

Sung Loyalist Calligraphy in the Early Years of the Yüan Dynasty

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Abstract

While the paintings of *i min* (loyalist) figures active in the early years of the Yüan dynasty is a fairly well understood phenomenon, the calligraphy of these individuals has yet to be studied with the same goal of determining whether or not the art of writing was used to express affirmations of one's political and social position. It is difficult to find extant writings by known loyalist figures, and it is even more difficult to find writings by a single loyalist from both before and after the dynastic transition, thus making it exceedingly difficult to ascertain changes that may have taken place in calligraphy because of the Mongol conquest. In this article a methodology is adopted in which inscriptions to well-known paintings whose contents are unequivocally loyalist in tone are used as the primary source. Specifically, inscriptions by the loyalist painters Ch'ien Hsüan (circa 1235-before 1307) and Kung K'ai (1222-1307) are examined and ultimately contrasted. A third group of writings is comprised of inscriptions written by Chou Mi (1232-1298) and Ch'iu Yüan (1247-1327) for a painting by the late Southern Sung painter Chao Meng-chien (1199-1264)--inscriptions whose contents clearly transform Chao's painting from an innocent document of the recent past into a memorial for a fallen dynasty. Much emphasis is placed on determining the precise nature of these various inscriptions, with their allusions and hidden meanings, for it becomes apparent that the loyalist camp was not, as is generally believed, unified in its attitudes and expression towards the fallen dynasty. Chou Mi's and Ch'iu Yüan's inscriptions for Chao Meng-chien's painting reveal a close association with one of the paramount expressions of loyalist sentiment, the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* collection of *tz'u* songs composed in 1279, and this, in turn, proves to be related to Ch'ien Hsüan's paintings and inscriptions. While the calligraphy of these three figures is shown to have a common basis in practice related to the late Southern Sung, that of Kung K'ai, whose inscriptions suggest a less sympathetic attitude towards the fallen dynasty, represents a very different form of visual expression.

Keywords : Chinese Loyalists (*i min*) Calligraphy, Chinese Sung-Yüan Dynasties

Painting produced by individuals who continued to associate themselves with the deposed Sung dynasty during the early years of the Yüan is a familiar topic to art historians.¹ These artists belong to the category of *i min* 遺民, or "leftover people," whose lives, largely passed under one ruling order, experienced firsthand the changed world of a new dynasty. Orthodox Confucian theory looked unfavorably upon those whose loyalties switched even during those periods when the new dynasty was considered morally superior and deserving of "Heaven's mandate." The fact that this was a foreign conquest, the Mongols creating a stark displacement of cultural value as well as Han Chinese leadership, must have further accentuated the inbred tendency to profess loyalty to the fallen dynasty. This helps to explain the very noticeable appearance of paintings whose contents express regret and sorrow over the destruction of the Sung. Customarily utilizing metaphors and allusions that affect a mild charade of secretiveness, such paintings were probably viewed as tolerable expressions of loyalty. Cheng Ssu-hsiao's 鄭思肖 (1241-1318) uprooted orchids and Kung K'ai's 龔開 (1222-1307) *Emaciated Horse* (fig. 1) are among the best-known images, accompanied by poems that make little effort to cover the painters' valiant sentiments. More recently, the paintings of Ch'ien Hsüan 錢選 (circa 1235-before 1307), in both the landscape and bird-and-flower genres, have been established as representative of the Sung *i min*, with textual accompaniments again clarifying the loyalist voice behind the images. But if paintings such as these with their poetic couplings present such clear statements of sympathy for the fallen regime, what then of the art of calligraphy? Is there a similarly strong statement of cultural positioning in the art of writing, which traditionally was also utilized as a vehicle of expression?

The easy answer to this question is no. Otherwise, the phenomenon would have been recognized long ago. There is, for example, no sudden appearance of a new style of calligraphy that gains currency among southerners during the early years of the Yüan, no abrupt resurrection of an older style that could be construed as an expression of strength, loyalty, and moral fortitude--though such styles were readily available.² Moreover, there is no obvious indication in written records of some kind

1 See in particular James Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River* (New York: Weatherhill, 1976), pp. 15-37, and Richard Barnhart, *Along the Border of Heaven* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984), pp. 109-126. Of more recent date is my article, "Confronting Dynastic Change: Painting after Mongol Reunification of North and South China," in *RES* 35 (Spring, 1999), pp. 142-169. For other references on Ch'ien Hsüan see note no. 10 below.

2 The obvious expectation would be Yen Chen-ch'ing (709-785), whose style of calligraphy was both stylistically distinct and highly charged with associations of morality, loyalty, and martyrdom. See Amy McNair, *The Upright Brush: Yan Zhenqing's Calligraphy and Sung Literati Politics* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).

of specific movement in calligraphy taking place. Indeed, little at all is said of the history of calligraphy as it was played out from the late Southern Sung to the early Yüan other than the story of Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322), and Chao's orientation towards the classical tradition frankly discourages any true understanding of a contemporary context. His close study of, and reflections upon, the established canon, based on privileged access to important collections, seemingly transports him to a timeless dimension--what might be called a disembodied present. And yet, as we now know from a number of his paintings, which share with his calligraphy a fixation on classical models, there are often subtle reminders of Chao Meng-fu's presence in the difficult transition from one dynasty to another.³ The point is Chao Meng-fu's resurrection of the classical style in his calligraphy must be weighed not against standards of the past but against his immediate present. A study of Sung *i min* calligraphy will provide one important context by which Chao Meng-fu's calligraphy can be better understood--perhaps the most important context.

In the absence of any obvious collective movement to make the art of writing speak with the same articulation of loyalist sentiment that we find in painting, the study of Sung *i min* calligraphy becomes a decidedly more subtle project. From the outset it is important to disavow the traditional tendency to see the writing as some kind of natural and honest reflection of the intrinsic character of the writer. Writing of loyalists, in other words, is not by definition imbued with characteristics we might associate with their political allegiance (such as "strength," "resoluteness," "morality"). If this were the case then the calligraphy of the great patriot Wen T'ien-hsiang 文天祥 (1236-1283) would presumably provide a clear reflection of Wen's steadfast personality. Some, in fact, have argued that it does.⁴ But such works as the early *Hung chai t'ieh* 宏齋帖 of 1266 (Palace Museum, Peking), *Mu chi chi hsü* 木雞集序 (Liaoning Provincial Museum) (fig. 2) and *Hsieh Ch'ang-yüan tso yu ming tz'u chüan* 謝昌元座右銘辭卷 (History Museum, Peking) (fig. 3) both of 1273, strike the objective viewer more as the products of a cultured literatus than a great patriot in the making. All reveal a well-skilled hand practiced in the Two Wangs tradition as it was transmitted through such compendia of model writings as the *Ch'un hua ke fa t'ieh* 淳化閣法帖. His writing is sharp, delicate, and flowing. As

3 Chu-tsing Li, "The Freer *Sheep and Goat* and Chao Meng-fu's Horse Paintings," *Artibus Asiae* vol. XXX, no. 4 (1968), pp. 279-346. See also Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change," pp. 143-148.

4 Most notably, T'ao Tsung-i, whose *Shu shih hui yao* is the most important early text for the study of late Sung and Yüan calligraphy. T'ao writes, "(Wen T'ien-hsiang's) brushstrokes are upright and firm, just like the man, himself." T'ao Tsung-i, *Shu shih hui yao* (Shanghai: Shang-hai shu tien, 1984 reprint ed.), *chüan* 6, pp. 42a-b.

the seventeenth century critic Wu Ch'i-chen 吳其貞 wrote with regard to the *Mu chi chi hsü*, "The writing is pure and emaciated, and it leaves the viewer feeling refreshed. When the viewer considers (Wen T'ien-hsiang's) loyalty, the writing is even more cherished. This is a case of the painting or calligraphy being treasured because of the person." 書法清癯，使人心目爽然。然見者懷其忠義而更愛之。⁵ In other words, the viewer, aware of the writer's identity, cannot help but project qualities onto the calligraphy; if the calligraphy is considered on its own merits, the impression is less one of iron will than cultured delicacy.

A more telling test of Wen T'ien-hsiang's calligraphy is a single example that dates to after the fall of the Sung. This is a poem titled *Hu t'ou shan* 虎頭山 (Tigerhead Mountain) written at the end of his life, ca. 1282, when Wen T'ien-hsiang was imprisoned in Peking awaiting execution after repeatedly rebuffing high-level attempts by the Mongol court to shift allegiances (fig. 4):

Early, I did not flee the emperor of Ch'in,
And in the end fell into a prison of Ch'u.
My old garden is now a spring grass dream,
My old country is the sorrow of a sunset...⁶

早不逃秦帝，終然陷楚囚；
故園春草夢，舊國夕陽愁。

Wen T'ien-hsiang signs this poem with the two-character closing, "shedding tears of blood" 泣血 leaving no doubt concerning his sentiments at the time of his writing. The calligraphy exists today as a rubbing included in the model writings compendium *T'ing yüan kuan fa t'ieh* 停雲館法帖. Significantly, allowing for the expected distortions from a rubbing, the calligraphy remains fairly close in style to Wen T'ien-hsiang's earlier writings. In other words, nothing in the appearance of this semi-cursive calligraphy suggests a statement of indomitable loyalty and spirit, except perhaps to the most vivid imagination.⁷

Another interesting and rare example of calligraphy written by a paragon of

5 Wu Ch'i-chen, *Shu hua chi*, cited from Liu Cheng-ch'eng, ed., *Chung-kuo shu fa chien shang ta tz'u tien* (Peking: Ta ti ch'u pan she, 1989), vol. 1, p. 784.

6 The poem is recorded in Wen T'ien-hsiang's *Wen shan chi*, *chüan* 20, pp. 29b-30a. *Ssu k'u chüan shu*, ed. (Shanghai: Ku chi ch'u pan she, 1987 reprint ed.).

7 The comments of Lin Hsiu regarding this piece are an excellent example of a viewer's projection of meaning onto the visual forms of the writing. Lin makes note of three connected characters written with a single brushstroke in the sixth line of the calligraphy, "t'ou shan hsia," and reads into their writing a symbol of never-ending "hatred," "resentment," "revenge," and "anger." See Liu Cheng-ch'eng, ed., *Chung-kuo shu fa chien shang ta tz'u tien*, vol. 1, p. 785.

professed loyalty to the Sung is a letter in the National Palace Museum titled *Ch'ün yü t'ieh* 群玉帖 by Lu Hsiu-fu 陸秀夫 (1238-1279) (fig. 5). Chief Councilor Lu Hsiu-fu was the dedicated civil administrator who accompanied the heirs of Emperor Tu-tsong 宋度宗 during the three-year retreat from the Mongol armies following the fall of Hang-chou. He died by committing suicide, leaping into the ocean waters at Yai shan while holding the child-emperor Chao Ping 趙昀 tightly to his chest. This letter, written years before Lu's tragic end and concerning lighter affairs than the grave matters of state for which Lu Hsiu-fu is now known, provides an honest reflection of the Sung patriot's handwriting during the late years of the Southern Sung. Again, there is nothing in the writing that would suggest the strength of personality Lu would demonstrate during the Mongol invasion. Far from it, the writing is remarkably delicate and refined. The characters are tiny--especially those of his own name--and yet written with extreme care and artfulness. The overall impression given by the calligraphy of both Wen T'ien-hsiang and Lu Hsiu-fu is one of scholarly engagement, art historical awareness, and a refined, delicate aesthetic sensibility. Their writing will provide an important backdrop to the discussion that follows.

A proper study of Sung *i min* calligraphy, with the goal of determining transformations that occur in the art of writing with the change of dynasties, demands a careful awareness of context and dating. Ideally, one would have examples of writing to analyze by loyalists from both before and after the Mongol conquest, but these, to the best of my knowledge, are unavailable. In fact, simply identifying what might be construed to be loyalist calligraphy is not necessarily a simple matter. With this in mind, I adopt in this paper a methodology that looks first and foremost at the inscriptions that accompany known loyalist paintings, as these inscriptions are probably the single most accessible and reliable body of data that can be called loyalist calligraphy. I am especially interested in establishing connections amongst the writers of these inscriptions and colophons. These connections are not simply of a personal nature--who knew whom or who wrote on whose paintings--but also thematic, for the paintings, together with the content of their inscriptions, explore some distinct themes and convey particular attitudes held by certain loyalists. Recognizing these attitudes puts us in a better position to speculate about commonalities and differences perceived in the calligraphy. The primary focus of this paper will be on the writing of the two loyalist painters Ch'ien Hsüan and Kung K'ai.

Chou Mi's and Ch'iu Yüan's Inscriptions to Chao Meng-chien's *Narcissus Scroll*

Perhaps the single most interesting and telling statement about any of the Sung *i min* calligraphers is T'ao Tsung-i's 陶宗儀 remark about Ch'ien Hsüan's writing included in T'ao's *Shu shih hui yao* 書史會要. He writes, "Although his small-sized standard script has method, it is unable to free itself of the decadent airs of the late Sung. 小楷亦有法，但未能脫去宋季衰蹇之氣耳。⁸ The comment recalls what was said by Northern Sung critics of the writing that immediately preceded their own period: Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1012-1072) and Su Shih 蘇軾 (1037-1101) were extremely vocal detractors of the calligraphers active during the late T'ang and Five Dynasties Period, their perception of the period's writing no doubt affected by a general tendency to recognize a deterioration in cultural production as a likely consequence of dynastic decline.⁹ T'ao Tsung-i, who was certainly familiar with this discourse created by his famous predecessors, looks back and voices this same view, now applied to the late Sung. This may well have been a perception of late Southern Sung calligraphy that was generally embraced during the middle of the fourteenth century, but interestingly, T'ao Tsung-i singles out only Ch'ien Hsüan for this criticism. Ch'ien Hsüan is the enigmatic painter of Wu-hsing, whose life bridges the late Sung and early Yüan and curiously contrasts with that of his fellow townsman and acquaintance Chao Meng-fu. Unlike Chao, Ch'ien Hsüan apparently refused to entertain any offers to serve the new Mongol government, preferring instead to support himself by becoming a professional painter and living as a recluse.¹⁰ There is a wide range of subject matter in Ch'ien's extant attributions, but

8 T'ao Tsung-i, *chüan* 7, p. 6b.

9 I review and discuss this in my book *Mi Fu: Style and the Art of Calligraphy in Northern Song China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), especially Chapter One: "'Ideas' and Northern Song Calligraphy," pp. 18-53.

10 Among the many publications on Ch'ien Hsüan see Richard Edwards, "Ch'ien Hsüan and Early Autumn," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, no. 7 (1953), pp. 71-83; James Cahill, "Ch'ien Hsüan and His Figure Painting," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, no. 12 (1958), pp. 11-39; Wen Fong, "The Problem of Ch'ien Hsüan," *Art Bulletin*, no. 62 (September, 1960), pp. 173-189; Shih Shou-ch'ien, "Eremitism in Landscape Paintings by Ch'ien Hsüan (ca. 1235-before 1307)" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1984); Richard M. Barnhart, "Ch'ien Hsüan and the Memory of Lost Gardens," in *Peach Blossom Spring* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984), pp. 36-47; Robert E. Harrist, Jr. "Ch'ien Hsüan's *Pear Blossoms*: The Tradition of Flower Painting and Poetry from Sung to Yüan," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 22 (1987); John Hay, "Poetic Space: Ch'ien Hsüan and the Association of Painting and Poetry," in *Words and Images*, pp. 173-198. The best attempt at producing a biography of Ch'ien Hsüan is found in Shih Shou-ch'ien's dissertation, pp. 25-91. Ch'ien seems to have become a hermit for reasons of temperament as well as politics. He comments on his lack of social skills in a line from the poem he included on *Dwelling in the Mountains* (Palace Museum, Peking): "I do not get along with people, and they in turn dislike me."

he is primarily known for his landscapes, which invariably explore the theme of reclusion, and his bird-and-flower paintings. The latter have occasionally been relegated to a lesser status from his landscapes, presumed, perhaps, because of their overtly beautiful subject matter and treatment, to have been more specifically geared for public consumption. As was first shown by Richard Barnhart with regard to the Metropolitan Museum's *Pear Blossoms* (fig. 6), however, Ch'ien Hsüan's flower painting has the potential of expressing powerful sentiments related to the fall of the Sung dynasty. His lament for the former dynasty is expressed indirectly in his poem that accompanies the painting, using the delicate flowers as a metaphor for a beautiful woman who in turn symbolizes the Sung:

The lonely tear-stained face, teardrops drenching the branches,
 Though washed of make-up, her old charms remain.
 Behind the closed gate, on a rainy night vainly sorrowing,
 How differently she looked bathed in golden waves of moonlight before the
 darkness fell.¹¹

寂寞闌干淚滿枝，洗粧猶帶舊風姿；
 閉門夜雨空愁思，不似金波欲暗時。

It is not surprising to discover a layer of metaphorical meaning in Ch'ien Hsüan's poem, since he has always been known to possess loyalist sentiment, but what has not been properly recognized is the fact that Ch'ien--despite his reclusive habits--apparently had close ties to a number of other loyalists. The material that makes this link explicit will be presented shortly. First, however, two of these loyalists will be introduced, as well as their calligraphy. These are Chou Mi 周密 (1232-1298) and Ch'iu Yüan 仇遠 (1247-1327), both of whom were well-known cultural figures active in and around Hang-chou in the late 13th century.¹² They are represented here by poetic inscriptions that they added to a long scroll of narcissus painted by the late Southern Sung painter Chao Meng-chien 趙孟堅 (1199-1264) now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (figs. 7-9). Both Chou Mi's and Ch'iu

11 Translation by Robert E. Harrist, Jr. "Ch'ien Hsüan's *Pear Blossoms*," p. 64, with one minor modification. See also Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring*, p. 40.

12 For information on Chou Mi, see Jennifer W. Jay, *A Change in Dynasties: Loyalism in Thirteenth Century China* (Bellingham: Western Washington Press, 1991), especially pp. 195-242. See also Ankeney Weitz, *Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China: Zhou Mi's Yunyan guoyan lu* (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1994). Chu-tsing Li's, *The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains: A Landscape by Chao Meng-fu* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1965) is another important source of information on Chou Mi. Although less well-studied in modern scholarship, there is a wealth of primary source material available on Ch'iu Yüan.

Yüan's verses, the former a *tz'u* song to the tune "Kuo hsiang man" 國香慢 and the latter a seven-character line regulated verse, have been interpreted as allegorical comments in the *yung wu* 詠物 ("singing of things") mode on the fall of the Sung, sparked not only by the feminine charms of Chao Meng-chien's narcissus, but also by the fact that Chao Meng-chien belonged to a branch of the Sung imperial family.¹³ Chou Mi's *tz'u* song appears first on the scroll after the painting, but we will begin with Ch'iu Yüan's poem, which is slightly more accessible (fig. 9).

The ice is thin, sandbanks are dim, the short grasses wither;
 (She) who plucks the fragrance is distant, separated by Lake Hsiang.
 Who has left, in the light of the moon, the immortal's pendants?
 Which far surpass, in the autumn breeze, a painting of the nine fields of orchids.
 The glittering bronze plate is overturned, spilling the immortal's dew;
 Blue and bright, the precious jade is smashed like coral.
 How I pity her for not being like the orchid,
 Which at least knew the sober minister from Ch'u.¹⁴

冰薄沙昏短草枯，采香人遠隔湘湖；
 誰留夜月神仙佩，絕勝秋飄九畹圖。
 白粲銅盤傾沆瀣，青明寶玦碎珊瑚；
 卻憐不得同蘭蕙，一識清醒楚大夫。

Previous interpretations of this poem have focused on repeated allusions to the loyal minister Ch'ü Yüan 屈原 (343-278 BC), "the sober minister from Ch'u" mentioned in the last line. Ch'ü Yüan's *Li sao* 離騷 includes a reference to the nine fields of orchids, which presented themselves to Ch'iu Yüan as a useful foil to Chao Meng-chien's narcissus. Chao's narcissus, however, is isolated, separated from the goddess of the Hsiang region, who is the elusive goal of Ch'ü Yüan's *Li sao*. The last lines of Ch'iu Yüan's poem can be interpreted as a rueful self-reflection, Ch'iu lamenting the fact that his own strength and loyalty pale in comparison to that of the earlier Ch'ü Yüan, who committed suicide by drowning himself in the Mi-lo River. While these allusions provide an accurate understanding of the general meaning of the poem there are other important allusions that have gone unnoticed. One of these

13 Richard Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring*, p. 39; *Along the Border of Heaven*, pp. 110-113. Wen Fong, *Beyond Representation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, 8th - 14th Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), pp. 305-306.

14 Translation based on that of Wen Fong, *Beyond Representation*, pp. 305-306.

is the "precious jade," *pao chüeh* 寶玦 mentioned in line 6. There is little question that Ch'iu Yüan is recalling a famous poem by Tu Fu 杜甫 (712-770) titled *Ai wang sun* 哀王孫 (*Lamenting the Princes*), which was written in response to the slaughter of members of the royal family by An Lu-shan's rebels in 756. The pertinent lines of Tu Fu's poem read, "Precious jade pendants hanging from their waists like blue coral, / Pitiful, the royal princes, weeping at the road's end." 腰下寶玦青珊瑚，可憐王孫泣路隅。¹⁵ Ch'iu Yüan uses the allusion as a powerful reference to the end of the Sung dynasty and the fate of the Sung imperial house. It is a reference that has special pertinence because of Chao Meng-chien's status as a member of the Sung royal family. A similar reference to the fall of the dynasty, though less obvious, is found in the preceding line of Ch'iu Yüan's poem. The glittering bronze plate with spilling dew on the one hand is a nicely poetic description of the downward facing flower of the narcissus, with its brilliant golden-yellow center that resembles a cup or basin. However, there is a distinct allusion here, this time to a poem by Li He 李賀 (791-817), titled *A Bronze Immortal Takes Leave of Han*. Li He's poem concerns an earlier historical event related to the establishment of the capital in Lo-yang in the year 233 by Emperor Ming of the Wei 魏明帝 (r. 226-239). In Li He's poem a bronze statue of a winged immortal, established during the reign of the Western Han emperor Wu-ti 漢武帝 (r. 141-87 BCE), weeps tears of molten lead as it is about to be moved from the old Han palace in Ch'ang-an to Lo-yang. The statue weeps because its bronze basin, whose original function was to collect heaven's dew and consequently attract "genuine" immortals, is broken off.¹⁶ The main point of the allusion, once again, is to highlight the tragedy of dynastic change. In summary, Ch'iu Yüan's poem treats Chao Meng-chien's painting as a symbol of the lost Sung dynasty, and reflects upon his own failures as loyal subject to that dynasty--unable to martyr himself as Ch'ü Yüan had so many centuries earlier.

Chou Mi's *tz'u* lyric also contains references to Ch'ü Yüan, but rather than focusing on personal shortcomings he explores the themes of loss and remembrance as an expression of loyalty--the sight of the narcissus prompting Chou to recall his elegant lifestyle and carefree days as a well-to-do man of culture in old Hang-chou prior to the fall of the capital to the Mongol forces (fig. 8).

15 Ch'iu Chao-ao, ed., *Tu shih hsüan chu* (Peking: Chung hua shu chü, 1979 reprint ed.), *chüan* 4, pp. 310-311.

16 Cited from Kang-i Sun Chang, "Symbolic and Allegorical Meanings in the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* Poem Series," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol.46, no.2 (1986), p. 359. Li He's poem is translated and discussed by A. C. Graham, *Poems of the Late T'ang* (Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 106-108.

Jade (white) moist, gold bright,
 I remember the curved screen and small table,
 Where we pruned her leaves and transplanted her roots.
 Years later, I see her again:
 Thin shadows, graceful and lovely,
 But with the rain as her sash and wind as her collar, disorderly,
 She steps among the clouds, cold.
 Honking geese announced the spring
 When we met at the old capital, Lo-yang.
 Her white dimples were blackened by the dust;
 Frost formed in the immortal's palm.

I regret how the nation's fragrance has fallen!
 It is precisely the time of melting ice and tender green,
 But who remembers a lost hairpin?
 The waters are vast and the heavens far;
 She ought to be thinking of Brothers Cassia and Plum.
 So distant: fish-scale waves as far as the eye can see,
 Fifty strings of sadness fill the clouds of the Hsiang River.
 So melancholy, I am saddened to be without words.
 My dream enters the east wind of spring,
 Snow has gone, the river clear.

玉潤金明
 記曲屏小几
 剪葉移根
 經年後人重見
 瘦影娉婷
 雨帶風襟零亂
 出雲冷
 鵝管吹春
 相逢舊京洛
 素靨塵縐
 仙掌霜凝

國香流落恨
 正冰銷翠薄

誰念遺簪
 水空天遠
 應想樊弟梅兄
 渺渺魚波望極
 五十弦愁滿湘雲
 悽涼耿無語
 夢入東風
 雪盡江清

Chou Mi's *tz'u* begins in straightforward fashion, recalling an earlier, happier time, when appreciation of the narcissus was a part of the cultured activities of the late winter season. But the times have changed and now the narcissus simply remains a part of the bleak wintry environment. In the timeworn tradition of the *yung wu* mode, the flowers take on a feminine persona, but this alone does not explain the temporal shift to an earlier spring in Lo-yang, when the narcissus's cheeks were darkened by the dust and frost formed in the immortal's palm. This, of course, alludes to the same Li He poem cited more directly by Ch'iu Yüan in his verse that follows Chou Mi's lyric, but the reader, encountering Chou's song first, would probably not recognize it immediately. Without knowledge of the allusion the images are vaguely unsettling; with it they are disturbing, for one understands that the white dimples of the narcissus are darkened by the dust of a new dynasty, and that the frost has replaced the sweet auspicious dew that no longer has a place to gather, the bronze immortal having lost its basin. Once the allusion is recognized, Chou Mi's images resonate powerfully with the contemporary situation of Hang-chou in the early years of Mongol rulership.

The second stanza of Chou Mi's *tz'u*, which is largely an expression of the poet's sense of loss, contains another puzzling image: a lost hairpin. This allusion, like that of the bronze immortal with hands of frost, would be incomprehensible in the limited context of Chao Meng-chien's painting of narcissus. However, those familiar with a series of *tz'u* written in the early years of the Yüan by a group of Sung loyalists that included Chou Mi and Ch'iu Yüan would recognize the image immediately. The poem series is known as the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* 樂府補題 (*New Subjects for Lyric Songs*), and it proves to be the key to understanding how we should approach Chou Mi's and Ch'iu Yüan's inscriptions on the Chao Meng-chien painting. The *Yüeh fu pu t'i* were written by fourteen Sung loyalists in 1279 to express outrage at the desecration of the Sung imperial tombs by the Lamaist monk

Byan-sprin lCanskya (Yang lien chen chia 楊璉真伽) in the previous year.¹⁷ In addition to Chou Mi and Ch'iu Yüan, the loyalists included Wang I-sun 王沂孫 (1232-1291), Chang Yen 張炎 (1248-1320), Ch'en Shu-k'e 陳恕可 (1258-1339), T'ang Chüeh 唐珣, Chao Ju-na 趙汝納, Li Chü-jen 李居仁, Feng Ying-jui 馮應瑞, T'ang I-sun 唐藝孫, Lü T'ung-lao 呂同老, Li P'eng-lao 李彭老, and Wang I-chien 王易簡.¹⁸ Altogether the authors composed thirty-seven *tz'u* during five separate clandestine meetings, Chou Mi, Ch'iu Yüan and the other mourners each time writing songs set to a particular tune on a particular object: ambergris perfume, white lotus, water shield, cicada, and crab.¹⁹ Three of the objects--ambergris perfume, water shield, and crab--are interpreted as allegorically related to the desecration of the tombs of the Sung emperors. White lotus and cicada, in contrast, are believed to refer to the empresses and imperial consorts whose bones were strewn in the woods. The cicada songs, written during the fourth meeting, make frequent reference to Li He's weeping bronze immortal, while the ten white lotus songs, written during the second meeting of the loyalists, commonly recall the image of hairpins. This, as Kang-i Sun Chang and other literary historians have demonstrated, is a distinct reference to the desecration of the Sung imperial tombs. According to Chou Mi's own *K'ui hsin tsa shih* 癸辛雜識, shortly after the imperial bones were disinterred and abandoned in the woods, a woodcutter found on the gravesite a lock of hair with an emerald green hairpin still attached. The hair and pin belonged to Empress Meng 孟皇后 (1077-1135), consort of Sung Che-tsung 宋哲宗 (r. 1085-1100).²⁰

Making the connection between Chou Mi's and Ch'iu Yüan's poetic inscriptions to Chao Meng-chien's *Narcissus* and the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* poem series is extremely important, for the latter, long known to be one of the quintessential expressions of Sung loyalism, is now provided with a pictorial counterpart. I speak not of Chao Meng-chien's *Narcissus*, of course, since its relationship is in a sense accidental--painted during the late Sung, by itself it has nothing to say about the issue of

17 Huang Chao-hsian, *Yüeh fu pu t'i yen chiu chi chian chu* (Hong Kong: Hsüeh wen ch'u pan she, 1975). See also Chia-ying Yeh Chao, "On Wang I-sun and His *Yung-wu Tz'u*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 40, no.1 (1980), pp. 55-91, and Kang-i Sun Chang, "Symbolic and Allegorical Meanings in the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* Poem Series."

18 The identity of the fourteenth poet remains to be established, though some suspect that it was Wang Ying-sun.

19 None of the poets composed *tz'u* for every occasion, and presumably they were not all present for each meeting, which took place at the mountain studios of Ch'en Shu-k'e, Lü T'ung-lao, Wang I-chien, and two unidentified locations. See Kang-i Sun Chang, "Symbolic and Allegorical Meanings" and Huang Chao-hsian, *Yüeh fu pu t'i yen chiu chi chian chu*.

20 *K'ui hsin tsa shih* (Peking: Chung hua shu chü, 1988 reprint ed.), pp. 263-266. See also Kang-i Sun Chang, p. 375.

dynastic change; it was co-opted into its role of loyalist symbol only later.²¹ Rather, I speak of Chou Mi's and Ch'iu Yüan's calligraphy. Their two poems are so closely related in content to the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* that it is almost as if a handwritten manuscript of one of the clandestine meetings of the loyalist poets had survived. We should provisionally date these two inscriptions to ca. 1280, and we should label this *i min* calligraphy. Before addressing the calligraphy itself, however, I will first demonstrate how Ch'ien Hsüan's inscriptions should also be counted in the same category of loyalist writing as that of Chou Mi and Ch'iu Yüan.

Ch'ien Hsüan and the Late Southern Sung Style

The discovery of Ch'ien Hsüan's *White Lotus* (fig. 10), a painting excavated from the tomb of the early Ming prince Chu T'an (d. 1389) in 1970, was immediately recognized as extremely important for the study of this enigmatic painter.²² The painting had been entombed within a hundred years of Ch'ien Hsüan's life, and when this fact was considered with the curious inscription that Ch'ien added to the scroll expressing his concern about recent forgeries of his work,²³ there was an extremely strong likelihood that Ch'ien Hsüan's extant oeuvre had been graced with a new and reliable addition. What was not immediately recognized, however, was how important this particular painting, with its accompanying poem, was in determining Ch'ien Hsüan's position with regard to his contemporaries and consequently allows a

21 It should be noted that Chao Meng-chien's scroll originally included a number of other inscriptions, including one by the artist himself. Chao Meng-chien notes that he painted this for Tzu-yung (Pien Ying-sheng, Ch'un-yü reign [1241-1252] chin shih), who had long been promised a painting, and that the painting, though "awkward," may have something to offer to those who "seek outside formal likeness." The scroll also included inscriptions by Hsian Yü-shu, dated 1296, Chao Meng-fu, Ni Tsan (1301-1374), Teng Wen-yüan, Chang Ying, Liu Fu, Chang Shu-yeh, and Chang Po-ch'un. These are in addition to the inscriptions by Chou Mi, Ch'iu Yüan, Lin Chung (late Yüan), Li Chih-kang (active ca. 1368-1425), Ts'ao Yüan-chung (after 1883), Chu Tsu-mou (ca. 1883), and Ch'u T'eh-i (1936) that are still with the scroll. The painting, lengthy as it is now, was originally longer. It was cut at some point during the Ch'ing dynasty, and presumably the now missing inscriptions went with the other half. Pien Yung-yü records the inscriptions with those of Hsian Yü-shu and Chao Meng-fu coming before Chou Mi's. Ch'iu Yüan's comes after that of Ni Tsan. This clearly reflects a reordering of the inscriptions during some later remounting. The original order would have been Chao Meng-chien, Chou Mi and Ch'iu Yüan (ca. 1280), with Hsian Yü-shu's and Chao Meng-fu's coming next.

22 Shandong Provincial Museum, "Fa chüeh Ming Chu T'an mu chi shih (Report on the Excavation of the Tomb of Chu T'an of the Ming Dynasty), *Wen wu* 1972/5, pp.25-37. See also Jan Fontein and Tung Wu, *Unearthing China* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1973), pp.235-237.

23 This short comment has attracted more attention than the poem that Ch'ien added to the painting: "I have changed my sobriquet to 'The Old Man of Cha Stream' because more and more forgeries of my work have appeared. Thus, I have come up with this ruse to put the fakers to shame!"

much fuller understanding of his art. Specifically, the painting's subject points to a clear association with Chou Mi, Ch'iu Yüan, and the other Sung loyalist writers of the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* poems. Not only is the theme of the white lotus the same as the second of the five subjects chosen by the 1279 *tz'u* writers but many of the same images, allusions, and symbolism of the *tz'u* are seen in Ch'ien's accompanying poem, a *shi* lyric, that follows his painting:

Delicate and graceful, Jasper Pool holds the jade flowers;
The blue bird flies back and forth, peacefully, without clamor.
The hidden man, abstaining from his cups, holds his staff at ease,
Remembering her pure fragrance that accompanied the moonlight.

嫋嫋瑤池白玉花，往來青鳥靜無譁；
幽人不飲閑攜杖，但憶清香伴月華。

Jasper Pool (Yao ch'ih 瑤池) and the blue bird (ch'ing niao 青鳥) refer to the legend of the Queen Mother of the West, a deity of ancient times believed to reside in Mount K'un-lun of the distant Himalayas.²⁴ Jasper Pool, along with other references to the Queen Mother (though not the blue bird specifically), also figure prominently in the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* lyrics on the white lotus theme.²⁵ As Kang-i Sun Chang has shown, these *tz'u* lyrics operate on a number of levels of allusion and allegory, of which the Queen Mother of the West should not be considered primary. More prominent are references to the famous T'ang imperial courtesan Yang Kui-fei 楊貴妃 (d. 756), who is evoked in all ten poems on white lotus.²⁶ Yang Kui-fei's seductive charms were associated with the downfall of Emperor Hsüan-tsung's reign 唐玄宗 (712-756) and the near collapse of the T'ang dynasty. As such, her evocation in these *tz'u* poems by the Sung loyalists carries a suggestion of censure directed at the late Southern Sung court, which, since the reign of Ning-tsung 宋寧宗 (1194-

24 Harrist makes the connection, though he downplays the significance of the Queen Mother imagery, noting its frequency in contemporary poetry. On the Queen Mother of the West see Suzanne Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion: the Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1993). Jasper Pool, atop Mount K'un-lun, is the site where the Chou Emperor Mu-wang is said to have toasted the Queen Mother. The blue bird is said to be a three-legged retriever of food for the Queen Mother. In some accounts there are three. The blue bird also serves as a harbinger for the Queen Mother's imminent arrival. Suzanne Cahill, p. 91 and following.

25 Yao ch'ih appears specifically in the *tz'u* of Ch'en Shu-k'e, Lü T'ung-lao, and Li Chü-jen; other references to the Queen Mother's paradise include the fairy maiden Fei-ch'iung in the *tz'u* of Chou Mi and Li Chü-jen. Huang Chao-hsian, p. 26 and following. See also Kang-i Sun Chang's discussion, which singles out the white lotus group in her discussion of allegory and symbolism in the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* poems.

26 Chang, p. 365 and following.

1224), was noted for the prominent role of imperial women in the handling of court affairs.²⁷ But the poems are much more notable for their direct expression of sympathy for the tragic beauty. The tone they adopt owes much to Po Chü-i's 白居易 (772-846) famous poem *Ch'ang hen ke* 長恨歌 (*Song of Everlasting Sorrow*), in which Emperor Hsüan-tsung magically meets with the spirit of his dead lover, now apotheosized as a fairy inhabitant of an immortal isle. During this meeting everlasting love is sworn. Hsüan-tsung returns to the world of mortals, forlorn, and is reminded of Yang Kui-fei's face by the lotus of Lake T'ai-i in the gardens of the capital.²⁸ This is the immediate source of the lotus metaphor used in the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* poems and Ch'ien Hsüan's poem/painting.

Po Chü-i's description of Hsüan-tsung's and Yang Kui-fei's brief spiritual tryst in *Ch'ang hen ke* resonates strongly with legendary tales of meetings between the Queen Mother of the West and the earlier mortal rulers Chou Mu-wang 周穆王 (r. 1001-946 BC) and Han Wu-ti.²⁹ The Sung loyalists utilized this connection to add a layer of complexity to their poems. More importantly, the Queen Mother and her immortal paradise allowed the poets to elevate the allegory to a level of purity and other-worldliness far beyond what Hsüan-tsung's and Yang Kui-fei's story, with its associations of corporeal lust, by itself could deliver. As suggested earlier, and as commentators have long noted, the subject of the white lotus poems should be the Sung court women, with the desecration of the tomb of Empress Meng providing the pivotal connection.³⁰ As such, it is essential that an image of purity, chastity, and propriety be presented, which is precisely what the use of the Queen Mother of the West as an additional level of symbolism achieves in these poems. The loyalist poets and Ch'ien Hsüan adopt the tragic role of the pining lover--T'ang Hsüan-tsung--lamenting not the Sung imperial women specifically, but the lost and feminized dynasty that the court women represent.

27 Richard L. Davis, *Wind Against the Mountain: The Crisis of Politics and Culture in Thirteenth-Century China* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1996), pp.27-42. Hui-shu Lee, *The Domain of Empress Yang (1162-1233): Art, Gender and Politics at the Late Southern Sung Court* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1994).

28 Chang, pp. 366-367. Po Chü-i, "Ch'ang hen ke," *Po Chü-i chi* (Peking: Ch'ung hua shu ch'ü, 1979 reprint ed.), *chüan* 12, pp. 235-239.

29 Suzanne Cahill, pp. 122-142, 147-183.

30 Chang, pp. 375-377, citing in part Hsia Ch'eng-t'ao's "Yüeh fu pu t'i k'ao," in his *T'ang Sung tz'u jen nien p'u* (Shanghai: Chung hua shu ch'ü, 1961), pp. 377-378. The connection between Yang Kui-fei and the desecration of Empress Meng's tomb lies in the afore-mentioned hairpin. An emerald green hairpin falls to the ground in the famous death scene of Yang Kui-fei as described by Po Chü-i in *Ch'ang hen ke*. Moreover, after her death the apotheosized Yang Kui-fei, now residing in the paradise of the Queen Mother of the West, presents a golden hairpin to Hsüan-tsung's envoy as a symbol of the eternal love between she and the emperor.

Ch'ien Hsüan's use of Yang Kui-fei's image as a symbol of the lost Sung dynasty is not at all limited to *White Lotus*. In fact, the more one looks, the more Yang Kui-fei seems to play the prominent role in Ch'ien's paintings, at least those that are not landscapes. Most obvious is the well-known painting of Yang Kui-fei mounting a horse, with T'ang Hsüan-tsung watching from the side.³¹ A Ch'ien Hsüan painting of birds and flowers in the Tianjin Art Museum includes a peony--a flower commonly associated with Yang Kui-fei because of the lusciousness of its bloom--and an accompanying poem that alludes to the Lord of the East, consort of the Queen Mother of the West.³² Robert Harrist has noted a suggested allusion to Yang Kui-fei in *Pear Blossoms*. The first line of Ch'ien Hsüan's poem--"The lonely tear-stained face, teardrops drenching the branches"--borrows directly, once more, from Po Chü-i's *Ch'ang hen ke*, in which Yang Kui-fei's teary face is likened to a branch of pear blossoms wet by the spring rain.³³ Another painting of pear blossoms in the Cincinnati Art Museum (fig. 11), this time depicted with a pair of male turtledoves, lacks a poem by Ch'ien Hsüan, but that which follows by K'e Chiu-ssu 柯九思 (1290? -1343) refers directly to Yang Kui-fei (T'ai-chen):

The dream returns lightly, snowy fragrance anew,
 Secluded birds on the branches, their manner filled with spring.
 Unsettled by the light overcast, they call that the rain is coming;
 T'ai-chen's sadness is unbearable, painted eyebrows knit.³⁴

夢回澹澹雪香新，枝上幽禽氣得春；
 小倪輕陰呼雨至，太真愁絕翠初顰。

K'e Chiu-ssu's poem also helps to explain how the turtledoves fit into the allegory. As the third line of his verse alludes, the call of the male turtledove, which

31 See Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1973), pp. 171-173, and James Cahill, "Ch'ien Hsüan and His Figure Paintings."

32 The scroll is divided into three sections: peach with bird, peony, and prunus. The poem for the peach possibly alludes to the paradise of the Queen Mother of the West, where immortal peaches grew. The poem for the section of prunus is missing some characters due to damage of the painting surface. There are no direct references to Yang Kui-fei of which I am aware in this poem. The authenticity of this painting remains to be verified. According to the inscription, it was painted in 1294. See *Chung-kuo mei shu chüan chi*, *Hui hua pien*, vol. 5 (Peking: Wen wu ch'u pan she, 1989), no.2.

33 Harrist, p. 64. The image of pear blossoms also appears in Chou Mi's *tz'u* on the white lotus: "Imagine when the mandarin ducks were just having / A fine dream of pear blossoms in the clouds, / Suddenly the west wind came, biting cold, / To awaken them..." Translation by Kang-i Sun Chang, p. 357.

34 Transcriptions of the inscriptions to this painting are found in *Kō Kōbō, Gei San, Ō Mō, Go Chin, Bunjinga suihei* series, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1979), no.62.

is anxiously seeking its female companion, was associated with impending rain.³⁵ The drenching that is about to denude the blossoms in *Pear Blossoms* is made more unsettling in *Doves and Pear Blossoms* by the apparent complacency of these birds and the absence of their mates. The theme of loss, in other words, is given a double edge, as the turtledoves--clearly intended to symbolize the Sung *i min* who have lost their dynasty--sit passively awaiting the rain.

In each of these paintings and poems, including the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* songs, one notes how the flowers are portrayed as idealized images of natural purity. The poems often emphasize how the makeup of the lotus or pear is light or stripped entirely away, revealing a natural and pure beauty underneath. In Ch'ien Hsüan's poem on pear blossoms, her makeup is washed away by the rain. T'ang Ch'üeh's opening lines of his *tz'u* on the white lotus are representative of the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* offerings: "With light makeup she is even more lovely, / By the evening mirror she cleans away the heavy rouge and leaden powder."³⁶ 淡妝人更嬋娟，晚奩淨洗鉛華膩。 There is a clear and consistent attitude expressed by each of these writers: the Sung is to be idealized, its memory cherished as that of a lost lover. Ch'ien Hsüan's paintings provide the perfect complement, eschewing discourse or narrative, isolating his subjects in a timeless tableau, and in essence creating altars dedicated to the memory of the fallen Sung dynasty.

The preceding has led us astray from the discussion of calligraphy, but these contexts and connections will prove important as we now return to the art of writing by the Sung loyalists. The first thing is to again emphasize the significance of Chou Mi's and Ch'iu Yüan's inscriptions to Chao Meng-chien's painting of narcissus. Chou Mi's calligraphy is extremely rare, and although there are other extant examples of Ch'iu Yüan's writing--including inscriptions to an important landscape painting by Ch'ien Hsüan and the letter by Lu Hsiu-fu introduced above--none of these quite compares with his poem for Chao's narcissus in terms of the expression of loyalist sentiment in the content of his writing.³⁷ It is precisely our ability to

35 According to the *P'i ya* of the Northern Sung author Lu Tien, "When overcast skies form, the male turtledove anxiously chases after its mate. When it is clear, he calls out saying, 'It's going to rain.'" Lu Tien, *P'i ya* (*Ssu k'u chüan shu* ed.), *chüan* 7, p.6b.

36 Huang, p. 31. In Chou Mi's *tz'u* the makeup of the fairy Fei-ch'üung is light (Chang, p. 357, Huang, p. 26). Lü T'ung-lao's begins: "Pristine skin unblemished, natural and true...Fashionable makeup is washed clean away." (Huang, p. 33) Chao Ju-ping's begins: "Dew blossoms thoroughly wash away common makeup..." (Huang, p. 34). One of Wang Chi-sun's *tz'u* alludes to Yang Kui-fei bathing: "Leaden makeup washed clean away, / Gracefully, she leaves the bath..." (Huang, p. 42). The other *tz'u* on white lotus all have some similar image.

37 Ch'iu Yüan's extant inscriptions include one following Ch'ien Hsüan's *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* (Shanghai Museum of Art) as well as one above Ch'en Lin's *Duck by a Stream* (National Palace Museum, Taipei). I have made note of the inscription that follows Lu Hsiu-fu's letter but have not seen reproductions of it.

characterize these two poems as unequivocally loyalist, established through their close relationship to the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* songs, which makes them so valuable. And given the close link to the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* songs, we are justified in provisionally dating

Chou Mi's and Ch'iu Yüan's inscriptions to the very early years of the Yüan, when loyalist sentiment was at its strongest, and before many of the Sung *i min* shifted their position to one of accommodation with Mongol rule. Similarly, the established relationship between Ch'ien Hsüan's poems on the white lotus and pear blossoms to the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* songs places these inscriptions in the same category as Chou's and Ch'iu's inscriptions. All of these writings, it is reasonable to speculate, date relatively close to 1279, when the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* poems were composed, and all present, through the very specific viewpoint expressed in this poetic language, a powerful sense of identification with the fallen dynasty. But does the calligraphy itself carry this message forward on its own terms?

In answer to this question we need to consider late Southern Sung calligraphy in a slightly broader context. An inscription by the slightly later scholar Yü Chi 虞集 (1272-1348) to a combined scroll of calligraphy and painting by the earlier Southern Sung figures Wu Yüeh 吳樂 and Li T'ang 李唐 assists by offering a frank assessment of late Sung writing. After first describing the popularity of the late Northern Sung individualist styles, especially that of Mi Fu 米芾 (1052-1107/08), and the detrimental effect this had on calligraphy, culminating in the "loathsome and erroneous" writing of the late Southern Sung calligrapher Chang Chi-chih 張即之 (1186-1263), Yü Chi writes, "At the start of the Chih-yüan reign (1264-1294), many scholar-officials studied the calligraphy of Yen Chen-ch'ing. Although they did not quite succeed at 'carving the crane,' (some) managed to 'resemble the duck' (i.e., gain a general likeness of Yen's style). At the end of the Sung a number of those who recognized the errors of Chang (Chi-chih's) calligraphy showed a preference for the style of Ou-yang Hsün 歐陽詢 (557-641), but delicate and weak, (their writing) was like reeds woven together. It was the natural course of things that made it thus!" 至元初士大夫多學顏書，雖刻鵠不成尚可類鶩。而宋末知張之謬者，乃多尚歐陽率更書，纖弱僅如編葦。亦氣運使然耶。³⁸

It is the end of Yü Chi's comment that captures our attention, for it suggests a new movement in calligraphy at the end of the Southern Sung that at least in part was forged out of dissatisfaction with existing styles. Out of this dissatisfaction, scholars turn to classical T'ang models, with Ou-yang Hsün's style acting as the most

38 Yü Chi, "T'i Wu Ch'uan p'eng shu ping Li T'ang shan shui pa," *Tao yüan hsüeh ku lu* (Ssu k'u chüan shu ed.), chüan 11.

popular choice. The results, however, at least in the eyes of Yü Chi, were less than ideal. He places the blame on fate, suggesting the same general malaise, or decadent air, present at the end of the dynasty that T'ao Tsung-i refers to in his comment on Ch'ien Hsüan's writing cited earlier.

T'ao Tsung-i has no such negative comment for Ch'ien's younger contemporary and fellow loyalist Ch'iu Yüan, but he does confirm the popularity of the Ou-yang Hsün style: "A lover of antiquity and well versed in the elegant arts, his standard script was modeled after Ou [-yang Hsün]." 好古博雅，楷書學歐。³⁹ Ch'iu Yüan's allegiance to the T'ang master's style is substantiated by his inscription to Chao Meng-chien's painting of narcissus (fig. 9). The character compositions are squared and slightly elongated, and many of his brushstrokes are sharply delineated, reflecting Ch'iu Yüan's study of Ou-yang Hsün (fig. 12). At the same time, Ch'iu Yüan's characters occasionally reveal a departure from Ou-yang Hsün's typically tight individual compositions as well as a softness in a number of his strokes. The influence of Ou-yang Hsün's style is again apparent in Chou Mi's inscription, especially in Chou's angular brushwork (fig. 8). Like Ch'iu Yüan, Chou transforms the Ou-yang style, only here it is an accentuation of Ou-yang Hsün's angularity, extending horizontal and diagonal strokes in such a manner as to recall the individualist style of Huang T'ing-chien 黃庭堅 (1045-1105) (fig. 13). Chou Mi's writing is slightly more personal than that of Ch'iu Yüan, but in both cases one might characterize the calligraphy as individualistic interpretations of a canonical style.

Ch'ien Hsüan's writing bears a fairly close resemblance to both that of Chou Mi and Ch'iu Yüan. Again, there is a likely influence from the Ou-yang Hsün style, seen, for example in a slight vertical elongation of the character compositions and the tight arrangement of flat strokes in his poetic inscription to the landscape painting *Dwelling in the Mountains* (Palace Museum, Peking) (fig. 14). A similar style is employed for his poetic inscription to *Wang Hsi-chih Watching Geese* (Metropolitan Museum of Art) (fig. 15), though here there is slightly less of a predominance of blunt strokes. There are, in fact, interesting, though subtle, variations found in Ch'ien Hsüan's calligraphy. Sometimes the brushwork is blunter, sometimes sharper, sometimes more formal, sometimes more cursive. His inscription to *Pear Blossoms* employs more modulated, sharper brushstrokes and more balanced character compositions--a delicate style that matches nicely with the feminine subject matter of the painting (figs. 6, 16). This style, however, comes closest not to his poem on *White Lotus* (fig. 17), but rather to the poem that he added

39 T'ao Tsung-i, *Shu shih hui yao*, chüan 7, p.6a.

to his landscape painting *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* (Shanghai Museum) (fig. 18), and this inscription clearly betrays Ch'ien Hsüan's study of Ch'u Sui-liang's 褚遂良 (596-658) calligraphy (fig. 19). Wen Fong argues that Ch'ien Hsüan's calligraphy is modeled after the pre-Wang Hsi-chih archaic mode of Chung Yu 鍾繇 (151-230).⁴⁰ I agree with this observation, particularly as it pertains to Ch'ien Hsüan's inscriptions to *Dwelling in the Mountains*, *Wang Hsi-chih Watching Geese*, and *White Lotus*. Ch'ien often truncates strokes, opens up the character structures, and creates slightly imbalanced compositions, all of which accords with the archaistic interpretation of early standard script writing. Though not as frequently or as artistically applied, some of these same characteristics can be seen in Chou Mi's and Ch'iu Yüan's inscriptions as well. Significantly, Lu Hsiu-fu's letter reveals a similar interest in archaistic mannerisms, with touches of *chang ts'ao* 章草 (draft cursive) brushwork intermingled with eccentrically balanced character compositions (figs. 5, 5a). Moreover, Wen T'ien-hsiang's *Hsieh Chang-yüan tso yu ming tz'u* can be characterized as an exercise in draft cursive as well, again revealing the late Sung scholars' fascination with early styles of writing (fig. 3).

Judging from this body of materials, it is possible to offer some observations regarding late Sung calligraphy and the practice of at least some of the loyalists in the early years of the Yüan. First, it is apparent that in the late years of the Sung there was a discernible interest in the study of the small-sized standard script, utilizing the canonical T'ang masters as the basis but also employing a sophisticated understanding of archaic models. The overall impression is refined, scholarly, even bookish and elitist. Possibly, the interest in Ou-yang Hsün, as reported by Yü Chi, was stimulated by an effort to change calligraphic practice in the 13th century, an effort that may have been a reflection of the increasing perception of dynastic weakness in the face of the Mongol threat and the need for change. However, what we find in the calligraphy of these writers, Ch'ien Hsüan in particular, is an interest in exploring a world of variation within the small *kai* script. The transformations in his writing are truly rewarding to the patient viewer, but one has to shrink into Ch'ien Hsüan's private world of carefully structured inscriptions to appreciate them. For those who disdained the late Sung--its effeminacy and weakness--such a prospect was not inviting.

40 Wen Fong, *Beyond Representation*, p.311.

Kung K'ai

Kung K'ai may well have been one of those who did not appreciate Ch'ien Hsüan's calligraphy. This may seem strange at first, for it has long been customary to group the two artists in the same category of Sung loyalist. The two would seem to have shared much. Like Ch'ien Hsüan, Kung K'ai was a dedicated loyalist with scholarly credentials. Like Ch'ien Hsüan, Kung K'ai served in modest positions as an official under the Sung, and like Ch'ien Hsüan, Kung K'ai retired to a life of semi-reclusion after the fall of the dynasty, supporting himself, it appears, by writing and painting.⁴¹ He was particularly celebrated for his paintings of horses, which, Chou Mi reports, Kung painted with the paper spread on the back of his son, being too poor to own a proper writing desk.⁴² Kung was said to have painted "T'ang horses," which is not merely a designation of painting style but of subject as well.⁴³ Kung K'ai's focus on the T'ang, which through allegory or contrast becomes a comment on the Sung, is another shared point with Ch'ien Hsüan, at least Ch'ien's flower paintings discussed above. Yet, as a brief look at Kung K'ai's *Chung K'ui's Outing* (Freer Gallery) will clearly demonstrate, there are remarkable points of difference in Kung's perspective (fig. 20). Again, we are looking first at the artist's painting and inscription before approaching his calligraphy.

The subject of the "demon queller" Chung K'ui 鍾馗 was another of Kung K'ai's specialties. In fact, according to the late Yüan critic Hsia Wen-yen 夏文彥, "black demons, Chung K'ui and such, bizarre and totally original," were what he enjoyed painting most.⁴⁴ The deservedly celebrated scroll in the Freer Gallery includes Kung K'ai's long poem and inscription, along with those of more than a dozen contemporaries (fig. 21). The following translation is rendered purposely informal,

41 See James Cahill's biography in Franke, op cit., pp.64-69. Primary source materials for Kung K'ai are found in the later compilation of his writings, *Kui ch'eng sou chi* (Ch'u chou ts'ung shu ed., n.d.). The only official position Kung K'ai is known to have held is with the Board of Salt Revenues for the Liang Huai Region. Kung K'ai was a friend to Lu Hsiu-fu, collecting Lu's literary works, adding a preface, and composing his memorial biography, as well as that of Wen T'ien-hsiang.

42 *Kui ch'eng sou chi*, addendum, p.1a, citing *Wu lai sang hai i lu*.

43 Hsia Wen-yen, in *T'u hui pao chien* (*Hua shih tsung shu* reprint ed.; Shanghai: Jen min mei shu ch'u pan she, 1982), *chüan* 5, p.126, reports that his horses were modeled after the celebrated T'ang horse painter Ts'ao Pa. Chou Mi calls them "T'ang horses." A painting by Kung recorded in Wang Feng's *Wu hsi chi* was of the horses of T'ang T'ai-tsung. See Ch'en Kao-hua, ed., *Yüan tai hua chia shih liao*, p. 295. In the case of the famous "Emaciated Horse" in the Osaka Municipal Museum, the immediate subject is ambiguous--the "former dynasty" of Kung K'ai's inscription possibly referring to either the T'ang or Sung--though at a symbolic level the haggard horse's implied identification with the Sung *i min* is clear.

44 See the previous note.

in keeping with the spirit of Kung's poem and painting.⁴⁵

The home of the Bearded Lord is in the Central Mountains;
 Mounting a carriage for an excursion, where might he be going?
 He says it's just a bit of a hunt, without falcon or dog;
 Wherever his whim might take him, a place to set up house.
 Little Sis wants her lovely face to be presented at its best;
 Of the various colors for makeup, black is most appropriate.
 On the road they come to a post house; they need to take a rest,
 But who, in this ancient chamber, can serve the wine and food?
 Red Turban and Black Shirt are certainly good cooks,
 Yet in the end fresh blood from a beauty is hard to obtain.⁴⁶
 Better to return and drink the Central Mountain brew;
 Once drunk, for three years one's myriad cares retreat.
 But the sorrow is there are creatures out there coveting the high and mighty;
 Pa-i used her wealth to buy other people's homes.
 We await the Bearded Lord to awake and make a clean sweep,
 At Ma-wei the "Golden Burden" disappeared without a trace.

髯君家本住中山，駕言出遊安所適。
 謂爲小獵無鷹犬，以爲意行有家室。
 阿妹韶容見靚妝，五色胭脂最宜黑。
 道逢驛舍須少憩，古屋何人供酒食。
 赤幘烏衫固可嘉，美人清血終難得。
 不如歸飲中山釀，一醉三年萬緣息。
 卻愁有物覷高明，八姨豪買他人宅。
 待髯君醒爲掃除，馬嵬金馱去無跡。

Chung K'ui is the strange character that is said to have appeared in a feverish dream of T'ang Hsüan-tsung during the K'ai-yüan reign (713-742). Pestered in his nightmare by a pint-sized demon named Hsü Hao 虛耗, who had just pilfered the

45 My translation is largely based on that of Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting*, pp. 142-149. Kung's inscription, as well as those of a number of colophon writers from Kung K'ai's time and later, is recorded in Pien Yung-yü, *Shih ku t'ang shu hua hui k'ao* (Taipei: Cheng chü shu chü, 1958 reprint ed.), *chüan* 15, pp. 90-92.

46 I suspect that Red Turban and Black Shirt, which are two of the characters in the painting, are derived from the early compilation of ghost tales *Sou shen chi*. Similar characters appear in a story concerning a haunted pavilion south of An-yang, one wearing black clothing and the other named Red Turban (Ch'ih tse). *Chung wen ta tz'u tien* (Taipei: Chung kuo wen hua ta hsüeh, 1973), vol. 8, p. 1446.

emperor's jade flute and was making a mess of the palace, Hsüan-tsung calls for help, but in place of the imperial bodyguards a large hirsute fellow enters and proceeds to dismember and eat the imp. After awakening, the emperor is told that his savior is the spirit of Chung K'ui, an unsuccessful exam candidate of a century earlier. Chung K'ui had committed suicide, despairing at his failure, but because he was posthumously awarded a degree, his spirit vows to rid the world of demons like Hsü Hao.⁴⁷ Chung K'ui became a popular cultural figure closely associated with the seasonal exorcism of malignant spirits at the New Year. His popularity grew in the early Yüan--no doubt because his special talents were wistfully seen as a useful skill during this period of foreign occupation--and it extended to the literati, who must have felt a kinship with Chung K'ui's scholarly background.

It has long been assumed that Kung K'ai's painting is a thinly veiled expression of hope that a new Chung K'ui will arise and rid China of its new demons, the Mongols. And yet, as Thomas Lawton observed, allusions in Kung K'ai's poem suggest that at least one of the demons in question is none other than Yang Kui-fei.⁴⁸ Ma-wei 馬嵬, mentioned in the last line, is the site of Yang Kui-fei's execution at the hands of T'ang Hsüan-tsung's imperial guardsmen during the journey to Shu amidst the An Lu-shan Rebellion, and presumably the "golden burden" refers to her. Earlier in the poem we learn that Chung K'ui dines on the fresh blood of beauties. These, most likely, are a reference to Yang Kui-fei and her exceptionally beautiful sisters. Ba i 八姨 (Maiden Eight), otherwise known as the Lady of the Ch'in Realm (Ch'in kuo fu jen 秦國夫人), was one of the notorious three elder sisters of Yang Kui-fei. Said to be exceptionally beautiful but unscrupulous, the sisters followed extravagant and licentious lifestyles, taking full advantage of Hsüan-tsung's patronage. It is said that they used 100,000 in cash each month for cosmetics alone.⁴⁹

A well-known composition associated with the T'ang painter Chang Hsüan 張萱 (active first half of the eighth century), titled *The Spring Outing of the Lady of the Kuo Realm* and presumed to depict the three sisters, may well be tangentially related

47 The story is narrated in the sixteenth century compilation *T'ien chung chi* and is said to be based on one found in the earlier text *T'ang i shih*. See Mary H. Fong, "A Probable Second 'Zhong Kui' by Emperor Shunzhi of the Qing," *Oriental Art*, vol. 23, no. 4 (Winter, 1977), pp. 427-428.

48 Lawton, 145.

49 Great Maiden, who married into the Ts'ui clan, was given the title Lady of the Han Realm. Maiden Three, who married into the P'ei clan, was given the honorary title Lady of the Kuo Realm. Maiden Eight married into the Liu clan. The bestowal of honorary titles all took place in 748. See Hsü Tao-hsün and Chao K'e-yao, *T'ang Ming huang yü Yang Kui-fei* (Peking: Jen min ch'u pan she, 1990), pp. 374-375. See also the various commentaries to Su Shih's poem "Kuo kuo fu jen yeh you t'u," *Su Shih shih chi* (Peking: Chung hua shu chü, 1987 reprint ed), *chüan* 27, pp. 1462-1464.

to Kung K'ai's scroll (fig. 22).⁵⁰ Another Chang Hsüan composition, titled *The Night Outing of the Lady of the Kuo Realm*, was particularly famous through the Sung dynasty, having collected a number of early inscriptions, including a poem by Su Shih. This scroll entered the imperial collection of Sung Hui-tsung 宋徽宗 (r. 1100-1125), changed hands among collectors of the Southern Sung, and eventually ended up in the collection of the notorious Southern Sung minister Han T'o-chou 韓侂胄 (1152-1207).⁵¹ Later it entered the collection of Chao Yü-ch'in, as is duly noted by Chou Mi.⁵² Whether or not Kung K'ai saw this particular scroll, he was probably familiar with the general composition of such "outing" paintings, just as, in all likelihood, he knew Su Shih's poem. An alternative title for this painting in Chao Yü-ch'in's collection was *The Ladies [of the Realms] Ch'in and Kuo*, revealing that Ba i, or Maiden Eight, the same that is mentioned in Kung K'ai's poem, was represented in the painting.⁵³ Su Shih's poem also makes direct reference to Ba i. All of this suggests a curious relationship between *Chung K'ui's Outing* and that of the T'ang maidens.

Ch'en Fang 陳方, one of the Yüan colophon writers for *Chung K'ui's Outing*, describes in his verse Kung K'ai's misery at the fall of the dynasty, how Kung's brush, equaling one thousand generals, creates myriad strange creatures "to expel the inauspicious." "Alas," he continues, "people of the Hsien-ch'un reign were unaware, / Night after night in the palace playing jade flutes." 嗟哉咸淳人不識，夜夜宮中吹玉笛。⁵⁴ The Hsien-ch'un reign (1265-1274) was one of the last of the Southern Sung; a jade flute, we are reminded, was what the demon Hsü Hao stole from Hsüan-tsung. Once again, T'ang dynasty affairs serve as an allegory for the fall of the Sung, but instead of Ch'ien Hsüan's bittersweet elegy, Kung K'ai creates a parody of enormous sarcasm, and one that bites much harder than Ch'en Fang's poem suggests.

50 This particular version is attributed to Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106), though as James Cahill noted years ago, the composition reverts back to Chang Hsüan. Another version in the Liaoning Provincial Museum has been called a copy of Chang's painting by Emperor Hui-tsung (r. 1100-1125). See Liu Chung-ch'eng and Su Li-p'ing, "Chang Hsüan yü Kuo kuo fu jen you ch'un t'u," *I yüan tuo ying* 40 (Shanghai: Shang-hai jen min mei shu ch'u pan she, 1989), p. 4.

51 The painting was first attributed to Chang Hsüan by Hui-tsung. It reportedly was originally in the collection of Li Yü, ruler of the Southern T'ang, before being owned by Yen Shu (991-1055). Hui-tsung gave the painting to Liang Shih-ch'eng (d. 1126). During the Southern Sung, the painting was owned by Ch'in K'ui (1090-1155) among others. See the commentary to Su Shi's poem, *op cit.*, p. 1462.

52 Chou Mi, *Yün yen kuo yen lu*, in Yü An-lan, ed., *Hua p'in ts'ung shu* (Shanghai: Jen min mei shu ch'u pan she, 1982), p. 324. See Ankeney Weitz's brief discussion of Chao Yü-ch'in's collection, *op cit.*, 268, note no.2.

53 This was the title handwritten by Sung Hui-tsung. See note no.49.

54 Pien Yung-yü, *Shih ku t'ang shu hua hui k'ao*, painting, p. 92.

Kung K'ai paints an outing: Chung K'ui, his sister, and their various ghoulish attendants, who present themselves in hilarious contrast to the handsome picture of T'ang female equestrians attributed to Chang Hsüan. Chung K'ui's sister and her female attendants mimic the legacy of expensive cosmetics for which Yang Kui-fei's sisters were so famous; the color of choice here, however, is black. (How different a picture Kung K'ai paints in contrast to Ch'ien Hsüan's emphasis on the clean, unadorned beauty of the imperial flower!) The goal of their outing is to rid China of the inauspicious, which, judging from Kung's poem, must be those responsible for losing China: the selfish, the incompetent, the feminine. But the mockery here is also self-directed. Chung K'ui, the leader of an entourage of clowns, is equally incompetent. Hardly the dedicated hunter of demons, he disappears for three years, drunk on Central Mountain brew. Kung K'ai is criticizing his own kind--the scholar-officials who did little or nothing to prevent the disaster that befell China. The painting, in my opinion, has little to do with the Mongols. Rather, it is a scathing exercise in self-recrimination--a parade of demons and clowns who represent the sad incompetence of the scholar-officials who witnessed the end of their dynasty and felt hopelessly alienated in the new era of the Yüan.

Examining closely Kung K'ai's poetic inscription on *Chung K'ui's Outing* allows us to see how strongly he differed, at least in terms of artistic expression, from the *Yüeh fu pu t'i* writers, Chou Mi, Ch'iu Yüan, and especially Ch'ien Hsüan. Yang Kui-fei is again utilized as a symbol of the feminized Southern Sung, but rather than being idolized as an image of a lost love, she (or at least her sisters) are painted black, literally, and the focus turns not to the past but to the present. Kung K'ai may be referring to past events--the bitterness under the humor may be directed firstly to those deemed responsible for the Sung's failures--but there is no doubt that Chung K'ui represents the *i min* of the present: would-be heroes cast in a farcical light. We can say that Kung K'ai occupies a very different position in the liminal space of the Sung *i min*, and it is thus not surprising to find that his calligraphy presents a very different image from that of Ch'ien Hsüan, Chou Mi, and Ch'iu Yüan (figs. 21, 21a). His inscription is written in the clerical script, but with hardly any hint of the brush modulation that characterizes standard interpretations of this archaic mode of writing. His brush, rather, produces almost uniformly even lines, with only the slightest of widening in the diagonal *na* strokes. He employs, in other words, the brush methods of the even more archaic seal script in his writing of the clerical, producing a strangely formal style of writing. The delicacy of Kung K'ai's thin strokes adds a touch of refinement, but given the inscription's pairing with Kung's wild ensemble of demons and ghouls, the effect seems all the more peculiar.

Kung K'ai's poem is only the first part of his inscription. The rest is an interestingly self-conscious comment on the subject matter of his painting, its style, and its relationship to calligraphy. He writes:

Some say that painting demons in ink is being merely playful with the brush, but that is certainly not true. This type of painting is like the work of the most divine of the cursive script writers. There is none in the world who can write the cursive script without first excelling in the formal script. Of old, those who excelled in painting demons in ink were Ssu I-chen and Chao Ch'ien-li. Ch'ien-li's *Ting hsiang kui* is certainly extraordinary. The only pity is that it is so far removed from figure painting that people have looked upon it as a playful painting. I-chen's demons are very skillfully done, but his intention is vulgar. Recently, it has reached the point where a painter has depicted the Bearded Lord in a field privy being approached by a porcupine while his sister, with stick in hand and her clothing flying open, comes to drive it away. Now what kind of a painting is that? My aim in painting *Chung K'ui's Outing* is to wash away I-chen's vulgarity and hopefully preserve the pure joy of brush and ink. In calligraphic terms, the painting combines the regular script and the semi-cursive (*hsing*) script. Matters concerning Chung K'ui are exceedingly few. [Consequently, even though] I had composed verses to go before and after the painting, they seemed unavoidably repetitive. So now I finish the colophon with discussion of other matters, with the purpose of saying something new. Written by Kung K'ai of Huai-yin.⁵⁵

人言墨鬼爲戲筆，是大不然。此乃書家之草聖也。世豈有不善真書而能作草者。在昔善畫墨鬼有姒頤真趙千里。千里丁香鬼誠爲奇特，所惜去人物科太遠，故人得以戲筆目之。頤真鬼雖甚工，然其用意猥。近甚者作髯君野溷，一豪豬即之，妹子持杖披襟趕逐。此何爲者耶。僕今作中山出遊圖，蓋欲一洒頤真之陋，庶不廢翰墨清玩。譬之書猶真行之間也。鍾馗事絕少。僕前後爲詩未免重用。今即他事成篇聊出新意焉耳。淮陰龔開記。

55 Translation by Thomas Lawton with a few additions and modifications, op cit., 144-145 (in particular, Lawton dropped the line near the end of the inscription concerning the lack of literary precedents with regard to Chung k'ui). Ssu I-chen was a Sung specialist of ghosts and demons. Hsia Wen-yen, *T'u hui pao chien*, chüan 3, p. 87. Lawton and others read his surname as the similar character Miao. Ssu I-chen seems to have been active late in the Northern Sung, as *T'u hui pao chien* notes that Huang T'ing-chien once inscribed one of his paintings. Chao Ch'ien-li is Chao Po-chü, the well-known early Southern Sung painter. The subject "ghost of the *ting hsiang* tree" remains unidentified.

The strange juxtaposition of formality and absurdity that we find in the pairing of Kung K'ai's calligraphic style with his painting is echoed here in the latter half of Kung K'ai's inscription, as Kung attempts to justify his painting of a "vulgar" subject by likening it to the most divine cursive calligraphy as practiced by one first well-schooled in the formalities of the standard script, and then describing his painting as calligraphy itself--a combination of standard and semi-cursive scripts.⁵⁶ I think what is important here is less Kung K'ai's specific justification than simply the awareness he demonstrates of his position. He is, in a sense, neither here nor there. He wishes to distance himself from the "high" art that was the legacy of the Southern Sung and he does so by depicting the decidedly "low" figure Chung K'ui, and in a popular manner. At the same time, Kung K'ai makes a strong effort to associate himself with the lofty scholarly tradition of the Northern Sung, emphasizing proper calligraphic models as the basis for his art. He is, in effect, attempting to bridge two seemingly opposite worlds, and we should recognize this as the immediate result of Kung K'ai's own state of un-belonging.

If Kung K'ai's calligraphy accompanying *Chung K'ui's Outing* is a quietly ironic statement of propriety to underscore the sarcasm of his painting, then his poem accompanying his other extant painting, *Emaciated Horse*, is a bold, emotional statement of self-pity. The style of the writing is essentially the same, but here it is magnified, with stark black brushstrokes etching each character in larger-than-life size (figs. 23, 23a). It is remarkable how familiar this painting and its poem are to most of us, and yet how many have noticed this calligraphy? The poem describes the bent figure of the horse, casting a shadow like a mountain in the light of the setting sun. The calligraphy provides the pictorial complement to that message of tragic heroism. Kung K'ai monumentalizes the lost present by dressing it in the garb of a distant, if ambiguous, past.

Conclusions

In contrast to Ch'ien Hsüan as a calligrapher, T'ao Tsung-i praised Kung K'ai for his lofty resoluteness: "[Kung K'ai] was broadly informed and knowledgeable. Resolute of character, he was unlike the common and vulgar. His ancient clerical script writing attains the brush-ideas of the Han and Wei [periods]." 博聞多識，耿介不同於俗。作古隸得漢魏筆意。⁵⁷ From T'ao Tsung-i's perspective, especially

56 Kung K'ai is echoing a well-known discourse on cursive calligraphy that took place in the late Northern Sung and centered on the T'ang wild cursive master Chang Hsü (ca. 700-750). I discuss this in my book *Mi Fu: Style and the Art of Calligraphy in Northern Song China*, 129ff.

57 T'ao Tsung-i, *Shu shih hui yao*, chüan 7, p.6a.

following the profound influence of Chao Meng-fu, references to a classical past were a sign of separation from the "decadent" manners of the Southern Sung; they were signs of renewal. But while Kung K'ai certainly intended to establish distance between himself and the end of his dynasty, his calligraphy should be regarded less a sign of renewal than a symbol of his own alienation. This was one possible mode of expression, and his calligraphy graphically explores its permutations by adopting eccentrically archaic manners. This interpretation of Kung K'ai's calligraphy, however, must be tempered by acknowledgment of the limitations of our materials. Kung K'ai's exploration of the archaic scripts by itself is not so noteworthy--there were a number of calligraphers that wrote seal and clerical script calligraphy in the late Southern Sung, including Chao Meng-chien (fig. 24).⁵⁸ Without examples of Kung's writing from before the fall of the dynasty, it is impossible to know how much of what we see in his inscriptions for *Chung K'ui's Outing* and *Emaciated Horse* are the result of his self-perceived status of himself as an *i min*. Nonetheless, if this particular example by Chao Meng-chien is indicative of late Southern Sung clerical script, Kung's efforts strike the viewer as remarkably different. Kung K'ai's reduction of brush modulation purposely limits the viewer's experience of variation, with the result that his writing appears to distance itself from the expression of personal values that the viewer typically anticipates when appreciating another scholar's writing. In a display of ironic detachment, Kung seems to stand outside of his calligraphy, which takes on its own iconic status as monolithic symbol. It remains a possibility that Kung K'ai practiced such a style before the fall of the Sung, but it somehow seems unlikely. In the least, we can acknowledge that this writing perfectly complements the paintings it accompanies.

Interpretations of Chou Mi's, Ch'iu Yüan's, and Ch'ien Hsüan's calligraphy face the same problem: without established works from before the fall of the dynasty it is difficult to evaluate what exists today. Here, however, the assumption is different. Their inscriptions suggest a continuation of, rather than departure from, late Southern Sung styles, and though there may indeed be subtle signs of dynastic change embedded in the writing, it is difficult to read them today. Of course, continuing the writing style of the previous dynasty is perhaps the deepest expression of loyalty. Just as their poems, and in the case of Ch'ien Hsüan his paintings, demonstrate a reluctance to let go of the cherished memories of the Sung, their writing, too, preserves the memories of the past.

58 Harold Mok, "Seal and Clerical Scripts of the Sung Dynasty," *Character and Context in Chinese Calligraphy*, edited by Cary Y. Liu, Dora C.Y. Ching, and Judith G. Smith (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), pp.174-199.

Fig. 1. Kung K'ai (1222-1307), *Emaciated Horse*. Handscroll, ink on paper, 30×56.9 cm. Abe Collection, Osaka Municipal Museum. From *Sōraikan kinshō* (Osaka: Hakubundo, 1930-1939), vol. 1, 18.

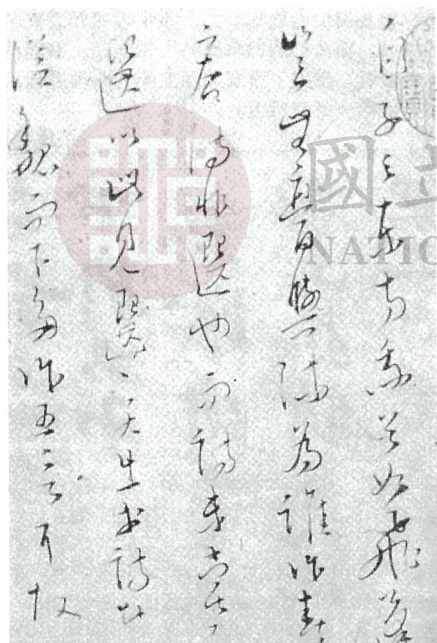
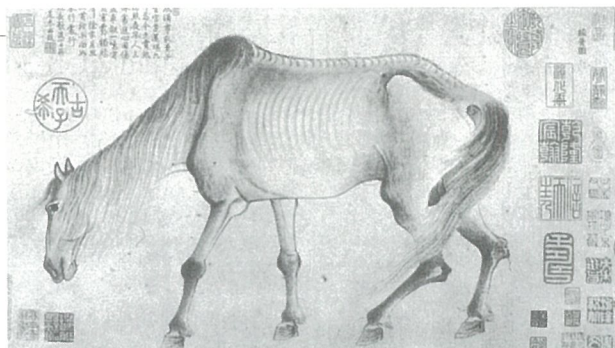


Fig. 2. Wen T'ien-hsiang (1236-1283), *Mu chi chi hsü*. 1273. Handscroll, ink on paper, 24.5×96.9 cm.

Liaoning Provincial Museum. From Liu Cheng-ch'eng, ed., *Chung-kuo shé fa chien shang ta tz'u tien* (Peking: Ta ti ch'u pan she, 1989), 784.

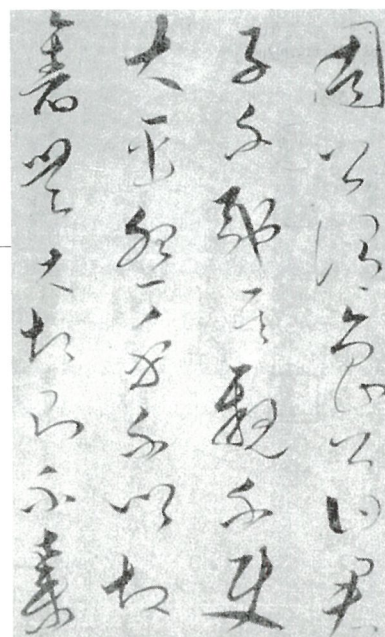


Fig. 3. Wen T'ien-hsiang (1236-1283), *Hsieh Ch'ang-yüan tso yu ming t'zu chüan*. 1273. Handscroll, ink on paper, 36.7×335.7 cm. History Museum, Peking. From Liu Cheng-ch'eng, ed., *Chung-kuo shu fa chien shang ta tz'u tien* (Peking: Ta ti ch'u pan she, 1989), 785.

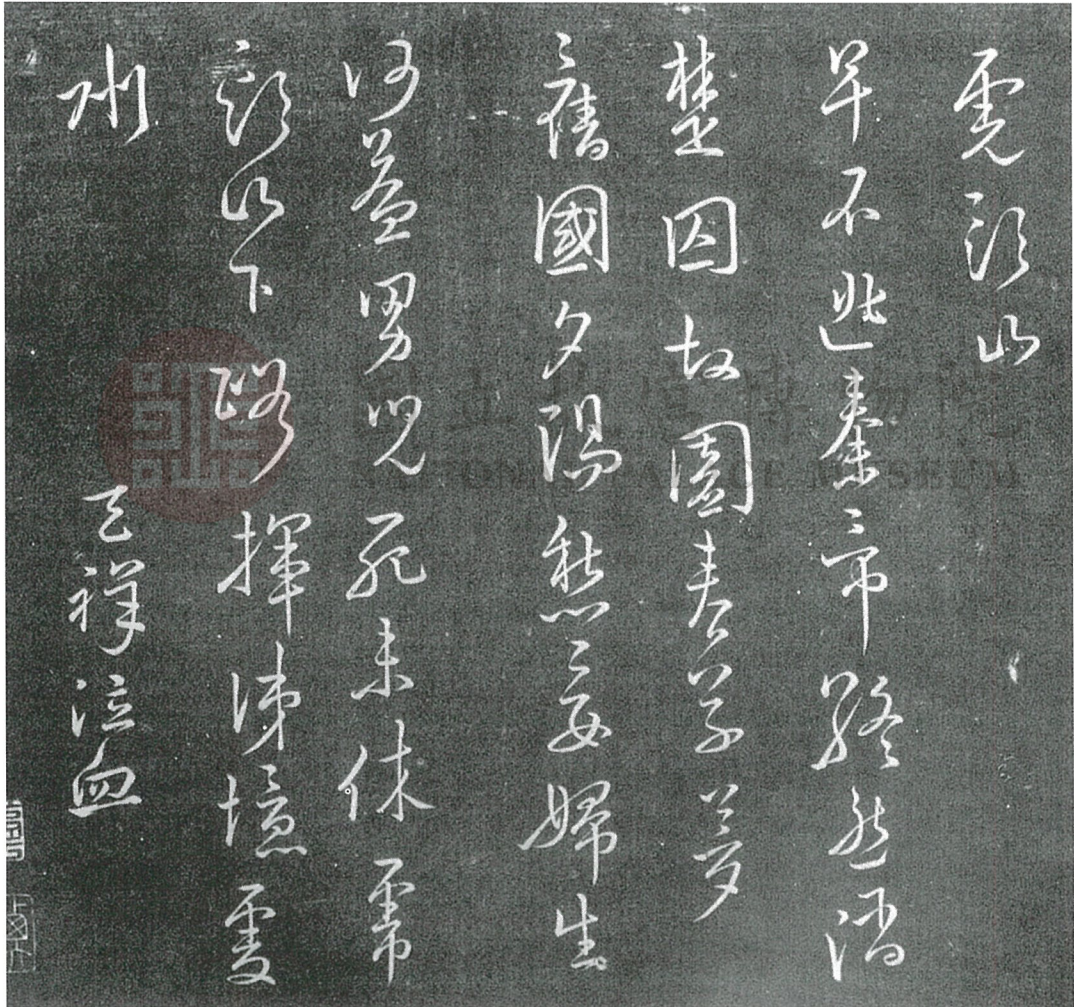


Fig. 4. Wen T'ien-hsiang (1236-1283), *Hu t'ou shan*. circa 1282. Published in *T'ing yün kuan fa t'ieh*. From Liu Cheng-ch'eng, ed., *Chung-kuo shu fa chien shang ta tz'u tien* (Peking: Ta ti ch'u pan she, 1989), 785.

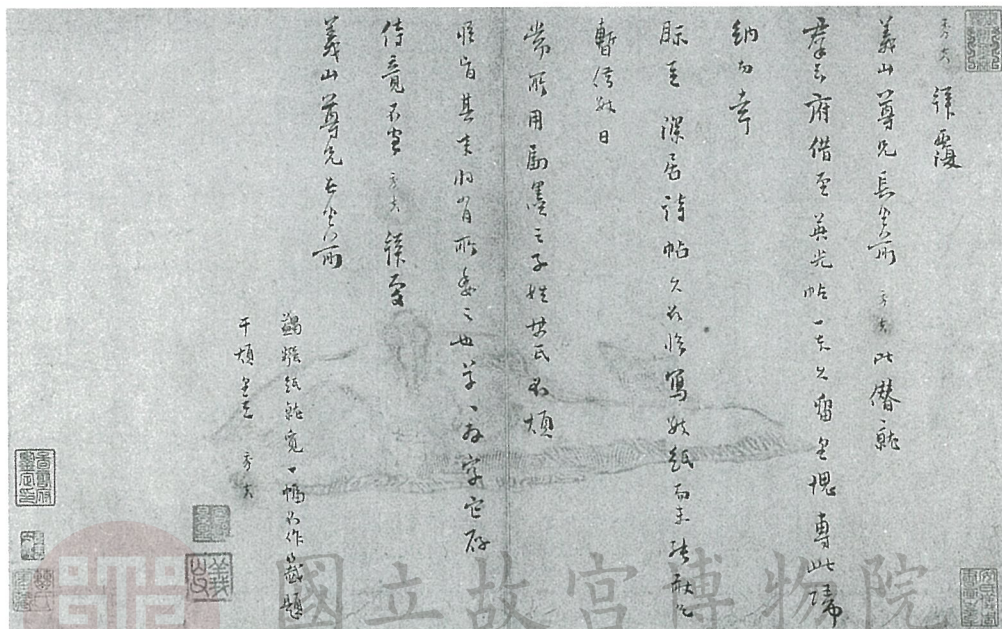


Fig. 5. Liu Hsiu-fu (1238-1279), *Ch'ün yü t'ieh*. Album leaf, 30.4×49.1 cm.
Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, Republic of China.

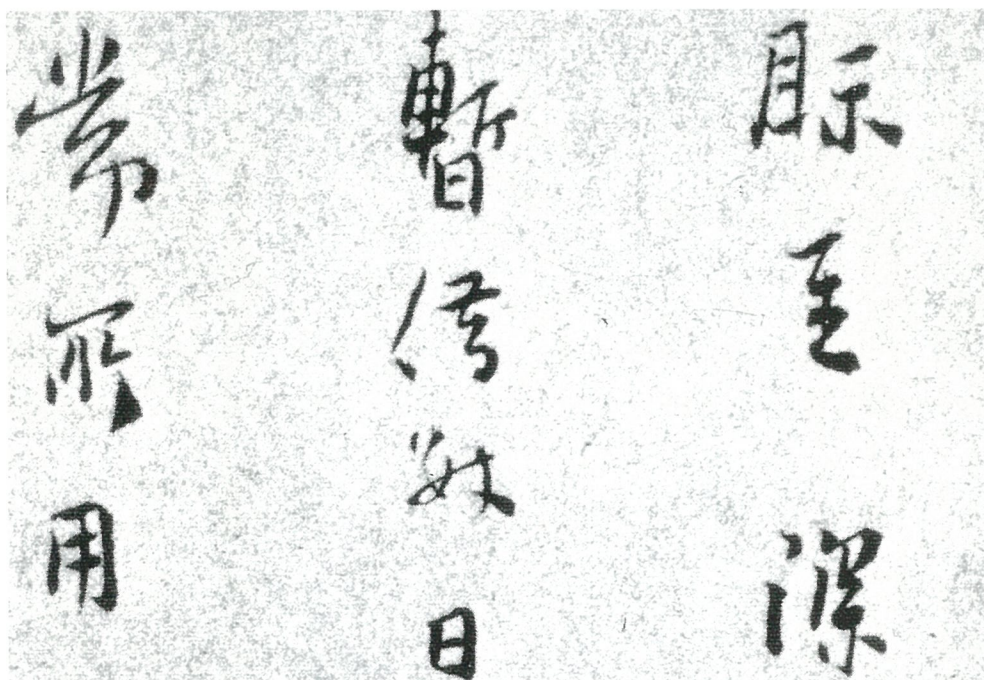


Fig. 5a. Liu Hsiu-fu (1238-1279), *Ch'ün yü t'ieh* (detail). Album leaf, 30.4×49.1 cm.
Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, Republic of China.



Fig. 6. Ch'ien Hsüan (circa 1235-before 1307), *Pear Blossoms*. Handscroll (right to left), ink and color on paper, 31.1×95.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1979.



Fig. 7. Chao Meng-chien (1199-1264), *Narcissus*. Handscroll, ink on paper, 33.2×372.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of the Dillon Fund, 1973.

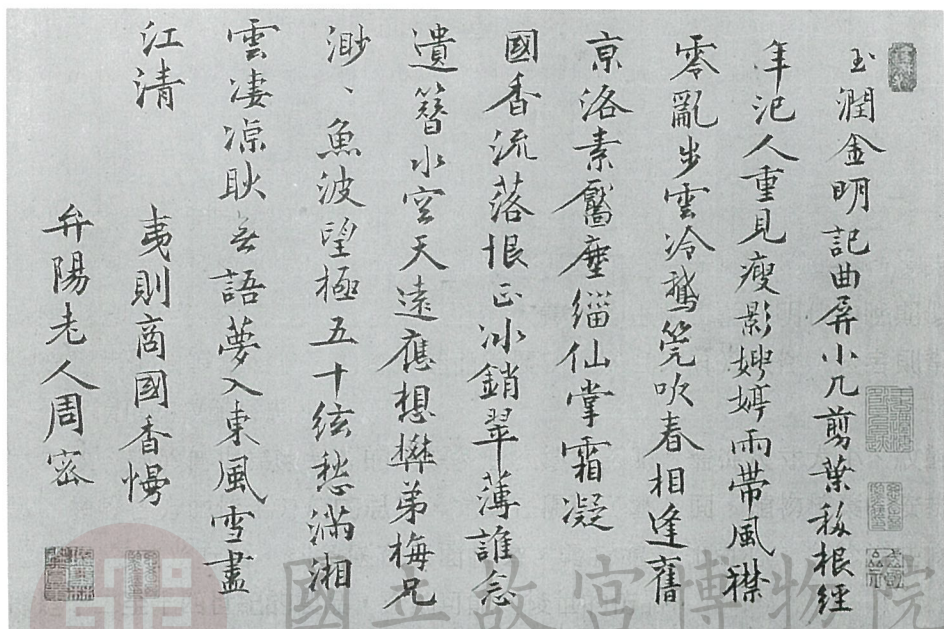


Fig. 8. Chou Mi (1232-1298), Inscription to *Narcissus*. Handscroll, ink on paper, 33.2×372.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of the Dillon Fund, 1973.

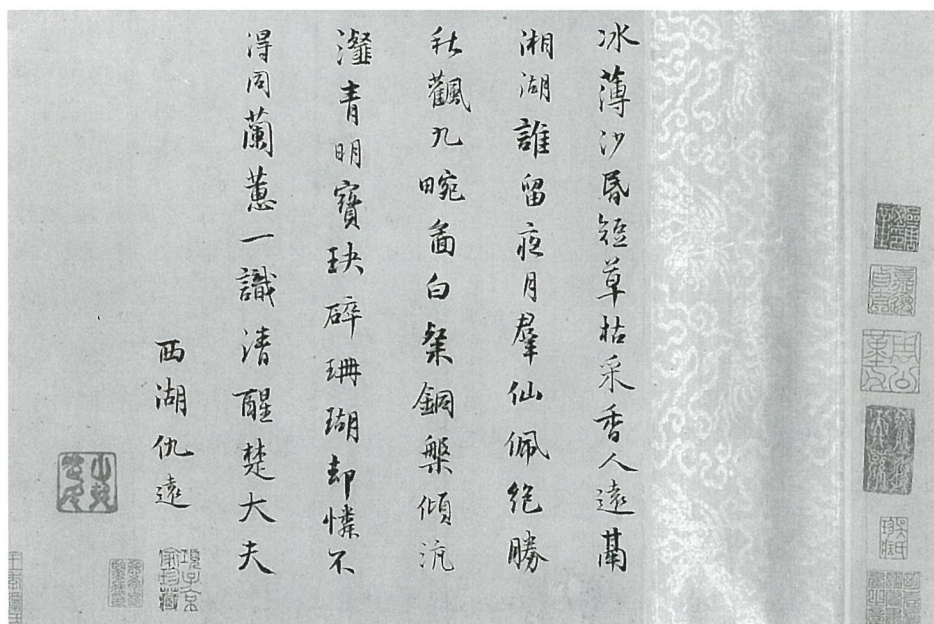


Fig. 9. Ch'iu Yüan (1247-1327), Inscription to *Narcissus*. Handscroll, ink on paper, 33.2×372.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of the Dillon Fund, 1973.



Fig. 10. Ch'ien Hsüan (circa 1235-before 1307), *White Lotus*, ink and color on paper, 42×90 cm. The Shandong Provincial Museum. From *Wen wu* 5 (1972).



Fig. 11. Ch'ien Hsüan (circa 1235-before 1307), *Doves and Pear Blossoms*. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 30.5×97.8 cm. Cincinnati Art Museum, Museum Purchase: J. J. Emery Endowment.

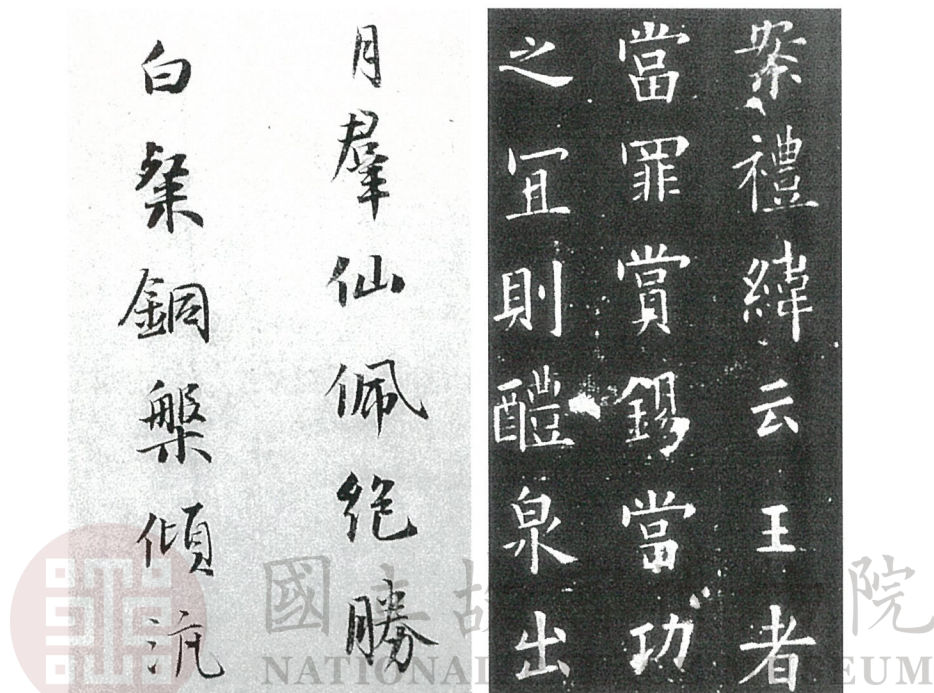


Fig. 12. Comparison of Ch'iu Yüan (left) and Ou-yang Hsün (557-641) (right), *Chiu ch'eng kung Li ch'üan ming* (detail).

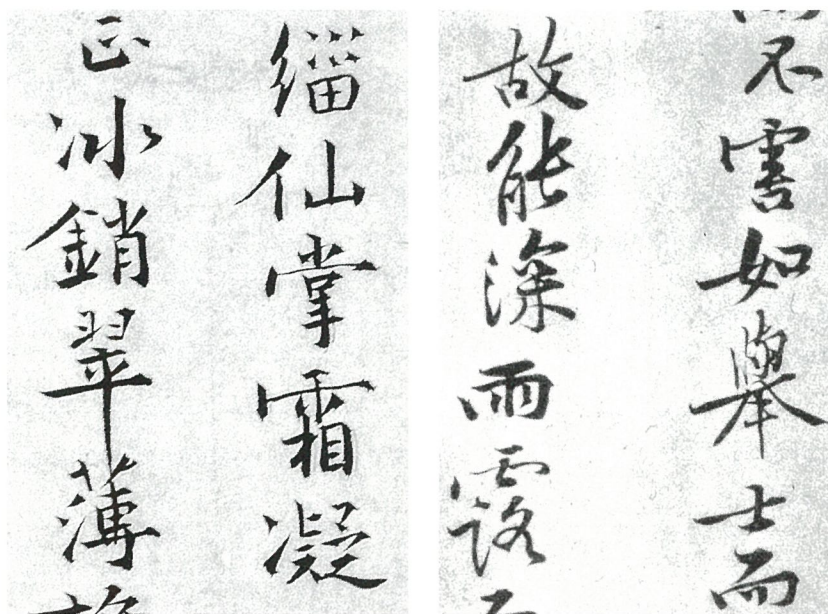


Fig. 13. Comparison of Chou Mi (left) and Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1105) (right), *K'u hsun fu* (detail).

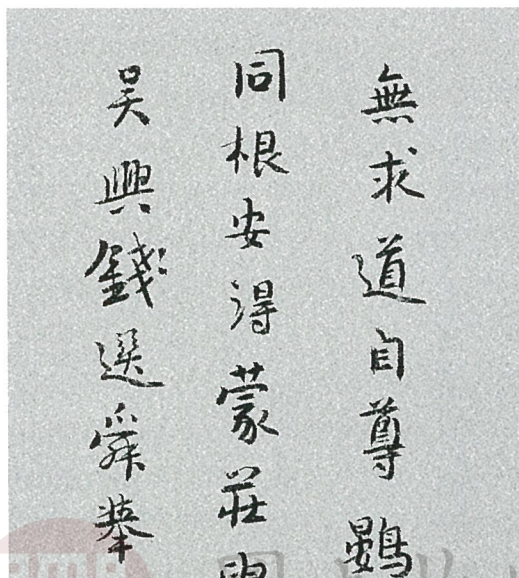


Fig. 14. Ch'ien Hsüan (circa 1235- before 1307), Inscription to *Dwelling in the Mountains*. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 26.5×111.6 cm. Palace Museum, Peking. From *Chung-kuo li tai hui hua: Ku Kung po wu yüan ts'ang hua chi* (Peking: Jen min mei shu ch'u pan she, 1983), vol. 4, 7.

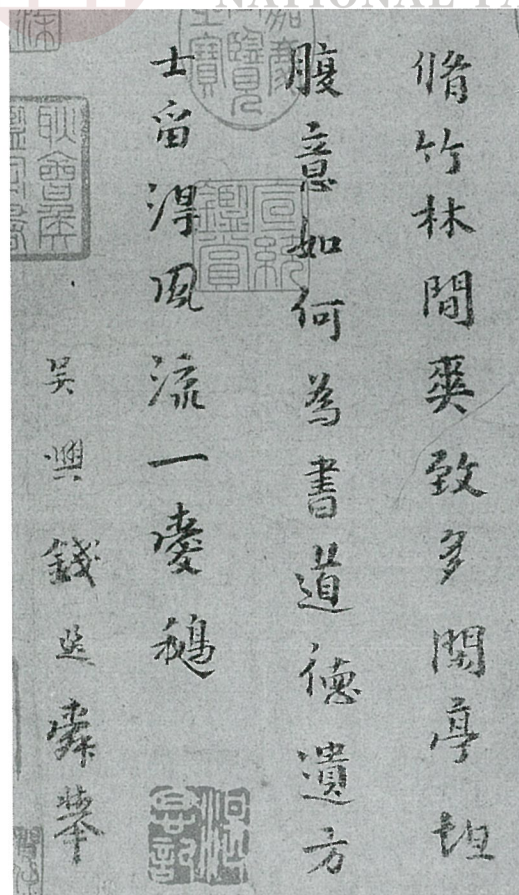


Fig. 15. Ch'ien Hsüan (circa 1235- before 1307), Inscription to *Wang Hsi-chih Watching Geese*. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 23.2×92.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of the Dillon Fund, 1973.

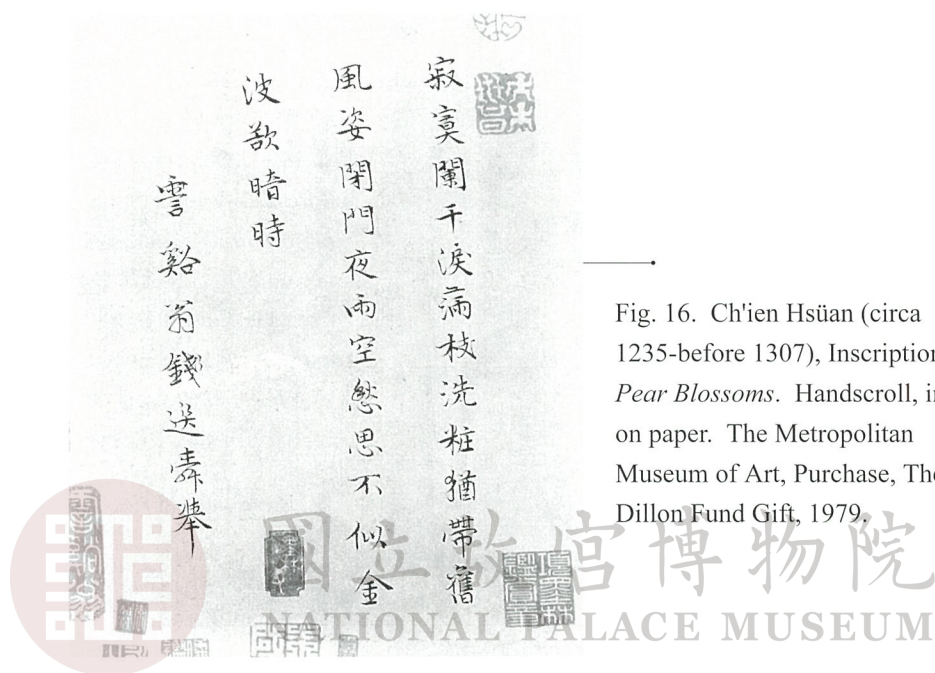


Fig. 16. Ch'ien Hsüan (circa 1235-before 1307), Inscription to *Pear Blossoms*. Handscroll, ink on paper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1979.

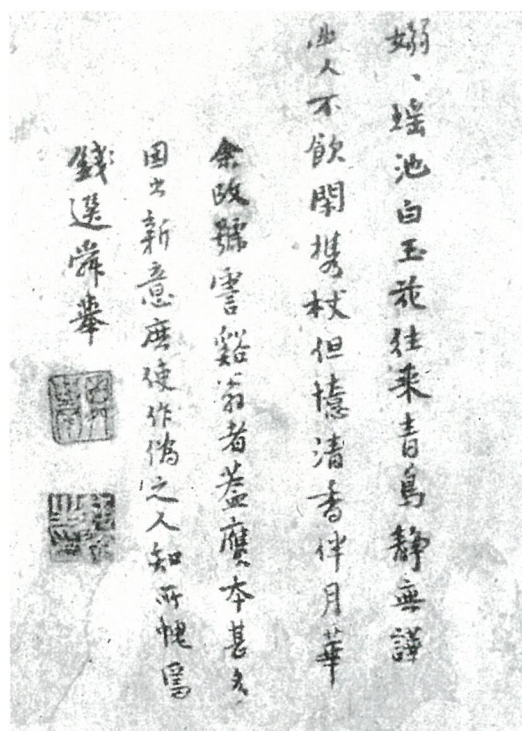


Fig. 17. Ch'ien Hsüan (circa 1235-before 1307), Inscription to *White Lotus*, ink on paper. The Shandong Provincial Museum. From *Wen wu* 5 (1972).

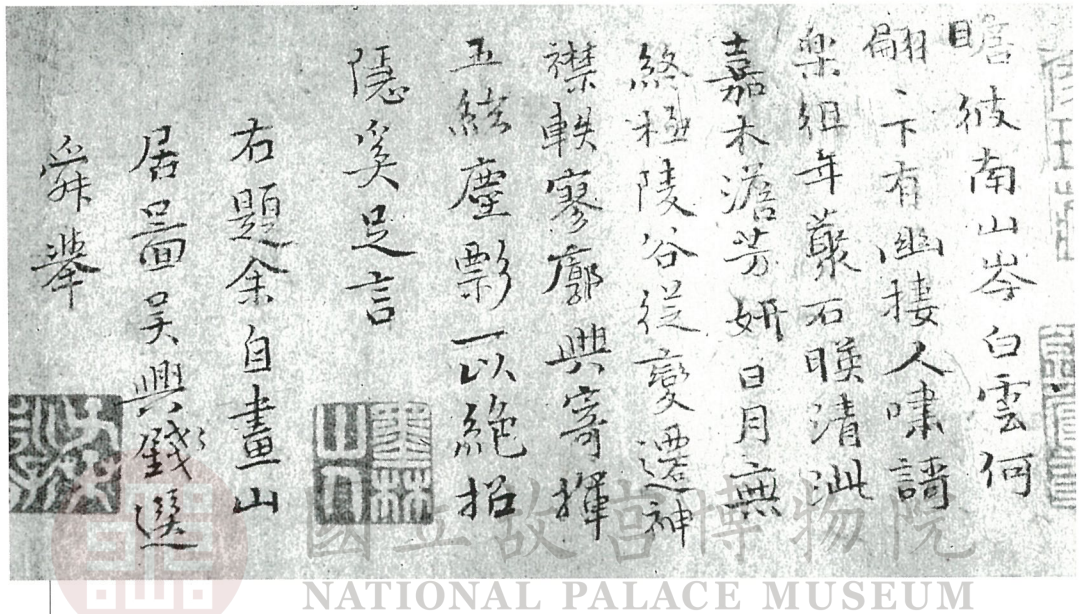


Fig. 18. Ch'ien Hsüan (circa 1235-before 1307), Inscription to *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Photograph by the author.

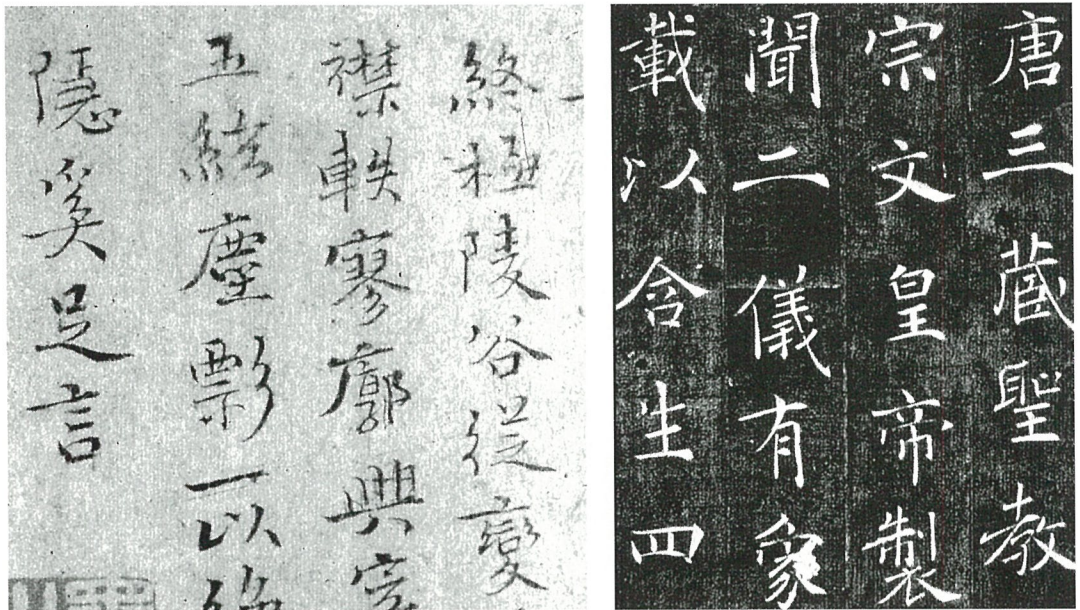


Fig. 19. Comparison of Ch'ien Hsüan (left) and Ch'u Sui-liang (596-658) (right), *Yen t'a Sheng chiao hsü* (detail).



Fig. 20. Kung K'ai (1222-1307), *Chung K'ui's Outing*. Handscroll (right to left), ink on paper, 32.8×169.5 cm. The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution.

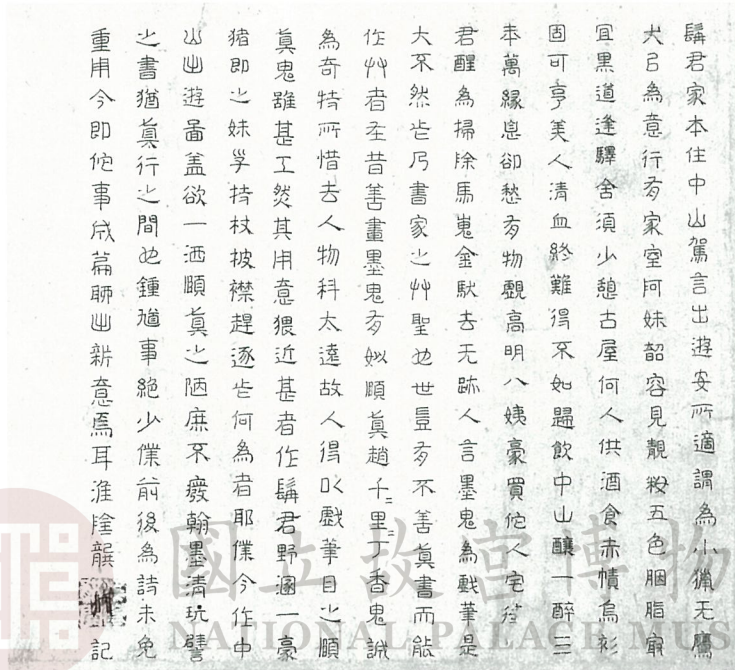


Fig. 21. Kung K'ai (1222-1307), Inscription to *Chung K'ui's Outing*.

Handscroll, ink on paper. The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution.

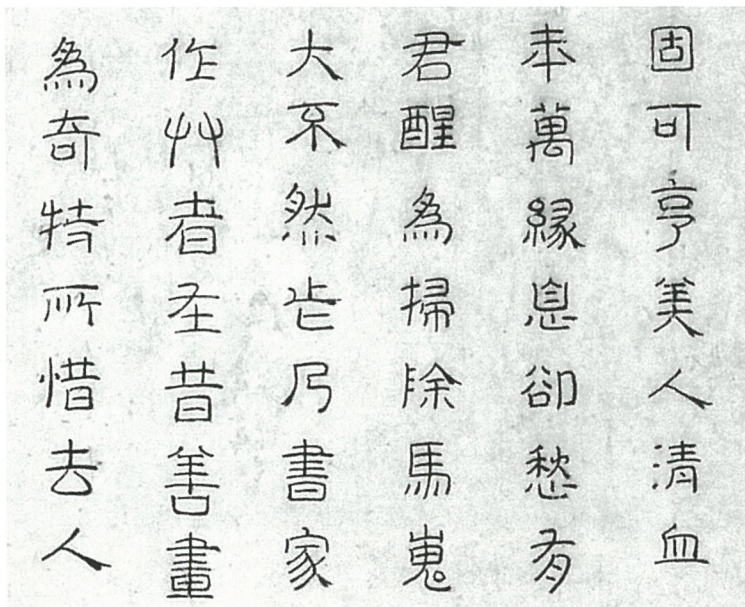


Fig. 21a. Kung K'ai (1222-1307), Inscription to *Chung K'ui's Outing* (detail).

Handscroll, ink on paper. The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution.



Fig. 22. Attributed to Li Kung-lin (circa 1049-1106) (composition associated with Chang Hsüan, eighth century), *The Spring Outing of the Lady of the Kuo Realm*. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 33.4×112.6 cm. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, Republic of China.

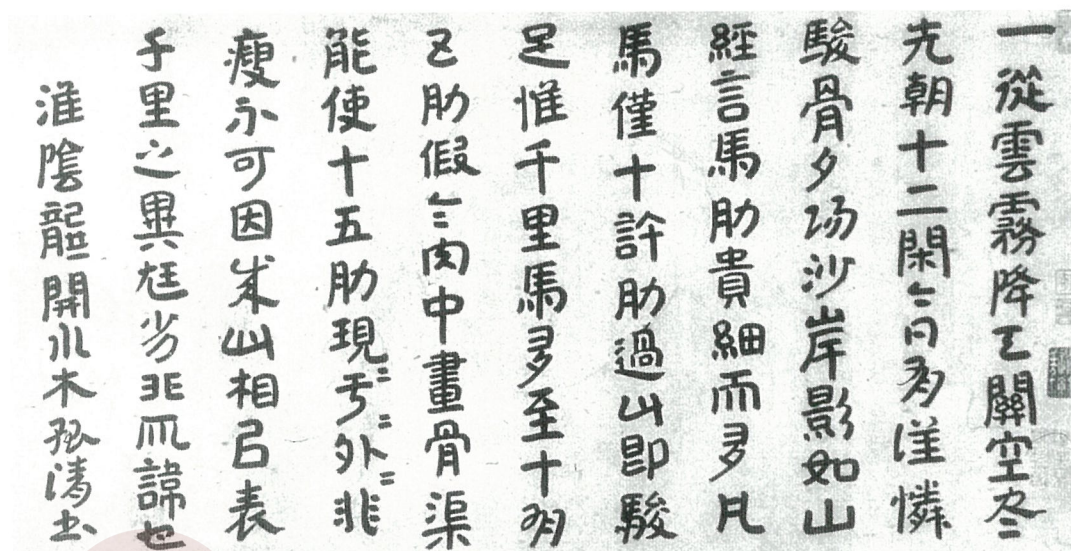


Fig. 23. Kung K'ai (1222-1307), Inscription to *Emaciated Horse*. Handscroll, ink on paper. Abe Collection, Osaka Municipal Museum. From *Sōraikan kinshō* (Osaka: Hakubundo, 1930-1939), vol. 1, 18.

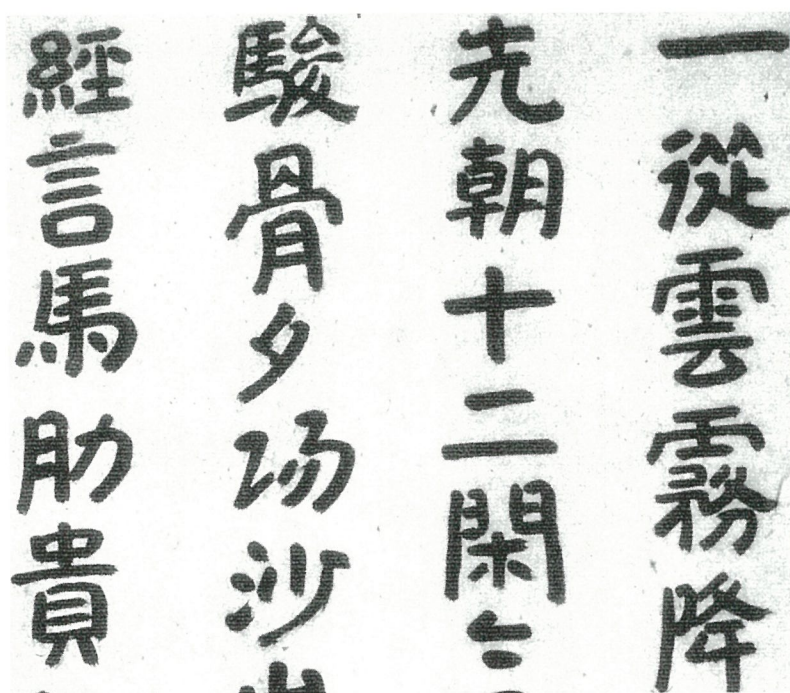


Fig. 23a. Kung K'ai (1222-1307), Inscription to *Emaciated Horse* (detail). Handscroll, ink on paper. Abe Collection, Osaka Municipal Museum. From *Sōraikan kinshō* (Osaka: Hakubundo, 1930-1939), vol. 1, 18.

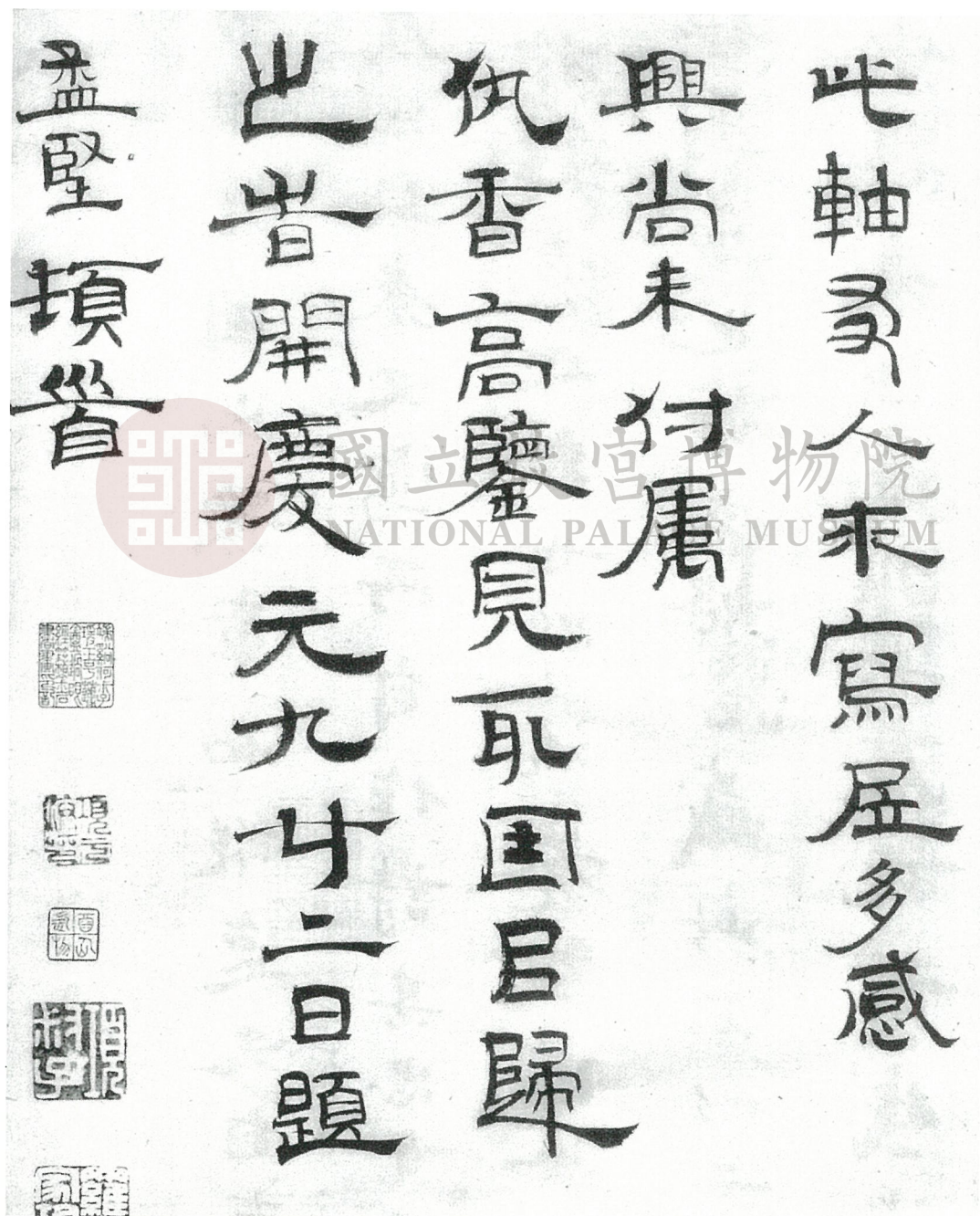


Fig. 24. Chao Meng-chien (1199-1264). Inscription to *Tzu shu shih*. Handscroll, ink on paper. Palace Museum, Peking. From *Ku kung po wu yüan ts'ang li tai fa shu hsüan chi* (Peking: Wen wu ch'u pan she, 1980), vol. 3, 3.