu;" and Qiu Shusen.

3. "The way of the ruler," in Deng Mu, *Boya qin*, 3b-5a. For its translation into English, see Fu Lo-shu, "Teng Mu," 67-71.

4. "The way of the magistrates," in Deng Mu, *Boya qin*, 5a-6b. For a summary, see Fu Lo-shu, "Teng Mu," 71-72. It has been pointed out that the *Boya qin* inspired the *Mingyi daifang lu*, written by the Ming loyalist Huang Zongxi. See Fu Lo-shu, "Teng Mu," 71-90; Qiu Shushen, 8. For an analysis of Huang Zongxi's work, see de Bary.

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lutionary action to abolish these evils, Deng was voicing his protest against the Yuan bureaucracy as well as the late Song absolutist state and its magistrates. Since the ruler did not have "four eyes, two beaks, a scaly head, and wings," any ordinary person could potentially become a ruler.¹ Deng, however, did not despair like his loyalist companions, but was optimistic and looked forward to playing an active role. This intention is clearly stated in his preface to his collection of poems and essays of which only one-third has survived:

These poems and essays I have collected are entitled *Boya qin* [The lute of Boya]. Although Boya [Chunqiu period, 771-477 B.C.] was a skillful lutist, after [his patron] Zhong Ziqi died, he did not play for the remainder of his life. This shows that it is difficult [to find someone] to appreciate the lute. Now the world has no one to appreciate it, and my ceaseless playing the lute is foolish indeed. Boya smashed his lute and broke the strings because Ziqi died. As I have not yet met [my] Ziqi, how can I know whether he has died or not? Thus I have kept these [poems and essays].²

Deng Mu compared the former officials of the Song who withdrew permanently from official life to Zhong Ziqi's loyal lutist, Boya. As for himself who had never served the Song, he could morally cooperate either with the new government or a Song restoration if either proved to be benevolent.

Deng Mu's constant companion in the Dadi mountains was a fellow Daoist recluse, Ye Lin (d. 1306). It has been suggested that Deng and Ye both committed suicide to resist an attempt by the Yuan bureaucracy to re-

1. Deng Mu, *Boya qin*, 4b.

2. "Self-preface," in *ibid.*, 1a.

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cruit their services in 1305.¹ I believe, however, that there is insufficient evidence to support this assertion, particularly in view of the above preface which expressed Deng Mu's wish to await an opportunity to serve an enlightened ruler.

During the last two decades of his life, Deng met many of Zhou's friends in other loyalist circles, in particular Wang Yingsun, Lin Jingxi, Xie Ao, and Shu Yuexiang, most of whom visited the Dadi retreat; Deng Mu also went often to Kuaiji to see them. Zhou apparently introduced Deng to Wang Yingsun, through whom he might have met Xie Ao in 1294. Xie commuted to Hangzhou often to see his wife and through Deng Mu, Zhang Zhongshi or Zhou Mi, met Deng Wenyuan, a native of Sichuan and resident of Hangzhou after the Song demise.² At that time Deng Wenyuan was sharing a house with Zhang Zhongshi and his brother.

Zhou Mi, together with Deng Mu and Xie Ao, have often been considered the key loyalist figures in Hangzhou. Although Zhou and Xie shared many friends, there is no direct evidence showing that the two knew each other. Zhou's role was not so much in being a key loyalist personality in Hangzhou as in supplying a link with the other loyalist groups and in providing a venue for loyalist visitors passing through Hangzhou. One of these occasions took place in 1288, when Zhou Mi invited fourteen friends, including natives of Hangzhou and temporary residents, to celebrate the completion of his pond. On that day his guests were urged to compose poetry and forget about the sorrows of the day. Zhou Mi also displayed his art objects for his friends to admire and on which to write colophons.³

Dai Biaoyuan was the most important visitor to Hangzhou, and he be-

1. In 1305 Wu Quanjie (d. 1346) was commissioned to seek talented men in south China and he thus obtained the names of Deng Mu and Ye Lin, both of whom declined to serve. See Wu's preface to Deng Mu's *Dongxiao tuzhi*, 1a-b. On the basis of a statement that the two recluses died "without illness," Fu Lo-shu argues that Deng Mu and Ye Lin committed suicide by starvation ("Teng Mu," 40, 42).

2. On Deng Wenyuan, see his biography in *YS* 172.4023-25, and his collected writings in *Baxi ji*.

3. Dai Biaoyuan, 10.91-92.

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came a popular personality among Zhou Mi's coterie.¹ A *landsmen* of Bai Ting (whom he met in Hangzhou) and Zhou Mi's friend Chen Yunping, Dai came from a scholar-official family of modest means. When his official career ended with the collapse of the Song, he was left virtually destitute; during 1276-79 he sought refuge among the Qingyuan loyalists. A man of strong commitment to his family, he immediately hired himself out as a private tutor, selling essays to supplement a meager income. At times he actually tilled the land and begged for donations. His teaching duties took him frequently to Hangzhou where he resided for many years in the 1280s and 1290s next door to Zhang Zhongshi and Deng Wenyuan. Zhou might have initially introduced Dai to the latter two; in any case, Dai soon found himself most welcome in Zhou's circle and established many lifelong relationships. Among these were Zhao Mengfu, Zhang Yan, Qiu Yuan, Bai Ting, Tu Yue, Xianyu Shu, Wang Yingsun, Xie Ao, and Deng Mu. That Zhou was the first point of contact is documented: Dai recorded that it was from Zhou that he had first heard about Bai Ting, through whom he became acquainted with Qiu Yuan.²

Dai participated in many of the activities surrounding Zhou's circle, but he often stood outside the circle so he could observe objectively the effects of dynastic change on the Hangzhou literati. These comments are extant in the form of "descriptive essays" on studios and academies associated with these men, as well as in prefaces and postscripts on his contemporaries' travels and writings. He also wrote prefaces to most of Zhou's later poetry and *biji* collections, commenting on the impact of the Song conquest on Zhou

1. Dai Biaoyuan was almost as popular as Zhou Mi in intellectual circles in Hangzhou and other prefectures after the collapse of the Song. He also wrote many colophons on art objects, but does not seem to have been an art collector himself. His collected writings, *Shan-yuan ji*, provide rich material on the life of the scholars, especially on the contrast before and after the collapse of the Song. For his biography, see YS 190.4336-37. To date, the only substantive work on this interesting personality is Sun Fuhou's chronobiography, *Dai Shan-yuan nianpu*.

2. "Preface to the poetry of Bai Ting" and "Preface to the poetry of Qiu Yuan," in Dai Biaoyuan, 8.79-80, 8.75.

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Mi's work and life-style.¹ Unlike Zhou and his helpless friends in the 1280s who lamented the fall of the dynasty, Dai exhibited a pragmatic and rational acceptance of the change. He did not whine about his poverty, nor did he feel embarrassed about accepting donations of food and money. After witnessing the piteous decline of the social and economic status of the Hangzhou literati and the deterioration of their scholarship, it was this rational, calm and objective attitude that made him take upon himself the task of raising cultural standards and the status of the literati.

Southern scholars like Fang Hui and Zhou Mi often complained about ill-treatment and oppression by northern Chinese and foreigners serving in South China.² However, in spite of this general resentment, several northerners counted conspicuously among Zhou Mi's circle. Beginning in the mid-1280s, he expanded his network of friends while pursuing his interests in art, and came into contact with northern Chinese in the employ of the Yuan government who chose to settle in Hangzhou, or whose official duties took them nearby. One outstanding personality among them was Xianyu Shu, who as administrator witnessed the destruction of Yangzhou and showed sympathy for the Song loyalist movement.³ A notable calligrapher and art connoisseur, Xianyu Shu shared with Zhou a passion for the arts and became closely acquainted with many of Zhou's friends. Another close companion was Li Kan (1245-1320), a native of Jizhou (Hebei) and skillful ink painter of bamboo.⁴

1. For these prefaces, see Dai Biaoyuan, *passim*. For prefaces to Zhou Mi's writings, see Dai's "Preface to the *Qidong yeyu*," in Zhou Mi, *Qidong yeyu*, preface.1; "Preface to Zhou Mi's *Bianyang shi*," in Dai Biaoyuan, 8.76-77.

2. For complaints about northern Chinese and foreigners oppressing southerners and being arbitrary and arrogant in south China, see Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, xu a.5a-b; "Preface to bidding Jingwen farewell," in Fang Hui, *Tongjiang xuji*, 12.15b-16a; Yao Congwu, "Cheng Jufu yu Hubilie."

3. Xianyu Shu's collected writings, *Kunxue zhai zalu*, are extant. Xianyu is frequently mentioned in Zhou Mi's references to art collecting; his private collection is listed in Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu*, 1.2a-b. See also Marilyn Wong Fu. On Xianyu's sentiments in regard to the invasion of the Song, see *ibid.*, 402.

4. On Li Kan, see Chen Gaohua, 100-21; and Kao Mu-sen.

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Li Kan was Zhou Mi's principal informant about northern art styles, foreign customs, and extraordinary occurrences. Apart from Li Kan and Xianyu Shu, there were other northerners and foreigners who became fellow connoisseurs and "traveling companions" of Zhou Mi, a circle drawn together by mutual interest in painting and art connoisseurship. They included the Central Asian Gao Kegong (1248-1310), the northern Chinese Guo Tianxi (fl. 1270-1320) and Qiao Kuicheng (fl. 1270-1320), and the Uighur Lian Xigong (1240-1300).¹ The latter was the younger brother of Lian Xixian, known *inter alia* for his adherence to Confucian mourning for his mother. To these new acquaintances Zhou introduced his Hangzhou art collector friends, among them Wang Zhi (fl. 1270-1300).²

Among the loyalist groups scattered in regional centers Zhou Mi played an integrating role by bringing together his disparate friends. Now, within this enlarged circle, Zhou brought his new acquaintances into contact with his old companions and colleagues. For instance, Zhou knew Xianyu Shu and Li Kan first, who along with others, were introduced to Zhao Mengfu and his painter friends in Huzhou. Mou Yan and Dai Biaoyuan were similarly befriended by Xianyu Shu and the others. The setting for these introductions was in the form of social gatherings, during which all of Zhou's friends, Yuan officials and loyalists, were invited; Zhou Mi also accepted their invitations and thus met new arrivals to Hangzhou. The participants have recorded at least three such events.

In 1287 Zhou acquired a rubbing by Wang Xianzhi (344-88), *Baomuzhi* (Epitaph to the governess), and invited his friends to view it and write

1. For sources on Gao Kegong, see Chen Gaohua, 1-29. On the private collections of Gao Kegong, Guo Tianxi, Qiao Kuicheng, and Lian Xigong, see Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu*, 2.7a, 2.2a-3a, 1.1a-b, 2.5b-6a, and 4.1b-2a. Like Li Kan, they were on official duties in the provincial government of Jiang-Zhe and took the opportunity to mingle with Hangzhou connoisseurs. On Lian Xigong's relationship with Lian Xixian, see Zheng Yuanyou, 1.1.

2. Wang Zhi was a native of Hangzhou and owned a substantial private art collection. See Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu*, 1.4a-6a. He was recommended for office by an eminent official about 1300. See "Preface to bid farewell to Wang Zhi," in Dai Biaoyuan, 13.114.

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colophons on the scroll.¹ Among the guests were Xianyu Shu, Qiu Yuan, Bai Ting, and Deng Wenyuan. Other friends who were not present at the unveiling were later invited to view the new acquisition and contribute a colophon: they included Zhao Mengfu, Wang Yisun, Wang Yingsun, Wang Yijian, and Lü Tonglao. Another gathering occurred in 1293, at Xianyu Shu's residence, for a viewing of a "translucent" bronze mirror acquired by Xianyu.² In 1298, Xianyu Shu held another private exhibition to examine a piece of calligraphy by Wang Xizhi (321-79).³ Again during these occasions their common interests bound northerners and southerners, loyalists and nonloyalists in close companionship.

Beginning in the late 1280s and increasingly more so in the 1290s, Zhou's activities were chiefly in art connoisseurship rather than poetry gatherings. They took the form of visits to private collections and libraries, accompanied by Xianyu Shu and Wang Zhi in particular. Without some contact with high Yuan officials, Zhou and his friends could not have had the opportunity to view collections such as the former Song imperial library. The visits were thorough and systematic, so that Zhou was able to make notes in the *Zhiya tang zachao* (Miscellaneous notes from Zhiya Studio) and enter them as catalogs in the *Yunyan guoyan lu* (Record of things viewed through the eyes as cloud and smoke).⁴ With the generous patronage offered by his relative Yang Dashou, and the influence of Yuan officials, Zhou Mi was not destitute but he often regretted no longer owning a substantial private collection. During the visits to these private collections his objective was two-fold: to appreciate the art objects *per se*, and to describe them in detail so that he did not need to actually possess such articles to recapture their aesthetic beauty.

1. This scroll with the colophons by Zhou Mi's friends is now in a private collection and was seen by Xia Chengtao. See Xia Chengtao, 356. The colophons inscribed while the scroll was in Zhou Mi's possession are also given in Ye Shaoweng, postscript. 177-86. See also Marilyn Wong Fu, 396-97.

2. See Marilyn Wong Fu, 395; Zhou Mi, *Guixing zazhi*, xu b.31a-b.

3. Marilyn Wong Fu, 407-08; Kao Mu-sen, 92-93.

4. These visits are recorded with dates in Zhou Mi, *Zhiya tang zachao*, juan a, *et passim*.

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He consoled himself with the thought that in the final analysis it was better to own a catalog, and not to worry about coveting treasures and then fearing their theft or destruction. Through these outings, Zhou's network of relationships extended to other Yuan dignitaries like Myriarch Fei Gongchen (fl. 1270-1300), whose collections he was invited to view and perhaps catalog.¹ He may also have been commissioned by them to acquire various art objects, acting in some respects as a dealer.²

The Dilemma of Service to the Yuan

While Zhou was freely mingling with both loyalists and those serving the Yuan bureaucracy, most loyalists gradually reemerged from their political withdrawal and broke away from the decision not to serve two dynasties. Like Zhou Mi, they had suffered loss of material wealth and of political and social status during the turbulent years of the Song collapse. Until then they had been relying on private teaching or family savings, patrons or donations to support themselves and their families. Drinking and composing poetry among friends were diversions rather than fulltime occupations for many in Zhou's circle. Zhao Mengfu was the first to reemerge into public office in 1287 during the well-known Cheng Jufu mission to recruit men of talent for the Yuan court.³ The fact that Zhao Mengfu had spent a decade in compulsory eremitism in Huzhou, in the company of the Eight Talents of Wuxing, is often forgotten in the light of this "unforgivable" service to the Yuan. The guilt of deserting his principles was considerably exacerbated by the fact that he was a Song clansman; he felt it intensely for the rest of his life and carried it into his paintings and poetry. But right from the time that he was recruited, he hesitated and felt uneasy about the position that he neither initially sought

1. For a visit to Myriarch Fei's collection, see Zhou Mi, *Zhiya tang zachao*, a.4b. On Fei, whose funerary inscription was written by Mou Yan, see "Postscript to the funerary inscription of Fei's ancestors," in Huang Jin, 30.25b-26b.

2. Zhou Mi, *Zhiya tang zachao*, a.7a-b.

3. For Zhao Mengfu's biography, see YS 172.4018-23; see also Chen Gaohua, 30-99. Li Chu-ting has written about Zhao's guilt in regard to his reemergence into public life. See Li's *Autumn colors*, 81-85; "The Freer," 314-22.

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nor happily accepted. In a preface to bid farewell to Wu Cheng (1249-1333), who was returning to South China instead of taking up a post in Dadu,¹ Zhao expressed envy for Wu's return and asked him to explain his dilemma to his friends in Huzhou and Hangzhou, who might not understand why he had responded to the summons:

Scholars when young maintain their studies at home; many wish to come out and make practical use of their studies for the country. That would allow the wisdom of the sages and the virtuous to extend all over the empire. That was the original motive of scholars. And yet often they stay in seclusion and feel satisfied among the greenery and the cliffs, and even though dying in old age, they would still not regret it. Is that fearing the will of Heaven and grieving over one's poverty? If truly one withdraws and ponders over what one studies, what is useful and what is not useful at present? When can studies be put into practice and when not be put into practice? Thus the plans for our emergence are clearly determined by our wishes. It is not for the purpose of settling and finding an abode.

In recent years, the [Yuan] emperor sent envoys to inspect [the area] south of the Yangzi to seek the virtuous and talented in order to plan for and rule [the empire]. And so the censor Mr. Cheng [Jufu] was also dispatched. Mr. Cheng understood well the emperor's desire for talented minds, thus he got Mr. Wu Cheng of Linquan to return with him [to Dadu]. Mr. Wu is widely learned and knows many things: the classics are thoroughly understood [by him] and his conduct is impeccable. He is up to date and knows about current affairs--a truly excellent choice. Somehow I was also put on the list of the

1. On Wu Cheng's dilemma of public service, see David Gedalecia, 601-05.

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recommended.

After arriving at the capital, Mr. Wu changed his mind and wished to return, saying: "My learning is of no practical use here; it cannot be put into practice." I then composed a poem on Tao Qian and two on Zhu Xi, and returned [to my quarters in Dadu]. Mr. Wu's heart is the same as mine. My talents cannot measure up to his by one hundredth. When he is gone, what will become of me?

In my native district there is my teacher, Mr. Ao Junshan, and Qian Xuan, Xiao Zizhong, Zhang Fuheng, Chen Zhongxin, Yao Shi, and Chen Wuyi [i.e., six of the Eight Talents of Wuxing] are my friends. With these several companions in my native home I traveled among the mountains and the waters and was happy indeed. Reading books and strumming the lute I now entertain myself. How could one have suspected that the creator would not spare me [from political involvement]? And how can I be of any use?

The day Mr. Wu left [for South China] he said to me: "I will soon leave and travel down the Yangzi and seek your friends." I then presented him with my three poems as a parting gift and listed the names of my teacher and friends for him to visit and inform them of my situation. "Dai Biaoyuan, a native of Qingyuan, and Deng Wenyan, a native of Sichuan, are also my friends. When you arrive in Hangzhou, convey my feelings to them as well."¹

We observe from this preface that Zhao Mengfu would have been content to remain in Huzhou had he not been summoned. Apparently Zhao's

1. "Preface to bidding farewell to Wu Cheng who is returning to the south," in Zhao Mengfu, 6.62-63.

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acceptance did affect Zhou Mi's friendship with Zhao briefly, which may have been the reason why Zhou was not listed among the acquaintances Wu Cheng was asked to visit. The break in relationship did not last long; three years later Zhao was writing to Zhou expressing his weariness in office and his longing to resign and return to his friends in South China:

In the dusk the deserted streets emit a white mist,
On the way home, the prized horse cannot gallop fast
enough.
Disappointed again--my desire to doze in the shade
of flowers at high noon.
Tomorrow morning--rise again at the cock's crow,
Three years wearily have I served as secretary in
the Ministry of State,
Even in dreams my heart is never away from my
native place.
This longing I communicate to Master Zhou of Hangzhou
Burning incense in his Soul-searching Studio.¹

The relationship was likely restored by Zhou Mi's avid interest in the cultural and artistic opportunities opened up by the reunification of the country, and Zhao Mengfu, as Yuan official and artist, could help him. Zhao often visited Hangzhou, bringing with him samples of northern trends and styles of painting, calligraphy, and other art objects. Through Zhao, Zhou also heard about the customs and practices of northerners and foreigners. Deeply touched by Zhou's deep concern for his ancestral home in Qizhou, when Zhao Mengfu returned to Hangzhou in 1295 he painted from memory the landscape of Qizhou and presented the painting to Zhou to enable his friend to visualize the place he had never seen but always claimed as his.² In a poem written to Zhou after a meeting in 1296 Zhao Mengfu indicated his

1. "On returning from the office, to be sent to Zhou Mi," in *ibid.*, 5.54.

2. On this painting, see Li Chu-tsing's *Autumn Colors*.

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relief that Zhou was among the few friends who really understood him.¹ Through Zhao, Zhou Mi met other Mongol dignitaries and northern Chinese, including the above-mentioned Myriarch Fei (father-in-law of Zhao's daughter), who had defected to the Yuan in 1275.

After Zhao Mengfu, Zhou saw other friends leave to take up positions in the Yuan court. These included Wang Yisun (in 1288), Chen Yunping (1291), Yuan Jue (1295), Tu Yue (1296), and Deng Wenyuan (1298).² Few responded to the summons without misgivings, but reassurances by northern friends already in Yuan employment such as Li Kan, Guo Tianxi, and Xianyu Shu assuaged their scruples about accepting office. These Yuan officials and artist friends had first recommended them to office. In about 1300 the talented poet Bai Ting finally accepted an office from Li Kan, after rejecting Bayan's offer in 1275 and that of Cheng Jufu in 1286-87. Among those recommended by Gao Kegong were Deng Wenyuan, Ao Junshan, Yao Shi, and Chen Wuyi.³ Those who finally entered the Yuan government reassured others on their visits home, arguing that the anticipated obstacles to adjusting to a new style of life turned out to be insignificant.⁴ In virtually all cases, the stated excuse for hesitating to serve was the fear of being incompetent, but the more pressing reason for former Song officials was uneasiness about

1. "To the rhyme of Zhou Mi's poem," in Zhao Mengfu, 3.28.

2. On Wang Yisun's service to the Yuan, see Chia-ying Yeh Chao, "Wang I-sun," 62-66. Zhou Mi wrote a poem to see off Chen Yunping on his journey to the north in response to a summons to office. See Zhou Mi, *Juemiao haoci jian*, 7.4b. On the appointments of Yuan Jue, Tu Yue, and Deng Wenyuan, see the prefaces to bid them farewells, in Dai Biaoquan, 12.108-09, 13.109-10, 14.118-19.

3. On Bai Ting's recommendation to office by Li Kan, see Song Lian's epitaph of Bai, in *Song Wenxian gong quanji*, 19.9b. On Gao Kegong's recommendation of Deng Wenyuan and some of the Eight Talents, see Deng Wenyuan's account of Gao's conduct, in Deng Wenyuan, b.23b-24a; Chen Gaohua, 7-8.

4. For example, Deng Wenyuan advises his friend, a Yuan official, to accept a higher appointment. He argues that he himself had been through the same doubts ten years previously, when deciding whether to serve or not. See his "Preface to bid farewell to Guo Wenqing who is assuming the administration of Fuliang," in Deng Wenyuan, a.16a.

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serving another dynasty.¹ Nevertheless, Wang Yisun reluctantly took office but resigned a short while later, while Chen Yunping arrived in Dadu and returned without serving. Tu Yue and Yuan Jue declined office several times before accepting at Dai Biaoyuan's urgings. It is noteworthy that after Zhou Mi's death in 1298, many more in his circle, including Qiu Yuan, Bai Ting, and Dai Biaoyuan, became Yuan officials. Like many of his friends, Qiu Yuan was most unhappy in his service as an instructor in a prefecture. He explained that this decision to accept office was due to poverty and hunger, and not because he wished to become eminent and wealthy:

Before serving I always longed to serve;
When serving I wish to return home.
It then became clear that it is proper to return
And I realize that my seeking employment was wrong.
I took up employment basically due to poverty,
And not due to envy for great wealth.

. . . .

The times are hard with scholars losing employment,
Out of ten families nine are cold and hungry.
How could I not think of the concerns of Yu and
[Hou]ji [i.e., plight of the empire]?
My strength limited--my will opposed.²

For the same reasons, Dai Biaoyuan wanted to take up a post and in 1302 was recommended to office.³ However, he served for only five years and returned home.

Most of these former Song officials and degree-holders served as edu-

1. For feelings of incompetence, see the above cited prefaces by Dai Biaoyuan.

2. This is from a stanza in a series of poems sent to Hangzhou friends. See Qiu Yuan, *Jinyuan ji*, 1.20a. Qiu Yuan's other collected writings are known as *Shancun yiji*. Bai Ting also accepted Li Kan's offer of employment due to poverty. See Song Lian, 19.9b.

3. "Self-preface," in Dai Biaoyuan, preface.5.

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cation officials; their offices ranged from *tiju* (superintendent of schools, 5B) and *jiaoshou* (instructor of a prefecture, 8-9) to unranked positions such as *xuezheng* (supervisor of schools) and *shanzhang* (director of schools or academies).¹ Ranked positions were appointments from the Yuan court, while unranked offices were appointed at the provincial or local level. Some loyalists finally accepted unranked offices but rejected appointments from the central bureaucracy. For those who felt guilty about serving, the price was indeed high, for even positions as instructorships fetched a meager remuneration of only thirty to forty ounces of silver; thus in spite of their service they did not end up much better off than before.² In exceptional cases, however (e.g., Zhao Mengfu, Yuan Jue, Deng Wenyuan, Bai Ting), more distinguished and financially rewarding positions were reached.

The Loyalism of Zhou Mi, 1276-98

After the collapse of the Song, Zhou's loyalism was first characterized by his close association with loyalist personalities active in various regions in South China. As a former subject, his loyalism was not so much directed to the Song ruler as to Song culture and civilization. Zhou felt compelled to make use of his extensive cultural and political experience to record the customs, culture, and arts of the former age. The *Wulin jiushi* (Former events of Wulin county), *Yunyan guoyan lu*, and *Juemiao haoci* (Absolutely marvelous *ci* poetry) were written expressly for this purpose. The first was an attempt to update and supplement previous regional records of Hangzhou; it contains rich material on court protocol and imperial festivities since the transfer of the Song capital to the South, graduation ceremonies of *jinshi* graduates, popular festivals and entertainment centers, and even the names of

1. On these positions, see YS 91.2316. See also Zhou Zumo, "Songwang hou," 196-97.

2. See *ibid.*, 204-08. In this study of Confucian scholars in south China who served the Yuan as instructors, Zhou Zumo indicates three reasons for their reemergence: to gain tax-exempt status, to avoid racial discrimination, and to alleviate poverty.

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dishes served in Hangzhou restaurants.¹ Zhou's sources were unofficial and private. As stated in his preface, the work recorded material he had heard from retired officials when he was a child; the details were supplemented by practical experience gained when he was an official. Only after the change of dynasty did he feel the ephemeral nature of the pleasures and customs described in the work which, like the companionship of old friends, were subject to the vicissitudes of the times: "I thought life was always like this; earlier I did not realize that peace and pleasurable things are difficult to come by."² He often related these events to his children, who did not believe him, and thus in order to preserve at least the memory of the past age and its glories, he wrote them down for posterity. Following the same intention, the *Yunyan guoyan lu* is a description of forty-five private art collections (i.e., all private except for that of the former Song imperial library),³ and the *Juemiao haoci* is an anthology of almost four hundred *ci* poems by over a hundred Southern Song poets.⁴ Without Zhou's writings, some of these sources on the Southern Song period would not otherwise have been preserved.

Zhou considered himself a serious historian and felt compelled to supplement certain historical events by the particular views of his family. After reading through the records and diaries of his maternal and paternal grandfathers who were both prominent statesmen, he believed (as his father did) that official versions were biased and not up to the standard of his family's records. Because the family library was completely destroyed and he was the last person to have read the books therein, he felt an obligation to draw

1. For a list of Zhou Mi's extant and lost writings, see Xia Chengtao, 371-76. Previous unofficial regional records which Zhou wanted to supplement included Meng Yuanlao's *Dongjing menghua lu*. See "Self-preface," in Zhou Mi, *Wulin jiushi*, preface.1a.

2. See *ibid.* for his motives in writing the *Wulin jiushi* and for this quotation.

3. Cf. Marilyn Wong Fu, 398, note 54, who says there are forty-one collectors listed. This work also includes the collection of zithers found in north and south China, as well as a list of skillful lutists.

4. Many of the entries by Zhou Mi's friends, like Wang Yisun and Zhang Yan, in the *Juemiao haoci* are personal poems written to him.

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on his memory to reproduce the contents. This was his motivation for writing the *Qidong yeyu* (Unofficial words of the man from the east of Qi).¹

Zhou was particularly annoyed at the historiographical tradition of evaluating a person's merits or demerits on the basis of his final victory or defeat.² Thus he opposed the additional incrimination that contemporary historians heaped on the disgraced "treacherous officials" Jia Sidao and Han Tuozhou, because imperial objects had been found in their residences after their disgrace.³ He admitted that his wife's family also owned such objects through the spontaneous generosity of the emperor. Although Zhou, like his contemporaries, blamed Jia Sidao for the Song collapse, he was more objective. He argued that despite his other faults, Jia did manage to control the abuses of the Song relatives, eunuchs, and university students.⁴ To be fair to Jia, Zhou placed partial blame for the fall of the Song on the Neo-Confucian philosophers who, in Zhou's opinion, concentrated on "pure discussions" rather than practical methods to improve the precarious state of the country.⁵

Zhou's views on the legitimacy of the Yuan succession to the Song reflect his historical inclinations and his loyalist feelings. He agreed with his former colleague Chen Guo, who elucidated seven "breaks" and six "continuations" of orthodox succession from the disintegration of the Zhou dynasty up to the collapse of the Tang.⁶ It seems that both Zhou and Chen were hoping for a "continuation," i.e. a native dynasty, after the "break", i.e. the Mongol Yuan dynasty, suggesting an optimistic outlook.

1. "Self-preface," in Zhou Mi, *Qidong yeyu*, preface.1. Mou Yan's preface to the work comments on the unofficial nature of Zhou Mi's work, while that of Dai Biaoyuan discusses Zhou Mi's concern with his ancestral home. See Mou Yan, 12.5a-6b; Dai Biaoyuan's preface in Zhou Mi, *Qidong yeyu*, preface.1.

2. Zhu Cunli, 430.

3. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, hou.13b-14b.

4. *Ibid.*, hou.11a-13b.

5. *Ibid.*, xu b.4b-6a.

6. *Ibid.*, hou.41a-45b.

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Zhou's loyalist feelings were also evident in his outrage at the excavation and desecration of the Song imperial tombs. Apart from condemning Byan-sprin lCan-skyā, he denounced the Chinese monks who curried favor with a Lamaist monk by first giving him the idea to loot the graves. In these accounts he used supernatural and retributive elements to prove his point that a bad end would befall those responsible for the infamous incident.¹

Zhou stood as an ardent loyalist in his harsh criticism of defectors and collaborators. His accounts of their undignified defection all follow the same pattern of ridicule and censure. Before the Mongol army set foot in the district, each of these officials made a public declaration of their loyalty to the Song and determination to repel the enemy forces, and to die if that mission failed; later they could not be found and when the common people assumed that they had died for the Song cause and mourned them, it turned out that they had left their defense posts to welcome the Mongol army.² The criticism of Fang Hui, who surrendered in early 1276, was severe and extended to Fang's disloyalty to Jia Sidao and to his allegedly debauched private life.³ Despite his attempts to be objective in portraying some individuals, like Jia Sidao, Zhou's depiction of Fang Hui was highly prejudiced and resulted from a feud between them. The two actually shared many friends in Hangzhou and in other prefectures, from the loyalists Ma Tingluan and Mou Yan to the northerner and Yuan official Li Kan.

If Zhou was excessive in his mockery of Fang Hui, he was silent about his friends who also surrendered to the Mongols. They included Yuan Hong and Fei Gongchen, with whom he continued to be friends in the next

1. *Ibid.*, *bie* a.44a-50b; *xu* a.37b-38b.

2. See the accounts of the defections of Fang Hui, Jian Caiwang, and Hong Qiwei, in Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, *bie* a.32a-37a, *xu* a.24b-25a, *xu* b.18a-b. Fang Hui's collected writings are *Tongjiang ji* and *Tongjiang xuji*.

3. On Fang Hui, see Pan Bochong; de Rachewiltz' biography of Fang in Franke, *Sung Biographies*, 349-55; Sun Kekuan, "Guixin zazhi ji Fang Hui shi shuzheng," in his *Menggu hanjun*, 107-32.

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two decades.¹ Later, when his friends departed for the Yuan capital to serve the new government, although he might have been displeased he did not criticize them in public or in his writings. The double standard he applied is evident in his record of the incident in which Zhao Mengfu composed a poem to mock the disloyalty and expediency of the former Song chief minister Liu Mengyan, at the time when Zhao and Liu were both serving at the Yuan court.² Thus Zhou's historical objectivity was adversely affected by his personal relationships and sentiments.

The defectors were ridiculed for their disloyalty to the Song, but a more serious issue for Zhou was their general fickleness and hypocrisy. Zhou particularly upbraided the scholar-officials in Hangzhou whom he felt were friendly and approachable when one was of equal social and economic status; however, once the other party fell into dire straits, the turnabout was brutal and final. By contrast, Zhou applauded the obscure individuals such as a physician formerly in Empress Dowager Xie's employ who continued to show loyalty to the former sovereign many years after the collapse of the dynasty.³ Zhou's friend Dai Biaoyuan also expressed his indignation at prominent men in Hangzhou, who were arrogant and superficial.⁴ Such criticism of the lack of morality and integrity among Hangzhou men reveals the tensions present among the elite circles of the former Song capital. Perhaps, indeed, there were not a few collaborators who turned against former friends and colleagues who had suffered a drastic decline in social and economic status.

It would be a serious mistake to regard Zhou Mi's loyalism as unchanging and only concerned with the preservation of Song cultural and art history. Beginning in the late 1280s, as his circle of friends expanded to include northerners and Yuan officials, the content and orientation of his writ-

1. Zhou might have also criticized Yuan Hong for defecting, although his writings do not give evidence of it. This criticism may have prompted Yuan Jue's uncomplimentary remarks.

2. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, xu a.39b.

3. *Ibid.*, xu b.15a-16a.

4. See "Descriptive essay on the Qianyi studio," in Dai Biaoyuan, 2.35.

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ings took on new dimensions and showed a change in his loyalism and an unevenness in historical accuracy. This is particularly noticeable in his *Guixin zazhi* (Miscellaneous records from the Guixin quarter), a *biji* miscellany written from 1280 to 1298. Through his connoisseurship activities undertaken with friends of diverse backgrounds, Zhou was exposed to the positive effects of the reunification of the country. From these new friends, he eagerly elicited information about Sichuan, North China, and even foreign territories, and their customs and habits. Apart from poetry gatherings and art exhibits, Zhou considered informal visits by friends of diverse backgrounds and political views the highlight of his later years.¹ With them Zhou shared memories of the past era and the glories of the former dynasty, and exchanged the latest gossip about the literati and historical figures. The topics of these conversations ranged from the arts, poetry and poetics to culture in general, archeological excavations, fantastic tales, freakish occurrences, local customs, historical and political marginalia, autobiographical and biographical observations, and mere gossip. Because such conversations provided some introspective moments, brief laughter and enjoyment, Zhou Mi felt the urge to write them down so he could later recapture the pleasures of the visits. Unlike his earlier sole concern to preserve the memory of a past age, self-indulgence became his major motivation for writing the *Guixin zazhi*.

Zhou Mi, in fact, was often engaged in writing several miscellanies at the same time, which accounts for the duplication of information. Because some items were entered after conversations with friends, it follows that his visitors could also record the same item, as in the case of one appearing almost identical in Bai Ting's collected writings.² In a preface to his writings, Bai Ting, like Zhou Mi, stated that he was merely recording what he and his guests were discussing earlier.³ Thus Zhou's influence on his younger contemporaries extended from poetry to their random jottings.

Zhou indicated in his preface that the entries were made at night when

1. "Self-preface," in Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, preface.1a-b.

2. This is the item on *bianzhang* (chief minister). See *ibid.*, *qian*.45a-b. Cf. Bai Ting, 2.17b.

3. "Self-preface," in Bai Ting, preface.1a.

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he was feeling sad and lonely. As they consisted of recollections and reminiscences of earlier talks, they contained many mistakes regarding dates and other details. To be sure, Zhou stated that he was often forgetful and could only recall a small part of the whole.¹ The historical reliability of an item is also dependent on its nature and the informant. Xianyu Shu, Zhao Mengfu, and Li Kan were the major informants on the arts, culture and customs of North China and foreign areas.² If the material was reported at second hand and dealt with something the informant was not familiar with, the item can be dismissed as hearsay and unreliable. An example of this is the fantastic tale about promiscuous Mongol women having sexual intercourse with the offspring of a wild horse and a dragon.³ Although often a credulous person, Zhou Mi used common sense in rejecting stories about Muslims killing albino children in order to obtain pearls from their brains.⁴ If, on the other hand, the material dealt with poetry and art collections, with which both Zhou Mi and his informants were familiar, it was undoubtedly highly accurate. Given Zhou's familiarity and personal experience, his portrayal of the customs and culture of Hangzhou in the late Southern Song can be regarded as reliable. As for historical and biographical information, each case must be determined separately. Regarding the additional information on historical events drawn from his family library, even accounting for his family's bias against the Neo-Confucian school of Zhu Xi, one can perhaps still assume a fairly high degree of reliability.

A crucial point to consider when evaluating Zhou Mi as a historian is the nature of *biji* miscellanies, which consisted of items entered casually as in a diary. Anything that came to mind was jotted down without thought to organization or relevance to the previous entry. Thus the content of these works

1. "Self-preface," in Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, preface.1a-b.

2. In the *Guixin zazhi* the informant's name is often given in the text or at the end of an entry.

3. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, xu a.39b-40a.

4. *Ibid.*, *bie* a.40a.

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was not the result of meticulous research, but merely an opinion of the moment. To draw on Zhou Mi's work for events of the Song and Yuan periods as reliable simply because he was a contemporary is thus not always advisable. Modern historians, however, have often indiscriminately quoted Zhou for elucidation and support of certain facts and records to supplement other historical sources.¹ To account for some errors concerning persons, dates and facts in Zhou Mi's work, a modern scholar has simplistically suggested that Zhou deliberately blended history and gossip in order to avoid Mongol censorship.² It is clear from the above discussion that these mistakes resulted from a combination of Zhou's forgetfulness and the circumstances under which he wrote.

Zhou Mi's writings have been interpreted as supporting evidence of his passive resistance to Mongol rule, uncompromising loyalty to the Song, and a desire to "requite" the former dynasty by preserving its relics and culture.³ After an examination of his various sources and informants as well as his motives for writing, I feel that this view of Zhou's loyalism is exaggerated. As stated earlier, jotting down miscellaneous notes was often an activity that relieved his boredom and allowed him to recapture the earlier pleasures of conversations among friends. By the 1290s few of these friends remained staunch loyalists but were in fact about to enter, or were already in, Yuan employment. Perhaps in the years immediately after the Song collapse, Zhou genuinely intended to record the history of the Song as a passive protest to Mongol rule, but towards the mid-1280s and increasingly more so in later years that was no longer his sole motivation in his random jottings.

Zhou Mi's life after the Song demise was both typical and atypical of his scholar-official contemporaries. Like them, he lost his financial independence, but in his case he found a generous patron in his relative Yang Dashou who provided him with the material means for a comfortable life. He was

1. For example, in regard to the flight of the two Song princes, see Rao Zongyi, *Jiulong yu Songji*, 6; in regard to the imperial relics, see Yan Jianbi, 46-48.

2. Fu Lo-shu, "Teng Mu," 53.

3. For example, see Ji Yun, 165.3454-55; Xia Chengtao, 357.

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thus spared the need to teach or to compose essays on commission, a situation that confronted many of his friends who had been Song officials. It has been suggested that because of his expertise in the arts, Zhou was commissioned by Yuan officials and local magnates in Mongol employ to catalog their private collections of paintings and art objects, and so in the course of his work he could not avoid socializing with these nonloyalists and thus undermined his reputation as a loyalist.¹ Zhou was certainly not destitute, as he could afford to have several studios and acquire art objects. Some acquisitions may of course have been gifts from Yuan dignitaries to pay for services rendered. Zhou Mi's life was atypical in another area--the nature of his extant writings. His friends left collected prose and poetry, including numerous prefaces and essays written for contemporaries. Many of these writings on Zhou Mi's works survive, but there is no record that Zhou wrote any preface and essay in return. While many of his friends taught privately and entered lasting relationships with their pupils, Zhou had few or no students after the collapse of the Song.

Contrary to previous assumptions, it should be noted that, except for the brief period of introspection in 1280-81, Zhou's decrepitude did not set in until a decade after the Song collapse because, as noted earlier, he maintained a rather lively life-style with old and new friends.² But as the years passed and more of his friends left Hangzhou to take up appointments as education officials, Zhou Mi became less active, his aging appearance and frequent mood changes contrasting sharply with his earlier youthful demeanor and carefree personality. Though he still participated in connoisseurship outings, he became increasingly concerned with the past and with his roots, a sentiment which took on a more personal and poignant significance. He thought incessantly about his ancestral home in Qizhou as well as his destroyed family home in Huzhou. The sobriquets adopted in this late phase of life reflected his mental anguish in feeling distant and detached from these

1. Xia Chengtao, 357, 369.

2. See, e.g., Shuen-fu Lin, 194-95.

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two places.¹

In 1291, in this nostalgic and sensitive frame of mind and contemplating his death, Zhou had a mountain hut constructed next to his ancestors' graves in Huzhou. He even composed his own funerary inscription and epitaph, instructing his cousin Wang Yingsun to fill in the dates of his death. In the epitaph he evaluated his life and justified parts of it that needed qualification:

The old man of Bianyang, Zhou Mi, was styled Gongjin. My ancestors were natives of Qi . . . I was first hired in the treasury department in Jiankang through the merits of my grandfather. I was honest and diligent and regarded as talented. Thus six times there were appointment letters, and I was transferred to the transport and pharmacy offices in the capital, and the military governments. From the Fengqu granary I was promoted and soon the court dispatched me to administer Yiwu [Wuzhou]. My lifelong ambition to bring glory to the family can thus be said to have been fulfilled. And yet times were constantly changing, and my goals were not realized even at an old age. Was that not the doing of Heaven!

During [1261-64] when the limitation of land [i.e. Jia Sidao's land reform] was carried out, Changzhou was most seriously affected. The court ordered me to supervise it; upon arrival [in accordance with central government policy] I confiscated three-tenths of the excess

1. During his lifetime Zhou Mi adopted many styles and sobriquets. In his youth and adulthood he used Gongjin (Public and diligent), Caochuang (Grass window) and Pinzhou (Duckweed island). The names adopted after the Song collapse reflect his preoccupation with his place of origin, Qizhou, and his family home, Huzhou: to the former belong Qiren, Sanqi (Native of Qi), Huabuzhu shanren (Recluse of Hua Mountain) and Liren (Man of Li Mountain); to the latter belong Bianyang laoren (Old Man on the sunny side of Bian Mountain), Sishui qianfu (Hermit of the four rivers), Tiaoren and Zharen (Man of Huzhou). Zhou's contemporaries also referred to him as Zhou Yiwu, Yiwu being the location of his last public office.

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land and thus greatly opposed the wishes of the powerful [local] officials.

Before trouble descended on me, it happened that my mother was taken ill and I immediately returned to look after her. For the next year I attended to her health diligently but she died the year after. During the experience of bereavement, I arranged the funeral to the best of my abilities and then edited *Shenzhong bian* (On bereavement) in five chapters. My three younger sisters were all born from my father's concubines, but I tried my best to marry them to prominent families. To distant relatives who were poor I gave assistance generously; to those who became ill I disregarded any inconvenience and sent them medicine and remedies. Even with small living creatures such as insects and worms, I wanted to sustain their lives.

I was unyielding and abhorred crimes. If I heard of anything unjust, my hair bristled and I knocked my fist, and would not condone it.

From a tender age I was bright and quick at learning, and I admired and respected the lofty. My family owned many books, many of which I copied by hand; even when old I did not abandon this As for the causes of orderly government and chaos, I would examine the truth and did not like to follow the [current opinions] and echo them My family collected many famous paintings and calligraphy books, all of which I have cataloged in a volume. Now not one-hundredth [of the collection] has survived, and yet my hobby in antiquities is still as strong. My nature is humorous I mingle easily in common circles, and yet defiled men cannot contaminate me. During the change of dynasty my old home collapsed and I thus became a man of Hangzhou I have written [eight books] I have roughly cultivated my virtues and refrained from shame With the

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veteran men whom I met, appreciated, and [who] helped me [and] with prominent men of the time, I moved up and down for over twenty years. But in my life I have not turned against my integrity and have not rebelled against the instructions of my family. In my office and associations, from beginning to end I have not deviated from the norm and can almost [without guilt] face my parents in the underworld.¹

In this self-appraisal, Zhou was certainly much more confident than the erudite scholar Wang Yinglin towards his conduct after the collapse of the Song. The statement that he remained pure even among the contaminated was likely provoked by current criticism of him mingling with Yuan dignitaries, which cast doubt on his loyalism to the Song. He was certain that he had fulfilled his filial commitments by being in office for a long period, but blamed the change of dynasty for an undistinguished political career. Zhou felt no remorse for what he did and did not accomplish in his life, and ended the epitaph with a note of confidence, claiming that in a thousand years, his mind would be known and understood by posterity.² He seems to have been ready for death and was certain that he would feel no shame or guilt when facing his ancestors.

After composing the inscription and epitaph, Zhou asked his lifelong friend Mou Yan to write prefaces for the inscription and for the mountain hut. Mou was moved by Zhou's feelings for his ancestral homes and for the past, and he marveled at his readiness to cope with death.³ Zhou also requested a preface from Yuan Jue, son of his former colleague and friend, Yuan Hong. In contrast to the affectionate tone of Mou Yan's prefaces,

1. Zhu Cunli, 428-31.

2. *Ibid.*, 432.

3. Mou Yan, 16.9a-10b, 10.1a-2b.

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Yuan's piece is flat and impersonal, a large part of it quoting Zhou Mi.¹ Yuan Jue was apparently not pleased about Zhou's indiscriminate circle of friends, for he later wrote about him: "In his late life [Zhou Mi] mixed with prominent men through connoisseur activities and slightly blemished his character."²

Zhou died in 1298, just after another art connoisseurship gathering at Xianyu Shu's house. Ironically, none of his many friends commented on his death nor wrote any funerary inscriptions for him. The one exception was a mourning poem composed by Lian Wenfeng, not one of his closest friends.³ The silence on his death is responsible for the current controversy about the date of his death which has been placed in 1298, 1299, and 1308.⁴ I take 1298 as the most likely, on the basis of a colophon on the *Baomu zhi* scroll and Liu Guan's postscript to a painting by Gong Kai.⁵ Zhou was probably buried in Huzhou, in accordance with his wishes to be interred at his place of birth among his ancestors. He was survived by a son, Yong (fl. 1280-1300), and a daughter (who married in 1287). Zhou Yong inherited neither the versatile talents nor the popularity of his father. Soon Zhou Mi's prized art possessions were given away or sold, and the family passed into obscurity.⁶

4. "Inscription to the Fu hut," in Yuan Jue, 17.312-13.

2. "Former teachers and friends of my late father," in *ibid.*, 33.574.

3. "Poem to mourn Zhou Mi," in Lian Wenfeng, b.7b-8a.

4. See Xia Chengtao, 366.

5. The late Qing scholar Gu Wenbin argues that Zhou Mi died in 1298 on the basis of the colophon written on the *Baomu zhi* scroll in 1307, which states that Zhou Mi had died nine years previously. See Gu Wenbin, 18b-19b. There is additional evidence that Zhou Mi died some years before 1308. In a commentary on Gong Kai's painting formerly owned by Zhou Mi, Liu Guan writes that when Gong died in 1307, Zhou had predeceased him by several years. See "Postscript to the Jiangji painting," in Liu Guan, 18.16b-17a.

6. The *Baomu zhi* scroll and Gong Kai's painting, among other prized possessions, passed shortly from Zhou Mi's son and grandsons into other hands. See Xia Chengtao, 469; Liu Guan, 19.17a.

Zhou Mi and Marginal Loyalism

In this chapter we have observed the loyalism of Zhou Mi and his "traveling companions"--the essence of which was not passive protest against Mongol rule but a subtle accommodation to the new government and its institutions. Zhou might have begun as an ardent loyalist in 1279, refusing to accept the new rulers and writing about Song institutions to preserve the past and ignore the new order. Soon, however, through his interest in art and because of the reunification of the country, he came into contact with Song defectors, northerners, and foreigners, and he developed a keen interest in other regions of the Mongol world empire. While pursuing his passion for the arts and satisfying a curiosity about North China, Zhou unwittingly played the role of mediator between his loyalist friends and the Yuan dynasty.

As Zhou Mi's friends gradually returned to the political arena, their absolute loyalism (i.e., refusal to cooperate with the new government under any terms) dissolved and was transformed into accommodation. The exact dimensions of change varied with the personal circumstances of each individual and the length of time that had elapsed since the Song demise. While many of his friends eventually took up employment under the Yuan with deep regret, Zhou Mi did not go as far as that. However, even Zhou's liberal associations with Yuan dignitaries drew criticism from a young contemporary. Zhou Mi's attitude towards those who served was dictated by personal relationships rather than by strictly objective views. His loyalty towards his friends enabled him to condone their resuming public office, but he ridiculed harshly those who surrendered and whom he did not like. As for himself, his withdrawal from politics was influenced by filial commitments, but he did not see any need to exclude Yuan officials from his network of friends. In time his feelings of loyalty to the former dynasty mellowed and by the late 1280s and 1290s it was no longer recognizable as resolute, passive protest against Mongol rule. By then, Zhou's loyalism was not as inflexible and unaccommodating as previously thought; had he lived after 1300 and been in more dire straits he might have himself accepted an appointment in the Yuan government. Of greater importance is the insight that Zhou Mi's loyalism and its transformation over time and circumstances gave to the second generation under the Yuan, i.e., men who had not yet been adults at the time of the Song collapse and who had never served the Song. In spite of their descent from loyalist fathers and their tutelage under loyalist teachers, they did not

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see a contradiction in their admiration of Song loyalism and their attempt to play a more active role in the foreign government. In sum, Zhou Mi's loyalism was a workable compromise with Mongol rule without sacrificing his integrity; that of his many friends was an individual choice necessitated by various circumstances.