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From The Editor

In the summer of 2001, Dr. Ma Tai-loi, director of The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection at Princeton, knowing my interest in the physical aspects of Chinese books and paper, brought to my attention a conference on the management and preservation of Chinese books being planned by the National Library of China in Beijing. I later received an invitation to attend this International Symposium on Chinese Ancient Book Management and Preservation held from 16 to 19 October 2001 at the National Library. There I met many of the over one hundred librarians, conservators, library administrators, researchers, and persons in the book trade in attendance representing institutions in China, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan and in England, France, Russia, and the United States. More than thirty presentations over the course of the formal sessions introduced histories of old and rare Chinese book collections, specific conservation projects and practices, aspects of planning and implementing book conservation programs, plans for training the next generations of conservators, and changing technologies in book and document preservation. In record time, the symposium papers were published in Chinese with English abstracts as *Zhongwen shanben guji baocun baohu guoji yantaohui lunwen ji* (Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Management and Preservation of Chinese Ancient Books) (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2002). Director of the National Library Ren Jiyu, conference organizers Sun Liping, Su Pinhong, Wang Du, Zheng Xianlan, and many others on the staff of the National Library are to be thanked for their hospitality, efficient and thoughtful planning of the meetings, and arrangements for related visits to repositories of old and rare books in Beijing.

At the conference, Professor Wu Ge, member of the editorial advisory board of the *East Asian Library Journal* and rare book librarian at

Fudan University, made a special point of introducing me to his colleagues in the world of Chinese rare book librarianship. I am particularly grateful for those introductions and for Professor Wu's fulfilling his promise to bring to my attention particularly fine new scholarship on topics related to the history of the book in China. Two of his recommendations are published in English translation here in Volume II, no. 1 of our journal.

The conference presentation by Liu Qiang, librarian at Tsinghua University in Beijing in charge of rare book cataloguing and collection management, was filled with heart-sinking drama that resolved into considerable hope for the future of book conservation in China. Liu Qiang's article amplifies that report on the project that she directed to restore the remnants of the cache of old and rare books from the Tsinghua Library collection, ninety percent of which was destroyed while in supposedly safe storage in the suburbs of Chongqing when the Japanese firebombed that city and the surrounding area in 1940. What she writes will be of interest to Western book conservators for its insights into how the simplicity of traditional Chinese-style book binding structures lends itself to repair and restoration even when these books are severely damaged. Historians of modern China can add this narrative to the specific evidence on how war and neglect its aftermath play havoc with important elements of culture. And then historians of the book and printing in China will delight in the new evidence that Liu Qiang and her colleagues uncovered in the process of restoring the books which reveals exactly how the 1894 imperially commissioned photolithographic-reprint edition of the great Yongzheng-era Chinese encyclopedia *Gujin tushu jicheng* (The Chinese Encyclopaedia) was produced.

Wang Qingyuan, special collections librarian at the Liaoning Provincial Library in Shenyang, writes about the discovery of a previously uncatalogued and unnoticed Song edition of Zha Qia's *Chunqiu jizhu* (Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals). One reviewer wrote of her work, "[I]ts demonstration of the correctness of the identification of the newly discovered exemplar and the erroneous identification of related items . . . is a model study of this kind." Preparation of Professor Wang's manuscript for publication itself evolved into a model of cooperation among scholars. Alfreda Murck, member of

this journal's editorial advisory board, art historian, and independent scholar living in Beijing, graciously accepted my invitation to translate this manuscript. Her work brought Professor Wang's research to life in English but also revealed many complexities in the language used to detail this process of the verification of editions. Deciphering the linguistic nuances of Wang Qingyuan's prose required additional consultation among the author, the translator, and this editor. And then, Professor Frederick Mote, chairman of the editorial advisory board, read the modified translation and came to the rescue of the translator and the editor with questions, suggestions, and amplifications of many thorny points. This process took on the qualities of the finest of seminars where the further we all went toward making the translation reflect accurately the meaning of the Chinese original, the more stimulating the research became. I trust that it will not be lost on the readers of this article that the inclusion of a complete translation of the 1275 preface by Wei Zongwu, by which Wang Qingyuan is able to date the Liaoning exemplar of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, was no mean feat. Even if we had omitted this preface from the translation as I on first reading was tempted to do, Professor Wang's work would have stood as a fine example of the process of verification of editions. However, Professor Mote's daring unraveling of Wei's spare and subtle language, which mirrors these same qualities found in the language of the text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and of Zhang Qia's explications of the Classic, clearly shows Wang Qingyuan's article of significant interest also to scholars of the history of the Song dynasty and of the Spring-and-Autumn era. I thank Wang Qingyuan, Freda, and Professor Mote immensely for their generous patience and persistence as we engaged in long-distance scholarly discussions from Shenyang to Beijing and Granby to Princeton. And I offer special thanks to the National Library of China for making photographs of the two different exemplars of *Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* in its collection available for publication and to Wang Han, editor of two of the National Library's scholarly publications, for delivering these photographs to me in person.

The third article, a submission unrelated to the 2001 symposium in Beijing, is by Hok-lam Chan, Professor Mote's first graduate student at Princeton and recently retired professor of Chinese history at the

Chinese University of Hong Kong. His study of Li Tan's rebellion of 1262 is somewhat outside the scope of the topics on the history of books and printing usually published by this journal. Nonetheless, it provides a look at the political and social turmoil that occurred at the end of the Southern-Song dynasty, an era in which remarkable scholarship and book publishing continued to be undertaken (the editions, dated 1255 and 1275, of Zhang Qia's *Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* being examples). Hok-lam Chan's study is based on a corrupt text preserved by Zhu Yunming, a seventeenth-century scholar somewhat marginalized for his unorthodox behavior and thinking. Professor Chan takes a new look at this text, recently published in a collated and corrected version, and asserts that the correct reading of the history of this rebellion requires balancing and augmenting fact with fiction, orthodox interpretations with the unorthodox, and the official record with the unofficial record. The tendency in the writing and reading of Chinese history has been to give credibility to the facts, so-called, found in orthodox official records. Here, Chan's analysis of additional, perhaps marginally factual and even fabulous, information available in the previously overlooked text on Li Tan's activities may reveal the true significance of the actions of this hitherto shadowy figure moving in the complex political world as the Southern Song gave way to the Mongol Yuan.

Taken together these three articles shed light on the way that uncovering, giving notice to, and reevaluating collections of books, a single work, or an individual essay in effect extend the life of those records of culture and idea. The presentations certainly advance the understanding of the history of written records in China with new insights into the writing, production, accumulation, transmission, preservation, reading, and interpretation of those records, all essential topics in the history of the book in East Asia.

It cannot have escaped the notice of the readers of the *East Asian Library Journal* that the previous several numbers of our journal have been made up, to a very large part, of articles related to the history of the book and printing in China. This lack of balance in coverage of the history of the book and its production in East Asia is not by design, but rather represents the predominance of the material submitted to this journal for review. I am actively seeking manuscripts from scholars who write about

the history of the book and printing in Japan, Korea, and other parts of East Asia and, in fact, hope to be able to present in an upcoming number a group of papers of special interest to Japanese bibliophiles. Then, just this past week, I received from the directors of the Cheongju Early Printing Museum, who visited Princeton in the autumn of 2002, a very large volume containing articles in English translation on a wide range of topics in the history of printing and the book in Korea. I will be investigating how some of the best of these pieces might be incorporated into future issues of the *East Asian Library Journal*.

As always, I enjoy hearing from you with your responses to and criticisms and corrections of the material we publish. Should you want a sample copy of the *East Asian Library Journal* to share with a friend or an institutional librarian, I will be happy to send one to you along with subscription information.

Through the Fires of Battle, New Life for Rare Books

A Report on the Repair and Restoration of Fire-Damaged Old and Rare Books in the Tsinghua University Collection

LIU QIANG

TRANSLATED BY NANCY NORTON TOMASKO

Tsinghua University, located in Haidian a northwestern suburban district of Beijing, is an institution of higher education in China with a rich cultural heritage and has in its library holdings many old and rare books.¹ What these old and rare books and the University have experienced together—a baptism of fire during the years of War of Resistance Against Japan and the prosperity of development during the ensuing periods of peace—sheds a sidelight on what Tsinghua University has experienced over its first ninety years. On the eve of the battles with Japan, the rare books in this collection were transported out of Beijing to the far south and in 1940 were damaged during the Japanese bombardment of Chongqing. The “volumes rescued from the ashes” (*fen yu shu*) have been repaired and restored to the library collection. In 2000, just in

time for the ninetieth anniversary of the founding of Tsinghua the following year, the university allocated moneys for this restoration work, thus giving new life to this group of books with an unusual history. These now-sparkling jewels have great cultural and historical importance, and the restoration process uncovered and resolved several long-standing puzzling issues that proved valuable in reassessing the significance of the collection.² What follows is a recounting of the history of these books pulled from the ashes, a detailed account of the year-long restoration project, and the results of the first research on the rescued texts.

HISTORY OF THE BOOKS PULLED FROM THE ASHES

At its founding in 1911, Tsinghua University established a library department. During the 1920s and 1930s, ample finances, leadership support, and a growing research environment greatly hastened the expansion of acquisitions of old and rare books. In 1929 the university acquired all 47,546 volumes or fascicles (*ce*) of Fenghuatang, the private library of Yang Fu (b. 1866) of Hangzhou. Yang Fu had inherited his personal collection from his father Yang Wenying (1839–1908), a scholar and calligrapher who avidly collected old and rare books.³ This acquisition dramatically increased the number of old and rare books in Tsinghua University's collection. Among private collections in the Hangzhou region, the Fenghuatang library was second only to its contemporary, the Baqianjuanlou collection owned by two brothers Ding Shen (d. 1887) and Ding Bing (1832–1899), whose library was known as one of the four great modern collections.⁴ The Fenghuatang collection was built over two generations and many decades of hunting far and wide, astute purchases, and careful management. Song (960–1279), Yuan (1271–1368), and Ming (1368–1644) editions alone totaled 5000 volumes, manuscript texts numbered 2161 volumes, and in addition the collection was strong in rubbings, documents from the Zhejiang region, Japanese woodblock editions, and, as well, had other special concentrations.

At the time of Tsinghua's purchase of the Fenghuatang collection, those inside and outside the university were delighted and regarded this acquisition as making the Tsinghua Library not only the best in northern China, but also a first-class library nation-wide. As a university publica-

tion at the time wrote, “[this collection] not only radiated glory for the university, it also is of great good fortune for the study of Chinese culture.⁵ When its new building was completed in 1931, the university library collection already exceeded one hundred-forty thousand volumes, of which eighty thousand were string-bound books, an obviously sizeable collection of volumes to be treasured.

However, at this date because cannon fire of the Japanese aggressors was already sounding in northern China, the university decided to move as much of the university property as possible out of Beiping to prevent its falling into the hands of the Japanese. In November 1935, rare books, western language books, and periodicals in the library's collection and valuable instruments and equipment from various departments were packed into 417 large crates, transported to the port of Tianjin, and shipped to Hankou on the Yangtze River where the crates were stored in the Number One Warehouse of the Bank of Shanghai. The old and rare books in this shipment numbered 6,660 titles, in all 12,764 volumes in 9,692 wrap cases, and had been packed in 224 large crates. The books, the finest in the collection at that time, included all of Tsinghua Library's Song- and Yuan-dynasty editions, a Yongzheng-era (1723-1735) edition of the encyclopedia *Gujin tushu jicheng* (The Chinese Encyclopaedia), the law code *Da Qing huidian* [Collected Statutes of the Qing Dynasty (1368-1911)], and numerous rare editions of gazetteers and collected writings. Tragically, those books in the Fenghuatang collection that had not been catalogued, along with other antiquarian volumes, were with much regret left in Beiping.⁶

As some recall, the university paid special attention to the safety of the old and rare books in transit south, delegating the responsibility to certain individuals among whom was one Tang Guanfang, a university librarian. Tang, who knew several foreign languages and excelled at fielding reference inquiries, was known fondly among the faculty and students as a “living dictionary.” Upon hearing the news of the events of 7 July 1937, Tang demonstrated his loyalty to both the nation and the university by rushing back to China from Hong Kong, where he had been visiting relatives, to fulfill the responsibilities of his position.⁷ When he reached Shanghai, he received orders from the university to proceed quickly to Changsha in Hunan province, the site of the provisional

university, to join in the work of moving the university on farther south. In doing so, he was not able at that time to reach his family of eight—his elderly mother, his wife, and his young sons and daughters—caught in Beiping, which had already fallen to the Japanese.

Early in 1938, Tang Guanfang was sent to Hankou to supervise the further evacuation of the crates of rare books previously sent south. By this date, battle lines were drawing close to Wuhan putting that cluster of cities on the Yangtze river in great danger, so the university decided to ship the books on to Chongqing in Sichuan, hoping to remove them from Hankou before the Japanese occupied the area. Tang Guanfang made the arrangements necessary to get the more than four hundred large crates loaded onto boats owned by the “Democracy” Company (Minzhu gongsi) and shipped as far as Yichang, where, unexpectedly, the boats were detained for four months because of heavy bombardment by Japanese warplanes. Day and night during this time Tang Guanfang, disregarding his own safety, was at the wharves with a nail apron tied to his waist and a hammer in hand inspecting the crates and making repairs to strengthen them. Once he was able to arrange for boats, Tang continued on upstream through the treacherous waters of the Yangtze gorges and without a single loss finally delivered the entire shipment of rare books and equipment to Chongqing.⁸

In April of 1938 when what was originally known as the Changsha linshi daxue (Changsha Provisional University) changed its name to Guoli xinan lianhe daxue (National Southwest Associated University), the students from Tsinghua University, Peking University, and Nankai University moved on farther southwest to Kunming in Yunnan province. Because transportation was extremely difficult, the university shipped only instructional materials essential for each department, and the old and rare books were left stored at the Central Industrial Testing Institute (Zhongyang gongye shiyansuo) in Beipei, a northern suburb of Chongqing on the Jialing river (Jialing jiang).

At the beginning of 1940, the university, at a cost of two thousand *yuan*, had a cave hollowed out in Beipei in which to store the trunks of books and left them in the care of a relative of a certain member of the school’s board of directors. However, this individual completely abdicated his responsibilities, placing the “treasure trunks” into some build-

ings above ground and using the cave as his personal bomb shelter. On 24 June 1940 during the wanton bombardment of Beipei by the Japanese, the incendiary hailstorm submerged the cache of books in a sea of fire. However, the man ostensibly in charge of the safety of the Tsinghua materials, as if paralyzed with shock, waited while the fire burned until the evening of the third day to notify the university authorities. The university immediately gathered a rescue team that worked the entire night to extinguish the fire, but the team was able to pluck at most two thousand-odd fascicles from the embers. A full 10,074 rare fascicles had already been torched, including all of the Song and Yuan editions in the university's collection. This horrific loss can truly be called a profoundly deplorable and painful episode in the history of the library of Tsinghua University, the recording of which, even today, fills one with anger and uncommon regret.

At the time, this destruction of the rare treasures in Tsinghua's collection by Japanese bombardment raised a vigorous outcry from the scholarly world. Zhu Wenbai, in an article entitled "Liangqian nian lai Zhongguo tushu zhi eyun" (Tragic Events for Chinese Libraries Over the Past Two Thousand Years), identified the war between Japan and China during the Republic era (1911–1949) as the last of five major tragedies in the seven hundred-year period from the Yuan dynasty to the 1940s that had proved most devastating to Chinese libraries.⁹ This phase of the modern-day horror included wartime fire damage to the collections in the Hanfenlou in Shanghai, the Jiangsu Provincial Library (Jiangsu shengli tushuguan) in Nanjing, Tsinghua University Library and Yenching University Library (Yanjing daxue tushuguan) in Beijing, and other public and private libraries.¹⁰ It is clear that not only do the horrors of war wreak havoc on libraries and the peoples of a nation, but they also do irreparable damage to all the artifacts of culture, books included.

The books left at Tsinghua University in Beijing suffered an equally devastating fate at the hands of the Japanese. On 11 July 1937, the fourth day after the incident at Lugou bridge, the "iron heels" of Japanese troops began tramping through the Tsinghua campus. One of the first acts of this occupation was wholesale confiscation of the university's books. Most of those books stolen prior to 1941 were shipped out of China, primarily to Japan, and it is now impossible to trace these losses.¹¹

In 1941, under the ruse of giving some order to the library collection at Tsinghua University, various provisional organizations of the puppet regime took what they wanted for their personal use, and then the remaining two hundred thousand volumes along with the steel shelving were confiscated for use in the so-called “Beijing University” established in Japanese-occupied Beiping.¹² Not until after the defeat of the Japanese was a portion of the books gradually reclaimed from various locations in the city. Statistics show that during the war, Tsinghua University lost 175,720 volumes, including those destroyed during the bombing of Beipei suburbs of Chongqing, or nearly 80 percent of the collection.¹³

THE REMNANT VOLUMES TODAY AND THEIR REPAIR

After the war, even though this lot of books salvaged in Chongqing was severely fire damaged, the university decided to save the volumes and transported every last one of them, including damaged fragments and scattered fascicles, back to Beijing, placing them in storage in the Tsinghua University library. Lacking funding, manpower, and the requisite highly skilled conservators, there was for many years no way to restore these volumes. The unusual history of these books, compounded by a full sixty years of neglect, left them in terrible condition. (See figure 1.) Most of them were damaged heavily with charred portions extremely brittle to the touch and loose pages in shattered pieces. Further, water used to extinguish the fire of bombardment soaked the remnant books and turned many into a moldering mass that, in turn, affected otherwise undamaged pages that came into contact with them. Some individual volumes had become transformed into “book bricks” (*shu bingzi*) and in the damp climate of the south had further been bored through by bookworms and gnawed at by rats. It was a totally pitiable sight. (See figures 2 and 3.)

In order to repair and preserve this repository of cultural heritage and make it again available for scholarly and educational purposes, Tsinghua University resolved to restore life to these “critically wounded ones” (*zhongshang yuan*) in the shortest time possible. Now, the university administration clearly recognized the significance of these old volumes as part of the history and cultural heritage of Tsinghua University



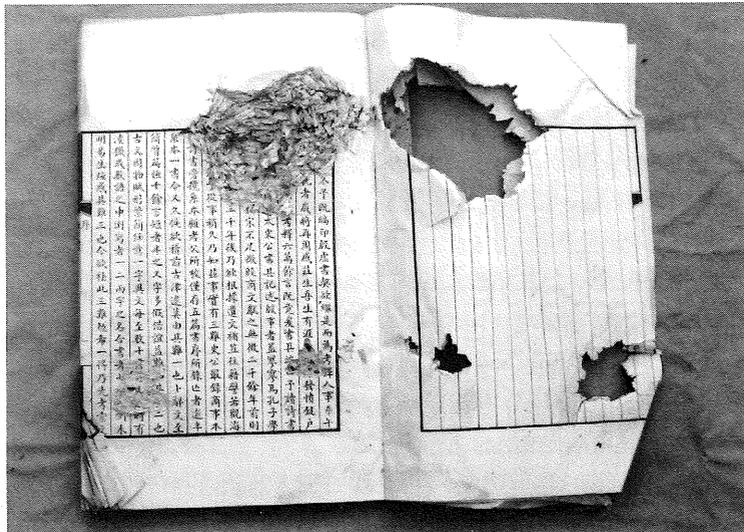
1. Shelves of damaged books, prior to repair, in the stacks of the Tsinghua University library. Photograph courtesy of the author.

and the potential of these “living educational artifacts” (*huo jiaocai*) to inspire patriotism in students and faculty. Tsinghua University Education Foundation dedicated funds for this project to be carried out by the Institute for History of Science and Technology and Ancient Documents of Tsinghua University Library (Tushuguan kexue jishu shi ji gu wenxian yanjiusuo) and established a small team lead by this writer. Work began in June of 2000. For each of these works, which had lain covered with dust for sixty years, we assigned a temporary number, determined its edition, and recorded the number of volumes extant and the degree of the damage. (See figure 4.) This work took approximately one month’s time. The charred remnants included 277 titles in 2358 volumes, of which 58 titles in 1003 volumes were rare books.

In light of the fact that Tsinghua University assigned only one rare book conservator to this team and because the project was far larger than one person could complete within the designated time, we had to seek help outside the university. In China today, the number of persons thoroughly trained in the repair and restoration of old and rare books is



2. Charred volumes. Li Zongfang (1729–1846), *Wenmiao Xiangshi quanji* (Complete Collected Writings from Wenmiao Xiangshi), 31 *juan* (Shanyang: Li Shi, 1835). Tsinghua number *geng* 237.2/7348.01. Complete. Photograph courtesy of the author.



3. Rat-gnawed volumes. Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940), *Yinxu shuqi kaoshi* (Transcription and Verification of [Character Forms] in Documents from Archaeological Sites of the Yin), 3 *juan* (n.p.: Dongfang xuehui, 1927). Uncatalogued. 2 *juan* extant, *juan* 1–2. Photograph courtesy of the author.



4. (Left to right)Cao Junying, book conservator, Jiang Hong, manager of the rare-book room, and Liu Qiang, special collection librarian, sorting and classifying the war-damaged books on 8 June 2000.

Photograph courtesy of the author.

relatively small. Only those businesses that deal in old and rare books and prominent institutions with large repositories of old and rare books employ these specialists. For this reason we initially scoured the whole of China and contacted more than twenty conservation studios. The conservators in these various organizations already were responsible for book conservation work on the collections of their respective institutions, however some of them had never previously taken on work on an outside collection. The number of the salvaged volumes was very large, the work to be done extremely complicated, and the time in which the work was to be completed very short. And further, because the funds Tsinghua could allocate to this conservation project were limited, we were very fortunate that those institutions who participated, in particular those in the library world, offered to give maximum help to their fellow institution, disregarding the difficulties the project presented and setting aside normal considerations for compensation. Regardless of how large

or how small a number of volumes an institution took on, the work was done with a generosity of spirit that was moving.

In all, thirty conservators in eight conservation units joined in the project: in addition to the one conservator at Tsinghua University Library, the project included ten conservators in the National Library of China in Beijing (Guojia tushuguan), three in Shanghai Library (Shanghai tushuguan), four in Cathay Bookstore in Beijing (Zhongguo shudian), two in Peking University Library (Beijing daxue tushuguan), five in Tianjin Library (Tianjin tushuguan), three in Liaoning Provincial Library in Shenyang (Liaoningsheng tushuguan), and two in the Branch Library of the National Library in Beijing (Guojia tushuguan fenguan). At the beginning of July 2000, conservators at all of the project locations, using traditional conservation techniques, commenced work.

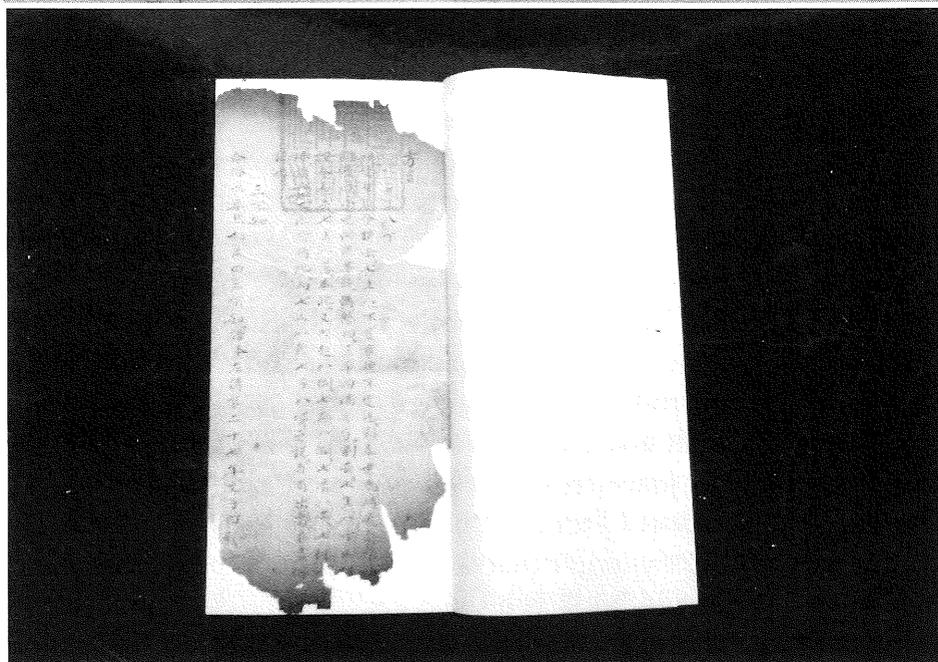
Normally, calculation of the cost of repairing traditional string-bound volumes is based on the number of pages in each volume. However, for a project this large, this did not prove feasible. The participating conservation units agreed to divide the volumes into three groups based on the degree of damage with a specific compensation given for each level of damage. Repair of a seriously molded or brittle and charred volume earned 200 RMB (approximately 8.25 RMB equals US\$1.00). A volume whose paper retained some of its flexibility, yet which required some repairs throughout earned 100 RMB. A volume that were largely in good condition, but which had minor worming and split fore edge folds earned 50 RMB. More than seventy-five percent of this lot of books fell into the first two categories.

Repair of old and rare books bound in traditional formats is a complicated traditional craft with many steps: separating pages that are stuck together (*jieye*); removing dirt (*quwu*), removing mold (*qumei*); washing the pages (*xijing*); repairing worm and vermin damage (*zhengbu chongzhu shushi henji*); filling in paper loss due to fire damage (*buqi shaojiao quesun shuye*);¹⁴ rejoining pages split along the center fold (*liukou*);¹⁵ backing or laminating pages (*zhuye tuobiao*); collating, rebinding, and adding cover papers (*zhuangzheng chengce*), and so on. The process of repairing old books and restoring them in a manner completely sympathetic with the original binding format (*zheng jiu ru jiu*) requires that conservators be absolutely patient with their work, throughout con-

cerned with doing the repairs with utmost integrity and working to preserve as many of the pages and as much of the text on each page as possible. Considering that repair of this material from the Tsinghua University Library presented challenges of every description, complexity, and severity imaginable and that the work needed to be completed in less than one year, one can imagine the effort expended by all of the conservators involved. (See figures 5 and 6.)

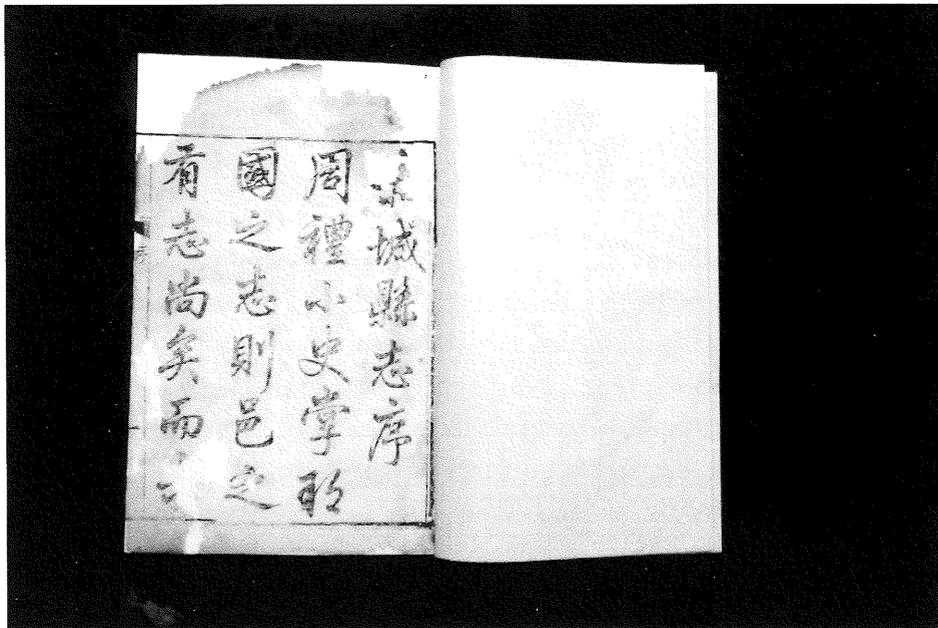
Even during the oppressively hot months of summer and the bitterly cold months of winter, these conservators worked extended hours in conservation units increasingly inundated with dust and mold, carefully making the tedious repairs on these “serious-trauma victims.” Work on volumes with heavy mold infestation caused many conservators to suffer the minor trauma of very itchy rash on their hands and arms, chests and backs. In order to preserve as much of a text as possible, it sometimes required four or five days of patient work simply to disbind and separate the pages of volumes that had become “frozen” into a solid lump. Many of the rescued books, prior to their damage in the 1940s bombing attack, had undergone various conservation treatments, sometimes using repair papers that were not compatible with original book paper. Undoing the previous wrong-headed repairs compounded by subsequent damage and decay proved extremely challenging.

In China, there is a long and well-developed tradition of book collecting and reverence for books, many books being passed down through the ages, each subsequent collector increasingly treasuring the books. Some books among those rescued in the fire bombing in Chongqing had at some time in the past been given special conservation bindings, such as *jin xiang yu* (translated variously, “jade inlaid with gold,” “gold edged in jade,” and “jade set in gold”), in which each folded leaf of the old book is supported and protected by interleaving it with a folded sheet of white *mianzhi* slightly larger than the original book page.¹⁶ Because the original paper of the old book is often a dark, antique-yellow, the white border of the interleaving paper that is visible at the head, tail, and spine gives each page the appearance, figuratively, of gold laid into a piece of white jade, and hence the name of this conservation binding. This time-consuming binding process presented special problems in the repair and restoration work. Among the fire-damaged books in this Tsinghua restoration



5A and 5B. Volumes severely burned at the head and the foot, before and after repair. *Fangyan* (Regional Dialects), 3 volumes, manuscript, not divided into *juan* (n.p., n.d.). Tsinghua number *geng* 112/7140. Complete.

Photographs courtesy of the author.



6A and 6B. Volumes burned on upper left corner and the paper of which was weakened by mold and decay, before and after repair. Meng Siyi (1742 *jinshi*), comp. *Chicheng xianzhi* [Gazetteer of Chicheng District (Chaha'er)], 8 *juan* (1748). Tsinghua number *ji* 362.1/7111. One *juan* and prefatory material extant, *juanshou-juan* 1. Photographs courtesy of the author.

project, in every instance, those bound in gold-edged-in-jade style had to be disbound and the papers used for lining completely discarded in order to make necessary repairs on the text pages. In the interest of meeting the project deadline, a decision was made to forego rebinding these books in the same elegant style, in favor of a simple string-bound style (*xianzhuangshu*).

In the old and rare antiquarian-book world, there is a saying, “If one cannot find a fine craftsman, it is preferable to store away a treasure” (*bu yu lianggong ning cun guwu*). We were fortunate that all of those who joined this project were conservators with extensive experience and skills who were able to repair and restore the fire-damaged books to the highest degree possible. With maximum cooperation and hard work on the part of all participating institutions, restoration of this lot of books with such an uncommon history was completed in less than one year, just in time for the celebration of the ninetieth anniversary of the founding of Tsinghua University on the last Sunday of April 2001. The repaired volumes were housed in wrap-around cases custom made in southern China and covered in a deep maroon fabric, visually symbolic of the intense severity of the fiery disaster. This special gift presented to the university was on public display in the library during the anniversary celebration and viewed by university faculty and students as well as Chinese and foreign visitors. (See figure 7.)

Tsinghua’s allocating funds to carry out the restoration of the damaged old and rare books received praise far and wide, and those in the world of antiquarian books called it a masterful accomplishment, a project of inestimable merit. Numerous national- and regional-media reports praised the completed project as evidence of Tsinghua University’s high regard for history and cultural traditions and for its utility in bringing home to faculty and students significant educational lessons in national pride.¹⁷ As one writer phrased it:

Tradition is history, and history also is one kind of experience; experience, of necessity embodies a specific spirit, and this invaluable spirit ensures that endeavors will possess boundless vitality. The importance that our university places on tradition, in effect, is also the importance it places on the spirit of Tsinghua



7A. Shelves of damaged books, after repair and re-housing, in the stacks of the Tsinghua University library. Photograph courtesy of the author.



7B. Maroon, cloth-covered book cases, close up.

University itself, and this emphasis will infuse the university with a new vitality and make the institution even more vigorous and refined.¹⁸

INITIAL RESEARCH ON THE FIRE-CHARRED VOLUMES

I will here review selected highlights of four categories of works thus far identified in this collection of salvaged books and conclude with a discussion of discoveries made about Tsinghua's exemplar of the famous Yongzheng-era encyclopedia *The Chinese Encyclopaedia*. The categories are Ming-dynasty editions, Qing-dynasty editions, gazetteers, and hand-copied or manuscript works. In many cases only a few fascicles of a given title survive, yet in others the entire work was rescued and brought back to usable condition. For one or two titles, where the original work was very large, the number of surviving volumes (though only a relatively small percentage of the original) is quite large. As stated above, of the 2358 restored, fire-charred volumes, 1003 volumes are rare books representing 58 titles. Even though all of the Song and Yuan editions were so unfortunately destroyed, several fine exemplars of Ming and Qing editions did survive.

Ming-dynasty Editions

The following thirteen works are Ming-dynasty editions published from the Zhengde period (1506–1521) to the Wanli era (1573–1620). These include a work on the classics; several works on history; a biographical work on Ming officials; an account of official travel; literary writings including the collected writings of an individual, as well as anthologies of prose and poetry, a work on phonology, a novel, and an encyclopedic work.

Chen Bangzhan (d. 1623), comp. *Songshi jishi benmo* (Record of Events from Start to Finish in the History of the Song Dynasty). 109 *juan*. Annotated by Zhang Pu (1602–1641). Late Ming. Complete. Tsinghua number, *ji* 130/6937.1. Late-Ming edition of Zhang Pu's critical edition of Chen Bangzhan's topically arranged history of the Song dynasty.

Du tianshi cefeng Liuqiu zhenji qiguan (True Record of Unusual

Sights Seen by Imperial Emissary Du Dispatched to the Ryukyu Islands). 1 *juan*. 1633. Complete. Tsinghua number, *ji* 490/6343. 1633 edition of an anonymous account of official travels to the Ryukyu Islands.

Han Daozhao (fl. Jin dynasty, 1115–1234). *Da Ming Zhengde yihai chongkan gaibing wuyin leiju sisheng pian* (Reprint in the Year *Yihai* [1515] of the Zhengde Reign of the Ming Dynasty of Treatise on Integration of the Five Classes of Initials and Categorization of the Four Tones). 15 *juan*. 1515. 2 *juan* extant: *juan* 6–7.

——. *Da Ming Wanli yihai chongkan gaibing wuyin leiju sisheng pian* (Reprint in the Year *Yihai* [1575] of the Wanli Reign of the Ming Dynasty of Treatise on Integration of the Five Classes of Initials and Categorization of the Four Tones). 15 *juan*. 1575. 7 *juan* extant: *juan* 1–3, 5, 13–15.

——. *Da Ming Wanli jichou chongkan gaibing wuyin leiju sisheng pian* (Reprint in the Year *Jichou* [1589] of the Wanli era of the Ming Dynasty of Treatise on Integration of the Five Classes of Initials and Categorization of the Four Tones). 15 *juan*. 1589. 7 *juan* extant: *juan* 2–5, 10, 14–15.

——. *Da Ming Wanli jichou chongkan gaibing wuyin jiyun* (Reprint in the Year *Jichou* [1589] of the Wanli era of the Ming Dynasty of Rhyme Categories in the Integration of the Five Classes of Initials). 15 *juan*. 1589. 2 *juan* extant: *juan* 6–7. Tsinghua number, *geng* 140.8/9032. Four successive exemplars of Ming-dynasty editions of monumental Jin-dynasty works on the sound of Chinese language.

He Qiaoyuan (1557–1631 or variously 1558–1632). *Mingshan cang* (Records Stored in a Famous Mountain). 109 *juan*.

Chongzhen era (1628–1644). 5 *juan* extant: *juan* 3–4, 35–37. Tsinghua number, *ji* 150/6729. Topical history of the Ming through the end of the Longqing era (1567–1572).

Ke xinbian chuxiang Yang jiafu shidai zhongyi tongsu yanyi zhizhuan (Block-carved, Newly Edited, Illustrated, Popular Elaboration of the Record of the Loyalty and Righteousness of Successive Generations of the Yang Clan). Collated by

- Qinhuai moke (Ink Guest on the Qinhuai River), pseud. and verified by Yanbo diaosou (Fisherman in Waves of Smoke), pseud. 4 *juan*. Wanli era. 1 *juan* extant: *juan* 4. Tsinghua number, *geng* 853/6260. Wanli-era edition of a work of historical fiction.
- Li Fang (925–996) et al., ed. *Wenyuan yinghua* (Radiant Flowers from a Garden of Literature). 1000 *juan*. Longqing era (1567–1572). 360 *juan* extant: *juan* 61–140, 201–270, 321–410, 491–500, and 891–1000. Tsinghua number, *geng* 220/4353. A famous anthology of literature compiled in the Tang dynasty (618–907).
- Li Tengpeng (dates unknown), comp. *Huang Ming shitong* (Poetry Compendium of the Imperial Ming Dynasty). 42 *juan*. 1591. 2 *juan* extant: *juan* 6 and 27. Tsinghua number, *geng* 441.6/6355. An anthology of Ming poetry.
- Ling Dizhi (1556 *jinshi*), comp. *Guochao mingshi leiyuan* (A Classified Garden of Famous Persons through the [Ming] Dynasty). 46 *juan*. Ming dynasty. 17 *juan* extant: *juan* 30–46. Tsinghua number, *ji* 581.5/6166. Compilation of biographies of Ming-dynasty officials up to the Jiajing era (1522–1566).
- Luo Binwang (b. ca. 638). *Lingyin Zi* ([Collected Writings of] Lingyin Zi). Annotated by Chen Kuishi (1558 *jinshi*). 6 *juan*. Chen Dake (1534–1601), 1596. Complete. Tsinghua number, *geng* 234.21/3432. Collected writings of a Tang-dynasty scholar who suffered in the political intrigue of the Zhou interregnum (684–705).
- Wang Su (195–256), annot. *Kong Zi jiayu* (Family Instructions of Confucius). Collated by Wu Mianxue (fl. late-sixteenth to early-seventeenth century). 10 *juan*. Chongzhen era (1628–1644). Complete. Tsinghua number, *yi* 112.1/1238. Wang Su's annotated edition of *Family Instructions of Confucius*, a work of the teachings of Confucius.
- Wang Zongyuan (1503–1570), comp. *Huang Ming wenxuan* (An Anthology of Ming-Dynasty Prose). 20 *juan*. Wang Zongyuan, 1554. Complete. Tsinghua number, *geng* 311.6/6015. Anthology of Ming-dynasty prose.

- Zhang Pu. *Qiluzhai shigao* (Draft Poems from Qilu Studio). 6 *juan*. Late Ming. 2 *juan* extant: *juan* 1 and 3. Tsinghua number, *geng* 456.1/6870.1. A collection of Zhang Pu's poetry.
- Zhu Mu (fl. end of twelfth century), comp. *Xinbian gujin shiwen leiju bieji* (Newly Edited, Further Collection from Ancient and Modern Topical Writings, Arranged by Categories). 32 *juan*. Shulin: Tang Fuchun Deshoutang, 1604.16 *juan* extant: "Mulu" (Table of Contents) plus *juan* 1-15. Tsinghua number, *jia* 310/4205.02. The 1604 edition of the fourth part of Zhu Mu's compilation of information from literary sources.

Among these titles, Wang Zongyuan's *An Anthology of Ming-Dynasty Prose* and Luo Binwang's [*Collected Writings of*] *Lingyin Zi* have long been recognized as truly fine Ming-dynasty editions. The printing style for the several Ming editions of Han Daozhao's work on phonology follows the style of Yuan-dynasty woodblock editions of this work and features a large page format, "characters large as coins" (*zi da ru qian*), and paper and ink with an appearance of antique elegance. Very few of these Ming editions survive elsewhere.¹⁹

Qing-dynasty Editions

Qing-dynasty books that were salvaged represent publications from throughout the dynasty and many different types of editions, including palace editions (*neifuben*), academy editions (*shuyuanben*), commercial editions (*fangkeben*), and clan editions (*jiakeben*).

EARLY-QING AUTHORS OR EDITIONS

Among significant works either published very early in or written by important individuals from the beginning of the Qing dynasty are the following works:

- Gu Yanwu (1613-1682). *Shi ben yin* (Basic Rhymes in the Classic of Poetry). 10 *juan*. In *Gu shi yinxue wushu* (Five Works on Phonology by Gu [Yanwu]). Fujian: Lin Chunqi Futian shuhai, Daoguang era (1821-1850). Bronze moveable-type edition. 9 *juan* extant: *juan* 2-10. Tsinghua number, *geng*

140.8/7199.01. One of five works on phonology by this prominent and prolific scholar.

Li Shizhen (1518–1593). *Bencao gangmu* (Outline of Chinese Pharmacopoeia). Annotated by Cai Liexian (Jianzhai; dates unknown). 58 *juan*. With *Bencao gangmu tu* (Illustrations for Outline of Chinese Pharmacopoeia). 3 *juan*. And with Cai Liexian, comp., *Bencao wanfang zhenxian* (Key to the Myriad Prescriptions Found in [Outline of] Chinese Pharmacopoeia). 8 *juan*. 1657. 31 *juan* extant: *juanshou*–*juan* 8, *juan* 35–52 of *Outline of Chinese Pharmacopoeia*; all three *juan* of the illustrations; and *juan* 1–2 of *Myriad Prescriptions*.

Tsinghua number, *ding* 171/6356. The well-known comprehensive study of the basics of Chinese pharmacopoeia.

Zhang Zhensheng (1623–1675). *Wangshan yixiang* (Lingering Echoes of Mt. Wang).²⁰ 6 *juan*. Shunzhi era (1644–1662). Complete. Tsinghua number, *ji* 450/7864. Collection of verse and prose written about travels to this mountain in Taihe county in Jiangxi close to the Zhang Zhensheng's home region.

PALACE EDITIONS

Palace editions published in the Kangxi (1662–1722), Yongzheng, and Qianlong (1736–1795) eras are represented by the following works:

Songgotu (a.k.a. Suo Etu, d. 1703 ?) and Xiong Cilü (1635–1709). *Dubu zeli* (Regulations for the Bureau of Arrests).

Kangxi era. 53 pages extant: pp. 1–53. Uncatalogued. Book of legal regulations that is usually regarded as a section of the *Da Qing lüli* (Code and Judicial Regulations of the Qing Dynasty).

Yunli (d. 1738) et al., comp. *Gongcheng zuofa* (Technical Instructions for Building Crafts). 74 *juan*. Yongzheng era. 54 *juan* extant: *juanshou*–2, 4, 13–25, 34–35, 37–38, 41–54. Tsinghua number, *wu* 642.77/7839.02. Book of regulations and requirements with respect to the materials, procedures, and work force for building construction.

Yunlu (1694–1767) et al., ed. *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Illustrated Diagrams of Sacrificial Implements for the [Qing] Dynasty). 18 *juan*. 1759. 14 *juan* extant: *juan* 5–18. Tsinghua number, *wu* 903/7839.

PRIVATE EDITIONS

The salvaged books include the following examples of fine “private editions” (*sikeben*), also called “commercial editions”:

Gao Qi (1336–1374). *Qingqiu Gao Jidi xiansheng shiji* (Collected Poetry of Gao [Qi] Jidi, a.k.a. Qingqiu). Ed. Jin Tan (fl. early-seventeenth century). 18 *juan* plus *juanshou*. With *Buyi shi* (Poetry Addendum). 1 *juan*. And with *Kouxianji* (Rapping on the Gunwale Collection). 1 *juan* plus “Appendix,” 1 *juan*. And with *Qingqiu Gao Jidi xiansheng fuzaoji* (Wild-Duck-Amidst-Duckweed Collection of Gao [Qi] Jidi, a.k.a. Qingqiu). 5 *juan*. Mohuachiguan, Yongzheng-era. 15 *juan* extant: *Collected Poetry, shoujuan*–1, 11–18 plus *Wild Duck*, complete 5 *juan*. Tsinghua number, *geng* 236.1/6087. Several collections of poetry by a very important early-Ming-dynasty official and literatus Gao Qi, all edited by Jin Tan.

Ling Tingkan (1755–1809).²¹ *Yuan Yishan xiansheng nianpu* (Chronological Biography of Yuan [Haowen] Yishan). 2 *juan*. 1796. Complete. Tsinghua number, *geng* 235.6/5234.01. Chronological biography of a famous Jin-dynasty literatus Yuan Haowen (1190–1257).

Lu Ciyun (fl. 1679). *Furongcheng sizhong shu* (Four Works from Hibiscus City). 7 *juan*. Qing dynasty. Complete. Tsinghua number, *jia* 817.1/7929. Collections of essays by Lu Ciyun, a Kangxi-era literatus from Qiantang (today known as Hangzhou).

Mao Huanwen (Dates unknown). *Zengbu wanbao quanshu* (Complete Book of Ten-Thousand Treasures, Enlarged and Augmented). 6 *juan*. Shidetang, 1742. Complete. Tsinghua number, *jia* 460/7678. Collection of humorous anecdotes.

Qian Chenqun (1686–1774). *Xiangshuzhai shiji* (Collected Poems from Xiangshuzhai). 18 *juan*. With *Xuji* (Continuation of Collection). 28 *juan*. 1751. Complete. Tsinghua number, *geng* 457.2/7654. First published collection of the poetry of Qian Chengqun, a significant early-Qing official.

Su Shi (1037–1101). *Dongpo xiansheng biannian shi* (Poetry of [Su Shi] Dongpo, Chronologically Arranged). Ed. Shi Yuanzhi (dates unknown) and Zha Shenxing (d. 1727). 50 *juan*. Xiangyuzhai, 1761. 8 *juan* extant: *juan* 29–36. Tsinghua number, *geng* 455.24/7367. Important chronologically arranged edition of this famous Song-dynasty literatus and official.

Many of the privately published, Qing editions are highly regarded for the style and quality of the carving of the characters in the text which, in imitating hand writing styles, give the impression of being a manuscript copy. Based on the preliminary research we have done, two works, among the above-mentioned Qing-dynasty editions of commercially printed works in the Tsinghua University Library collection appear to be the sole extant exemplars of these editions and thus will be of particular interest to scholars and the library world. These are Lu Ciyun's *Four Works from Hibiscus City* and Ling Tingkan's *Chronological Biography of Yuan [Haowen] Yishan*.

Gazetteers

Among the restored works were numerous gazetteers, that is geographical works, on administrative units of various levels and on mountains and bodies of water, as well. Considering only the rare items, we can mention the following:

Jing Rizhen (1691 *jinshi*). *Shuo Song* (Tales of [Mt.] Song). 32 *juan*. 1721. 16 *juan* extant: *juan* 1–16. Tsinghua number *ji* 453.4/7592.01.

Lu Dian (1583 *jinshi*). [*Kangxi*] *Qiyun shanzhi* ([*Kangxi*-era] Gazetteer of Qiyun Mountain). 5 *juan*. 1665. 4 *juan* extant: *juan* 1, 3–5. Tsinghua number *ji* 452.3/6797.01.

Wei Yuan (ca.1664–1731), ed. *Qiantang xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Qiantang District). 36 *juan* (*Kangxi* 57, 1718). 4 *juan* extant: *juanshou*–*juan* 3. Tsinghua number *ji* 322.4/7101.1.

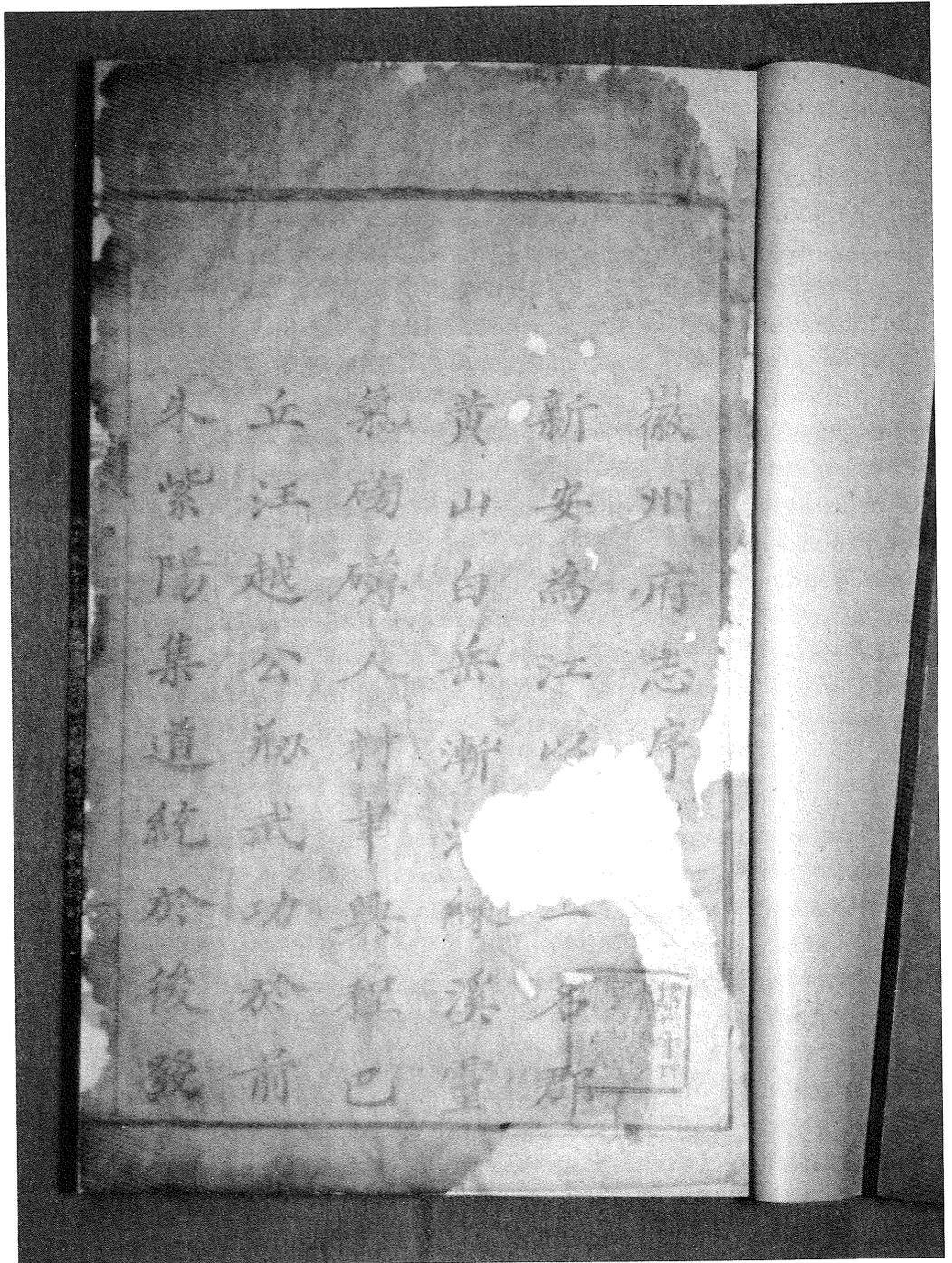
Zhao Jishi (1628–1706). [*Kangxi*] *Huizhou fuzhi* ([*Kangxi-era*] Gazetteer of Huizhou Prefecture). 18 *juan*. 1699. 15 *juan* extant: *juanshou-juan* 4, 6–8, 11–18. Tsinghua number *ji* 323.1/2117.1. A proofing copy printed in red ink.

Zhipu (monk, fl. 1662–1722), ed. *Panshan zhi* (Gazetteer of Mt. Pan). 6 *juan*. Plus *Buyi* (Addendum). 2 *juan*. *Kangxi* era. 8 *juan* extant: *juanshou-juan* 4, 6; *Addendum*, *juan* 1–2. Tsinghua number *ji* 453.1/7673.

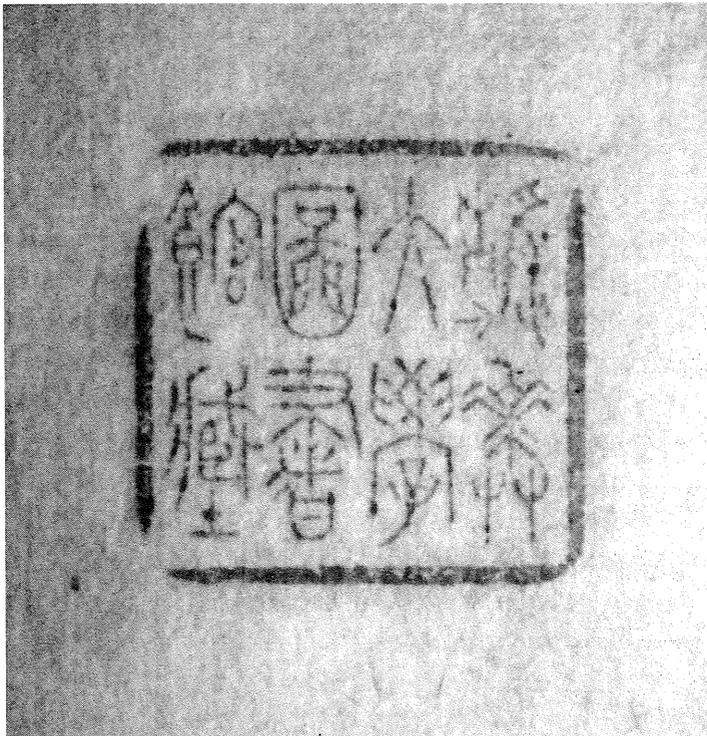
The rarest of these gazetteers is the [*Kangxi-era*] *Gazetteer of Huizhou Prefecture* published in 1699 and printed in red ink (see figure 8). Prior to final printing in black ink, publishers first printed several copies in red ink to be used for proofreading the text. Block carving errors stood out rather prominently in red-ink printing, and the correction to be made in the printing block was then noted on the printed page using black ink. The process is similar in reverse to proofreading practices (*jiaohong*) for books produced today, in which red ink is used to correct the first printing done in black ink. This kind of authentic example of a first printing in red of a woodblock-printed edition is seldom seen and thus regarded highly as evidence of traditional proofreading and text-collating practices.

Manuscript and Hand-Copied Works

Especially important are the approximately thirty manuscripts and hand-copied works found among these charred remains, eleven of which deserve specific mention. Two anonymous manuscripts (*gaoben*), *Su Tai suoji* (A Miscellany for Su[zhou]and Tai[zhou]) in one volume of 41 pages [1900] and *Sibuzhai shuzha riji* (Letters and Diary from Sibuzhai Studio) in two volumes, are careful and exhaustive records of social customs and events toward the end of the Qing dynasty. Among hand-copied volumes (*chaoben*) is the work *Jiashen jishi* (Record of the Year Jiashen [1644]), a record of remnant tales and anecdotes about the fall of the Ming dynasty and historic details about the Southern-Ming court.²² Because events of this transition from Ming to Qing were seldom discussed by the Qing conquerors and relative historical materials were repeatedly banned or destroyed, the unusual scholarly value of this book is obvious.



8A. Red-ink printing. Zhao Jishi (1628–1706), *Gazetteer of Huizhou Prefecture* (1699), preface, p. 1a. The seal of the Qinghua University Library was applied in the lower right-hand corner of the first page of each volume when this rare exemplar was repaired and returned to the collection.



8B. The seal of Tsinghua University.
Photograph courtesy of the author.

Most of the manuscripts and handwritten volumes discovered in the lot of salvaged books were never published in printed form and thus are of the greatest significance to scholars for the abundant information on a wide range of official, military, economic, and social issues that they preserve. The author of a work, where known, is indicated; otherwise the authorship of these handwritten works is, to date, unknown. A sampling of this type of work follows.

Du Zhen (d. 1705). *Xunshi Guangdong jilüe* (Brief Record of Service as Inspecting Censor in Guangdong). One volume. 105 pages. Uncatalogued.

Lingqin sishi bing jichen daji jiqi jipin mingmu kuanshi tuce (Illustrated Handbook of Names and Styles of Ceremonial Equipment and Ceremonial Objects Used at the Imperial Tombs for the Seasonal Sacrifices and the Annual Remembrance Ceremony). One volume. 17 pages. Tsinghua number, *wu* 547.1/7404. A hand-written, handsomely illustrated, Manchu-language document containing authentic record of imperial sacrificial regulations at the Western Tombs (Xiling), one of the burial grounds for Qing emperors, produced by the Imperial Household Department (Neiwufu) and bearing the official seal of the Imperial Household Department supervisor-in-chief of Tailing, the burial tumulus of the Yongzheng emperor.

Liu Shuping (dates unknown). *Shu tielu jianzhu shi zhi bi* (Narration of Corrupt Practices During the Building of the Railroad). One volume. 23 pages. Guangxu era (1875–1908). Tsinghua number, *ding* 612/7832.

Minyao riji (Diary of Official Service in Min [i.e. Fujian]). One volume. 80 pages (1894). Tsinghua number, *ji* 583/7909. Text written on red-ink printed manuscript-form paper.

Wang Shihui (dates unknown). *Xianfeng Xiangshan Yue fen jishi* (True Account of Disasters in Xiangshan and in Yue [i.e. Guangdong] during the Xianfeng Era). 6 volumes. Tsinghua number, *ji* 150/7246.7. Records of great importance to the study of the Taiping Rebellion in Zhejiang and Guangdong provinces and, as well, of rebellions among native tribes in

Yunnan and on Taiwan during the Xianfeng era (1851–1861).

Wang Tongxin (dates unknown). *Lianfeng zhangcheng* (Regulations on Extra Allowances [Paid to Officials]). One volume. 51 pages. 1841. Uncatalogued.

Xichang zhangcheng (Regulations for the Theater) and *Kedian yingye zhangcheng* (Regulations for Management of Inns). 4 volumes. 19 pages (each volume contains three to five pages). Tsinghua number, *ding* 724/7592. Both titles written on red-ink printed manuscript-form paper and containing documents on laws governing theaters and inns and, in addition, very specific regulations for policing and investigations in Zhili province promulgated at the end 1908, the last year of the Guangxu reign period, and again at the beginning of 1909, the first year of the Xuantong reign period (1909–1911).

Zhonghe Jiubao mankou zhuba tiaohu zouzhe dang (Archival Records of Memorials Presented on River Control on the Zhonghe in the Wake of Flooding-Induced Breaches in the Levees at Jiubao). One volume. 47 pages. Tsinghua number, *ding* 625/7909.1. A work on river control along the Grand Canal system.

The Chinese Encyclopaedia

The work discovered among the salvaged volumes that has attracted the most attention is the 1726 (Yongzheng 4) bronze moveable-type (*tong huozhi*) edition of *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* (The Imperially Authorized Chinese Encyclopaedia; Tsinghua number, *jia* 310/7531.04).²³ In the course of examining the remnant volumes of this the largest extant Chinese encyclopedia, it was discovered that the exemplar in the Qinghua collection was the very one used by the Qing-imperial government to produce the Guangxu-era photolithographic reprint of this important work.²⁴ The work was compiled initially over the course of several years by Chen Menglei (b. 1651, 1670 *jinshi*), an official who served in several capacities as literary advisor to the court, and was later completed and purportedly revised by several other scholars.²⁵ Finally, more than two

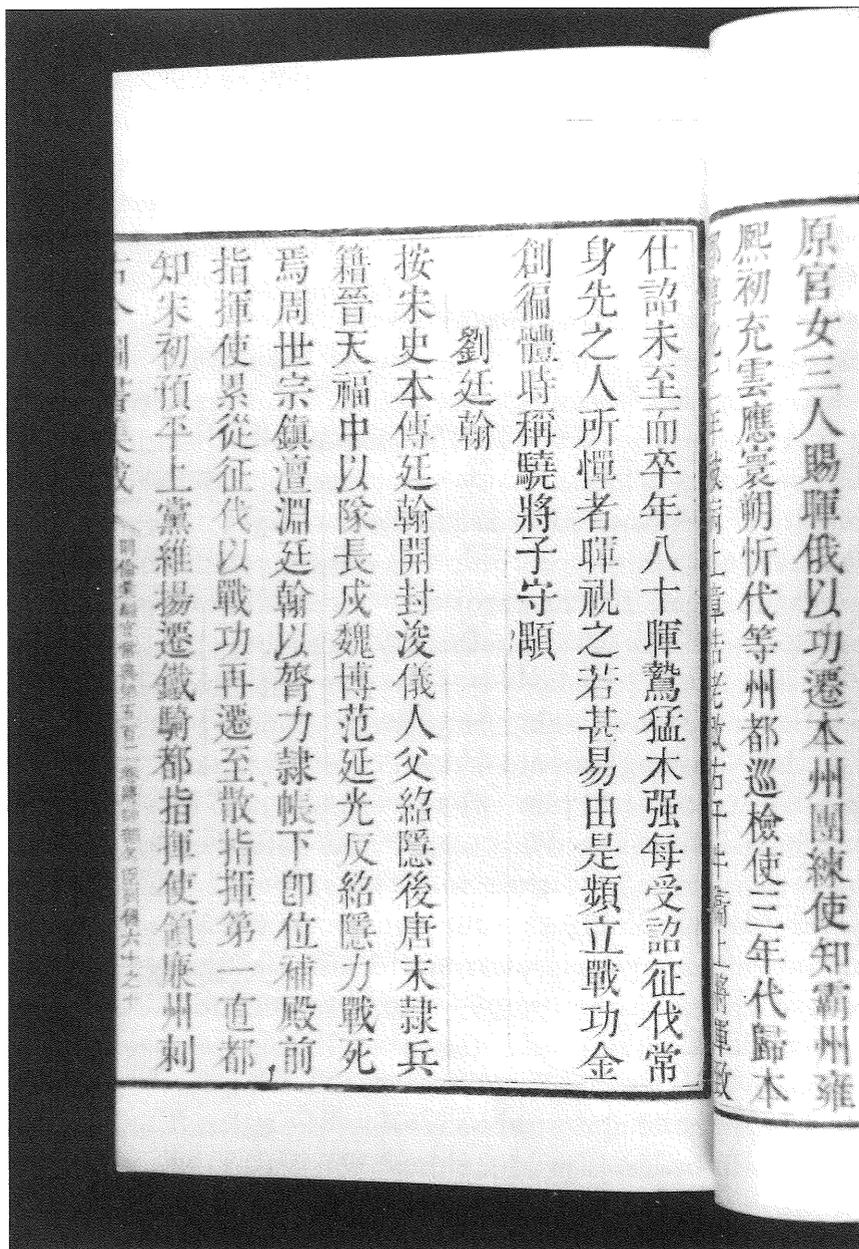
decades later, in the fourth year of the Yongzheng emperor's reign (1726), the book was printed using bronze moveable type on fine quality "Kaihua paper" and "*taishilian* paper," the resulting production deserving of its considerable renown in the history of printing in China.²⁶ The entire work, which exhaustively compiled information by categories from a full range of contemporary and historical records, comprised 10,000 *juan* with a table of contents in an additional forty *juan* and was bound in a total of 5020 volumes. Because of the size of this work, its initial print run was limited to sixty-four sets plus one additional model or reserve copy (*yangben*). With the vicissitudes of the past nearly three centuries, today at the beginning of the twenty-first century, there are only a few more than ten complete sets of the 1726 edition remaining, and many of large and famous collections of Chinese rare books, such as those in Peking University Library and Tianjin Library, own only a few or perhaps at most several tens of the volumes.²⁷

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Guangxu emperor, seeing the number of this bronze moveable-type printed edition dwindling, decided to multiply the number of sets to be used as gifts to foreign embassies to advertise the glorious accomplishment of this huge Chinese encyclopedic work.²⁸ In 1890, the emperor commissioned the purchase of a complete set of the original moveable-type edition printed on Kaihua paper. The characters in this copy of the original were then brushed over by hand to darken any poorly printed areas so that a clear photolithographic edition could be made. (See figure 9.) One hundred sets were produced under the overall project supervision of the Foreign Office (*Zongli geguo shiwu yamen*) of the Qing administration and printed in Shanghai by the *Tongwen shuju*.²⁹ During the Republican era (1911–1949), the Foreign Office's successor administrative unit was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Waijiaobu*) in whose storehouses the enhanced base copy (*diben* or *miaorunben*) of *The Chinese Encyclopaedia* of 1726 was held. During the early years of the Republic, the only institution of higher learning under the administrative control of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was Tsinghua University, into whose collection the complete encyclopedia was transferred, probably sometime in the 1920s.³⁰ This, the most valuable treasure ever fortuitously bestowed upon Tsinghua University, was part of the shipment of books sent to southwestern

China in the mid-1930s during the War of Resistance against Japan. Today, what remains after the damaging effects of war, fire, flood, and vermin in the twentieth century were identified as 558 volumes of the 1726 edition, about one-tenth of the original set.

Examining the remaining volumes of this “enhanced copy” of the bronze moveable-type edition of *The Chinese Encyclopaedia*, one can discern very clearly the process by which the reprint edition was made now more than one-hundred years ago. Scholarly articles touching on editions of this encyclopedia have seldom mentioned this “enhanced copy.”³¹ And, because thorough research into this reprinting process had not yet been undertaken, even articles purportedly specifically discussing this encyclopedia included many inaccuracies and oversights. Earlier references to the enhancement made on the pages of that particular set of the bronze moveable-type edition of the encyclopedia have discussed two types of changes. The first took into account the taboo characters for personal names of the six Qing-dynasty emperors after the Yongzheng era (when the encyclopedia was first printed), that is those for the Qianlong emperor, the Jiaqing emperor (r. 1796–1820), the Daoguang emperor, the Xianfeng emperor, the Tongzhi emperor (r. 1862–1874), and the Guangxu emperor himself. The characters to be avoided one-by-one were brushed over in white and the substitute character written in the whitened space. (See figure 10.) The second enhancement was to stroke over carefully in black ink any character whose impression in the original was not completely clear and distinct. Considering only these two types of changes, one can begin to comprehend the complexity of the work undertaken to make the photolithographic-reprint edition. (See figure 9.)

In actuality and almost unbelievably, the enhancement of the base volumes done in order to produce the Guangxu-era photolithographic-reprint edition was not limited to these two tasks. In fact, each and every one of the approximately 167 million characters on the more than 500,000 pages of the more than five thousand volumes of this massive work were traced over and enhanced. Those working on the conservation project here at Tsinghua came to this conclusion after we had examined each of the more than five hundred volumes and the many loose leaves of the exemplar of *The Chinese Encyclopaedia* extant in this



9A. Photograph of page from *The Chinese Encyclopaedia* showing the variation in the impression of the 1726 bronze moveable-type edition. *The Chinese Encyclopaedia*, “Minglun huibian” (Human Relationships Category), “Guanchang dian” (Government Officials Section), *juan* 502, “Jiangshuai bu” (Military Leaders Subhead), “Mingchen liezhuan” (Biographies of Famous Officials), no. 60, pp. 9b–10a. Photograph of the original in the Gest Collection, Princeton University.

原宮女三人賜暉俄以功遷本州團練使知霸州雍
熙初充雲應寰朔忻代等州都巡檢使二年代歸本
仕詔未至而卒年八十暉鷲猛木強每受詔征伐常
身先之人所憚者暉視之若甚易由是頻立戰功金
創徧體時稱驍將子守貽

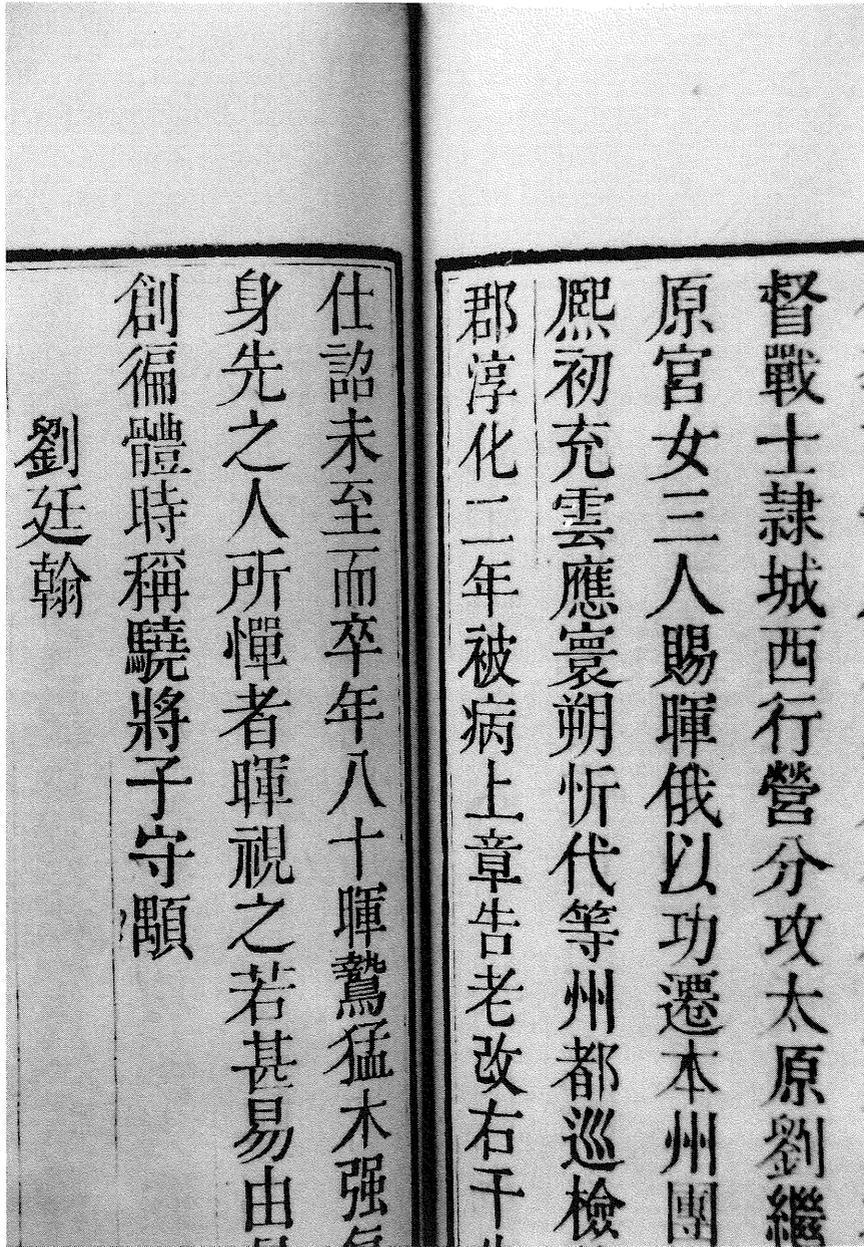
劉廷翰

按宋史本傳廷翰開封浚儀人父紹隱後唐末隸兵
籍晉天福中以隊長戍魏博范延光反紹隱力戰死
焉周世宗鎮澶淵廷翰以膂力隸帳下卽位補殿前
指揮使累從征伐以戰功再遷至散指揮第一直都
知宋初預平上黨維揚遷鐵騎都指揮使領廉州刺

9B. Corresponding page from the 1894 photolithographic-reprint edition showing the darker and more even impression of the text and the column lines, the result of complete overwriting of the text. Photograph of the original in the collection of Frederick W. Mote.

<p>督戰士隸城西行營分攻太原劉繼 原宮女三人賜暉俄以功遷本州團 熙初充雲應寰朔忻代等州都巡檢 郡涪化二年被病上章告老改右千 仕詔未至而卒年八十暉鷲猛木強 身先之人所憚者暉視之若甚易由 創徧體時稱驍將子守頤</p>	<p>劉廷翰</p>
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10A. Detail of figure 9b showing examples of variant character forms found in the 1894 photolithographic-reprint edition of *The Chinese Encyclopaedia. Chun*, the second character in the fourth column from the right, and *yong*, the last character in the seventh column from the right, avoid the use of a characters in the personal names of the Tongzhi emperor and the Jiaqing emperor, respectively.



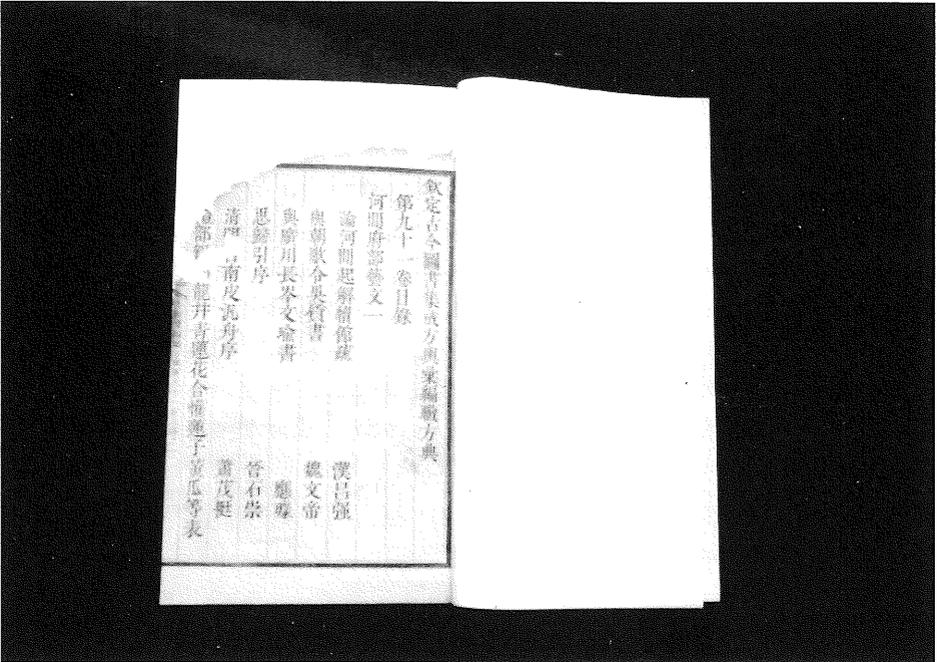
10B. Detail of figure 9A, the corresponding page from the 1726 edition of *The Chinese Encyclopaedia*.

lot of war-damaged books. (See figure 11.) If we had not seen this with our own eyes, we ourselves would not have believed it possible. To begin to grasp the immensity and grand accomplishment of the massive reprint project, think about how long it would take simply to copy out by hand a work this large; and then consider how much additional time, effort, and skill it would take to do the meticulous tracing and perfect overwriting of the entire text, as was done here.

In this process, not only was every one of the taboo characters modified, without exception, but also the style of the characters was dramatically altered. Each *pie* stroke and *na* stroke was given a gracefully lengthened tip so that the distinct appearance of the bronze moveable-type printed edition, from beginning to end, was traced over and smoothed out, amazingly turning the set into a manuscript copy, the work of highly skilled calligraphers writing in a graceful, consistent, and orderly style.³² And especially precious is the fact that small characters written in double columns, as well as the titling, headings, and numbering in the center of



11. Damaged, miscellaneous leaves from *The Chinese Encyclopaedia*. After being repaired, the loose leaves were bound in order into volumes.
Photograph courtesy of the author.



12A. and 12B. Volume of *The Chinese Encyclopaedia*, before and after repair. “Fangyu huibian” (Geography Category), “Zhifang dian” (Political Divisions Section), *juan* 91, “Table of Contents,” p. 1a. Photographs courtesy of the author.

each page (pages are folded so that the notation in the center of the page is visible on the mouth of the bound volumes) and the woodblock-printed illustrations also were very carefully enhanced using the same over-stroking techniques. Even an expert in identifying editions of Chinese books, holding a volume of the “enhanced copy” in his hand, would likely mistake it for a manuscript work. (See figures 9 and 10.) Only by holding a page up to the light do the shapes of the original printed characters become visible.³³ In all likelihood, in the history of world printing there has never been a reprint project of this engineering magnitude and requiring this amount of time and artistic effort.

Additionally, in examining this work, we found that mixed in with the 558 salvaged volumes of *The Chinese Encyclopaedia* in the Tsinghua collection are several tens of volumes from the Guangxu-era photolithographic-reprint edition, a fact that had never been previously recorded. The time between the production of the photolithographic reprint edition in the 1890s and the transfer of the “enhanced copy” of this work from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Tsinghua University in the first decades of the Republican era was around thirty years. Even in such short a period of time, the enhanced copy was no longer complete, necessitating the addition of lithographic-reprint volumes to fill in the gaps, clear evidence of the devastating effect on cultural records of the turmoil of the final years of the Qing dynasty and of the early decades of the Republican period. The work done in organizing and repairing the old and rare volumes severely ravaged by war and severe neglect in its aftermath has given us an opportunity to renew our acquaintance with and to reevaluate the significance of this “enhanced copy” of *The Chinese Encyclopaedia*. These efforts are but the necessary first steps in our research. We are confident that further bibliographic research will yield an even greater understanding of this work and, as well, of the other works represented in these now restored, war-damaged works in the Tsinghua University Library collection. (See figure 12.)

NOTES

1. Tsinghua University (Qinghua daxue) uses this historical spelling of its name rather than the standard pinyin spelling. The website of Tsinghua University

offers an outline history of this educational institution. See <http://www.tsinghua.edu.cn>. For additional information on the history of this major Chinese university, see Qinghua daxue xiaozhang bangongshi, ed., *Qinghua daxue* (Tsinghua University) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 1999) and Qinghua daxue xiaoshi gao bianxie zu, ed., *Qinghua daxue xiaoshi gao* (Tsinghua University Draft History) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981).

2. One specific discovery was that the exemplar of the 1726 encyclopedia *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* (Imperially Authorized Chinese Encyclopaedia) in the Tsinghua collection was, in fact, the “enhanced copy” used as the base set for the imperially authorized photolithographic-reproduction edition made in the Guangxu (1875–1908) era, a project begun in 1890 with the printing done between 1894 and 1898. And further, the cataloguing and repair process done on the Tsinghua exemplar uncovered the full extent of enhancement that had been carried out on this exemplar of the bronze moveable-type edition prior to its being used as the base set for the photographic reprint. See the last section of this article for a detailed discussion of this finding.
3. For more on the history of Yang Wenying and Yang Fu, see the author’s article, “Hangzhou Fenghuatang kaolüe” (Documentation on the Fenghuatang of Hangzhou), *Qinghua daxue xuebao* (Journal of Tsinghua University) 1 (1998), pp. 77–80.
4. The Ding brothers’ Baqianjuanlou collection, widely considered the finest in southern China at the end of the Qing dynasty (1368–1911), totaled more than three hundred thousand *juan*, of which 200 titles were Song- and Yuan-dynasty editions. See Ren Jiyu, ed., *Zhongguo cangshulou* (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 2001), pp. 1610–1616.

At that time, the other three great collections were Bisonglou, founded by Lu Xinyuan (1834–1894) of Huzhou in Zhejiang province (*Zhongguo cangshulou*, pp. 1624–1630); Tieqin tongjianlou in Changshu in Jiangsu province founded by Qu Shaoji (1772–1836), further expanded by his son Qu Yong (dates not known), and maintained by Qu clan descendants until after 1949 (*Zhongguo cangshulou*, pp. 1568–1573); and Haiyuange founded by Yang Yizeng (1787–1856) and continued by his son Yang Shaohe (1865 *jinshi*, d. 1875) of Liaocheng in Shandong province (*Zhongguo cangshulou*, pp. 1584–1592).

5. Hong Youfeng, “Goumai Hangzhou Yangshi cangshu baogao” (Report on the Purchase of the Book Collection of the Yang Family of Hangzhou), *Guoli Qinghua daxue xiaokan* (National Tsinghua University News), 85.1 (30 August 1929), p. 1. Hong Youfeng, director of the Tsinghua University Library, was the major architect behind the planning for the purchase of the books in the Yang collection.
6. Qinghua daxue xiaoshi yanjiushi, ed., *Qinghua daxue shiliao xuanbian* (Selected Compilation of Documents on the History Tsinghua University), *juan 2*, “1928–1937” and *juan 3*, part 1, “1937–1946,” (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 1991).
7. On this date Japanese troops stationed in Fengtai advanced to the west of

- Beiping and attacked Chinese troops encountered at Lugou bridge, also known as the “Marco Polo bridge.” This battle, known in Chinese as “Qi qi shibian” (Incident on 7 July [1937]) marked the beginning of the eight-year war known in Chinese as “Kang Ri zhanzheng” (War of Resistance Against the Japanese). See “Qiqi shibian,” *Zhongguo da baike quanshu* (Great Encyclopedia of China), *Zhongguo lishi* (Chinese History) volume (Beijing: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1994), p. 759.
8. Tang Shaoming, “Wuben wushi zili ziqiang—huainian wode fuqin Tang Guanfang” (Attending to the Fundamentals and Striving for Thoroughness, Self-reliant and Self-motivated—Recollections of My Father Tang Guanfang), *Qinghua xiaoyou tongxun* (Tsinghua Alumni Newsletter) New Series 35 (1997), pp. 126–128.
 9. Zhu Wenbai was an educator active in establishing educational institutions in Zhejiang province during the early years of the Republican era. Zhu Wenbai, “Liangqian nian lai Zhongguo tushu zhi eyun,” *Dongfang zazhi* 19 (1945), pp. 23–25.
 10. Shanghai Hanfenlou, a private collection founded in 1904 by publisher and bibliographer Zhang Yuanji (1866–1959), was the source of many of the early-twentieth-century photographic reprints produced by Shangwu yinshuguan (Commercial Press). It became one of modern China’s most important collections of antiquarian books. In 1932, just prior to its wholesale destruction during Japanese bombardment of Shanghai, the collection held upwards of four hundred–sixty thousand volumes, of which thirty–five thousand volumes were rare books. Among these were three hundred titles dating from the Song and Yuan dynasties. Ren Jiyu, *Zhongguo cangshulou*, pp. 1685–1687.
 The Jiangsu Provincial Library, the precursor to what became to Nanjing Library (Nanjing tushuguan) was founded in the early part of the twentieth century and by the mid-1930s, held more than two hundred thousand volumes, a majority of which were rare and fine editions from the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties. Included in the collection were nearly eight thousand *juan* purchased from the heirs of the Ding clan’s Baqianjuanlou collection (see note 4). During the War of Resistance Against the Japanese, destruction to this library, which had been placed in what was thought to be safe storage in Xinghua county in northern Jiangsu, included more than sixty–eight hundred volumes bound in traditional formats and gazetteers from provinces across China, as well as government documents from the last four eras of the Qing dynasty, many of which had not yet been catalogued. See also Ren Jiyu, *Zhongguo cangshulou*, p. 1616.
 11. The chaos and destruction of war have left few records from which to make a complete assessment of the specific losses to the Tsinghua University Library collection. Since the books shipped south in 1935 represented only a part of the library collection at that time and since precious few of the books bound in traditional formats left behind on the campus survived, it is fair to say that the loss of books was incalculable in number and in value.
 12. This “Peking University” controlled by the Japanese puppet-regime was

- established on grounds in the Dongcheng district of the city formerly occupied by the legitimate Beiping University, one red-brick building of which forms the west flank of what is today the Chinese Art Museum (Zhongguo meishuguan).
13. Zhu Yuhe and Chen Zhaoling, eds., *Rijun tieti xiade Qinghua yuan* (Occupation of the Tsinghua Campus by Japanese Troops, literally Tsinghua Campus under the Iron Heels of the Japanese Forces) (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 90–93.
 14. When the scorched pages were extremely brittle and shattered, a sheet of new paper was laminated to the back of the parts of the pages remaining, thus holding the pieces of the page together and giving the remnants of the page renewed flexibility. Alternately, for less severely damaged pages, pieces of new paper were shaped to fit the missing portions of a page to fill in the paper loss and to make the page whole.
 15. Pages of Chinese books printed and bound in traditional formats are folded along the center of the printing block. Regardless of the binding format, this fold often suffers wear that results in splitting. Repair to the fold is accomplished by using very thin paste to attach a narrow guard of thin, strong paper, usually *mianzhi* (also called *mianpizhi*) or *xuanzhi*, to the back of the printed folio page to rejoin the two halves of the book page. “*Mianzhi*,” literally “cotton paper,” is one kind of paper ideally suited to repairing damaged pages of Chinese books. This bast-fiber paper is made of the fine inner bark of the paper-mulberry tree (*chu shu*, *L. Broussonetia papyrifera*) or other bast fiber, not of fibers from cotton bolls, as the name might seem to imply. *Mianzhi* is soft but tough, and pliable, strong, and highly absorbent. *Xuanzhi* is paper made up of a mixture of the inner bark of the blue-sandalwood tree (also called *Wingceltis*, *qingtan shu*, *L. Pteroceltis tatarinowii*) and dry-land-rice straw. For more on Chinese paper, see Pan Jixing, *Zaozhi yu yinshua* (Paper Production and Printing) in Lu Jiayi, ed., *Zhongguo kexue jishu shi* (A History of Science and Technology in China) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1998).
 16. See the immediately preceding note for a discussion of the use of *mianzhi* in book repair.
 17. Coverage of this accomplishment was broadcast on two programs on China Central Television (Zhongyang dianshitai)—*Oriental Horizon* (Dongfang shikong) and *Cultural Highlights* (Wenhua yaowen)—and on Beijing Television’s (Beijing dianshitai) *Evening News Report* (Wanjian xinwen baodao). Articles were carried in various print media including *Beijing Daily* (Beijing ribao), *Beijing Evening Daily* (Beijing wanbao), *China Press and Publishing Journal* (Zhongguo xinwen chuban bao), *Beijing Municipal Bureau of Culture* (Wenhua rexian wang), *People’s Daily Overseas Edition* (Renmin ribao haiwaiban), *China National Conditions and Strength* (Zhongguo guoqing guoli), and *Journal of Tsinghua University: Philosophy and Social Sciences* (Qinghua daxue xuebao zhesheban).
 18. Liu Dongmei, “‘Zhongshang guji’ de xinsheng kan woxiao dui chuantong

wenhua de guanzhu—woxiao tushuguan cang fenyu guji de xiufu zhengli xiubu gongzuo ceji” (The New Life Given to “Severely Damaged Old and Rare Books” Reveals the Importance Our University Places on Tradition—An Account of the Project to Restore Fire-Damaged Books in the Collection of Our University Library), *Xin Qinghua* (25 May 2001), p. 4.

19. The dimensions of the printing blocks for Han Daozhao’s works are 30.2 cm by 19.1 cm. Width of the column at the center of the block is 1.9 cm. The size of the characters is not perfectly uniform, but on average the width of the characters measures between 1.7 and 1.9 cm and the height measures 1.4 to 2.0 cm. Books this size with characters this large are exceptional for traditionally bound books.

In the Gest Collection there are three rare exemplars of Han Daozhao’s works on phonology: two complete exemplars of *Da Ming Chenghua gengyin chongkan gaibing wuyin jiyun* (Reprint in the Year *Gengyin* [1470] of the Chenghua era of the Ming Dynasty of Rhyme Categories in the Integration of the Five Classes of Initials). (1470). Gest numbers, TA166/362 and TA166/1590; and one incomplete exemplar of *Da Ming Chenghua dinghai chongkan gaibing wuyin leiju sisheng pian* (Reprint in the Year *Dinghai* [1467] of the Chenghua Reign of the Ming Dynasty of Treatise on Integration of the Five Classes of Initials and Categorization of the Four Tones). (1467). Gest number, TA166/1687.

20. It should be noted that the title of this work by Zhang Zhensheng is given as *Yushan yixiang* in at least two reference works. See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao ji siku weishou shumu jinhui shumu* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1978), pp. 1657–1658 and Shanghai tushuguan, ed., *Zhongguo congshu zonglu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), p. 576. In the exemplar of this work in the Tsinghua collection, the title of the work as it appears on the cover title page, on the first page of the each *juan*, and along the fold of each page is *Wangshan yixiang*. In addition, in the body of the text, both the character *wang* and the character *yu* appear as distinct and different.
21. Ling Tingkan’s birth date is sometimes given as 1757. See, Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period (1644–1912)* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 514.
22. The age of the paper and the quality of the ink used for this hand-copied text of *Jiashen jishi* suggest that this copy was made very early, and thus it has been categorized as a rare book. The content of this title is largely the same as that of the work by this title found in *Xuanlantang congshu*, vol. 112–118, where it is credited to Feng Menglong (1574–1646) and is said to have been printed in 1644–1645. However, there are numerous variations in wording between the hand-copied text and the printed edition, making this hand-copied text an important resource for further bibliographic research on this title.
23. For more on this monumental printing project, the use of moveable metal type, the nature of the metal used for the production of the type, and the process by which the type was made, see the following sources: Tsien Tsuen-Hsuei, *Paper and Printing*, volume 5, part 1 of Joseph Needham, ed., Science

- and Civilisation in China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 211–220, esp. 215–216; Pan Jixing, *Paper Production and Printing*, pp. 28, 427–428; Pan Jixing, *Zhongguo jinshu huozhi yinshua jishu shi* (A History of Movable Metal-Type Printing Technique in China) (Shenyang: Liaoning kexue jishu chubanshe, 2001), pp. 94, 269–276. See also Lionel Giles' introduction in his compilation *An Alphabetical Index to the Chinese Encyclopaedia Ch'in Ting Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* (London: British Museum, 1911), pp. v–xx.
24. In the 1880s, prior to this photolithographic-reprint project begun in 1890 under the auspices of the Foreign Office of the Qing government, the Shanghai tushu jicheng qianban yinshuju, the publishing house established by John Major, had produced a lead-typeset edition in 1628 volumes. This error-ridden edition, sometimes known as the “small-type edition” (*xiaoziben*), was a commercial, typeset-reprint edition altogether different from the photolithographic-reprint edition produced by the Qing-imperial government. The photolithographic reprint, commonly known as the “large-type edition” (*daziben*), was printed in Shanghai by the Tongwen shuju in a total of 5044 volumes, the last 24 volumes of which comprise the collation notes of scholars who worked on the imperially authorized reprint edition.
25. For more on Chen Menglei, see Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, pp. 93–95 and Giles, *Alphabetical Index*, pp. v–xx. During the editing of this massive work, Chen fell in and out of imperial favor, a victim of the complexity of court politics, and when the work was finally published, the only name credited with the work was editor-in-chief, Jiang Tingxi (1660–1732), then head of the Ministry of Revenue. It should also be noted that some catalogues give the date of publication as 1728, the sixth year of the Yongzheng reign.
26. Kaihua paper derives its name from Kaihua district of Quzhou in Zhejiang province where the paper originally was produced. This type of bast- or bark-fiber paper (*pizhi*) is known for its pure white color, flexible strength, fine texture, and pleasing appearance. Because of the superior printing qualities of this paper, it was very frequently used for books printed in the Wuyingdian printing office in the imperial palace during the early and middle years of the Qing dynasty. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the quality of this paper declined and its use in book printing dwindled. See Qu Mianliang, ed., *Zhongguo guji banke cidian* (Dictionary of Chinese Traditional Printing) (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1999) p. 31.
- Taishilian* paper refers to a kind of bast-fiber paper that is slightly more cream or pale yellow in color than Kaihua paper. It has a very fine texture, is uniformly free of impurities, and is highly absorbent and strong. See Qu Mianliang, *Dictionary of Traditional Chinese Printing*, pp. 61, 233. The origin of the names of papers in China often is not a simple matter, nor is it an easy task to identify the fibers from which a paper was made based simply on the name of that paper. For additional discussion on types of paper used in book printing in China, see Pan Jixing, *Paper Production and Printing*, p. 195.
27. Complete sets of the bronze moveable-type edition of *The Chinese*

- Encyclopaedia* of 1726 are in the Harvard-Yenching collection (rare-book number T9301/3213) and in the Gest Collection at Princeton University (rare-book number TC348/1028).
28. A complete set of the photolithographic edition of the mid-1890s, rebound in western style binding, may be found in the collection of Columbia University (rare-book number 9301/4418B). A complete set of this same edition in its original string-bound format is in the collection of the Library of Congress. These two complete sets were gifts to these two institutions from the Chinese government, presented in the aftermath of the Boxer Indemnity settlement.
 29. The date of publication for this photolithograph edition is sometimes given as 1894. Another source gives the publication dates as 1895–1898. For the latter, see Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, p. 94. The number of sets extant from this photolithographic edition is not large. Not long after production, as many as half of the one-hundred sets printed were destroyed in a warehouse fire in Shanghai. See Hu Daojing, “*Gujin tushu jicheng de qingkuang tedian ji qi zuoyong*” (Facts, Special Features, and Utility of *The Chinese Encyclopaedia*), *Tushuguan* (Libraries) 1 (1962), p. 36.
 30. Money from the Boxer Indemnity paid by China to the United States was reinvested in numerous projects in China to create educational opportunities for Chinese students. One of these projects was the establishment, just prior to the end of the Qing dynasty, of the Qinghua liu Mei yubei xuexiao (Tsinghua Academy), initially a preparatory school for young Chinese prior to their going abroad for further education. This educational institution expanded, added a university section in 1925, and in 1928 became known as Guoli Qinghua daxue, that is National Tsinghua University. Whereabouts of records of the exact date that this set of *The Chinese Encyclopaedia* was presented to Tsinghua are not known. In 1931 when the new library building at was built, the “enhanced copy” of this work was already in the university’s collection, so in all probability this transfer was made sometime in the 1920s.
 31. For studies on this encyclopedia, see the extensive bibliography in Pei Qin’s monograph, *Gujin tushu jicheng yanjiu* (Research on *The Chinese Encyclopaedia*) (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2001) pp. 156–161. Included are the article by Hu Daojing cited above and one by Yang Yuliang, “*Gujin tushu jicheng kaozheng shiling*” (Gleanings from Research on *The Chinese Encyclopaedia*), *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* (Palace Museum Journal) 1 (1985), pp. 32–35.
 32. *Pie* strokes slant downward to the left and *na* strokes slant downward to the right, both tapering gently at the closing tip.
 33. Because all of the complete volumes and the loose leaves in the Tsinghua collection have already been rebound, photographing this image using light transmitted through the pages would now be a very complicated, if not impossible, procedure.

GLOSSARY

- Baqianjuanlou 八千卷樓
 Beijing daxue tushuguan 北京大學圖書館
 Beijing dianshitai 北京電視臺
 Beijing ribao 北京日報
 Beijing wanbao 北京晚報
 Beipei 北碚
 Bencao gangmu 本草綱目
 Bencao gangmu tu 本草綱目圖
 Bencao wanfang zhenxian 本草萬方針綫
 Bisonglou 甬宋樓
 buqi shaojiao quesun shuye 補齊燒焦缺損書頁
 Buyi 補遺
 Buyishi 補遺詩
 bu yu lianggong ning cun guwu 不遇良工寧存故物
 Cai Liexian 蔡烈先
 Cao Junying 曹俊英
 ce 冊
 Changsha 長沙
 Changsha linshi daxue 長沙臨時大學
 Changshu 常熟
 chaoben 抄本
 Chen Bangzhan 陳邦瞻
 Chen Dake 陳大科
 Chen Kuishi 陳魁士
 Chen Menglei 陳夢雷
 Chicheng xianzhi 赤城縣志
 Chongqing 重慶
 chun 淳
 chu shu 楮樹
 Da Ming Wanli jichou chongkan gaibing wuyin jiyun 大明萬曆己丑重刊改并五音集韻
 Da Ming Wanli yihai chongkan gaibing wuyin leiju sisheng pian 大明萬曆乙亥重刊改并五音類聚四聲篇
 Da Ming Zhengde jichou chongkan gaibing wuyin leiju sisheng pian 大明萬曆己丑重刊改并五音類聚四聲篇
 Da Ming Zhengde yihai chongkan gaibing wuyin leiju sisheng pian 大明正德乙亥重刊改并五音類聚四聲篇
 Da Qing huidian 大清會典
 Da Qing luli 大清律例
 daziben 大字本
 Deshoutang 德壽堂
 diben 底本
 ding 丁
 Ding Bing 丁丙
 Ding Shen 丁申
 Dongcheng 東城
 Dongfang shikong 東方時空
 Dongfang xuehui 東方學會
 Dongpo xiansheng biannian shi 東坡先生編年詩
 Dubu zeli 督捕則例
 Du tianshi cefeng Liuqiu zhenji qiguan 杜天使冊封琉球真記奇觀
 Du Zhen 杜臻
 fangkeben 坊刻本
 Fangyan 方言
 Fangyu huibian 方輿彙編

- Fenghuatang 豐華堂
 Feng Menglong 馮夢龍
 Fengtai 豐臺
 fen yu shu 焚餘書
 Furongcheng sizhong shu 芙蓉城四種書
 Futian shuhai 福田書海
 gaoben 稿本
 Gao Jidi 高季迪
 Gao Qi 高啓
 geng 庚
 Gongcheng zuofa 工程做法
 Guanchang dian 官常典
 Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成
 Guochao mingshi lei yuan 國朝名世類苑
 Guojia tushuguan 國家圖書館
 Guojia tushuguan fenguan 國家圖書館
 分館
 Guoli Qinghua daxue 國立清華大學
 Guoli xinan lianhe daxue 國立西南聯
 合大學
 Gu shi yinxue wushu 顧氏音學五書
 Gu Yanwu 顧炎武
 Haidian 海澱
 Haiyuange 海源閣
 Han Daozhao 韓道昭
 Hanfenlou 涵芬樓
 Hangzhou 杭州
 Hankou 漢口
 He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠
 Hong Youfeng 洪有豐
 Huangchao liqi tushi 皇朝禮器圖式
 Huang Ming shitong 皇明詩統
 Huang Ming wenxuan 皇明文選
 huo jiaocai 活教材
 Huzhou 湖州
 ji 己
 jia 甲
 jiakoben 家刻本
 Jialing jiang 嘉陵江
 Jiang Hong 姜紅
 Jiangshuai bu 將帥部
 Jiangsu shengli tushuguan 江蘇省立圖
 書館
 Jiang Tingxi 蔣廷錫
 Jianzhai 繭齋
 jiaohong 校紅
 Jiashen jishi 甲申紀事
 jieye 揭頁
 Jin 金
 Jing Rizhen 景日珍
 jinshi 進士
 Jin Tan 金檀
 jin xiang yu 金鑲玉
 Jiubao 九堡
 juan 卷
 juanshou 卷首
 Kaihua 開化
 Kang Ri zhanzheng 抗日戰爭
 [Kangxi] Huizhou fuzhi 康熙徽州府志
 [Kangxi] Qiyun shanzhi 康熙齊雲山志
 Kedian yingye zhangcheng 客店營業章程
 Ke xinbian chuxiang Yang jiafu shidai zhongyi
 tongsu yanyi zhizhuan 刻新編出像楊
 家府世代忠義通俗演義志傳
 Kong Zi jiayu 孔子家語
 Kouxianji 扣舷集

- Kunming 昆明
Lianfeng zhangcheng 廉俸章程
 Liaocheng 聊城
 Liaoningsheng tushuguan 遼寧省圖書館
 Li Fang 李昉
 Lin Chunqi 林春祺
 Ling Dizhi 凌迪知
Lingqin sishi bing jichen daji jiqi jipin mingmu
kuanshi tuce 陵寢四時并忌辰大祭祭
 器祭品名目款式圖冊
 Ling Tingkan 凌廷堪
Lingyin Zi 靈隱子
 Li shi 李氏
 Li Shizhen 李時珍
 Li Tengpeng 李騰鵬
 liukou 溜口
 Liu Qiang 劉蕃
 Liu Shuping 劉樹屏
 Li Zongfang 李宗昉
 Lu Ciyun 陸次雲
 Lu Dian 魯點
 Lugou 盧溝
 Luo Binwang 駱賓王
 Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉
 Lu Xinyuan 陸心源
 Mao Huanwen 毛煥文
 Meng Siyi 孟思誼
 mianpizhi 棉皮紙
 mianzhi 棉紙(綿紙)
 miaorunben 描潤本
 Min 閩
 Mingchen liezhuan 名臣列傳
 Minglun huibian 明倫彙編
Mingshan cang 名山藏
Minyao riji 閩輶日記
 Minzhu gongsi 民主公司
 Mohuachiguan 墨華池館
 Mulu 目錄
 na 捺
 Nanjing tushuguan 南京圖書館
 Nankai 南開
 neifuben 內府本
 Neiwufu 內務府
Panshan zhi 盤山志
 pie 撇
 pizhi 皮紙
 Qian Chenqun 錢陳群
 Qiantang 錢塘
Qiantang xianzhi 錢塘縣志
Qiluzhai shigao 七錄齋詩稿
Qinding gujin tushu jicheng 欽定古今圖
 書集成
 Qinghua daxue 清華大學
Qinghua daxue xuebao zhesheban 清華大
 學學報哲社版
 Qinghua liu Mei yubei xuexiao 清華留
 美預備學校
Qingqiu Gao Jidi xiansheng fuzaoji 青邱高
 季迪先生鳧藻集
Qingqiu Gao Jidi xiansheng shiji 青邱高季
 迪先生詩集
 qingtian shu 青檀樹
 Qinhuai moke 秦淮墨客
 Qi qi shibian 七七事變
 Qu 瞿
 qumei 去霉

- Qu Shaoji 瞿紹基
 quwu 去污
 Qu Yong 瞿鏞
 Quzhou 衢州
Renmin ribao haiwaiban 人民日報海外版
 Shanghai tushuguan 上海圖書館
 Shanghai tushu jicheng qianban yinshuju
 上海圖書集成鉛版印書局
 Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館
 Shanyang 山陽
 Shenyang 瀋陽
Shi ben yin 詩本音
 Shidetang 世德堂
 Shi Yuanzhi 施元之
 shu bingzi 書餅子
 Shulin 書林
Shuo Song 說嵩
Shu tielu jianzhu shi zhi bi 述鐵路建築
 時之弊
 shuyuanben 書院本
Sibuzhai shuzha riji 思補齋書札日記
 sikeben 私刻本
Songshi jishi benmo 宋事紀事本末
 Suo Etu (Songgotu) 索額圖
 Su Shi 蘇軾
Su Tai suoji 蘇臺瑣記
 Suzhou 蘇州
 Taihe 泰和
 Tailing 泰陵
 taishilian 太史連
 Taizhou 臺州
 Tang Fuchun 唐富春
 Tang Guanfang 唐貫方
 Tianjin 天津
 Tianjin tushuguan 天津圖書館
 Tieqin tongjianlou 鐵琴銅劍樓
 tong huozì 銅活字
 Tongwen shuju 同文書局
 Tsinghua 清華
 Tushuguan kexue jishu shi ji gu wenxian
 yanjiusuo 圖書館科學技術史暨古
 文獻研究所
 Waijiaobu 外交部
 wang 王
Wangshan yixiang 王山遺響
 Wang Shihui 王蔣蕙
 Wang Su 王肅
 Wang Tongxin 王同心
 Wang Zongyuan 汪宗元
Wanjian xinwen baodao 晚間新聞報道
 Wei Yuan 魏嶸
Wenhua rexian wang 文化熱綫網
Wenhua yaowen 文化要聞
Wenmiaoxiangshi quanji 聞妙香室全集
Wenyuan yinghua 文苑英華
 wu 戊
 Wuhan 武漢
 Wu Mianxue 吳勉學
 Wuyingdian 武英殿
Xianfeng Xiangshan Yue fen jishi 咸豐象山
 粵氛紀實
 Xiangshan 象山
Xiangshuzhai shiji 香樹齋詩集
 Xiangyuzhai 香雨齋
 xianzhuangshu 綫裝書
 xiaoziben 小字本

- Xichang zhangcheng* 戲場章程
xijing 洗淨
Xiling 西陵
Xinbian gujin shiwen lei ju bieji 新編古今事
 文類聚別集
Xinghua 興化
Xiong Cilü 熊賜履
Xuanlantang congshu 玄覽堂叢書
xuanzhi 宣紙
Xuji 續集
Xunshi Guangdong jiliè 巡視廣東紀略
Yanbo diaosou 烟波釣叟
yangben 樣本
Yang Fu 楊復
Yang Shaohé 楊紹和
Yang Wenying 楊文瑩
Yang Yizeng 楊以增
Yanjing daxue 燕京大學
Yanjing daxue tushuguan 燕京大學圖
 書館
Yichang 宜昌
Yinxu shuqi kaoshi 殷墟書契考釋
yong 頤
yu 玉
yuan 元
Yuan Haowen 元好問
Yuan Yishan 元遺山
Yuan Yishan xiansheng nianpu 元遺山先生
 年譜
Yue 粵
Yunli 允禮
Yunlu 允祿
Yushan yixiang 玉山遺響
- Zengbu wanbao quanshu* 增補萬寶全書
Zhang Pu 張溥
Zhang Yuanji 張元濟
Zhang Zhensheng 張貞生
Zhao Jishi 趙吉士
Zha Shenxing 查慎行
zhengbu chongzhu shushi henji 整補蟲·
 蛀鼠噬痕跡
zheng jiu ru jiu 整舊如舊
Zhenjiang 鎮江
Zhifang dian 職方典
Zhipu 智樸
Zhongguo guoqing guoli 中國國情國力
Zhongguo meishuguan 中國美術館
Zhongguo shudian 中國書店
Zhongguo xinwen chuban bao 中國新聞出
 版報
Zhonghe 中河
Zhonghe Jiubao Mankou zhuba tiaohé zouzhe
dang 中河九堡漫口築堤挑河奏摺
 檔
zhongshang yuan 重傷員
Zhongyang dianshitai 中央電視臺
Zhongyang gongye shiyansuo 中央工業
 試驗所
zhuangzheng chengce 裝幀成冊
Zhu Mu 祝穆
Zhu Wenbai 祝文白
zhuye tuobiao 逐頁托裱
zi da ru qian 字大如錢
Zongli geguo shiwu yamen 總理各國事
 務衙門

Examination of a Song Edition of
the *Chunqiu jizhu*
(Collected Annotations for
Spring and Autumn Annals)

WANG QINGYUAN

TRANSLATED BY ALFREDA MURCK

This article introduces a rare Song-dynasty (960–1279) edition of *Chunqiu jizhu* (Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals) in the collection of the Liaoning Provincial Library. Composed by Zhang Qia (1161–1237) and published in 1275, the Liaoning exemplar is compared with other extant Song editions of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, and, in addition, textual errors in former catalogue records are resolved and the reasons for the errors are analyzed.

BACKGROUND ON ZHANG QIA'S WORK

In 1989, while putting the library's holdings in order, the editors of the catalogue of ancient books at the Liaoning Provincial Library (hereafter Liaoning Library) discovered a Song-dynasty woodblock edition that had not been previously catalogued. This complete and undamaged Song-dynasty edition entitled *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn An-*

nals was composed by Zhang Qia. The blocks were carved at a private charitable school in Huating (Huating yishu; in present-day Jiangsu province) in 1275, the first year of the Deyou reign period (1275–1276). The book has altogether eleven chapters (*juan*) of “assembled annotations” (*jizhu*) and one chapter comprising “Guiding Principles” (Gangling). The block format is ten columns of text per half page, with eighteen characters in each column. Small characters are in double columns with twenty-seven characters to a column. The center column of the woodblock has a “white mouth,” that is, upper and lower parts of the column are left blank, and a single fishtail, that is, a v-shaped guide for folding the printed sheet in half. On the left and right of the block are double borderlines. At the bottom of the central columns of the blocks the names of the respective carvers are engraved: Liang, Gui, Qi, Miaogui, Shen and many others. Throughout the text, single characters that occur in personal names of members of the Song-imperial rulers, such as Xuan, Kuang, Zhen, Zheng, Huan, Heng, Wan, Rang, and Shen, are lacking a normally required final stroke in observance of the taboo on use of such characters. (See figure 1) In all, the book has eight fascicles and is printed on fine white “bark-fiber, or bast-fiber paper” (*pizhi*). Close examination of the appearance of the paper and style of the calligraphy reveals that both are clearly characteristic of a Song-woodblock edition.

The prefatory material of the Liaoning Library’s *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* includes the following texts: an official directive (*diewen*) from the Linjiang military prefecture (Linjiang jun) dated the ninth lunar month of the first year of the Duanping reign period (1234–1236); a Department of State Affairs directive from the eighth month of the same year; Zhang Qia’s formal memorandum (*zhuang*) of 1234 introducing the book to the court, a note recording that in the ninth month of the same year Zhang Qia again formally introduced the book; an appended note by Zhang Qia (*xiao tiezi*); and a preface by Wei Zongwu (d.1289) dated 1275. Wei’s preface records: “This book has existed only in the printed edition from Linjiang, and after [woodblocks for this work] were destroyed in a fire, Dong Keweng (dates unknown) showed me a copy of this book, saying that he must ensure its life in transmission. And thus he had printing blocks cut at the charitable school

之始於隱公者非它以平王之所終也平既不王東遷之後周室微弱諸侯強大朝覲不修貢賦不奉號令無所束賞罰無所加壞法易紀變禮亂樂弑君戕父攘國竊號在在有之征伐四出蕩然不禁天下之正中國之事皆諸侯分裂之平王庸暗歷孝逾惠莫能中興播蕩陵夷逮隱而死雅誥不復作天下無復有王矣故詩至黍離而降書至文侯之命而絕春秋乃作自隱公而始也

元年春王正月

元年者隱公之始年也古者諸侯之國各隨其君之年以紀事故不書是年為平王之四

十九年至於正朔則王所建也此所謂春乃建子月冬至陽氣萌生在三統為天統蓋天統以氣為主故月之建子即以為春而丑寅之氣皆天之所以生劉歆云三統者天施地化人事之紀天施周正建子也地化商正建丑也人事之紀夏正建寅之謂也周正建子在夏時則十一月也聖人雖欲行夏之時而春秋因史作經方尊周以一天下豈遽改其正朔哉然古者記事簡畧多以事繫日以日繫月以月繫年至於事之以大畧見者乃繫事於時考之書如春大會于盟津秋大熟未穫此事以大畧見而繫時者也其餘記其日月則不必繫時如伊訓惟元祀十有二月畢命惟十有二年六月庚午臚其他如武成康誥顧命等篇皆月不繫於時蓋止欲紀歲月故舉月則知時也春秋筆削史記以立大公於元年之下王正月之上每歲四時必加謹春夏秋冬之文皆經氏於前春天時正月王正書春王正月示人君當上奉天時下承正

1. Block format for Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating Charitable School, 1275), *juan* 1, pp. 1a-1b. In the fourth and fifth columns of printed characters from the right, each occurrence of the character for *huan* in the name of prince Huan of Lu is missing the final horizontal stroke, a variant form used

春秋卷第一

杜氏曰春秋者魯史記之名也史之所記必表年以首事年有四時故錯舉以為所記之名也

張洽集註

隱公

名息姑惠公之子毋聲子謚法不尸其位曰隱○傳惠公元妃孟子孟子卒繼室以聲子生隱公宋武公生仲子仲

子生而有文在其手曰為魯夫人故仲子歸于我生桓公而惠公薨是以隱公立而奉之○公羊傳桓公幼諸大夫扳隱而立之隱於是焉而辭立則未知桓之將必得立也且如桓立則恐諸大夫之不能相幼君也故凡隱之立為桓立也○伊川程氏傳曰夫子之道既不行於天下於是因魯春秋立百王不易之大法平王東遷在位五十一年卒不能復興先王之業王道絕矣孟子曰王者之迹熄而詩亡詩亡然後春秋作適當隱公之初故始於隱公又曰詩亡者謂雅亡政教號令不及於天下也○泰山孫氏曰春秋

to avoid writing this Song taboo character, the personal name of the Song emperor Qinzong (r. 1126–1127). Photocopies of the exemplar in the Liaoning Provincial Library courtesy of the author.

in Huating.”¹ Wei Zongwu’s preface confirms that the recently discovered book is definitely the Huating charitable school edition. The discovery of this exemplar of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* has not only added an authentic book in the Classics category to known Song-dynasty editions, it also contributes a reliable guide for assessing and correctly identifying other editions of this book.

A native of Qingjiang (in present-day Jiangxi province), Zhang Qia had the courtesy name Yuande and the literary cognomen Zhuyi. In 1208 he earned his presented-scholar or “metropolitan-graduate” (*jinshi*) degree. He served successively as commandant of Songzi prefecture, administrator of public order in Yuanzhou, district magistrate for Yongxin, and controller-general of Chizhou. His last position was assistant editorial director for compiling historical materials at the court. He had a good reputation as an official. Late in life he stayed at home and worked on his writing. The court, learning of his scholarship, commanded the acting official of the Linjiang military prefecture to call on Zhang Qia to request that his manuscripts be copied for presentation to the court. After the works were submitted to the emperor, Zhang was given the honorary official title Attendant at the Hall of Treasured Seal (Baozhangge).² When he died in 1237 at the age of seventy-seven, he was granted the posthumous honorific Wenxian.³ His books include *Chunqiu jizhuan* (Collected Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals); *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, the work discovered in the Liaoning Provincial Library; *Chunqiu dili yan’ge biao* (List of the Evolution of Geographic Names in Spring and Autumn Annals); *Zuo shi mengqiu* (Introduction to the Commentary of Zuo); *Xu tongjian changbian shilüe* (Outline of the Xu tongjian changbian); and *Lidai junxian dili yan’ge zhi* (Record of Geographic Changes in Counties and Commandaries Over Time).

Zhang Qia at one time served as the head of the White Deer Grotto Academy (Bailudong shuyuan),⁴ and his research on *Spring and Autumn Annals* became widely known. He also had been a student of Zhu Xi (1130–1200), and discussed with him studies of *Spring and Autumn Annals*. As one observer wrote, “Zhang studied with Master Zhu, and with every letter he wrote [to Zhu] posing questions and arguing issues, he always so hit the mark that not even Zhu himself could prevail over him.”⁵ Of the books that Zhang Qia wrote, he first completed the

twenty-six-chapter *Collected Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals*. Late in life, he also composed his *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* and *List of the Evolution of Geographic Names in Spring and Autumn Annals*, two works based on his early work *Collected Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals*. Appraising the scope of and the approach in his own works, Zhang wrote:

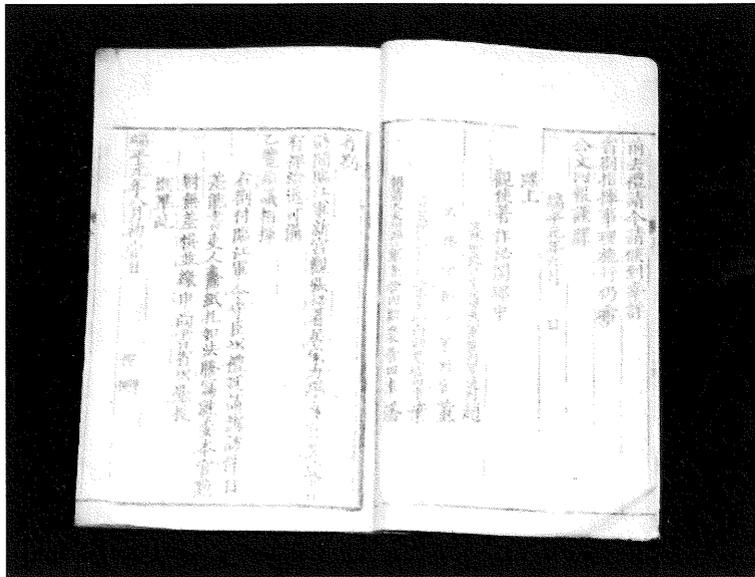
Over the years, teachers and friends have transmitted knowledge and discussed [*Spring and Autumn Annals*] with me. Outstanding scholars since the Han (25 BCE–220 CE) and Tang (618–907) dynasties have expounded on the meanings of the book's 240 years of events.⁶ I have meticulously studied all of their scholarly opinions, noting where they agree and disagree, considering whether they are right or wrong. After many years, it seems that I have a modest sort of achievement. I do not make my own judgments of [others'] faults, but rather I select that which is sufficient to clarify the Sage's intent, and append that at the left of each matter [in the Classic's text] to make an explanation (*zhuan*), giving my work the name *Collected Commentaries for Spring and Autumn Annals*. Moreover, because of my inadequacies in preparation of this work, I also have copied the model of my former teacher Zhu Xi in his [annotations of] the *Analects* and the *Mencius*, drawing on his profound perceptions, explaining and ordering his views in making my *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*. In so doing, where occasionally in my ignorance I chanced to have some slight insight, I have also had the temerity to add that after the views of the various worthies.⁷

Having heard of his fame as an author, the court learned of the book and commanded the Department of State Affairs to send the following dispatch to the Linjiang military prefect to ask that his books be submitted to the court:

In Linjiang military prefecture, call on the Xingong Daoist temple manager and editorial director Zhang Qia, who stays at home and exerts himself in scholarship.⁸ He has completed many

books that can contribute to governing and that should be at hand for perusal. . . . Instruct the local officials to call on him with appropriate ceremony to extend an invitation [to appear at court] and to learn the titles [of his books]. Present him with paper and assign scribes so that the texts may be scrupulously copied out. Entrust the temple staff to proofread to ensure that there are no errors. Then it should be handed over to the Department of State Affairs in order to be submitted to the throne.⁹ (For the text of this dispatch, see figure 2.)

During the Song dynasty, in the Jiangxi region, there was a long tradition of serious scholarship on *Spring and Autumn Annals*. An example is the renowned Northern-Song scholar Liu Chang (1019–1068), whose literary cognomen was Gongshi. He produced many books that survive today including *Chunqiu zhuan* (Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals), and *Chunqiu quanheng* (Weighing Spring and Autumn Annals),



2. “Department [of State Affairs] Directive,” *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, dated 1234 (Huating Charitable School, 1275), prefatory materials, p. 1a. Photograph of the exemplar in the Liaoning Provincial Library courtesy of the author.

and *Chunqiu yilin* (Interpretations of Spring and Autumn Annals). After Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* circulated, it received strong commendations from contemporary scholars. One wrote:

[Zhang Qia] of Qingjiang, like Zhao Chu (dates unknown) of Guqi and Liu [Chang] Gongshi, made a name for himself for his studies of *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Today Liu's works *Commentary [on Spring and Autumn Annals]*, *Weighing [the Spring and Autumn Annals]*, and *Interpretations [of Spring and Autumn Annals]* still survive. Ever since Jing[guogong, i.e. Wang Anshi] (1021–1086) arrogantly promoted his heretical proposals, *Spring and Autumn Annals* has been largely ignored, and Liu Chang's study has not had much currency. After more than a century, Zhang Qia alone embraced this one Classic. He could analyze the differences among the "Three Commentaries" (*sanzhuan*), tracing back to the succession of the Guan and Luo schools [that is, Zhang Zai (1020–1077), and the brothers Cheng Yi (1033–1107) and Cheng Hao (1032–1085)].¹⁰ He modeled his work on Zhu Xi's *Lun Meng jizhu* (Collected Annotations on the *Analects* and *Mencius*); he broadly collected the essential interpretations of former Confucian scholars, and amid them added his own opinions. It was published as a book of eleven chapters. . . . For *Spring and Autumn Annals*, he also had *Collected Commentaries* in twenty-eight chapters, and *Introduction to the Commentary of Zuo* in one chapter. The *Collected Annotations* was the last to come out. In consequence of his repeated editings and refinements, it is outstanding and precise.¹¹

It was already the end of the Song when Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* was published, and at the beginning of the Yuan (1271–1368), his work and Hu Anguo's (1074–1138) *Chunqiu zhuan* (Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals) were equally well regarded. Zhang's great-grandson, Zhang Tingjian (fl. fourteenth century), wrote,

When, in 1313, the Branch Censorate for the several Jiangnan regions circulated documents to each of the prefectures [in

Jiangnan related to the reinstatement of the civil service examinations], the regulations designated Zhang Qia's *Collected Commentaries* for use in relation to *Spring and Autumn Annals*. In 1314, when an imperial rescript proclaimed the restoration of the examinations, many scholars eagerly sought to buy his [*Collected*] *Commentaries* and his [*Collected*] *Annotations*.¹²

At the beginning of the Hongwu era (1368–1398) of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), the editions of the Five Classics and the Four Books designated for use by the local education intendants primarily bore the commentaries and annotations of Zhu Xi. Only for the *Changes* were the commentaries and explanations of Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi used simultaneously. For *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the preferred choices were Hu Anguo's *Commentary* and Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations*. During the era of the Yongle emperor (1402–1424), the Hanlin Academy chancellor Hu Guang (1370–1418) received an imperial command to compile the *Chunqiu jizhuan daquan* (Comprehensive Collected Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals) for use as standard for the examinations, initiating the primacy of Hu Anguo's *Commentary*.¹³

Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations* gradually fell out of use. In 1564, imperial clansman Zhu Mujie (1517–1568) had new blocks cut for printing Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* at his studio Juletang. Zhu Mujie's regard for the book was very high, as his preface stated:

Since my youth I have studied this classic but was never satisfied with my understanding of it. I carefully compared each of the many selected statements, and yet, [I found] Zhang's [*Collected*] *Commentaries* are known by few people, which is a constant regret for me. Not long ago I acquired a rare-book edition owned by the Shen clan of Wu prefecture and read it extensively. I had it carved into woodblocks, printed, and placed in my studio. There are altogether eleven chapters. . . . It has been said that commentaries on the Classics do not argue and analyze inconclusively, but rather resort to vague obscurities. Those whose knowledge of institutions is not complete turn to eviden-

tial research to fill in the details. However, there still will be points on which scholars don't agree, such as the inception of spring and the first month of the year. Zhang was unique in respecting the Zhou-dynasty (ca. eleventh century–771 BCE) interpretation. . . . His statements are elegant.¹⁴

Zhu Mujie's woodblock edition, however, also had limited distribution.

With the publication of the imperially commissioned *Chunqiu zhuanshuo huizuan* (Compiled Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals) in the Kangxi era (1661–1722) of the Qing dynasty,¹⁵ the reliance on Hu Anguo's *Commentary* gradually lessened, and because Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations* and Hu's *Commentary* had points of difference, Zhang's book once again became well regarded. In the same era, the compilation *Tongzhitang jingjie* (Explication of the Classics Edited at the Tongzhitang), edited by Nalan Chengde (1655–1685), did not include Hu Anguo's *Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals* but rather included Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*. A preface attributed to Nalan Chengde praised Zhang and denigrated Hu: "I admire this book. It collects together the strengths of many scholars, and in balancing disparities, it embraces the most appropriate. It does not make Hu's mistakes of forced reading. It is fully appropriate to be promulgated to education officials."¹⁶ During the Qianlong reign (1736–1796), the editors of the imperially sponsored compilation *Siku quanshu* (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries) selected both Hu and Zhang's books for inclusion. Their evaluation of Zhang's book touches on the ancient debate over which month was the true beginning of the year. "In Zhang Qia's book, spring is considered to begin with the *zi* month [i.e. the next lunar First Month following the winter solstice] and is in accord with the *Commentary of Zuo's* interpretation. It is sufficient to dash the trivial and muddled vulgarities of other authors."¹⁷

THE EXEMPLARS COMPARED

According to various catalogue entries, there are three exemplars of Song-dynasty woodblock imprints of Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* extant today.

National Palace Museum, Taipei (1235?)

In the Classics section of its *Guoli gugong bowuyuan shanben jiuji zongmu* (Comprehensive Catalogue of Rare and Old Books in the National Palace Museum), the Palace Museum in Taipei lists among the entries on *Spring and Autumn Annals* a book identified as “the Linjiang military prefectural school (Linjiang junxue) edition of 1235 in two fascicles.”¹⁸ Regrettably no description of the block or of the colophons and seals is recorded there. However, in the first chapter of *Cangyuan qunshu jingyanlu* (Cangyuan’s Record of Rare Books Seen), which preserves Fu Zengxiang’s (1872–1949) meticulous notes on Song-woodblock editions in the original Beiping Palace Museum collection, the description of the book is as follows:

[The book has] a large woodblock frame, ten columns of eighteen characters [per half page], annotations in double columns of twenty-seven characters, white mouth, and double border lines. There are an official directive from the Linjiang military prefecture dated 1234, a Department of State Affairs’ directive, a formal memorandum by Zhang Qia, Zhang Qia’s official communication of 1235, and an appended note followed by the “Chunqiu gangling” (Guiding Principles for Spring and Autumn Annals). Collectors’ seals include “Pingyang Jizi zhi zhang” (Seal of Jizi from Pingyang) and “Pingyang Jizi shoucang tushu zhi yin” (Seal of the Collection of Jizi from Pingyang), as well as seals of both the Qianlong emperor and the Tianlu [linlang] library. It had no previous descriptive record. Also there is a seal reading “Chizaotang tushu yin” (Seal of the Collection of Chizaotang).¹⁹ (See figure 3.)

Fu Zengxiang’s record was made in 1927 when he worked in the Palace Museum on the Committee to Rehabilitate the late-Qing Imperial Household (Banli Qingshi shanhou weiyuanhui). Of the books that he saw from the Qing-palace Tianlu linlang collection, one was the exemplar of Zhang Qia’s *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* that is now in the Palace Museum in Taipei.

National Library of China (1255)

The Rare Book Department of the National Library, Beijing, owns an exemplar described as a “Linjiang military prefectural school (Linjiang junxiang) woodblock edition of 1255 in twelve fascicles.”²⁰ The format of this book is eight columns [per half page] with sixteen characters per column; double columns of small characters are also sixteen per column. The woodblock center column has a white mouth, and there are double borders left and right. (See figure 4.)

National Library of China (1275)

The Rare Book Department, National Library, Beijing, also owns an exemplar described as a Song-dynasty edition in ten fascicles.²¹ The book, like the exemplar in the Palace Museum in Taipei, also has ten columns of eighteen characters per half page, small characters in double columns with twenty-seven characters to a column, white mouth, and double borders left and right. (See figure 5.)

In chapter three of the imperial catalogue *Tianlu linlang shumu xubian* (Tianlu Linlang Book Catalogue, Continued), there are two entries for Song-dynasty woodblock editions of Zhang Qia’s *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*. One is a book in two fascicles, and one is a book in ten fascicles. The entry for the two-fascicle book says:

[B]efore the chapters, there are an official dispatch from the Linjiang military prefecture dated the ninth lunar month of the first year (1234) of the Duanping reign period; . . . a formal memorandum by Zhang Qia written in [the same month] asking the court to review his clean copy; another request by Zhang dated the seventh month of the second year (1235) [of the Duanping reign]; Zhang Qia’s appended note explaining that each of the taboo characters [that were written in full form] were covered with a yellow piece of paper; and finally the “Guiding Principles for Spring and Autumn Annals.” According to the regulations for examinations established early in the Ming, both Hu Anguo’s *Commentary* and Zhang Qia’s *Collected Annotations*

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3. Collectors' seals in the exemplar of Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating Charitable School, 1275) in the original Beijing Palace Museum. Photocopy of images in *Photographs of*



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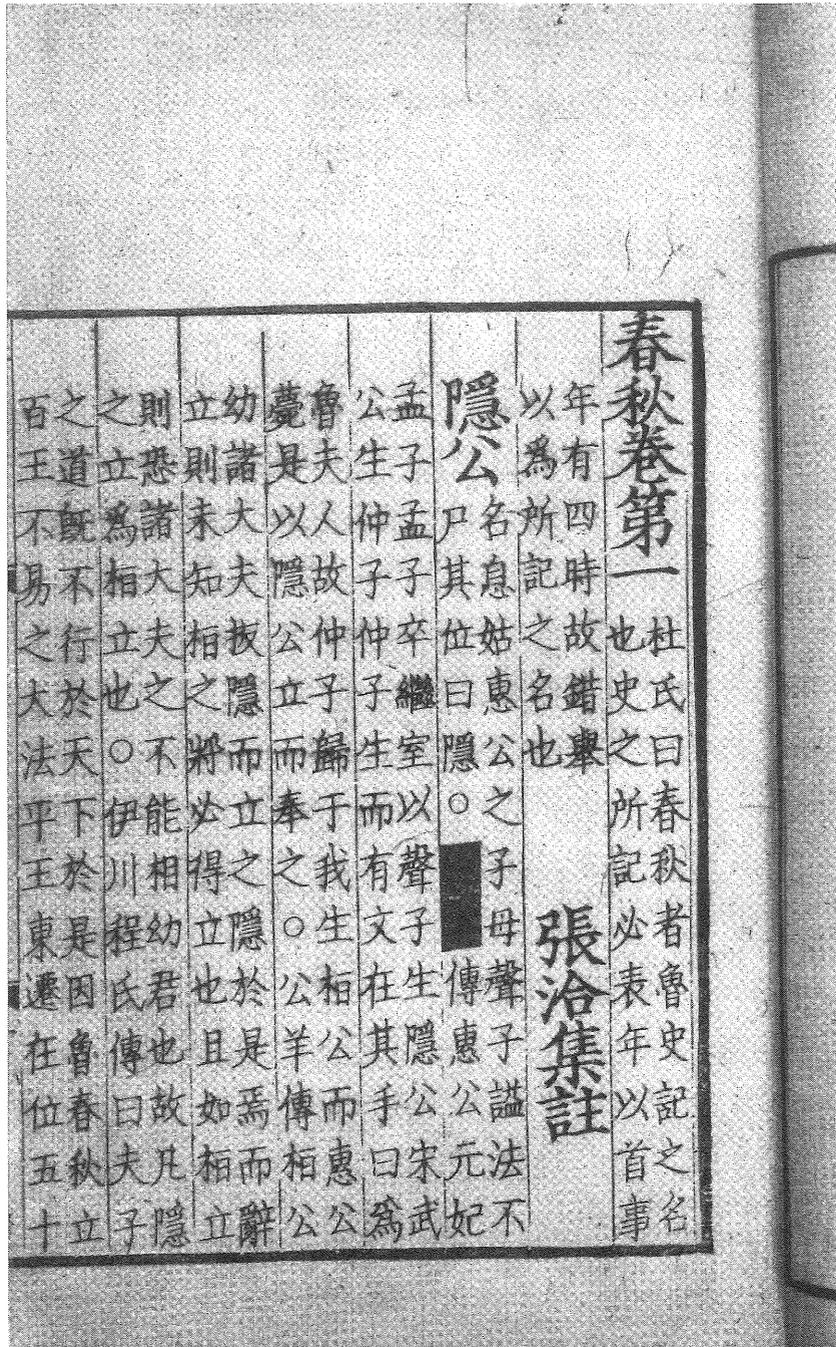


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春秋卷第一

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張洽集註

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4. National Library of China exemplar of Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Linjiang Military Prefectural School, 1255), *juan* 1, p. 1a. Photograph courtesy of the National Library of China, number 025.

春秋卷第一

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子生而有文在其手曰為魯夫人故仲子歸于我生桓公而惠公竟是以隱公立而奉之○公羊傳桓公幼諸大夫叛隱而立之隱於是焉而辭立則未知桓之將必得立也且如桓立則恐諸大夫之不能相幼君也故凡隱之立為桓立也○伊川程氏傳曰夫子之道既不行於天下於是因魯春秋立百王不易之大法平王東遷在位五十一年卒不能復興先王之業王道絕矣孟子曰王者之迹熄而詩亡詩亡然後春秋作適當隱公之初故始於隱公又曰詩亡者謂雅亡政教號令不及於天下也○泰山孫氏曰春秋

5. National Library of China exemplar of Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating Charitable School, 1275), *juan 1*, p. 1a. Photograph courtesy of the National Library of China, number 12346.

were to be used for *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Education officials listed his book together with texts by Zhu Xi, Cai Shen (1167–1230), Hu Anguo, and Chen Hao (1261–1341). Later scholars increasingly turned to ease and convenience, [provided by the Yongle-period *Comprehensive Collected Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals* compiled by Hu Guang], and [Zhang Qia's text] was not used. Only the Tongzhitang [i.e. Nalan Chengde] cut new blocks. It seems Song editions are as rare as a male phoenix.²²

Every detail of this book's appended texts, such as the additional front matter, prefaces, and the seals, are identical to the entry in Fu Zengxiang's *Cangyuan's Record of Rare Books Seen*, which confirms that this two-fascicle exemplar is the very exemplar listed as "Linjiang military prefectural school edition of 1235" now in the collection of the Palace Museum, Taipei (i.e. the first exemplar listed above). What's more, judging from its provenance and successive ownerships, binding, and number of fascicles, the ten-fascicle exemplar recorded in the *Tianlu Linlang Book Catalogue, Continued*, should be the very exemplar in the Beijing National Library identified as a Song edition in ten fascicles.

Liaoning Provincial Library (1275)

The Huating charitable school edition of 1275 newly discovered in the Liaoning Library is clearly different from the Linjiang military prefectural school woodblock edition of 1255 in the collection of the Beijing National Library. Whereas Liaoning's exemplar has ten columns of eighteen characters, with small characters in double columns of twenty-seven characters, white mouth, and double border lines left and right, Beijing's Linjiang military prefectural school edition of 1255 has eight columns of sixteen characters. (Compare figure 1 with figure 4.)

Is it possible that the Liaoning Library edition was printed from the same woodblocks as Beijing National Library's ten-fascicle edition? In order to assess the similarities and differences, Liaoning Library sent photocopies of sample pages from its exemplar of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* to the National Library so that it could be compared to the ten-fascicle edition. Li Zhizhong of the National

Library carefully examined the two exemplars and determined that they both were printed from the very same blocks. (Compare figure 1 with figure 5.) The two exemplars differ in that the National Library exemplar does not include Wei Zongwu's 1275 preface. Because of that, when it was first catalogued, there was no way to establish precisely the date of the edition. Therefore, previously the book had been authenticated as simply a "Song-woodblock edition." At this point, the discovery of Liaoning Library's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* not only proved without a doubt that the National Library's exemplar was a genuine Song-dynasty edition, but also establishes that exemplar's year of publication and publisher.

The woodblock format (*hangkuan*) of the Taipei Palace Museum's exemplar of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* is also fundamentally the same as the Liaoning Library's Song edition of 1275. Only the description of the border lines is slightly different. As noted above, in his *Cangyuan's Record of Rare Books Seen*, Fu Zengxiang recorded that the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* that he had seen had double border lines. According to the pattern of the entries in Fu Zengxiang's work, this would seem to imply that the exemplar in Taiwan has double border lines on all four sides of the page frame, where as the edition in the Liaoning Library has double border lines on the left and right only.²³ To find out whether or not Fu Zengxiang had made an error, the illustrated work *Gugong shanben shuying chubian* (Photographs of Rare Books in the Palace Museum, First Series) was consulted. Indeed, just below the image of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* is the following note: "Composed by Zhang Qia of the Song; a Song edition. At the front of the book are a Linjiang military prefecture dispatch dated 1234, a formal memorandum and short appended note by Zhang Qia, likely cut at that time. There are seals of Chizaotang, various collection seals of Pingyang Jizi, and imperial seals of Tianlu linlang, Tianlu jijian, and of the Qianlong emperor."²⁴ (See figures 3, 6, and 7.) Comparison of the photographic image of this exemplar with Liaoning's edition showed that, other than some individual differences in seals (the Liaoning edition has no collector's seals), the column form, typeface, and block style of the two books are identical.²⁵ (Compare figure 8 here with figure 3 above.) From this we can

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6. Double side-border lines of page frame of the exemplar in the original Beiping Palace Museum of Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating Charitable School, 1275), juan 1, p. 1a-1b. Photocopies of images in *Photographs of Rare Books in the Palace Museum, First Series* (Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan, 1929), unpaginated. Note that it appears that this

春秋卷第一

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photograph has been touched up. The left- and right-border lines and column lines have been redrawn, and the inking smudges in the first three columns on the right have been removed.

春秋卷第一

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7. Unretouched image of the exemplar in the original Beiping Palace Museum, now held in the Palace Museum in Taipei, of the 1275 edition of Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*. Photograph of image in *Guoli gugong bowuyuan Songben tulu* (Illustrated Catalogue of Song Editions in the National Palace Museum) (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1977), illustration 13.

confirm that Taipei Palace Museum's exemplar of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* and the Liaoning Library's edition of 1275 were, without question, printed from the same blocks. The reason for dating the Taipei edition to 1235 was likely because, in the absence of Wei Zongwu's preface of 1275, Zhang Qia's formal memorandum of 1235 was used to date the exemplar. Therefore, the 1275 edition discovered in the Liaoning Library can be used to verify that the edition in the Palace Museum, Taipei, is none other than the 1275 edition. Thus, an error originally made in the catalogue can be rectified. At the same time, this also clarifies that the two Song-woodblock exemplars of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* listed in the *Tianlu Linlang Book Catalogue, Continued* are the same edition, that of the Huating charitable school edition of 1275.

THE CHALLENGES OF AUTHENTICATING EARLY EDITIONS

After Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* was completed, printing blocks for the work were cut only twice during the Southern Song (1127–1279). In 1235, Zhang submitted his *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* to the court, and from his memorandum of 1234 alone, where Zhang Qia wrote that the work was "neatly transcribed and bound" (*shanxie zhuangbei*), probably in butterfly style, we know that at that time printing blocks for the work had not yet been carved.²⁶ In 1255 the book was first engraved at the Linjiang military prefectural school and then became available for wider distribution. The 1255 block-carved edition of the Linjiang military prefectural school was thus the first printed edition of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*. This is confirmed by the 1255 postface by educational official Fang Yingfa (1223–1288) of Puyang, which is included in the Linjiang military prefectural edition (For the Chinese text, see figure 9). Fang Yingfa wrote,

In the Duanping reign, when the court sought [his] writings, [Zhang Qia] presented both his [*Collected*] *Annotations* and his [*Collected*] *Commentaries* to the imperial book storage. The emperor wanted Zhang to lead the Classics Colloquium (*jingwei*) at

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9A. Fang Yingfa, "[Postface]," Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Linjiang Military Prefecture School, 1255), pp. 5a-6b.

十八卷左氏蒙求一

卷集註家晚出屢經

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三

9B. Continuation and conclusion of Fang Yingfa's "[Postface]."

晚安敢以善語繫公

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考其本末如此寶祐

乙卯中和節日郡文

the court, but he firmly declined. Then rather, he was given an honorary position associated with the Imperial Archives. He died at age seventy-seven. Born late as I am, I hardly dare append my disorderly words to the master's book, except that now that [Zhang Qia's work] finally has been carved into blocks at the government school, [I wanted to verify] its circumstances from start to finish.²⁷

Fang's postface not only states clearly that the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* was first cut in 1255 at the Linjiang military prefectural school, it also clarifies that in 1235 the text had not been carved onto woodblocks for printing.

Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals also has a Yuan-period edition of 1314 from newly carved blocks, which includes a postface by Zhang Qia's great-grandson Zhang Tingjian. The postface says, "My great-grandfather master Wenxian's three books—*Collected Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Collected Annotations [for Spring and Autumn Annals]*, and *List of the Evolution of Geographic Names*—were acquired by the Court for the Imperial Library in 1234. Thereafter, the *Collected Annotations* were engraved at the military prefecture school. In 1260 [the blocks] were destroyed in a fire."²⁸ His mention of the military prefectural school edition of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* agrees with the one previously described above in Fang Yingfa's postface, that is to say, with respect to the woodblocks having been carved in 1255. According to Zhang Tingjian's postface, the Linjiang military prefectural school edition of 1255 was the earliest woodblock edition of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, and in 1260, only five years after they were engraved, the blocks were lost in a fire. The number of copies printed and distributed could not have been many. Therefore, twenty years later in 1275, the text was again carved at the Huating charitable school. Of the 1275 edition, there are now three exemplars known, those in the collections of the Liaoning Library, the Beijing National Library, and the Palace Museum in Taiwan. By comparison, the only known exemplar of the 1255 edition is in the National Library, Beijing.²⁹

It has been extremely difficult for Song- and Yuan-dynasty edi-

tions to be transmitted to later ages. Perhaps not even one of one hundred copies manages to survive. Each surviving exemplar, because of natural or man-made factors, has distinctive features. Because the front matter of the known exemplars of the 1275 Huating charitable school edition of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* includes different prefaces, the corresponding catalogue entries also have differences. For example, note the National Library's entry that described it simply as "Song-woodblock edition," while the Palace Museum concluded that it had a woodblock edition of 1235. In fact, since the Song dynasty, the 1275 edition of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* has been little known. Even Zhang Qia's great-grandson Zhang Tingjian, in the postface that he wrote for the 1314 edition of *Collected Annotations*, spoke only of the Linjiang military prefectural school edition of 1255 and never mentioned the Huating charitable school edition of 1275. In the Ming dynasty, in 1564, when Zhu Mujie carved the Juletang woodblock edition of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, his preface similarly did not mention the Huating edition of 1275.³⁰ During the Kangxi era of the Qing dynasty, in the series *Explanation of the Classics* produced at the Tongzhitang, compiled and edited by Nalan Chengde, its version of Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* bore Wei Zongwu's preface dated 1275. From the inclusion of that preface we know that the edition that Nalan Chengde used for the text (*diben*) was the Huating charitable school edition of 1275. However, even though Wei's preface was included in that early-seventeenth-century series, it seems to have elicited little attention.

The woodblock edition of the Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* published by the Huating charitable school in 1275 has survived little noticed. Although reference to it was not included in the *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu* (Catalogue of Chinese Rare Books),³¹ the exemplar of the 1275 imprint, newly discovered and catalogued by the Liaoning Provincial Library, has recently been published in a slightly reduced facsimile format and now may again be clearly known to the world.³² Through this one aspect of the matter we can see that in the vast subject of rare books, the authentication of early editions cannot be taken lightly. The Huating charitable school edition of 1275

had sunk into oblivion because both the exemplar in the National Library, Beijing and the one in the Palace Museum, Taipei had lost the 1275 preface by Wei Zongwu. In his preface, Wei clearly stated his esteem of Zhang Qia's insights into the meaning and significance of the text of and the commentaries on *Spring and Autumn Annals*. He also quietly conveyed a sense of relief and satisfaction that in his day, the life of this work had been successfully extended. The complete text of Wei Zongwu's 1275 preface to Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* follows in English. (For the Chinese text, see figure 10.)

I have heard that Cheng Yi said: "There is a method for reading the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, which is to use the *Commentaries* (*zhuan*) to test the *Classic* (*jing*), and the *Classic* to test the *Commentaries*."³³ Today we observe that in Zhang [Qia] Zhuyi's *Collected Annotations [for Spring and Autumn Annals]*, the text of the commentaries he has composed is placed below that of the *Classic* and sets forth there the views of all the various specialists, allowing the student immediately upon opening the book to clearly perceive the method of subtly emending wording [to show approval and disapproval]. In that, he has firmly grasped the understanding that Master Yichuan [Cheng Yi] has bequeathed to us, and in that vein, moreover, he also has inserted here and there his own views, drawing out the obscure, clarifying the concealed, and investigating with great skill what is extremely subtle, thus bringing out what previous persons' writings have failed to attain. [Zhang's exegesis] can be likened to having a collection of valuables for making vessels, the better to take the pieces of gold and fragments of jade and perform [on their surfaces] the work of carving and chiselling, [thereby revealing their intrinsic worth], and [and in doing so accomplish something] that those subsequent persons engaged in this work were unable to match.³⁴

For example, as when discussing the state of Chu's rescue of the state of Zheng [in 605–612 BCE], the text not only does not write the word "rescue," (*jiu*) but disparagingly designates only that [a body of] "men" (*ren*) [from Chu made an incursion into

Zheng (*Churen fa zheng*)]. This simple designation further demotes Chu, at that time still looked upon as a semi-barbarian state], and therein, [in Zhang Qia's opinion], revealing that the barbarian Yi and the Di tribes did not merit advancement [to the status of the Zhou kingdom's subordinate states, otherwise the *Spring and Autumn Annals* text would be worded "an army of Chu rescued Zheng"].³⁵ And regarding the state of Wu's intervention to save the state of Chen [in 486 BCE], [the *Spring and Autumn Annals*] does not write "an army" (*shi*) [of Wu] nor does it even write "men" [of Wu but merely writes "the heir of Chu led a force and invaded Chen, and Wu saved Chen" (*Chu gongzi jie shuaishi fa Chen Wu jiu Chen*)], therein, [in Zhang Qia's interpretation], revealing how the changing times had become even more grievous.³⁶

Another example is seen in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* passage, "the duke [of Lu] went to the [Zhou royal] capital [in 577 BCE]," (*gong ru jingshi*) following which it subsequently is stated that [at a meeting with heads of other states they agreed] "to invade Qin" (*fa Qin*). Here, [Zhang Qia] comments, [as a warning, it would seem, to the scholar bureaucrats of his own time], that the elements of the servitor's ritual requirements, although barely surviving, cannot be dispensed with, and those servitors who fail to assume particular responsibility for their ritual proprieties are deserving of blame, which thus twice emphasized the essential ethical point.³⁷

[Another example is seen in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* passage] regarding "the burial of duke Jing of Cai [in 552 BCE]" (*zang Cai Jinggong*), following which it subsequently is stated that "in consequence of the calamity of the [palace] fire in Song" (*Song zai gu*) [the great officers of several states had a meeting at Shanyuan to discuss how to assist the state of Song]. Here, [Zhang Qia] states that debased standards were used in exchanging formal communications causing apprehension that the central states would bring each other into barbarism [to become] like the Yi, a moral point thrice repeated [in this passage of *Spring and Autumn Annals*].³⁸

猶之聚寶為器益以零金碎玉
而加追琢之工後有作者弗可及
已其間如論楚之救鄭既不書救
又賅稱人以見夷狄之不足進至吳
之救陳既不書師復不書人以見世
變之益可哀他如於公如京師而繼
之呂伐秦而謂臣禮之僅存者不可

嘗聞之程子云看春秋有法以
傳考經以經考傳今觀主一張
君集註纂傳文載於經下而繫
以諸家之說使學者開卷筆削
之法瞭然在目固已得伊川先生
之遺意而又間附以己見索幽闡秘
研精極微有前人論著之所未到

惟見其為斷爛朝報耳二百四
十餘年褒貶之筆夫子之志不
幾泯夫此書惟臨江有刊本遭
燬之後董克翁以錄本示予謂不
可不壽其傳故鋟梓於華亭之義
塾云德祐乙亥菊節後學衛宗武
謹書



廢臣禮之不尊者為可貶而兩寓
其旨於葵蔡景公而繼之呂宋
災故而謂用變例以迭書慮中
國之淪胥于夷而三致其意若此
之類發明為多皆能沉潛書法之
妙體認史外傳心之蘊不為無補於
聖經苟惟無得於此則若荆公

With examples of this kind, Zhang Qia makes many original points, which all display his capacity to penetrate deeply the subtleties of the writing style [of the Classic], while grasping intuitively the essence of the meaning transmitted beyond the historical record, and which cannot fail to complement significantly the Sage's Classic itself. For if we could gain no knowledge of [Zhang Qia's achievement], like [Wang Anshi] Jinggong, we too might perceive in it [i.e. in *Spring and Autumn Annals*] nothing more than worthless court documents. Would not this record of more than two hundred and forty years [721–479 BCE]³⁹ of praise and blame conveying the Master (Confucius)'s profound intent then virtually be lost to view?

This book has existed only in the printed edition from Linjiang, and after [woodblocks for this work] were destroyed in a fire, Dong Keweng showed me a copy of this work, saying that he must ensure its life in transmission. And thus he had printing blocks cut at the charitable school in Huating. Respectfully written in the year *yihai* of the Deyou reign period (1275), in the season of chrysanthemums, by [Zhang's] later student, Wei Zongwu.

Wei Zongwu's preface is followed by small square, relief seal reading, "Wei Zongwu yin" (Wei Zongwu's seal) and a larger rectangular, relief seal reading "Qifu" (Qifu).⁴⁰

NOTES

1. Wei Zongwu, "[Xu]" ([Preface]), dated 1275, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, (Huating Charitable School, 1275), p. 2b. This passage is quoted from Wei's preface in the exemplar in the collection of the Liaoning Provincial Library.
2. For the Northern-Song (960–1127) antecedent of this office, see *Zhongwen dacidian* (Great Dictionary of Chinese Phrases), 10 vols. (Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua daxue yinhang, 1985), vol. 3, p. 618. The Hall of Treasured Seal was the place where Song Taizong's (r. 977–998) and Zhenzong's (r. 998–1022) writings were stored. In the Southern Song the position awarded Zhang Qia seems to have been honorific with no responsibilities.
3. Tuo Tuo (1313–1355) et al., *Songshi* (Official History of the Song) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), *juan* 430, p. 12785. See also Zhu Mujie, "Ke Chunqiu

jizhu xu” (Preface for the Carving of Collected Annotations to Spring and Autumn Annals), *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Juletang, 1564). This woodblock exemplar of 1564 is in the collection of the Shanghai Library, and Ren Guangliang of the Shanghai Library provided a handwritten copy of this preface.

4. White Deer Grotto, the name of a place lying east of Mt. Lu (Lushan) and just north of the Song-dynasty Nankang military prefecture (present-day Xingzi xian) in northern Jiangxi, became a noted gathering place for scholars in the late-Tang and Five-dynasties (907–960) periods, and something like an informal academy existed there. When Zhu Xi served as prefect of the Nankang military prefecture between 1178 and 1181, he made a practice of visiting the site of the White Deer Grotto Academy, and impressed by its history, decided to foster its rebuilding. He petitioned the throne to have an official Confucian academy established on the site, requesting for it a donation of printed sets of the classics and a name panel in the emperor’s handwriting for its entranceway. Those requests were granted, and thus the White Deer Grotto Academy came into being. For it, Zhu Xi wrote up a famous set of principles and regulations to guide the conduct of the academy, which greatly influenced the conduct of Confucian academies thereafter.

By the early 1230s, the fortunes of the academy had declined. In the early 1230s, Yuan Fu (1214 *jinshi*), a prominent scholar and official who had provincial posts in Jiangxi, noted that the academy had fallen into disrepair and summoned Zhang Qia to see if he would be willing to become its director (*shanzhang*). It was on Yuan Fu’s recommendation that Zhang Qia earlier had been promoted to controller-general at nearby Chizhou, Anhui. Zhang Qia responded, “Ah, that site preserves the traces of my late teacher [Zhu Xi]. Could I refuse?” (*Official History of the Song*, *juan* 430, p. 12787) Zhang Qia’s tenure as director of the White Deer Grotto Academy may have ended in 1235 or 1236, but he is credited with reviving the institution and strengthening the influence there of Zhu Xi.

Work in the White Deer Grotto Academy establishes Zhang Qia’s close relationship with Zhu Xi and the reason that Zhang’s work conveys Zhu’s criticism of Hu Anguo’s (1074–1138) subsequently dominant *Chunqiu zhuan* (Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals). See note 33 below for more discussion of Hu Anguo’s work on *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

5. Fang Yingfa [1233–1268, Hengyou-era (1241–1252) *jinshi*], “Hou xu” (Postface), 1255, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Linjiang Military Prefectural School, 1255). Fang Yingfa’s postface also says, “Zhu Xi commented that a scholar’s last effort should be *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The reason is that narrating and expounding, which form the major elements in the other classics, are uniquely spare in *Spring and Autumn Annals*. How could this [Zhang Qia’s] book be no more than the assemblage of past scholars’ accomplishments? Isn’t it rather a supplement to the inadequacies of those who teach?” An exemplar of the woodblock edition containing Fang Yingfa’s

- postface is in the collection of the National Library, Beijing, and Li Zhizhong of the National Library provided a copy of this text.
6. The dates covered by the *Spring and Autumn Annals* record are 721–479 BCE, a span of 242 years. The dates that James Legge first gave for the beginning and the end of this record of the Chunqiu-era history differed slightly. See James Legge, *Chinese Classics*, (1872; Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 1960), vol. 5, pp. 102–110. In his second edition of this collection, Legge corrected a mistake he had made in determining the birth and death dates of Confucius (551–479 BCE). Using that correction, we can calculate the years covered by the *Spring and Autumn Annals* to have been 721–479 BCE.
 7. Zhang Qia, “Zhuang” ([Second] Memorandum [on Submitting His Book]), dated 1234 (ninth lunar month of the first year of the Duanping reign), *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating Charitable School, 1275), *juanshou*. This memorandum of submission may also be found in Zhu Yizun (1629–1709), *Jing yi kao* (Investigation of the Meaning of the Classics), 300 *juan*, no. A41–48 in *Sibu beiyao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), *juan* 189, p. 2a.
 8. The Song court, which heavily patronized Daoism, established court-supported Daoist temples (*Daoguan*) that, in many places, functioned as elements in local administration. The post of manager (*zhuguan*) was a civil-service sinecure, often held by persons of no Daoist religious or philosophical leanings. Zhang Qia’s official biography mentions that he was appointed manager of Daoist temples at two different times and places, but does not mention that he also held such a position at Linjiang. See *Official History of the Song*, *juan* 430, pp. 12785–12788.
 9. “[Shangshu]sheng zha” (Department [of State Affairs] Directive), dated 1234, Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating Charitable School, 1275), *juanshou*, p. 1a. In the prefatory material in the 1275 edition of Zhang Qia’s work, the Linjiang Military Prefecture directive that immediately precedes the directive issued by the Department of State Affairs repeats this text.
 10. Three other texts, the *Zuo zhuan* (Commentary of Zuo), *Gongyang zhuan* (Commentary of Gongyang), and *Guliang zhuan* (Commentary of Guliang), traditionally have been known at the “Three Commentaries” on *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Today they are generally regarded as independent, parallel texts relating the history of the Spring and Autumn period that were erroneously subordinated to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* classic early in imperial times, if not before. For a summary of the traditional counter view, see Zhao Yi (1727–1814), *Gaiyu congkao* (Collected Studies Written While Observing Mourning) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1957), *juan* 1, pp. 41–44. See below, note 33, for additional discussion of these three texts.
 11. Fang Yingfa, “Postface.”
 12. Zhang Tingjian, “Hou xu” (Postface), 1314, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (1314 woodblock edition). This postface is also preserved in Zhu Yizun, *Jing yi kao*, *juan* 189, p. 2a.

13. Hu Guang, *Chunqiu jizhuan daquan* (Comprehensive Collected Comentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals), 37 *juan* plus *shoujuan*, 2 *juan* (Beijing: Neifu, Yongle era).
14. For the text of this preface, see Zhu Mujie, "Preface for the Carving of Collected Annotations to Spring and Autumn Annals." The disagreement to which Zhu Mujie referred was over the three competing theories as to which lunar month marked the beginning of the year. This was a matter of contention among the exegetes that all three calendars could continue in use in the different states in violation of the Zhou claims to hegemony. The Xia (twenty-first–sixteenth centuries BCE), Shang (sixteenth–eleventh centuries BCE), and Zhou dynasties, according to traditional exegesis, related the twelve lunar months in their solar-lunar calendar to the names of the twelve earth stems. All three took the winter solstice as the departure point. The Xia calendar started the new year with the lunar Third Month, that is the *yin* month (*jian yin*). The Shang calendar started the new year with the lunar Second Month, that is the *chou* month (*jian chou*). And the Zhou commenced the new year with the lunar First Month, that is the *zi*, month (*jian zi*). The last was the theory that Zhang Qia supported.
15. Wang Shan (1645–1728), comp., *Chunqiu zhuanshuo huizhuan*, 38 *juan* (Beijing: Neifu, 1721).
16. Nalan Chengde, "Qingjiang Zhang shi Chunqiu jizhu xu" (Preface to Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals by Zhang [Qia] of Qingjiang), dated 1677, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Tongzhitang, 1680), pp. 1a–b. The compilation of this work in more than eighteen hundred *juan* is sometimes also attributed to Xu Qianxue (1631–1694), Nalan Chengde's mentor. Nalan Chengde's name is also given as Nalan Xingde or simply Singde. See Arthur Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1655–1912)* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 331 and 662–663.
17. Ji Yun (1724–1805) et al., comp., *Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu* (Imperially Commissioned Comprehensive Catalogue of the Complete Library in Four Categories), ed. Siku quanshu yanjiusuo, corrected edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), p. 350.
18. Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, *Guoli gugong bowuyuan shanben jiuji zongmu* (Comprehensive Catalogue of Rare and Old Books in the National Palace Museum) (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1983), vol. 1, p. 98.
19. Fu Zengxiang, *Cangyuan qunshu jingyanlu*, comp. Fu Xinian (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), vol. 1, p. 81. All three of the individual-collectors' seals are those of Wang Wenbo (Qing dynasty, courtesy name Jiqing, *hao* Keting), a poet and painter from Tongxiang, Zhejiang. For a list of various seals used by Wang Wenbo, see Ren Jiyu, ed. *Zhongguo cangshulou* (Chinese Book Collections) (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 2001), p. 290. This image of the exemplar once held in the Beijing Palace Museum illustrated here is found in Beijing gugong bowuyuan tushuguan, ed., *Gugong shanben*

- shuying chubian* (Photographs of Rare Books in the Palace Museum, First Series) (Beiping: Gugong bowuguan tushuguan, 1929), Classics Section, unpaginated. See also note 23, below.
20. Zhongguo guji shanben shumu bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu: jingbu* (Catalogue of Chinese Rare Books: Classics Section) (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989–1998), p. 268.
 21. Ibid.
 22. Peng Yuanrui (1731–1803) et al., ed., *Qinding Tianlu linlang shumu xubian* (Imperially Authorized Catalogue of the Tianlu Linlang Collection, Expanded Edition) (1797; Changsha: Wang shi, 1884), *juan* 3, p. 9.
 23. In *Cangyuan's Record of Rare Books Seen*, Fu Zengxiang's vocabulary for cataloguing sometimes used "double (or single) borders" or "left- and right-double (or single) borders." In those cases when he did not specify "left and right," Fu's comments consistently meant "on all four sides" [of the block].
 24. Beijing gugong bowuyuan tushuguan, ed., *Photographs of Rare Books in the Palace Museum, First Series*, unpaginated. In this photograph of the exemplar of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, the first three columns of this first page of *juan* one show no traces of ink brushed across the block where the columns were not completely carved out as are evident in the Liaoning Library and in the National Library of China's exemplars of printings from these same blocks. Either the printing of the exemplar now held in the Taipei Palace Museum was executed with greater care or the photograph of this exemplar in this 1929 catalogue was cleaned up prior to publication. The latter seems a more probable explanation.
 Images of this exemplar in the Palace Museum in Taipei may be seen in later publications of that museum (for example, figure 7). See Guoli gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Guoli gugong bowuyuan Songben tulu* (Illustrated Catalogue of Song Editions in the National Palace Museum) (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1977), pp. 26–27 and illustration 13; and Guoli gugong bowuyuan bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Songbanshu tezhan mulu* (Catalogue of a Special Exhibit of Printed Books from the Song Dynasty) (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1986), pp. 86–87. The descriptive statements that accompany Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* in these catalogues both erroneously date its publication to 1235.
 25. The lack of seals in the exemplar in the Liaoning Library has led to speculation about exactly how this work came into the collection. An answer to this question awaits further research.
 26. Zhang Qia, "[Second] Memorandum [on Submitting His Book]," p. 2a.
 27. Fang Yingfa, "Postface to the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*," pp. 5a–6b.
 28. Zhang Tingjian, "Postface [to the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*]," pp. 2a–b. See note 12 above.
 29. *Catalogue of Chinese Rare Books: Classics Section*, p. 268.
 30. We can place the three copies of the 1275 Huating charitable school edition of the *Collected Commentaries for Spring and Autumn Annals* known to be extant

in the context of subsequent historical events. In 1276, the year after the Huating edition, the Southern-Song capital Lin'an was captured by Mongol troops. Between the fighting and attendant chaos, the lives of the people of the Jiangnan region were utter misery. Huating, today known as Songjiang in Shanghai municipality, was also ransacked and burned, thus making it a matter of common sense that the woodblocks probably did not survive long and that the distribution of the printed work was limited.

31. *Catalogue of Chinese Rare Books: Classics Section*, pp. 268ff.
32. Zhang Qia, *Chunqiu jizhu* (Collected Annotations on Spring and Autumn Annals), 11 *juan* in Liaoning sheng tushuguan guben shanben congshu, Series 1 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2003).
33. The Classic, referred to here is the text of *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The *Commentaries* refer to the *Commentary of Zuo*, *Commentary of Gongyang*, and *Commentary of Guliang*. See above, note 10. However, here, Cheng Yi intends the word *zhuan* (commentary) to be taken more broadly to include those three texts as well as all the subsequent explications of *Spring and Autumn Annals* text, up to and including those of Cheng's own time. Zhao Yi, in his essay "Ge shi limu yitong" (Differences and Similarities Among the Contents of Various Official Histories) under the sub-heading "Liezhuang" (Biographies), states: "In early writings, both where events are being recorded or theories are being established in connection with explications of the Classics, those are all called 'zhuan.'" See Zhao Yi, *Nianershi zhaji* (Miscellaneous Notes on the Twenty-two Official Histories), ed. Du Weiyun (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1975), p. 3.

Zhu Xi, who greatly admired Cheng, quotes him in a quite similar statement, though worded a bit more fully: "Use the *Commentaries* to test the *Classic's* traces of events; use the *Classic* to test the *Commentaries'* truth or falsehood." See Qian Mu, *Zhu Zi xinxue an* (New Analysis of Zhu [Xi]'s Scholarly Writings), 5 volumes (Taipei: Sanmin shuju zong jingxiao, 1971), vol. 4, p. 100.

Cheng Yi wrote a work entitled *Chunqiu zhuan* (Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals). Unlike his better known *Yi zhuan* (Commentary on the Book of Changes), it is not included in the well known compilations of writings on the classics, nor do specialized writings on *Spring and Autumn Annals* cite it. It is not included in the Qing-period *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (Bibliographic Abstracts for the Comprehensive Index to the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries) compiled by Yongrong (1744–1790), Ji Yun et al. and presented to the throne in 1782, nor is it in Nalan Chengde's compilation *Explication of the Classics Edited by Tongzhitang*, which does include mention of Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*. Nor does James Legge name it among the list of fifty-seven works he consulted in making his translation of *Spring and Autumn Annals* published 1872. For an authorized reprint of Legge's translation, see his *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, pp. 136–147. In quotations from Legge's translation, romanizations have been converted to *pinyin*; dates are as given in Legge. Cheng Yi's own "Preface" to his *Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals* is, however, extensively

quoted in his biography in *Official History of the Song*, *juan* 427, pp. 12721–12722; it makes clear his intention in writing the work. He states: “In later ages, scholars using the historian’s point of view have discussed the *Spring and Autumn Annals* only in terms of its praise for the good and blame for the bad, and nothing else, to the extent that the great model it sets forth for ordering the world remains unrecognized by them.” Cheng Yi wants the *Classic* to be read for its larger principles, and not just for its well known subtleties of language indicating approval and disapproval of specific persons and specific acts where it was traditionally accepted that Confucius himself had edited the text to insert wordings that would subtly reveal his ethical standards. (Legge and some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Chinese scholars did not accept the idea that Confucius had shaped the text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* to express his personal perspectives on the history of that age. See Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, pp. 81–84.) Because of the traditionally accepted view of Confucius’ role, Zhu Xi was ambivalent on the matter of whether he wanted to, or whether other scholars should, write critically on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, to avoid tampering with the intent of Confucius. See Qian Mu, comp., *New Analysis of Zhu [Xi]’s Scholarly Writings*, vol. 4, pp. 95–111. Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi, and later Zhang Qia, however, all demanded a broader approach to the work, and the latter two disapproved in particular of Hu Anguo’s *Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals* for failing to reveal the *Classic*’s more lofty intent. Zhang Qia took his master Zhu Xi’s approval of Cheng Yi’s work to engage in his own critical study of the *Classic* following Cheng’s methods.

34. Wei Zongwu uses the simile of “working (*duizhuo*) fine treasures” to emphasize the artistry and value of Zhang Qia’s exegetical skill. One source for the simile is in the last stanza of the poem “Yupu,” (Mao number 238) in the *Shijing* (Book of Odes) in a group of “*Daya*” (Greater Odes) written in praise of king Wen of Zhou. In Karlgren’s translation this stanza reads, “(As if) carved and chiselled is his (decor=) exterior, (like) gold and jade is his (look=) appearance; vigorous is our king, he makes laws and rules for (the states of) the four quarters.” See Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), p. 191. Legge’s wording is “Engraved and chiselled are the ornaments; of metal and jade is their substance. Ever active was our king, giving laws and rules to the four quarters (of the kingdom).” See James Legge, *The She King or Book of Poetry, Chinese Classics* (1876; Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), vol. 9, pp. 442–444. Legge’s explanatory commentary for this stanza (p. 444) makes it clear that the intent of the poem is that the true inner character of the ruler is made known by the finely crafted external aspects of his attire, such that the one represents the other. From this we can derive the meaning that the finely worked exterior elements of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* text in Zhang Qia’s work indicate its true inner worth.
35. This refers to events of the third through the tenth years of duke Xuan of Lu, 605–612 BCE. See Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn*

- Annals* (Huating yishu, 1275), *juan* 6, p. 4a ff. See also Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 291 ff and the general discussion in Tong Shuye, *Chunqiu shi* (History of the Spring and Autumn Era) (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1946), pp. 114–128, 197. Chu had long been considered an advanced state of *man* or “southern-barbarian” origins, but in this instance it is considered to have reverted to barbarian behavior generally described as that of the *yidi*, a generalized term for all barbarians, that is to say, those who could not be counted as proper Chinese (*Huaxia*).
36. This refers to an event in the tenth year of duke Ai (“the Grieving”) of Lu, 486 BCE. See Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating yishu, 1275), *juan* 11, p. 9b. See also Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, pp. 820–821. The text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* adds that this happened when the state of Wu went to the aid of Chen. Background information in the accompanying passage in the *Commentary of Zuo*, (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 821, par. 11) explains that the viscount of Wu, leading the rescue force, upbraided the leader of the army of the state of Chu, saying: “Our two rulers (meaning the rulers of Chu and Wu) do not endeavor to display virtue, but are striving by force for the supremacy over all the States” [comprising the Zhou kingdom, of which all were nominally the subjects]. (On those words and some further admonishment) “[both parties] withdrew [from Chen].”
37. This is found in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* account for the thirteenth year of duke Cheng of Lu, 577 BCE. See Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating yishu, 1275), *juan* 7, p. 13a. See also Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 379. The phrase “went to the [Zhou royal] capital” covers the fact that the visit without prior summons to ascend to the capital was extremely improper, according to the fuller account in the accompanying passage from the *Commentary of Zuo*, and sure to bring calamity by violating the ritual proprieties of respect and deference.
38. This was an event in the 30th year of duke Xiang of Lu, 542 BCE. The fuller description of the event is given as follows: “In the summer, in the fourth month, Ban, heir-son of Cai, murdered his ruler. In the fifth month, on (the day) *jiawu*, there was a fire [in the palace of] Song, [in which] the eldest daughter [of our duke Cheng], [who had been married to duke Gong (r. 587–575)] of Song, died.” The fire, causing the death of a noble lady, and other features of the improper scene, are interpreted to indicate that the formalities proper to relations among the states had gravely deteriorated, thus arousing Heaven’s ire. See Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating yishu, 1275), *juan* 8, p. 33a. See also Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 555. The meeting is reported in the *Commentary of Zuo*, as one conducted “with the want of good faith,” hence drawing the judgment that those events were in consequence of the fire in Song. See Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 558, par. 9.
39. See above, note 6.
40. Wei Zongwu, “[Preface],” pp. 1a–2b. Qifu is Wei Zongwu’s courtesy name.

GLOSSARY

- Ai 哀
 Bailudong shuyuan 白鹿洞書院
 Ban 般 [班]
 Banli Qingshi shanhou weiyuanhui 辦理
 清室善後委員會
 Baozhangge 寶章閣
 Cai 蔡
 Cai Shen 蔡沈
 Cangyuan qunshu jingyanlu 藏園群書經
 眼錄
 Chen 陳
 Cheng 成
 Cheng Hao 程顥
 Cheng Yi 程頤
 Chen Hao 陳澧
 Chizaotang tushu yin 摛藻堂圖書印
 Chizhou 池州
 chou 丑
 Chu 楚
 Chu gongzi ji shuaishi fa Chen Wu jiu Chen
 楚公子結帥師伐陳吳救陳
 Chunqiu dili yan'ge biao 春秋地理沿革表
 Chunqiu gangling 春秋綱領
 Chunqiu jizhu 春秋集註
 Chunqiu jizhuan 春秋集傳
 Chunqiu jizhuan daquan 春秋集傳大全
 Chunqiu quanheng 春秋權衡
 Chunqiu yilin 春秋意林
 Chunqiu zhuan 春秋傳
 Chunqiu zhuanshuo huiquan 春秋傳說彙
 纂
 Chunyou 淳祐
 Churen fa Zheng 楚人伐鄭
 Daoguan 道觀
 Daya 大雅
 Deyou 德祐
 Di 狄
 diben 底本
 diwen 牒文
 Dong Keweng 董克翁
 Duanping 端平
 duizhuo 追琢
 Fang Yingfa 方應發
 fa Qin 伐秦
 Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘
 Gaiyu congkao 陔餘叢考
 Gangling 綱領
 Ge shi limu yitong 各史例目異同
 Gong 共
 gong ru jing shi 公如京師
 Gongshi 公是
 Gongyang zhuan 公羊傳
 Guan 關
 Gugong shanben shuying chubian 故宮善本
 書影初編
 Gui 圭
 Guliang zhuan 穀梁傳
 Guoli gugong bowuyuan shanben jiuji
 zongmu 國立故宮博物院善本舊
 籍總目
 Guqi 古齊
 hangkuan 行款

- Hanlin 翰林
Heng 恒
Hou xu 後序
Huan 桓
Hu Anguo 胡安國
Huating 華亭
Huating yishu 華亭義塾
Huaxia 華夏
Hu Guang 胡廣
jian chou 建丑
Jiangnan 江南
jian yin 建寅
jian zi 建子
jiawu 甲午
jing (classic) 經
Jing (name of a duke) 景
Jinggong 荊公
Jingguogong 荊國公
jingwei 經帷
Jing yi kao 經義考
jinshi 進士
Jiqing 季青
jiu 救
Ji Yun 紀昀
jizhu 集註
juan 卷
juanshou 卷首
Juletang 聚樂堂
Ke Chunqiu jizhu xu 刻春秋集註序
Keting 柯庭
Kuang 匡
Liang 諒
Liaoning 遼寧
Lidai junxian dili yan'ge zhi 歷代郡縣地理沿革志
Liezhuan 列傳
Lin'an 臨安
Linjiang 臨江
Linjiang jun 臨江軍
Linjiang junxiang 臨江郡庠
Linjiang junxue 臨江軍學 [臨江郡學]
Liu Chang 劉敞
Lu 盧
Lun Meng jizhu 論孟集註
Luo 洛
Lushan 廬山
man 蠻
Mao 毛
Miaogui 繆圭
Nalan Chengde 納蘭成德
Nalan Xingde 納蘭性德
Nankang 南康
Neifu 內府
Nianershi zhaji 廿二史劄記
Peng Yuanrui 彭元瑞
Pingyang Jizi 平陽季子
Pingyang Jizi shoucang tushu zhi yin 平陽季子收藏圖書之印
Pingyang Jizi zhi zhang 平陽季子之章
pinyin 拼音
pizhi 皮紙
Puyang 莆陽
Qi 玘
Qifu 淇父
Qin 秦

- Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu* 欽定四庫全書總目
Qinding Tianlu linlang shumu xubian 欽定天祿琳琅書目續編
 Qingjiang 清江
Qingjiang Zhang shi Chunqiu jizhu xu 清江張氏春秋集註序
 Qinzhong 欽宗
 Rang 讓
 ren 人
 sanzhuàn 三傳
 Shang 商
 [Shangshu]sheng zha 尙書省劄
 shanxie zhuangbei 繕寫裝褙
 Shanyuan 澶淵
 shanzhang 山長
 Shen (name of block carver) 詵
 Shen (name of clan) 沈
 Shen (Song taboo character) 慎
 shi 師
Shijing 詩經
 shoujuan 首卷
 Siku quanshu 四庫全書
Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 四庫全書總目提要
 Song 宋
 Songjiang 松江
Songshi 宋史
 Song zai gu 宋災故
 Songzi 松滋
 Taizong 太宗
 Tianjin 天津
 Tianlu jijian 天祿繼鑑
 Tianlu linlang 天祿琳琅
Tianlu linlang shumu xubian 天祿琳琅書目續編
 Tongxiang 桐鄉
 Tongzhitang 通志堂
Tongzhitang jingjie 通志堂經解
 Tuotuo 脫脫
 Wan 完
 Wang Anshi 王安石
 Wang Qingyuan 王清原
 Wang Shan 王掞
 Wang shi 王氏
 Wang Wenbo 汪文柏
 Wei Zongwu 衛宗武
Wei Zongwu yin 衛宗武印
 Wen 文
 Wenxian 文憲
 Wu 吳
 Xia 夏
 Xiang 襄
 xiao tiezi 小貼子
 Xingde (Singde) 性德
 Xingong 新宮
 Xingzi xian 星子縣
 Xu 序
 Xu Qianxue 徐乾學
Xu tongjian changbian shilue 續通鑑長編事略
 Xuan (a duke of Lu) 宣
 Xuan (Song taboo character) 玄
 Yi 夷
 Yichuan 伊川
 yidi 夷狄

- yihai 乙亥
 yin 寅
 Yi zhuan 易傳
 Yongrong 永瑤
 Yongxin 永新
 Yuande 元德
 Yuan Fu 袁甫
 Yuanzhou 遠州
 Yupu 楫樸
 zang Cai Jingong 葬蔡景公
 Zhang Qia 張洽
 Zhang Tingjian 張庭堅
 Zhang Zai 張載
 Zhao Chu 趙初
 Zhao Yi 趙翼
 Zhen 貞
 Zheng 鄭 (name of a state)
- Zheng 徵 (Song taboo character)
 Zhenzong 眞宗
 Zhongguo guji shanben shumu 中國古籍善
 本書目
 Zhou 周
 zhuan 傳
 zhuang 狀
 Zhuang 狀
 zhuguan 主管
 Zhu Mujie 朱睦㮮
 Zhu Xi 朱熹
 Zhuyi 主一
 Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊
 zi 子
 Zuo shi mengqiu 左氏蒙求
 Zuo zhuan 左傳

Zhu Yunming's *Qianwenji*
(Memoir of By-gone Events)
A Neglected Source on Li Tan's
Rebellion of 1262

HOK-LAM CHAN

Zhu Yunming (1461–1527), courtesy name (*zi*) Zhishan, literary cognomen (*hao*) Xizhe, a native of Changzhou in Suzhou prefecture, was one of the most talented and versatile literary figures from south of the Yangze river during the latter half of the fifteenth century. Acclaimed as one of the “Four Talents of the Wu district” (*Wuzhong sicaizi*) together with Xu Zhenqing (1479–1511), Tang Yin (1470–1523), and Wen Zhengming (1470–1559), Zhu Yunming was an accomplished scholar in the classics, an outstanding belletrist in prose and poetry, and an acknowledged master in calligraphy. Because he repeatedly failed the highest level of the civil service examinations, he had only a short and modest official career; instead, he spent his adult years in writing and artistic pursuits, leaving behind a voluminous and diverse literary collection as well as many treasured calligraphic specimens.¹ (See figure 1.) As an intellectual, he was known for his iconoclastic thinking, romantic impulses. His candid criticism of orthodox Confucianism and conventional thinking heralded a new intellectual ferment in the affluent and

culturally advanced Jiangnan region. A bold critic of historical issues and personalities, Zhu was unconstrained by established moral and ethical standards and models.

Zhu has to his credit several collected works, among them the *Zhu shi jilüe* (Abbreviated Collection of Zhu [Yunming's] Writings), 30 *juan* and *Zhu shi zuizhi lu* (An Account of Zhu [Yunming's] Faulting the Luminaries [of the Past]), 10 *juan*, both of which were incorporated into *Huaixingtang ji* (Collected Works from Huaixingtang), 30 *juan*, which was first published in 1609. These works contain pieces on his intellectual responses to the Confucianism of the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1272–1368) dynasties, his flirtations with Buddhism and Daoism, and his criticisms of the restrictive orthodox tradition and of authoritarian political institutions. Zhu Yunming is also well remembered for his authorship and editorship of many historical and literary miscellanies. Three of the best-known history miscellanies are *Chenghua jian Sucai xiaozuan* (1499; Short Biographies of Outstanding Talents from Suzhou in the Chenghua Era), 1 *juan*, a collection of biographies of eminent people from Suzhou during the reign of emperor Xianzong (r. 1465–1487) that stands as an important source for the intellectual and cultural history of the region; *Qianwenji* (ca. 1500; A Memoir of By-gone Events), a collection of miscellaneous jottings on historical events and episodes of some significance, not limited to the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); and *Yeji* (1511; Unofficial Accounts), 4 *juan*, a collection of miscellaneous notes on the Ming emperors from Taizu (r. 1368–1398) to Yingzong (r. 1436–1449 and 1457–1464) that not only preserved information otherwise unrecorded in official sources, but also reflected the popular opinions about the rulers. Another work in this category that merits attention is his *Jianghai jianqu ji* (A Memoir of the Extermination of Bandit Chiefs on Rivers and Seas). It is a notable narrative on the uprising from 1510 to 1512 led by the notorious bandits Liu Liu (a.k.a. Liu Chong, d. 1512) and Liu Qi (a.k.a. Liu Chen, d. 1512), brothers who rampaged through Beizhili, Shandong, Henan, Huguang, and Nanzhili. As they battled against government troops in their approach toward the mouth of the Yangze river, Liu Li drowned in June 1512 and Liu Qi in August that same year. In various ways, these works not only contain a medley of information on and valuable insights into historical and contemporary

不得其屍時娥年十四號慕思旰
吟澤畔旬有七日遂自投江死經五
日抱父屍出以漢安迄于元嘉元年
青龍在辛卯莫之有表度尚設祭之
誄之辭曰

1A. Zhu Yunming's small-standard (*xiaokai*) style of calligraphy. *Xiaonü Cao E bei* (Stele for the Filial Daughter of Cao E) and *Luoshen fu* (Rhapsody on the Nymph of the Luo River). Ming dynasty. Album of thirteen leaves, ink on paper (with storage box). Calligraphy on each leaf, 17.1 cm by 10.6 cm. In the collection of

孝女曹娥碑

孝女曹娥者上虞曹盱之女也其先
與周同禮末曹荒沆爰來適居盱能
撫節安歌婆娑樂神以漢安二年
五月時迎伍君逆濤而上為水所淹



Princeton University Art Museum. Bequest of John B. Elliott, Class of 1951. Photography by Bruce M. White. Image reproduced with the permission of Princeton University Art Museum. Leaves 1-2 of Stele for the Filial Daughter of Cao E.

洛神十三行

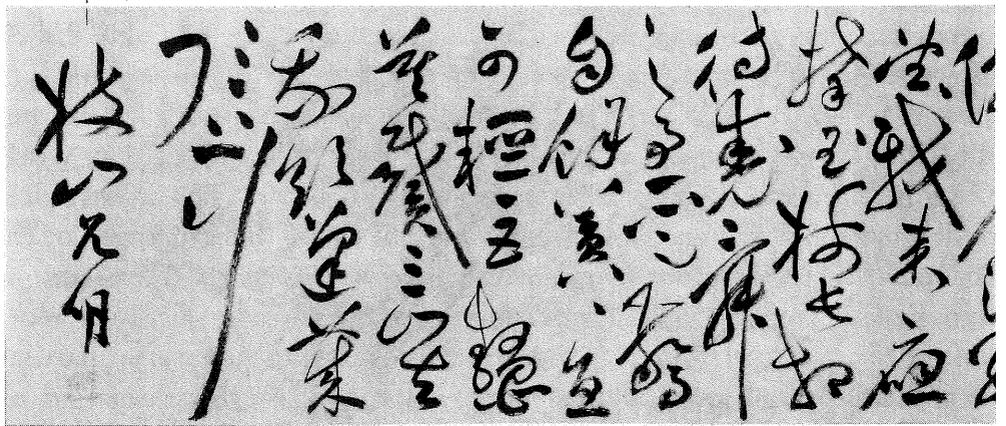
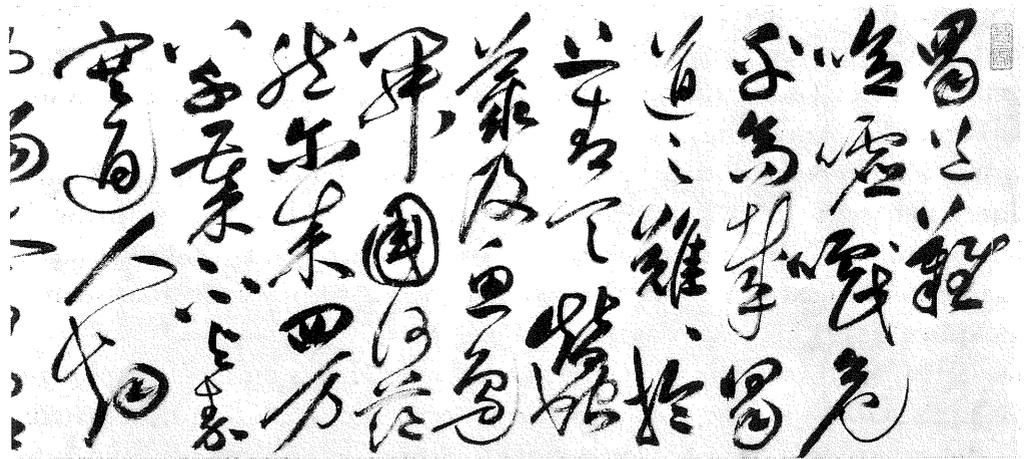


嬉左倚采旄右蔭桂旗攘皓腕於
神許兮採湍瀨之玄芝余情悅其
澍美兮心悵蕩而不怡無良媒以
接歡兮託微波以通辭願誠素之

1B. First leaf of *Rhapsody on the Nymph of the Lo River*.

events, but they also preserve a wide range of notes of a fictional nature, including fabulous tales and heresies. They underscore Zhu Yunming's concern for the transmission of historical records of all sorts and for the preservation of elements of China's popular heritage, which are important resources for the study of history. Zhu left at least three semi-fictional miscellanies: *Weitan* (Talks on Vulgar Topics), *Zhiguailu* (Accounts of Recorded Anomalies), and *Yuguai* (Accounts of the Strange). In these works Zhu recorded many prodigious and miraculous events and anecdotes that seem highly improbable; and he defended the inclusion by stating that his intention was to warn people against indulgence in superstition and to preserve for posterity a record of events that seemed inexplicable in his own day.²

Notwithstanding his fame in the belles lettres and calligraphy and his high standing among certain segments of the literati and the patrons of the arts in the Suzhou region, Zhu Yunming and his writings were disparaged by conservative scholar-officials for ideological deviation, nonconformity, and individualistic style. (See figure 2.) Not only did his collected writings, the *Abbreviated Collection* and *Faulting the Luminaries*, suffer the brunt of vitriolic attack and outright dismissal, established scholars and conservative critics belittled his historical and literary works for their carelessness, lack of veracity, and vulgarity.³ The most severe condemnation, however, came from the editors of the catalogue of the *Siku quanshu* (Complete Library in Four Divisions) of the Qianlong reign period (1736–1795). For example, they denounced Zhu's work *Faulting the Luminaries* for its expression of "harsh and perverse, partisan and unbridled opinion" on historical personalities. They dismissed his work *Short Biographies of Outstanding Talents from Suzhou* for fabricating information unfavorable to Zhu's own relatives, citing the treatment of his maternal grandfather Xu Youzhen (1407–1472) as an example. They derided the *Unofficial Accounts* for accepting too much street-talk without verification, charging that "not one among a hundred items of the record is credible." And they characterized the material in *Memoir of By-gone Events* as "too diffuse and incoherent in content and substance," very much like the dubious episodes that Zhu recorded in the *Unofficial Accounts*.⁴ Such Qing official criticisms of Ming works, couched in formulaic verbiage and tainted with ideological biases, should not be



2. Example of Zhu Yunming's wild-cursive (*kuangcao*) style of calligraphy. *Shudao nan* (The Arduous Road to Shu) and *Huaixian ge* (Song of the Immortal). Handscroll, ink on paper. Calligraphy, 29.4 cm by 510.6 cm; frontispiece, 92.3 cm by 92.5 cm. In the collection of Princeton University Art Museum. John B. Elliott, Class of 1951, Collection. Photography by Bruce M. White. Image reproduced with the permission of Princeton University Art Museum. Above, opening section of *The Arduous Road to Shu*. Below, detail from the end of *Song of the Immortal*.

taken at face value. A more objective judgment of Zhu Yunming's works must consider their literary quality and deal with the works in the broader intellectual and cultural contexts of his times.

To illustrate what can be found in the "rehabilitated" works of Zhu Yunming, this essay examines a unique document on Li Tan's (before 1210–1262) rebellion of 1262, the first large-scale insurrection against Mongol rule shortly after the ascension of Qubilai to qaghan in 1260 (as emperor, r. 1272–1298; Yuan Shizu), preserved in Zhu Yunming's *Memoir of By-gone Events* and his *Unofficial Accounts*.⁵ These two works are available in several Ming collectanea but did not attract the attention of scholars until very recently. The account, entitled "Li junwang Shandong shiji" (Record of Events in Shandong Involving Li, Commandery Prince [of Qi]), was probably written by a senior associate of Li Tan who surrendered to the Mongol forces before Li's demise at Ji'nan in August 1262.⁶ We shall start with a summary of the rebellion based on standard histories and modern studies, then present a full translation of the document preserved by Zhu Yunming, and finally examine, through a comparative historiographical analysis, how new information in the account contributes to our understanding of the event.

LI TAN'S REBELLION

Li Tan, courtesy name Songshou, a native of Weizhou in Yidu district, Shandong, was the chief of the regional secretariat for that district under the Mongol rulers Möngke (r. 1251–1259) and Qubilai qaghan. In February 1262, Li Tan launched a large-scale rebellion that rocked the foundation of Mongol rule in China. At the outset of his uprising, Li surrendered three cities under his jurisdiction to the Southern-Song (1127–1279) imperial court in Lin'an (today known as Hangzhou), but he was defeated by the Mongol forces within six months and executed in August of the same year. Despite its failure, the insurrection had lasting consequences in that it seriously affected Qubilai's state policies and attitude toward the Han literati and military commanders serving the Yuan. There is considerable information on Li Tan in the Song, Jin (1127–1234), and Yuan sources but accounts are rather diffuse, fraught with lacunae and discrepancies, and subject to contradictory interpreta-

tions. The Yuan sources invariably condemn him as a traitor and rebel, and the compilers of the *Yuanshi* (Official History of the Yuan) consigned his biography to the chapter on “Rebellious Officials” (Panchen). The *Songshi* (Official History of the Song) usually refers to him as Li Songshou, using his courtesy name, and this and other Song sources generally hail him as a hero, although some question the sincerity of his defection to the Song cause. A resolution of these historiographical differences is indispensable to an understanding of Li Tan’s career and the meaning of his insurrection.⁷

There is little information on Li Tan’s early years. While most sources make him the son of Li Quan (d. 1231), one of the most prominent leaders of the anti-Jurchen rebel band in Hebei and Shandong under the Jin, some private accounts claim that he in fact was only Li’s adopted son. These accounts say that he was originally the son of Xu Xiqi (dates unknown), a notable from Quzhou (in present-day Zhejiang), who served as an adviser to Jia She (d. 1223), father of the powerful Song chief councilor Jia Sidao (1213–1275), when the latter was posted to Yangzhou as military vice-commissioner of the Huainan East circuit. Both Xu Xiqi and Jia She were on good terms with the then childless Li Quan, and through Jia’s mediation, Li adopted Xu’s teenage son and named him Tan. Li Tan’s origin is now confirmed by stone inscriptions of his family lineage recently discovered in Hebei and Shandong.⁸ The adoption probably occurred around 1220; this would place Li Tan’s birth date prior to 1210. Li Tan thus grew up in Li Quan’s care and rose to prominence under his aegis. Then, in the mid-1230s, he inherited his adoptive-father’s office as chief of the regional secretariat at Yidu under the Jin.

Earlier, in the reign of the Jurchen emperor Zhangzong (r. 1189–1208), around the time of the punitive campaign of the Jin against the Southern Song in 1206, war mobilization caused hardship in Hebei and Shandong and fomented widespread banditry. Li Quan hailed from a peasant family in Weizhou. A robust, shrewd, and dashing young man who excelled in horsemanship and using a spear, which earned him the moniker Li Tieqiang (Iron-spear Li), he first emerged as an outlaw chieftain in Shandong and engaged in freebooting exploits in regions of social unrest. Li joined the ranks of the well-established anti-Jurchen

outlaws such as Liu Erzu (dates unknown) and Yang Guoan (d. 1215; better known as Yang Aner), leaders of the so-called "Red Coat bandits" (Hongaozei). These bandit leaders caused sporadic disorder and vied among themselves for influence as Jin control waned. These leaders had no clear state identity or political goals and shifted allegiance as circumstances warranted. The Jin government regarded them as mere bandits and rebels; the Southern Song treated them either as loyalists or as renegades, depending on their commitment; and the Mongols saw them as unreliable opportunists, concerned only with self-interest.⁹

The *Official History of the Song* and the *Jinshi* (Official History of the Jin) varied in their descriptions of Li Quan's subsequent activities. The Song accounts assert that Li, like his powerful counterparts north of the Yangtze river, did not attract attention until in 1215, when the Mongols seized the Jin capital Zhongdu (known today as Beijing) and Li Quan began organizing locally in Hebei and Shandong. However, some records indicate that in June 1205, Li, together with his elder brother Li Fu (dates unknown), had already raided Lianshui, then under Jin control. The Jin accounts, on the other hand, claim that there were numerous criminal elements in Shandong at the time of the punitive campaign against the Song in 1206, that some of them were neutralized, but that they again rose in defiance when the Mongols attacked the Jin capital in 1213. According to the *Official History of the Jin*, sometime before the Jin emperor Xuanzong (r. 1213–1223) moved the capital to Bian (known today as Kaifeng, Henan) in June 1214, Yang Aner, the most powerful of the bandit leaders, seized two main prefectures in northeastern Shandong and proclaimed himself king. Planning an attack on Yidu, Li Quan occupied Linqu, southwest of Weizhou. The Jin armies struck back, annihilating Yang's forces, and Yang perished early in 1215. Liu Erzu's band was also routed, and Liu was beheaded a few months later. Nonetheless, remnants of Yang's and Liu's forces continued to plunder northern Shandong. Yang's men now came under the leadership of his fourth sister, Yang Miaozen (popularly known as Yang Siniang), a daring woman skilled in combat. Li Quan subsequently rallied to her support, and impressed with him, she later became his wife. Together, they reshuffled the "Red Coats" into a formidable force of over one hundred thousand in Shandong.¹⁰

In the following years, as Li Quan and his wife's men raided many prefectures in Shandong harassing the Jin, the Song authorities sought to direct their activities to serve the Song effort against their common adversary. The military commissioner of the Jiang-Huai region (*Jiang-Huai da dudu*) Li Jue (dates unknown) initiated contact with and succeeded in convincing several officers of Liu Erzu and Yang Aner to support the Song, but Li Quan did not respond until late in 1217 when his men were weakened by famine. The *Official History of the Song* reported that he formally submitted to the Song in February 1218 and was awarded the title of great officer of the military wing (*wuyi dafu*) and the rank of general administrator of the Jingdong circuit (*Jingdong anfushi*). Li Quan's forces became known to the Song government as the Loyal and Righteous Army (*Zhongyi jun*), and he served as its field commander. Seeking to demonstrate his loyalty, Li launched attacks on the Jin cities of Juzhou and Mizhou in central Shandong, while his brother Li Fu captured Qingzhou (Yidu). The Jin forces quickly struck back. The Jurchen commander Heshilie Yawuta (d. 1231) launched attacks on the prefectures held by Li, but Li Quan gained the upper ground. Early in 1219, Li Quan laid siege to Qingzhou, which had been recaptured earlier by Jin, and persuaded the Jin local commander Zhang Lin (dates unknown) to cease resistance. As a result, Zhang surrendered twelve prefectures, including Ji'nan, which gave the Song control of a large part of northeastern Shandong. Zhang was awarded the rank of pacification commissioner and general administrator of the Jingdong circuit, while Li was retained as general administrator of the same region with the additional rank of surveillance commissioner of Guangzhou.¹¹

Meanwhile, the Jin court had some success in its efforts against those who had transferred their loyalties to the Song by exploiting the conflicts that had arose between Li Quan's brother Li Fu and Zhang Lin, and between Li Quan himself and some followers of Liu Erzu and Yang Aner. In December 1221, unable to resist Li Quan and his allies, Zhang Lin surrendered with his men and territories to Muqali (1170–1223), the powerful Mongol supreme commander under Chinggis qan (1167–1227; r. 1206–1227), who was in charge of the pacification of north China. Zhang was appointed acting chief grand marshal of Cangzhou and three other neighboring prefectures, thus posing a direct threat to Li Quan and

his comrades. To reward Li for his fidelity, in January 1223, the Song court appointed him commanding prefect of the Baoning military administration, with the honorary rank of right supreme general of the Jinwu guard (*you Jinwuwei shang jiangjun*), and also deputy pacification commissioner of the Jingdong circuit. At this time, the Jin ruler attempted once again to placate Li Quan by sending a Song defector to Li's camp to invite him to change sides, but Li had the emissary disfigured before sending him back. During the next two years, Li Quan seized Qingzhou and his former base of Yidu, and his wife led her men in a raid on Shanyang at the juncture of the Huai river and the Grand canal (in what today is Jiangsu province). While affecting allegiance to the Song, the husband and wife joined forces to raid Mongol-controlled territories, seeking to shore up their own position. Thus they posed a serious threat to Mongol supremacy in Shandong.¹²

In April 1226, Ögödei (r. 1229–1241), who was to succeed Chinggis qan as the Mongol qaghan three years later, put Muqali's brother Daisun (dates unknown) in command of a strong force to eliminate Li Quan's band. In October, the Mongol forces launched an attack on Qingzhou (Yidu), laying siege to the city, and, after failing in his plea for assistance from the Song and exhausting all his provisions, Li submitted with his men in May 1227. Some of the Mongol commanders wanted to kill Li in revenge, but Muqali's son Bōl (Bogol, 1197–1228) intervened, contending that he might make a useful collaborator. Li Quan was appointed chief of the regional secretariat for Shandong, Huainan, and Chuzhou, based at Yidu, and he subsequently seized Chuzhou from the Jin. As a vassal of the Mongol court, Li remitted annual tribute of gold and silver, but he covertly sought to expand his jurisdiction at the expense of both the Song and the Jin and for his own personal advantage. Toward the end of 1227, the Jin court under emperor Aizong (r. 1224–1232) tried once more to regain Li Quan's allegiance by offering him investiture as prince of Huainan. Li refused, and continued to pose a threat to both the Jin and the Song. In 1230 Li Quan, planning an attack on the Song city of Yangzhou, directed a subordinate to launch a diversionary raid in March on the Southern Song capital Lin'an and destroy an arsenal there. In June, the Song emperor Lizong (r. 1225–1264) tried one last act of appeasement by appointing Li to commanding prefect of the Zhanghua

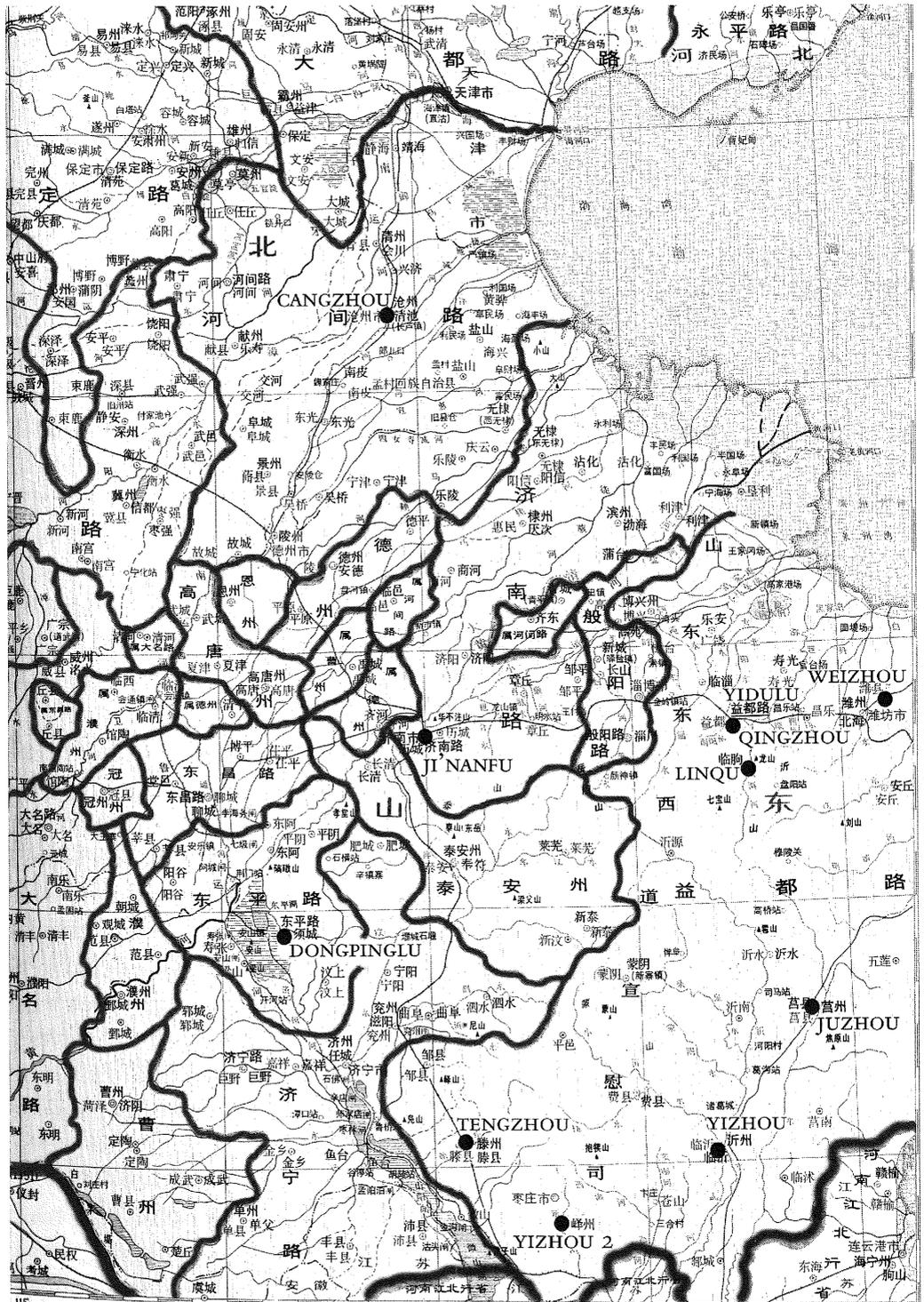
Baokang military administration (*Zhanghua Baokang jun jiedushi*) and pacification commissioner of the Jingdong circuit, with honorary rank of the left and right supreme general of the Jinwu guard. Li Quan rejected the offers, and in outrage, the Song court declared war. In February 1231, when Li launched his offensive on Yangzhou, the Song forces were ready. He was defeated and killed at Xintang on the eighteenth of that month. His wife Yang Miaozen rallied the routed forces and withdrew to the north. The court allowed a demonstrably penitent Yang to assume her late husband's office as chief of the regional secretariat at Yidu, but she died several years later without ever succeeding in invading Song territory to avenge Li Quan's death. On her death, Li Quan's former office passed to his adopted son Li Tan.¹³

Little information on Li Tan survives in the literary records for the twenty-five year period after he became chief of the Shandong regional secretariat. According to extant stone inscriptions, he reportedly tried to expand his influence over neighboring prefectures and to rally local scholars by patronizing Confucian studies. He may even have introduced civil service examinations in the region under his control.¹⁴ However, his efforts at territorial expansion were limited because he was still nominally subordinate to Muqali's descendants. In May 1236, Li Tan was summoned by Möngke qaghan to lead his troops to join the expedition against the Song at Sichuan. He begged to be allowed to decline, arguing that Yidu was situated too close to Song-controlled areas to be left unguarded. Some months later he engaged his forces in repelling Song attack on Haizhou and Lianshui.¹⁵ (See figure 3 for a map of locations related to Li Tan's rebellion.) From this point on, our information on Li Tan has come almost exclusively from his biography in the *Official History of the Yuan*, which, being written after his insurrection, was prejudiced against him and strongly maligned his actions. The accounts in *Official History of the Song* are equally contradictory: some hailed his defection from the Yuan to the Song loyalists, while others depicted him as an unworthy turncoat.

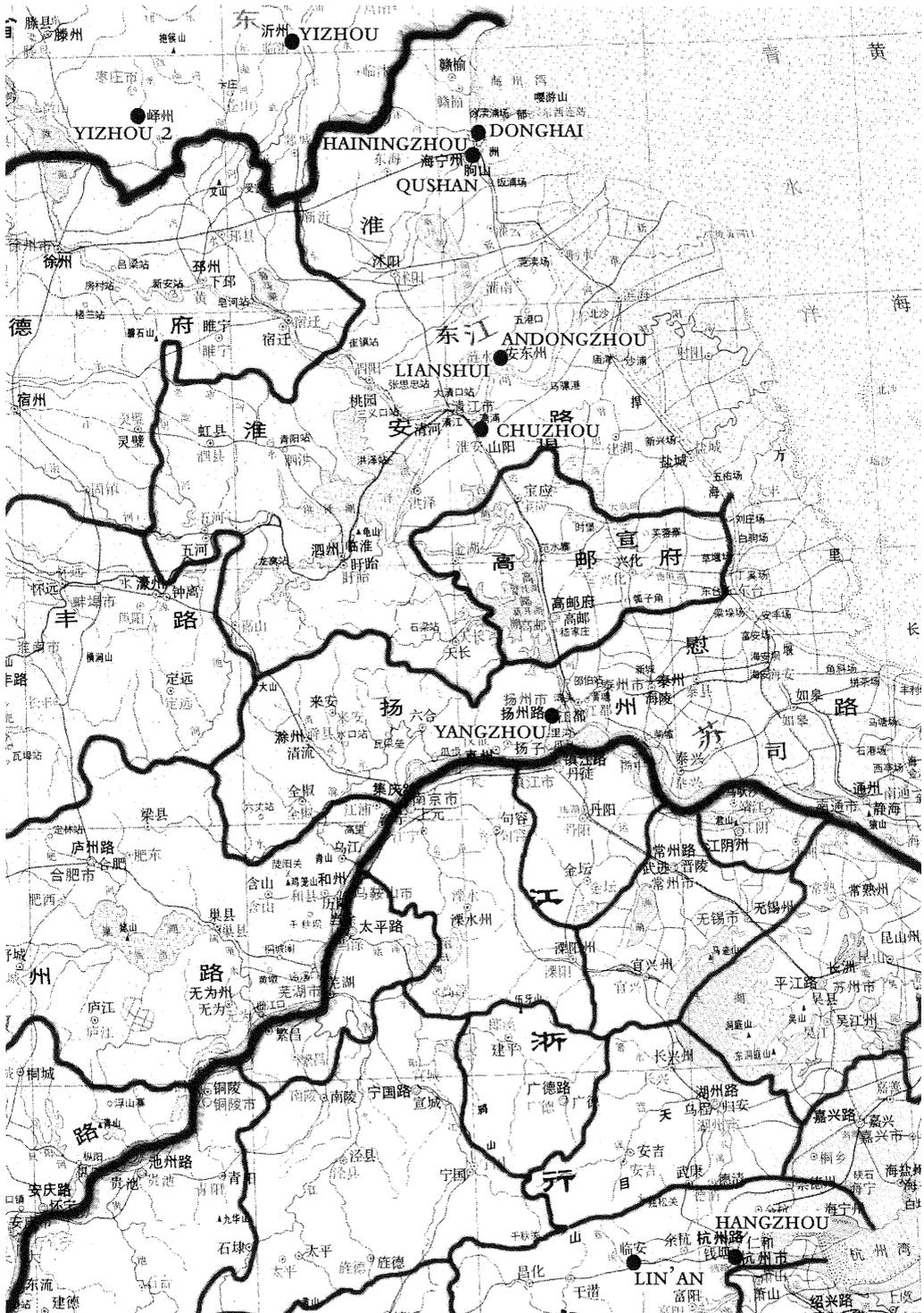
One of the few glimpses into Li Tan's activities in the early years of his career comes from the biography in the *Official History of the Yuan* of Wang Wentong, who was executed as Li's accomplice in March 1262. This record asserts that Li Tan, in attempting to expand his power,

recruited the resourceful and crafty local scholar Wang Wentong as adviser at his headquarters. Li also asked Wang to tutor his son Li Yanjian (dates unknown) and later married Wang's daughter, thus becoming his son-in-law. Another very important report on Li Tan appears in a document (presented in its entirety in translation below) preserved in both of Zhu Yunming's miscellanies *Memoir of By-gone Events* and *Unofficial Accounts*. According to this report, Li had taken the sister of prince-of-state Tachar (dates unknown), a grandnephew of Chinggis qan, as his second wife, probably sometime during Möngke's reign. Li Tan's intimate relationship with these important personages at the Mongol court, particularly with Wang Wentong, may help explain his rebellion. Wang came to the attention of Qubilai through the recommendation of scholars from Dongping and was appointed director of political affairs upon Qubilai's enthronement as qaghan in 1260. Tachar was a powerful Mongol prince-of-state and military leader who played a prominent role in the suppression of Ariq Böke (dates unknown), a younger brother of Qubilai who from 1260 to 1263 had challenged Qubilai's accession. Tachar had no part in Li Tan's insurrection, but it was generally believed that Li had invoked his relationship to this powerful Mongol prince for his own advantage.¹⁶

After Qubilai's accession as the Mongol qaghan and de facto emperor of China on 15 May 1260, Li Tan continued in his position at Yidu with the same rank, undoubtedly because the Mongol ruler favored him and also needed the support of Han-Chinese regional warlords. Meanwhile, Li endeavored to strengthen his power base in Shandong and tried to block direct communication between the Mongol court and the Southern-Song court. For example, on 21 May when Qubilai dispatched his adviser Hao Jing (1209-1289), a Hanlin reader-in-waiting, to lead an embassy to the Song court to proclaim Qubilai's ascension and his wish for peace, Li Tan maneuvered to send two special emissaries of his own to the Song before Hao's departure, ostensibly to obtain advance information useful to the mission. A month later, when Hao and his party reached Ji'nan on the south bank of the Beiqinghe, which flow today is known as the Yellow river, Li sent him a written message entreating him to halt and warning him of the danger and futility of proceeding. Hao Jing ignored the warning. He referred Li's message back to the Mongol



3. Map showing locations important in the discussion of Li Tan's rebellion. Map based on Tan Qixiang, ed., *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* (The Historical Atlas of China),



volume 7 (Yuan-dynasty and Ming-dynasty periods) (Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe, 1982), maps 9-10, 15-16.

court and continued his mission. As it turned out, Hao's mission was doomed. He and his associates were detained as spies by the Song court, following Li Tan's invasion of the Eastern Huainan prefectures, and they were not released until March 1275, almost fifteen years later.¹⁷

In July 1260, Li Tan was raised by the Mongol court to the rank of high military administrator of the Jiang-Huai region and assumed authority over the Song prefectures that he had recently occupied. From this point on, the *Official History of the Yuan* gives a rather one-sided account of Li Tan's abuse of Qubilai's trust and of his schemes for self-aggrandizement as a prelude to open revolt. For instance, he is said to have reported to the qaghan that the Song chief councilor Jia Sidao was mobilizing forces in an attempt to capture Lianshui and to have used the intelligence to ask for assistance to strengthen the fortifications of Yidu. The request was granted. In August, Qubilai awarded Li Tan twenty golden and five silver tablets (*fu*) to reward his troops for valor and also awarded 300 ingots (*ding*) of silver to Li himself; moreover, he ordered that all the Mongol and Han forces on the Song border be placed under Li Tan's command. Following this, Li submitted a succession of memorials denouncing the hostile actions of the Song military commissioner against Lianshui and made repeated requests for assistance to reinforce the defense of his own region and to organize punitive expeditions. The latter request, however, was denied as Qubilai had no intention to provoke the Song court at this time. Nonetheless, Li Tan and Song forces clashed several times in and around the Lianshui area, without much advantage to either side.¹⁸

Hard-pressed by the Song offensives, Li Tan submitted another memorial to the court in October, again pleading for assistance. He claimed that though he had the good fortune of capturing Lianshui and Haizhou, the Song rulers had suffered no significant loss. Further, he asserted that if the Song dispatched its fleet against Jiaoxi and Laizhou on the coast and pushed their armies north against the Yizhou, Juzhou, Tengzhou, and Yizhou 2, Shandong might be lost. Thus, Li requested that he be given command of the armies in southern Henan facing the Song prefectures to the south and, as well, be allowed to lead a joint operation against Yangzhou and Chuzhou to deal the enemy a death-blow. However, Li Tan's eloquence failed to convince the court, and no action was recommended. In February 1261, he submitted another me-

morial to the Secretarial Council to report that a large contingent of Song forces and warships had been assembled, ready to launch an all-out invasion of Shandong. He urged the court to reinforce his position and to mount a diversionary assault on Song strongholds to forestall the possibility of an attack by the Song and to expedite a Song defeat with a thrust into the southern Huai-river region. Qubilai made no response until after he heard from Li that the Song forces had again attacked Lianshui and had been driven back. Orders were then given to marshal Aju (1234–1287) and other Mongol commanders to lead reinforcements to Yidu to join local forces there. In July, Li reported that he had scored a victory over the Song forces at Lianshui but continued to remind the Mongol court of the Song threat, perhaps to cajole them into providing additional manpower and supplies.¹⁹

On 22 February 1262, Li Tan suddenly rebelled, defecting to the Song with the three walled cities in Lianshui and Haizhou prefectures. These three cities were the counties of Lianshui, Qushan, and Donghai, the latter two of which were under the jurisdiction of Haizhou. He massacred the Mongol garrisons there and ordered the warships under his command to attack Yidu. Li Tan's biography in the *Official History of the Yuan* alleges that he had previously instructed his son Li Yanjian, who was being held hostage in the Mongol upper capital Kaiping (later known as Shangdu) as security for his father's continued allegiance, to escape and make for Shandong.²⁰ According to the Song-dynasty work, *Songshi quanwen xu Zizhi tongjian* (Complete Text of the History of the Song: A Sequel to the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government), Li Tan notified the Song court of his intention to submit on 20 February, one day after his son's escape. Emperor Lizong immediately called a conference, and chief councilor Jia Sidao proposed that Li be accepted only if he proved his sincerity by bringing the cities of Lianshui and Haizhou over to Song control. This is corroborated by a letter that the emperor wrote to Jia dated 1 March. It was reported that Li complied two days after contacting the Song court, but the court was not informed until 3 March that the two prefectures had been delivered. The *Official History of the Song*, however, dates the arrival of this news to 15 March at which time the Song court conferred meritorious ranks on Li Tan. On 3 April, the Song court immediately gave the new name Andongzhou to Lianshui and Xihaihou to Haizhou.²¹ The *Official History of the Yuan* and

Official History of the Song give only brief accounts of the course of the rebellion from February to August. The details must be supplemented with information in the document preserved in Zhu Yunwen's *Memoir of By-gone Events* as examined below.

After delivering the cities to the Song, Li Tan returned on 27 February with a large army to seize Yidu and plundered the treasuries and stores there. On 6 March, Li's forces raided Putai to the northwest, but there was no spontaneous uprising by the local inhabitants. Li's rebellion may not have been a complete surprise to Qubilai. Earlier, several Mongol and Han generals, among them Nianhe Nanhe (d. ca. 1268) and Zhang Hong (1229–1287), had already warned Qubilai of Li's potential chicanery. When he learned of the news through Wang Pan (1201–1293), a deputy pacification commissioner of Yidu, Qubilai immediately summoned Wang and his adviser Yao Shu (1201–1278) for consultation. Both of them strongly recommended punitive action, and Yao, predicting that Li would attack Ji'nan to rally the local malcontents, urged Qubilai to prepare a counter offensive.²² Thus on 8 March, Qubilai issued a decree condemning Li Tan and ordered several Han myriarchs, including Yan Zhongfan (d. 1275), son of the veteran myriarch Yan Shi (1182–1240), and Zhang Hong to mobilize the Mongol and Han armies under their command. He also ordered naval myriarchs Xie Cheng (d. 1262) and Zhang Rongshi (1218–1278) to deploy the naval forces in Shandong to engage the rebels. In addition, the veteran Han myriarch Zhang Rou (1190–1268) and his son Zhang Hongfan (1238–1280) were ordered to secure the capital Kaiping with two thousand of their troops. Three days later, Qubilai appointed prince Qabici (dates unknown) supreme commander of punitive forces drawn from Daming (in Hebei), Dongping, Ji'nan, Henan and other regions, which eventually reached one hundred thousand strong before converging on Ji'nan.²³

Military engagements and political turmoil unfolded rapidly. Shortly after Qubilai's mobilization order, some advance Han units confronted Li's men at Laocangkou south of Ji'nan, but suffered defeat. On 14 March, at the central capital Yanjing (later Dadu, modern Beijing), Qubilai ordered the execution of Li's father-in-law Wang Wentong. According to his biography in the *Official History of the Yuan*, Wang was charged with secretly communicating with Li Tan and exhorting him to rebel and topple the Mongol rulers. Three letters allegedly addressed by

Wang Wentong to Li Tan advising him to postpone the date of military action were presented as evidence. Wang failed to mount a strong defense but neither did he admit his guilt and instead asked for a death sentence. This episode can never be satisfactorily explained because evidence surrounding the event does not survive.²⁴ In 15 March, the Song court conferred on Li Tan the title of commanding prefect of Baoxin and Ningwu military administration (*Baoxin Ningwu jun jiedushi*), which put him in charge of the Jingdong and Hebei armies. In addition, Li received investiture as commandery prince of Qi, and his late father Li Quan's official ranks were posthumously restored. On 17 March, Li Tan launched a surprise offensive against Ji'nan and easily occupied the administrative capital, which he subsequently used as an operational base. On the same day, Song forces launched their first strike, invading Dengzhou ostensibly to join up with Li Tan.²⁵ In response, on 21 March, the Mongol court ordered general Batu Motai (dates unknown) to mobilize his garrisons from Henan to Ji'nan. The myriarch Yan Zhongfan was directed to join the expeditionary forces with his troops. On 7 April, Qubilai instructed several leaders, among them Shi Shu (1221–1287), nephew of the right chancellor of the Central Secretariat Shi Tianze (1202–1275), and marshal Aju to lead their own troops to Ji'nan. Zhang Hongfan, appointed general field administrator, was ordered to rally the punitive forces along with part of his father's troops at the capital. Thus, the Mongol forces were fully deployed for an all-out strike against Li Tan.²⁶

In the first clash, Li Tan's men succeeded in inflicting heavy casualties on a party of Mongol forces approaching Ji'nan, but they then withdrew into the city where they suffered a major setback in a subsequent battle, losing over four thousand men. On 12 April, a division of the Han army overran Li Tan's forces at Gaoyuan, thereby opening the way for the Mongol advance towards Ji'nan from the southwest. In the meantime, the Song general Xia Gui (1197–1279) took advantage of the chaotic situation to invade counties in the north of what is today Anhui province. On 20 April, the Mongol forces reached the outskirts of Ji'nan and began building walls and digging ditches around the city in preparation for a siege. A division of the Imperial Guard led by Dong Wenbing (1217–1278) and a contingent of Korean soldiers under the command of Wang Sun (1223–1283), a junior relative of Wang Sik the king of Koryŏ

(Wǒnjǒng, r. 1260–1274), arrived as reinforcements for Qubilai's forces. Official-historical sources include no information of military engagements during the following three weeks other than reference to sporadic intrusions by the Song forces into prefectures north of the border with the Mongol regime. On 19 May Qubilai dispatched the right chancellor Shi Tianze to take charge of all the troops arrayed against Ji'nan. Under Shi's direction, a ring of forts surrounding the city was completed, thereby denying the rebel any route of escape. The news of Li Tan's plight soon reached the south, and on 21 June the Song court sent fifty thousand *liang* of silver to Yidu to strengthen the resolve of Li Tan's soldiers. At the same time, the Song ordered Qingyang Mengyan (dates unknown), a civil official, to lead a relief army to Ji'nan, but he procrastinated in Shandong and failed to carry out his rescue mission.²⁷

Besieged by the Mongol troops and deprived of Song support, Li Tan's forces began to suffer increasing hardship from June onward. It is said that he forced the young women of the city to entertain the troops and sent soldiers to seize food from the civilians. Late in July, as food was running short, the soldiers began to lose heart. Many clambered down the wall to surrender, and Li Tan was powerless to stop them. According to his biography in the *Official History of the Yuan*, on the morning of 6 August, Li, realizing that Ji'nan was about to fall, dismissed his advisers, stabbed his favorite concubine, and went out alone in a boat to Daming lake. He jumped into the lake to end his life, but the water was too shallow and he survived. Mongol troops entered the city, and Zhang Hongfan's soldiers captured Li Tan. Li Tan was bound and brought before prince Qabiči, Yan Zhongfan, and Shi Tianze. It was reported that Shi immediately demanded: "We should execute him immediately in order to ease people's heart."²⁸ Li Tan was thus executed on the spot along with another defector from the Mongol cause. According to the "Shizu benji" (Annals of Shizu) in the *Official History of the Yuan*, "his body was dismembered," which suggests that the sentence was "death by slicing," but Li Tan's official biography in the *Official History of the Yuan* gives no specific details regarding his death. The Yuan official accounts end with no further mention of his posterity nor the aftermath of the rebellion. The Song court, however, hailed Li Tan a hero and a martyr. It was reported that upon learning of Li Tan's fate, the court awarded him the posthumous title of grand preceptor (*taishi*) and had a plaque

engraved with the characters “Xianzhong” (Illustrious Loyalty) placed on the beam of a temple erected in his honor.²⁹

Whether his motive for starting the rebellion was ambition for personal gain as autonomous warlord, aspiration for restoration of Song control of the north, or disruption of Mongol rule, Li Tan's rebellion ended with heavy casualties on both sides. While we know few specifics about Li Tan's losses, the toll on the Mongols was great. It was reported that the civilians and soldiers of Lianshui killed by Li's forces and the Mongol, Jurchen, and other fighting men lost to the Song totaled eight thousand individuals.³⁰ The political fallout was even more outstanding. The insurrection not only implicated several senior Han-Chinese officials in the Mongol administration, among whom Wang Wentong was the first casualty, but it also involved several senior commanders of the Han-Chinese army, including Shi Tianze, Zhang Hongfan, Yan Zhongfan, and Dong Wenbing. Qubilai did not level recriminatory charges against those responsible, but he became apprehensive about the loyalty of Han-Chinese officials at his court and in particular about the threat of the semi-autonomous Han-Chinese army commanders. Seeking to eliminate these potential threats to Mongol rule, over the next few years, the Mongol rulers developed a drastic institutional restructuring and a new orientation in state policies. These changes marked the decline of the Chinese scholar-officials' influence at court, facilitated the ascendancy of the Mongols and Central Asians adept in political and economic affairs, and increasingly secured Han-Chinese army units under a centralized, bureaucratic military establishment. Li Tan's rebellion and its suppression thus had far-reaching repercussions in the century of Mongol rule in China.³¹

TRANSLATION OF “RECORD OF EVENTS IN SHANDONG INVOLVING LI,
COMMANDERY PRINCE”

The foregoing account of Li Tan, drawn mainly from the “official,” though sometimes conflicting, accounts in the *Official History of the Song* and *Official History of the Yuan*, can be enriched by the information in a neglected “unofficial” source “Record of Events in Shangdong Involving Li [Tan], Commandery Prince [of Qi]” found in Zhu Yunming's *Memoir of By-gone Events* and in a corresponding text included in Zhu's *Unofficial*

Accounts, the latter of which contains several phrases not found in the former. By comparing the two versions and taking note of the syntax and language, I conclude that the version in *Memoir of By-gone Events* was the earlier document, and the version in *Unofficial Accounts* a later one. Textual variants and words added to the later document appear to have been Zhu's own emendations. My translation of the text as found in *Memoir of By-gone Events* is based on Ming editions of Zhu's works.³² In the translation, textual variants are enclosed in parentheses and marked with a single asterisk*. Zhu's emendations are enclosed in parentheses and marked by a double asterisk**. A collated Chinese text is appended.³³

I once acquired an old dispatch which contains [a document] with the title: "Record of Events in Shangdong Involving Li [Tan], Commandery Prince [of Qi]"; (**In all likelihood it was recorded by a Yuan person.) Thus I abridge and present it herewith (**so that it can be used to fill the gaps in [other] documents).

On the third (*twentieth) day of the second month of the *renxu* [third] year of the Jingding era (22 February 1262 or 11 March 1262), [Li Tan] departed from Lianshui and headed into the interior, leading [an army of] over fifty thousand men conscripted from Xihai, Donghai, and Lianshui. On the twenty-seventh day (18 March) they reached Ji'nan administration (*fu*). On the fifth day of the third month (26 March), they scored a small victory [over the Mongol forces]. In this the third month they left Laocangkou, fifty *li* outside of Ji'nan [city]; on the eighteenth (*eighth) day (8 April or 29 March) they won a major victory at the Qing river, but on the third day of the fourth month (22 April), they were surrounded [at Ji'nan by the enemy forces]. [The Mongol forces] then dug ditches and built walls (*cheng*) thirty *li* outside the city. (**They left the walls they built, and went ten *li* outside the city, dug ditches and built walls.)³⁴ In all, three ditches were dug and three walls were erected. Thus, they walled the [Mongol and Han-Chinese] troops who arrived from seventeen districts (*lu*). Soldiers of the kingdom of Koryŏ also arrived [as reinforcement].

After [Ji'nan] came under the siege, a white waterspout was seen lingering over the city, and spectators thought it was a white snake demon. Shi Tianze, the senior chief chancellor [of Mongol Central Secretariat], sent a messenger to Dongping to summon a "mountain-digger" (*kaishanren*). A mountain-digger is the same as a snake-catcher in our state [i.e. the Yuan]. When he saw the waterspout, he said that it was a white snake demon that had not yet sucked any [human or animal] blood, otherwise, it would be difficult to exorcise. [And he said that] if we could catch the snake within a hundred days, the city would then fall, and we could capture alive Li the chief administrator of the regional secretariat. Thus the man dug an earth cave in the direction of the white waterspout and successfully trapped the snake there. Then, morning and night he encircled the city blowing a horn and uttering a curse: "If big snakes do not come out, small snakes will; if small snakes do not come out, big ones will." By the middle of the sixth day (*month), the white waterspout soared into the air and vanished. From then on Li the commandery prince seemed to lose his exuberance and sank further into lethargy day by day. Even though his army units fell into disarray, the generals and soldiers were uncontrolled, and food supply was used up, Li Tan was unable to comprehend of any of this. It reached the point that grass shoots from the roof beam of dilapidated houses were mixed with salt to feed the horses. Before long [food and horses also] ran out, and people took to cannibalism. (**Thus the soldiers of the so-called Lu Army of the Eight Cities were all leaning against the walls [due to hunger].)

On the thirteenth day of the seventh month (30 July), [Li's forces] came out in columns [for combat], but the men were already fatigued and they were forced back [into the city] with losses. After that, there were some individuals from various army units defecting who reported that the previous night heavenly signs appeared indicating dispersal of soldiers. Li the commandery prince responded: "We didn't really care about that!" From then on, soldiers were driven out daily to surrender [to the enemy]. On the eighteenth day (4 August), I [i.e. author of the present

memoir] went out to submit. On the nineteenth day (5 August) at the first watch of the night, a big meteor was seen falling in the direction of the headquarters of the administration. [Sighting this], Li offered incense and prayed [to Heaven], saying: "Li Tan will die in this place." Then he sat in the courtyard and, using tweezers, pulled out long hairs from his moustache, (**but left the short ones). On the morning of the twentieth day (6 August), he ordered everyone to find his own way out. The prince then stepped into a small boat and sailed into a small lake (*haikouzi*) and jumped into the water [to drown himself], but [the water level] only reached his waist. An elderly man named Huang [saw this and] said: "You, venerable councilor, have done these things because of the injustices in the world. Why do you cause harm to yourself?" Thus he led [Li] ashore and took him to the Mengquan administration (Mengquanfu).

The chiliarch command then sent out a secret communication, and councilor Zhang [i.e. Zhang Hongfan] immediately dispatched men to bind up [Li to be brought to the military camp]. [At interrogation,] councilor Yan [i.e. Yan Zhongfan] first asked: "What sort of action is yours?" The prince [i.e. Li Tan] replied, "You all had an agreement with me, but you did not come forward [to join our cause]." Yan then stabbed him in the ribs with a sword. [Chief] chancellor [of the Central Secretariat] Shi [Tianze] asked, "Why did you not surrender to us?" The Prince answered nothing. [Shi] asked further: "In what way did Qubilai mistreat you?" The Prince said: "You had a written document binding me to rise in arms [with you]. Why do you betray our alliance?" Shi then summoned a certain Yellow-eyed Huihui [i.e. a Central Asian Muslim] to chop off both of [Li's] arms and then both of his feet, to cut out and eat his heart and liver, to slice the flesh off his body, and finally to behead him. He gave orders to [Li's] son to take [his father's] head around to all the commanderies in Shandong.

The prince had six sons. The eldest was called Chongshan (**and was nineteen *sui*). The next, Qishan and Nanshan, were born to his first wife, née Wang, and [they had been] invested

as the general administrators of Pingzhou. [As for his other sons], Fengshan was born to a younger sister of Tachar, while Niushan and Jingshan both survive him. Chongshan was seized by Qubilai, and Fengshan was taken away by prince-of-state Tachar. After prince Li died, his body showed not a single drop of blood but rather only thick yellow fluids nor was it infested with flies and gnats, which was all really strange.

On the day when [Ji'nan] was put under siege, Li wrote a *ci* poem to the tune "Shuilong yin" (Water-Dragon Song) (**on a wall):

With waist-sword and banded forehead I joined the army;
Leaning against the garrison house railing alone, I leisurely gazed
out at the distance.

The majestic scenic Central Plain,
Now the fox occupies the rabbit's den,
Evening smoke overcasts the fading daylight.
Dashing the brush, I spill my cherished thoughts:
Resting with weapons for a pillow awaiting the dawn
Is a youngster from the west of Long.³⁵
I despair the lightning passage of time,
So easy to put on thigh flesh,
Why not alter the tune and change the rhyme?

The world's turbulence has turned the blue seas into plowing
fields,
So many times have the multitude suffered shocks and
disturbances;
The weapons of war still dazzle in brilliance,
And there is no time for repose.
On whom do we rely to sweep and drive away [the Mongol
intruders]?
Alas the mountains and rivers within our gaze,
The hope in our breast—
Only a pitched long howling!
In times of peace, the councilors and generals came very close,
Steadily they first pacified Yan and Zhao.³⁶

OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL RECORDS COMPARED

Now, how does this text preserved by Zhu Yuming shed new light on the story of Li Tan's rebellion in 1262? The text, which Zhu Yunming drew from an old dispatch he had acquired and which he abridged, was probably written by a senior lieutenant under Li Tan who emerged from the besieged city of Ji'nan to surrender to the Mongol forces. In all likelihood, the officer departed after 30 July, the day on which Li had concluded that defeat was imminent and had urged his followers each to find his own way. The title of the text gives Li Tan's name as "Li, Commandery Prince of [Qi] (*Li junwang*)," an investiture decreed by the Southern Song court in March 1262 as an award for his submission.³⁷ It attests to the lingering loyalty of Li's followers to the Southern Song. The document is a personal memoir of the insurrection: the first part describes events to which the author bore witness in person before his defection, and the second part, which narrates Li Tan's final days after he had abandoned Ji'nan, was probably based on indirect but credible information. This account supplements and corroborates information presented in the accounts in the *Official History of the Yuan*, although there are several anecdotes and miraculous elements in this unofficial narrative that should be read with prudence.

The dates of the various events mentioned in the text, from the start of Li Tan's rebellion in Shandong to the Mongol siege of Ji'nan and to Li's attempted suicide at the Daming lake, agree with most of the dates recorded in the *Official History of the Song* or *Official History of the Yuan*, which confirms their veracity. There is agreement, too, on the majority of the recollections. Some parts of the narrative as preserved by Zhu Yunming, however, yield additional information. For example, Yuan sources did not mention the size of the army that Li Tan brought to Ji'nan, but here the document numbered an army in excess of fifty thousand, most of whom were conscripted from Lianshui, Xihaizhou, and Donghai.³⁸ Accounts vary in the Chinese characters used to write the name of the place Laocangkou, located fifty *li* outside of Ji'nan, through which Li Tan passed with his troops. Two accounts in the *Official History of the Yuan* write Laozengkou, while the documents quoted by Zhu Yunming write Laocangkou. A "spirit-way epitaph" (*shendaobei*) of gen-

eral-control commissioner of the Imperial Guard Li Boyou (dates unknown), which mentions Li Boyou's participation in the siege, substitutes a cognate character for the second character in writing the name Laocangkou. This agrees with the pronunciation of the place name as given in the Zhu Yunming's accounts.³⁹ Statements in these accounts about the "major victory" at the Qing river on 8 April that Li Tan proclaimed can be correlated to an account in the "Annals of Shizu" in the *Official History of the Yuan* under the *guiyou* date of the third month of the third year of the Zhongtong era (1262). The Yuan account, however, mentions Li Tan's loss of "four thousand heads," and so the phrase "major victory" (*dasheng*) may have been a blatant recasting of what was actually a "major defeat" (*dabai*).⁴⁰ The presence of the Koryŏ soldiers for reinforcement at the siege of Ji'nan is also confirmed by a statement from the biography of Wang Sun, a relative of Wang Sik, king of Koryŏ, then in the Mongol service. It states that, on the order of the court, Wang Sun led a contingent of Korean soldiers, which clarifies that the soldiers were already stationed in China and had not come directly coming from Koryŏ as the text in Zhu Yunming's writings might seem to suggest.⁴¹

The text then relates as fact the occurrence in Ji'nan under the Mongol siege of a bizarre and ominous phenomenon that cast a pall over Li Tan and paints a grim picture of the city in its eleventh hour. The sighting of a white waterspout, purportedly a white-snake demon in disguise, presaged the capture of Li Tan. Shi Tianze, the chief right chancellor of the Mongol Central Secretariat, who was then directing the assault on Ji'nan, sent for a snake-catcher.⁴² The catcher immediately predicted that if this snake demon in disguise could be captured within a hundred days, the city would fall and Li Tan be taken alive. The snake catcher's modes of entrapment and curses were efficacious in dispelling the white waterspout [i.e. the white snake demon]. In concert with this exorcism, Li Tan lost his mind and his ability to cope with the situation. His army fell into disarray, the generals and soldiers were defiant, and the food supply dwindled dangerously, all unbeknownst to their rebel leader. Horses were fed weeds mixed with salt until even these supplies were exhausted, and human beings turned to cannibalism. Characteristic of "praise-and-blame" (*baobian*) historiography, the account as preserved by

Zhu Yunming fused fiction with fact to depict a dire turn of events, but this mix of fact and fiction also sheds some new light on the waning days of Li Tan at Ji'nan by providing information not recorded in the *Official History of the Yuan* and other official sources.

A detailed account of the events of 6 August describes Li Tan's unsuccessful suicide attempt, an act of desperation prompted by the sighting late the previous night of a meteor falling in the direction of the headquarters of the administration. This came after several days of military defeat and defection and the appearance of other ominous heavenly signs. Li, seeing the falling star, acknowledged that his hour had come, reflecting the traditional belief that such a heavenly sign presages the demise of a great man. Li then stepped into a boat, sailed out into a small lake, and jumped into the water only to find the water level too low to let him drown himself. An elderly man in the vicinity rescued him, helped him ashore, and took him to the chiliarch command of the Mengquan administration.⁴³ The record in the *Official History of the Yuan*, other than identifying the lake as Daming (Great Brightness), is very similar to the account preserved by Zhu Yunming; however it lacks the dramatic and detailed description present in this unofficial document. It appears that after Li was delivered to the chiliarch command, the officer in charge secretly communicated with the Mongol authorities. Informed thus, Zhang Hongfan, the general field administrator, sent men to put Li Tan in bonds and deliver him to the Mongol military camp. This episode is not mentioned either in Zhang Hongfan's biography nor in Li Tan's biography in the *Official History of the Yuan*, and most Yuan sources state simply that Li was captured immediately after his unsuccessful suicide.⁴⁴

The account preserved by Zhu Yunming offers a vivid description of Li Tan's delivery to the presence of the Mongol Han-Chinese generals headed by Shi Tianze, chief chancellor of the Central Secretariat, and Yan Zhongji, a myriarch commander of the Han army from Dongping, for interrogation at their headquarters outside Ji'nan. It is reported that his accusers asked why Li Tan rebelled, whether or not he felt mistreated by Qubilai qaghan, and why he had not surrendered. In response Li persistently stated that he had a previous understanding, if not in fact an agreement, with them for joint military action and countercharged

inquiring why they reneged on their commitment. I have found no other historical sources to verify the substance of the charges and counter-charges recorded in this unofficial record, however the grisly details on the brutal nature of Li's execution must be taken into account. After having Yan Zhongji stab Li Tan in the ribs with a sword, Shi Tianze ordered that a Yellow-eyed Muslim executioner put him to a slow death by brutal, inhumane dismemberment. The final indecency was the order for one of Li Tan's sons to deliver his father's severed head for public display throughout Shandong. Li Tan's execution was also mentioned in his biography in the *Official History of the Yuan* and other sources, but without the gruesome details, which, though not verifiable, may indeed be true.

What is significant in the unofficial record of events, however, is the summary nature of the orders to put Li Tan to death, without his captors first submitting the case to Qubilai. A biography of Shi Tianze's family written by Hanlin academician Wang Yun (1227-1304) states that Shi later apologized to the Mongol qaghan for his rash action and begged for forgiveness, a statement that has caused historian to raise questions about the implications of Shi's actions.⁴⁵ They have long suspected that ulterior motives drove Shi Tianze's actions but lacked supporting evidence. If we accept as fact the countercharges levelled by Li Tan against his accusers, as recorded in the account preserved by Zhu Yunming, we now have evidence of a possible cover-up of cooperation between Li Tan and some of the leading Mongol-Han generals, including Shi Tianze himself, for seditious action against the Mongol rulers in those precarious times.

Zhu Yunming's version of the text includes a record of Li Tan's posterity. Here we learn that Li had six sons. The oldest three, Chongshan, Qishan, and Nanshan, were born to his first wife née Wang, i.e. Wang Wentong's daughter. The fourth, Fengshan, was by his second wife, a sister of the Mongol prince-of-state Tachar, a grandson of Chinggis qan. The mother of the two youngest sons, Niushan and Jingshan, was not named. In contrast, the *Official History of the Yuan* mentions only one son named Yanjian, who may have been the eldest, here named Chongshan, but this is not verifiable. Such information, while shedding new light on Li Tan's family, is also very important for understanding some of the

obscure historical facts about the insurrection.⁴⁶ Most important of all is the revelation that Li had a son born to Tachar's sister; such a relationship with the powerful Mongol prince undoubtedly would have emboldened Li Tan in his calculation of political support. In fact, Hao Jing, the Chinese adviser who accompanied Qubilai in the campaign of Ezhou against the Southern Song in 1260 two years before the outbreak of Li's insurrection, had written a memorial called "Banshi yi" (Discussion on Withdrawing the Troops) in which he pleaded to be allowed to withdraw from the punitive campaign. At that time, Hao pointed out that the real threat to Mongol rule was not from the south but from the north because "Prince-of-state Tachar and Li the [chief of the] regional secretariat were linked like forearm and thigh—they posed a threat to our rear."⁴⁷ This statement would be hard to understand but for the revelation in our document that Tachar and Li Tan, in fact, were related by marriage. The other new information in the document is the fact that Li Tan's second and third sons had served as general administrator of Pingzhou (known earlier as Pingluan), a strategic district in Hebei. This would imply that Li Tan's son's forces could also pose a direct threat from the north. This revelation also helps explain why, after Li Tan started the rebellion, Qubilai dispatched several generals headed by marshal Aju, the left chancellor, to secure the defense of several districts in Manchuria and Hebei including Pingluan.⁴⁸

Although the story about the unusual state of Li Tan's dismembered body strains credibility, this stock hyperbole no doubt was transmitted to emphasize the author's evaluation of Li Tan as a man of extraordinary stature. No trace of such information is found in the accounts that mention Li Tan in the *Official History of the Yuan*. It is also quite extraordinary that the memoir concludes with a poem allegedly penned by Li Tan, as Li is not known to have been a literary person. In fact, the poem is rather coarse in diction and rhythm (which confounds a smooth translation). Regardless of who composed the poem, it does express the unrealized desire of an ambitious man of action for restoration of Han control of China and his yearning for a bright future on earth. As such, it is an appropriate ending to a personal reminiscence that is akin to a historical biography and fits well into a collection of jottings on historical events mixed with a variety of fictional episodes.

In sum, there is much historical worthiness in the document on Li Tan's waning days transmitted by the anonymous follower who survived the Mongol onslaught. The document under consideration here corroborates and supplements Li's biographical account in the *Official History of the Yuan*. Written even as it is in the form of a personal memoir, it offers new insights into Li Tan's relations with the powerful Han army generals and the Mongol prince-of-state Tachar and startling images of his last days in Ji'nan and his violent death, as well as providing otherwise unknown information about his posterity. The new information helps clarify some of the hitherto unexplained points in the background of Li's insurrection and, most important of all, establishes political linkage, as of yet not fully explained, between Li and Qubilai's Han-Chinese generals. His execution in the most atrocious manner on direct order of Shi Tianze in the presence of other generals without Qubilai qaghan's prior knowledge or approval is a piece of solid evidence of complicated political intrigue. The political fallout is far-reaching, and many of the speculations by previous historians about this segment of history can now be laid to rest. Clearly the record preserved by Zhu Yunming provides a very substantial addition to the sources for the study of Li Tan's insurrection.⁴⁹

However Zhu Yunming acquired this rare document, it is to his credit that he included it in his collected works. He may have recognized its historical worth and may, as well, have been attracted to its miraculous episodes and fictional trappings, both features qualifying it for preservation. But for his wise action, a valuable historical source would have been lost. This case study, therefore, serves as an important reminder of the need for close and careful examination of Zhu Yunming's historical jottings in order to give a more objective appraisal of his contribution as a historian and of the merits of his collections than is often presented in the haphazard, prejudicial criticisms offered by his conservative detractors.

APPENDIX

The Chinese text is taken from the Wanli-era (1573-1620) edition of *Memoir of By-gone Events* as preserved in Deng Shilong's (1595 *jinshi*) compilation, *Guochao diangu* (Miscellaneous Record of the [Ming]

Dynasty) and has been collated with the text from *Unofficial Accounts* found in the same compilation.⁵⁰ As in the translation, textual variants are enclosed in parentheses and marked with a single asterisk*. Zhu's emendations are enclosed in parentheses and marked by a double asterisk**.

李郡王山東事跡

予嘗得一故(*古)牒，中有題“李郡王山東事跡”，(**蓋元人記也)，因節述於此，(**亦可以備闕文)。景定壬戌二月三日(*二十日)，離漣水，(**將)帶漣水、西海、東海及僉軍五萬餘人入裏。二十七日，抵濟南府。三月五日，小捷。三月，離濟南五十里老倉口，十八日(*及其八日)，大捷於清河。四月三日受圍。離城三十里開河築城，(**離所出城，出城十里在開河築城)，凡(*共是)三河三城，而圍起十七路人馬。高麗國兵亦來。

自圍後，城中長有白蜃氣，觀者以為白蛇精。史天澤摠把丞相差人於東平取開山人來。開山人者，即吾國捕蛇之人也。一見其氣，謂是白蛇精未食血，若食血了難收。今則用百日捕得此蛇，城即陷，可活得李行省。乃(*於是)於白氣之方，掘一土穴，收禁蛇於其內，早夜繞(*連)城吹角呪之：“大蛇不出小蛇出(*去)，小蛇不出大蛇出。”至六日(*六月)半間，其白氣騰空而去。自是李郡王似失精采，日(*三)復昏沈，雖軍伍不齊，將士作亂，以致絕糧，俱不能曉。甚至截屋簷草，拌鹽而飼馬。已而亦無，相將食人，(**所謂八都魯軍皆倚牆而已)。

(**至)七月十三日，結陣而出，人已無力，復被殺入。由是諸軍間有出投拜者，云昨夜天文見，當主兵散。郡王曰：“俺每(*們)也無理會。”自是日逐兵出投拜。十八日，子(*予)(按：〈事跡〉作者自稱)出投拜。十九(**日)夜壹鼓，(**有)大星墜于府治。李拈香而拜曰：“李壇死於此。”於是坐於庭中，以鑷摘去長髭，(**留其短者)。二十日早，分付眾人出，各討(*計)路去。王下小舟，入于海口(*子)，投于水，止及其腰。有一老子姓黃曰：“相公為天下不平，做出這事，何故自損？”引而登岸，至孟權府。

千戶治所密報，張相公差人縛出。嚴相公首問曰：“此是何等做作？”王答曰：“爾(*你們)每與我相約，卻又不來。”嚴就肋下刺一刀。史丞相問之曰：“何不投拜？”王不答。又問曰：“忽必烈有甚虧爾(*你)處？”王曰：“爾(*你)有文書約俺起兵，何故背盟？”史喚黃眼回回砮(*砍)去兩臂，次除兩足，開食其心肝，割其肉，方斬首。令其子提其首以下山東諸郡。

王有子六人，長曰崇山，(**年十九)。次齊山、南山，(**乃)王夫人生嫡子，封平州總管。鳳山乃搭察兒妹生。牛山、景山俱在；崇山為忽必烈取去，鳳山為搭察國王取去(*出)。李王之死，身無滴血，惟是黃濃漿，尸無蠅蚋，亦可怪也。其受圍之日，作(*題)《水龍吟》一詞(**于壁)曰：“腰刀帕首從軍，戍樓獨倚閑凝眺，中原氣象，狐居兔穴，暮煙殘照。投筆書懷，枕戈待旦，隴西年少。嘆光陰掣電，易生髀肉，不如易腔改調。世變滄海成田，奈群生幾番驚擾，干戈爛熳，無時休息，憑誰驅掃？眼底山河，胸中事業，一聲長嘯。太平時，相將近也，穩穩首平燕趙。”

NOTES

As a first-time contributor to the *East Asian Library Journal*, I would like to pay tribute to Professor Fritz Mote, chairman of the editorial advisory board, who was also my principal dissertation adviser at Princeton in the 1960s. As a principled intellect and a warm-hearted teacher, he helped broaden my vistas on Sinology and history and sharpen my methodological and research skills. For this, I am deeply indebted to him. I am also grateful for his insistence that students of Ming history include a collateral field in the earlier dynasties and hope that he will be pleased that the present essay, specially written in his honor, is one that joins the dots from the Song through the Jin and the Yuan, and then to the Ming.

1. For Zhu Yunming's primary biographies, see Zhang Tingyu (1672–1755) et al., eds., *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 286, p. 7352; and Jiao Hong (1541–1620), *Guochao xianzheng lu* (Illustrious Personalities of the Ming Dynasty) (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1965), *juan* 75, pp. 57a–58b. See also Hok-lam Chan, "Chu Yunming," in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368–1644* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 392–397. For a sample of modern studies on his life and works, see Mano Senryū, "Shuku Inmei no bukyō" (The Buddhism of Zhu Yunming), *Ōtani gakuho* 39.4 (March 1960), pp. 39–40; idem, "Shuku Inmei no shigaku" (The Historical Scholarship of Zhu Yunming), *Shirin* 51.1 (January 1968), pp. 26–43; Christian F. Murck, *Chu Yün-ming (1461–1527) and Cultural Commitment in Soochow* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1978); Yang Yong'an, *Wuzhong sicaizi zhi yi—Zhu Yunming zhi sixiang yu shixue* (One of the Four Talents of the Wu District—Zhu Yunming's Thought and Historical Scholarship) (Hong Kong: Xianfeng chubanshe, 1987).
2. For details, see Yang Yong'an, *One of the Four Talents of the Wu District*, pp. 15–25. For more on Zhu Yunming's *Short Biographies of Outstanding Talents from Suzhou in the Chenghua Era* and his *Memoir of By-gone Events*, see Wolfgang Franke, *An Introduction to the Source of Ming History* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1968), 3.5.1 and 4.5.8, respectively. See also note 4, below.
3. See Mano Senryū, "The Historical Scholarship of Zhu Yunming," pp. 39–40 and Yang Yong'an, *One of the Four Talents of the Wu District*, *passim*.
4. See Yongrong (1744–1790) et al., eds., *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (Abstracts for the Comprehensive Catalogue of the Complete Library in Four Divisions) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), *juan* 61, p. 550; *juan* 121, p. 1496; *juan* 124, p. 1068; *juan* 143, p. 1219; *juan* 144, p. 1229.
5. Qubilai established the qaghanate in 1260 and issued a declaration of the founding of the Great Yuan (Da Yuan) dynasty effective the *yinhai* day of the eleventh month of the eighth year of the Zhiyuan reign (18 January 1272). See Song Lian (1310–1381) et al., eds., *Official History of the Yuan* (Beijing:

- Zhonghua shuju, 1976), *juan* 7, p. 138. For a discussion of the chronology of these events, see John D. Langlois, Jr., "Introduction," in Langlois, ed., *China under Mongol Rule* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 3–5. See also David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide*, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien Band 53 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), pp. 427–428.
6. The *Memoir of By-gone Events* version of the account is based on the abridged edition included in Shen Jiefu (1533–1601), ed., *Jilu huibian* (A Compendium of Miscellaneous Records), no. 70 (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1938), *juan* 202, pp. 28a–30a. However, the *Unofficial Accounts* version of the account that is left out of the one-*juan* abridged edition of that work in *Jilu huibian* is found in Li Shi (1565 *jinshi*), ed., *Lidai xiaoshi* (Historical Vignettes from Successive Dynasties), no. 25 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1940), *juan* 79. Both versions of the text are contained in the *Memoir of By-gone Events* and *Unofficial Accounts* abridged edition included in the Wanli-era series *Guochao diangu* (Miscellaneous Record of the [Ming] Dynasty) edited by Deng Shilong (1595 *jinshi*). These two works by Zhu Yunming may be conveniently consulted in a modern typeset edition. See *Unofficial Accounts* and *Memoir of By-gone Events* in Deng Shilong, comp., *Guochao diangu*, ed. Xu Daling et al. (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1993), *juan* 34, pp. 595–596 and *juan* 62, pp. 1409–1410, respectively.
7. There are few Jin sources about Li Tan, but the records that do exist, like the Yuan sources, are far from complimentary. For Li Tan's primary biography, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 202, pp. 4591–4593. Cf. Tamura Jitsuzo, et al., eds., *Genshi gōi shusei* (Complete Collected Glossary to the Official History of the Yuan) (Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Bungakubu, 1961–1963), vol. 1, pp. 954–959. For a summary of traditional sources, see Feng Qi (1558–1603) et al., eds., *Songshi jishi benmo* (Record of Events from Start to Finish in the History of the Song Dynasty) in *Guoxue jiben congshu* (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1939), *juan* 104, pp. 885–857. See also, note 9 below. On other biographical records, see Wang Deyi et al., eds., *Yuanren zhuanji zilitao suoyin* (Index to Yuan Biographical Material) (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1979), vol. 1, p. 498; and Morita Kenshi, "Li Dan no ran izen ni—sekkoku zairyō ni shite" (Stone Inscriptions Concerning Li Tan Prior to his Rebellion), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 47.3 (December 1988), pp. 36–45. See also Hok-lam Chan, "Li T'an," in Igor de Rachewiltz, Hok-lam Chan, et al., eds., *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993), pp. 500–519. For modern studies on Li T'an's rebellion, see Otagi Matsuo, "Li Dan no hanranto sono seijiteki igi" (Li Tan's Rebellion and its Political Implications), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 6.4 (September 1931), pp. 1–26; Sun Kekuan, "Yuanchu Li Tan shibian de fenxi" (An Analysis of Li Tan's Insurrection early in the Yuan), *Dalu zazhi* 13.8 (October 1956), pp. 7–15; and Zhou Liangxiao, "Li Tan zhi luan yu Yuanchu zhengzhi" (Li Tan's Rebellion and Early-Yuan Politics), *Yuanshi ji beifang minzushi yanjiu jikan* 4 (1980), pp. 6–13. See also note 16 below.

8. See Zhou Mi (1232–1308), *Qidong yeyu* (Unofficial Words about Eastern Qi), Congshu jicheng, no. 2770–2773 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1939), *juan* 8, p. 112, based on information from the Song work, Liu Zicheng's (1134–1190) *Huaidong bushi* (Amendment to the History of the District East of the Huai [River]), a work that is no longer extant. This is adopted in *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 206, p. 4591. For supporting information from the stone inscriptions, see Morita Kenshi, "Stone Inscriptions Concerning Li Tan Prior to his Rebellion," pp. 27–28.
9. For Li Quan's primary biographies, see Zhou Mi, *Unofficial Words about Eastern Qi*, *juan* 8, pp. 107–112; and Tuotuo (1313–1355) et al., eds., *Official History of the Song* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), *juan* 476 and 477. On the accounts in the Tuotuo et al., eds., *Official History of the Jin* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), see Onogawa Hidemi et al. eds., *Kinshi gōi shusei* (Complete Collected Glossary to the Official History of the Jin) (Kyoto: Kyoto jimbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1960–1962), vol. 1, pp. 499–500. For a summary of traditional sources, see *Songshi jishi benmo*, *juan* 85, pp. 759–774. For other biographical records, see Wang Deyi, *Index to Yuan Biographical Material*, vol. 1, p. 490; and Morita Kenshi, "Stone Inscriptions Concerning Li Tan Prior to his Rebellion," pp. 30–34. For modern studies on Li Quan and leaders of the "Red Coat bandits," see in particular, Zhao Lisheng, "Nan Song Jin Yuan zhiji Shandong Huaihai diqu de Hongao zhongyi jun" (On the "Red-Coat" Loyal and Righteous Armies of Shandong and the Huaihai Region during the Southern Song, Jin, and Yuan Times), *Wenshizhe* 4 (1954), pp. 30–35; Sun Kekun, "Nan Song Jin Yuan jian de Shandong zhongyi jun yu Li Quan" (On the Loyal and Righteous Armies of Shandong and Li Tan during the Southern Song, Jin, and Yuan Times), reprinted in his *Menggu Hanjun yu Han wenhua yanjiu* (Studies on the Mongol-Han Army and Han-Chinese Culture) (Taipei: Wenxing shudian, 1958), pp. 11–43; Ikeuchi Kō, "Li Zen ron" (Essay on Li Quan), *Sakaibunka shigaku* 14 (1979), pp. 29–48; and Françoise Aubin, "The Rebirth of Chinese Rule in Times of Trouble: North China in the Early Thirteenth Century," in Stuart R. Schram, ed., *Foundations and Limits of State Power in China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1987), pp. 113–146. On Yang Miaozen, see also Chen Gaohua, "Zhanran jushi wenji zhong Yang xingsheng kao" (References to Yang, Chief of the Regional Secretariat, Found in the *Literary Works of Yelü Chucai*), *Lishi yanjiu* 3 (2000), pp. 45–50.
10. See *Official History of the Song*, *juan* 38, p. 738; *juan* 403, pp. 12207–12208; *juan* 476, pp. 13817–13818; *Official History of the Jin*, *juan* 14, pp. 306, 313, 316; *juan* 15, pp. 336, 339, 340; *juan* 102, pp. 2243–2246.
11. *Official History of the Song*, *juan* 40, pp. 769, 772, 773, 776; *juan* 403, pp. 12208–12209; *juan* 476, pp. 13818–13820; *Official History of the Jin*, *juan* 15, pp. 346, 368; *juan* 102, pp. 2251–2252.
12. *Official History of the Song*, *juan* 40, pp. 777, 778, 779; *juan* 476, pp. 13823–13832; *juan* 477, pp. 13835–13851; *Official History of the Jin*, *juan* 15, pp. 346, 366, 368; *juan* 102, pp. 2260–2261; *juan* 108, pp. 2386–2387; *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 1, pp. 21–24.

13. *Official History of the Song*, *juan* 41, pp. 793, 794; *juan* 477, pp. 13835–13851; *Official History of the Jin*, *juan* 17, pp. 379, 383; *juan* 114, pp. 2504, 2507; *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 1, p. 24; *juan* 119, pp. 2936–2937; *juan* 206, p. 4591. On Yang Miaozen's activities after Li Quan's death, see also Yelü Chucai (1189–1243), *Zhanran jushi ji* (Literary Works of Yelü Chucai) in *Siku quanshu*, no. 1191 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), *juan* 8, pp. 13a–13b.
14. *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 206, p. 2591; see also Morita Kenshi, "Stone Inscriptions Concerning Li Tan Prior to his Rebellion," pp. 30–35.
15. *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 3, p. 51.
16. On Wang Wentong's biography, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan*, 206, pp. 4594–4596; see also this author's contribution in de Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*, pp. 520–538. For a detailed study of his implication in Li Tan's rebellion, see Chen Xuelin (Hok-lam Chan), "Wang Wentong 'moufan' shijian yu Yuanchu zhengju" (The Case of Wang Wentong's "Alleged Rebellion" and Early-Yuan Politics), *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan dierjie guoji Hanxue huiyi lunwenji, Lishi kaogu zu* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 1129–1159. For a note on prince-of-state Tachar, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 107, p. 2712. See also Gao Wende and Cai Zhichun, comp., *Menggu shixi* (Genealogy of the Mongol Clans) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1979), p. 8.
17. On Hao Jing's mission to Southern Song, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 4, p. 65; *juan* 8, p. 163. For Hao's biography, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 157, pp. 3698–3709; see also Richard J. Lynn, "Hao Ching," in de Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*, pp. 348–386. See also, note 47 below.
18. *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 4, pp. 66–68; *juan* 206, pp. 4591–4593.
19. *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 4, pp. 69–71; *juan* 206, pp. 4592–4593.
20. *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 5, pp. 81, 82; *juan* 206, p. 4593. "Dilizhi" (Monograph on Geography), *Official History of the Song*, *juan* 45, p. 880; *juan* 88, pp. 2179–2181.
21. *Complete Text of the History of the Song: A Sequel to the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*, photolithographic reproduction (Ming dynasty; Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1969), *juan* 25, pp. 2715–2717. Song Lizong's letter to Jia Sidao is quoted in Huang Jin (1237–1357), *Jinhua Huang xiansheng wenji* (Collected Writings of Huang [Jin] of Jinhua), in *Sibu congkan* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), *juan* 21, pp. 5a–5b, with Huang's colophon. For additional information on the court's response to Li Tan's submission, see Yuan Jue (1266–1327), *Qingrong jushi ji* (Collected Works of Qingrong jushi), in *Sibu congkan*, *juan* 27, p. 10a.
22. *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 5, p. 82; *juan* 146, p. 3466; *juan* 158, p. 3714; *juan* 160, p. 3752; Su Tianjue (1294–1352), comp., *Guochao [Yuan] wenlei* (Literature of the [Yuan] Dynasty Arranged by Genre), in *Sibu congkan*, *juan* 50, pp. 16a–18a. For Yao Shu's biography, see also Hok-lam Chan's contribution in de Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*, pp. 387–406.
23. *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 5, pp. 82–84. Biographies of these Han

- myriarchs may be found in the following sources: for Yan Shi and his son, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 148, pp. 3505–3508; for Zhang Hong, see Su Tianjue, *Literature of the Yuan Dynasty by Genre*, *juan* 50, p. 14a–21a; for Xie Cheng, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 165, p. 3870; for Zhang Rongshi, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 166, p. 3904; for Zhang Rou, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 147, pp. 3471–3476; and for Zhang Hongfan, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 156, p. 3634. See also de Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*, pp. 27–45, 46–59, 60–74 respectively, for more on Shi Tianze, Zhang Rou, Yan Shi, and their sons.
24. *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 5, p. 82; *juan* 206, pp. 4593, 4596.
 25. *Complete Text of the History of the Song*, *juan* 25, p. 2716; *Official History of the Song*, *juan* 45, p. 880; *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 5, p. 82. The decree investing Li Tan as commandery prince of Qi was drafted by auxiliary academician Liu Kezhuang (1187–1269). It was cited in Liu Xun (1240–1319), *Yinju tongyi* (General Discussions While in Reclusion) in *Congshu jicheng* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), *juan* 21, p. 215.
 26. *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 5, pp. 83–84; *juan* 128, p. 3119; *juan* 156, p. 3679. For Shi Shu's biography, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 147, pp. 3483–3485, *juan* 155, pp. 3657–3663.
 27. *Official History of the Song*, *juan* 45, p. 881; *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 5, pp. 83–84; *juan* 206, pp. 4593–4594. For Wang Sun's biography, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 166, p. 3891. For Dong Wenbing's biography, see *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 156, p. 3667; see also C. F. Hung, "Tung Wen-ping," in de Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*, pp. 627–634.
 28. *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 206, pp. 4593–4594. Shi Tianze's remark is cited in Li Tan's biography in the *Official History of the Yuan* but not in Shi's own biography in *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 155, p. 3661. Li's death by slicing is recorded in *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 5, p. 86 and is supported by other Yuan sources such as Yao Sui (1238–1313), *Muan ji* (Collected Works of Muan) in *Sibu congkan*, *juan* 19, p. 16b. Also, see below, note 39 for a reference to Yao Sui.
 29. *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 5, p. 86; *juan* 206, p. 4594; *Official History of the Song*, *juan* 45, p. 882. On Li Tan's posthumous honors, see Feng Qi, *Songshi jishi benmo*, *juan* 104, p. 886.
 30. *Official History of the Yuan*, *juan* 5, p. 9008; see also de Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*, pp. 27–45, 71–71, 520–539, 608–620.
 31. See the studies on Li Tan and Wang Wentong by Otagi Matsuo, Sun Kekuan, Zhou Liangxiao, and Hok-lam Chan, cited in notes 7 and 16.
 32. See note 6 for references to these editions.
 33. See Deng Shilong, comp., *Miscellaneous Record of the [Ming] Dynasty*, *juan* 34, pp. 595–596; *juan* 62, pp. 1409–1410. For the full citation, see note 6 above.
 34. These added words do not seem related to the previous sentence; the original text appears corrupt.
 35. "The west of Long" refers to the northeastern corner of Gansu.
 36. Yan and Zhao were states in the Warring States (475–221 BCE) period in the

- area that is today Shanxi, Shaanxi, and Hebei. The text of the *Memoir of Bygone Events* in Jilu huibian gives the last line as: “wenwen bainian Yan Zhao.” If we adopt this variant, the line would read as “One hundred years of stability will come to Yan and Zhao.”
37. *Official History of the Song*, juan 45, p. 880. See also note 25 above.
 38. According to the *Official History of the Song*, Xihaizhou was established after Li Tan’s submission to the Song. This new prefecture was split from Haizhou and administered four counties including Qushan and Donghai. In the Yuan, all these counties were incorporated into Haizhou and renamed Hainingzhou after 1278. *Official History of the Song*, juan 88, pp. 2179–2181; *Official History of the Yuan*, juan 59, p. 1416.
 39. See *Official History of the Yuan*, juan 5, p. 91; juan 151, p. 3573, biography of Wang Qingduan. Wang was a naval commander who took part in this campaign. For Li Boyou’s “spiritual-way epitaph,” see Yao Sui, “Shiwei qinjun duzhihuishi Li gong shendaobei” (Spirit-way Epitaph for Chief Military Commissioner in the Imperial Body Guard Li [Boyou]), *Collected Works of Muan*, 19, pp. 4a–18b. The reference to Li Tan appears on p. 16b.
 40. See *Official History of the Yuan*, juan 5, p. 83.
 41. See *Official History of the Yuan*, juan 166, p. 3891.
 42. None of the extant biographical records of Shi Tianze ever mentioned such an episode in relation to his direction of the military campaign against Li Tan.
 43. This name was not mentioned elsewhere in our sources and its location is not identifiable. Perhaps there is a scribal error in the text.
 44. *Official History of the Yuan*, juan 5, p. 86; juan 206, p. 4594.
 45. See Wang Yun, “Kaifu yitong sansi zhongshu zuochengxiang Zhongwu Shi gong jiazhuan” (Family Biography of Shi Zhongwu [Tianze], Commander Unequaled in Honor and Grand Councilor on the Left in the Secretariat Chancellery), *Qiujian xiansheng daquan wenji* (Complete collected writings of Wang Qiujian [Yun]) in *Sibu congkan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1973), juan 48, p. 17a. This particular episode is not recorded in the *Official History of the Yuan*.
 46. *Official History of the Yuan*, juan 5, p. 81; juan 206, p. 4595.
 47. Hao Jing, *Lingchuan ji* (Collected Works of Lingchuan) in *Siku quanshu*, nos. 283–288 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1973), juan 32, pp. 14a–14b. See also Hao’s biography in *Official History of the Yuan*, juan 157, p. 3707; and Richard J. Lynn “Hao Ching,” pp. 358–362.
 48. *Official History of the Yuan*, juan 5, p. 82.
 49. See Zhou Liangxiao, “Li Tan’s Rebellion and Early-Yuan Politics,” pp. 116–118; and Hok-lam Chan, “Li T’an,” in de Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*, pp. 516–518.
 50. See note 6 above.

GLOSSARY

- Aizong* 哀宗
Aju 阿朮
Andongzhou 安東州
Ariq Böke 阿里不哥
Banshi yi 班師議
baobian 褒貶
Baoning 保寧
Baoxin 保信
Baoxin Ningwu jun jiedushi 保信甯武
 軍節度使
Batu Motai 拔都抹台
Beiqinghe 北清河
Beizhili 北直隸
Bian 汴
Böl (Bogöl) 孛魯
Cangzhou 滄州
Changzhou 長洲
cheng 城
Chenghua jian Sucai xiaozuan 成化間蘇
 材小纂
Chen Xuelin (Chan Hok-lam) 陳學霖
Chinggis 成吉思
Chongshan 崇山
ci 詞
Chuzhou 楚州
dabai 大敗
Dadu 大都
Daisun 帶孫
Daming 大名
dasheng 大勝
Da Yuan 大元
Deng Shilong 鄧士龍
Dengzhou 登州
Dilizhi 地理志
ding 錠
Donghai 東海
Dongping 東平
Dong Wenbing 董文炳
Ezhou 鄂州
Feng Qi 馮琦
Fengshan 鳳山
fu (administration) 府
fu (tablets) 符
Gaoyuan 高苑
Guangzhou 廣州
guiyou 癸酉
Guochao diangu 國朝典故
Guochao xianzheng lu 國朝獻徵錄
Guochao [Yuan] wenlei 國朝[元]文類
haikouzi 海口子
Hainingzhou 海寧州
Haizhou 海州
Han 漢
Hangzhou 杭州
Hanlin 翰林
Hao Jing 郝經
Heshilie Yawuta 紇石烈牙吾塔
Hongaozei 紅襖賊
Huai 淮
Huaidong bushi 淮東補史
Huainan 淮南
Huaixian ge 懷仙歌

- Huaixingtang ji* 懷星堂集
 Huang 黃
 Huang Jin 黃潛
 Huihui 回回
Jianghai jianqu ji 江海巖渠記
 Jiang-Huai 江淮
 Jiang-Huai da dudu 江淮大都督
 Jiangnan 江南
 Jiao Hong 焦竑
 Jiaoxi 膠西
 Jia She 賈涉
 Jia Sidao 賈似道
Jilu huibian 紀錄彙編
 Ji'nan 濟南
 Jingding 景定
 Jingdong 京東
 Jingdong anfushi 京東安撫使
 Jingshan 景山
Jinhua Huang xiansheng wenji 金華黃先生
 文集
 jinshi (degree name) 進士
Jinshi (book title) 金史
 Jinwu 金吾
 juan 卷
 Juzhou 莒州
 Kaifeng 開封
 Kaifu yitong sansi zhongshu zuo chengxiang
 Zhongwu Shi gong jiazhuan 開府儀
 同三司中書左丞相忠武史公家專
 Kaiping 開平
 kaishanren 開山人
 Koryō 高麗
 kuangcao 狂草
 Laizhou 萊州
 Laocangkou 老倉(鶴)口
 Laozengkou 老僧口
 li 里
 liang 兩
 Lianshui 漣水
 Li Boyou 李伯佑
Lidai xiaoshi 歷代小史
 Li Fu 李福
 Li Jue 李玨
 Li junwang 李郡王
 Li junwang Shandong shiji 李郡王山東
 事跡
 Lin'an 臨安
Lingchuan ji 陵川集
 Linqu 臨朐
 Li Quan 李全
 Li Shi 李拭
 Li Songshou 李松壽
 Li Tan 李壇
 Li Tiejiang 李鐵槍
 Liu Chen 劉辰
 Liu Chong 劉寵
 Liu Erzu 劉二祖
 Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊
 Liu Liu 劉六
 Liu Qi 劉七
 Liu Xun 劉壘
 Liu Zicheng 劉子澄
 Li Yanjian 李彥簡
 Lizong 理宗
 Long 隴
 lu (district) 路

- Lu (name of a region) 魯
 Luanzhou 灤州
 Lu jun 魯軍
 Luoshen fu 洛神賦
 Mengquanfu 孟權府
 Mingshi 明史
 Mizhou 密州
 Mōngke 蒙哥
 Muan ji 牧庵集
 Muqali 木華黎
 Nanshan 南山
 Nanzhili 南直隸
 Nianhe Nanhe 粘合南合
 Ningwu 寧武
 Niushan 牛山
 Ögödei 窩闊台
 Panchen 叛臣
 Pingluan 平灤
 Pingzhou 平州
 Putai 蒲臺
 Qabiči 合必赤
 Qi 齊
 Qianwenji 前聞記
 Qidong yeyu 齊東野語
 Qing 清
 Qingrong jushi ji 青容居士集
 Qingyang Mengyan 青陽夢炎
 Qingzhou 青州
 Qishan 齊山
 Qiuqian xiansheng daquan wenji 秋澗先生
 大全文集
 Qubilai 忽必烈
 Qushan 胸山
 Quzhou 衢州
 renxu 壬戌
 Renzong 仁宗
 Shangdu 上都
 Shanyang 山陽
 shendaobei 神道碑
 Shen Jiefu 沈節甫
 Shi Shu 史樞
 Shi Tianze 史天澤
 Shiwei qinjun duzhihuishi Li gong shendao-
 bei 侍衛親軍都指揮使李公神道碑
 Shizu 世祖
 Shizu benji 世祖本紀
 Shudao nan 蜀道難
 Shuilong yin 水龍吟
 Siku quanshu 四庫全書
 Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 四庫全書總
 目提要
 Song Lian 宋濂
 Songshi 宋史
 Songshi jishi benmo 宋史紀事本末
 Songshi quanwen xu Zizhi tongjian 宋史全
 文續資治通鑿
 Songshou 松壽
 Su Tianjue 蘇天爵
 Suzhou 蘇州
 Tachar 塔察兒
 taishi 太史
 Taizu 太祖
 Tang Yin 唐寅
 Tengzhou 滕州
 Tuotuo 脫脫
 wang 王

- Wang Pan 王磐
 Wang Qingduan 王慶端
 Wang Sik 王噉
 Wang Sun 王綽
 Wang Wentong 王文統
 Wang Yun 王惲
 Weitan 猥談
 Weizhou 濰州
 wenwen bainian Yan Zhao 穩穩百年燕
 趙
 Wen Zhengming 文徵明
 Wǒnjǒng 元宗
 Wu 吳
 wuyi dafu 武翼大夫
 Wuzhong sicaizi 吳中四才子
 Xia Gui 夏貴
 Xianzhong 顯忠
 Xianzong 憲宗
 xiaokai 小楷
 Xiaonü Cao E bei 孝女曹娥碑
 Xie Cheng 解誠
 Xihai 西海
 Xihaizhou 西海州
 Xintang 新塘
 Xizhe 希哲
 Xuanzong 宣宗
 Xu Xiqi 徐晞(希)稷
 Xu Youzhen 徐有貞
 Xu Zhenqing 徐禎卿
 Yan 燕
 Yang Aner 楊(鞍)安兒
 Yang Guoan 楊國安
 Yang Miaozhen 楊妙真
 Yang Siniang 楊四娘
 Yangzhou 揚州
 Yanjian 彥簡
 Yanjing 燕京
 Yan Shi 嚴實
 Yan Zhongfan 嚴忠範
 Yan Zhongji 嚴忠濟
 Yao Shu 姚樞
 Yao Sui 姚燧
 Yeji 野記
 Yelü Chucui 耶律楚材
 Yidu 益都
 yihai 乙亥
 Yingzong 英宗
 Yinju tongyi 隱居通議
 Yizhou 沂州
 Yizhou 2 嶧州
 Yongrong 永瑨
 you Jinwuwei shang jiangjun 右金吾衛
 上將軍
 Yuan Jue 袁桷
 Yuanshi 元史
 Yuan Shizu 元世祖
 Yuguai 語怪
 Zhang Hong 張宏
 Zhang Hongfan 張弘範
 Zhanghua Baokang jun jiedushi 彰化保
 康軍節度使
 Zhang Lin 張林
 Zhang Rongshi 張榮實
 Zhang Rou 張柔
 Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉
 Zhangzong 章宗

Zhanran jushi ji 湛然居士集

Zhao 趙

Zhiguailu 志怪錄

Zhishan 枝山

Zhiyuan 至元

Zhongdu 中都

Zhongtong 中統

Zhongyi jun 忠義軍

Zhou Mi 周密

Zhu Yunming 祝允明

Zhu shi jilue 祝氏集略

Zhu shi zuizhilu 祝氏罪知錄

About Our Contributors

HOK-LAM CHAN received his Ph.D. in history from Princeton in 1967 working under Professor Fritz Mote's supervision on a thesis on Ming Taizu's principal adviser Liu Ji (1311-1375). He was a research associate of the Ming Biographical Project at Columbia University from 1969 to 1972 and a research fellow in the Department of Far Eastern History of the Australian National University from 1976 to 1977. He was professor of Chinese history at the University of Washington, Seattle, from 1978 to 1995 and Chair Professor of History at the Chinese University of Hong Kong from 1992 until retirement in 2003. He is currently affiliate professor of Chinese at the University of Washington and also honorary professor of the Institute of Chinese Studies at the Chinese University and chief editor of its *Journal of Chinese Studies*. Specializing in Song, Jin, Yuan, and Ming history, he has published over a dozen books in English and Chinese, including *The Legitimation of Imperial China* (1984), *China and the Mongols* (1999), *Mingdai renwu yu shiliao* (2001, Ming Personages and Historical Sources), and *Jin Song shi luncong* (2003, Perspectives on Jin and Song History). He is currently preparing a manuscript on the legends of the building of old Peking, and also working on a collection of essays on the Ming dynasty. He maintains a permanent home in Seattle, Washington.

LIU QIANG received her B.A. in library science from Beijing University and her M.S. in Library Information Science from Wuhan University. She is associate researcher in the Institute for History of Science and Technology & Ancient Documents at Tsinghua University in Beijing, where she is in charge of cataloging rare books and collection management. She does on-going research in the study of editions and traditional Chinese bibliography. Her writings include the recently published *Qinghua daxue tushuguan cang shanben shumumu* (Qinghua University Rare Book Catalogue; Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2003) for which she was the main compiler; an annotated edition of *Outang riji ji Yuhuang riji chao*

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