

FIVE / REGIONAL LOYALIST CENTERS AND PERSONALITIES, CA. 1276-1300

The Song loyalists of the *zhongyi* tradition were killed or committed suicide, and generally had little experience with foreign rule because death occurred immediately or shortly after the collapse of the dynasty. This tradition of loyalists is regarded as the more praiseworthy type by the *Songshi* preface to the *zhongyi* biographies.¹ The loyalists who survived and withdrew from society under Mongol rule are mentioned, but a few of them were given biographies in the *Songshi*. In fact, there were large numbers of survivors, some of whom were active loyalists and others were passive sympathizers of the loyalist cause. Because these men were largely ignored in the standard historical sources, subsequent nonofficial writings and anthologies on the loyalists were primarily interested in amending this omission. The Qing historian Quan Zuwang argued at length for standard histories to include loyalist survivors in the *zhongyi* biographies.²

These loyal survivors are referred to as *yimin*, literally, surviving or remnant people. The term first occurred in the *Zuozhuan* and in Mencius' allusion to a poem in the *Shijing* and had originally been applied in a general sense to people surviving a dynasty after a national catastrophe.³ Only much later did *yimin* specifically refer to those individuals, mostly former officials, who refused a political career under the succeeding dynasty. In their writings

1. SS 446.13150.

2. Quan Zuwang, *waibian* 42.1299-1301.

3. Mencius, Wanzhang chapter, in Legge, vol. 2, 353.

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the Song loyalists used both connotations of the term.¹ It was in the Ming and Qing that the more specific meaning took precedence over the original and more general one. The *yimin* have not been treated as a group in standard histories. Many of them withdrew from public office into mountain or forest retreats, and were included with the *yimin* as *yinyi* (recluses), while others were accomplished scholars and were given biographies in the *rulin* (eminent Confucian scholars) or *wenyuan* (literati) biographies. In cases where a certain individual was a recluse, Confucian scholar, and loyalist, his inclusion in any one of these biographies was arbitrary.

That loyalty need not be manifested by immediate death was justified in the minds of the *yimin* loyalists by numerous historical precedents. Boyi and Shuqi were both *yimin* (remnant subjects) and *yinyi* (recluses) because they lived in virtual seclusion to protest against the Zhou conquest in 1050 B. C. An example closer in time was Tao Qian (372-427), who survived the Eastern Tsin (317-420) as a rustic and loyalist until he died a natural death.² Tao's sentiments and creative genius served as a model for the Song loyalists. Apart from not taking office, Tao's protest against the new political order was symbolized by his refusal to use the new dynasty's reign titles. The *yimin* loyalists regarded Tao's poverty, transcendence, and utopian ideals as a source of spiritual consolation and a guide for survival under the new government. Thus active defense and death for the sake of the country were not the only ways to demonstrate loyalty to the dynasty; for scholar-officials and literati of the former order, who were essentially Confucian in orientation, passive protest and withdrawal would suffice.

The *yimin* loyalists of the Song continued to exist under the new dynasty after the collapse of the capital and the final defeat of loyalist resistance. Among them were a few active participants in the resistance, but most

1. See especially the writings of Wen Tianxiang, Xie Fangde, Wang Yuanliang. Their contemporaries, Liu Yin and Fang Hui, also used both connotations of the term.

2. Tao Qian's biography is in Fang Xuanling, 94.2460-63. Xie Fangde shows that Tao already used the *ganzhi* cyclical reckoning to record the years in 401 (not 405 as conventionally taken in Xie's time) because at that time Tao already predicted the fall of the Tsin. See Xie Fangde, *Bihu zaji*, 1a-2a. See also James Robert Hightower.

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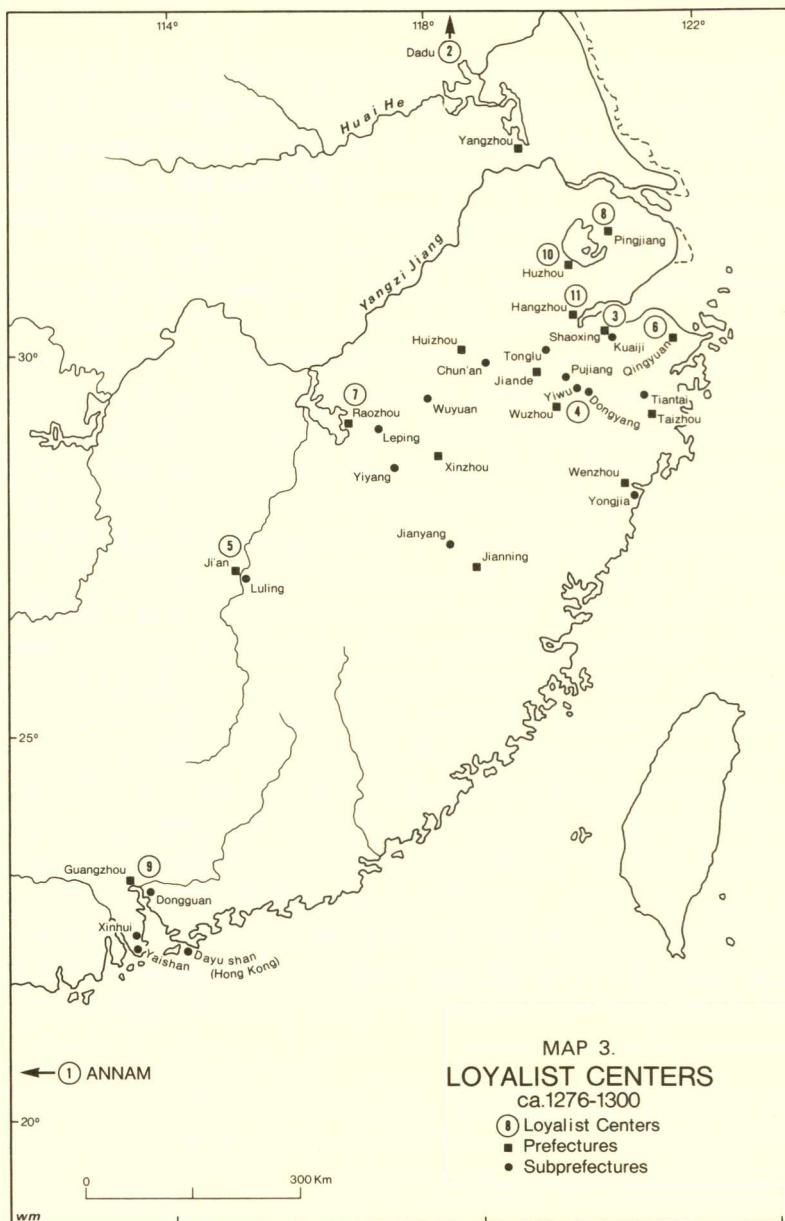
had not participated but still grieved over Song's demise. Many were former officials, students in the capital or successful candidates in subprefectural and prefectural examinations. Most returned home just before or during the collapse of the capital city. For individuals who had received a salary or degree from the Song, withdrawal from public office was "compulsory."¹ However, among those who withdrew were many who did not take office under the Song; therefore, their act can be considered "voluntary." The *yimin* group, in fact, included many former officials who were criticized in official histories as having fled from their responsibilities, an act denounced by the Song court in 1274 as cowardice.² For a few, retirement had been approved by the court, as in the case of Ma Tingluan who was gravely ill, but others like Wang Yinglin simply left the court. For most of these men, active resistance was not in their minds. For some the life of an *yimin* began immediately after the collapse of the capital in February 1276; for others it began after March 1279, when the resistance was wiped out in the Yaishan debacle.

A few of these men isolated themselves and so became real recluses as well as surviving Song subjects, but most gathered in regional or cross-regional groups to mourn the demise of the country and to soothe their spirits while living under the new political system. Loose networks of relationships were formed in the first generation of Yuan rule in South China. In each regional group or network key personalities emerged while other individuals from both local centers and from outside the prefectures gathered around them for leadership and guidance. Regional centers of *yimin* activities developed in Annam, Dadu, Kuaiji, Wuzhou and Jiande, Luling, Qingyuan, Raozhou and Wuyuan, Pingjiang, Dongguan, as well as in Huzhou and Hangzhou. Map 3 shows the location of these eleven loyalist centers.³ While

1. For the distinction between "voluntary" and "compulsory" varieties of Confucian withdrawal, see Mote, "Confucian eremitism," 258.

2. SS 47.928; Liu Yiqing, 7.8; Bi Yuan, 181.4950.

3. This list of eleven loyalist centers does not claim to be comprehensive. Some of the major loyalists centers in each group are discussed in order to outline the main features of Song loyalism in 1276-1300.



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the latter two centers will be dealt with in the next chapter in connection with Zhou Mi and his circle of friends, we will now turn to the other nine regional groups and their leaders.

Center 1: Chen Yizhong and the Loyalists Abroad

Chen Yizhong was a key personality in the Song court before its collapse and in the loyalist court up to his flight to Champa in January 1278. Born to a poor family in Wenzhou, he was among the six National University students who audaciously impeached Ding Daquan in the mid-1250s and subsequently suffered banishment.¹ Pardoned by Jia Sidao when the latter became chief minister, he gained his *jinshi* degree two years later and quickly advanced in his political career. By 1274 he was promoted to ministerial rank and became the most powerful political figure after Jia's downfall. I have earlier reconstructed Chen's crucial role in the evacuation of the two Song princes. Like Wen Tianxiang and the other loyalists, Chen also involved his family, including his younger brother, in the resistance.²

Chen left the loyalist court in 1278 in order to investigate Champa and Annam as possible future bases for loyalist operations. Thus after the defeat at Yaishan, Zhang Shijie and Su Liuyi attempted to join Chen, but died before reaching their destination. Upon arrival in Champa, Chen was well received by the local authorities but did not have time to amass support before the loyalist fleet was annihilated. Chen stayed in Champa until 1282 when his host kingdom was attacked by the Mongols; he then fled to Siam with supporters and died there, a refugee in exile.³ Other followers traveled north to

1. The following account of Chen Yizhong is based on his biography in *SS* 418.12529-33. Liu Fu, another key participant in the resistance movement who died shortly after Di Shi's enthronement, was one of the other students involved in this political incident (*SS* 405.12242-49). Liu Fu's collected writings, the *Mengchuan shiji*, are in *Liang Song mingxian xiaoji* 362.

2. This was Chen Zizhong. See Wan Sitong, *Songji zhongyi lu*, 8.16.

3. Hok-lam Chan, "Chinese refugees," 2. Chan says that alternative accounts show Chen to have gone to Java, Cambodia or Japan. I follow the *SS* account.

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the neighboring kingdom of Annam and some returned to China.¹

Survivors of the Yaishan crisis also went to Annam: they included two civilian officials of the loyalist court, Chen Zhongwei and Zeng Yuanzi, together with their families and that of the captured Su Liuyi.² The Annamese king welcomed the loyalists and admired the poetic talents of Chen Zhongwei and Zeng Yuanzi, who both held the *jinshi* degree.³ In Annam Chen Zhongwei wrote the *Erwang benmo*, an account of the two Song princes enthroned by the loyalists. In 1282, a diplomatic mission returned this work to China where it was edited several times during the Yuan.⁴

These loyalists evidently worsened Annamese relations with the Mongols by participating in Annam's resistance in 1285. That year the Mongol army captured the Jiaozhi leader and Chen Zhongwei's son-in-law, together with over four hundred men, most of whom were presumably Song loyalist refugees.⁵ Zeng Yuanzi and the sons of Chen Zhongwei and Su Liuyi also surrendered their forces to the Mongols and thereby incurred Annamese resentment.⁶ On the whole, however, the Song loyalists' arrival in Southeast Asia has been considered an important event in the history of Chinese colonization in the region. The loyalists were actually preceded by earlier migrations of people from Fujian, who were attracted both by lucrative trade and the desire to escape political harassment.⁷ Although they originally sought

1. Hok-lam Chan, "Chinese refugees," 3; Chen Zhutong, 124-25.

2. For Chen Zhongwei's biography, see SS 422.12618-20. Zeng Yuanzi does not have a biography in SS.

3. Hok-lam Chan, "Chinese refugees," 4-5.

4. See the preface to *Erwang benmo*, in *Songji sanchao*, 6.65; Rao Zongyi, *Jiulong yu Songji*, 3-6.

5. YS 209.4644.

6. SS 422.12620; YS 209.4645. The YS shows Dingsun instead of Wensun as Chen Zhongwei's son.

7. Chen Zhutong, 125-49.

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temporary refuge, the loyalists and their descendants stayed permanently.¹

Apart from Southeast Asia, there are indications of Song loyalists dispersing elsewhere after all resistance against the Mongols had ceased. There is an account of a Qiu Kui (fl. 1270-90) from Quanzhou who sailed to an island off the Fujian coast rather than live on conquered land.² Qiu Kui continued to be on friendly terms with Pu Shougeng's brother Shoucheng who was blamed for persuading the former to surrender to the Mongols in 1277.³ Farther south in Dongguan, Li Yong (fl. 1250-90) departed for Japan after the Song demise; he later went to Annam and never returned to China.⁴

Center 2: Wang Yuanliang and the Dadu Group

On its journey to the Yuan capital in 1276, the Song imperial family was accompanied by thousands of voluntary and involuntary followers. Some of those who felt loyal to the Song and who did not die or commit suicide on the way were appointed to positions in the Yuan government, and others were allowed to return to South China by the late 1290s. In Dadu former Song officials and palace women gathered to mourn the collapse of the Song. The main participants were Wang Yuanliang, Wang Qinghui (fl. 1270-90), Jia Xuanweng, and Deng Guangjian. While in prison until his execution in early 1283, Wen Tianxiang could also be considered a member of this loyalist group because of his correspondence with Wang Yuanliang and Deng Guangjian.

Wang Qinghui was a concubine of Emperor Duzong, who, together

1. Hok-lam Chan, "Chinese refugees," 9-10.

2. Wan Sitong, *Songji zhonyi lu*, 15.20. Qiu Kui's collected writings, the *Diaoji shiji*, are extant.

3. Qiu Kui was a student of the loyalist martyr Lü Dagui (d. 1277), a Confucian scholar who was killed by Pu Shougeng for refusing to draft the surrender statement to the Mongols. Qiu Kui's collected writings do not support the traditional view that Shoucheng had taken part in the surrender of his brother Shougeng. See Chen Yuan, *Western and Central Asians*, 16-17; Luo Xianglin, *Pu Shougeng zhuan*, 57-58.

4. Li Yong's biography is in Chen Botao, b.1a-2b.

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with Wang Yuanliang, taught Gongdi the Confucian classics and poetry during the journey to Dadu and thereafter.¹ Endowed with poetic talent and in despair over the demise of the Song and the unknown consequences of captivity in Dadu, she wrote in 1276 a much-acclaimed poem on the wall of a postal station in Bianliang (Kaifeng), the former Northern Song capital, en route to the Yuan capital. Responding to this poem which expressed a desire to remain pure and aloof like the moon, Wang Yuanliang composed another one in the same tune and rhyme.² Three years later when Wen Tianxiang and Deng Guangjian read the poem on the wall on their way to Dadu, they responded with poetry to commiserate with her grief.³ After some years in Dadu, Wang Qinghui became a Daoist nun.

Wang Yuanliang was a court musician primarily in the service of Empress Dowager Xie. A native of Hangzhou, he had volunteered to accompany the imperial family to the North.⁴ Until his arrival in Dadu he wrote poetry to describe the surrender of the Song capital, the chaos in the palace quarters, the ravages of war where the imperial retinue passed through, and the reception of the imperial family given by Qubilai's court.⁵ In the Yuan capital, apart from contact with Wen Tianxiang, Deng Guangjian, and Wang Qinghui, Wang Yuanliang communicated with Jia Xuanweng in Hejian

1. Wang Guowei, 21.1061; the "Song of Huzhou" is found in Wang Yuanliang, *Shuiyun ji*, 9b.

2. "Manjiang hong, to the rhyme of Wang Qinghui," in Wang Yuanliang, *Hushan leigao*, 5.5a-b. There are many poems exchanged with Wang Qinghui in his poetry collections. See, e.g., *Hushan leigao*, 2.7b, 2.8b, 2.10b-11a, 2.14b-15a.

3. Wang Qinghui's original *ci*, along with the two composed by Wen Tianxiang and one by Deng Guangjian to the same theme, song title, and rhyme perhaps appeared at first in Zhou Mi, *Haoran zhai yatan*, c.9b-10b.

4. Wen Tianxiang, Liu Chenweng, Ma Tingluan, Zhao Wen, and Xie Ao wrote biographies of Wang Yuanliang; these appear together in Cheng Minzheng, 11.1a-10a; Wang Yuanliang, *Shuiyun ji*, appendix.a-c; *Hushan leigao*, 5.9-11b.

5. See, in particular, the long ballads, "Song of Huzhou" and "Drunken song," in his *Shuiyun ji*, 1a-10a, 13a-14a.

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through poems and letters.¹ He also maintained relations with former Song officials and members of the imperial family including Gongdi, the empress dowagers, imperial son-in-law Yang Zhen (fl. 1270-90), and the grandfather of Gongdi, Prince Fu (fl. 1270-90). Like the other accompanying officials in the Song imperial entourage, Wang was given a position in the Yuan court which he occupied for over ten years. His duties were perhaps in the capacity of a court musician and poet, and were not much different from his former service in the Song court.² In Dadu, he witnessed the deaths of Empress Dowager Xie and Prince Fu, whom he mourned in funerary poems. Several years later Empress Dowager Quan entered a nunnery, and in 1288 Gongdi went to Tibet to become a Lamaist monk.³ Immediately thereafter, Wang felt that his duties to the Song imperial family had been fulfilled and obtained permission to return to the South to become a Daoist priest. Former Song officials and palace ladies bade him farewell and presented him with parting poems.⁴ On his return to South China, Wang passed through the same sites he had visited with the imperial retinue more than ten years earlier. He did

1. For poems to Jia Xuanweng, see *Hushan leigao*, 2.6b-7a; to Wen Tianxiang, see 2.9b-10a, 2.16b; *Shuiyun ji*, 35b-37b; for poems to Wu Qian, see *Hushan leigao*, 2.6a.

2. He also wrote a poem mourning Qubilai's empress Cabi (d. 1281); see Wang Yuanliang, *Hushan leigao*, 3.7b-8a. Her biography (YS 114.2871-72) is translated in Francis W. Cleaves, "The biography of the Empress Cabi." Cabi is praised in history as being sympathetic to the Song imperial family. See also Rossabi, "Khubilai and the women in his family," 169-70.

3. For poems mourning Empress Dowager Xie and Prince Fu, see Wang Yuanliang, *Hushan leigao*, 3.8-9a; on Empress Dowager Quan entering a nunnery and Gongdi departing for Tibet, see *ibid.*, 3.9a-b.

4. On the farewell by eminent men of Dadu, see *ibid.*, 3.9b-11a. The farewell poems by the palace women of the Southern Song, including Wang Qinghui, are collected in the *Wang Song jiu gongren shici*, appended to the *Hushan leigao*. It contains eighteen poems written by seventeen palace women. The volume includes a poem by Wang Yuanliang, which mourns the death of Wang Qinghui, one of the contributors to the volume. On the basis of this slim evidence, the modern scholar Wang Guowei concludes that the volume was a forgery by loyalists. See Wang Guowei, 21.1061. However, the mourning poem is undated and could have been written years after Wang Yuanliang's return to south China.

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not hasten to his home in Hangzhou but made side trips to visit his former friends and colleagues as well as loyalists in various regions. He showed them his poetry collections and spoke in detail of the surrender of Hangzhou and the fate of the imperial family. His friends sympathized deeply with his grief and wrote prefaces to his work.¹

With one notable exception, primary and secondary sources do not mention that Wang Yuanliang had served the Yuan.² Nor has it been noted that his poetry reflects two different moods and personalities. On the one hand, his poetry reveals the profound grief of a Song loyalist over the demise of the dynasty and the humiliation of the imperial family subjected to captivity. The social critic in Wang Yuanliang deplores the oppression of the local people by corrupt officials and clerks who exacted heavy taxes and forced them to flee and abandon their children.³ On the other hand, not a few poems express gratitude to Qubilai for welcoming the Song imperial retinue in ten grand feasts upon arrival, and for granting tax-exempt property to the Song imperial family. Wang praises Qubilai for marrying off Song imperial concubines to carpenters and artisans instead of taking them into his harem. In the same laudatory tone, the Mongol general Bayan is commended for his restraint in combat. During his entire sojourn in Dadu Wang remained friendly to Song defectors and collaborators such as Lü Wenhuan, Myriarch Huang (fl. 1280), Liu Mengyan, and Qingyang Mengyan.⁴

Wang Yuanliang could not explain to his friends the equivocation with which he wrote the poems praising the Yuan, nor could he justify his service

1. The prefaces by Liu Chenweng and Ma Tingluan are extant in Cheng Minzheng, 11.2a-4a; those by Xie Fangde, Deng Guangjian, and Zhang Jian have not survived.

2. The one exception is Wang Guowei, 21.1061. Wang postulates that it must have been a high position if he had been released from service as a Daoist priest.

3. See, in particular, the poems "Journey to the north" and "Drunken song of Yishan" in *Shuiyun ji*, 18b-19a, 22a-23b, 32a-b.

4. On poems referring to Qubilai and Bayan, see Wang Yuanliang, *Shuiyun ji*, 19a, 13b. On Song defectors and collaborators, Myriarch Huang, Liu Mengyan, and Zan Wanshou, see *Hushan leigao*, 2.7a, 2.9b, and *Shuiyun ji*, 28b-29a, respectively.

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to the Mongols--a fact which cast doubt on his loyalty to the Song. He repeatedly told his friends that he could only look at the present state of the world in a drunken stupor. Realizing that they would never completely appreciate the poignancy of his experiences in the North, he wrote the following poem to a friend, Xu Xuejiang (fl. 1270-90):

After ten years of high living in the White-Jade Hall,
I submitted my reasons for permission to return home.
Under the solitary clouds and setting sun I crossed
the Liao River,
On horseback against the western winds I climbed
the Taiheng mountains,
The salary from my office still remains in the knapsack,
The imperially bestowed clothes still emit the fragrance
of the imperial presence.
Only now it is difficult to answer my guest's query,
From antiquity the affairs of the Central Plain have
long been subjects for ridicule.¹

The poem essentially conveys his gratitude to the Mongol emperor whom he served. Perhaps he was initially forced to take up the position because of his musical talents, or he may have felt that since his sovereigns, Gongdi and Empress Dowager Xie, as well as other members of the imperial family, had taken Yuan titles and positions, he would be disloyal if he did not follow them into submission. Although he was grateful to Qubilai, there is little doubt that his greater loyalty was to the Song imperial family. For as soon as Empress Dowager Xie had died and Gongdi had left for Tibet in 1288, he returned to South China. Perhaps because he felt guilty about his compromise with the Mongol court during his sojourn in Dadu and because his friends did not approve of him in this regard, he subsequently wandered about aimlessly, his long beard and tall, thin figure making him appear more like an immortal than a human being.

1. Wang Yuanliang, *Shuiyun ji*, 21a.

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While in Dadu, Wang Yuanliang most probably met Jia Xuanweng, a former high-ranking official who stood out as the only minister who did not endorse the Song surrender statement and who unwillingly joined the ministerial retinue to the Yuan capital in 1276.¹ He is said to have wept and refused food and drink for several months in protest against the Mongol invasion. He stayed in Dadu for two years, where he declined an office, and then was sent to Hejian (south of Dadu), and later took up a position lecturing on the *Yi-jing* (Book of change) and the *Chunqiu* (Spring and autumn annals). When Wen Tianxiang and Deng Guangjian passed through Hejian in 1279 on their way to Dadu, the three met again and shared their grief and experiences.

Jia, however, was the sole southerner and loyalist in Hejian; he subsequently communicated with the others only through correspondence. He expressed homesickness for his native Sichuan and Hangzhou, which was a veiled reference to his longing for the collapsed Song dynasty as well. He regarded his sojourn in Hejian as a forced detention in the North, rarely used Yuan reign titles, and referred to the Yuan capital only by its ancient name of Yan. Jia's misgivings about foreign rule in general was, however, gradually dispelled by his admiration for the high standard of Confucian learning among northern scholars and recluses, whom he received warmly and considered his "like-minded" friends. He was relieved that "Confucianism was capable of following its own path and not be transformed [adversely] by the change of dynasties," and thus believed that scholarship and learning knew no boundaries between the North and the South. His grief for the Song dissolved in the course of time, as he observed that reunification of the country now made possible even the reintegration of Buddhist and Daoist schools.² Jia was already sixty-three when he went to the North; after living there for

1. For Jia Xuanweng's biography, see *SS* 421.12598-99. This discussion is mostly based on his collected writings, *Zetang ji*. Almost the entire collection was written during his sojourn in Hejian; it consists of many "descriptive essays" of studios and halls written upon request, describing his experience with northern scholars. For his homesickness and unhappiness about being detained in the north, see the poem "To former friends in the south" and "Descriptive essay on the Jing room," in Jia Xuanweng, 6.11a, 2.4b.

2. See *ibid.*, 2.38a, 4.27b, 2.28a for "Preface to bidding farewell to Yang shanzhang," "Funerary essay to mourn Liu Wenwei," and "Descriptive essay on the Ruiyun monastery."

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almost two decades, his attitude towards foreigners also became more liberal. In a preface to Yuan Haowen's *Zhongzhou ji* (Collected writings of Yuan Haowen), he commended the compiler for regarding foreigners as civilized and equal to Chinese.¹ In 1294 Jia was allowed to return to South China, where loyalists such as Lin Jingxi welcomed him with poems. After his departure, loyalist activities in the North came to an end, as Deng Guangjian and Wu Jian (one of the chief ministers who signed the surrender statement and went to Dadu with Jia), had already left long before him.²

Center 3: The Loyalists in Kuaiji and the Recovery of the Song Imperial Relics

After 1127, the tombs of the Song emperors were located near Kuaiji (Shaoxing) and were referred to as *cuangong* (temporary burial palaces) rather than *ling* (mausolea), because hopes for repossession of the Central Plain were not abandoned in the Southern Song. During and after the defeat of loyalist resistance, these tombs were excavated and looted while loyalists in Kuaiji attempted to recover the imperial relics. The clandestine nature of the mission to retrieve the imperial relics resulted in conflicting eyewitness and other contemporary accounts of the incident. Traditional scholarship on the incident does not agree on four main contentious issues: the actual dates of the excavation and the recovery and reburial of the relics; the identity of the persons involved in the incident; the location of the reburial site; and the number of tombs excavated. The account below attempts to synthesize the information available on the subject.³

1. Su Tianjue, 38.509-10. A partial translation is found in Chen Yuan, *Western and Central Asians*, 294-95.

2. Jia Xuanweng was permitted to return home in 1294 (YS 18.385). Wu Jian, on account of his old age, had already begged to return upon arrival in Shangdu in 1276. See Liu Yiqing, 9.15.

3. The earliest record of the looting of the imperial tombs is perhaps by Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, xu a.38a-b, bie a.44a-50b. Part of this material, in addition to other traditional sources on the incident, is collected in Wan Sitong, *Nan Song liuling yishi*. See also Yan Jianbi; Paul Demiéville; Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China."

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From 1278 until about 1285, the Lamaist monk Byan-sprin lCan-skya (Yanglian zhenjia, d. 1292) in collaboration with the notorious Sangge (d. 1291), engaged in a large project to excavate the Song imperial tombs and the graves of eminent officials. It is said that Byan-sprin lCan-skya increased his personal wealth by looting these graves, although many of the treasures thus acquired were turned over to the central government which then allocated funds for the construction of Buddhist monasteries.¹ To his critics the most heinous act committed by him was his impiety to the former Song rulers by exposing the relics to the open air. He also allegedly ordered some relics to be transferred to a site on the former Song palace grounds in Hangzhou, on which a pagoda named "Pagoda to suppress the south" would be built.² Byan-sprin lCan-skya and his acolytes also drained the mercury from Emperor Lizong's corpse in order to dislodge a precious pearl in his mouth; the skull was subsequently lost and later retrieved and used as a drinking utensil by them.³ The *Yuanshi* estimated the total number of tombs violated to be over a hundred.⁴

Byan-sprin lCan-skya's critics over the centuries have unreservedly condemned the desecration of the Song emperors' graves and the violation of traditional Chinese burial practices. A more objective look shows that he might not have deliberately meant to humiliate the Song imperial family and its subjects, but his religious zeal led him to reclaim the original sites of Buddhist monasteries which had been demolished to construct the imperial tombs.⁵ It is generally believed that the excavations had been undertaken

1. On Yang's ethnic origins, see Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," 321. On the submission of the tomb treasures to the Yuan, see *YS* 13.269, 13.271-72.

2. See Luo Youkai's biography of Tang Jue, in Wan Sitong, *Nan Song liuling yishi*, 7b.

3. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, *bie* a.47a-b.

4. *YS* 202.4521.

5. Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," 325.

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without Qubilai's knowledge.¹ Traditional Chinese scholars in particular blame former Song officials then in Mongol service for not raising objections to the excavations. They insist that had there been some protest in the Yuan court, the sinicized Lian Xixian (1234-80), the sympathetic Bayan, and the enlightened Qubilai would not have condoned Byan-sprin lCan-skya's misdeeds.² Indeed in 1291, the Lamaist monk was severely penalized when Sangge, his protector, was disgraced at the Yuan court.³ The downfall of these two men served to totally dissociate Qubilai from the excavations, but it is incredible that he had not been aware of the incident, since the funds received from the excavations were submitted to the Mongol court for the construction of the Buddhist monasteries.⁴

As soon as the plundering of the imperial tombs was known, it appears that a group of dedicated loyal men, mostly natives of Kuaiji, embarked upon a daring scheme to recover the imperial relics and rebury them at the Lanting site in Kuaiji. At least half a dozen persons were involved in this affair: Wang Yingsun, Tang Jue (b. 1247), Lin Jingxi (1242-1310) and his companion Zheng Buweng (fl. 1270-90), Luo Xian (fl. 1270-90), and perhaps Quan Quanweng.⁵

Tang Jue is recorded to have been a filial son who used up his inheritance entertaining a handful of young men in order to enlist their help to

1. Demiéville, 461.

2. See, e.g. Wen Ruilin's preface to Wan Sitong, *Nan Song liuling*, 1b-2a, and Yanai, 76. On Lian Xixian's adoption of Confucian mourning, see Chen Yuan, *Western and Central Asians*, 45-47.

3. Sangge's biography is located in the section for traitorous officials, YS 205.4570-76. See also L. Petech, and Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," 323-24.

4. YS 13.269.

5. Luo Xian was a eunuch, and Wan Sitong suggests that it was for this reason that he was not normally included as one of the participants. See Wan Sitong, *Nan Song liuling yishi*, 47a.

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smuggle out the imperial relics and replace them with animal bones.¹ In a separate incident, Lin Jingxi and his *landsman* Zheng Buweng disguised themselves as beggars; after bribing the junior Lamaist monks to let them through, they obtained the relics of Gaozong and Xiaozong (r. 1162-89).² In both cases the recovered bones were then reburied and wintergreen trees planted to mark the new location. In the traditional accounts of Tang Jue and Lin Jingxi, both appear to have worked on their own without previous knowledge of each other. Qing commentators have, however, supplied evidence to show that the two were house guests of the local magnate Wang Yingsun, who was in fact the mastermind and financier of the mission.³ Wang Yingsun was the son of a high-ranking Song official and related to the Song imperial family. For these reasons he did not want to focus suspicion on himself, but he may have paid for the assistants and for the bribes needed to ensure a successful venture. The Qing historian Quan Zuwang insisted that his ancestor, Quan Quanweng, had been a participant in the event and should be commemorated together with these daring, loyal subjects of the Song. He argued that the reburial site was situated in the Quan family estate, which had earlier been granted by the Song court.⁴

A mass of literature has been produced over the centuries praising the personalities involved in the recovery of the imperial relics. The key protagonists, Lin Jingxi and Tang Jue, were the first to refer to the incident in their poems.⁵ Their symbol for the entire event was the wintergreen tree, which in turn became the oblique reference for subsequent writings on the

1. Luo Youkai's biography of Tang Jue, in *ibid.*, 7b.

2. Zheng Yuanyou's biography of Lin Jingxi, in *ibid.*, 10b-11b.

3. See, e.g., Huang Zongxi's annotation to Xie Ao's poem, "Preface to the wintergreen tree," in Wan Sitong, *Nan Song liuling yishi*, 39b-40a.

4. Quan Zuwang, *ji* 33.417-18.

5. These were the "Written while dreaming" poems in Lin Jingxi, 3.103-04. In Luo Youkai's biography of Tang Jue, several lines of Tang's poem are identical to Lin's. It has been suggested that they were originally Lin's, later mistakenly attributed to Tang.

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subject. Traditional sources suggest that in an attempt to keep a low profile about the mission and their participation, both they and their friends deliberately falsified facts and dates, thus causing the still unsolved controversy about the incident. In the earliest account of the incident written by their friend Zhou Mi, nothing is said relating to the participation of either Tang Jue or Lin Jingxi.¹ Another friend, Xie Ao, a survivor of the loyalist resistance and personal follower of Wen Tianxiang, composed a commemorative poem, the "Dongqingshu yin" (Preface to the wintergreen tree), on which the Ming loyalist Huang Zongxi wrote a commentary.² In this piece, Xie's information about the dates of the reburial also conflicts with that of Zhou Mi and other accounts. Because of the popularity of this poem and his reputation as a Song loyalist, Xie has traditionally been regarded as an active participant in the incident.³ That, however, has been disproved because at the time it occurred Xie was traveling in Fujian and could not have been physically present in Kuaiji.

In any case, after the incident the individuals involved continued to see each other at social and literary gatherings in which other acquaintances and visitors participated. The best-known meeting occurred in 1279, during which fourteen poets met on five occasions at five different locations in the Kuaiji mountains in order to compose poetry in five tunes in the *yongwu* genre (celebration of the object). Altogether thirty-seven of these poems survive in a volume edited by one of the youngest participants, Chen Shuke (1258-1339).⁴ At least half the members in the group were natives of Kuaiji, in-

1. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, *bie* a.47a-b.

2. This poem, with annotations by Zhang Mengqian and Huang Zongxi, is in Xie Ao, *Xifa ji*, 247-49, and Wan Sitong, *Nan Song liuling yishi*, 36b-40a. A Qing dramatization of the Song loyalists also uses the wintergreen tree as the symbol of Song loyalism. See Jiang Shiquan.

3. Yang Weizhen (1296-1370) was the first to include Xie Ao among the participants in the recovery and reburial of the imperial relics, which Quan Zuwang showed to have been unlikely. See Quan Zuwang, *ji* 33.416-17.

4. See Chen Shuke.

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cluding Chen Shuke, Wang Yingsun, Tang Jue, Wang Yisun (1232-91), Wang Yijian and Tang Yisun (both fl. 1270-90). Five of them apparently owned property in the Kuaiji mountains and took turns hosting the meetings. The other participants were Hangzhou natives either seeking a sanctuary from the chaos of war, or were traveling through Kuaiji; they included Zhou Mi, Qiu Yuan (1247-1327), Zhang Yan (1248-1320), Lü Tonglao and Li Penglao (both fl. 1260-1300). The poems are full of obscure allusions and oblique references, and recent studies of them have shown that the major themes were the tragedy of the Song imperial family and the collapse of loyalist resistance in Yaishan.¹ It has also been suggested that the participants witnessed the looting of the tombs and that their meetings were conceived as ceremonial rituals to pay final homage to the former ruler and dynasty.² One notable detail is the absence of Lin Jingxi: this can be explained by his departure for his home in Wenzhou on a brief trip. Actually, Lin Jingxi may have been a participant, as the poetry volume did not include all participants nor all poems produced in the meetings.

Shortly after these gatherings, Zhou Mi and the other visitors left Kuaiji and returned to their respective homes. Of the poets whose works are represented in the volume, several later took up office under Yuan rule. They included at least Wang Yisun, Qiu Yuan, and Chen Shuke, who may have reluctantly taken this decision under difficult circumstances.³ There is, however, little doubt that in the 1270s, 1280s and even during their service to the Yuan they remained spiritually loyal to the Song and expressed genuine sadness and pessimism about the demise of the dynasty.

Of the key personalities in the Kuaiji loyalist group, Tang Jue is the

1. On this poetry collection see Xia Chengtao, "Yuefu buti kao," in his *Tang Song ciren nianpu*, 377-82; Chia-ying Yeh Chao, "On Wang I-sun"; Shuen-fu Lin, 191-93; Kang-i Sun Chang, 353-85.

2. Xia Chengtao, 379, 382.

3. Wang Yisun apparently served as director of a local school in the 1280s. See Chia-ying Yeh Chao, 62-66.

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least known.¹ His poems have been confused with those in Lin Jingxi's collection, and even his biography has been laced with myth, presumably to fill the gaps and the sparse details on him. Much more information is available on Wang Yingsun and Lin Jingxi. Wang was by far the most influential in social, economic, and political standing. A former Song official and one of the most affluent art connoisseurs of the time, he hosted many house guests and patronized not a few destitute scholars such as Lin Jingxi.² After the fall of the Song he wrote and painted, living the typical life of a political recluse. In 1289 he bought some property on Mount Tao where he built a house and a local academy.³ Although Wang did not serve the new government, he regarded the Yuan with ambivalence and associated himself with Yuan officials in order to keep his social and economic status. His son also socialized with loyalists such as Lin Jingxi and may have later joined the Mongol service.

Lin Jingxi is probably the best-known essayist and poet among the loyalist group in Kuaiji.⁴ A native of Wenzhou and former Song official, after the Song demise he lived in Kuaiji with some *landsmen*, including Zheng Buweng, who assisted him with the reburial of the imperial relics. After the demise of the dynasty, he remained for the next twenty years a guest of Wang Yingsun and traveled frequently between Hangzhou and his native county. He also taught students and associated with Daoist priests and Bud-

1. The writings on Tang Jue, including the biographies by Zhang Mengqian and Luo Youkai, are collected in Cheng Minzheng, 6.1a-15b.

2. Wang Yingsun's collections are frequently mentioned by Zhou Mi. See, in particular, Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu*, 2.3a-4b. Wang Yingsun was also a painter; see Xia Wenyan, 5.5a.

3. "Descriptive essay of Wang Yingsun's school on the Taoshan," in Lin Jingxi, 4.111-13; "Descriptive essay of travel to Taoshan," in Deng Mu, *Boya qin, buyi*.1a-2a.

4. In Lin Jingxi's collected writings, Zheng Buweng and Chen Zhengguang are particularly mentioned as his friends from the same district and with the same frame of mind and ambitions as himself. See his *Jishan ji*, 1.3-4, 4.111-13.

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dhist monks.¹ In his poetry, loyalism is manifested in repeated references to the symbols and traditions of loyalty: for instance, the sunflower naturally faces the sun, the bird starves rather than go to another owner, and the virtuous woman rejects remarriage. Also present are frequent praises of historical loyal figures such as Boyi and Shuqi in the early Zhou, Su Wu and Cai Yan in the Han, as well as the Song loyalist martyrs Lu Xiufu, Wen Tianxiang, and Xu Yingbiao.² Lin's loyalism had ethnic and racial overtones. He interpreted unusual occurrences of natural phenomena as supernatural reactions to the unnatural state of alien rule: "Thus when human beings lose the constants of human beings, ghosts and spirits practice their strange [ways]; when the Middle Kingdom loses its constants, barbarians conduct their bizarre [practices]. Strange occurrences are already unspeakable, how much more so when they have been beckoned to come close?"³ Lin's distress over the imposition of foreign rule was not assuaged by the reunification of the country. He cynically commented on Lu You's poem instructing his heirs to inform him about the recovery of the North: "Now that the nine provinces have been reunified, how will you convey that information to your father during the family sacrifices?"⁴ In later years, Lin's uncompromising loyalism also succumbed to the passage of time: he associated with northerners and did not condemn his younger brother for his Yuan employment.⁵ He himself, however, did not resume a public career.

1. The *Jishan ji* has frequent references to poetry exchanges and travels with Buddhists and Daoists.

2. Lin Jingxi, 1.2, 1.12-13, 1.23, 1.23-25, 2.67-68, 3.104-05. Cai Yan (Cai Wenji) is noted for a poem in eighteen stanzas expressing her distress during her forced sojourn among the Xiongnu people. See also Giles, no. 1983.

3. "Discourse on the flitting light," in Lin Jingxi, 4.128.

4. "Postscript on the poetry volume of Lu You," in Lin Jingxi, 3.100-01.

5. On his friend from Dadu, see Lin Jingxi, 4.120-21; on his younger brother, see his preface to bidding him farewell to a new assignment, in *ibid.*, 5.136-37.

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Center 4: Xie Ao and the Loyalists in Wuzhou and Jiande

Xie Ao, a native of Fujian and unsuccessful *jinshi* candidate, was a personal follower of Wen Tianxiang and a survivor of the loyalist resistance.¹ He had recruited a thousand men from his hometown and turned over his wealth to the loyalist cause. After Wen's capture in 1278, he escaped and thereafter spent his life traveling throughout Fujian and Zhejiang. In the course of his travels he established close contacts with loyalist groups in Hangzhou and Kuaiji, but he is most often identified with the loyalists in Wuzhou, where the two Song princes first stopped during their flight to the southeast in early 1276.²

In Wuzhou, Xie became an intimate friend of Fang Feng (1240-1321) and Wu Siqi (1238-1301), and associated with frequent visitors from Jiande. Fang Feng did not take office under the Song, but although a commoner he was regarded highly by the chief minister Chen Yizhong.³ In 1275, Fang was keenly aware of the urgency of the political situation and wrote to Chen, requesting that he continue to resist the "conniving caiffiffs": "Even a caged animal will struggle, how much more so should a country about to collapse?"⁴ After the defeat of loyalist resistance, Fang adopted the sobriquet "Loyal survivor of Dongyang" to show his loyalty to the former dynasty. Fang's loyalism is basically cultural rather than racial in nature, as indicated by his relatively mild tone towards foreign customs. In his preface, Fang declared:

1. Xie Ao was on the staff of Wen's military headquarters. Sources on Xie are in Cheng Minzheng, 2.1a-5.13b. Xie's extant writings are in his *Xifa ji*; he also edited a volume of poems by former Song subjects, entitled *Tiandi jian ji*, appended to the *Xifa ji*, 243-45.

2. In Hangzhou, Xie associated himself with Zhou Mi's circle of friends who included Deng Mu, Dai Biaoyuan, and Deng Wenyuan. References to the two Dengs are in Deng Mu's biography of Xie Ao, in Deng Mu, *Boya qin*, 13a-b. In Kuaiji, he associated himself closely with Lin Jingxi, Tang Jue, and Wang Yingsun.

3. On Fang Feng, see Cheng Minzheng, 8.1a-11b. The first to write his biography were his students Song Lian and Huang Jin.

4. Fang Feng, *Cunya tang yigao*, 3.1a-2b. For reference to Fang Feng's calling himself Dongyang jun yimin, see Fang's preface to Qiu Yuan's poetry, in Cheng Minzheng, 8.11a.

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The customs of the foreigners are really not worth mentioning, but one should nevertheless consider them as human beings. Those born in alien lands were [merely] ruined by their customs and practices, and although controlled by law, they cannot be transformed [by Chinese culture]. Yet among them there are some who like poetry and books and adhere to virtue and righteousness. They undertake three years of mourning [for their parents] and there are no promiscuous and jealous women. Such cases lend support to the fact that the goodness of human nature does not differ between foreigners and Chinese.¹

Of foreigners, Fang was most impressed with the Japanese and the Koreans because they adopted the Chinese written language and the Confucian classics.

Wu Siqi was a former Song official who retired from political life after the demise of the dynasty.² Thereafter he called himself "Master of total return," an indication of his determination to keep his virtue and loyalty intact. He was a direct descendant of the controversial philosopher-scholar Chen Liang (1143-94) who spoke out bitterly against foreign rule on Chinese territory and who has been regarded by modern scholars as a proto-nationalist.³ It is likely that Chen's antipathy towards foreigners greatly influenced Wu's loyalism to the Song.

With these new friends Xie shared his grief over the collapse of the Song, and they eagerly listened to his accounts of the loyalist resistance in

1. Fang Feng, *Yisu kao*, 1a.

2. On Wu Siqi, see Cheng Minzheng, 9.1a-12a. See especially the biographies by Song Lian and Ren Shilin, in *ibid*.

3. Chen Liang's biography is in *SS* 436.12929-43; see also Xiao Gongquan, vol. 4, 461-64, and Hoyt Cleveland Tillman.

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which they did not participate. Xie's loyalty first and foremost focused on his devotion to Wen Tianxiang. Xie is usually portrayed as an eccentric and solitary figure who wept alone for his former patron, but in Wuzhou, Xie was accompanied by his new friends. Xie is best known for engaging in a ritual mourning in order to bring back Wen's soul from the North. The incident took place at the tomb of Yan Guang (37 B.C.-A.D. 43) in Tonglu.¹ After the event, Xie wrote the *Xitai tongku ji* (Record of weeping at the western terrace), in which he referred to Wen Tianxiang and his own companions in oblique terms. In a commentary to the work, Huang Zongxi rectified previous annotations and identified Xie's companions as Wu Siqi (who often traveled to Tonglu), Yan Lü (fl. 1270-1300), a native of Tonglu and descendant of Yan Guang, and Feng Guifang (fl. 1270-1300), possibly a native of Wuzhou.² Because this essay has often been praised as attesting to Xie's loyal spirit and as a gem among loyalist literature, it is translated below in full:

At the beginning when [the chief minister Wen Tianxiang] set up his military headquarters [at Nanjian], I first followed him to battle as a commoner. The next year [1277] I took leave of him at Meizhou. In the following year the chief minister passed through [the place] that Zhang Xun and Yan Gaoqing used to visit. Grief-stricken words and heroic spirits were never lacking in his compositions, and the poems on Zhang Xun survive and provide material for study. To my death I will regret not seeing the chief minister for a last time, and now I can only recall the parting words. Each time I think about them, I would search in my dreams, or in the mountains, rivers, ponds and pavilions, clouds and forests. Where we parted I have paced back and forth looking forlorn but dared not

1. On the ritual of *zhaohun* (summoning the soul), see Hawkes, 101-14. On Yan Guang, see Giles, no. 2468.

2. The original annotations were done by Zhang Mengqian. As Huang Zongxi has shown, they are not convincing in identifying Xie's companions. My translation and dates rely on Huang Zongxi's corrections in *Wan Sitong, Songji zhongyi lu*, 11.8-15.

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weep aloud. Three years later [1282] I passed through Pingjiang where the chief minister had first set up his military headquarters [in 1275]. There I looked over from the Fuchai terrace and cried for him. Four years later [1286] I wailed for him on the Yue terrace, and now five years later [1291] I weep on the Ziling terrace.

At first on a certain day my three friends [Wu Siqi, Yan Lǔ, and Feng Guifang] and I had arranged to meet at Yuezhou and stay overnight. The afternoon rain did not cease. We rented a boat at the river [bank] and from it came ashore to visit the Ziling temple and to rest beside it. The monk's quarters were run down and dilapidated, and going inside was like entering a tomb. Upon returning [to the boat], with the boatmen we prepared some sacrificial vessels. Soon the rain stopped and we climbed the western terrace. In a deserted pavilion corner we set up an altar and bowed, prostrated, and wept three times before rising and prostrating again. I then remembered the time in my youth when each time we passed through here I would always pay my respects at this temple. That was when I first came here while accompanying my late father. Now I am old, and the country and people have all been transformed. As if I had regained what I lost I looked to the east and repeatedly bowed and wailed. Clouds floated from the southwest and created an air of mystery in the forest, as if they too wished to join in the grief. I then used a bamboo scepter to beat on a rock, reciting a tune modeled on the songs of Chu: "At dawn the soul ascended, how extremely remote! At dusk it returned, the water in the pass is black! Transforming into a red bird . . . !" When I finished singing, both the bamboo and rock were smashed to pieces.

We sighed at each other, and then climbed the eastern terrace. After stroking an old rock we returned to rest in the boat. The boatmen were at first startled by my

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weeping, and said a patrol boat had just passed by. We then moved everything back into the boat, and took turns drinking wine and composing poems to express our feelings. In the early dusk, snow fell and the wind was cold, such that we could not stay out [on the river]. Thus we anchored and went ashore, staying overnight at [Yan Lǔ's] house. At night we again wrote poems to reminisce about the past. The next day the wind and snow were even fiercer. I took leave of Wu Siqi at the river [bank] and with [Feng Guifang] set off for home. We walked thirty *li* and again stayed overnight at Yuezhou before arriving home.

Later [Wu Siqi] sent me a letter saying that on the day we left, the wind and sails were hostile for a long while before settling down. When all was calm he suspected that spirits must have been protecting our return trip back. I sighed: Alas! Since the infantry soldiers of the state of Ruan died over a thousand years ago, there had been no weeping in [those] lonely mountains. Whether it had truly been spirits assisting us cannot be known, but this journey has certainly been worthwhile and great. The fact that [Wu Siqi] put his thoughts down to show his feelings is certainly grievous. I wanted to emulate the Grand Historian who wrote the events of the end of Han, such as the contending Chu and Qin states. Then if my contemporaries do not now know my mind, people of subsequent times will be sure to read about it from this record. Thus I have written the [*Xitai tongku ji*] and appended it to my writings on the end of the Han.¹ Since my late father first climbed the terrace until now, it has been twenty-six years. My late father was named so and

1. Xie Ao had aspired to write a history of the last years of the Han dynasty. See Fang Feng's biography of Xie, in Cheng Minzheng, 2.7a-b.

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so, and his courtesy name was so and so. The year when
I first climbed the terrace was 1265.¹

Xie Ao, Fang Feng, and Wu Siqi also traveled to Hangzhou and Kuaiji, always writing travel diaries to remind them of the pleasures they had experienced.² Fang's student Song Lian (1310-81) wrote that hardly a month went by without these three friends embarking on some journey.³ To finance their travels, they evidently relied on Zhou Mi's patronage while in Hangzhou and Wang Yingsun's finances while in Kuaiji. In Wuzhou they were guests of Wu Wei (fl. 1270-1300), an affluent former Song official. To supplement their income, they accepted students. Fang Feng in particular was known for his outstanding students such as the Jinhua scholars Huang Jin (1277-1357), Liu Guan (1270-1342), and Song Lian.⁴ Occasionally Xie fell on hard times when he had to transport firewood to Hangzhou in order to subsist.⁵

Apart from the basic demands of making a living, Xie, Fang, and Wu formed poetry clubs such as the Xishe and the Yuequan yinshe, gathering in the company of other "like-minded" poets. In 1286-87, as members of the Yuequan poetry club, they sponsored a competition to encourage young ama-

1. Wan Sitong, *Songji zhongyi lu*, 11.8-15.

2. Fang Feng and Xie Ao also co-authored travel diaries, e.g. "Travels in Jinhua" in 1289, of which only one *juan* out of nine has survived. See Xie Ao, *Xifa ji*, 233-39; Fang Feng, *Cunya tang yigao*, 4.1a-5.4b. The titles vary slightly in the two works.

3. Song Lian's biography of Wu Siqi, in Cheng Minzheng, 9.5a.

4. On Liu Guan and Huang Jin, see their biographies in YS 181.4189, 181.4187-88. On Song Lian, see Mote's biography of him in Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 1225-31. On the scholarship and political thought of these Jinhua scholars, see also Langlois, "Political thought," 178-82, and Sun Kekuan, *Yuandai Jinhua xueshu*.

5. Deng Mu's biography of Xie Ao, in Deng, *Boya qin*, 12b.

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teur poets in Zhejiang and nearby districts.¹ Their patron, Wu Wei, provided the funds while Xie, Fang, and Wu Siqi served as judges.² The contest was declared open in the tenth month of 1286; three months later it closed and in a month and a half the winners were ranked. Altogether there were 2,735 entries, out of which 280 obtained honorable mention. The competitors were required to write a poem on the theme of Tao Qian's series of poems entitled "Pleasures of farming in the spring." Wu Wei greatly admired Tao Qian's imperturbable demeanor and his transcendent poetry, and chose the contest title to make an oblique comparison of the present withdrawal of himself and the participants to the political seclusion of Tao. It has also been suggested that the purpose of the competition was to compensate the young scholars and poets for the suspension of the civil service examination since the Song collapse.³ The competitors, mostly representatives of various poetry clubs in Hangzhou and Wuzhou, submitted entries anonymously or under pseudonyms, perhaps because they feared political complications, since both the patron and the judges of the competition did not conceal their loyalty to the Song.⁴

The first sixty winning entries appearing with the judges' comments survive in a volume edited by Wu Wei. Distributed to them as prizes were

1. The results of the poetry competition with the sixty winning entries are given in the poetry volume edited by Wu Wei. See also Yokota Terutoshi.

2. See Wu Wei, 1a; Wan Sitong, *Songji zhongyi lu*, 14.16-18. Such poetry competitions in which wealthy patrons hired established poets as judges were common in south China during the Yuan. The *Yuequan yinshe* competition is the best known of such events. See Yokota, 99-100.

3. As noted by Liu Chenweng in 1286, in "Preface to the poetry collection of Cheng Chuweng" (in Liu Chenweng, 6.9b): "After the examinations were suspended [in 1274] there was not one scholar who did not turn to poetry." See also Yoshikawa, *Genminshi gaisetsu*, 81.

4. Quan Zuwang believed that the multiple entries of the same person and the use of pseudonyms were either due to deliberate concealment through fear of censorship, or to confusion resulting from the transmission of the volume over such a long period. See Quan Zuwang, *waibian* 34.1143, and Yokota, 112-19.

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the volume of poetry, silk, brushes and ink, as well as poems written to them by the judges. Of the winners who later became known were Lian Wenfeng (fl. 1280-1300), Quan Quanweng (Quan Zuwang's ancestor), Bai Ting (1248-1328), and Qiu Yuan, who were respectively ranked first, ninth, eighteenth, and forty-fourth. At the time of the contest the competitors appeared to be Song loyalist survivors who responded in that capacity. But although they at first had no intention of compromising their ideals and loyalty to the former dynasty, by the 1300s not a few including Bai Ting and Qiu Yuan had taken up Yuan appointments as education officials.¹ Fang Feng's son became a *jinshi* under the Yuan when examinations were restored; he most likely also took office.

Apart from being compatriots, poetry associates, and traveling companions, Xie Ao and the Wuzhou loyalists practically became sworn brothers. They taught each other's children, arranged marriages among them, and pledged to continue their friendship after death.² In the 1280s Xie Ao and his friends bought a plot of land near the terrace where they mourned Wen Tianxiang. The site, named Xujian ting, recalled the incident of Jizha (ca. 500 B.C.) fulfilling his promise of a sword to Prince Xu even when the latter had died. Apart from serving as spiritual affirmation of loyalty towards the Song dynasty, the site also sealed the friendship between Xie Ao and his friends.³ In addition, the site was intended to be a cemetery plot for the group, and when Xie Ao died of tuberculosis in Hangzhou in 1295, he left instructions for his body and writings to be looked after by Fang Feng of Wuzhou. Xie's body was indeed transferred to the site and buried there. Xie's friends and students came from as far as Hangzhou and Dongguan to

1. On Bai Ting and Qiu Yuan entering Yuan service, see Chapter 6.

2. For example, Xie Ao taught Fang Feng's sons (see Fang Feng's biography of Xie, in Cheng Minzheng, 2.9a), and Wu Siqi's daughter married Fang Feng's son.

3. Fang Feng's biography of Xie Ao, in Cheng Minzheng, 2.8b. On the allusion to the "promised sword" by Jizha (ca. 500 B.C.) to Prince Xu, see Giles, no. 287.

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attend his funeral.¹ They included Deng Wenyan (1258-1328), a native of Sichuan who had moved to Hangzhou and later served as a high official in the Yuan, as well as Fang Youxue (fl. 1270-1300), a member of the loyalist group in Dongguan.

In Jiangshan county of Wuzhou resided the four recluses of the Chai family, Chai Wang (1211-80) and his three cousins, who returned home, barricaded their gates and refused to serve another dynasty after the Song demise.² None of the Chai recluses appear to have been associated with other loyalists, not even Fang Feng's group in Wuzhou. However, Chai Wang was a former friend of Zheng Sixiao's father and may have continued a friendship with Sixiao. Chai Wang was better known as a poet; out of several thousands of poems written, he selected about two hundred that he deemed worthy of transmission and humbly signed his name as the "Refugee subject of the Song" to the work. A year after Chai Wang's death, his son Xijun (fl. 1270-1290), a former student of the National University, also disdained to serve the Yuan.

A notable Confucian scholar, Jin Lüxiang (1232-1303), also retired to Wuzhou and did not enter public office under the Yuan.³ When the Song was about to collapse, he had submitted a plan to save the country from invasion but was ignored.⁴ Living under Mongol rule, he regarded himself as a "Scholar employed by the former dynasty" and did not use the contemporary reign titles in order to register his protest against the new order. Although he

1. On Deng Wenyan and Fang Youxue who attended Xie Ao's funeral, see Cheng Minzheng, 2.8a.

2. Chai Wang's collected writings exist as the *Qitang ji*. The following account is based on the funerary inscription written by his *landsman* Su You'an (fl. 1270-90) in 1281, and Chai's own preface to his collected poetry: "Funerary inscription of the historian-official of the Song, Chai Wang" and "Preface to the poetry collection of Daozhou Taiyi," in Chai Wang, appendix 1.1a-5b, 2.1a-b.

3. On Jin Lüxiang, see YS 189.4316-18. His extant collected works are known as the *Ren-shan ji*. On Jin's writings before and after the Song collapse, and his response to the Mongol conquest, see Langlois, "Political thought in Chin-hua," 151-55.

4. YS 189.4316.

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shared some students with Fang Feng, there is little evidence that he socialized with him or with the other loyalists in Wuzhou.

In Chun'an county of Jiande, west of Tonglu, lived another group of loyalists in retirement who apparently had no contact with the Xie Ao/ Fang Feng group. Fang Fengchen (1221-91), his younger brothers Fengzhen (*jinshi* 1262) and Fengjia (fl. 1270-1300), He Menggui (*jinshi* 1265), and Fang Yikui (fl. 1270-1300) were the leading figures in the group who refused to serve in the Yuan government and taught students for a living. Fang Fengchen was a top *jinshi* graduate in 1250 and had attained senior status in the Song bureaucracy when he withdrew for more than ten years to protest against Jia Sidao's rise to power.¹ After Jia fell into disgrace, he was appointed president of the Ministry of Rites (2B) but declined because of the objection raised by his ill father. Fengchen and Fengjia had also been Song officials who firmly declined recommendations to office. Fengchen called himself "Loyalist survivor of the mountain hut." He Menggui was also a high-ranking official who had deserted the Song court during its collapse.² In 1286-87 he was recommended for office by Cheng Jufu, but declined pleading illness. Both he and his *landsman* Fang Yikui were closely associated with the Fang brothers.

This group of former Song officials also socialized with northerners and foreigners who held office in the Yuan, such as the accomplished calligrapher Xianyu Shu (1248-1301) and the sinicized Jurchen scholar Jiagu Zhiqi

1. Despite his high rank in the Song dynasty, Fang Fengchen does not have a biography in the *SS* because the compilers could not obtain an account of conduct on him. See the SKQS preface to Fang's collected writings, *Jiaofeng wenji*, 1a-b. The writings of Fang's younger brother, Fengchen, are appended to the *Jiaofeng wenji*.

2. His biography in his family records shows that he left the court after realizing that the conquest of the Song was inevitable. See "Family biography," in He Menggui, 11. Fang Yikui's poetry, including poems to He Menggui and Fang Fengchen, is extant and known as *Fushan yigao*.

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(d. 1283).¹ Jiagu was a friend of Zhang Hongfan; both had directly been involved in suppressing the loyalist resistance. Jiagu and Xianyu may well have recommended the Fang brothers and He Menggui to office, an offer repeatedly declined. The next generation, however, did not reject appointments to office. Having never served under the Song, all three sons of Fengchen, one of Fengzhen, and He Menggui's two sons later took up positions as education officials.²

Center 5: The Luling Loyalists at Wen Tianxiang's Place of Birth

Wen Tianxiang's personal retinue during the resistance was characterized by a large number of *landsmen* and personal contacts. Not all of Wen's followers died as martyrs just before or after Wen's own martyrdom. Xie Ao, a native of Fujian, had escaped during the Yaishan battle and subsequently mourned Wen with loyalist groups in Kuaiji, Hangzhou, and Wuzhou. Among Luling natives who survived and returned home were Wang Yanwu, Zhang Yifu (fl. 1270-90), and Deng Guangjian. In Luling they shared their experiences in the North with Liu Chenweng, a former official, eminent scholar and poet.

Wang Yanwu had initially followed Wen Tianxiang in 1275, but he resigned in the next year to mourn his deceased father and look after his sick mother. In addition to the already mentioned essay urging Wen to commit suicide in 1279, Wang wrote an elegy praising Wen's indomitable loyalty and upright spirit after the latter died in 1283.³ On the strength of these two

1. On Xianyu Shu, see Marilyn Wong Fu. Jiagu Zhiqi's biography is in *YS* 174.4061-62. For contacts between Jiagu and Fang, see Fang Fengchen, 6.8b, *waiji* 3.33a; for examples of poetry exchanges between Jiagu and He Menggui, see 10.13a.

2. On Fang's three sons, see his biography by Xu Youren (1287-1364), in Fang Fengchen, *waiji* 3.29a-b; on He's two sons, see He Menggui, 11.22a.

3. Writings by and on Wang Yanwu are compiled in Cheng Minzheng, 1.1a-12b. The two elegies mourning Wen, "Essay mourning the chief minister (when he was still alive)" and "Essay mourning the chief minister from afar" are also in Wang's own collected writings, in Wang Yanwu, 4.1a-7b. Wang Yousun (b. 1223), also a native of Luling, has also been credited with writing an essay to mourn Wen before the actual death.

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pieces he is traditionally commended for his loyal commitment. Wang, however, felt his filial obligation to be more compelling: the many funerary addresses to his parents attest to it.¹ After Wen's death, Wang lived another thirty years during which his loyalty to the Song underwent a definite transformation. Like his friend who helped him distribute the essay urging Wen to die, he did not take up public employment under the Yuan but consorted with Yuan officials and even wrote literary pieces for them. He congratulated his son's brother-in-law on obtaining a position in a prefecture.² Zhao Wen (1239-1315), a native of Luling, had also followed Wen in the loyalist resistance but later served the Yuan.³ Wang's relationship with this *landsmen*, however, remained very close.

Zhang Yifu, a native of Luling, had voluntarily accompanied Wen Tianxiang to the Yuan capital in 1279. For the next three years until Wen's execution, Zhang looked after him and prepared his food, a service for which Wen was extremely grateful.⁴ After Wen's death, it is said that Zhang hid Wen's head, collected his nails and hair, and returned them to Luling for burial. He also took with him Wen's writings and no doubt described Wen's last days to the mourning loyalists in Luling.⁵

1. Wang Yanwu, 4.5a-8b, 9.7a-15b.

2. See "Descriptive essay on the Zhujing hall" (for Myriarch Liu) and "Congratulating the elder brother of my son's wife who obtained a position as instructor," in Wang Yanwu, 3.7a-9a and 7.8b.

3. For Zhao Wen's collected writings, see his *Qingshan ji*. He served the Yuan first as director of a school and later as instructor in a prefecture. For Wang Yanwu's letter thanking for Zhao's condolences to his mother's death, see Wang Yanwu, 7.7a-11a.

4. Wen Tianxiang was the first to refer to Zhang Yifu caring for himself (Wen Tianxiang, 16.1b). Sources on Zhang, including Tao Zongyi's biography of him, are in Cheng Minzheng, 7.1a-3b.

5. Zhang is believed to have searched and found Wen's wife, née Ouyang, in Dadu; he then accompanied her to cremate Wen's body. See Cheng Minzheng, 7.1a-b. However, from poems written by Wen and Wang Yuanliang, it would appear that Ouyang had actually predeceased Wen.

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Deng Guangjian was also a central loyalist figure in Luling. He had been rescued from the sea in 1279 and subsequently forced to go to Dadu with Wen. Wen was immensely impressed with Deng and on the journey wrote many poems to him as well as a preface to his poetry collections.¹ Upon arrival in Dadu Deng seems to have communicated with Wang Yuanliang, sharing lamentations about the collapse of the Song. While in the North, Deng made lasting friendships with former Song officials and northerners in Mongol service. At that time he may have befriended Cheng Jufu, whom he saw again in 1289 when the latter was recruiting talented men for the central Yuan administration.² While in the North Deng's primary student was Zhang Hongfan's son, Gui (1264-1327), who was already a prominent Yuan general at the age of sixteen and who later rose to high ranks in the Yuan bureaucracy.³ In subsequent years Zhang Gui memorialized to allow the Song imperial family to retain its tax-exempt status; undoubtedly this concern had been influenced by Deng. After several years of service in Zhang Hongfan's home, Deng was released in 1281 and returned to Luling, where he wrote Wen's biography, the biographies of Wen's followers who were killed or committed suicide, and the record of the loyalist court based on the diary that Lu Xiufu had entrusted to him. Altogether Deng was away from his native prefecture for two decades, but after he returned home he soon renewed relationships with old friends such as Liu Chenweng and Zhao Wen.

It was Liu Chenweng who appears to have been the friendliest with

1. For Wen's poems to and in reference to Deng, see especially Wen Tianxiang, 14.11a-12b and 14.14a-15b; for Wen's preface to Deng's *Donghai ji*, see *ibid.*, 14.14a-15a. Neither the *Donghai ji* nor the *Tianhai lu* has survived.

2. On Cheng Jufu's relationship with Deng Guangjian, see Yuan Ji, 92. For Cheng's reference to Deng's death and his mourning poem to him, see Cheng Jufu, 24.12b-13b, 28.3a.

3. For Zhang Gui's biography, see *YS* 175.4071-83. On Zhang Gui's memorial, see Zhao Yi, 30.636. Zhang is listed as belonging to Ouyang Shoudao's school of studies (*Sunzhao xue'an*) through his relationship with Deng Guangjian. See Huang Zongxi, *Song Yuan xue'an*, 88.101. Deng had already returned to Luling in late 1281. See Liu Chenweng, 10.28b-29a.

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Deng Guangjian upon his return to Luling. Liu and Deng, together with Wen Tianxiang, had been former students of Jiang Wanli and Ouyang Shoudao (b. 1209). Liu was a child prodigy and gained first place in the *jinshi* examination.¹ After fifteen years of service including only one month at the central court, Liu's career ended as professor of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (4A). He did not participate in loyalist resistance, but after the fall of the dynasty did not serve in the Yuan government. At the time of the surrender of Hangzhou and the captivity of the imperial family in February 1276, Liu had already returned to Luling. In a *ci* entitled "Bingzi songchun" (Farewell, spring, 1276), he expressed his grief over the demise of the Song and equated the passing of spring to the involuntary departure of the imperial family for the Yuan capital:

Farewell, spring!
Spring gone--no road left in the world.
Beyond the swings, the fragrance of the grass
reaches up to the sky.
Who will dispatch the sand in the wind over to
the southern banks?
Reluctantly, with deep melancholy,
It randomly reminisces about the catkins at the
ocean gates.
The wild crows flew past.
The dipper has changed position and the town is
deserted.
No longer can be seen the source from which it
arrived at the beginning of the new year.

Spring gone--who is the most piteous?
The messenger geese are silent; the pigeons have

1. On Ouyang Shoudao, see his biography in SS 411.12364-66. His collected writings are known as *Sunzhai wenji*. On Liu Chenweng's early literary success, see "Descriptive essay on the Lixin Hall of the subprefectural school in Luling," in Liu Chenweng, 3.53b.

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no master.

The cuckoo sounds echo at the Long Gate in the dusk.

Recalling the jade trees in the fallow soil,

Tears fall as dew.

In Xianyang the guest is sent off but several times

looked back--

The horizon cannot be crossed.

Spring gone--will it return?

. . . .

I sigh at the spirits visiting the former country,

Even flowers remember the former age.

Life wanders and falls aimlessly,

Turning to the children, we talk through the night.¹

Despite the sad and desolate sentiments expressed in the poem, there is a glimmer of hope as Liu reminds himself that spring always returns; moreover, he comforts himself with the thought that his family is still intact. At that time and in subsequent years, he considered himself the "Fleeing refugee" of Luling.² Although he was not an active loyalist, he greatly admired loyalist acts and wrote encomia for loyalist figures such as Jiang Wanli, Wen Tianxiang and lesser known personages.³ During these years Liu's eldest son, Jiangsun (b. 1257), shared with him the grief over the collapse of the

1. This poem, in the song title *lanling wang*, is in Liu Chenweng, 9.5a-b.

2. Huang Xiaoguang, 11.

3. For the encomia for Jiang Wanli and Wen Tianxiang, see Liu Chenweng, 7.34a-35a. For other loyalist personages, see "Funerary inscription for Huang Chunfu" and "Funerary inscription for Chen Libu," in Liu Chenweng, 7.1a-7b, 7.15a-19a.

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country and socialized with his loyalist friends.¹

As Liu Chenweng realized that the Mongol Yuan was due to stay for a long time, his loyalty changed in intensity and form in the following years. His sorrow for the former Song was assuaged by the reunification of China effected by the Mongol conquest: "Under the empire carts and books [once again] travel between the North and South. The pedestrians in big crowds pass through the palaces of Bianliang [Kaifeng, Northern Song capital]."² In the 1290s Liu wrote funerary inscriptions for both Chinese and foreign Yuan officials.³ He also conveyed best wishes to his many friends departing for the Yuan capital, presumably in order to seek positions in the government. Liu accepted students of all ethnicities, among whom Xue Angfu (fl. 1280-1300), an Uighur, acquired a solid reputation as a poet.⁴ Liu's son, Jiangsun, showed even stronger ambivalence about the former Song. In the 1290s he obtained a temporary post as instructor in a prefecture, but a decade later at the age of fifty he was still writing to Yuan officials, hoping to acquire a po-

1. Liu Jiangsun was a prolific writer: thirty-two *juan* of his collected writings survive under the title of *Yangwu zhai wenji*. His father's colleagues, acquaintances, and companions became his own friends. Liu wrote the funerary inscription for Zhao Wen, in Liu Jiangsun, 29.12a-16a. Wang Yanwu's collected writings also contain correspondence with Liu Jiangsun. See "Reply to Liu Jiangsun who wrote the funerary inscription for my eldest son," in Wang Yanwu, 3.

2. These are the first two lines of the poem "Sending off Li Hetian on his travels to Hangzhou," in Liu Chenweng, 7.50b.

3. For example, Liu Chenweng wrote the funerary inscription for a high-ranking Yuan official who administered Luling for only forty days before his death. Liu undoubtedly exaggerates when he states that not one scholar-official refrained from mourning the deceased man. See "Funerary inscription for the chief minister Mangha dai meitang," in Liu Chenweng, 7.24b-28a.

4. Xue Angfu's poetry, which has not survived, was highly praised by Zhao Mengfu. See "Preface to the poetry collection of Xue Angfu," in Zhao's *Songxue zhai wenji*, 6.64. For a partial translation of Zhao's preface, see Chen Yuan, *Western and Central Asians*, 132-34.

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sition in the bureaucracy.¹ Thoroughly frustrated, he blamed the lack of political opportunities for scholars on the suspension of the examination system after the fall of the Song: "For twenty years there have been no *jinshi* examinations . . . If the [Song] had not collapsed, it would not have been thus!"²

In 1288 the loyalists in Luling were joined by a visitor from Dadu. This was Wang Yuanliang, who was probably introduced to them by Deng Guangjian. After reading Wang's poetry relating to the fate of the imperial family and other issues, they wrote prefaces to it.³

Center 6: Wang Yinglin and the Loyalists in Qingyuan (Ningbo)

Only days before the collapse of Hangzhou in February 1276, the loyalist general Zhang Shijie took his remaining forces to Qingyuan, where he hoped to find support for his continued resistance against the Mongols. On his arrival, the local administrators Yuan Hong (1248-98), Xie Changyuan (fl. 1260-1300), and Zhao Mengchuan (fl. 1260-1300) betrayed the loyalist Yuan Yong (d. 1276) and surrendered to the Yuan generals. In the next year there was another loyalist uprising, but it was quickly quelled by the Mongol occupation forces. Wang Yinglin, a native of Qingyuan and former high-ranking Song official and erudite scholar, praised the loyalty of Yuan Yong, who perished along with seventeen members of his family.⁴ The tradition of active resistance was, however, not characteristic of the loyal survivors who gathered in Qingyuan after the collapse of the Song. Their loyalty to the former dynasty was a lingering nostalgia for the past, and its essence and inten-

1. "Descriptive essay on Shuangfeng school, Nanjian," in Liu Chenweng, 2.7a; "Letter to the administrator Yao Sui," in Liu Jiangsun, 8.5a-b.

2. "Returning from a visit to Yanping," in Liu Jiangsun, 7.11a-12b.

3. Prefaces to Wang Yuanliang's poetry were written by Liu Chenweng, Deng Guangjian, and Zhao Wen. Wang Yanwu and Liu Jiangsun's collected writings also refer to Wang Yuanliang's poetry. See Cheng Minzheng, 11.1a-5a.

4. On loyalist resistance in Qingyuan, see the biographies of Yuan Yong (Wan Sitong, *Songji zhongyi lu*, 8.9) and Zhao Menglei (d. 1277)(SS 454.13356). Wang Yinglin's poem praising Yuan Yong is in Wang Yinglin, *Siming wenxian ji*, 5.47b-48a.

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sity varied from passive protest to some degree of accommodation. In addition to Wang Yinglin, the other figures were his son Changshi (1267-1327), Hu Sanxing, Shu Yuexiang, Liu Zhuangsun (1234-1302), Chen Yunping (fl. 1260-1300), Huang Zhen (1213-80), Chen Zhu (1214-97), and others.

This group, natives of Qingyuan or of nearby Taizhou, appears to have first met in 1276-79 at the residence of Yuan Hong, who had surrendered to the Mongols.¹ Qingyuan was then plagued by loyalist uprisings as well as by local bandits from which these scholars and former Song officials sought refuge. During this period they mourned the demise of the Song and at the same time shared their scholarly interests in the Confucian classics, history, and geography. Upon return to their respective homes, these friends continued their relationship and participated in regular gatherings where they composed poems and held serious discussions. As late as 1294 Wang Yinglin was still hosting a poetry society, the guests being Chen Yunping, Shu Yuexiang, and Liu Zhuangsun.²

Wang Yinglin came from a family of distinguished political and scholarly men.³ His political career had spanned over thirty years by the fall of the Song, but it suffered several setbacks due to his criticism of Jia Si-dao. In 1275 Wang was the chief drafter of imperial decrees, appointment notices, and posthumous awards to officials, some of whom turned out to be ardent loyalists and others defectors. Derogatory terms such as "pigs, swine, snakes, ugly caitiffs" in reference to the Mongols were used in these official writings, reflecting the attitudes of both Wang and the Song government to-

1. See Quan Zuwang, *waibian* 18.906.

2. *Ibid.*, *waibian* 25.1008-09. The poetry of this group was later collected in a volume, and the gathering itself was compared by Yuan Jue to the Luoyang Poetry Society of Wen Yanbo (1005-69) and eleven veteran officials. "Preface to the poetry volume *Shilun tang yaji*," in Yuan Jue, 50.5b.

3. See Wang Yinglin's biography in *SS* 438.12987-91, in the section for eminent Confucian scholars. There are three chronobiographies of Wang by the Qing scholars Qian Daxin, Zhang Dachang, and Chen Jin. They are appended to Wang Yinglin's collected literary writings, *Siming wenxian ji*. See also Langley.

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wards the Mongol threat.¹ Apart from drafting these documents, Wang criticized Liu Mengyan and Jia Sidao for their incompetent policies; however, he did not offer any constructive proposals to solve the external and internal problems. At the end of the year, only months before the surrender of Hangzhou, Wang fled to his native home and did not return even when summoned by the Song court.² For this irresponsible behavior he was faulted by Ming scholars. His defense came from Quan Zuwang of the Qing, who argued that Wang was not a military official, and since his counsel was not heeded by the court, his departure should be regarded simply as a resignation.³ Wang left the court for a reason other than anticipating chaos in the event of the capital's collapse: his younger brother, Yingfeng (1230-75), had just died and he was obligated to return home to look after family affairs.⁴

Upon his return to Qingyuan, Wang devoted the last two decades of his life to scholarship and teaching. He added dozens of titles to his previous writings on the Confucian classics, geography, history, education, and poetry.⁵ Among his students were his son Changshi, Hu Sanxing, Shi Mengqing (1247-1306), Dai Biaoyuan, and Yuan Jue (son of Yuan Hong). In the 1290s Wang taught a Mongol, Bai Xing (1251-1311), whose surname was Yuluboli (Urlugbayli?).⁶ By that time Wang was writing inscriptions and essays on behalf of Yuan officials. It thus appears that as a former high-ranking official of the Song, Wang had compromised his loyalty. Indeed, it was alleged

1. Wang Yinglin, *Siming wenxian ji*, juan 5, *passim*.

2. *SS* 47.935-36.

3. Quan Zuwang, *waibian* 19.916.

4. See the chronobiography by Qian Daxin, 9a-b. Wang Yingfeng had passed the *jinshi* examination in 1256 with Wen Tianxiang and Lu Xiufu. Yingfeng wrote the preface to the first family genealogy of Quan Zuwang. See Quan Zuwang, *waibian* 25.1009.

5. Wang's writings amount to twenty-nine titles (fourteen mentioned in his self-obituary, nine others in *SS* and six others in bibliographies). See Langley, 476-89; Lǚ Meique.

6. On Bai Xing's student-teacher relationship to Wang Yinglin, see Yuan Jue's spirit-way stele of Bai Xing in Yuan Jue, 26.452; see also Langley, 472-73.

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by Ming scholars that he took a position under the Yuan as a school director. Quan Zuwang, however, claimed that Wang did not actually serve and even if he did, the position of school director would not be appointed from the throne and thus should not be regarded as a sacrifice of Wang's integrity.¹ In 1295 Wang's student Yuan Jue reluctantly accepted an appointment in the government, and in 1302 Dai Biaoyuan also served. Wang's son Changshi did not hold office, but his grandson Housun (1301-67) did.

Wang's sudden departure from the Song court at a critical time, his indiscriminate choice of associates and students, and his possible acceptance of a Yuan government appointment may have made Wang himself unsure whether he had been disloyal to the Song. Some doubt about fulfilling his political obligations indeed shows in the humble and uncertain tone of his funerary inscription, his final self-appraisal entitled "Self-obituary of the *yimin* of Junyi":

Wang is my surname; Yinglin my name; and Bohou my courtesy name. My ancestors were men of Junyi [in Kaifeng], and had lived in Yin county [in Qingyuan] since the time of my great-grandfather. *Yimin* refers to my not forgetting the past In my studies my late father was my teacher; my younger brother [Yingfeng] was my friend At nineteen [*sui*] I became a *jinshi* graduate of the second class--that was in [1241]. At thirty-four I passed the *boxue hongci* examination--that was in [1256]. My first appointments were . . . [over twenty positions ending at] . . . president of the Ministry of Rites . . . and president of the Ministry of Personnel I then begged to resign and dwell among the fields--that was in [1275] My nature was diligent and I had few desires; I was direct and not sociable. I was not used to conforming with current practices. At court I was reserved and assiduous; at home I was simple and thrifty. When

1. Quan Zuwang, *waibian* 19.916.

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administering local districts, I was honest and benevolent to the people. Such conduct was in accordance with my family's instructions. I drafted altogether forty-five *juan* of imperial documents. My talents are limited and my compositions do not reach [the standards of] the ancients. I indulged in learning and even when old did not get weary of it. I have written [fourteen titles] . . . but they are not worthy of transmission. I am writing my own funerary inscription . . . In my life I call myself a recluse, and dead, I address my burial place as the "Grave of the former *jinshi* Mr. Wang." . . . The epitaph reads:

In studying antiquity I may have been
impractical,
My ambitions consistent but foolish.
In office or in retirement,
It was as if [all] was restrained or planned.
If I am not worthy of being called a veteran
surviving official [of the Song],
Perhaps I have succeeded in guarding my moral
character.
When I return to my ancestors,
Can I [face them] without trepidation?¹

Despite this doubt in Wang's mind, he regarded himself a man of Song to the end of his life. His loyalism was not characterized by active resistance, and his distress at the Song demise was alleviated by his conviction that civilization and culture would in the end transcend alien rule. He thus compared the Yuan dynasty with the short-lived Qin (221-09 B.C.): "Scholars were not debased by the Qin dynasty . . . the classics were not destroyed by the Qin dynasty . . . [Chinese] customs and practices were not corrupted by the Qin

1. "Self-obituary of the loyal survivor of Junyi," in the chronobiography of Wang Yinglin by Chen Jin, 33b-35b, appended to Wang Yinglin, *Siming wenxian ji*. My translation of the epitaph differs from Langley, 459.

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dynasty."¹

Among Wang's students, Hu Sanxing, a native of Tiantai, shared with him a great passion for studies in historical geography. Hu was a successful *jinshi* graduate in the 1256 examination along with Wen Tianxiang and Lu Xiufu.² Wang Yinglin presided at the examination, where all four most likely first met. Shortly thereafter, Hu entered the service of the Huai general Li Tingzhi with his fellow graduate Lu Xiufu. While in the Huai region, Hu undertook an ambitious project to annotate place names and events in Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian*. In 1270 Hu left the Huai region for Hangzhou where he was hired as family tutor by Jia Sidao's publisher friend, Liao Yingzhong, who promised to obtain Jia's support to print Hu's work.³ In 1275 Hu seems to have joined Jia's military campaigns; after Jia's defeat he returned home to Tiantai, where he lost the entire manuscript during the chaos caused by war and banditry. He then bought another copy of the *Zizhi tongjian* and recommenced the annotations, completing the entire project by 1285. Part of the work was done when he was a guest in Yuan Hong's house in 1276-79, where Wang Yinglin and other former Song officials were also seeking refuge from the war. He concealed the finished manuscript in Yuan Hong's home, where it survived the disturbances caused by local bandits in 1289.⁴ Although Yuan Hong was a defector and Yuan official, Hu accepted his patronage and taught his son Jue. His loyalty to the Song was nevertheless intense, as evident in his annotations on events of Chinese history. He referred to the Song as "Our dynasty" and "Present dynasty" rather than "Former Song"; while praising the loyal acts of historical figures he condemned for-

1. Wang Yinglin, *Wengzhu Kunxue jiwen*, 1.6a-b; Quan Zuwang, *waibian* 19.916. Cf. the translation in Langley, 461.

2. Chen Yuan, *Tongjian Huzhu biao*, 409-10.

3. "Preface to the newly annotated *Zizhi tongjian*" by Hu Sanxing, in Su Tianjue, 32.423-26.

4. On the work's storage, see Quan Zuwang, *waibian* 18.906. On Yuan Jue as Hu's student, see "Mourning my teacher Hu Sanxing," in Yuan Jue, 43.731-32.

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eign rule and disloyal men in no uncertain terms.¹ When discussing the fall of an earlier dynasty, he equated the distress with his own experience during the collapse of the Song: "Regarding the country's demise, those speaking about it are already deeply grieved. How much more so is [the grief] for those witnessing [the demise]?"²

Hu's loyal feelings towards the Song did not permit him to serve in the new government, although he compromised and continued his relationship with Yuan Hong and other Yuan officials. His son Youwen (fl. 1270-1300) rejected the Yuan, but his grandson could not resist the allure of office. For the rest of his life Hu did not socialize much; among his few friends were Chen Zhu, a fellow graduate of 1256 and native of Qingyuan, who became Youwen's father-in-law.³ Chen Zhu seems to have maintained close relations with other fellow graduates including Shu Yuexiang and Huang Zhen, whose grandson married his daughter.⁴ Among his last compositions was a funerary address to mourn his friend and examiner Wang Yinglin, which he completed in 1296. He died the following year.⁵ Like Wang, Chen avoided taking office under the new government despite his extreme poverty. This decision was more easily reached and adhered to because he was already in his sixties when the Song collapsed and he did not expect to live much longer. His unwillingness to serve was related to his having been a Song official; in addition, it seems that his wife was a descendant of the Song imperial fam-

1. During the Sino-Japanese war of 1937-45, Chen Yuan identified his distress about foreign invasions with Hu Sanxing's loyalty to the Song. He categorized Hu's annotations on the *Zizhi tongjian* according to topics, and commented on Hu's references. See Chen Yuan, *Tongjian Huzhu biaowei*, *passim*.

2. Sima Guang, 285.9323.

3. "Preface presented to son-in-law Hu Youwen," "To Hu Sanxing," and "To son-in-law Youwen," in Chen Zhu, 38.3b-4b, 79.2a-3b.

4. "Preface to son-in-law Huang Zhengsun on his departure for Yue," in *ibid.*, 38.1a.

5. "Essay mourning Wang Yinglin," in *ibid.*, 89.9b-10b.

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ily.¹ After the collapse of the Song he mingled freely with Buddhist and Daoist monks, from whom he accepted gifts of medicine and tea. He called himself "Former veteran official of Siming," and did not use Yuan reign titles until the 1290s. His loyalty to the Song did not destroy his relationship with his former friends, Yuan Hong and Zhao Mengchuan, who had surrendered to the Mongols and subsequently served under them.² He became more accommodating towards the Yuan administration and its officials, occasionally writing commemorative essays on their behalf. His sons later took up positions as education officials with his approval, perhaps through recommendations from these politically influential friends.³

A fellow graduate and companion of Chen Zhu was Shu Yuexiang, a native of Taizhou, who died a year after Chen Zhu. Shu was an official in Hangzhou; after its collapse, he returned home where he witnessed the atrocities and carnage of war, such as scholars and women being taken captive and herded north along with goats and cattle.⁴ Apart from the Mongol armies, he also blamed local bandits for extensive destruction and unrest in the late 1280s. He looked beyond his own impoverishment as a result of the change of dynasties and he felt compassion for the genuinely poverty-stricken people. Although he had to sell family possessions and pawn clothes in exchange for food, he considered himself fortunate in view of others worse off

1. This assumption is based on the fact that the *ming* of his wife and her siblings start with Bi and that of their father starts with Chong, the same as the corresponding generations of the Song imperial family. For the names of his wife and father-in-law, see *ibid.*, 35.5a, 65.5a-6b.

2. On writings to Yuan Hong and Zhao Mengchuan, see, e.g., *ibid.*, 80.9b-10a, 89.5a-6b. For a letter to a Mongol, see "To the district's high official Menggu Qizhuan," in *ibid.*, 73.2b-3b.

3. For writings sending off his sons to their employment as education officials, see *ibid.* 33.1a-2b, 33.4b-6a, 33.9b-10b.

4. Shu Yuexiang's writings, mostly poems, exist under the title *Langfeng ji*. On the suffering of the common people as personally witnessed by Shu, see "Ravages of war in 1276," "Receiving a report about the northern army," and "Last year the Yuan army entered Taizhou," in Shu Yuexiang, 1.23a-b, 1.14b, 3.6b-7a.

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than himself who had to sell their sons and daughters.¹ After the collapse of the Song, Shu's constant companion was a *landsman*, Liu Zhuangsun, who sought refuge with him and accompanied him to poetry gatherings with Wang Yinglin. Neither he nor Shu served in the Yuan government despite their poverty, but their friends included many Yuan officials and former Song officials who joined the Yuan government.² Shu and Liu both accepted students in order to eke out a meager living, but Shu also accepted financial support from Xie Changyuan, a defector mentioned earlier.³ Perhaps Shu could thus afford to travel occasionally to Hangzhou to renew old friendships and meet new acquaintances.

Shu's loyalty to the Song thus reflected a certain degree of accommodation, although he did not in the end take up office under the new government. His fellow graduate and close friend, Huang Zhen, a native of Qingyuan, was less compromising in his attitude towards the Yuan.⁴ Considered an eminent Confucian scholar together with Wang Yinglin, Huang was a Song official for seventeen years, during which he was often an advocate acting on behalf of the lower strata of society. In 1275 he became ill and obtained permission to resign his post and return home. After the collapse of the Song, he felt that as a former Song official he was obliged to seclude himself from the world. His friends, Shu Yuexiang and Chen Zhu, did not get any news of him for several years and worried about him.⁵ It is said that he swore never to enter the city; a year after the defeat of loyalist resistance,

1. "Parting with the silver vase," in *ibid.*, 5.14a.

2. On Liu Zhuangsun, see Wan Sitong, *Songji zhongyi lu*, 13.21. Quan Zuwang believed that both Liu and Shu ought to be commemorated for their refusal to reemerge in public office; however, he did not know that Shu received financial support from defectors. See Quan Zuwang, *ji* 5.61.

3. "Remembering the Bamboo cane poem," in Shu Yuexiang, 2.14a-b.

4. Huang Zhen's biography is in *SS* 438.12991-94.

5. "My fellow graduate Huang Zhen," in Shu Yuexiang, 1.28b-29a; for Chen Zhu's poems to Huang, see Chen Zhu, 90.1a-b.

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he died in dire poverty.

Chen Yunping was the most outstanding poet in Wang Yinglin's loyalist group. In the 1260s he had already gained a reputation in poetry circles in Hangzhou. But unlike his poet friends, Chen played an active role in the loyalist resistance through his connection with the loyalist martyr Su Liuyi. Later, he was suspected of participating in anti-Mongol activities and arrested by Yuan authorities, but he was released through the influence of Yuan Hong.¹ In the 1290s he was recommended to office but declined the appointment upon arrival in Dadu.

Center 7: Ma Tingluan and Loyalists in Raozhou and Wuyuan

The Qingyuan loyalist survivors were at least in their fifties by the end of the Song, and they died before 1300 without serving in the Yuan. Likewise, Ma Tingluan and veteran officials were already old when the dynasty collapsed. Most of them spent the last ten years or so of their lives occupying themselves with assiduous scholarship, "writing ten thousand characters a day."² After the demise of the Song, Ma and his family returned to their home in Raozhou, which was also the native prefecture of the great loyalist martyr, Xie Fangde.³ Ma Tingluan came from a distinguished but impoverished scholar-official family. After gaining his *jinshi* degree in 1246, Ma steadily advanced to chief minister by 1269. On account of illness he was granted a pension and a sinecure in his home prefecture in 1273. The demise of the Song affected his illness adversely, but he still wrote extensively on the

1. Chen Yunping's poetry collection is the *Rihu yuchang*. On Chen's arrest, see Quan Zuwang, *waibian* 47.1386; "Account of my late father," in Yuan Jue, 33.568-69.

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

3. On Ma Tingluan, see his biography in *SS* 414.12436-39. Ma's retirement is not attributed to illness in this official biography; furthermore, it states that Ma was ordered in 1274 to return to the Song court but did not comply.

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Confucian classics and on institutional history.¹ Among his closest friends during this period were Zhou Mi, with whom he exchanged correspondence and poems, and Fei Jietang (d. 1287), a native of Sichuan who seems to have settled in Raozhou.²

As a veteran official, Ma felt some guilt for not being with the Song court in its last years; he wrote of his longing for his sovereign and agonized over his "unpaid debt"--death--as was expected of loyal subjects.³ Thus when Ma was summoned to the Yuan capital in 1278, presumably to be granted a post, he did not accept.⁴ While reading the poetry collection of Wang Yuanliang twelve years after the events Ma was still painfully reminded of his grief over the demise of the lost kingdom and the fate of the imperial family:

Since I parted with [Wang] Yuanliang in [Hangzhou], it has already been over ten years. One day he came to Le-ping [in Raozhou] to see me. I was bedridden with illness and although I forced myself to get up to receive him, I could not. My family led Yuanliang to the bed. Seeing each other and talking, it was as if we had been separated for a lifetime. Restless, I had profound thoughts. Yuanliang showed me a manuscript of his [Hushan poetry] and requested me to write a preface to it. Browsing through the volume and reading about [1275] I started to perspire; coming to [the events of 1276] my tears poured out. Then reading the ten stanzas of the "Drunken song" I held on to the mat and wept uncontrol-

1. Most of Ma Tingluan's writings have not survived. His *Biwu wanfang ji* was compiled by his son Duanlin, but only a small portion of the original is now extant. For a study of Ma Tingluan and his lost writings, see Huang Xiaomin.

2. On poems and essays to and about Fei Jietang, see Ma Tingluan, 18.11a-14b, 24.1a-2b; for prefaces for and poems to Zhou Mi, see Ma Tingluan, 15.2a-4a, 22.2b-3a.

3. See especially Ma's poem to Zhou Mi, in Ma Tingluan, 22.2b-3a.

4. Ma was summoned together with Zhang Jian. See YS 10.206.

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lably, and lost sense of what they said. My family led Yuanliang out. I had a relapse and could not utter one word for Yuanliang. I thus describe his [poetry] collection as "poetry of history."¹

To the end of his life Ma refused to use Yuan reign titles. In prefaces and funerary inscriptions, he marked the dates by references to the cyclical year, his own age, and historical events.²

Ma Tingluan's collected writings were compiled by his son, Duanlin, who is better known as a historiographer and institutional historian.³ Ma Duanlin had passed the subprefectural examinations and taken office, but in 1273 he resigned to look after his sick father. The next year he was dissuaded by his mother from sitting for the *jinshi* examination due to family responsibilities.⁴ Back in Raozhou after the Mongol conquest he did not socialize much with either his own or his father's friends. For the next twenty or thirty years he examined Tingluan's vast historical documents and used his intimate knowledge and experience of government and court affairs to write an institutional history from the remote past to the beginning of the Southern Song.⁵ His *Wenxian tongkao* (Comprehensive study of documents and sources) was published in 1319; it was intended to be used as a guide to future government with its concealed criticism of both the Song and Yuan dynastic systems. Ma quotes his father's works and opinions so frequently that the final product re-

1. Ma Tingluan's "Preface to Wang Yuanliang's poetry," in Cheng Minzheng, 11.3b-4a.

2. For example, "On Fang Jingyun's manuscript" and "Descriptive essay on Laoxuedao court," in Ma Tingluan, 15.4a-5a, 18.4a-6b.

3. See Bai Shouyi, and Hok-lam Chan, "'Comprehensiveness'."

4. Ma Tingluan's "Funerary inscription for my wife," in Ma Tingluan, 19.15b-16a.

5. Ma Duanlin's own preface to the *Wenxian tongkao*, in Su Tianjue, 32.437.

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flects to a great extent Tingluan's own views.¹ While his father was alive, Duanlin felt obliged to follow his example of not serving another dynasty. Towards 1300, however, after the completion of his work, the passage of time made it less objectionable for him to accept an appointment with the Yuan first as a school director, then as an instructor in a prefecture. His teacher, Cao Jing (1234-1315), also served as an education official to supplement an inadequate income.

Both Cao Jing and Ma Duanlin's mother were natives of the nearby subprefecture of Wuyuan (in Huizhou). Cao's close friend and *landsman* was Hu Ciyan (1229-1306), who passed the *jinshi* examination in 1268, the same year as the loyalist martyr Chen Wenlong who graduated at the top of the list.² Hu had been a prefect of Guichi in 1275; when the general defending the district surrendered he fled home with his mother. For the rest of his life he taught private students for a living and repeatedly declined appointments to public office, but he maintained close relations with his former friends Cao Jing and Chen Li (1252-1334), as well as with Fang Hui.³ Cao and Fang took up employment in the Yuan, but Hu explained his own rejection of service to another ruler in two long poems, in which a middle-aged widow declined remarriage. Hu's position is obvious in the widow's reply, in which gratitude is expressed for the matchmaker's good intentions, but since the widow had married in middle age despite her lack of looks and talent (Hu first served the Song in his middle years), she could not forsake her deceased husband after his death.⁴ In adhering to this stand, Hu was looking at the example of Xie Fangde, whom he admired greatly but did not know personally.

1. Ma Duanlin acknowledges his father's influence; see Hok-lam Chan, "'Comprehensiveness'," 37; Bai Shouyi, 211.

2. Hu Ciyan's writings survive as the *Meiyan wenji*. Cao Jing's poems and letters to Hu are appended to this work (9.1a-3b, 10.1a-14b).

3. Hu's other close friend was Chen Li, whose writings survive under the title *Dingyu ji*. Chen Li also wrote a local genealogy of his native prefecture. See Harriet T. Zurndorfer.

4. "To the widow by the matchmaker" and "To the matchmaker by the widow," in Hu Ciyan, 2.3a-6b.

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Cheng Chuweng (d. 1289) was a poet and Hu Ciyang's *landsman*. After surviving the loyalist resistance, he traveled through South China, visiting Ma Tingluan, Liu Chenweng, and Xie Fangde, who wrote prefaces to his poetry.¹ When Xie was taken captive and sent to the North in 1289, Cheng voluntarily followed him and died on the journey. Another Wuyuan native and former friend of Xie Fangde was Xu Yueqing (1216-85), who had been a Song official.² After the collapse of the dynasty, Xu cut himself off from the world and did not speak for three years. When he recovered his speech, he was so grief-stricken that he became deranged and died several years later.

Center 8: Zheng Sixiao and Gong Kai in Pingjiang

Pingjiang (Suzhou) was one of the last prefectures to collapse before Hangzhou surrendered. It did not play a role during the ensuing loyalist resistance, nor was it the center of loyalist gatherings during the first generation of Yuan rule. However, in Pingjiang lived two eminent loyalist artists who apparently did not socialize with each other. Zheng Sixiao was a native of Lianjiang (Fujian province) who had accompanied his father, Zhen (d. 1262), to Pingjiang on an official appointment.³ Although the family subsequently settled there, Zheng continued to correspond with his old friends in Fujian, among whom were some imperial relatives. In 1275 Zheng was a National University student who petitioned the throne to increase defense measures, but he soon returned to Pingjiang to look after his ailing mother, who died the next year. As the only son, he felt compelled to go into mourning

1. On Cheng Chuweng, see Wan Sitong, *Songji zhongyi lu*, 15.10. On prefaces to Cheng Chuweng's poetry, see Liu Chenweng, 6.9-19b; Ma Tingluan, 22.8a; Xie Fangde, *Dieshan ji*, 6.8a-9a (this preface has Hanweng instead of Chuweng, but it seems to be the same person).

2. Most of Xu Yueqing's writings which survive were written before the collapse of the Song. They exist as the *Xiantian ji* which contains few, if any, loyalist sentiments.

3. Zheng Zhen's writings, *Qingjun ji*, were edited by Qiu Yuan and prefaced by Chai Wang's brother in 1301. Appended to the work are Zheng Sixiao's poetry and prose collections, *Zheng Suonan xiansheng shiji wenji*. Zheng Sixiao also wrote a preface to the genealogy of a branch of the Song imperial family located in Foochow. See Zhao Xinian, 26.

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for the full period and, therefore, to his agonizing regret abandoned plans of joining the loyalist resistance. He never married nor produced an heir, a situation which compounded his guilt and regret.

As a result of his profound sense of guilt, Zheng completely withdrew from political and social life; even when walking and talking with others, his solitude was evident.¹ His eccentric character, reflecting his extreme attachment to the Song, was known to his younger contemporaries in the Yuan. He did not face north, covered his ears at the sound of foreign speech and wailed in the wilderness on special occasions to express his grief over the dynasty's demise. Friends and acquaintances forgot his original name because he adopted sobriquets and styles that conveyed his longing for the Song; for example, "Sixiao" refers to "Pining for the Song."² Zheng was a Confucian scholar, geomancer, poet, and essayist, but after the Song collapse, he rejected appointments even as a private tutor.³ Contemporary accounts quote his phrases featuring a singular devotion to the former dynasty: "Not knowing today's date or month / I dream only of the mountains and rivers of the Song" and "In this life apart from ruler and father / I have not received benefit from another source."⁴

Zheng's paintings best convey his attitude towards the Song: his fa-

1. "Declining Wu Pan's appointment as Confucian tutor" and "Descriptive essay about the Buddhist hall of Shifang chansa," in Zheng Sixiao, *Zheng Suonan*, 48b, 56b.

2. Cahill is mistaken in saying that his name was Zheng Mo; he apparently misread and took *mou* (so-and-so) as Zheng's name. See Cahill, *Hills*, 16. The earliest accounts of Zheng Sixiao (excluding his own writings and the controversial *Xinshi*) were by Yuan literati such as Zheng Yuanyou, 1.14-15; Wang Feng, 1.45b-46b; Tao Zongyi, *Nancun zhuogeng lu*, 20.246-47. See also Mote, "Confucian eremitism," 284-86. Li Chu-tsing's biography of Zheng is more detailed but contains several mistakes, such as Zheng wishing himself to be called "loyal and filial" when in fact he wanted the exact opposite (Franke, *Sung Biographies: Painters*, 15-23).

3. For the long treatises on geomancy and related matters, see "Reply to Recluse Wu asking about travels and geography," in Zheng Sixiao, *Zheng Suonan*, 11b-47b. For his refusal to be employed, see "Declining Wu Pan's appointment as Confucian tutor," in *ibid.*, 47b-49a.

4. Wang Feng, 1.46a-b.

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vorite subjects were bamboo and orchid, both symbols of purity and integrity. Later accounts of Zheng describe his ink paintings of orchids as symbolic of his hatred of alien rule. Orchids appeared stemless and rootless in his work, and when questioned about this peculiarity, Zheng impatiently explained that he wished to stress the point that China no longer belonged to the Chinese.¹ He was a generous man who donated property and paintings to others but adamantly refused requests by prominent men for his work.

It is in the *Xinshi* that Zheng's loyalism is most outspoken and characterized by racial and ethnic prejudices. The Mongols are likened to swine, dogs, and other animals. References to Mongol customs and history are vastly inaccurate, attesting to the fact that Zheng had no personal contact with foreigners and wrote down only the general misconceptions circulating at the time. In an essay on legitimate succession in Chinese history, he declared foreign rule to be incompatible with both civilization and natural evolution: "The rule of legitimate succession came from the sages . . . If a subject conducts himself as ruler, and the barbarians conduct the affairs of the Middle Kingdom--of all the inauspicious occurrences from the past to the present, none is worse than that! For barbarians to rule the Middle Kingdom--that is not the fortune of the barbarians. [The situation] can be compared to cattle and horses, which once they understood human language, clothed their fur and tails, and dressed their four hoofs. If a three-foot child saw them, he would only regard them as evil manifestations of cattle and horses, and would not dare call them human beings."² Zheng further argued that mere possession of the Middle Kingdom through military victories did not prove the legitimate status of the conquest dynasty.

In sum, Zheng's response to the Mongol conquest and the essence of

1. Zheng's biography in the *Suzhou fuzhi* preface (undated), in Zheng Sixiao, *Zheng Suonan*, appendix.2a. The ink-orchid painting is reproduced in Lee and Ho, painting no. 236. On sources relating to Zheng's art, see Chen Gaohua. For extant paintings by Zheng, see Cahill, *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings*, 263.

2. The quotation is taken from "Discourses on legitimate successions in the past and present," in Zheng Sixiao, *Xinshi*, 94. On Zheng's opinions on legitimate rule based on territory, see *ibid.*, 96.

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his loyalism to the Song was total seclusion. As indicated in his autobiographical essay, the only way he could look at the present state of the world was in isolation and forgetfulness.¹ He sought consolation in Buddhism and Daoism, but at the end of his life he was equally disillusioned with both as well as with Confucianism, to which he had devoted his early years. He thus called himself "Outsider of the three teachings." For the rest of his life he did not stop blaming himself for neglecting his filial and loyal obligations; at his death, he left instructions that his epitaph should read "Zheng so-and-so, the disloyal and unfilial person of the Great Song."²

Despite the mutual interest in painting, Zheng does not appear to have known Gong Kai, a writer, calligrapher, and painter of some renown.³ Gong was personally acquainted with the loyalist personalities of the resistance such as Lu Xiufu, with whom he had served on Li Tingzhi's staff. When the Song collapsed, Gong was in Sichuan but soon returned to Hangzhou where he spent some years in the loyalist circles of Zhou Mi and Deng Mu; he also searched for eyewitness accounts and records of the loyalist resistance.⁴ By 1292 he settled in Pingjiang, where he wrote the biographies of Lu Xiufu and Wen Tianxiang, and painted landscape and horses. Like his other friends, Gong was destitute and sold paintings and essays to support his family. His loyalism is best expressed in his horse paintings: the portrayal of the emaciated horse glancing ahead in a dignified posture symbolizes well his own spirit

1. "Biography of Yishi jushi," in Zheng Sixiao, *Xinshi*, 97-98.

2. Zheng Sixiao, *Zheng Suonan*, appendix.2b.

3. Gong Kai's writings have been collected in his *Guicheng sou ji*. Some pieces also appear in Cheng Minzheng, 10.1a-21b. See also his biography in Franke, *Sung Biographies: Painters*, 64-69; Lee and Ho, 93-95.

4. In 1287 Gong joined one of Zhou's art connoisseurship parties and contributed a long colophon to Zhou's new acquisition. See Ye Shaoweng, *Sichao wenjian lu*, postscript.183-84. Gong also presented Zhou with at least one painting, named "Jiangji tu." Deng Mu was a close friend of Zhou and could have been introduced to Gong in the 1280s.

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of protest and resistance to the new dynasty despite his poverty.¹ Gong Kai is also noted for writing the encomia with a preface on Song Jiang and the thirty-five bandits of the Water Margin, who were active in the early Southern Song.² By focusing attention on these bandits Gong Kai recognized their potential power, which, in his opinion, might have been harnessed by the Song government to strengthen its defense against usurpers and foreign invaders. Gong Kai avoided official employment under the Yuan, but continued friendships with people who surrendered and subsequently served in the government, such as Fang Hui, to whom he gave one of his paintings.³

Center 9: Zhao Bixiang and the "Mediating" Loyalists in Dongguan

During the loyalist resistance in the southeastern provinces, at least two branches of the imperial Song family migrated to the South. In Dongguan, one family of imperial relatives and at least three locally based lineages formed a loyalist circle of about thirty to fifty survivors in the first generation of Yuan rule. The key personality was Zhao Bixiang (1241-91), who met in poetry gatherings and excursions with a core group of eight others.⁴

Zhao's family, descendants of the son of the first Song emperor, had originally been transferred to Fujian; after three generations there, the clan had moved to Dongguan where it became established local gentry. In 1265 Zhao Bixiang and his father both passed the *jinshi* examination, and after

1. On the "Emaciated horse," see Lee and Ho, 94-95; Chen Gaohua, 287-99; Cahill, *An Index*, 295-96.

2. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, xu a.30a-37a. In the late Yuan novel by Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Shuihu quanzhuan*, these bandits appear as heroes rather than bandits.

3. "Poem to Fang Hui," in Gong Kai, 1a-b.

4. Zhao Bixiang's writings are known as *Fupou ji*. The following account of the Dongguan loyalists is based on Chen Botao's *Dongguan yimin lu*, compiled while Chen was seeking refuge in Kowloon after the republican revolution in 1911. Chen assembled a group of friends who, like himself, felt deeply distressed about the change of political order and sought consolation in the memory of the Song loyalists. The poems and essays composed during these gatherings have been compiled in a volume by Su Zedong, entitled *Songtai qiuchang*.

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serving in the Song government for some time, returned to Dongguan.¹ When the loyalist court moved south, Zhao Bixiang offered Wen Tianxiang's brother Bi his support but soon left to take care of family responsibilities. Before resigning, Zhao persuaded the local ruffian leader Xiong Fei to raise an army for the Song cause. After his father died in 1278, Zhao went to see Wen Tianxiang in Huizhou, and the two became instant friends and composed poetry to each other's rhymes. Upon final defeat of the loyalists forces, Zhao, as an imperial relative, was offered an appointment in the Yuan government but he declined and returned home. He lamented the demise of the Song at the sites of the resistance battles and prostrated and wailed in the direction of Yaishan. He also drew a portrait of Wen Tianxiang, to which he bowed morning and night. It is said that for the rest of his life he met only in the company of other loyalists and imperial relatives; relationships within the group were strengthened by marriage and teacher-disciple arrangements.

Of the imperial relatives who became part of Zhao Bixiang's circle, Zhao Dongshan (fl. 1270-1300) and Zhao Shiqing (fl. 1270-1300) were the closest.² After the Song collapsed, Dongshan covered his ears when others talked about the Yuan dynasty and Shiqing became a virtual recluse. Bixiang's sons were also part of the loyalist circle, and in spite of their poverty, they did not take up employment under the Yuan.

One of the families with which Zhao had relations was that of Li Yong and his two sons, Chunsou and Deming (both fl. 1270-1300).³ Li Yong was a recluse who sent his son-in-law, the local loyalist Xiong Fei, to support the Song. Li Yong himself eventually went to Japan to teach the Confucian classics, never to return to China after the Mongol conquest. Complying with his last wishes, he was buried in Annam rather than in occupied Song territory. While Li Yong never took public office, his sons had been Song officials. When Mongol troops entered Dongguan, Chunsou implored them not to destroy the town and massacre the people; when offered the administration of

1. "Biography of Zhao Bixiang," in Chen Botao, a.1a-3a.

2. For the biographies of these two loyalists, see *ibid.*, 1.34a-35b.

3. On Li Yong and Li Chunsou, see *ibid.*, b.1a-2b, b.3a-5b.

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the district as his reward (presumably for successfully persuading the local defendants to surrender), he firmly declined. Thereafter the two brothers did not take up employment, but taught students to make a living.

One of Li Chunsou's students was Chen Geng (fl. 1270-90), who with his father, Yixin (d. 1289), and brother was closely associated with Zhao Bixiang's loyalist circle.¹ His son, in fact, married Zhao Bixiang's daughter. Zhang Heng (fl. 1270-1300) was also a member of the loyalist gatherings.² His elder brother, Yuanji (fl. 1270-90), played a compromising role with the Mongols. In 1278 Yuanji went with Li Chunsou to dissuade the Mongol army from destroying the town, but whereas Chunsou refused an office, the former accepted the administration of Dongguan as his reward.³ Neither Heng nor another brother served the Yuan, and their children intermarried with Zhao Bixiang's family.

Apart from these families, there were others in the group who expressed some protest against the Mongol conquest. One local magnate advised the loyalists in his district not to overburden the common people, and donated money to help the loyalist cause.⁴ Another cried until he fell ill and died soon after the Song demise, having forbidden his children and grandsons to serve the Yuan.⁵ During the resistance, one of Wen Tianxiang's relatives advised Wen Bi to rebuild walls and recruit garrisons to prepare for the Mongol advance, and when Bi surrendered, upbraided Bi for shaming the Wen family.⁶ He then took his sons to settle in the eastern part of the district and vowed never to go into the city. He grew vegetables to make a living. There was also one Fang Youxue, a former Song official whose wife was a

1. On Chen Yixin and Chen Geng, see *ibid.*, b.14a-16b.

2. "Biography of Zhang Heng," in *ibid.*, b.36b-37a.

3. *Ibid.*, b.4b.

4. "Biography of Di He," in *ibid.*, b.25b-26a.

5. "Biography of He Wenji," in *ibid.*, b.27a-28a.

6. "Biography of Wen Yinglin," in *ibid.*, b.41b-42a.

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descendant of the Song imperial family. Fang and his three brothers did not accept appointments under the Yuan, and apart from being active in Dongguan, maintained friendships with loyalist personalities in other regions such as Xie Ao and Fang Feng in Wuzhou.¹

Like other loyalist circles discussed earlier, the loyalism of the Dongguan men varied in intensity and character with each individual, entailing both accommodation and resistance. They did not criticize Zhang Yuanji and Li Chunsou for negotiating with the Mongols, nor did they break off ties with Yuanji who took office under the Yuan. In fact, Li Chunsou is included as a member of the loyalist group. His "negotiation for peace" with the Yuan forces to avoid a massacre of the district was actually a euphemism for "surrender" and even Zhao Bixiang, the leading loyalist personality in the group, appears to have taken part in the deliberations.² This compromising role, however, has been suppressed by the genealogies and gazetteers which constitute our major source for these local figures.³

In this chapter I have reconstructed and discussed the major themes and personalities of nine loyalist groups which formed after the fall of Song. Except for Annam, Wuzhou, and Qingyuan, these centers have not received much attention from modern scholars.⁴ While dealing with Chen Yizhong and the loyalists who sought refuge in Southeast Asia, I touched on overseas colonization as one consequence of loyalist resistance. With Wang Yuanliang and the loyalists in North China, we looked at their ambivalence towards the Mongol emperor and government despite their loyalist leanings. The major

1. "Biography of Fang Youxie," in *ibid.*, b.38b-39b.

2. *Ibid.*, b.25b.

3. These were the sources Chen Botao used in his compilation. See *ibid.*, postscript to the index.

4. On the loyalists in Annam, see Hok-lam Chan, "Sung refugees." Xie Ao, Fang Feng, and Wu Siqi of the Wuzhou group are discussed in connection with the second generation of scholars under Mongol rule in Langlois, "Chin-hua Confucianism," 45-73. The loyalists in Qingyuan are mentioned in Langley's account of Wang Yinglin's students after the collapse of the Song. See Langley, 463-73.

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activities of the Kuaiji loyalists focused on recovering the imperial relics, as well as on allusive poetry mourning the Song collapse. While examining the Wuzhou loyalists, I probed the nature of Xie Ao's grief and devotion to Wen Tianxiang, as well as his friendship with Fang Feng and Wu Siqi. Through teaching, these three compatriots made a positive impact on the next generation who played an active role in the Yuan government. They also supported young scholars and poets, as shown in the poetry competition which they sponsored and judged in 1286-87.

Liu Chenweng, the noted poet, is generally associated with the Luling loyalist group. Both he and Deng Guangjian, a survivor of the resistance and *landsman*, became less distressed with the Song demise over time and through contacts with northerners. The key feature of the Qingyuan group was scholarship combined with teaching. As they gradually realized the positive effects of reunification, loyalists like Wang Yinglin also became more optimistic about the future. In Raozhou and nearby Wuyuan, loyalism to the Song centered around Ma Tingluan and his son Duanlin. In Pingjiang, the talented artists Zheng Sixiao and Gong Kai expressed their loyalism through their paintings, some of which are extant. Lastly, with the loyalists in Dongguan, we observed more clearly the mediating role they played between the established gentry and the Yuan government.

Some loyalist personages discussed in this chapter are well-known figures while others are obscure. Some formed social circles in their native counties, but many left their homes and lived the life of exiles or sojourners in other prefectures. The large number of these self-exiled former scholars and officials reflects the instability of literati families after the Song demise. This examination of their lives and activities under the new political order has revealed a sharp economic decline and downward social mobility of the educated elite. Individuals adopted a practical and pragmatic response to alien rule, in spite of their lingering loyalty towards the former dynasty. In most cases, their loyalty to the Song can be observed to undergo a change over time, and ranged from passive resistance to some degree of accommodation, a process that has been ignored by their contemporaries and later biographers. Each individual, opting out of voluntary death as the ultimate solution, worked out a satisfactory alternative that was not absolute in nature nor drew extraordinary criticism from their contemporaries and later critics.