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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

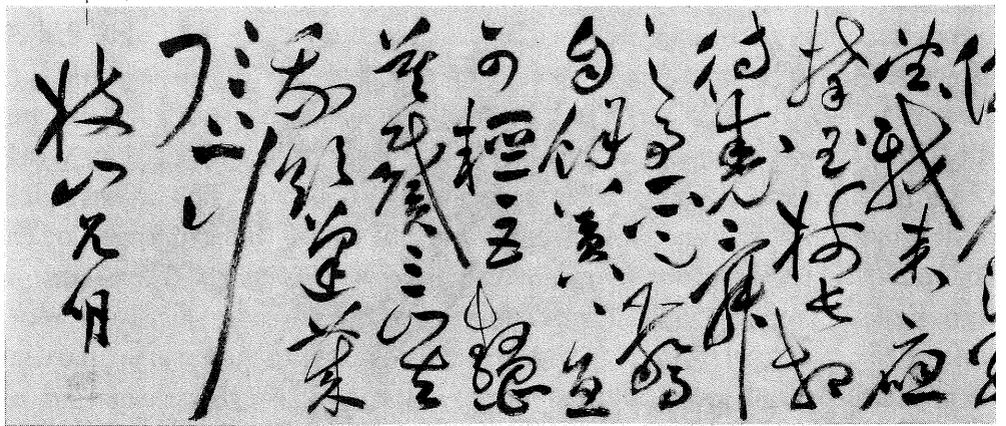
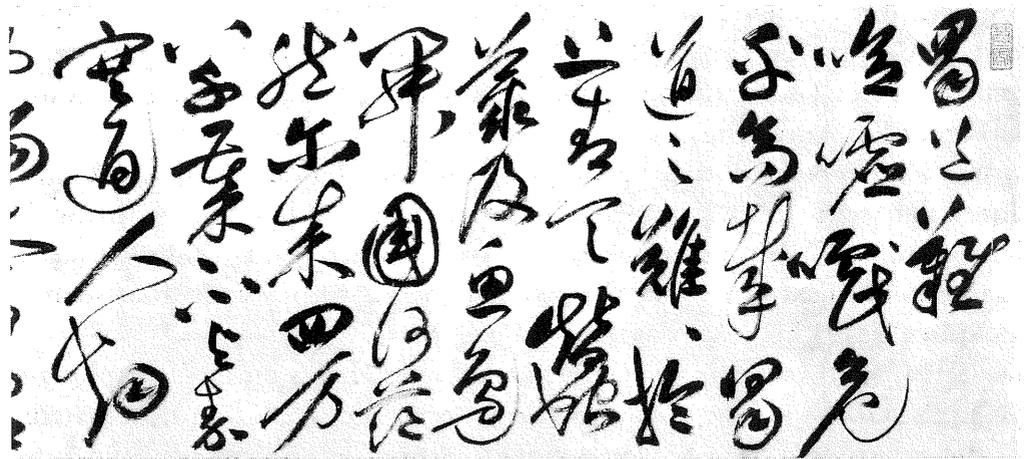


嬉左倚采旄右蔭桂旗攘皓腕於
神許兮採湍瀨之玄芝余情悅其
澍美兮心悵蕩而不怡無良媒以
接歡兮託微波以通辭願誠素之

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

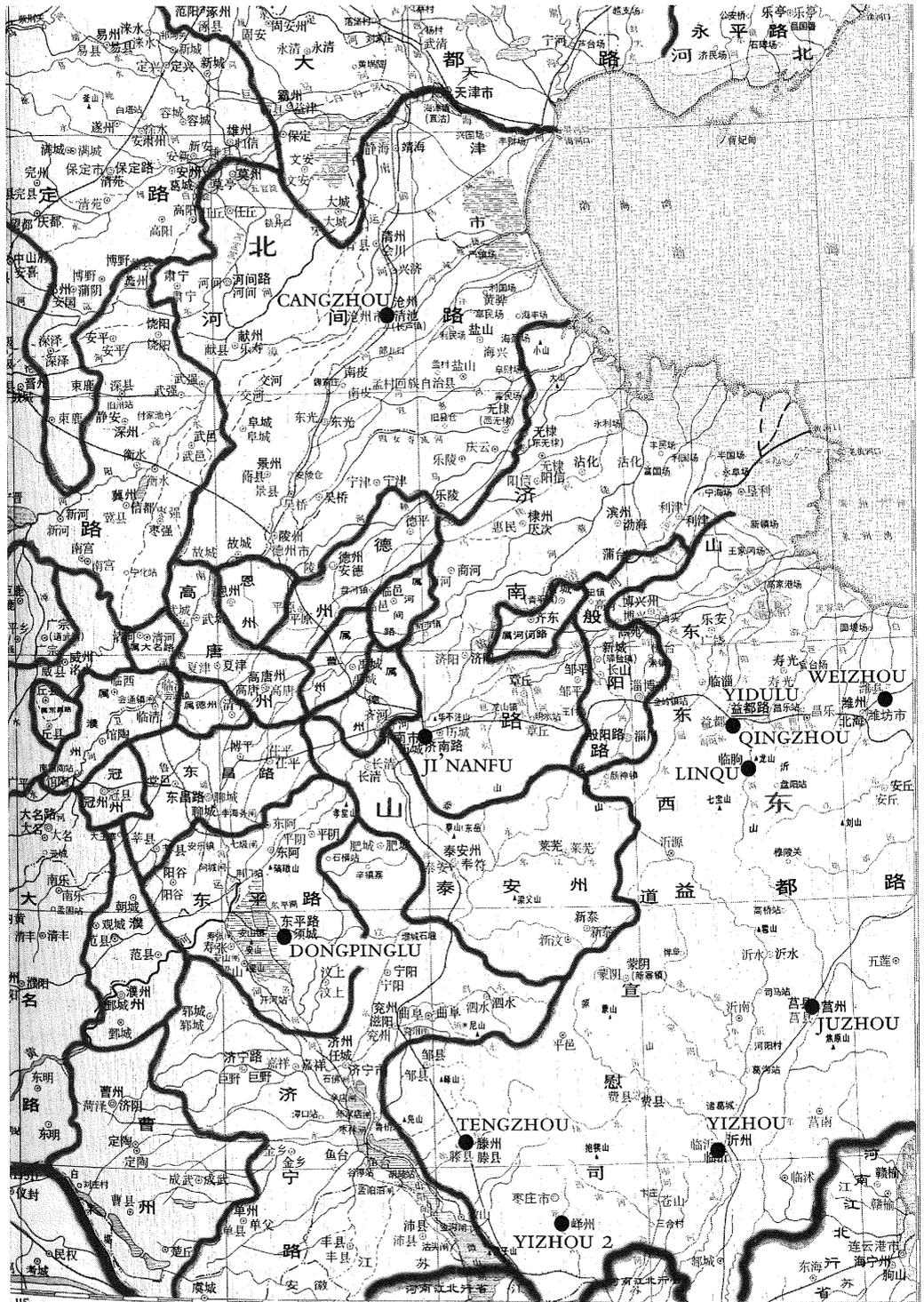
Baokang military administration (*Zhanghua Baokang jun jiedushi*) and pacification commissioner of the Jingdong circuit, with honorary rank of the left and right supreme general of the Jinwu guard. Li Quan rejected the offers, and in outrage, the Song court declared war. In February 1231, when Li launched 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.

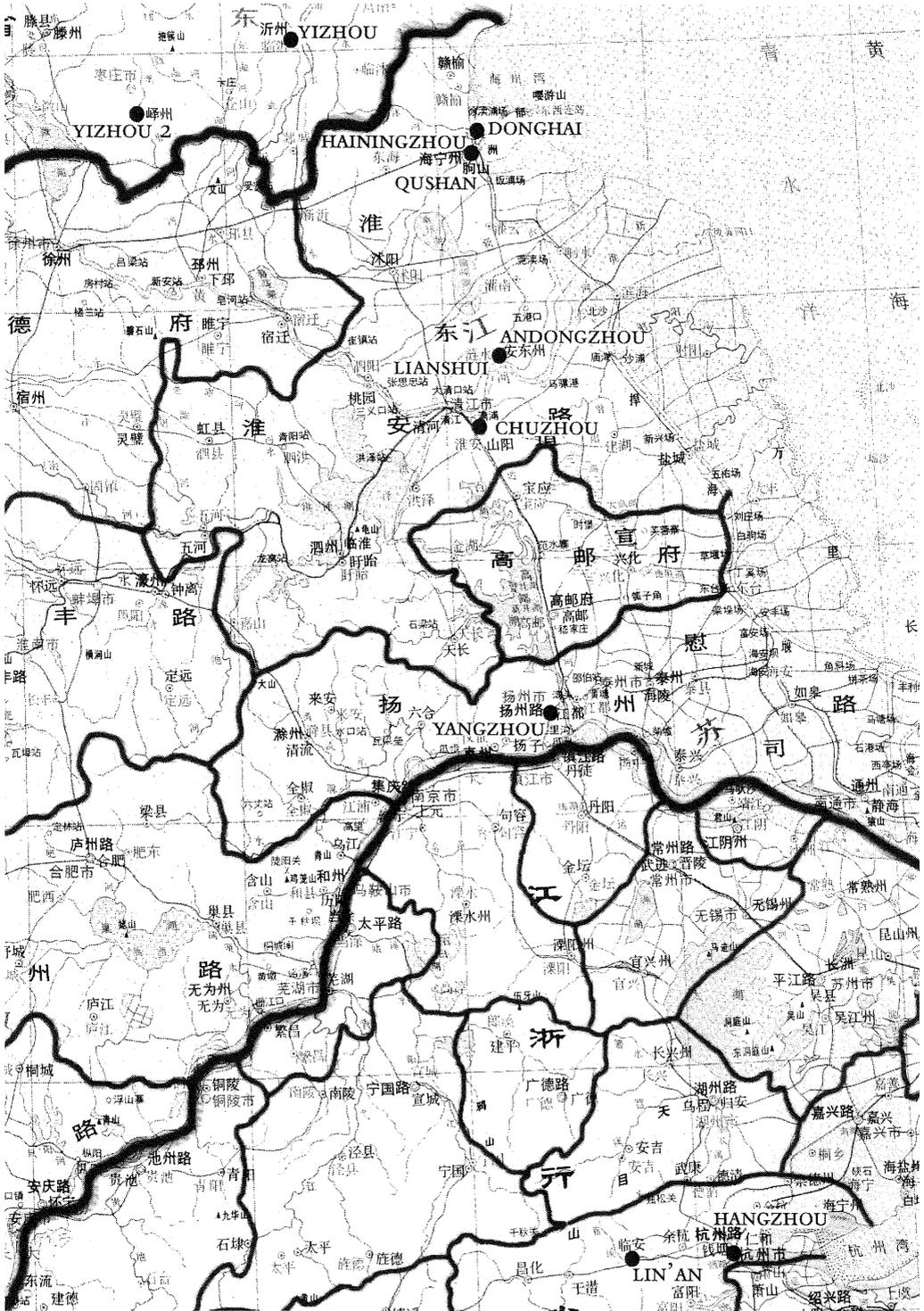
One of the few glimpses into Li Tan's activities in the early years of his career comes from the biography in the *Official History of the Yuan* of Wang Wentong, who was executed as Li's accomplice in March 1262. This record asserts that Li Tan, in attempting to expand his power,

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 Tiejian 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 shendaobei 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 永瑢
 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