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THE IMAGES OF JIANGNAN IN ZHAO MENG FU'S (1254-1322) POETRY

A Thesis Presented

by

LI E

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

September 2005

Asian Languages and Literatures

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A Thesis Presented

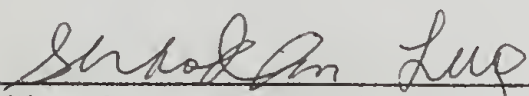
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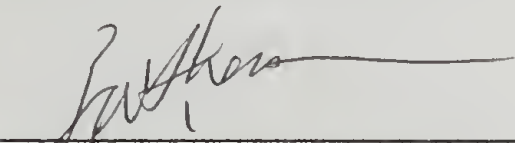
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO ZHAO MENGFU

Literature Review on Zhao Mengfu

Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322) has been a well-known cultural figure since the Yuan dynasty. His life spanned the end of the Southern Song and the early Yuan, during which time he experienced huge dynastic changes. Being a member of the Song royal family, and then a high ranking official in the Yuan court, gave him lifelong glory, but also pain and regret; as a famous calligrapher, painter, and poet, he not only witnessed the interaction between the south and the north, but also participated in the interaction and was a prominent member of the literati circle of the early Yuan.

Studies on Zhao Mengfu's Artistic Works

Zhao Mengfu's student, one of the greatest poets of the Yuan, Yang Zai 楊載 (1271-1323) said, "[Zhao Mengfu]'s other talents are overshadowed by his talents in painting and calligraphy. People who know his painting and calligraphy do not know his literary works, and people who know his literary works do not know his talent in serving the nation."¹ Studies on Zhao Mengfu mostly focus on his achievement as a prestigious painter and calligrapher, but this thesis is about Zhao Mengfu's poetry, therefore I will summarize the relevant studies in this area very briefly.

¹ Song Lian 宋濂 (1380-1381) et al, *Yuan shi* 元史, 8 Vols, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1976, p. 4023.

Li Chu-tsing [Zhujin] 李鑄晉 wrote some important articles and books on Zhao Mengfu's paintings.² Two notable books on Zhao Mengfu's artistic works and achievement are Dai Lizhu's *Zhao Mengfu wenxue yu yishu zhi yanjiu* 趙孟頫文學與藝術之研究 (1986) and Shane McCausland's dissertation titled "Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322) & The Revolution of Elite Culture in Mongol China" (2000).³ Zhao Mengfu's role in cultural and artistic history is also discussed in articles on art history, such as Li Chu-tsing's "The Role of Wu-hsing [Wuxing] in Early Yuan Artistic Development Under Mongol Rule" and Marilyn Wong Fu's "The Impact of the Reunification: Northern Elements in the Life and Art of Hsien-yu [Xianyu] Shu (1257?-1302) and Their Relation to Early Yuan Literati Culture" (both 1981).⁴

In 1995, an "International Conference on Zhao Mengfu" was held in Shanghai, sponsored by Shanghai shuhua chubanshe 上海書畫出版社 and the journal *Duo yun* 朵云. More than forty scholars from China and other countries attended the conference and contributed articles on Zhao Mengfu's life, public service, and his achievements in art. Articles presented at the conference were collected into *Zhao Mengfu yanjiu lunwenji* 趙孟頫研究論文集, the first collection of studies on Zhao Mengfu, and a collection of

² *The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao [Que] and Hua Mountains: A Landscape by Chao [Zhao] Meng-fu, Artibus Asiae*, supplementum 21, 1965; "The Freer Sheep and Goat and Chao [Zhao] Meng-fu's horse paintings," *Artibus Asiae* 30 (1968): 279-326; "Stages of Development in Yuan Landscape Painting," *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, 4 (1969): 2-3; and *Quehua qiuse: Zhao Mengfu de shengping yu huayi* 鵲華秋色: 趙孟頫的生平與畫藝, Taipei: Shitou chuban gongsi 石頭出版公司, 2003, and other.

³ Dai Lizhu 戴麗珠, Taiwan: Xuehai chubanshe 學海出版社, 1986; Shane McCausland, Ph.D. dissertation: Princeton University, 2000; reproduction: Ann Arbor, UMI Dissertation Services, 2001.

⁴ *China under Mongol Rule*, John D. Langlois ed, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981, pp. 331-370, 371-433.

reproductions of his paintings under the title *Zhao Mengfu huaji* 趙孟頫畫集 was published as well. Details about the conference can be seen in Nanfeiyan's 南飛雁 "Zhao Mengfu guoji xueshu yantaohui zongshu" 趙孟頫國際學術研討會綜述.⁵

Studies on Zhao Mengfu's Life and Personality

Besides his outstanding achievements in painting and calligraphy, researchers are also interested in Zhao Mengfu's life experience.

Zhao Mengfu was a member of the Song royal family and a descendant of Zhao Defang 趙德芳 (959-981), son of Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 (927-976), the first emperor of the Song. Li Chu-tsing's article "Zhao Mengfu zhi yanjiu: (yi) shixi (er) shicheng" 趙孟頫之研究: (一) 世系 (二) 師承 [Study on Zhao Mengfu: His Family Pedigree and School of Learning] provides the most detailed information on this aspect of Zhao Mengfu's life.⁶

Descriptions of Zhao Mengfu's personality vary depending on how people evaluate it. People usually like to quote an anecdote from Gu Sili's 顧嗣立 (1665-1722) *Yuan shi xuan* 元詩選 to show how Zhao Mengfu lost his integrity and how his behavior was disliked even by his relatives. The anecdote says that "his (Zhao Mengfu's) cousin Zigu 子固 (the public name of Zhao Mengjian 趙孟堅) felt shamed of Zhao Mengfu. He shut his door and was unwilling to see Zhao Mengfu." This anecdote is first seen in Yao

⁵ *Xin meishu* 新美術 no.3 (1995): 71-80, 49.

⁶ See the first chapter of Dai Lizhu's *Zhao Mengfu wenxue yu yishu zhi yanjiu*.

Tongshou's 姚桐壽 (fl. 1363) *Yuejiao siyu* 樂郊私語: "Zhao Mengjian's cousin Zi'ang 子昂 (Zhao Mengfu's public name) went to visit him from the Tiao River 苕溪 area (in Huzhou 湖州, present Zhejiang territory). [Mengjian] shut his door, and would not let him in."⁷ Jiang Tiange 蔣天格 has assembled solid evidence to prove that this anecdote was totally invented to smear Zhao Mengfu, for Zhao Mengjian was already died when Zhao Mengfu began serving in the Yuan.⁸ Surprisingly, this fake anecdote is still quoted in some literary history textbooks or articles on Zhao Mengfu, even though Jiang Tiange's article was published in 1962.⁹

Unlike some narrow and absolute loyalist sympathizers, who view Zhao Mengfu as a prestigious person with a moral blemish, current studies tend to examine his life within the milieu of the Song-Yuan transition, making more realistic arguments based on primary materials and even on some psychological analysis. Generally speaking, researchers are mostly focused on the question of whether or not Zhao Mengfu was forced to serve in the Yuan court. In 1995, Chen Gaohua 陳高華 discussed this issue in an article titled "Zhao Mengfu de shitu shengya" 趙孟頫的仕途生涯¹⁰ and demonstrated

⁷ Yu Fangde 餘方德, "Zhao Mengfu shi Yuan qianlun" 趙孟頫仕元淺論, *Huzhou shizhuan xuebao* 湖州師專學報 20:2 (1998): 82-85; Yao Tongshou 姚桐壽 (fl. 1363), *Yuejiao siyu* 樂郊私語, in *Song Yuan biji xiaoshuo daguan* 宋元筆記小說大觀, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2001, p. 6100.

⁸ Jiang Tiange, "Lun Zhao Mengjian he Zhao Mengfu de guanxi" 論趙孟堅和趙孟頫的關係, *Wenwu* 文物, no.12 (1962): 26-31.

⁹ For example, see *Zhongguo shekeyuan wenxue yanjiusuo* 中國社科院學研究所 comp., *Zhongguo wenxueshi* 中國文學史, Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文學出版社, 1984, p. 261; Deng Shaoji 鄧紹基 ed., *Yuandai wenxueshi* 元代文學史, Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文學出版社, 1991, rpt. 1998, p. 431.

¹⁰ *Zhao Mengfu yanjiu lunwenji* 趙孟頫研究論文集, Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe 上海書畫出版社, 1995, pp. 425-445.

that Zhao Mengfu served the new alien regime voluntarily. Chen Gaohua believes that it is essential to examine the issue of Zhao Mengfu's service in the Yuan court seriously, for Zhao Mengfu's life experience must have influenced his artistic and literary works. He also believes that when we talk about Zhao Mengfu's thought, we should take the changes in his official career as well as his moods into consideration instead of stereotyping it. Nowadays, most researchers consider that it was an understandable choice for Zhao Mengfu at the time, and we therefore should not condemn Zhao Mengfu for it.

In addition, a trend toward reexamining some traditional interpretations of Zhao Mengfu's character also emerges. Using historical materials, some writers try to prove that Zhao Mengfu was a person and an official with courage, insight, and integrity.¹¹ Xu Liping 許莉萍 and Lu Xingna 陸興娜 point out that Zhao Mengfu also showed cautious and tactful attitudes in dealing with certain issues. They argue that the complications in Zhao Mengfu's character gave him a deep understanding of life and the ability to overcome reality by devoting himself to his art.¹²

The book *Zhao Mengfu xinian* 趙孟頫係年, published in 1984, is considered by researchers as one of the most useful resources on Zhao Mengfu. It comprises of three major parts: the family tree of the royal Zhao family of the Song dynasty, Zhao Mengfu's

¹¹ Qiu Chengyuan 裘成源, "Lun Zhao Mengfu renpin: jianlun gaichao huandai zhong de lishi renwu pingjia" 論趙孟頫人品: 兼論改朝換代中的歷史人物評價, *Ningbo gaodeng zhuanke xuexiao xuebao* 寧波高等專科學校學報 2:1 (1995): 27-31; Chen Longhai 陳龍海, "Zhao Mengfu rengen shilun" 趙孟頫人格試論, *Huazhong shifan daxue xuebao* 華中師範大學學報 no. 1 (1995): 111-114; Zhang Qifeng 張其鳳, "Zhao Mengfu renpin xinlun" 趙孟頫人品新論, *Kongzi yanjiu* 孔子研究 no. 2 (1995): 70-73.

¹² See Xu Liping 許莉萍 and Lu Xingna 陸興娜, "Lun Zhao Mengfu de yishu rengen dui xianshi rengen de chaoyue" 論趙孟頫的藝術人格對現實人格的超越, *Huzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao* 湖州師範學院學報 24:5 (2002): 77-79.

biography, and his chronology; plus two appendixes: a bibliography and a selected list of Zhao Mengfu's calligraphy and paintings.

Studies on Zhao Mengfu as a Poet

In 1970, *Songxuezhai wenji* 松雪齋文集 was reprinted in Taiwan from a Yuan edition in ten *juan*: one *juan* of parallel prose, four *juan* of poems, and five *juan* of miscellaneous and lyric poems; plus a supplemental collection. In 1986, *Zhao Mengfu ji* 趙孟頫集 (Qing edition) was published in Hangzhou 杭州.¹³ The development of the different editions of Zhao Mengfu's collected work was discussed in detail in Sun Kekuan's *Yuandai Han wenhua zhi huodong* 元代漢文化之活動 (1968).¹⁴

In books or articles on literary history, the name of Zhao Mengfu usually appears in the part on early Yuan poetry. He is considered as one of the best poets of his time. Researchers use "grace and beauty" to describe his writing style, and have paid attention to his special life experiences, the contradictions expressed in some of his poems, and his return to the pure lyricism of the Tang. But the degree of detail in the introductions to Zhao Mengfu varies.

One of the earliest studies on Zhao Mengfu's poetry was made by Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 in his work *Tanyilu* 談藝錄, published in 1949. Qian Zhongshu considered Zhao Mengfu's poetry fluent and elegant in style. He criticized Zhao Mengfu

¹³ Ren Daobin 任道斌, ed. *Zhao Mengfu ji* 趙孟頫集. Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang guji chubanshe 浙江古籍出版社, 1986.

¹⁴ Sun Kekuan 孫克寬, *Yuandai Han wenhua zhi huodong* 元代漢文化之活動. Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju 臺灣中華書局, 1968.

for the loose structure in his poetry writing, and for using one or more words repeatedly in one poem or those multiple poems under one title (一題之內). He also criticized Zhao Mengfu for sometimes acting pretentiously in his poems (矜情作態). Although disapproving of some features of Zhao Mengfu's poetry, Qian Zhongshu praised Zhao Mengfu for his skill at opening and ending poems, and for being versed in calligraphy, painting and poetry all at the same time. Finally, Qian Zhongshu discussed Zhao Mengfu's opinions on Tang and Song poetry.

Yuandai wenxueshi 元代文學史, edited by Deng Shaoji 鄧紹基 (1991), is the most thorough work on Yuan literary history, and so too is the section on Zhao Mengfu. Besides a discussion of his poetry, there are also comments on Zhao Mengfu's literary thought, his lyric songs, and prose writings.

There are fewer studies on Zhao Mengfu's poetry than on his graphic arts. Wang Jianzhong's 王建忠 "Zhao Mengfu shige chuanguozuo ji wenyi sixiang chutan" 趙孟頫詩歌創作及文藝思想初探 (1987) is one of the earliest articles on Zhao Mengfu's poetry.¹⁵ In 1998, Ye Aixin 葉愛欣 published an article on Zhao Mengfu's poetry¹⁶ in which the main focus is on his poetic style and his influence on other Yuan poets. Ye Aixin has some new observations on Zhao Mengfu: she considers that the contradiction between the Confucian ideal and reality is a common topic in Zhao Mengfu's poetry; she considers that the sincerity showed in his poems added a needed refreshing element to poetry writing in the early Yuan, especially when compared with the bad practice and unhealthy

¹⁵ Wang Jianzhong 王建忠, *Liaoning guangbo dianshi daxue xuebao* 遼寧廣播電視大學學報 no. 3 (1987): 43-46.

¹⁶ Ye Aixin 葉愛欣, "Zhao Mengfu shige jiqi dui Yuandai shifeng de yingxiang" 趙孟頫詩歌及其對元代詩風的影響, *Hubei daxue xuebao* 湖北大學學報 no.2 (1998): 64-68.

trend in poetry writing at the end of Southern Song Dynasty.¹⁷ She also discusses the comparisons and affective images appearing in Zhao Mengfu's poems.

Dai Lizhu's 戴麗珠 *Zhao Mengfu wenxue yu yishu zhi yanjiu* 趙孟頫文學與藝術之研究 (1986) is the first Chinese book that devotes a considerable portion of its text to systematically and thoroughly examining Zhao Mengfu's achievement in poetry writing. Dai Lizhu mainly analyzes the content and the skill of Zhao Mengfu's writing, but also touches upon his relationships with other Yuan literary men.

Some researchers have considered Zhao Mengfu as a representative of the southern literary men who served in the north, and have noticed his role in the cultural development of the early Yuan. In *Yuandai Han wenhua zhi yanjiu* 元代漢文化之研究 (1968), Sun Kekuan 孫克寬 argues that Confucian literati shielded Chinese culture from any untoward affects of Mongol rule by engaging actively in public service, both in government and in education. He attributes Han culture's continued vitality to the protection of great scholars and officials, including Zhao Mengfu, during the Yuan dynasty. In 1984, Zheng Mengtong 鄭孟彤 paid special attention to the pain expressed in Zhao Mengfu's poetry, examining this characteristic within the broader social background, and regarding it as typical among those southern literary men who served the Yuan court as Zhao Mengfu did.¹⁸

As pointed out above, scholars have begun to study Zhao Mengfu as a man of his time and are paying more attention to his achievements as a poet. But systematic and

¹⁷ The "bad practice and unhealthy trend" here refers to the poetic writing trend of looking for writing materials mainly from books instead of real life at the end of the Southern Song Dynasty.

¹⁸ Zheng Mengtong 鄭孟彤, *Zhongguo shige fazhan shilue* 中國詩歌發展史略. Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe 黑龍江人民出版社, 1981, rpt. 1984.

thorough study of Zhao Mengfu's poetry is still rare. In addition, some current studies are not even going in the direction of greater depth, but are merely repeating what has been done before. Although Dai Lizhu's book and Ye Aixin's article are good beginnings, many aspects of Zhao Mengfu's poetry are still untouched or not well covered. For example, some stylistic features regarded as characteristic of Zhao Mengfu's poems in Dai Lizhu's book actually are basic or typical skills commonly used in poetic writing. Therefore further discussion of the poetry of Zhao Mengfu from various aspects is still needed. On the one hand, current studies on Zhao Mengfu's poetry are not very inspiring; but on the other hand, there is great potential in this area of study since there is still much space left for further scholarship.

Introduction to Zhao Mengfu's Personal Life

Zhao Mengfu, born in Huzhou 湖州 (present Wuxing 吳興 County in Zhejiang), whose public name is Zi'ang 子昂 and whose most commonly used pen name is Songxue Daoren 松雪道人, has been acknowledged as one of the most important calligraphers and painters in Chinese history and one of the most significant poets of the Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368). Besides this, Zhao Mengfu is also known for his controversial life experiences both in the early Yuan and in Chinese cultural history.

As mentioned above, Zhao Mengfu was the descendant of Zhao Defang, son of Zhao Kuangyin, founder of the Song Dynasty (960-1279). The highest position his father ever held was Vice Minister in the Ministry of War and Military Commissioner of Zhexi. His father died when Zhao Mengfu was twelve. At the age of fourteen (1267), Zhao

entered civil service as Revenue Manager and Administrator of Zhen Prefecture 真州 (present Yizheng 儀徵 County of Jiangsu Province) through the *yin* 蔭 privilege¹⁹ and passing a special exam held by the Ministry of Personnel. From 1279, the fall of the Southern Song, to 1286, Zhao stayed at home and did not seek an official position.

At the time, Emperor Shizu (r. 1260-1294) of the Yuan was fully aware of the importance of employing ordinary people and persons of abilities in his new government to mollify the hostilities that the southerners held to the Mongolians. Besides employing officials of the Southern Song dynasty, in 1275 the Emperor began searching for and employing some talented southerners. And in 1286 the searching activities reached the climax in a mission carried out by Attendant Censor Cheng Jufu 程鉅夫 (1249-1318). It is in that search that Zhao Mengfu was found and started his service in the Yuan court.

Several years before this recruitment of 1286, Zhao Mengfu was recommended by a Jurchen official, Jiagu Zhiqi 夾谷之奇 (fl. late 13th century) to the Yuan court, but he declined.²⁰ It is unclear why Zhao Mengfu declined the offer of Jiagu Zhiqi but accepted that of Cheng Jufu in 1286. It might be that Zhao Mengfu declined the first offer simply because he wanted to make a gesture to the southern literati of not serving the Mongolians, although he would have liked to take an office in the Yuan court; or it might be that by 1286 the southern literati's attitudes toward Han people serving in the Yuan court had changed, and they began to accept the reality of Mongol rule.

¹⁹ *Yin* refers to the system in ancient China that the descendants can be offered official titles or titles of nobility from the emperor because of the achievements or contributions of their ancestors to the dynasty.

²⁰ Yang Zai, "Dayuan gu hanlin xueshi chengzhi rongludafu zhi zhigao jian xiushi Zhaogong xingzhuang" 大元故翰林學士承旨榮祿大夫知制誥兼修史趙公行狀, in *Songxuezhai wenji* 松雪齋文集, Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju 臺灣學生書局, 1970, p. 489.

From 1286 to 1292, Zhao Mengfu spent most of his time in Dadu 大都 (present Beijing), the Yuan capital, and his highest position was Grand Master for Court Precedence. In June 1292, Zhao was appointed Route Commander of Ji'nan Province and left the capital. Three years later, when Zhao Mengfu was summoned by Emperor Chengzong (r.1295-1307) to return to Dadu to compose and edit the *Veritable Records of Shizu* 世祖實錄, he declined by asking for retirement on the pretext of illness. In 1296 he was finally able to leave the capital and return to his hometown. After that, from 1299 to 1309, he held an office supervising schools in Zhejiang. In 1310, Zhao Mengfu left the south and again went to Dadu. In the capital, he was highly favored by the new emperor Renzong (r.1312-1320) and his highest position was Hanlin Academician Recipient of Edicts. Emperor Renzong once compared Zhao Mengfu to Li Bai 李白 (701-762) of the Tang and Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) of the Song for Zhao Mengfu's literary talent. In 1319, due to the illness of his wife, Guan Daosheng 管道昇 (1262-1319),²¹ Zhao Mengfu left Dadu for home, but his wife died while they were still on the road. From then to his death in 1322, Zhao spent his last years at his hometown Huzhou. He was posthumously enfeoffed Duke of the Wei State 魏國公 and his canonical title is Wenmin 文敏.

In a poem written by Zhao Mengfu when he had just arrived at Dadu, he expressed his excitement at being able to display his talent by saying: "For half of my life, I have been jobless and listless wandering among the lakes and rivers; today level with heaven [i.e., being at the capital], my dreams have been realized [at last]" 半生落魄江湖

²¹ Guan Daosheng, public name Zhongji 仲姬, was also from Huzhou and was a talented painter and calligrapher. Her family claimed to be derived from Guan Zhong 管仲 (?-644 B.C.), the well-known minister of the state of the Qi during the Warring States Period. According to Yang Zai, Guan Daosheng was especially versed in painting bamboos.

上，今日鈞天一夢同。²² Zhao Mengfu showed administrative talent in the early years of his service, but later all of the excitement gradually dissipated due to the political infighting he went through and the fierce animosity he witnessed between the Mongolians and the Han Chinese. When Zhao Mengfu first had an audience with Emperor Shizu, Emperor Shizu was very happy to see him and asked him to sit at the left of the Right Minister, Ye Li 葉李 (1242-1292). Some officials admonished Emperor Shizu that Zhao Mengfu was a descendant of the Song royal family and therefore Emperor Shizu should not have allowed Zhao Mengfu to sit close to him. On another occasion, Zhao Mengfu involved in a court discussion about the Zhiyuan paper currency and someone challenged Zhao Mengfu's opinion about it, stating that Zhao Mengfu was young and just recently came from the south; it was therefore not appropriate for him to criticize the national policy. Later during the reign of Emperor Renzong, unhappy that Zhao Mengfu was favored by the emperor, some officials tried to humiliate him in front of the emperor when one of them presented a memorial stating that it was inappropriate to let Zhao Mengfu know what was recorded in the court's historical records. Zhao Mengfu requested several times to work outside of the capital Dadu, hoping to stay away from the political center.²³

In the early years of the Yuan, serving in the Yuan court was still unacceptable to some southern literati. In 1288, a prominent Song loyalist, Xie Fangde 謝枋得 (1226-1289), firmly declined a recommendation for holding an office and stated that it was

²² Zhao Mengfu, "Composing Poem On Current Occasion When I First Arrived in Dadu" 初至都下即事, in *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 208.

²³ Song Lian et al., comp., *Yuan shi*. pp. 4018-4023.

shameful for southerners to serve the Yuan.²⁴ One of the Song loyalists, Zhao Mengfu's acquaintance from his hometown, Mou Yan 牟巖 (1227-1311), slightly mocked Zhao Mengfu after praising his talents in a poem titled "Letter to Zhao Zi'ang [Mengfu]" 簡趙子昂: "To my surprise, you had difficulty in hiding yourself; holding pearls and jades, you ran to the Central Plain" 居然難自藏, 珠玉走中原.²⁵ Once Zhao Mengfu sent a calendar as gift to an old friend, who was also a Song loyalist, Qin Qin 秦欽 (fl. late 13th cent.), the latter responded with a poem:²⁶

野人無曆也知春, A rustic would know the spring season even without a
calendar;

多謝王孫歲月真. thanks to the descendants of the royal family for making
the years and months precise.

六十餘年藏甲子, For more than sixty years, I have put my 'calendar' in store;
今朝愁見舊時新. today I sadly see the old calendar renewed.

By saying in the last couplet that he himself still harbored deep feelings for the Southern Song, Qin Qin ridiculed Zhao Mengfu for his forgetting about the dynasty of his youth. Zhao Mengfu's dual roles of being a southerner and a member of the Song royal family

²⁴ Ren Daobin, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 52.

²⁵ Mou Yan, *Moushi lingyang ji* 牟氏陵陽集, SKQS edition, 1:6 b.

²⁶ *Tongzhi chongxiu Suzhou fuzhi* 同治重修蘇州府志, Jiangsu shuju 1883 edition, 78:24b, quoted by Li Chu-tsing [Zhujin], "Zhao Mengfu shi Yuan de jizhong wenti" 趙孟頫仕元的幾種問題, in *Feng Pingshan tushuguan jinxi jinian lunwenji* (1932-1982) 馮平山圖書館金禧紀念論文集 (1932-1982), Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press 香港大學出版社, 1982, p. 350.

brought many severe criticisms from these Song loyalists when he entered service in the Yuan court. To serve or not to serve remained a moral dilemma that haunted Zhao Mengfu for the rest of his life.

Serving in the court provided Zhao Mengfu opportunities for traveling back and forth from the south to the north, occasions to encounter some art works that previously could not be seen before the reunification under the Yuan, and communication with northerners on cultural issues. According to Ren Daobin's *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, Zhao Mengfu lived and traveled between the south and the north — about 17 years in the north and 22 years in the south, and developed unique feelings for both regions, especially for the south. Huzhou, Zhao Mengfu's hometown, about fifty miles north of Hangzhou, in Li Chu-tsing's words, was "a scenic, wealthy, and cultured prefecture" that "played a vital role in Chinese history for centuries" and attained "its greatest significance during the early Yuan."²⁷ When Zhao Mengfu was young, he was one of the Eight Talents of Wuxing (an old administrative name for Huzhou during the Three Kingdoms, Tang, and Song) 吳興八俊, famous for their talents in poetry writing. Many cultural events of the early Yuan took place in the nearby city of Hangzhou and Zhao Mengfu was actively involved in the literary circles there after he returned to the south from Ji'nan in 1296.²⁸

The cultural activities that took place in the Jiangnan area were recorded by literary men, and some will be discussed in the third chapter. Taking Zhao Mengfu's

²⁷ Li Chu-tsing, "The Role of Wu-hsing," p. 331.

²⁸ Marilyn Wong Fu, "The Impact of the Re-unification," pp. 371-433; Li Chu-tsing, "The Role of Wu-hsing [Wuxing]," pp. 331-370; and Liu Guan 柳貫, "Colophon to Xianyu Boji's Letter to Qiu Yanzhong [Yanzhong, the public name of Qiu E (1250-1300)]" 跋鮮于伯幾與仇彥中小帖, in *Liu daizhi wenji* 柳待制文集, SBCK edition, *Juan* 18, quoted in and translated by Marilyn Wong Fu, "The Impact of the Reunification," pp. 376-378.

personal experience as an example: in 1295 when he returned to Huzhou and met with Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298),²⁹ he displayed his collections of paintings, calligraphy and antiques, and the two of them wrote poems matching each other's rhymes. Later that year, Zhao Mengfu praised the beautiful scenery of the Magpie Mountain 鵲山 in Ji'nan to Zhou Mi and painted the famous "Quehua qiuse tu" 鵲華秋色圖 for him. In the second month of 1298, Zhao Mengfu was involved in various cultural activities in the Southland.³⁰

On the eighth day of the month,
Zhao Mengfu wrote a copy of Fang Hui's 方回 (1227-1307, from She County 歙縣, present Anhui) "An Account of Living Among Bamboos" 居竹記 for his friend Cao Hefu 曹和甫 (b. 1274, from Huating 華亭, present Jiangsu).

On the fifteenth day,
Dai Biaoyuan 戴表元 (1244-1310, from Fenghua 奉化, present Zhejiang) wrote a preface for Zhao Mengfu's collected works *Songxuezhai ji* 松雪齋集.

On the twentieth day,
Zhao Mengfu visited the scenic spots along the West Lake, together with Minister Zhang Hanchen 張漢臣 and Transport Marquis Fei Beishan 費北山.

On the twenty-third day,
Zhao Mengfu met with friends from various places in the south and north at one of his best friends, Xianyu Shu's 鮮于樞 (1257-1302, from Yuyang 漁陽, present Hebei) house to enjoy one of Guo Zhongshu's 郭忠恕 (?-977) paintings and Wang Xizhi's 王羲之 (321-379 or 303-361) calligraphy. The southerners present in the gathering were Zhou Mi (his place of registry was Qizhou 齊州, present Shandong, later his family moved to Qiantang 錢塘, present Zhejiang), Zhang Bochun 張伯淳 (1243-1302, from Jiaxing 嘉興, present Zhejiang), Wang Zhi 王芝 (fl. 1285-1300?, from Qiantang), Deng Wenyan 鄧文原 (1258-1328, from Mianzhou 綿州, present Sichuan), and Zhao Mengfu etc.; and the

²⁹ Zhou Mi was a prominent writer and connoisseur, and an organizer of many cultural activities in Hangzhou.

³⁰ According to Ren Daobin, *Xinian*, pp. 80-82 and Fu, "The Impact of the Reunification," pp. 380-381.

northerners present were Guo Tianxi 郭天錫 (b. 1244, from Datong 大同, present Shanxi), Ma Xu 馬煦 (1244-1316, from Cizhou 磁州, present Hebei), Qiao Kuicheng 喬簣成 (fl. 1270-1313?, from Yanjing 燕京, present Hebei), Lian Xigong 廉希貢 (1240-1300, from Dadu, Uighur), Li Kan 李衍 (1245-1320, from Jiqiu 薊邱, present Hebei), and Xianyu Shu etc.³¹

The above shows that Zhao Mengfu, as a calligrapher, painter, and poet, participated in many cultural activities after his return to the south in 1295, and shared the same interests with friends from both regions.

Zhao Mengfu left about four hundred and fifty poems. Among them, about one tenth can be clearly identified as written about the Southland, Jiangnan 江南. This might be explained away as Zhao's natural overflow of nostalgia. But being born a southerner, having spent his life both in the south and in the north, and having had special life experiences, Zhao Mengfu's particular treatment in his poetry of the image of Jiangnan, the southland, both as a geographical concept and as a cultural construct, gives us a rare opportunity to observe how the process of a writer's life experience is manifested in literary and cultural expressions. For my study, I want to examine what kind of Jiangnan images Zhao Mengfu presented, besides nostalgia, whether there are other reasons for the high frequency of the images of Jiangnan in Zhao Mengfu's poems, and what the similarities and differences are between the images of Jiangnan presented in Zhao Mengfu's poetry and those appearing in poems before Zhao Mengfu's time. I will try to answer these questions in the following pages.

³¹ Deng Wenyuan was one of the prominent calligraphers of the Yuan. Zhang Bochun was Zhao Mengfu's brother-in-law. Guo Tianxi was a renowned connoisseur of paintings and calligraphy. According to Ren Daobin's *Xinian*, the rest of them were also famous for their personal collections and interests in antiquities.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF JIANGNAN

Jiangnan refers to the land south of the Yangtze River, sometimes specifically the lower reaches of the Yangtze River. Since Zhao Mengfu was a person from the lower reaches of the Yangtze River and in his poems Jiangnan mostly refers to that area, I will focus on the narrower definition in my study.

From the perspective of Chinese history, the Jiangnan area developed from an exotic and uncivilized region to one that is almost symbolic for cultural elegance and civilization as well as enjoyment and relaxation. In Chinese literature, the image of Jiangnan was used to express nostalgia, as well as used as a symbol for a life style, or as a symbol to express the sadness related to the fall of the various southern dynasties that once flourished in the Jiangnan area and thus to a sigh over the fall of past glory. It is therefore not merely a geographical concept but also a culturally constructed one.

The development of the concept of Jiangnan began with the Three Kingdoms, continued through the Southern and Northern Dynasties, the Sui and the Tang, the Northern Song, and then reached a pivotal point in the Southern Song. The geographical and cultural concepts of Jiangnan appeared in Spring and Autumn and Warring States texts, but the differences between the south and the north were not given much attention until the Three Kingdoms and the Southern and Northern Dynasties. Although the Sui dynasty (581-618) lasted for less than forty years, it was a very important link in the development of the Jiangnan image because of the reunification of the Han culture area—before the Sui, the south and the north had been separated politically for a considerably

long period of time. Gaps already appeared between the north and the south,³² and the reunification (589) under the Sui made it possible for the north and the south to interact with each other more intensely. The Tang and the Northern Song saw steady economic and cultural development of the south. During the Southern Song, with the political center moved to the southeast, Jiangnan had an unprecedented opportunity to develop both economically and culturally.³³ I will elaborate on this in the following pages.

The geographical region of Jiangnan appears in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 under the third year of Duke Zhao of Lu (539 B.C.):³⁴

In the tenth month, the Count of Zheng went to Chu and Zichan accompanied him as a chief minister. The Viscount of Chu gave a banquet for the Count of Zheng and performed "Auspicious Day"³⁵ for him. After the banquet, Zichan made preparations for hunting: the King is going for a hunt in Meng south of the River.

十月，鄭伯如楚，子產相，楚子享之，賦吉日。既享，子產乃具田備，王以田江南之夢。

³² One year after the Sui reunification, an uprising arose in the Jiangnan region. Due to the long time separation since the Three Kingdoms period, people in the North and the South had lived under different administrative systems and developed different lifestyles. The quick conquest of the Sui made people in the Jiangnan region to oppose the new government. Many leaders of the rebellion were from powerful families in the south. The conflict between the powerful families of Jiangnan and the new government was one obvious cause for the uprising. See Dong Chuping 董楚平, "Wu-Yue wenhua de sanci fazhan jiyu," pp. 133-137.

³³ For a general survey of the different stages of the development of Jiangnan, see Dong Chuping 董楚平, "Wu-Yue wenhua de sanci fazhan jiyu" 吳越文化的三次發展機遇 (Three Opportunities in the Development of Wu-Yue Culture), *Zhejiang shehui kexue* 浙江社會科學 no. 5 (2001): 133-137.

³⁴ *Zuozhuan zhushu ji buzheng* 左傳註疏及補正, Taipei: Shijie Shuju 世界書局, 1963, vol. 42, p. 12. The date of composition of *Zuozhuan* is still not fully identified. Some researchers argue that it was actually written in the Warring States period instead of the Spring and Autumn period. Since I have not seen the relevant research, here I will treat it as a Spring and Autumn period text.

³⁵ "Auspicious Day" 吉日 is poem number 180 in *The Book of Odes*.

Here, *meng* 夢 refers to Yunmeng 雲夢 (the territory of present Hunan and Hubei Provinces), part of which was to the south of the Yangtze River. During the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods the territories of Wu 吳 (present Suzhou region) and Yue 越 (present northern Zhejiang) were in the lower reaches of the Yangtze River.³⁶

During the Han dynasty, the word Jiangnan appeared frequently in works such as the *Erya* 爾雅, *Shiji* 史記, and *Wu-Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋.³⁷ For the Three Kingdoms and the Southern and Northern Dynasties periods, *jiangdong* 江東 and *jiangzuo* 江左 were the popular terms used to refer to the area south of the Yangtze River: *Jiangdong* refers to the east of the Yangtze River, the area along the southern bank of the river between present day Wuhu and Nanjing; it was also called *jiangzuo*, because the east was the left and the west the right if you look from north to south. In the Tang and the Song, *jiangdong* became an administrative term. During the Kaiyuan (713-741) reign period in the Tang, the Jiangnan region was divided into Eastern Jiangnan (seat in present day Suzhou) and Western Jiangnan (seat in Hongzhou, present Nanchang of Jiangxi). The Song followed the Tang pattern, but the seat of Eastern Jiangnan was relocated to Jiangning (present Nanjing) and the seat of Western Jiangnan was still Hongzhou. During

³⁶ During the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods, besides Wu and Yue, the states along the Yangtze River were Shu 蜀, Ba 巴, Chu 楚. Shu and Ba were in central and eastern Sichuan respectively, Chu was farther down the Yangtze River and one of the most important states of the time. See Carl Whiting Bishop, "The Beginnings of North and South in China," in *Pacific Affairs* (1934) 7.3: 297-325.

³⁷ See *Erya* 爾雅, annotated by Guo Pu 郭璞 (276-324), SBBY edition, vol. 7, 1a; 8a; *Shiji suoyin* 史記索隱, ed. Huang Fuluan 黃福鑾, Hong Kong: Xianggang zhongwen daxue chongji shuyuan yuandong xueshu yanjiusuo 香港中文大學崇基書院遠東學術研究所, 1963, p. 395; *A Concordance to the Wu-Yue Chunqiu* 吳越春秋逐字索引, ed. D. C. Lau 劉殿爵, Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1993, p. 147.

the Yuan, the Jiangnan region was integrated into the Jiang-Zhe Branch Secretariat 江浙行省. It was established in 1284 with the administrative seat at Hangzhou.

The cultural concept of Jiangnan developed together with its geographical and administrative concept. The great poet Qu Yuan 屈原 (ca. 340-278 B.C.) made the famous summon at the end of his “Calling Back the Soul” (Zhaohun 招魂): “O soul! Turn back! Have pity on the Southland” 魂兮歸來, 哀江南.³⁸ The deep pain and great enthusiasm shown in this poem were expressed by Qu Yuan, the outcast poet and statesman of the Chu 楚, for the hopeless reality of Chu as well as from the love for his homeland. Since then, the image of Jiangnan, a region carrying both beloved and painful memories, has entered people’s visions.

The north had been the cultural and economic center of the Han culture dominated area, since this culture originated in the Yellow River region. In contrast, the south, with different natural and cultural environments, had been considered as an exotic and underdeveloped region. In the Three Kingdoms period, when Lu Ji 陸機 (261-303), from Wu Prefecture 吳郡, present Suzhou, originally an official in the state of Wu, went to Luoyang to seek official position ten years after Wu was conquered by the Western Jin (265-316), he paid a visit to Wang Ji 王濟 (from Jinyang 晉陽, present Taiyuan 太原 of Shanxi) at Luoyang, son-in-law of Emperor Wu of Jin (r. 265-290). Wang Ji displayed several bowls of goat cheese before Lu and asked arrogantly: “What can compete with

³⁸ The English translation is from Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, p. 211.

this in your hometown, East of the Yangtze River” 卿江東何以敵此?³⁹ The anecdote conveys an important message of the time: the northerners had a sense of superiority over the southerners, both culturally and economically. Almost at the same time, in the “Rhapsody on the Three Capitals” 三都賦, Zuo Si 左思 (250?-305?), who was from the northern city of Linzi 臨淄, represented the three capitals quite differently: for the western state of Shu, he emphasized its geographical advantage; for the capital of the southern state of Wu, he emphasized its economic prosperity; and for the capital of the northern state of Wei, he emphasized its culture. This once again demonstrated that during this period, both the north and the south were developing, but the north had cultural and economic dominance over the south.

During the time of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, a Liang (502-557) literary man, Qiu Chi 丘遲 (464-508), who came from the same place as Zhao Mengfu, wrote a famous letter to Chen Bozhi 陳伯之 in the then popular parallel prose style. In the letter, Qiu tried to persuade Chen, who came from the south and formerly served in the southern state of Liang, but now was a general in the northern state of Wei (386-534), to surrender to Liang by describing the beautiful scenery of the south: “In the third month of late spring, the grass is growing in the Jiangnan area, trees are blossoming with all kinds of flowers, and oriole flocks are flying everywhere” 暮春三月, 江南草長, 雜花生樹, 群鶯亂飛.⁴⁰ The images here are so vivid that they have since become standard expressions for beautiful spring scenes in Jiangnan; they also signify the beginning of an

³⁹ Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444), *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1978, p. 21.

⁴⁰ Qiu Chi, “Yu Chen Bozhi shu” 與陳伯之書, in *Lidai pianwen xuan* 歷代駢文選, ed. Zhang Renqing, Taipei: Taiwan zhonghua shuju, 1965, p. 118.

attractive image of Jiangnan. But the Jiangnan region at this time still could not compete with the north overall. All of the emperors of the Eastern Jin (317-420) and the Southern Dynasties and many of the officials were emigrants from the north, or descendants of northerners, who fled to the south at the fall of the north to non-Chinese tribes in the early fourth century.⁴¹

In 589, the Sui emperor Yang Jian 楊堅 (581-604) reunited the Han culture area ending three hundred years of division. Due to the long time separation since the Three Kingdoms period, people in the North and the South had lived under different administrative systems and developed different lifestyles. The differences in literary styles in the north and the south were also noticed in the preface to the collected biographies of literary men in the *History of Sui* 隋書文學傳序:⁴²

They [literary men from the south and the north] liked and esteemed different styles. The music modes to the Left of the Yangtze River were swift and quick, and they valued elegance and beauty. The meanings of words to the north of the Yellow River were pure and vigorous, and they valued vigor and substance.

彼此好尚, 互有異同。江左宮商發越, 貴于清綺, 河朔詞義貞剛, 重乎氣質。

This judgment of the south can also be confirmed in poems of the time about the south. Yang Guang 楊廣 (569-618), second and last emperor of the Sui (r. 605-618), wrote two famous poems titled “Spring River on a Night in the Second Month” 春江花月夜 in which he described a spring night in the south. The spring river, the blossoms, the

⁴¹ See Dong Chuping, “Wu-Yue wenhua de sanci fazhan jiyu,” pp. 133-137.

⁴² *Suishu* 隋書, comp. Wei Zheng 魏征 (580-643) and Zhangsun Wuji 長孫無忌 (d. 569), SBBY edition, vol. 72, p. 2.

dew, the moon light, and the myth—all of these are typical scenes of Jiangnan, pure, lively, and refreshing:⁴³

暮江平不動, The sunset river is still and motionless;

春花滿正開. the spring flowers just opened in full blossom.

流波將月去, Flowing waves take the moon away;

潮水帶星來. tidal waters carry back the stars.

夜露含花氣, The night dew bears the fragrance of the blossoms;

春潭漾月輝. the moonlight is moving in the spring lake.

漢水逢游女, I meet the wandering girl of the Han River,

湘川值兩妃. and encounter the two concubines of the Xiang

Stream.⁴⁴

Although born a northerner, Yang Guang was obviously attracted to the South. But the image of Jiangnan could vary among individuals. The northerner, Sun Wanshou 孫萬壽 (fl. 560-610?) once wrote a poem titled “Guarding the Frontier Far to the South

⁴³ Yang Guang, “Spring River on a Night in the Second Month” 春江花月夜, quoted in *Xianqin hanwei nanbeichao shi* 先秦漢魏南北朝詩, ed. Lu Qinli 逯欽立, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983, p. 2663.

⁴⁴ The wandering girl in this poem refers to the Goddess of the Han River, and the two concubines of the Xiang Stream refer to E’huang 娥皇 and Nüying 女英, the concubines of the mythical culture hero Shun 舜.

of the Yangtze River, I Send This Poem to My Good Friends in the Capital” 遠戍江南寄京邑好友 which included the following two couplets:⁴⁵

賈誼長沙國, Jia Yi (B.C. 201-169) was demoted to the kingdom of Changsha;

屈平湘水濱. Qu Ping [Yuan] was exiled to the shores of the Xiang River.

江南瘴癘地, The south of the Yangtze River is a land of fever-swamps,⁴⁶

從來多逐臣. and has been a place for banished ministers.

In most of this poem the poet speaks of missing his family and friends and recalling the happy times when he was in the capital. But along with his nostalgia, as noted above, Sun Wanshou also depicted Jiangnan as a barbaric, uncivilized, and remote region.

In contrast, the southern poet Chen Ziliang 陳子良 (575-632) wrote a poem titled “On a Spring Day in the Northern Frontier, I think of Returning Home” 于塞北春日思歸:⁴⁷

我家吳會青山遠, The green mountains in my hometown at Wuhui are far away.

他鄉關塞白雲深. The white clouds of the passes on the border with other lands are thick.

⁴⁵ Sun Wanshou, “Guarding the Frontier Far in the South of the Yangtze River, I Send This Poem to My Good Friends in the Capital” 遠戍江南寄京邑好友, quoted in *Xianqin hanwei nanbeichao shi*, pp. 2638-2639.

⁴⁶ We see the echo of this image later in the eighth century poet Du Fu’s 杜甫 “Dreaming of Li Bai” 夢李白: “The south of the river is a land of fever-swamps; I have no news of you the exiled wanderer” 江南瘴癘地, 逐客無消息. See *Quantang shi* 全唐詩, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960, p. 2289.

⁴⁷ Chen Ziliang, “On a Spring Day in the Northern Frontier, I think of Returning Home” 于塞北春日思歸, *Quantang shi*, p. 498.

為許羈愁長下淚, Because of my sadness as a traveler, I shed my tears often.

那堪春色更傷心. How can I stand the spring scenery: it only makes me
sadder.

Here the poet describes how a southerner especially missed his hometown in the springtime. Comparing these two poems, we can see totally different perspectives on the North and the South: in the work of a northerner, the Jiangnan region was still depicted as a barbaric place; while for the southerners, the Southland was their home region full of sweet memories and beautiful scenery.

In the Tang dynasty, poems about Jiangnan became more abundant, for example, the famous Jiangnan poems by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) and Wei Zhuang 韋庄 (836-910).⁴⁸ In his lyric songs, Wei Zhuang, a northerner from Duling 杜陵 (present Chang'an County 長安 of Shaanxi), urged people to stay in the south and not go home.⁴⁹

人人盡說江南好, Everyone says that the Southland's fine,

遊人只合江南老. in the South the traveler should remain till old and gray.

⁴⁸ For example, Bai Juyi, "Missing Jiangnan" 憶江南: "The Southland is a good place with the scenery was once familiar to me. When the sun rises, the flowers by the river are redder than fire. When the spring comes, the waters are green like the indigo plant. How can I not miss the southland?" 江南好, 風景舊曾諳. 日出江花紅勝火, 春來江水綠如藍, 能不憶江南, see *Quan Tang shi*, p. 5196; Wei Zhuang, "Waking from a Dream at Hanshan Inn" 含山店夢覺作: "Before I was used to leave home for travel. Regarding it as of no importance and waving my sleeves, I was a stranger at the remote corners of the earth. Facing the lamp, I woke up from a dream about the southland. I got up sad and saw that the mountain moon had already gone aslant" 曾為流離慣別家, 等閒揮袂客天涯. 燈前一覺江南夢, 惆悵起來山月斜, see *Quan Tang shi*, p. 8023.

⁴⁹ For the following two Chinese text, see *Quan Tang shi*, p. 10075; the English translation is based on Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, pp. 566-567.

春水碧于天, Springtime waters are bluer than the sky,
畫船聽雨眠. in a painted boat lie, listening to the rain.

壚邊人似月, Beside the wine jar, a girl's face like [the] moon,
皓腕凝霜雪. her gleaming wrists like compacted snow.

未老莫還鄉, Never go home until you are old!
還鄉需斷腸. for if you go home, it will surely break your heart.

This poem provides important information on the concept of Jiangnan: the attractive image of Jiangnan was already commonly accepted by people at the time 人人盡說江南好, at least from Wei Zhuang's point of view. In the fourth song of the same lyric, Wei Zhuang described his joyful recollection of Jiangnan which enhanced the enjoyable and relaxing images of Jiangnan in people's minds:

如今卻憶江南樂, And now I think back on the Southland's joys,
當時年少春衫薄. a youth in those days, my spring clothes thin,
騎馬倚斜橋, I rode my horse by the slanting bridge,
滿樓紅袖招. and the upper rooms were filled with red sleeves
beckoning.

翠屏金屈曲, An azure screen with hinges of gold,
醉入花叢宿. drunk, I spent nights among clumps of flowers.

此度見花枝, When I now catch sight of branches in bloom,

白頭誓不歸. I vow not to go home till my hair is white.

In the Tang, there were considerably more poets from the south who must have contributed to the development of the image of Jiangnan. According to Jing Xiadong, in *Quan Tang shi* and *Quan Tang shi bubian*, the southern poets who have extant poems comprise one tenth to the Tang poets, and the number of the poems written by the southern poets comprise one fifth of the extant Tang poems. He considers this not only due to the social, political, and economic development of the Tang, but also to the special geographical characteristics and the cultural tradition of Jiangnan.⁵⁰

Furthermore, the rebellion of An Lushan 安祿山 and Shi Siming 史思明 between 755 and 762 also provided an opportunity for the development of Jiangnan in Chinese history.⁵¹ Because rebellion mainly occurred in the north, many people fled to the south. Li Bai's couplet "the northern enemies from the three rivers were in torpid and people from the four seas fly to the south as if in the Yongjia reign" 三川北虜亂如麻, 四海南奔似永嘉 refers to this situation.⁵²

From 907 to 960, the western reach of the lower Yangtze region was occupied first by the kingdom of Wu 吳 (919-937) and then by the kingdom of the Southern Tang

⁵⁰ Jing Xiadong 景遐东, "Tang Wudai jiangnan diqu shige chuanguo jiben zhuangkuang shulun" 唐五代江南地区诗歌创作基本状况述论, *Xueshu yuekan* 学术月刊 no. 8 (2001): 84-90.

⁵¹ Dong Chuping, "Wu-Yue wenhua de sanci fazhan jiyu," 133-137.

⁵² Li Bai 李白, "Yongwang dongxun ge" 永王東巡歌, in Wang Qi 王琦 annotator, *Li Taibai jizhu* 李太白集注, SKQS edition, 8.8b. Yongjia 永嘉 here refers to the rebellion that happened in the fifth year of the Yongjia reign (311) of the Western Jin 西晉, the Huns captured the capital Luoyang and Emperor Huai.

南唐 (937-958), while the eastern reach was occupied by the kingdom of Wuyue 吳越 (908-932). In a poem written by Han Xizai 韓熙載 (902-970), an official of the Southern Tang, however, we see a different story from that of the Sui poets:⁵³

我本江北人, Originally I was a person from north of the River,
去作江南客. and later I became a stranger south of the River.
再到江北來, When I came back north of the River,
舉目無相識. I no longer had acquaintances.
不如歸去來, I'd better return to the south,
江南有人憶. because in the south, there are people who remember me.

In this poem, the boundary between the south and the north disappears, and the message conveyed is: wherever your friends are, there your home is.

During the Northern Song, a famous lyric song written by Liu Yong 柳永 (?-1053) recorded the beautiful scenes and the prosperity of Hangzhou:⁵⁴

[Qiantang is a place with] an advantageous terrain in the southeast region and was the capital of the Wu. It has been flourishing since ancient time. There are mist-covered willows, painted bridges, kingfisher-blue curtains in the wind, and

⁵³ In Zheng Wenbao 鄭文寶 (953-1013), *Nantang jinshi* 南唐近事, In *Xu baichuan xuehai* 續百川學海, comp. Wu Yong 吳永 (1865-1936), Taipei: Xinxing shuju youxian gongsi 新興書局有限公司, 1970, p. 851.

⁵⁴ Liu Yong, "Watching the Ocean Tides" 望海潮, in *Quan Song ci* 全宋詞, ed. Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965, p. 39.

a hundred thousand houses located all about. There are tall trees along the dikes and the roaring waves roll up like frost and snow. Qiantang has a natural barrier without an end. Pearls and Jades are displayed in the markets and the houses are filled with fine silks. People compete in their luxurious lives.

The numerous lakes and the mountains piled one upon another are pure and beautiful scenes. There are the autumn cassia buds and ten *li* of lotus flowers. On fine days, people perform Tibetan pipes, and in the night the songs of the water-caltrop pickers rise. The old fishers and the kids playing around the lotus pond smile in happiness. A thousand cavalymen attend the Prefect, who listens to the piping and drumming on the spur of the drunken moment, and recites poems while enjoying the mist and rosy clouds in the twilight. Someday, he will draw this beautiful scenery and bring the picture to the court to show off.

東南形勝，江吳都會，錢塘自古繁華。煙柳畫橋，風簾翠幕，參差十萬人家。雲
樹繞隄沙，怒濤捲霜雪，天塹無涯。市列珠璣，戶盈羅綺，競豪奢。
重湖疊巘清嘉，有三秋桂子，十里荷花。羌管弄晴，菱歌泛夜，嬉嬉釣叟蓮娃。
千騎擁高牙。乘醉聽簫鼓，吟賞煙霞。異日圖將好景，歸去鳳池誇。

Liu Yong elaborately and enjoyably presents a beautiful, wealthy, relaxed, and civilized image of eleventh century Hangzhou to us which is more thorough than that of Wei Zhuang's. This song completely established the image of Jiangnan in the minds of later

generations. According to legend, the Jin 金 (1115-1234) emperor intended to conquer the south after reading this poem.⁵⁵

After the fall of the north and with the Song capital being moved from Bianliang 汴梁 to Hangzhou, the economic and cultural center of the Hans moved to the south as well. The land south of the Yangtze River had the opportunity to develop intensively, and the lower reaches of the Yangtze River were no longer associated with exoticism and barbarism. For details about the prosperity of South China at this time, the various Miscellaneous Notes 筆記 produced during the Song and the early Yuan provide huge amount of information.⁵⁶ Scholars agree that the culture of Jiangnan reached its peak at this time.⁵⁷

On the one hand, the South is more and more thought of as a sweet and beautiful place, an area of civility and leisure. On the other hand, as mentioned above, Jiangnan was also related to the memory of the fall of various southern dynasties, and the loss of past glories. This mixed image originated in Qu Yuan's poetry and was further developed in Yu Xin's 庾信 (513-581) "Lament for the South" 哀江南賦. In the third year of the Chengsheng 成聖 reign of Emperor Yuan of Liang (554), Yu Xin was sent as an envoy to the Western Wei (535-557). Not long after he arrived at Chang'an, capital of the Western Wei, the Western Wei conquered Jiangling 江陵, capital of Liang, and killed Emperor

⁵⁵ See Luo Dajing 羅大經 (1196-1252). *Helin yulu* 鶴林玉露, in *Biji xiaoshuo daguan xubian* 筆記小說大觀續編, Taipei: Xinxing shuju youxian gongsi 新興書局有限公司, 1973, vol. 4, p. 2282.

⁵⁶ See for example Nai Deweng 耐德翁 (fl. 1234-1236), *Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝; Wu Zimu 吳自牧 (fl. 1270), *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄; Anon. *Xihu laoren fansheng lu* 西湖老人繁盛錄; and Zhou Mi 周密, *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 and *Yunyan guoyan lu* 雲煙過眼錄, and others.

⁵⁷ Frederick W. Mote, *Imperial China 900-1800*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999, pp. 323-350.

Yuan. Yu Xin was detained in Chang'an and held offices both in the Western Wei and later in its successor dynasty, Northern Zhou (557-581). "Lament for the South" describes the sadness of his life experiences and his nostalgic memories of the south. Yu Xin's life was similar to that of Zhao Mengfu, because both experienced the decline of their families and both served in an alien court that had conquered the dynasty of their youth. But Yu Xin never had the opportunity to return to the south, and the sadness in his works is much heavier than that in Zhao Mengfu's poems — at the end of this parallel prose essay, Yu Xin sighed:⁵⁸

But how can they know that the one hunting at night below Pa-ling [Baling] still is the General of past times, among the commoners of Hsien-yang [Xianyang, present the territory west to the Chang'an 長安 County, Shaanxi], not only the Prince longs for home?

豈知霸陵夜獵，猶是故時將軍。咸陽布衣，非獨思歸王子？

Yu Xin's "Lament for the South" greatly influenced later literary men. Many poets after the Southern Dynasties composed poems on the fall of the Southern Dynasties or other dynasties in the south. Among them, Du Mu's 杜牧 (803-852) poems were the

⁵⁸ For the Chinese text, see *Yu Zishan ji* 庾子山集, SBCK edition, p. 23; for the English translation, see William T. Graham, Jr., *The Lament for the South: Yu Hsin's [Yu Xin] 'Ai Chiang-nan [Jiangnan] Fu'*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, p. 103.

most famous.⁵⁹ At the beginning of the Northern Song, some of the Xikun 西崑 poets also titled their poems “The Southern Dynasties” 南朝.⁶⁰ After the fall of the Southern Song, the image of Jiangnan as a memory of a fallen dynasty was once again awakened and reinforced. The large quantity of Miscellaneous Notes about Hangzhou, or the south in general, written during the late Southern Song and early Yuan is evidence of that. In *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄, for example, Wu Zimu 吳自牧 recorded in detail the glory of Hangzhou. His preface tells us what motivated his writing:⁶¹

The time is different and the circumstance changed. The prosperity of the cities, ponds, and gardens, and the flourishing of the customs and people: how can we keep them vital as before? When I think of the past, it is like a dream. Therefore I named it *Record of A Yellow-Millet Dream*.⁶²

矧時異事殊，城池苑囿之富，風俗人物之盛，焉保其常如疇昔哉？緬懷往事，殆猶夢也，名曰夢梁錄云。

⁵⁹ See for example, Du Mu's "Mooring on the Qinhuai River" 泊秦淮: "Mist veils the cold stream, and moonlight the sand, As I moor in the shadow of a river-tavern, where girls, with no thought of a perished kingdom, Gaily echo a Song of Courtyard Flowers" 烟笼寒水月笼沙，夜泊秦淮近酒家。商女不知亡国恨，隔江犹唱后庭花, in *Quan Tang shi*, p. 5980; for English translation, see Witter Bynner, *The Jade Mountain*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, rpt. 1960, p. 176.

⁶⁰ See *Xikun chouchang ji* 西崑酬唱集, comp. Yang Yi 楊億 (974-1020) et al., SBCK edition, p. 3. Xikun was the mythical imperial library for emperors. In the early Northern Song, Yang Yi, Liu Yun 劉筠 (971-1031), Qian Weiyan 錢惟演 (962-1034), and others, who were compiling *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 in the imperial library, wrote poems and rhymed with each other's poems which later were collected by Yang Yi into *Xikun chouchang Ji*. And these poets were labeled the Xikun School.

⁶¹ See Wu Zimu, *Mengliang lu*, in *Dongjing menghua lu*, *Ducheng jisheng*, *Xihu laoren fansheng lu*, *Mengliang lu*, *Wulin jiushi* 東京夢華錄, 都城紀勝, 西湖老人繁勝錄, 夢梁錄, 武林舊事, p. 1.

⁶² According to Wu Zimu's preface, "mengliang" refers to the dream recorded in Tang stories *Zhenzhong Ji* 枕中記 about a man who had all sorts of wonderful experiences in a dream only to discover that he had just dozed off briefly while having his millet cooked. This dream is used to imply that all prosperity and glory are just like an evanescent dream. See Shen Jiji 沈既濟 (750?-797), *Zhenzhong ji*, in *Tangren chuanqi xiaoshuo ji* 唐人傳奇小說集, Taipei: Shijie shuju 世界書局, 1969, pp. 37-39.

The lament for the south had become an everlasting topic in literary history and deeply embedded in the literary tradition.

CHAPTER 3

THE REAWAKENING OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL SENSE OF THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH IN THE EARLY YUAN

In 1260, the Mongolians conquered North China and in 1276 further conquered the Southern Song, once again bringing reunification to the Han culture area. The change from Han to alien rule affected the Han people both administratively and psychologically, especially the literati class. Many of them had difficulties accepting alien rule and regarded the Mongolians as uncivilized tribesmen.⁶³

During the conquest of the Southern Song, the Mongolians killed a large number of Han Chinese and in some extreme cases destroyed an entire city that resisted them. Hu Zhiyu 胡祗遹 (1227-1294) once presented a memorial to the throne in which he depicted the suffering of the people:⁶⁴

Ever since [the South] was attached [to the Yuan], soldiers and officials were addicted to killing. This caused the southerners to rebel. After the army suppressed the rebellions, soldiers and officials indulged in plundering. Goods, valuables, men and women all fell to the hands of the officials; heroic people and great families of the south were killed by the sharp points and blades of weapons. If a rebellion arose in a county, the whole county would be burnt to ashes; if a rebellion arose in a prefecture, the whole prefecture would be ground into wasteland.

[江南]自收附以來,兵官嗜殺,利其反側,叛亂已得,從其擄掠,貨財子女則入於軍官,壯士巨族則殄殲於鋒刃.一縣叛則一縣蕩為灰燼,一州叛則一州莽為邱墟.

⁶³ See for example Wang Yi 王禕, "Shizhai xiansheng yugong mubiao" 時齋先生俞公墓表, in *Wang Wenzhong gong ji* 王文忠公集, *Qiankun zhengqi ji* 乾坤正氣集 edition, vol. 185, p. 5594.

⁶⁴ Hu Zhiyu 胡祗遹, "Memorial on the Suffering of the People" 民間疾苦狀, in *Zishan daquanji* 紫山大全集, SKQS edition, 23:14b.

The most notorious case was the three days of carnage in the city of Yangzhou. Consequently the literati bore hatred of the Mongolians for destroying both the Southern Song dynasty and their dignity.

The social environment of the Han literati also changed after the fall of the Song. Among the changes, the most disappointing one might be the abolishment of the civil service examinations, which deprived literary men a route toward gaining official status. The last examination in the Jin dynasty was held in 1233, and the last in the Southern Song was in 1274. Even after the reinstatement of the examination by the Yuan in 1315, half of the prestigious *jinshi* degrees were awarded to Mongolians and Western Asians who only needed to pass a low level examination.⁶⁵

Another important policy that directly affected the Han literati's social status was the four class categorization system implemented by Khubilai Khan at the beginning of the Yuan. According to this categorization, the population was divided into four different ranks: the Mongolians, the Colored Eyes (Western Asians, Central Asians, and Inner Asians, etc.), the Han people in the North, and the Han people in the South. The Mongolians and the Colored Eyes were the two privileged groups under the Yuan.

Besides the four legal classes mentioned above, there were "ten ranks" for the Han people after Khubilai's conquest. Among the ten ranks, the top two were government officials and clerks. Confucian scholars were in ninth place, preceded by prostitutes and followed only by beggars. Even if Han Chinese literati held office in the

⁶⁵ Frederick W. Mote, "Chinese Society under Mongol Rule, 1215-1368," in *The Cambridge History of China: Alien Regimes and Border States*, ed. H. Franke and D. Twitchett, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 638.

court, it was impossible for them to reach the chief official positions in each level.⁶⁶ A detailed account of the different treatment allotted to officials from different ethnic groups can be seen in Meng Siming's 蒙思明 (1908-1974) *Yuandai shehui jieji zhidu*.⁶⁷ This also explains why, as a high ranking official, Zhao Mengfu still encountered hostility and distrust from Mongolian officials.⁶⁸

Most of the Song loyalists, although they refused to serve the new regime and therefore withdrew from political life, were very involved in cultural activities and considered themselves as representatives of traditional Han cultural values.⁶⁹ There were also people, like Zhao Mengfu, labeled by Jennifer Jay as the "marginal loyalists,"⁷⁰ who decided to hold office in the new government. What made Zhao Mengfu's life even more controversial was his being a member of the Song royal family but still willing to hold office under the Yuan; because of this, he was especially criticized by Ming scholars.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Song Lian et al., comp., *Yuanshi: baiguan zhi* 元史: 百官志, p. 2120.

⁶⁷ Meng Siming, *Yuandai shehui jieji zhidu* 元代社會階級制度, in "Supplement of Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies (1933-1948)," vol. 21, Beiping: Harvard-Yenching institute, 1938, photocopied by Taipei: Dongfang wenhua shuju, 1973, pp. 36-62.

⁶⁸ Song Lian et al., comp., *Yuan shi*, pp. 4018-4022.

⁶⁹ Richard John Lynn, "Traditional Chinese Poetry Societies: A Case Study of the Moon Spring Society (Pujiang, Zhejiang, 1286/7)," in *La Société civile face à l'état: dans les traditions chinoises, japonaise, coréenne et vietnamienne*, ed. Léon Vandermeersch, Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1994, pp. 77-108.

⁷⁰ Jennifer W. Jay, preface to *A Change in Dynasties: Loyalism in Thirteenth-Century China*, Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1991. In which, she identified three kinds of Song loyalists: "the *zhongyi* [忠義] loyalists who died during or for the Song cause; the *yimin* [遺民] loyalists who survived the collapse of the dynasty and/or loyalists resistance and lived some years under Mongol rule, and the marginal loyalists (a subgroup of *yimin*) whose conduct during their later years drew strong criticism from traditional historians."

⁷¹ Ming writers usually demeaned Zhao Mengfu by commenting on his works. For instance, one colophon written on a bamboo painting of Zhao Mengfu says: "The bamboos drawn by Mister Zhao are wide-spread in the world. How can drawing bamboo joints [integrity] be more difficult than drawing bamboos? One disarrayed bamboo joint comes out over the lake; it is good enough to be used as a fishing pole by people 先生畫竹滿人間, 畫竹爭如畫節難. 狼藉一枝湖水上, 與

To serve or not to serve became a moral issue that haunted Zhao Mengfu's life after the fall of the Southern Song.

On the one hand, as Jay points out, "for these men [marginal loyalists] who lived ten, twenty, or even thirty years after the fall of the Song to adhere to the narrow and absolute dimensions of loyalty from 1276 to 1300 was virtually impossible and rarely accomplished";⁷² on the other hand, the political reunification under the Yuan made a certain number of Han literati feel excited about the potential for cultural interaction between the North and the South, which had not been seen since the Sui Dynasty. In addition, the Han Chinese literati's hostility toward alien rule began to dissipate after a period of adjustment — and rationalization of the alien rule.

Therefore, although it seems that Mongol rule deepened the gap between the Han and non-Han peoples, and that between the southerners and northerners, Yuan reunification brought about some positive changes as well: it made possible, and intensified, the interaction between different cultures and customs. Endicott-West

人堪作釣魚竿。”(Yu Yonglin 余永麟 (*Juren*, 1528), *Beichuang suoyu* 北窗瑣語, in *Biji xiaoshuo daguan shi'er bian* 筆記小說大觀十二編, Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1974, p. 161, quoted in Li Zhujin, “Zhao Mengfu shi Yuan de jizhong wenti,” p. 351.) Another colophon written on Zhao Mengfu's “Picture of the Tiao River” says: “The son from the powerful family of Wuxing moved into the jade hall; in his painting, the Tiao River is depicted like the Wang River. Looking back, under the red trees in the green mountains, why is not there ten *mu* of field to grow melons? 吳興公子玉堂遷, 寫出苕溪似輞川。回首青山紅樹下, 那無十畝種瓜田。”(Zhu Mouyin 朱謀璣 (fl. 1631), *Huashi huiyao* 畫史會要, SKQS edition, 3:38b) On one of Zhao Mengfu's horse paintings, a famous Ming painter, Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427-1509) wrote: “His angry eyes are sparkling and his ears are like bamboo strips; with the quality of ‘Chenghuang’ (the name for a mythical horse), he wanders in the southland. He is worth a thousand pieces of gold [but] no one knows this; I laugh to see him bought and ridden by the northern tribesmen 隅目晶瑩耳竹披, 江南流落乘黃姿。千金价重無人識, 笑看胡兒買去騎。”(Shen Zhou, “Ti Zhao Songxue huama” 題趙松雪畫馬, in *Shitian shixuan* 石田詩選, SKQS edition, 8:4a.) Through connecting Zhao Mengfu's actual actions with the topics in his paintings, these Ming writers attacked him for losing his integrity in order to serve in the new government.

⁷² Jennifer W. Jay, *A Change in Dynasties*, p. 195.

mentions the potential of Han Chinese officials' desire to learn the Mongolian written language in order to advance their careers. She also cites data from other researchers to illustrate the cultural interaction of the time: "[T]here were at least 46 Mongols who excelled in Chinese scholarship, 26 Mongolian poets and playwrights who wrote in Chinese, and 24 Mongolian painters and calligraphers."⁷³

Researchers agree that the culture of northern China at this time was heavily influenced by that of the Northern Song, since the north had been separated from the south after 1127.⁷⁴ The different developmental patterns shaped by geographical factors brought refreshment and excitement to the Han Chinese literati. Some literary men whole-heartedly praised this effect in their poetry and prose writings. For example, Liu Guan 柳貫(1270-1342) remembered the cultural activities with admiration. He talked about the interactions between the southerners and the northerners, and the influences the northerners had on the southerners in great detail:⁷⁵

It has been noted before that during the Zhiyuan era (1264-1294), the prominent persons from the Central Plain were extremely numerous. It was a period of time which was not too distant from the fall of the Jin, and old loyalists from the Song were still living. Roads and communications had just undergone massive unification, and the weapons and banners [of the Mongol army] were spread out in the four directions covering the Yangtze and Huai Rivers. There were no longer any restrictions in travel between north and south. Literary activity flowed freely, and northerners and southerners admired and respected each other. Both were anxious to see each others'

⁷³ Elizabeth Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989, p. 123.

⁷⁴ Herbert Franke, "The Chin [Jin] dynasty: Scholarship, literature, and the arts," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, pp. 304-313; Marilyn Wong Fu, "The Impact of the Reunification," pp. 372-376.

⁷⁵ Liu Guan 柳貫, "Colophon to Xianyu Shu's Letter to Qiu Yanzhong [E]," pp. 228-229; for English translation, see Marilyn Wong Fu, "The Impact of the Reunification," pp. 376-378, with minor stylistic adjustments.

works, which had previously been inaccessible to them.... Thus the scholars of the Wu-Yue area were led to prominence by these several gentlemen [from the north].... At the time, Zhao Zi'ang [Mengfu] had just left his post in Qizhou [Shandong, i.e., he had asked for leave in the spring of 1295] to return home to Wuxing; he also came to join the gentlemen at those gatherings.... Parting and coming together, living and dying—no one can predict these events. But even today the people of Qiantang still remember with pride those gentlemen [from the north]: they think that Fate must have planned this meeting for them on our soil prior to their coming. Be that as it may, those joyous gathering between literary men are given out with exceeding parsimony by the Creator [that which creates all things]. Even though we would prefer more of such occasions, they are simply not to be gotten.... [Qiu E's son] brought out this calligraphy of Boji [for me to see]. It even had Zi'ang's inscription at the end.... Now this is all very distant, and poetry meetings are very quiet. I have written something about the flourishing past to show my sadness about the present decline. It is like the sound of the neighbor's flute — it recalls in me such deep feelings that I want to cover my ears and hide.

異時論至元間中州人物極盛, 由去金亡未遠, 而宋之故老遺民往往多在。方車書大同, 弓旌四出, 遮蔽江淮, 無復限制, 風流文獻, 蓋交相景慕, 惟恐不得一日覩也.....而吳越之士因之引重.....時趙子昂解齊州歸吳興, 頗亦來從.....離合存亡, 其不可復計者如是。而錢塘人至今傳訛諸君, 以爲是於我土有緣。然則文士相從之樂, 殆亦造物者之所深靳, 雖欲累取迭至, 得乎?.....出伯幾此帖而子昂實題其後.....企音徽之遂遠, 悵文會之寂寥, 志其盛以悲其衰, 鄰笛有聲, 予將掩耳而避之矣。

Another literary man Wang Yi 王禕 (1323-1374), however, described his experiences with disappointment and disagreement:⁷⁶

After the Yuan conquest of Jiangnan, the customs of ritual and culture changed under the influence of the overbearing crudity of the conquerors, such that after a few decades everyone became so acclimated to it that it became custom, and the old ways of the Song completely disappeared. The

⁷⁶ Wang Yi, "Shizhai xiansheng yugong mubiao," p. 5594; for English translation, see John W. Dardess, "Did the Mongols Matter? Territory, Power, and the Intelligentsia," in *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, ed. Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003, p. 116.

shi [literati scholars] plaited their hair and wore short coats; they mimicked the Mongol language and dress in order to ingratiate themselves with their rulers, in the hope that they might thereby advance themselves. Those who steadfastly clung to Chinese tradition were ridiculed for being backward and shy.

元既有江南, 以豪侈粗戾變禮文之俗. 未數十年, 薰漬狃狎, 胥化成風, 而宋之遺俗銷滅盡矣. 為士者, 辮髮短衣, 效其語言容飾以自附于上, 冀速獲仕進, 否則訕笑以為鄙怯.

Although the starting points of the above two passages are totally different, both of them provide valuable information about the interactions between the cultures of the south and the north, or Chinese and non-Chinese, no matter whether those interactions were brought about naturally or forcibly.

Liu Guan's account quoted above informs us that many cultural activities were taking place in the south during the early Yuan, and that Zhao Mengfu was an active participant in some of them. Xianyu Shu [Boji] 鮮于樞 [伯幾], Zhao Mengfu's close friend and one of the great calligraphers from the north, also appeared in Liu Guan's account. In a poem written after Xianyu Shu's death, Zhao Mengfu fully expressed his feelings for Xianyu Shu:⁷⁷

生別有再逢, In life parting may still hold future meetings.

死別終古隔. But in death one is separated forever.

君死已五年, You, Po-chi [Boji], have been dead for five years,

追痛猶一日. But the pain of thinking about you makes it feel like yesterday.

⁷⁷ Zhao, "An Elegy for Xianyu Boji [Shu]" 哀鮮于伯幾, in *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 111-112; For English translation, see Marilyn Wong Fu, "The Impact of the Reunification," pp. 385-386.

我生大江南, I was born south of the Yangtze River,

君長淮水北. And you grew up north of the Huai River.

憶昨聞令名, I recollect how I heard of your eminent reputation,

官舍始相識. And it was in office that we were able to meet.

我方二十餘, I was well past twenty years of age,

君髮黑如漆. And your black hair was as glossy as lacquer.

契合無間言, We became fast friends with nothing between us:

一見同宿昔. As soon as I saw you, it was as if from a familiar past.

春游每挈舟, In the spring we would go out boating together,

夜坐常促席. And in the evening we would sit together talking.

氣豪聲若鐘, You had the spirit of a hero about you, and your voice was as
resonant as a gong.

義憤髯屢戟. When excited by some subject, your whiskers would bristle
like spears;

談諧雜叫嘯, In debate on some point, your voice would be raised to a pitch,

議論造精覈. And your discussion would always be essential and precise.

巍煌商鼎制, We would talk about the manufacture of tripods of the
magnificent Shang Kings,

駟駿漢馬式. Or the style of the handsome Han steeds.

奇文既同賞, Together we would appreciate an unusual essay

疑義或共析. Or analyze some point of mutual doubt.

錦囊裝玉軸, In brocaded bags you kept scrolls with jade rollers—

妙絕晉唐跡. Specimens of Tsin [Jin] and T'ang [Tang] calligraphy

incredibly wonderful.

粲然極炫曜, They were so dazzling in their brilliance

觀者咸辟易. That anyone who saw them could not but feel intimidated.

非君有精鑒, No one but you, Po-chi [Boji], with your superb discrimination.

疇能萃奇物? Could have gathered together these treasures from the past.

最後得玉鉤, Recently you acquired a jade buckle

琬琰螭盤屈. That was marvelously worked with coiling

dragons.

握手傳玩除, You lovingly took it in your hands and then passed it

around for others to appreciate,

歡喜見顏色. And the joy could be seen plainly in your face.

可以學古書, With deep concentration you would study [copy] old calligraphy,

池水欲盡黑. Until the pond beside your studio where you washed your

brushes would be black with ink.

書記往來閒, In our exchange of letters and essays,

彼此各有得. We would always learn from each other.

我時學鐘法, At the time, I was studying Chung Yu's [Zhong You] (A.D. 151-

230) writing,

寫君先墓石. And I transcribed your father's epitaph on stone.

江南君所樂, Chiang-nan [Jiangnan] was a place which you loved,

地氣苦下濕. But the climate and humidity made you suffer.

安知從事衫, We did not expect that you would pass away while you were in

office as

竟卒奉常職. *Feng-ch'ang* [Fengchang],

至今屏障閒, And till now whenever I see your writing,

不忍睹遺墨. I cannot bear to look at it.

淒涼方井路, Now the Fang-ching [Fangjing] road where you lived is lonely

and desolate,

松竹蔭真宅. And pine and bamboo cover over your cottage.

乾坤清氣少, There is little pure *ch'i* [qi] on heaven and earth:

人物世罕覯. Someone like you is so rare to come upon!

緋袍儼畫像, In your portrait, you look dignified in your dark red robe,

對之淚沾臆. When I face it, tears fall to my chest.

宇宙一何悠, How remote is time and space—

悲酸豈終極! Will there be an end to the sorrow I feel!

This poem clearly tells us about the friendship between Zhao Mengfu and Xianyu Shu, and Zhao Mengfu's awareness of the many differences between them: their physical appearances, characters, and even reactions to the climate. It also tells us about their mutual enjoyment of the antiques they had, the benefits they obtained from each other, and how significant their friendship meant to them.

Yu Ji 虞集 (1272-1348), in one of his works, also talked about Xianyu Shu: “He [Xianyu Shu] restrained the heroism of [northern] wind, sand, furs, and the sword, to take up the joys of [southern] lakes, mountains, maps, and the histories” 斂風沙裘劍之豪, 為湖山圖史之樂.⁷⁸ As Marilyn Wong Fu points out, “Not only does this juxtaposition pinpoint the differences of physical terrain, climate, and dress, but also the occupations and state of culture with which the northern and southern regions had been commonly identified by the Yuan period.”⁷⁹

The changes brought about by the reunification were also recorded in Zhao Mengfu's other poems: “The people, the carriages, and the writings from the South and the North are mixed together; while the mountains, the rivers, and the strategic places from ancient times to the present are still the same” 人物車書南北混, 山川襟帶古今同;⁸⁰ “The Eastern Sea and the Western Mountains strengthen the emperor's palace; ships from the South and horses from the North all gather at the imperial capital” 東海西山壯帝居, 南船北馬聚皇都.⁸¹

In essays and poems quoted above, we see a particular sense of geography. The reawakening of the geographical distinctions of the south and the north in the early Yuan is a phenomenon worth examining. The collapse of the Southern Song and the

⁷⁸ Yu Ji 虞集, “Written on a Small Portrait of Xianyu Boji [by Zhao Mengfu]” 題鮮于伯幾小象, in *Daoyuan xuegu lu* 道園學古錄, *Guoxue jiben congshu* 國學基本叢書 edition, p. 188. For English translation, see Marilyn Wong Fu, “The Impact of the Reunification,” p. 389.

⁷⁹ Marilyn Wong Fu, “The Impact of the Reunification,” p. 390.

⁸⁰ Zhao, “At Yuhua Terrace of Jinling Going to My Old Friend Liu Shuliang's Tomb” 金陵雨花臺遂至故人劉叔亮墓, in *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 172-173.

⁸¹ Zhao, “Respectfully Singing of the Sagely Virtues of Emperor Shizu” 欽頌世祖皇帝聖德, in *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 177.

reunification of the entire Han culture area under the Yuan, refreshed people's sensibilities about the differences between the south and the north, and undoubtedly contributed to this reawakening. In the following chapters, I will analyze in detail how that reawakened geographical sense entered Zhao Mengfu's writings, especially his poetry.

CHAPTER 4

THE IMAGES OF JIANGNAN IN ZHAO MENGFU'S POETRY

Just as those predecessors who were separated from their hometowns, Zhao Mengfu shows his nostalgic memories of the south in his writing. What makes his nostalgia different from previous ones are as follows. First, one aspect of his nostalgic memories concerns about the fallen Southern Song dynasty. For Zhao Mengfu, Jiangnan had double connotations: his hometown and the fallen Southern Song dynasty. Second, although Zhao Mengfu held deep feelings about the south, he also lived and served in the court of the new dynasty and experienced the reactions produced by the reunification. He had a more complicated attitude than his predecessors toward the opposite of the south — the north — sometimes, his attitude could be unique.

According to their different themes, Zhao Mengfu's poems related to the Jiangnan region can be divided into four categories: poems written when he lived in Jiangnan, poems about his nostalgic memories of the south and the Southern Song dynasty, poems yearning for a reclusive life, and poems reflecting his contradiction between being a member of the Song royal family and serving in the Yuan court. Through these poems, I will examine and discuss the characteristics of the various images of Jiangnan presented by Zhao Mengfu.

The General Images of the South and the North in Zhao Mengfu's Poetry

The images of the south in Zhao Mengfu's poems are usually related to happy memories about the scenery, weather, friends and family, and the cultural environment of the south. For example, Zhao Mengfu talks about the beautiful scenery along with the sweet memory: "The mountains and rivers of Wuxing are pure and unique; the white clouds over the mountains are fit for pleasing one's mind" 吳興山水況清絕, 白雲滿嶺堪怡情;⁸² "The joyful remembrances of my hometown come to my mind from time to time. The big fish we got by sailing through the waves went on the chopping board everyday. In a straw cape and bamboo hat I could be free. I can still remember a certain river and a certain hillock in my hometown" 故鄉樂事時上心, 破浪長魚日登俎. 一蓑一笠得自由, 某水某丘猶可數.⁸³ Zhao Mengfu also recalls the comfortable weather of the south when he is in the north: "Surprisingly I see the snow on the Yan Mountains in the autumn season. I, the stranger from far away, having stayed here for a long period, am worrying about my sick body... I remember — it is not yet cold in Jiangnan, and people are just enjoying the fresh oranges and rice wine there" 季秋驚見燕山雪, 遠客淹留愁病身... 想得江南尤未冷, 嫩橙清酒政嘗新.⁸⁴ Furthermore, he missed the cultural activities of the south: "I earnestly recall that in the southeast there are many wonderful events, and recite in vain the poem 'There Are High Towers in the Northwest'" 苦憶東

⁸² Zhao, "For Zhang Yangu" 贈張彥古, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 139.

⁸³ Zhao, "To Rhyme with Right Minister Ye's poem titled 'Record of a dream'" 次韻葉公右臣紀夢, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 142.

⁸⁴ Zhao, "To Accompany Deng Shanzhi's poem titled 'Snow in the Ninth Month'" 和鄧善之九月雪, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 183-184.

南多勝事，空吟西北有高樓。⁸⁵ Along with the nostalgic memories about the south, Zhao Mengfu also missed his friends and relatives there: “My brothers at home must be thinking of me, together we went to see the mountains south of the stream and beyond the willows 故鄉兄弟應相憶，同看溪南柳外山。⁸⁶

One specific poem, “Sending Gao Renqing back to Huzhou” 送高仁卿還湖州 provides complete images of both the south and the north, in other words, the images specifically in Zhao Mengfu’s mind:⁸⁷

昔年東吳望幽燕， In former years I in the Eastern Wu [222-277] gazed afar at

the regions of You and Yan;

長路北走如登天。 walking northward on that long road was like climbing to
heaven.

捉來官府竟何補， What on earth is the use of dragging me to this government
office?

還望故鄉心惘然。 Gazing afar at my hometown, my heart is still at a loss.

江南冬暖花亂發， The winter of the Southland is warm, and blossoms open
profusely,

朔方苦寒氣又偏。 while the northern region is bitter cold and the weather is
inconstant.

⁸⁵ Zhao, “To Rhyme with the Poems Sent by Duanfu and Xianyu Boji” 次韻端父和鮮于伯幾所寄詩, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 180.

⁸⁶ Zhao, “Composed on the present affairs when I first arrived at the Capital” 初至都下即事, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 208.

⁸⁷ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 131-132.

木皮三寸冰六尺, The bark of trees is three *cun* thick and the ice is six *chi*;

面頰欲裂凍折弦. my cheeks are about to split, and strings of my zither are
frozen to the breaking point.

盧溝強弩射不過, The Lu River⁸⁸ cannot be shot across by a powerful crossbow,
騎馬徑度不用船. but when frozen over can be directly crossed on horseback,
no need of a ship.

宦游遠客非所習, The stranger from a distant place, having come to take up
government service, is not accustomed to all this —

狐貉不具絺袍穿. he does not have fox or badger fur robes, and is wearing
just a thick silk robe.

京師宜富不宜薄, The capital city is a place not suitable for the poor but for the
rich;

青衫駿馬爭騰騫. the “blue coats” and “fine horses” compete for soaring
heights.

南鄰吹笙厭梁肉, My southern neighbors play the panpipes, and are weary of
millet and meat;

北里鼓瑟羅姝妍. People in this northern village strum their lutes and eye
the beautiful girls.

淒涼朝士有何意, What is the emotion of a dreary official?

瘦童羸騎雞鳴前. with a scrawny boy attendant and lean horse, I attend the
imperial court before the cock crows,

⁸⁸ Lu River was near Dadu (present Beijing).

太倉粟陳未易糴, Grain is displayed in the imperial granaries but is not easy to

buy;

中都俸薄難裹纏, my salary in the capital is slight and it is hard to meet

expenses.

邇來方士頗向用, Lately occultists are readily supported and employed;

讀書不若燒丹鉛, we who read books are inferior to those who burn

cinnabar and white lead powder.

故人聞之應見笑, My old friends shall laugh at me when they hear of this;

如此不歸殊可憐, under such circumstances, my not returning home is just

pathetic.

長林丰草我所愛, The tall forests and luxuriant grass are what I love;

羈勒未脫無由緣, not having shaken off this halter and rein, I have no

chance for them.

高侯遠來肯顧我, Marquis Gao, who comes from far away, is willing to visit

me —

裹茗抱被來同眠, with a pack of tea and carrying his quilt, he comes to sleep

over.

青燈耿耿照土屋, The bright blue-light oil lamp lights up the earthen house;

白酒薄薄無葷羶, [there is] light white wine, and no strong meat or smell of

mutton.

破愁為笑出軟語, I break into laughter through my sadness, and utter my soft

dialect;

寄書妻孥無一錢。 I send letters to my wife and children, but without a cent
[to them].

江湖浩渺足春水, The endlessly vast rivers and lakes are filled with spring
waters;

鳬雁滅沒橫秋煙。 wild ducks and geese dive down and disappear in the
sprawling autumnal mist.

何當乞身歸故里, When shall I beg to allow my body to return to my
hometown —

圖書堆裏消殘年。 to spend my remaining years amidst stacks of scrolls?

This poem begins historically with the geographical image of the great distance between the south and the north, which not only emphasizes the geographical distance, but also the possible attendant cultural distance. After that, Zhao Mengfu talks about the differences in the weather and customs (dressing and eating habits) between the south and the north, even alludes to the different characteristics between the southern and northern speech in later couplets. Then he goes further to describe his life in the capital and of being an official in the court. He shows his dissatisfaction with the mood of the capital and the Emperor's policy of favoring Taoist priests. Zhao Mengfu also mentions his meager salary and the high cost of living. Furthermore, in the line about "the 'blue coats' and 'fine horses' compete for soaring heights" 青衫駿馬爭騰騫, Zhao Mengfu uses "blue coats" to either refer to either the Han Chinese literary men or literary men in general and "fine horses" to refer to either army men or the Mongol officials. In the last part of this poem, Zhao Mengfu expresses his happiness at meeting his friend who is also

from the south, and this happiness stands out in comparison with the statements of complaint in the former part. Aroused by his happiness, Zhao Mengfu recalls the spring scenes of the south and yearns for a reclusive life in his hometown.

This poem well explains why Zhao Mengfu would miss the south, why he would be weary of official life, and why he would yearn for an unattainable retirement. His images of the south, and of the north, are so different as to be in opposition. When such images are repeated again and again in Zhao Mengfu's poems, the life of the south and that of the north become symbols of two different modes of living: one is enjoyable and relaxing, while the other is disappointing and insufferable. Thus the poet is "at a loss" when he gazes afar toward his hometown.

The Images of Huzhou and Hangzhou in Zhao Mengfu's Poetry

Besides the general sense of the Southland, Jiangnan in Zhao Mengfu's poetry sometimes refers to the actual southern places where he had lived — Huzhou (hereafter Wuxing, the name used by Zhao Mengfu in his poems) and Hangzhou. Zhao Mengfu left his hometown area for the capital Dadu, in the end of 1286. In 1287, he went to Hangzhou and stayed there for several months to judge a case involving a minister of the Jiang-Zhe Branch Province. From August 1295 to September 1310, he spent most of his time in Hangzhou, and occasionally in Wuxing. When Zhao Mengfu retired from office in 1319, he returned to Wuxing and spent his remaining years there.

Zhao Mengfu bore special feelings for both Wuxing and Hangzhou. During his twenties, he wrote a parallel prose essay titled "Wuxing" in which he described the

beautiful scenery and numerous local products of Wuxing. Using a conversational parallel prose style of "host and guest," Zhao Mengfu explained the reason why he did not elaborate on those famous cultural figures who once were residents of Wuxing: he was unable to make a list of them all, considering the long historical and cultural traditions of Wuxing.⁸⁹ In his poetry, Zhao Mengfu also highly praised the natural beauty and the cultural traditions of Wuxing: "The mountains and the rivers in Wuxing are pure and distinct" 吳興山水況清絕;⁹⁰ "the mountains and the rivers in Wuxing are pure and remote" 吳興山水清且遠;⁹¹ "Wuxing is an unusual prefecture and has had a wealth of distinctive men since ancient times" 吳興瀟灑郡, 自古富人物.⁹²

Just as Zhao Mengfu claimed in one of his poems written in the north: "I can still remember a certain river and a certain hillock [in my hometown]" 某水某丘猶可數,⁹³ he frequently mentioned specific Wuxing places in his poetry: "Tiao River" 苕溪,⁹⁴ "Zha

⁸⁹ For the parallel prose, see Zhao Mengfu, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 57-60; for the role of Wuxing in Chinese cultural history, see Li Chu-ting [Zhujin], "The Role of Wu-hsing [Wuxing]," pp. 331-370.

⁹⁰ Zhao, "To Zhang Yangu" 贈張彥古, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 139.

⁹¹ Zhao, "Sending off Gao Zhongde to Meet His Mother in Ru Prefecture" 送高郎仲德往汝州迎母, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 142.

⁹² Zhao, "Inscription on the Worthies of the Past, on Mr. Zhang's 'Paintings of Ten Subjects'" 題先賢張公十詠圖, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 124.

⁹³ Zhao, "To Rhyme with Right Minister Ye's Poem Titled 'Record of a Dream'" 次韻葉公右丞紀夢, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 142.

⁹⁴ Zhao, "Reply to Censor Liu Duanfu for the Poem He Matched with My Previous One" 劉端父御史見和前詩次韻答之, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 180; "To the Physiognomist" 贈相士, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 133; "To Continue Zheng Pengnan's 'Expressing My Feelings'" 繼鄭鵬南抒懷, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 182.

River” 雪溪,⁹⁵ “Bian Mountain” 弁山,⁹⁶ and “Fuyu Mountain” 浮玉山,⁹⁷ etc. Bian Mountain is in present Changxing 長興 County of Zhejiang Province and Fuyu Mountain is to the south of present Tai Lake 太湖, Jiangsu Province. Tiao River and Zha River are two names for the different parts of the same river in present Wuxing County. The part that originates from the Fuyu Mountain is called the Tiao River, and the part that flows northward from present Deqing 德清 County to the south of the Xingguo Temple 興國寺 is called the Zha River which flows into the Tai Lake. Zhao Mengfu even wrote a poem titled “Inscribing Four-line Verse about the Tiao River” 題苕溪絕句:⁹⁸

自有天地有此溪, Ever since there have been heaven and earth, there has been
this River;

泓渟百折靜無泥. it is clear, deep, and full of turns; it is still and without
mud.

我居溪上塵不到, I live on the river, and no dust will reach my house,

只疑家在青玻璃. Which only makes me suspect that I live in a world made
of blue glass.

⁹⁵ Zhao, “To Rhyme with Zishan’s Poem ‘Feelings about Climbing the Tower’” 次韻子山登樓有感, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 149-150; “Finished Right at the End of Year” 歲晚偶成, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 193; “Exchanging Poems with the Supervisor, Mr. Pan” 酬潘提舉, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 112.

⁹⁶ Zhao, “Traveling in the Bian Mountains” 游弁山, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 79; “Traveling Again in the Bian Mountains” 重游弁山, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 148; “To Rhyme with the Poem Sent by Xiucan Li” 次韻李秀才見寄, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 187.

⁹⁷ Zhao, “Fuxu Mountain” 浮玉山, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 209; “To Accompany Huang Jingdu’s Poem Titled ‘Written in the Snow’ (the fifth poem)” 和黃景杜雪中即事 (其五), *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 220.

⁹⁸ *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 226.

This poem shows the unique position of the Tiao River in Zhao Mengfu's life and heart. Together with the other mountains and rivers mentioned above, it becomes a representative image of his home and hometown.

Zhao Mengfu's residence in Deqing County of Huzhou (in present Zhejiang), at Deqing Villa 德清別業, which appears in Zhao Mengfu's poetry several times, also carries the nostalgia of the poet. For example, the following two poems under one title were written while Zhao Mengfu was in the north:⁹⁹

陽林堂下百株梅, There are a hundred sour plum trees beneath the Sunny
Grove Hall;

傲雪凌寒次第開. the plum flowers blossom one after another, despite the
snow and enduring the cold.

枝上山禽曉啁哳, The mountain birds are chirping on the branches in the
morning —

定應喚我早歸來. they must be calling me to return home soon.

谷口春殘黃鳥稀, On the last days of the spring, there are few orioles at the
entrance of the valley.

辛夷花落杏花飛. the lily magnolia flowers are falling and the apricot
blossoms are flying everywhere.

始憐幽竹山窗下, My feelings arise for the secluded bamboos beneath my
windows facing the mountain —

⁹⁹ Zhao, "Thinking of the Deqing Villa" 懷德清別業, p. 215.

不改清陰待我歸。 they have not changed their pureness and coolness,
waiting for my return.

The two poems apparently depict two different springtime periods at the Deqing Villa: early spring and late spring. They reveal the secluded location and the beautiful natural environment of the Deqing Villa, presented through the poet's remembrance and imagination. Here, Zhao Mengfu does not directly state why he misses his hometown and the Deqing villa; instead, he expresses his nostalgia for other aspects, by saying in the last line of each poem that the mountain birds and the secluded bamboos are waiting for his return.

The West Lake 西湖, as a metaphor for Hangzhou city and an ideal gathering place, appears in Zhao Mengfu's poems: "In a painted boat, I traveled everywhere on West Lake — after parting from her, in a dream I fly back to Hangzhou" 畫舸西湖到處游, 別來飛夢到杭州;¹⁰⁰ "Along the western bank of the West Lake, the plum flowers are like snow. Your friends are surely waiting for your return" 西湖西畔梅如雪, 應有親朋待子歸;¹⁰¹ "I must quickly ride my horse to the West Lake Road, where the willows are light yellow like grains of yeast" 急須走馬西湖路, 楊柳淡黃如麴塵。¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Zhao, "To Rhyme with the Poems Sent by Duanfu and Xianyu Boji" 次韻端父和鮮于伯幾所寄詩, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 180.

¹⁰¹ Zhao, "Sending off Wang Yueyou on His Return to Hangzhou" 送王月友歸杭州, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 208.

¹⁰² Zhao, "Excited by the Fine Day" 喜晴, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 217.

While in Hangzhou, Zhao Mengfu participated in many cultural activities with both his southern and northern friends and had pleasant and relaxed times.¹⁰³ In a poem written to Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298), Zhao Mengfu expressed the happiness of meeting his friend after a long time apart.¹⁰⁴

池魚思故淵, The fish in the pond miss their former deep water,
欄獸念舊藪. while the beast in the pen thinks of the old shallow lake.
官曹困窘束, Officials are hemmed in by poverty and restriction,
卯入常盡酉. going to the office during the *mao* hour and usually finishing
 their work at the *you* hour.¹⁰⁵
簡書督期會, You sent me a letter to encourage our gathering;
何用傳不朽. what is the use of passing on our writings as if they will not
 decay?
十年從世故, I have been pursuing worldly affairs for ten years,
塵土滿衣袖. until my robe and sleeves are covered with dust.
歸來忽相見, When I suddenly meet you after returning home,
忘此離別久. I forget our long separation.
緬懷德翁隱, I recall the recluse, Mr. Pang De;¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Ren Daobin, *Xinian*, pp. 67-73.

¹⁰⁴ Zhao, "To Rhyme with the Poem Sent by Zhou Gongjin" 次韻周公謹見贈, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 109.

¹⁰⁵ *Mao* and *you* refer to the time slots from 5:00-7:00 am and 5:00-7:00 pm respectively.

坐羨沮溺偶。 and I admire Changju and Jieni's ploughing side by side.¹⁰⁷

新詩使我和, You sent a new poem for me to match in harmony with it;

曠里忘己醜。 Frowning, I forget the ugliness of my own poem.

平生知我者, In all my life, you are the one who knows me best;

頗亦侶公否。 Am I not also a companion for you?

山林期晚歲, I expect to spend my remaining years in a mountain forest:

雞黍共尊酒。 with chicken and millet, we drink together.

卻笑桓公言, Still, I laugh at Mr. Huan's words:

淒然漢南柳。 becoming sad over the willows south of the Han River.¹⁰⁸

As Li Chu-tsing and Marilyn Fu point out, Wuxing and Hangzhou had been the leading artistic centers of the early Yuan.¹⁰⁹ This poem was written to Zhou Mi, whom Zhao Mengfu had not seen for a long time. Although the feeling of excitement revealed in the

¹⁰⁶ De Weng, here refers to Pang De 龐德, a recluse of the Han Dynasty, who lived to the south of Xian Mountain 峴山 (in present Xiangyang county 襄陽 of Hubei) and did not seek officialdom. It is said that the Prefect of Jing Prefecture 荊州 (seated Xiangyang), Liu Biao 劉表 (142-208) invited him to take office several times, but he declined. Pang De later went to gather medicinal herbs in the Lumen Mountain 鹿門山 (in present Xiangyang) with his wife and they never returned.

¹⁰⁷ Changju 長沮 and Jieni 桀溺 were the two famous recluses of the Warring States Period who appear in *The Analects of Confucius*. It is said that they were ploughing side by side when Confucius passed by and asked for directions.

¹⁰⁸ The allusion is to an anecdote in *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語: when Huan Wen 桓溫 (312-373) was campaigning northward and passed Jinling 金陵 (present Nanjing), he noticed that the circumference of the tree he planted when he was an official at Langya Prefecture 瑯琊 (presently north of Nanjing) had grown to a diameter of ten armspans. He then sighed: "If even trees can grow old like this, how can human bear the passing of time?" See Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444), *Shishuo xinyu*, Taipei: Yiwen chubanshe 藝文出版社, reprinted 1968, p. 72.

¹⁰⁹ Li Chu-tsing [Zhujin], "The Role of Wu-hsing [Wuxing]", pp. 331-370; Marilyn Wong Fu, "The Impact of the Reunification, pp. 371-433.

fifth couplet is under control and the mood of the whole poem is almost calm, the poet still expressed the joy of being together with his friend throughout the entire poem by speaking of their exchanging poems and his expectation of a reclusive life. And in the last couplet, through laughing at Mr. Huan's words, the poet demonstrated that no melancholy about the passing of time was involved in this reunion.

In a poem written on one of his paintings, Zhao Mengfu described his life in Hangzhou around the year 1297:¹¹⁰

懶聽門外長者車, I am bored of hearing the sounds of the eminent officials'

carriages outside my gate;

自田堪種水堪魚. my own field is good enough for growing crops and the

water is good enough for breeding fish.

是非不入松風耳, In the sighing of wind in the pines, right and wrong do not

enter my ears;

花開花落只讀書. I only read my books, in the blossoming and falling of the

flowers.

This poem presents an ideal picture of a man of letters' life: comfortable, at ease, and not being bothered by the outside world.

Being a painter and a calligrapher, Zhao Mengfu also expressed his feelings for his hometown and the Southland in his poems written on paintings related to the Southland.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Ren Daobin, *Xinian*, pp. 75-76.

After experiencing the different life styles between the north and the south, in 1302, when Zhao Mengfu was an official supervising schools in Zhejiang, he sighed in a prose essay titled “An Account of the Free and Unfettered Study” 逍遙齋記:¹¹²

The mountains and rivers of this place are in my heart every minute. Ah, as long as one temporarily treads through this world, no matter how eminent or impoverished he is, all of that will disappear. So why trouble our bodies and spirit? Although now I am in old age, I still hope I am able to healthfully return to the mountains, to enjoy the pleasure of my family in the bucolic environment, and be entertained by playing the zither, reading scrolls, writing poems, and drinking wine. Let me write songs and thrust out my belly, idle and enjoy the remaining of the years — to grow older along with my intentions.

此山此水, 未嘗一息不在吾心目也。噫, 凡寓生大塊, 貴達窮處, 悉皆消滅, 亦奚苦勞形神為哉! 今年雖為衰, 庶幾鬪健歸休山中, 有老稚田園之樂, 琴書詩酒之娛, 且當賡歌鼓腹, 優游卒歲, 以老吾志。

The Southland, especially his hometown, is so beautiful, relaxed, and embedded with cultural tradition that it gradually became a symbol of retirement in Zhao Mengfu's poetry.

When compared with the bothersome and lonely life of officialdom in the north, the south became even more attractive. In a poem written after he returned to the capital in 1310, Zhao Mengfu expressed his feelings for the south once again:¹¹³

¹¹¹ Zhao, “Inscription on the Worthies of the Past, Mr. Zhang's ‘Paintings on the Ten Subjects’” 題先賢張公十詠圖, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 124; “Inscribed on Gao Yanjing's ‘Mountains at Night,’ in the Collection of Li Gonglue” 題李公略所藏高彥敬夜山圖, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 135; “Sending A Painting to Gao Renqing” 以畫寄高仁卿, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 214.

¹¹² Ren Daobin, *Xinian*, p. 104.

¹¹³ Zhao, “Expressing My Feelings” 述懷, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 114.

我性真且率, My nature is honest and candid;
 不知恆怒嗔. people who do not know me always get angry and offended.
 俯仰欲從俗, I want to conform to conventions, to be at someone's beck and
 call,
 夏畦同苦辛. enduring the hardship as a farmer.
 以此甘棄置, Because of this, I am willing to be cast aside,
 筑屋龜溪濱. and to build my house along the bank of the Gui River.¹¹⁴
 西與長松友, To the west, I am the friend of the tall pine trees;
 東將修竹鄰. to the east, I neighbor on the slender bamboos.
 桃李粗羅列, My peach and sweet plum trees are carelessly spread about;
 梅柳亦清新. the sour plums and willows are also refreshing.
 漸與朝市遠, Gradually, I take my heart away from public life;
 頗覺漁樵親. and feels kinship with the fishermen and woodcutters.
 自謂獨往意, My intention is to go there alone;
 白手無縑磷. while my hands are still white, without blisters or
 blackening.¹¹⁵
 安知承嘉惠, Who would have known that I would be favored by the Emperor,
 再踏京華塵. and again had to tread the dust of the capital.
 京華人所慕, The luxury of the capital is longed for by all;

¹¹⁴ Gui River is in present Xinchang 新昌 County, Zhejiang Province.

¹¹⁵ This is an allusion used to refer to one's integrity.

宜福不宜貧。 but it is not a place for the poor, but for the rich.

嚴鄭不可作, Now I am not able to be like Yan Guang and Zheng Pu;¹¹⁶

茲懷向誰陳。 to whom can I speak my mind?

Here the poet assents he is not suited for officialdom and instead longs for the reclusive life. Since the poet's life styles in the south and the north were so different, the contrast between holding office and retirement is transformed by the poet into a contrast between the south and the north.

Southland — Memory about the Southern Song Dynasty and the Dilemma of Serving in the Yuan Court

As discussed in the second chapter, lamenting for the Southland had become an enduring topic in literature, deeply embedded in the literary tradition ever since Yu Xin's "Rhapsody on Lamenting for the Southland" 哀江南賦. For the southerners of the Song-Yuan transitional period, the Southland was not only their homeland, but also a region connecting them to the memory of the fall of the Southern Song dynasty.

¹¹⁶ Yan Guang 嚴光 and Zheng Pu 鄭樸 are two famous recluses of the Han dynasty. Yan Guang was a companion of Emperor Guangwu, Liu Xiu 劉秀 (B.C. 6-A.D. 57) when they were young and pursuing study far away from home. When later Liu Xiu claimed the throne, Yan Guang changed his name and lived as a recluse. Liu Xiu sent someone to find him and offered him an official title, Grand Master of Remonstrance 諫議大夫. Yan Guang declined the offer and went to the Fuchun Mountains 富春山 (in present Tonglu County 桐廬 of Zhejiang) as a recluse. Zheng Pu lived a reclusive life at the entrance of the Yunyang 雲陽 Valley (in present Zuoyun 左雲 County, Shanxi). During the reign of Emperor Cheng (B.C. 51-B.C. 7), the Great General, Wang Feng 王鳳 cordially invited the service of Zheng Pu, but the latter declined.

In this part, I will examine Zhao Mengfu's poems on his nostalgic memories about the Southern Song dynasty and his poems reflecting his dilemma of being a member of the Song royal family and serving in the Yuan court. For the first category, the representative poem is "The Tomb of Yue Fei 岳飛, Prince of E" 岳鄂王墓:¹¹⁷

鄂王墳上草離離, On the Prince of E's tomb, the grass is growing lushly;
秋日荒涼石獸危. the stone beasts stand high in the desolate autumn day.
南渡君臣輕社稷, The sovereign and vassals who had crossed [the Yangtze
River] to the south disparaged the Altars of the Soil
and Grain,
中原父老望旌旗. while the elders of the Central Plain still gazed afar at the
flags [of the Southern Song].
英雄已死嗟何及, This hero is already dead; and we did not have enough time
to sigh [over him],
天下中分遂不支. so the Underheaven split, and could not be held stable.
莫向西湖歌此曲, Do not sing this song to the West Lake:
水光山色不勝悲. the light on the lake and the colors of the mountains could
not bear the sorrow.

The poet begins by depicting the desolate scene at Yue Fei's tomb. Then he pinpoints and compares the different attitudes of the emperors and their vassals, and the common

¹¹⁷ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 167.

people toward the court's flight to the south and the establishment of the Southern Song. In the third couplet, the poet describes the swiftness of the collapse of the Southern Song. The second and the third couplets also give the reason for its collapse. In the last couplet, the poet implies the deep sadness of the people by saying that even the silent lakes and mountains of the West Lake could not bear the sorrow. Zhao Mengfu's nephew, Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (fl. 1360-1368), considered this poem the most well-known one among those contemporary poets who wrote on the same topic at that time.¹¹⁸

In a poem written about Suzhou 蘇州, Zhao Mengfu indirectly expressed his feelings for the Southern Song:¹¹⁹

子胥已死已無臣, There were no more vassals after the death of Wu Zixu;¹²⁰

中國由來漸屬秦. since then, the Middle Kingdom gradually fell to the Qin
(256-207 B.C.).

天下固知多美婦, In the Underheaven everyone certainly knows that Suzhou is
a place rich in beautiful women,

五湖元自有高人. originally there were also men of superior talents and lofty
character at the Five Lakes.

By sighing over the lack of real vassals after the death of Wu Zixu and the Middle Kingdom falling under the rule of the Qin, Zhao Mengfu was actually referring to the end

¹¹⁸ *Chuogeng lu* 輟耕錄, *Congshu jicheng* 叢書集成 edition, p. 60.

¹¹⁹ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 218.

¹²⁰ Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (?-484 B.C.) was the loyal minister of the Wu (Suzhou was the capital) and was forced to commit suicide by the King of Wu as the result of slander.

of the Southern Song. In this poem, Zhao Mengfu once again indirectly criticizes the irresponsibility of the vassals of the Southern Song, and uses the Qin to allude to the Yuan by connecting Wu Zixu to the Song loyalists. The Qin dynasty is not only famous for its unification of the Middle Kingdom, but also for the tyrannical rule of its emperor, the First Emperor of Qin (B.C. 259-B.C. 210).

Besides his nostalgic memories of the Southern Song, Zhao Mengfu expressed the pain he suffered from the condemnation of his being a member of the Song royal family but serving in the Yuan court. In addition to that, what Zhao Mengfu went through after he held office made him begin to loathe officialdom, and to long for retirement and spending the rest of life in his hometown. This contradiction in feelings was fully expressed in Zhao Mengfu's poems, among which "The Guilt of Serving in the Court" 罪出¹²¹ is often quoted by researchers:

在山為遠志, Growing in the mountains, it [a kind of medical herb] is called

"Great Ambition",

出山為小草. growing outside the mountains, it is called "Small Grass".

古語已云然, The old saying already made this clear,

見事苦不早. I suffer from not having foreseen it earlier.

平生獨往願, Throughout my life, I wished going alone,

丘壑寄懷抱. to consign my emotions to hillocks and valleys.

圖書時自娛, From time to time I entertained myself by reading scrolls;

¹²¹ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 89-90.

野性期自保。 I hoped that my untamed nature would protect me.
誰令墮塵網, Who made me fall into the web of the world's dust,
宛轉受纏繞。 and be twined and twirled circuitously?
昔為水上鷗, In the past I was a gull over the river,
今為籠中鳥。 now I am a bird in a cage.
哀鳴誰復顧, I wailed, who would take a second look at me?
毛羽日摧槁。 my feathers are ruined and wither day by day.
向非親友贈, Were it not for the gifts from my relatives and friends,
蔬食常不飽。 even coarse foods would be difficult to get to feed myself and
my family.
病妻抱弱子, My sick wife held our young son,
遠去萬里道。 as I set out on a ten-thousand-*li* road.
骨肉生別離, Separated from my own kindred in life,
丘隴誰為掃。 who will sweep the ancestral tombs for me?
愁深無一語, With deep sadness, I cannot speak a word,
目斷南雲杳。 my eyes cannot see the clouds of the Southland far away.
慟哭悲風來, I weep and the wind of sorrow comes,
如何訴穹昊。 how can I complain to Heaven?

In this poem, using the two different names for a Chinese medicinal herb (“遠志” and “小草”) according to their different locations, Zhao Mengfu describes the situation he

was facing after holding office in the Yuan. He fully expresses his regret for serving in the Yuan, and his sadness at being bridled by officialdom and being far away from his hometown.

Since serving or not serving had become a moral issue at the time, Zhao Mengfu defended himself by claiming that Tao Qian 陶潛 (365-427) was the only real recluse, therefore others had no right to judge other people's choices on this issue:¹²²

出處由來各有宜, To leave or to remain in office, there are appropriateness for
each of them;

他人何與強吟詩. why do others strive to recite poems about this?

千年只有陶彭澤, For a thousand years, only Tao Pengze [Pengze, the name of
the county that Tao Qian governed],

解印歸來更不疑. had no doubt [on his choice] even after relinquishing his
seal and returning to his home.

Even at the age of sixty-three, when Zhao Mengfu looked back on his life, he still could not be totally at peace:¹²³

齒豁頭童六十三, With loose teeth and bald head, I am sixty-three years old;

一生事事捻堪慚. still feeling ashamed for each thing I did in my life.

唯餘筆硯情猶在, Only [the products of] my brush and ink stone still remain to
express my feelings:

¹²² Zhao, "Liu Shiji's Hall of Returning Home" 劉時濟歸來堂, in *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 225.

¹²³ Zhao, "To Admonish Myself" 自警, in *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 225.

留與人間做咲談。 I leave them to the world to be laughed over and talked
about.

The Southland was not only Zhao Mengfu's homeland, but also a region related to the Southern Song Dynasty. That is why the sweet and prosperous Southland that Zhao Mengfu missed for most of his life also brought such painful experiences and memories to him, especially during Song-Yuan transitional period.

Between Reality and Non-reality:
Zhao Mengfu's Nostalgic Poems on the Southland

Born a southerner and being a member of the Song royal family who had experienced the dynastic changes, Zhao Mengfu wrote about his nostalgic memories of the south and the fallen Southern Song dynasty in his poems. Although, in this category, Zhao Mengfu did write poems according to what he saw and felt at the time, he mostly composed poems with sentiments along the boundary between reality and non-reality in various ways:

1. Remembrance.

As discussed above, when Zhao Mengfu was in the north, he would recall happy memories about the Jiangnan region, which were mostly related to the beautiful scenery, weather, his friends, and the cultural activities of the south. In a poem titled "Record on

An Old Travel Experience” 紀舊游,¹²⁴ the lonely poet recorded one of his travel experiences in reality:

二月江南鶯亂飛, In the second month in the Southland, orioles were flying
everywhere,

百花滿樹柳依依. hundreds of blossoms filled the trees, and willows were
growing attractively.

落紅無數迷歌扇, The countless falling petals were captivated by the singers’
fans,

嫩綠多情妒舞衣. and the fresh green envied the dancers’ skirts.

金鴨焚香川上暝, Incense burning in the golden-duck brazier, I closed my eyes
[in a boat] on the river,

畫船撾鼓月中歸. people beat drums in painted boats and returned home
under the moon.

如今寂寞東風裏, Now I am alone in the eastern wind,

把酒無言對夕暉. facing the setting sun, I drink wordlessly.

In this poem Zhao Mengfu recorded what had happened to him — the reality. But after the former reality was processed by his memory and then stimulated by the current reality, it acquired some characteristics of non-reality. Seen from the structure of this poem, the

¹²⁴ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 170.

poet recalls the spring scene of the Southland in the first three couplets and returns to his sad and lonely present reality in the last couplet.

2. Imagination.

In his poems written in the north, besides remembrance, one of Zhao Mengfu's special ways to depict Jiangnan was to imagine the scenes and events taking place in the Southland. The poet would picture in his mind the grass growing around the pond, even though he was three thousand *li* away from his hometown;¹²⁵ feeling especially lonely, he would imagine what it would be like in Jiangnan when it snowed in the autumn at Dadu.¹²⁶ Sometimes, Zhao Mengfu would combine remembrance and imagination together in one poem:¹²⁷

盡日車塵馬足間, The whole day I walk through the dust of carriages and

horses' hooves,

偶來臨水照愁顏. by chance I looked at my sad face in the river.

故鄉兄弟應相憶, My brothers at home must be thinking of me,

同看溪南柳外山. together we went to see the mountains south of the stream
and beyond the willows.

¹²⁵ Zhao, "Reply to Censor, Liu Duanfu for the Poem He Matched with My Previous One" 劉端父禦史見和前詩次韻答之, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 180.

¹²⁶ Zhao, "To Accompany Deng Shanzhi's Poem Titled 'Snow in the Ninth Month'" 和鄧善之九月雪, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 183-184.

¹²⁷ Zhao, "On Current Occasion When I First Arrived at the Capital" 初至都下即事, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 208.

As the title “On Current affairs when I first arrived at the Capital” 初至都下即事 suggests, the poem was written when Zhao Mengfu first arrived at Dadu. The third line in this poem is the product of his imagination, while the last line is remembrance; and these two lines were stimulated by the first couplet. The structure of this poem starts from reality and ends with non-reality.

3. Dream.

Zhao Mengfu also expresses his homesickness through returning to Jiangnan in dreams. He would go back to Hangzhou and the Tiao River in his dreams,¹²⁸ complaining that the road back home was too long while his dream was too short.¹²⁹ In the following poem, Zhao Mengfu wrote about his nostalgic feelings for Hangzhou:¹³⁰

畫舸西湖到處游, In a painted boat, I traveled everywhere on West Lake —

別來飛夢到杭州. after parting from her, in a dream I fly to Hangzhou.

百年底用憂千歲, For [a life span of] one hundred years, what is the use of

worrying about a thousand years?

一日相思似幾秋. my love for her makes a day like several years.

苦憶東南多勝事, I earnestly recall that in the southeast there are many

wonderful events,

空吟西北有高樓. and recite in vain the poem “There Are High Towers in

the Northwest”.

¹²⁸ Zhao, “To Rhyme with the Poems from Duanfu and Xianyu Boji” 次韻端父和鮮于伯幾所寄詩, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 180; “Continuing Zheng Pengnan’s Poem ‘Expressing My Feelings’” 繼鄭鵬南書懷, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p.182.

¹²⁹ Zhao, “Song on An Autumn Night” 秋夜曲, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 138.

¹³⁰ Zhao, “To Rhyme with the Poems from Duanfu and Xianyu Boji,” *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 180.

只今賴有劉公幹, Now, thanks to Liu Duanfu,¹³¹

時寫新詩寄客愁。 from time to time, I write new poems to express the
sadness of a stranger.

The first couplet is a brief description of a dream Zhao Mengfu had. Although he does not elaborate on the dream in the remainder of the poem, the tone in his first couplet and the words he used (“travel everywhere” 到處游 and “in a dream I fly to Hangzhou” 飛夢到杭州) indicate how he missed Hangzhou and how happy he was when he was able to return there in his dream. This poem starts from non-reality and then quickly goes to reality to describe his “sadness of a stranger.”

Zhao Mengfu’s nostalgic feelings were so deep and his desire to return to his hometown area was so earnest that he would feel as if he were in dream when he met an old friend from the south or when he was finally able to go back to the south in reality.¹³²

For example, when Zhao Mengfu had the opportunity to return to his hometown for the

¹³¹ Gonggan 公幹 is the public name for Liu Zhen 劉楨 (?-217), one of the seven leading writers during the Jian’an reign period (196-220) at the end of the Han dynasty. Here his name is used to refer to Liu Duanfu.

¹³² Zhao, “To Rhyme with Wang Shiguan” 次韻王時觀, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 169; “In the Gengchen Year of the Zhiyuan Reign Period, Composing A Poem to Express My Feelings to Scholarly Worthy Yao Who Was Appointed the Prefect of Ji’nan and Has Temporarily Returned to Wuxing” 至元庚辰繇集賢出知濟南楚還吳興賦詩抒懷, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 179, according to the Yuan edition of *Songxuezhai wenji*, this poem was written in the Gengchen year (1280). Ren Daobin’s *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, assigns this poem to 1292, because the year in the title as cited by him is “Renchen year of the Zhiyuan reign period.” He does not provide information on which edition he uses. Besides the Yuan edition, another extant edition for Zhao Mengfu’s collected works is the Dongting Yang’s edition 洞庭楊氏刊本 (cited in Sun Kekuan 孫克寬, *Yuandai hanwenhua zhi huodong* 元代漢文化之活動, pp. 469-470). I have not seen it yet. I accept Renchen year (1292) as correct, because Zhao Mengfu had not gone to Dadu until 1287 (he was recruited in the eleventh month of 1286; and according to *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, he arrived at Dadu in the spring of 1287). The poet also indicates he had already been in the capital for five years when he wrote this poem (“五年京國誤蒙恩”). From the year Zhao Mengfu arrived at Dadu 1287 to the Renchen year of the Zhiyuan reign period 1292, it happens to be five years.

first time after holding office in the north, he was afraid that it was not true and felt as if he were still in a dream: "It has been five years since I mistakenly received favors [from the Emperor] in the capital; suddenly I arrived in the Southland, accompanying my soul as if I were in dream" 五年京国误蒙恩, 乍到江南侶夢魂.¹³³ Here the poet "blurs the distinction between dream and reality," just like Zhuangzi "who does not know whether it is he who dreams that he is a butterfly or the other way around" in his famous dream in the "Qiwu lun" 齊物論 chapter of *Zhuangzi*.¹³⁴

Remembrance, imagination, and dream are three ways frequently used, either separately or together, by Zhao Mengfu to express his nostalgic feelings about the Southland. All three of them unexceptionally are based on Zhao Mengfu's knowledge about Jiangnan, but as discussed above, they go beyond reality in varying degree. The structures of these poems also easily go through the boundaries between reality and non-reality: either the current loneliness stimulated the poet's homesickness, or the happy memory and the sweet dreams enhanced the poet's loneliness. Stephen Owen interprets the process of poetry writing as: "Writing is the translation of memory into art, a 'figuring forth' of memory in determinate form. There is some pain in all memory, either because the remembered event was itself painful or because there is pain in the loss of something sweet."¹³⁵ For Zhao Mengfu, the pain in his memory was from "the loss of something sweet."

¹³³ Zhao, "In the Gengchen [Renchen] Year of the Zhiyuan Reign Period (1292), Composing A Poem to Express My Feelings to Scholarly Worthy Yao Who Was Appointed the Prefect of Ji'nan and Has Temporarily Returned to Wuxing", *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 179.

¹³⁴ Lin Shuen-fu, "Chia Pao-yu's First Visit to the Land of Illusion: An Analysis of a Literary Dream in Interdisciplinary Perspective," *CLEAR* 14 (Dec. 1992): 81.

¹³⁵ Stephen Owen, *Remembrances: The Experience of the Past in Classical Chinese Literature*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986, p. 114.

Stephen Owen further asserts that “memory is the supreme model of a poetic art that ‘makes’ the world of the poem,” and “dream is the second great model,” because memory has the power of constructing “the past according to the private motives of the rememberer” and the “freedom from the intrusive claims of the empirical present, which we inhabit.”¹³⁶ As we can find effortlessly, many pre-modern Chinese literary men used dreams to express their unfathomable pain.¹³⁷ In Zhao Mengfu’s nostalgic poems, by means of remembrance, imagination, and dream, he constructed a world comprised of a mix of reality and non-reality, and through it tells of his deep desire for returning home — the Southland again and again.

A Stranger and an Outsider in the North:
The Image of *ke* 客 in Zhao Mengfu’s Nostalgic Poems on the Southland

In his nostalgic poems on the Southland, Zhao Mengfu emphasized the differences between the two regions (customs, languages, and environment) and identified himself as a stranger in the north. While this self-identification remained unchanged even after he lived in the north for a long period, the stranger, Zhao Mengfu, always remained an outsider in the north.

¹³⁶ Owen, *Remembrances*, p. 129.

¹³⁷ See Liu Chuanwu 劉傳武, “Shangshi huai ren ai yu chi qing: lun Xiaoshan ci de meng” 傷事懷人哀語癡情: 論《小山詞》的夢, *Fuzhou shizhuan xuebao* 撫州師專學報, 49:6 (June. 1996): 13-18; Wang Li 王立, “Luelun meng yu zhongguo gudai wenxue” 略論夢與中國古代文學, *Shiyan daxue xuebao* 十堰大學學報, No. 4 (1997): 12-18; Du Songbai 杜松柏, “Jianlun Jiaxuan mengci de yishutezheng” 簡論稼軒夢詞的藝術特徵, *Mengzi shifan gaodeng zhuanke xuexiao xuebao* 蒙自師範高等專科學校學報, 1:5 (Oct. 1999): 51-54; Zou Yu 鄒煜, “Shilun Su Shi de xiemengci” 試論蘇軾的寫夢詞, *Zigong shizhuan xuebao* 自貢師專學報, 46:4 (1998): 52-56.

The images of both the stranger and the outsider are constructed through the image of the *ke* 客 which appears again and again in Zhao Mengfu's poems.

The word *ke* usually does not appear by itself but with some modifiers attached to it, which greatly strengthens the image of "stranger": (1) "the stranger from afar" 遠客: "I, the stranger from afar, having stayed here for a long period, am worrying about my sick body" 遠客淹留愁病身;¹³⁸ (2) "the isolated stranger" 孤客: "I, the isolated stranger, cannot fall asleep; while ever more cicadas shrill harshly" 孤客睡不着, 亂蟬鳴更多;¹³⁹ (3) "the sad stranger" 愁客: "The dreary fading sunlight is glimmering right in my chamber; the chilly leaves and scattered clouds bestir the sadness of this stranger" 蕭蕭殘照晚當樓, 寒葉疏雲亂客愁;¹⁴⁰ (4) "the weary stranger" 倦客: "When will the weary wandering stranger leave? I attempted to return home several times, but the Emperor has not approved of it" 倦遊客子何時去, 屢欲言歸天未許.¹⁴¹ Together, these images present a vivid picture of a sad and weary, isolated stranger who is from far from home.

Using the image of *ke*, Zhao Mengfu intentionally emphasized the psychological distance between the north and himself. In a poem titled "To Zhou Jingyuan and Tian Shimeng" 贈周景遠田師孟, he said: "Being strangers together with you in the capital, it seems as if three years have passed when I do not see you for even a single day" 與子同

¹³⁸ Zhao, "To Accompany Deng Shanzhi's poem titled 'Snow in the Ninth Month'" 和鄧善之九月雪, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 183-184.

¹³⁹ Zhao, "A Lonely Night" 獨夜, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 198.

¹⁴⁰ Zhao, "To Rhyme with Xinzong's poem titled 'Aspiration at Night'" 次韻信仲晚興, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 168.

¹⁴¹ Zhao, "To Rhyme with Right Minister, Ye's poem titled 'Record of A Dream'" 次韻葉公右臣紀夢, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 142.

客帝王州，一日不見如三秋。¹⁴² By asserting “we” are the strangers in the capital, he pulled the two southerners emotionally closer to him, and also drew a line between all three of them and the capital. He became the unrepentant outsider.

Other images appearing in Zhao Mengfu’s poems also strengthen the image of *ke*: “former or old” *gu* 故 is used to refer to “the former mother country” 故國, because the south is the region that brings up their memories of the collapsed Southern Song; *gu* is also used to refer to his hometown “the old garden” 故園 or “the old village” 故鄉. By repeatedly drawing the reader’s attention to a region or a place other than the place he lived at the time he wrote the poems, the present place became foreign and the poet appeared as a stranger in the present place.

“Gaze southward” 南望 is an allusion used by Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210) in his poem describing the Han northerners’ expectation of, and desperation for, reunification under the Southern Song.¹⁴³ Zhao Mengfu used it to describe his eagerness to return home. He would gaze southward toward the southern clouds, missing his hometown — the Southland: “Gazing southward makes my hair turn white” 南望令人生白頭;¹⁴⁴ “my eyes are limited, the clouds of the Southland are far away” 目斷南雲杳.¹⁴⁵ He could be excited to the point of crying when he heard his “southern dialect” 南音 spoken in the

¹⁴² Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 173.

¹⁴³ Lu You, “Feelings on An Autumn Night When Day Is about to Break, I Walk out of the Hedge Gate to Enjoy the Cool Air” 秋夜將曉出籬門迎涼有感, *Jiannan shigao* 劍南詩稿, *SKQS* edition, 25:2a.

¹⁴⁴ Zhao, “To Send off Li Yuanrang to the Branch Censorate as Censor of Attendants of Reading” 送李元讓赴行臺治書侍御史, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 174.

¹⁴⁵ Zhao, “The Guilt of Serving in the Court” 罪出, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 89.

north: "Having such an intimate friend as you holding office as the prime minister, I shall not weep for my southern dialect any more" 知己如公居鼎鼐, 不應長此泣南音.¹⁴⁶

Through these images, Zhao Mengfu revealed his nostalgia for the south and estrangement from the north. When he was in the north, the south was a faraway presence, and therefore could be seen as absence; while life in the north "reflects only the sorrowful image of his own strangeness and foreignness."¹⁴⁷ Although he stayed in the north for about one fourth of his life, the north always failed to give him the feeling of home.

No poem can better illustrate Zhao Mengfu's feelings as a stranger than the poem "Sending Gao Renqing Back to Huzhou" 送高仁卿還湖州, discussed above.¹⁴⁸ In this long poem written to a southern friend who was about to return Huzhou, Zhao Mengfu's hometown, the poet fully depicted an image of a "stranger from a distant place" 宦游遠客¹⁴⁹ by highlighting the physical differences between the south and the north, by telling his friend how he was not accustomed to the social environment and disappointed at the political circumstances of the north, and by describing the happiness of meeting his southern friend who was also from Huzhou.

In the way of expressing his feelings through the image of the *ke*, Zhao Mengfu kept his distance from the north and clearly identified himself as the stranger from the south. According to Stamelman's identification, a stranger is "a being who lives in deprivation, who has either refused or been refused the conventional realities of social

¹⁴⁶ Zhao, "To Rhyme with the Vice Minister" 次韻左轄相公, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 175.

¹⁴⁷ Richard Stamelman, "The Strangeness of the Other and the Otherness of the Stranger: Edmond Jabes," *Yale French Studies*, 82:1 (1993): 128.

¹⁴⁸ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 131-132.

¹⁴⁹ See footnote 145.

order: home, family, community, society itself. The stranger, a creature of loss, lives in a continual state of exteriority and absence.”¹⁵⁰ Zhao Mengfu refused the present reality of the north and depicted the north as the vehicle of “strangeness, estrangement, foreignness, alienation, and the uncanny”.¹⁵¹ He lived in the absent south by repeatedly describing his nostalgia for the south and his sense of strangeness in the north.

Since Zhao Mengfu identified himself as a stranger and an outsider in the north, he earnestly desired retirement: “When shall I beg to take my body back to my hometown — to spend my remaining years amidst stacks of scrolls” 何當乞身歸故里, 圖書堆裏消殘年.¹⁵² That is the stranger and the outsider in the north, Zhao Mengfu, who “flees without fleeing. He is there and not there. Present and absent. Near and far.”¹⁵³

The Images of the North in Zhao Mengfu's Poetry

As discussed above, in his poetry Zhao Mengfu portrayed images of the south and depicted himself as a stranger in the north. Contrasting with the south, the north inevitably appeared as a foil for the southern image, and therefore should not be ignored.

One of the common topics is the physical differences between the south and the north. Among them, the cold weather related to the snow and wind in the north made the deepest impression on Zhao Mengfu and was mentioned many times by him, as in the following poem quoted earlier:

¹⁵⁰ Stamelman, “Strangeness,” 119.

¹⁵¹ Stamelman, “Strangeness,” 127.

¹⁵² See note 12.

¹⁵³ See *Un Etranger*, line 22, in Stamelman, “Strangeness,” 130.

江南冬暖花亂發, The winter in the Southland is warm and blossoms open

vigorously,

朔方苦寒氣又偏. while the northern region is bitter cold and the weather is

inconstant.

木皮三寸冰六尺, Here the bark is three *cun* thick and the ice is six *chi*;

面頰欲裂凍折弦. my cheeks are about to split and strings of my zither are

frozen to the breaking point.

盧溝強弩射不過, The Lugou River cannot be shot across by a powerful

crossbow,

騎馬徑度不用船. but when frozen over can be directly crossed on horseback,

no need for a ship.¹⁵⁴

The poet compares the contrasting images in the same season between the south and the north in the first couplet. Then in the following two couplets he uses vivid images to further illustrate the strong impression given to a southerner when he first came to the north.

Because of the huge differences in the weather, and also not being used to the cold of the north, the southerners in Zhao Mengfu's poetry were not likely to have enough clothes to comfortably pass the autumn and winter: "The thin robe of the stranger is blown airily in the cool, strong northern wind" 飄飄客衣薄, 烈烈北風涼;¹⁵⁵ "The

¹⁵⁴ Zhao, "Sending Gao Renqing off to Huzhou" 送高仁卿還湖州, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 131-132.

¹⁵⁵ Zhao, "To Rhyme with Han Dingsou's Poem Titled 'Parting'" 次韻韓定叟留別, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 110.

snow often flies before the tenth month in the Yan area; with my worn out fur robe and hat, I have spent [the winter here] year after year” 燕雪常飛十月前，弊裘破帽過年年。¹⁵⁶

Probably because autumn and winter are the most distinctly different seasons between the south and the north, the scenery in the north depicted in Zhao Mengfu's poetry is usually that of those seasons. Zhao Mengfu described desolate scenes in the north and sometimes made intentional or unintentional comparisons with the bright and beautiful scenes in the south.

Images of the north in the autumn or winter are usually brought out through the following motifs: (1) specific northern autumn and winter scenes: “The mountains and rivers look desolate, and the autumn clouds are pure; grass and trees are withering, I am sad in sunset rain” 山川蕭瑟秋雲淨，草木凋傷暮雨悲；¹⁵⁷ “The wilds are open and the sky is high, and the leaves of the trees are sparse” 野曠天高木葉疏；¹⁵⁸ (2) the “sound of horns” 角聲: “Horns blowing in the autumn wind; this sound of the frontier reaches into the sunset clouds” 吹角秋風裏，邊聲入暮雲；¹⁵⁹ “In my sadness, I am not able to blow the painted horn” 愁中畫角不勝吹；¹⁶⁰ “The desolate and sorrowful sounds of the drums and horns come through the northern wind 淒涼鼓角北風傳；¹⁶¹ (3) “wild geese” 雁:

¹⁵⁶ Zhao, “To Accompany Huang Jingdu's Poem Titled ‘Current Occasion in the Snow’” 和黃景杜雪中即事, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 219-220.

¹⁵⁷ Zhao, “To Accompany Yao Zijing's Poem Titled ‘Five Poems on Feelings in the Autumn’ (the second poem)” 和姚子敬秋懷五首(其二), *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 165.

¹⁵⁸ Zhao, “To Accompany Yao Zijing's Poem Titled ‘Five Poems on Feelings in the Autumn’ (the fifth poem)” 和姚子敬秋懷五首(其五), *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 166.

¹⁵⁹ Zhao, “Hearing the Sound of Horns” 聞角, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 150.

¹⁶⁰ See footnote 5.

¹⁶¹ Zhao, “To Rhyme with Gangfu's Four Line Verse Titled ‘On Current Occasion’ (the second poem)” 次韻剛父即事絕句 (其二), *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 210.

“Above the violent wind, in the solemn air, the wild geese are singing urgently” 風高氣肅雁聲急;¹⁶² “Along with the desolate mountains and rivers, the shadows of the trees become thin; from time to time, the clouds of the Long frontier follow the southward flying wild geese” 搖落山川樹影稀, 隴雲時逐雁南飛;¹⁶³ (4) horses or living on horseback: “Sitting in the saddle, you go northward in the snow of Yan Mountain; using a walking stick, you travel southward to the springtime of your hometown” 據鞍北走燕山雪, 策杖南遊故國春;¹⁶⁴ “The alfalfa grows high in the autumn and the garrison horses are robust” 苜蓿秋高戎馬健;¹⁶⁵ “Looking back upon [the days] spent in the saddle and in the wind blown sand, I do not believe this place is part of the mortal world” 回首風沙鞍馬裏, 不知此地是塵凡.¹⁶⁶

In addition to poems about the harsh autumn and winter scenery of the north, Zhao Mengfu also wrote some poems about the enjoyable scenery of the spring or summer in the north, but he never forgot to mention his nostalgia for his homeland at the end of the poems. On a day at the beginning of the Spring, Zhao Mengfu wrote:¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Zhao, “To Zhou Jingyuan and Tian Shimeng” 贈周景遠田師孟, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 173-174.

¹⁶³ Zhao, “To Rhyme with Gangfu’s Four Line Verse Titled ‘On Current Occasion’ (the third poem)” 次韻剛父即事絕句 (其三), *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 210.

¹⁶⁴ Zhao, “Exchanging Poems with Luo Boshou” 酬羅伯壽, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 212.

¹⁶⁵ Zhao, “To Accompany Yao Zijing’s Poem Titled ‘Five Poems on Feelings in the Autumn’ (the third poem)” 和姚子敬秋懷五首 (其三), *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 165.

¹⁶⁶ Zhao, “Passing by the Fishing Terrace of Yan Ling” 過嚴陵釣台, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 216.

¹⁶⁷ Zhao, “The Beginning of the Spring and the Seventh Day of the First Month” 人日立春, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 187.

今日人日與春并, Today is both the Seventh Day of the First Month and the
Beginning of the Spring;

人得春來喜氣迎. with the arrival of the spring, people happily celebrate.

宮柳風微金縷重, In the gentle wind, the branches of the palace willows are
becoming heavy;

御溝水泮玉鱗生. near the Imperial ditch in the semi-circle pond the jade
fish scales grow.

陰消已覺餘寒散, The strength of *yin* is weakening and I already feel the
remaining coldness dispersing,

陽長爭看曉日明. while that of the *yang* is growing; people compete to see
the daybreak.

霜髻綵幡渾不稱, My hoary hair on the temples and the colorful hair decoration
[made for the Beginning of the Spring] are
incompatible;

強題新句慰羈情. I reluctantly write new lines to soothe the feelings of a
stranger.

Although in the beginning three couplets, people are getting excited about this special day, and it seems that Zhao Mengfu himself also happily noticed the new changes in nature, the last couplet noticeably changes the poet's mood from lightness into heaviness.

In another poem, Zhao Mengfu once again dealt with the poetic structure in a similar way:¹⁶⁸

暑氣曉來清, The heat of summer is cleared away in the morning,
時時聞遠鷺. from time to time I hear the singing of an oriole afar.
還思故園路, Then I turn my thoughts to the road in my old garden
(hometown) —
松下綠苔生. Where the green moss grows at the foot of the pines.

The northern summer morning described in the first couplet is lovely and enjoyable, but the next couplet again draws our attention to the same season's scene in Zhao Mengfu's hometown. This poem shows that no matter how beautiful the north was it just could not make Zhao Mengfu forget about the Southland, even for one minute. What he cared about was always his hometown and the scenes there.

People were also involved in the construction of the images of the north. To the southerners whom he was sending off, he would say: "In the sunset clouds you go off into my dream about the land east of the Yangtze River; in the autumn rain please do not forget our friendship in the land to the north of Ji" 暮雲去做江東夢, 秋雨無忘薊北情.¹⁶⁹ And when he returned to the Southland, he wrote to his southern friend, who was

¹⁶⁸ Zhao, "Hearing the Singing of Oriole When I Get up in the Morning" 曉起聞鷺, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 207.

¹⁶⁹ Zhao, "Sending off the Route Commander of Xin Prefecture, Meng Junfu" 送孟君復信州揔管, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 176.

still in the north: “Wanting to be a farmer, I retired; gazing northward, I conceal my thoughts of you 為農投老去, 北望隱思君.”¹⁷⁰

For his northern friends, Zhao Mengfu made note of their different physical appearances and unusual dispositions, and praised their talents in literature and art: “[He has] a dignified nine *chi* tall body and a natural manner, and is a hero among ten thousand people. He is able to patch his ceremonial dress and pull the seams tightly; he is [also] skilled in calligraphy and painting” 堂堂九尺幹, 落落萬夫雄。補袞彌縫密, 能書點畫工。¹⁷¹ The poem titled “An Elegy for Xianyu Boji” 哀鮮于伯機 discussed in the third chapter is an especially good example of this.

Zhao Mengfu showed sympathy to those who had experiences similar to his own. In an elegy for a northern official, he wrote: “Although bedridden and lingering in the south for a long time, to our surprise, he was able to return to the north when he was dismissed from office by the Emperor 臥疾留南久, 招棄竟北還.”¹⁷²

These images of the north are largely fixed in Zhao Mengfu’s poetry, but there are some interesting exceptions: one poem was written after he returned to the south, when tired of the rainy days of the south, to the reader’s surprise, the poet began to miss the weather in the north: “Now I remember the second and third months in the capital, [girls] are swinging as the warm spring breeze wafts the fragrant dust into the air” 卻憶

¹⁷⁰ Zhao, “To Accompany the Two Poems Sent by Zhou Jingyuan (the second poem)” 和周景遠見寄二首 (其二), *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 155.

¹⁷¹ Zhao, “Sending off the Chief Councilor of Shaanxi, Mr. Jiagu” 送夾谷公分省陝西, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 162.

¹⁷² Zhao, “Elegy for the Transport Commissioner, Mr. Li” 故兩浙運使李公挽詩, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 160.

京城二三月，秋千風暖漲香塵。¹⁷³ The other is a poem written to Xianyu Shu when Zhao Mengfu recalled the time they met in the south, where Zhao unexpectedly identified himself as a person who also came from the north, thus distinctly drawing the northerner, Xianyu Shu, and himself closer: “I also came from the north and we happily met each other [here]” 我來自北欣相逢。¹⁷⁴ In a poem titled “Leading a Leisure Life in Deqing” 德清閒居 written after he returned to the south, Zhao Mengfu described his current mood: “I have no more new dreams of the beautiful capital; I have only the lofty thought of modeling on the life of a recluse” 已無新夢到清都，空有高情學隱居。¹⁷⁵ Although this statement is used to express Zhao Mengfu’s preference for the relaxed life of the south, it conveys an important message as well that he also dreamed about the north after he returned to the south. This indicates that the north was not a place irrelevant to him; in other words, he was not totally unattached to the north.

In sum, although the images of the north are largely fixed as a dreary and unattractive region in Zhao Mengfu’s poetry, his long residence in the north still left some delightful and unforgettable memories in him. Deep inside, Zhao Mengfu had subtle feelings for the north which easily slip by our eyes, as if they were nonexistent.

¹⁷³ Zhao, “Hangzhou in the Rain” 杭州雨中, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 214.

¹⁷⁴ Zhao, “Thanks to Xianyu Boji [Shu] for Giving Me the Zhenyu *qin* Said to be Made of the Paulownia Planted by Xu Jingyang Himself” 謝鮮于伯幾惠震餘琴云是許旌陽手植桐所斲, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 133.

¹⁷⁵ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 182.

A Different Poetic Effect:
Zhao Mengfu's Poems Written in Jiangnan

The three time periods when Zhao Mengfu lived in the Southland were: the period before he went to serve in the Yuan court (1254-1286), the years when he took leave to return to his hometown (1296-1299) and the period he held office supervising schools in Zhejiang (1299-1309), and the period when he returned to Huzhou after his wife's death (1319-1322). During these periods, Zhao Mengfu wrote various poems. In my discussion I will use only the poems that can be clearly identified as having been written in the south. I will analyze the features these poems share and discuss the differences between the images of Jiangnan in those poems Zhao Mengfu wrote in the south and those he wrote while in the north.

The topics of the poems Zhao Mengfu wrote in the south can be divided into three categories: poems on the southern scenery in general or specific scenic spots; poems on paintings and calligraphy, parting, and rhyming with other poets' poems; poems on expressing his feelings. Analysis of these topics reveals how the poetic effects and his ways of expression changed according to the poet's different locations and associated feelings.

In the poems Zhao Mengfu wrote about the south when he was in the north, the scenery or specific scenic spots of the south were mainly used as vehicles to express his feelings about the south. When he was in the south, Zhao Mengfu wrote poems expressly focusing on the scenery and specific scenic spots in the south without covers allusions to a distant place. For example, he wrote "Inscribing a Four-line Verse on the Tiao River"

題苔溪絕句 which has been discussed above,¹⁷⁶ “Fuyu Mountain” 浮玉山,¹⁷⁷ and

“Twenty-eight Songs Inscribed on the Tianguan Mountain” 天冠山題詠二十八首.¹⁷⁸

These titles already give us clues about the content of the poems.

In the second category, Zhao Mengfu wrote poems to send off his friends, just as he did in the north, the destinations of his friends accordingly changed from the Southland to the north, more specifically the capital Dadu. For example, “Sending off Dong Taizheng to Attend the Emperor’s Summon” 送董泰政赴召, “On a Spring Day, Sending the Provincial Surveillance Commissioner to the Capital” 春日送廉訪監司赴都, and “Sending the Vice Commander, Liu Andao to Return to the Capital, and also A Message To the Academician, Li Shihong” 送劉安道指揮副使還都兼寄李士弘學士.¹⁷⁹

For the poems rhyming with his friends’ poems, if the friend was in the south, Zhao Mengfu would express his happiness at being able to meet after years of separation, as in the poem “To Rhyme with the Poem Received as A Gift from Zhou Gongjin” 次韻周公謹見贈 discussed above;¹⁸⁰ and if the friend was in the north, Zhao Mengfu would express his feelings about the person, such as saying “Retiring due to old age, I become a farmer; gazing northward, I am missing you, but keep it to myself” 為農投老去, 北望隱

¹⁷⁶ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 226.

¹⁷⁷ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 209.

¹⁷⁸ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 200-204. Tianguan Mountain is a famous Taoist scenic spot and is in present Guixi 貴溪 County, Jiangxi Province.

¹⁷⁹ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 160, p. 180, and p. 181 respectively.

¹⁸⁰ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 109.

思君。¹⁸¹ “Gazing southward” 南望, the phrase he used frequently when he was in the north, here noticeably changed into “gazing northward” 北望.

The poems Zhao Mengfu inscribed on another person's painting or calligraphy, usually indicated the cultural activities they were involved in at the time. For example, “Inscribed on Shunju's ‘The Recluses in the Mountains and Woods’” 題舜舉小隱圖 and “Inscribed on Qian Shunju's Painting ‘Colored Pear Blossoms’” 題錢舜舉著色梨花。¹⁸²

In the last category, Zhao Mengfu mainly expressed his personal feelings. Due to the lack of the source materials, the changes in each of Zhao Mengfu's life stages cannot be clearly defined. Generally speaking, his feelings expressed in poems written in the south are mostly related to his desire for retirement, as discussed in the previous section. As pointed out, Zhao Mengfu used dreams as one of the ways to express his images of Jiangnan in his poems written in the north. In a poem written in the south, Zhao Mengfu repeated a similar expression to show that he had already stopped thinking about the official life in the north, thus strengthening his thoughts about retirement: “I have no more new dreams about the beautiful capital; all that remains is only a lofty desire to model on the life of a recluse” 已無新夢到清都, 空有高情學隱居。¹⁸³

Zhao Mengfu's poems about Jiangnan written in the south usually expressed feelings of calm and peace; but the images of Jiangnan in them are mostly not as touching and impressive as in the poems written in the north. Among the few exceptions are the

¹⁸¹ “To Accompany the Two Poems Sent by Zhou Jingyuan (second poem)” 和周景遠見寄二首 (其二), *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 155.

¹⁸² Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 84, 127. Shunju 舜舉 is the public name of Qian Xuan 錢選 (1239-1301), a prominent painter and one of the members of the Eight Talents of Wuxing 吳興八俊.

¹⁸³ “Leading a Leisure Life in Deqing” 德清閑居. *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 182.

two well-known poems he wrote to express his feelings about the demise of the Southern Song Dynasty, “The Tomb of Yue Fei 岳飛, Prince of E” 岳鄂王墓, which is discussed above, and “Thinking of the Past in Qiantang” 錢塘懷古. In the latter poem, he wrote:¹⁸⁴

東南都會帝王州, Qiantang is a metropolis of the southeast, and a domain of
the emperors;

三月煙花非舊遊. my travels in the third month amid the mist and flowers is
not the same as in old times.

故國金人泣辭漢, The golden statue left sobbingly from the Han;

當年玉馬去朝周. In a bygone year that worthy Jade Horse left to join the
court of the King of the Zhou Dynasty.¹⁸⁵

湖山靡靡今猶在, The wonderful lakes and mountains even now are still there;

江水悠悠只自流. and the river flows leisurely and silently.

千古興亡盡如此, The rise and fall [of human institutions] through the ages are
all like this;

春風麥秀使人愁. the wheat budding in the spring wind makes me even
sadder.

¹⁸⁴ *Songxuezhai wenji*, p. 169.

¹⁸⁵ Two allusions are used in this couplet. The golden statue refers to the statue of an immortal made during the reign Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty (r. B.C. 140-B.C. 87); its palms hold a dew connecting platter. In the preface to the Tang Poet Li He's 李賀 (790-816) poem titled “A Song of the Gold and Bronze Immortal Bidding Farewell to the Han Dynasty” 金銅仙人辭漢歌, it says that this gold statue began to cry when it was dissembled and carried off by the palace officials of Emperor Ming of the Wei (r. 227-239). In the second line of this couplet, the jade horse is used to refer to a virtuous officer of the Shang Dynasty, Wei Qi 微啓, who defected to the Zhou Dynasty because the King of the Shang would not heed his admonitions. Thus 玉馬朝周 refers to worthies who left their own decadent states to serve good emperors of other states.

Using a comparison between changing human circumstances and the unchanging scenes of nature, commonly seen in poetic writing, Zhao Mengfu expressed his lament for the south, and for the Southern Song Dynasty.

The reason for the different poetic effects between the poems about Jiangnan written in the south and those in the north might be that when Zhao Mengfu was already in the south — at home — his feelings were different from when he was in the north, consequently his motivation for poetic writing changed. That is to say, the poet's location and the feelings associated with it gave rise to different poetic effects.

Missing My Native Place 鄉關之思:
A Comparison between the Nostalgia for the Southland
in Yu Xin's and Zhao Mengfu's Poetry

Yu Xin 庾信 is the one figure that cannot be ignored in the study of nostalgia for the Southland in literary works. The statement "Xin always missed his hometown, therefore he wrote 'The Lament for the South' to express his feelings" 常作鄉關之思, 乃作哀江南賦以致其意,¹⁸⁶ from Yu Xin's biography in *The History of the [Northern] Zhou Dynasty* 周書 is quoted frequently. Yu Xin's deep feelings for the Southland, and his way of expressing nostalgia, made him and his nostalgia into common allusions — "Yu Xin's Regret" *Yu Xin hen* 庾信恨 and "Yu Xin's Sadness" *Yu Xin chou* 庾信愁 are allusions for nostalgia in later generations' literary works.

¹⁸⁶ Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 (583-666), *Zhou shu* 周書, SBBY edition, Juan 41, 4a.

Yu Xin was born in a prominent family of Jiangling 江陵 (in present Hubei Province) during the Liang dynasty (502-557). He and his father Yu Jianwu 庾肩吾 (487?-553?), were both officials under the Liang and well-known writers of court-style verse. He spent about twelve years in the capital, Jiankang 建康 (present Nanjing),¹⁸⁷ but in 554, due to the state emergency, he was sent as a Grand Counselor to the Western Wei court to prevent an invasion and was detained in its capital, Chang'an (the site of present Xi'an). He was given high ranking titles by the Western Wei, and, after its fall, also by its successor state, the Northern Zhou. From 554 until his death, Yu Xin lived in the north. His life therefore may be divided into two periods "southern" and "northern".¹⁸⁸

About seven hundred years later, Zhao Mengfu was born in Huzhou. As mentioned in the first chapter, at the age of thirty-three (1286), Zhao Mengfu left his hometown for the Yuan capital, Dadu, to hold an office in the new government. After that, he lived and traveled between the north and the south — about 17 years in the north and 22 years in the south,¹⁸⁹ and developed strong feelings for both regions.

Both Yu Xin and Zhao Mengfu had the experience of leaving their southern hometowns to live in the north and serve in an alien court there, and both of them expressed their feelings and depicted the images of Jiangnan in their literary works. In the following pages, I will examine and discuss the similarities and differences in their handling with similar topics and their ways of expressing nostalgia.

1. The Images of the *ke* in Yu Xin's and Zhao Mengfu's Poetry

¹⁸⁷ William T. Graham, *The Lament for the South: Yu Hsin's 'Ai Chiang-nan fu'*, pp. 15-20.

¹⁸⁸ Donald Holzman, Review of *The Lament for the South: Yu Hsin's 'Ai Chiang-nan fu'*, *CLEAR* 4:2 (July. 1982): 255.

¹⁸⁹ Again, my calculations are based on Ren Daobin, *Xinian*.

In their poems, both Yu Xin and Zhao Mengfu depicted themselves as a *ke* “stranger” in the north. Like Zhao Mengfu, Yu Xin would exchange poems with southerners who were also residing in the north, or write poems to send to southerners back home. He also used word “the south” or “southern” *nan* 南 to refer to his home region or to the previous dynasty.¹⁹⁰ In a poem titled “A Song of Resentment” 怨歌行,¹⁹¹ Yu Xin wrote in the voice of a woman to express his homesickness:

家住金陵縣前, I lived in Jinling County,
嫁得長安少年. and married a young man from Chang'an.
回首望鄉淚落, Looking back and gazing upon my hometown, my tears drop;
不知何處天邊. I do not know where my home is at the edge of the sky.
胡塵幾日應盡, In how many days will the northern tribesmen's rule end,
漢月何時更圓. and when will the moon of the Han people again be round?
為君能歌此曲, When I am singing this song for you,
不覺心隨斷絃. my heart cannot help breaking along with the strings.

The actual protagonist of this poem is the poet himself, who left Jinling (an old name for Jiankang) and was living in Chang'an at the time he wrote the poem. The two questions in this poem, brought about by hopeless sadness, are the inner voice of the poet.

¹⁹⁰ See Yu Xin, “The Messenger, Mr. Xu, Arrived But I only Saw Him Once” 徐報使來止得一見, and “Sending off the Superior Over the Documents, Zhou Hongzheng” 送周尚書弘正, *Yu Zishan ji* 庾子山集, SBCK edition, p. 53; “Sent to Xu Ling” 寄徐陵, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 52, etc.

¹⁹¹ Yu, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 30.

Yu Xin and Zhao Mengfu had similar ways of expressing their nostalgia for the Southland, but due to their different circumstances, and their feelings for the south and their attitudes toward the north, the ways in which they dealt with their materials vary subtly.

The first difference between the images of the *ke* in Yu Xin's and Zhao Mengfu's poetry is that it was not Yu Xin's will to live and stay in the north, therefore he repeatedly emphasized his detention there by using the words "restriction" or "restraint" *ji* 羈, and "detained" *liu* 留 which seldom appear in Zhao Mengfu's poetry: "For a long time I traveled as a stranger; now restrained in movement, I recall many old memories" 客游經歲月, 羈旅故情多;¹⁹² "I gaze upon the leaf strewn scenes in the vast expanse; now restrained in movement, I face the desolate autumn" 蒼茫望落景, 羈旅對窮秋;¹⁹³ "feeling lonely, both of us are restrained in movement; being desolate, both of us live by the outer wall of the city" 寂寞共羈旅, 蕭條同負郭.¹⁹⁴ In his famous "Expressing My Thoughts" 擬詠懷, he used metaphor to describe his current situation: "Like a singing girl who was forcibly betrothed, I am a hostage who is still detained" 倡家遭強聘, 質子值仍留.¹⁹⁵

The second difference between the images of the *ke* used by Yu Xin and Zhao Mengfu is that in Yu Xin's poems, in addition to the similar sad and weary, isolated stranger as in Zhao Mengfu's poems, the stranger also appears as one who is startled,

¹⁹² Yu, "Three Verses To Accompany Dharma Master Kan" 和侃法師三絕, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 52.

¹⁹³ Yu, "An Autumn Day" 秋日, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 54.

¹⁹⁴ Yu, "To Accompany the Attendant at the Center Zhang's Poem Titled 'Expressing My Feelings'" 和張侍中述懷, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 39.

¹⁹⁵ Yu, "Expressing My Thoughts (third poem)" 擬詠懷 (其三) *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 36.

which is mainly constructed through the images of wild geese: “Startled, a wild goose falls from the sky; joining arms, two gibbons jump together” 驚心一雁落, 連臂兩猿騰;¹⁹⁶ “the scared gibbon sometimes falls from the tree; while the startled wild swan frequently goes astray” 駭猿時落木, 驚鴻屢斷行;¹⁹⁷ If the above couplets can be explained away as observations of the hunt as their titles indicated, those in “Expressing My Thoughts” are obviously used as metaphors to describe himself: “the stranded golden-carp always longs for the water; while the startled bird misses the forest every day” 涸鮒常思水, 驚飛每失林.¹⁹⁸ In another poem titled “Gazing at a Lonely Flying Wild Goose on An Autumn Night” 秋夜望單飛雁, Yu Xin again identified himself with a startled and lonely wild goose:¹⁹⁹

失群寒雁聲可憐, The calling of the stray goose separated from the flock is
pitiful;

夜來單飛在月邊. she flies at night, lonely by the side of the moon.

無奈人心復有憶, There is nothing we can do — people still have memories;

今暝將渠俱不眠. now it is getting dark, both of us will be sleepless.

¹⁹⁶ Yu, “The Newly Constructed Archery Hall of the Northern Garden” 北園射堂新成, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 41.

¹⁹⁷ Yu, “Accompanying the Emperor to Inspect the Training on Soldiers” 從駕觀講武, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 34.

¹⁹⁸ Yu, “Expressing My Thoughts (first poem)” 擬詠懷 (其一), *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 36.

¹⁹⁹ Yu, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 55.

The third difference is that Yu Xin was even less attached to the north than Zhao Mengfu. Like Zhao Mengfu, Yu Xin was able to connect everything with the south, no matter how pleasant the current scenery in the north was, he simply could not fully become involved with it, this further identifying himself as an outsider in the north. But subtle difference becomes apparent when we read their poems very attentively. For example, in Yu Xin's poem, "Passionately Chanting a Poem" 慨然成詠, written on a spring day:²⁰⁰

新春光景麗, The scenery of early spring is beautiful,

遊子別離情. but the feelings of separation from home as a traveler fill my
heart.

交讓未全死, The Jiaorang trees are not totally dead;²⁰¹

梧桐唯半生. and the parasol tree is only half alive.

值熱花無氣, When they encounter hot air, the blossoms have no zest;

逢風水不平. and when the wind comes, the water is not still.

寶鷄雖有祀, Although we have offered sacrifice to the precious cock,

何時更能鳴. when will it be able to crow again?²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Yu, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 48.

²⁰¹ In Liu Yuanlin's 劉淵林 (fl. late third cent.) commentaries on Zuo Si's 左思 (250-305) "The Capital of Shu", it is said that the Jiaorang trees grow in pairs and when one of them withers the other one will still be alive, which means the two trees will never both be withered, or alive, at the same time.

²⁰² The "precious cock" is a legendary cock, and one who has it can become a ruler.

Yu Xin simply mentioned the scenery of the north in the first couplet, and then in the second and third couplets he used the allusion to the Jiaorang trees and the images of parasol tree to indicate his rootless situation; and used the images of the blossoms and water to refer to his current feelings aroused by the bright spring day. In the last couplet, using the allusion of the precious cock, Yu Xin expressed his wish to restore the fallen Liang dynasty. This poem can be compared with one of Zhao Mengfu's poems on a similar topic, "The Beginning of Spring and the Seventh Day of the First Month" 人日立春 (for its Chinese text and English translation, see pp. 56-57), in which Zhao Mengfu uses the beginning three couplets to describe people becoming excited about that special day, and shifts the mood from lightness into heaviness only in the last couplet. Since he also happily notices the new changes in nature, this poem by Zhao Mengfu actually reveals his mixed feelings for the north. The different ways of treating similar materials tell us about the different attitudes that Yu Xin and Zhao Mengfu held toward the north.

The last difference is that, unlike Zhao Mengfu, Yu Xin was unable to return to the south in his remaining years. Even later, when the Emperor of the Chen Dynasty (557-588) asked the Emperor of the Northern Zhou to repatriate some of the southerners who were detained there, because he was favored by the emperor of the Northern Zhou, Yu Xin was excluded from among those returned and was still detained.²⁰³ Since he never had a chance to return to the south, Yu Xin's longing to return to his hometown was near desperation, which led him to produce some impressive and even shocking images in his poems.

²⁰³ Linghu Defen, *Zhou Shu*, Juan 41, 4a.

First, Yu Xin constructed an image of “barren woods” in his parallel prose: “When they are separated [from their native soil] by mountains and rivers, or are leaf-stripped in parting, their torn up roots may cause tears to be shed, or their wounded radicals may ooze blood; fire will enter their hollow trunks [pun: ‘hearts’], and sap flow from their broken joints [pun: ‘resolution’]” 若乃山河阻絕, 飄零離別, 拔本垂淚, 傷根瀝血, 火入空心, 膏流斷節.²⁰⁴ A similar image also appears in his poem: “The tree is old and half of it has dried up” 樹古半心枯;²⁰⁵ “I especially have pity for the end of its vitality; and I am astonished in vain by the decline of the locust tree” 獨憐生意盡, 空驚槐樹衰.²⁰⁶ Yu Xin used the images of trees which had been removed from their native places, and therefore were damaged and lifeless, to describe the pain and trauma of a person uprooted from his hometown area and living in a strange place. This image has become another common allusion for later generations of writers.

It would be safe to say that no such withered tree images appear in Zhao Mengfu’s poetry. Although, in a preface to a poem written on his friend’s bamboo painting, Zhao Mengfu mentioned that his friend, the painter, wrote some words on the side of the painting to sigh over the twisted and entwining bamboos for their being born in the wrong place. Zhao Mengfu used the philosophy in *Zhuangzi* to console his friend by saying that it might be the bamboos’ good luck to grow twisted and entwining in order

²⁰⁴ Yu, “The Barren Tree” 枯樹賦, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 24; using the English translation by Stephen Owen, “Deadwood: The Barren Tree from Yu Hsin to Han Yu,” *CLEAR* 1:2 (July. 1979): 158.

²⁰⁵ Yu, “Sending off Yu, the Seventh, to Shu” 別庾七入蜀, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 46.

²⁰⁶ Yu, “Expressing My Thoughts (21st poem)” 擬詠懷 (其二十一), *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 38.

to avoid being harmed.²⁰⁷ The image of the bamboos in this poem is apparently different from the withered tree images in Yu Xin's poetry.

Second, Yu Xin selected specific words to express his unfathomable feelings for the south and to achieve a certain effect. For example, in the seventh poem of "An Imitation of Expressing My Thoughts" 擬詠懷, again using a woman's voice, Yu Xin wrote:²⁰⁸

榆關斷音信, In Yu-[guan] I am cut off from all news,
漢使絕經過. the messengers of Han cannot get through.
胡笳落淚曲, Only the nomad flutes make tearful music,
羌笛斷腸歌. or the Tibetan pipe-songs tear my heart.
纖腰減束素, My waist as slender as a white silk strip,
別淚損橫波. tears of longing hurt my brimming waves.
恨心終不歇, The anguish in my heart will never end,
紅顏無復多. my rosy cheeks will not endure much longer.
枯木期填海, As well hope to fill up the sea with rotten wood,
青山望斷河. or dam the Yellow River with two green hills [Mount Hua and
Mount Yue].

²⁰⁷ Zhao, "Written on Li Zhongbin's Painting 'Wild Bamboos'" 題李仲賓野竹圖, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 199-200.

²⁰⁸ Yu, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 36; for this English translation, see J.D. Frodsham, *An Anthology of Chinese Verse: Han Wei Chin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 192-193.

The word with the meaning of “cut apart” or “broken”斷 appears three times in this five couplet poem; while other words with similar meanings, “break off” or “cut”絕 and “end”終 each appear once. In the first, third and fourth couplets, all the verbs used are negated. After using these words to express his hopeless feelings, Yu Xin ends the poem with imaginary events that cannot happen in real life, creating a shocking image of his hopeless expectation.

Similar impressive images can also be seen in Yu Xin’s “Sent to Wang Lin” 寄王琳:²⁰⁹

玉關道路遠, The road to the Jade Pass [in the extreme northwest] is distant,

金陵信使疏. the messengers from Jinling [in the far southeast] are few.

獨下千行淚, Alone, I drop a thousand streams of tears:

開君萬里書. to open and read your letters from ten thousand *li* away.

The distant south and the few messengers are used to bring about the dramatic effect in the last couplet: the letter from ten thousand *li* away and his tearful face. When we compare this poem to Zhao Mengfu’s “Along the Qing River,” 清河道中²¹⁰ we can feel the completely different moods in the two poems:

²⁰⁹ Yu, *Yu Zishan ji*, p. 52.

²¹⁰ Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji*, pp. 120-121.

揚舲清河流, I row a small boat in the Qing River;²¹¹

開篷素秋曉. it is daybreak when I open the canopy of the boat in this chaste
autumn.

爛斑被厓花, The banks are covered with colorful flowers,

委蛇順流蘩 which flow away along with the current.

天清去雁高, The sky is clear and the departing wild geese fly on high.

野濶行人小. the wilderness is wide, and the passers-by look small.

故園歸有期, Since the date of my returning home is set,

客愁淨如掃. my sadness as a stranger has been swept away.

The cheerful and pleasant mood in this poem never appears in Yu Xin's poetry, simply because Yu Xin did not experience the joy of returning home in the remaining 27 years (554-581) of his life.

These kinds of images and expressions in Yu Xin's poems, as discussed above, have made his name an allusion for, and a symbol of, nostalgia for the Southland. Zhao Mengfu, who was born seven hundred years later and had a similar experience, also fully expressed his nostalgia in poetry. Both the similarities and the differences between the images of the *ke* in their poetry speak for the two different poets and the times in which they lived.

²¹¹ The Qing River is in the territory of present Beijing and flows southeast to the Grand Canal.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: INHERITANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE JIANGNAN IMAGES IN ZHAO MENGFU'S POETRY

As they appeared in the poetry before Zhao Mengfu's time, the Jiangnan images in Zhao Mengfu's are also invariably related to sweet memories of the South and morose homesickness for the hometown. In this respect, the images of Jiangnan and the ways they are presented in Zhao Mengfu's poetry, as discussed in the fourth chapter, are little different from those previous times. For a person who was born and grew up in the south and then went to live in the north, it is understandable that the differences between the two regions would arise in a poet with such strong nostalgic feelings and would result in such strong images.

Besides his nostalgic memories about the south, the moroseness in Zhao Mengfu's poetry is also related to the fall of the Southern Song Dynasty, which was another source of great sadness in his life. Related to this, he also expressed his internal contradictions for being a member of the Song royal family but also serving in the Yuan court.

Although both Zhao Mengfu and Yu Xin held office in courts ruled by northern tribesmen that had conquered the dynasties of their youth, the painful feelings expressed in Zhao Mengfu's poetry more likely came from outside pressures, while those of Yu Xin were from inside himself, from his inner world.²¹² Yu Xin lived during the Southern and

²¹² See Donald Holzman. "Review of 'The Lament for the South'." *CLEAR* 4:2 (Jul. 1982): 255; and Zhang Xigui 張喜貴, "Ziwo linghun de shenpan: lun Yu Xin houqi chuangzuo zhong de changhui Xintai" 自我靈魂的審判: 論庾信後期創作中的忏悔心態. *Wuxi jiaoyu xueyuan Xuebao* 無錫教育學院學報 13:3 (Sep. 1999): 14-16.

Northern Dynasties, when dynastic changes happened frequently, and it was not rare for people to serve different dynasties. In Zhao Mengfu's time, when the Han culture area was reunited under the Mongols, although some southern literati reacted strongly to the conquest, Zhao Mengfu was among those Han literary men who later praised the reunification and considered the Yuan as the legitimate dynasty.²¹³ For example, in one of his prose writings, Zhao Mengfu uses *The Book of Changes* 周易 to legitimate the rule of the Yuan.²¹⁴ Zhao Mengfu and Yu Xin accepted the new rulers to different degrees, and the specific milieus in which they lived were also different.

Facing the criticisms of his contemporaries and the dilemma within himself, Zhao Mengfu tried to convince and defend himself in a poem titled "Liu Shiji's Hall of Returning Home" 劉時濟歸來堂,²¹⁵ discussed in the third chapter. This difference between Zhao Mengfu and Yu Xin can also explain why homesickness for things like the scenery, the cooking, and the weather appear very commonly in Zhao Mengfu's poetry, while they can hardly be found in Yu Xin's.²¹⁶ This seems to suggest that Zhao Mengfu's feelings about the south might have been strengthened not only by his painful experiences and the dilemma he faced, but also by his unaccustomedness to the life in the north.

The development of the Jiangnan culture also explains why Zhao Mengfu missed life in the south so earnestly. By the time of the Yuan, the south had become a region rich in its literary and cultural traditions, which originated in the Southern

²¹³ See John D. Langlois, JR. "Yu Chi [Yu Ji] and His Mongol Sovereign: The Scholar as Apologist." *CLEAR* 38:1 (Nov. 1978): 99-116.

²¹⁴ See Zhao, *Wenji*, p. 262.

²¹⁵ See Zhao, *wenji*, p. 225.

²¹⁶ See Donald Holzman. "Review of 'The Lament for the South'." *CLEAR* 4:2 (July. 1982): 255.

Dynasties and accelerated during the Song Dynasty. This is especially apparent after the fall of the Northern Song, when the capital was moved to Hangzhou and the northern part of China was governed by non-Han rulers (Khitans, Jurchens, and later Mongolians). During that period, the culture and the literature of the north developed relatively more slowly than those in the south. It was the reunification of the state under the Yuan that enabled the northern and southern literary men to meet in the south, specifically in Hangzhou, to communicate with each other, to share their common interests, and to enjoy a life spent with the “fragrance of the scrolls.”

Zhao Mengfu’s preference for the southern life style was molded by the natural, cultural, and political environments of the south during the early Yuan. In addition, the condemnation from his contemporaries, as well as the complicated and boring official life in the north, made Zhao Mengfu even more earnestly long for the comfortable and relaxed life which he could pursue in the south.

Thus, the images of Jiangnan became symbols of a life style, but behind each Jiangnan image there is an image of the north. Zhao Mengfu missed his hometown area, but he still enjoyed the advantages brought about by the reunification. As discussed in the fourth chapter, although he proclaimed himself a stranger and an outsider of the north, Zhao Mengfu also held some positive feelings about the north due to his attachment to the north after living there for an extended period of time. Through his feelings expressed toward his northern friends and his occasional nostalgia for north, it would be safe to say that the interaction between the south and the north during the early Yuan is embodied in Zhao Mengfu’s life and his poetry.

In sum, the images of Jiangnan in Zhao Mengfu's poetry suggest both the specific circumstances of the Song-Yuan transitional period and Zhao Mengfu's personal experience, which means that they not only inherited the features of the previous Jiangnan images, but were also enlivened with new elements. The images of Jiangnan in his poetry and the ways they were presented also greatly contribute to the development of Jiangnan images in Chinese literary history.

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