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**Memories of the Yuan: Regional Perspectives on Yuan “Famous Officials”
in Three Late Ming Gazetteers from Yunnan, Nanchang, and Hangzhou**
Mulders, Bob

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Memories of the Yuan:

Regional Perspectives on Yuan “Famous Officials” in Three Late
Ming Gazetteers from Yunnan, Nanchang, and Hangzhou

Leiden University

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Supervisor: Fan Lin 林凡

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Bob Mulders

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Conventions

Personal names are given in Hanyu pinyin. Exceptions are made for individuals of foreign origin who are widely known under established non-Chinese forms. For example, Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din 賽典赤·瞻思丁 (Saidianchi Shansiding) and Irinjinbal 亦憐真班 (Yilianzhenban) are cited using their commonly accepted names.

For Yuan emperors, I have adopted the naming conventions used in Yiming Ha's *Taming the Army* in order to maintain consistency, as their names appear in a wide range of variant transliterations across the secondary literature.

Official titles are translated using Charles Hucker's *Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* and the *Chinese-English Dictionary of Ming Government Official Titles* by Ying Zhang, Susan Xue, Zhaohui Xue, and Li Ni. Where no direct equivalent exists, titles have been rendered by analogy with similar offices listed in these works. For the originally Mongolian office of *daluhuachi* 達魯花赤, I follow Elisabeth Endicott-West's rendering of the Mongolian pronunciation as *darughachi*.

Terms such as *yidi* 夷狄, *yi* 夷, *man* 蠻, and *manyi* 蠻夷 are left untranslated. I have not adopted the conventional rendering of these terms as "barbarian," as this translation is not appropriate in all contexts within the gazetteers. Their interpretation is therefore left to the reader.

Abbreviations

HZfZ — *Hangzhou fuzhi* 杭州府志 (Wanli era edition)

NCFZ — *Xinxiu Nanchang fuzhi* 新修南昌府志 (Wanli era edition)

NDLC — National Digital Library of China 中国国家数字图书馆

SBZB — Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (CrossAsia Database)

YNTZ — *Yunnan tongzhi* 雲南通志 (Longqing/Wanli era edition)

ZGFK — *Zhongguo fang zhi ku* 中國方志庫

Introduction

The historiography of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) and its legacy in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) has long been dominated by perspectives from the court and the central bureaucracy. Comparatively, there has been limited research into regional perspectives on the Yuan legacy in the various regions of the Ming. In this thesis I explore the regional differences in memory of the Yuan dynasty and argue that given the process of compilation and the perspectives of the compilers, different aspects of Yuan officials are selectively remembered in the gazetteers. This in turn raises questions on how to use the gazetteer as a source for Yuan history writing.

Much of existing scholarship relies heavily on the *Yuanshi* 元史 (History of Yuan), the imperially commissioned dynastic history completed in 1370 under the supervision of Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381) at the start of the Ming.¹ Together with other early Ming literati writings, the *Yuanshi* established a narrative that framed the Yuan as a foreign, short lived dynasty, whose failure to hold the Mandate of Heaven marked the restoration of native Chinese rule.² Typical of this discourse were assertions that “barbarian dynasties do not last a hundred years,”³ a phrase that reinforced a sense of rupture rather than continuity. Figures such as Fang Xiaoru 方孝孺 (1357–1402) went further, questioning the very legitimacy of the Yuan as a dynasty.⁴ For much of the twentieth century, this “Chinese” view of Yuan history shaped the dominant historiographical paradigm. However, scholars such as Thomas T. Allsen have challenged this narrow perspective by incorporating non-Chinese language sources, particularly in Persian, Mongolian, and other Inner Asian languages.⁵ Allsen’s work has provided a more cosmopolitan and interconnected understanding of the Yuan world, situating the dynasty within broader Eurasian contexts of political culture, material exchange, and cross-cultural governance. His research corrected the *Yuanshi*’s Sinocentric bias and emphasized the Mongol empire’s cosmopolitan character.⁶ More recently, David M. Robinson has identified a further shift in the study of the Yuan legacy within Ming historiography. He describes a “decentering of literati writings,” moving scholarly focus

¹ Humble 2017, 8; Robinson 2020, 132.

² Humble 2017, 3-4.

³ Fang Cheng-hua, 2017, 178-180. 「夷狄無百年之運」 translates to “Yidi (barbarians/foreigners) do not have a hundred years of fortune”, a saying that according to Fang Cheng-hua has its origins in the southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), and was aimed at the Jurchen ruled Jin dynasty (1115–1234). It was later frequently used by the founder of the Ming, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (r. 1368–1398), and various Ming literati.

⁴ Robinson 2020, 132.

⁵ Biran 2017, 136.

⁶ Biran 2017, 136.

away from elite narratives that presented the Yuan merely as a barbarian interlude.⁷ Instead, new studies highlight continuities between the two dynasties, showing that several Ming rulers, much like their Mongol predecessors, maintained key Yuan institutions and practices. These included the patronage of Tibetan Buddhism and the adoption of Mongol-derived notions of universal rulership.⁸ Such findings complicate the conventional image of the Ming as a straightforward restoration of Han Chinese rule. At the same time, scholars have reexamined the very process by which the *Yuanshi* was compiled. Robinson has argued that the *Yuanshi*'s production was itself a political act designed to take control of the Yuan legacy, to proclaim the Ming as the legitimate successors to the Yuan and relegate the dynasty to a safely concluded past.⁹ Geoffrey Humble has further shown that the compilation of the *Yuanshi* involved extensive editorial interventions, selective omissions, and ideological framing. These studies underscore the extent to which the legacy of the Yuan was built on selective memory, shaping the way the Yuan was remembered within the Ming.¹⁰

Despite these important historiographical developments, the reassessment of the Yuan legacy has remained largely focused on the imperial center. Relatively little attention has been given to how perceptions of Yuan rule may have differed across regions of the Ming empire. A more regional or local approach, including the analysis of sources such as local gazetteers, has the potential to reveal a more complex and varied understanding of how the Yuan past was remembered, reinterpreted, or even appropriated within Ming local contexts.

The study of regional identity through “local gazetteers” (*difangzhi* 地方志) has been well developed for the Song (960–1279) and Ming dynasties. In historical research, gazetteers have been invaluable for reconstructing local geographies, mapping administrative and environmental changes, and tracing networks of social, religious, and economic activity. Scholars have drawn on them to study the spatial distribution of temples and academies, patterns of land use and taxation, the careers of local elites, and the evolution of local cults and religious practices.¹¹

What has been described as the “localist turn” shows that Song literati increasingly articulated place-based identities, in which the local gazetteer took a prominent place.¹² Building

⁷ Robinson 2008, 407-408.

⁸ Robinson 2008, 407-411.

⁹ Robinson 2020, 132-133.

¹⁰ Humble 2017, 3-4.

¹¹ See for example: Mark Elvin 2004, *The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China*, who uses gazetteers in its research of environmental history in China; Timothy Brook 1998, *The Confucians of Pleasure*, researches the economic and cultural history of the Ming dynasty, making extensive use of gazetteers.

¹² Bol 2001, 48.

on this insight, many historians have examined gazetteers as media of local self-representation, exploring how regional elites constructed moral and cultural geographies of belonging.¹³ In the late Ming this “localist turn” was, according to Peter K. Bol, also evident in the selection of biographies in local gazetteers. In his study of Jinhua Prefecture, Bol has pointed out that the selection of biographies reflected what the local literati deemed important at the time. Furthermore, he observes that major disruptions, such as the Mongol conquest in the 1270s, were mentioned only briefly, serving mainly as backdrops against which local elites demonstrated integrity and leadership amid the failures of central governance.¹⁴ The gazetteer thus functioned, in Bol’s view, as a kind of “owner’s manual” for local society: a text authored by literati that defined the proper moral and administrative order within their communities.¹⁵ More recently Joseph R. Dennis has described how local gazetteers vary in the perspective they take, ranging from what he calls “localist” to “statist” perspectives. This perspective is largely determined by the extent of the involvement of local literati in the compilation process.¹⁶

Yet for the Yuan legacy within the Ming context, the gazetteer remains a largely untapped source. While historians such as Bol have researched the compilation of gazetteers and how biographical writing was used to express local identity, the legacy of the Yuan on the local level has remained largely out of view. In this thesis I try to address that gap by examining how Yuan officials are portrayed in local gazetteers from different regions within the late Ming dynasty. While this is a return of our focus to literati centered writings, I posit that looking at their regional writings from the Ming dynasty can offer us a valuable insight in the differences in regional perspectives of the Yuan rule during the Ming period. The central question guiding this study is: to what extent do local gazetteers differ in their portrayal of Yuan dynasty officials? I further question whether these depictions deviate from the imperially commissioned *Yuanshi* and how the people who compiled the gazetteers potentially shaped these representations.

¹³ See for example: Bol 2001, “The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou”; Anne Gerritsen 2007, *Ji’an Literati and the Local in Song-Yuan-Ming China*, both studies extensively use local gazetteers in their research of literati in Wuzhou and Ji’an.

¹⁴ Bol 2001, 54.

¹⁵ Bol 2001, 54.

¹⁶ Dennis 2015, 135.

Sources, methods and limitations

This thesis compares three gazetteers compiled during the Wanli reign (1572–1620): the *Yunnan tongzhi* 雲南通志 (Comprehensive Gazetteer of Yunnan) (YNTZ),¹⁷ the *Xinxiu Nanchang fuzhi* 新修南昌府志 (Restored Nanchang Prefectural Gazetteer) (NCFZ), and the *Hangzhou fuzhi* 杭州府志 (Hangzhou Prefectural Gazetteer) (HZFZ). These cases were chosen in the first place due to accessibility, but also because all contain a large selection of Yuan-period biographies within the “Famous Officials” (*minghuan* 名宦) sections. Taken together the three gazetteers present a regional diversity; Yunnan represents a frontier region with deep historical ties to the Yuan; Nanchang reflects a provincial center in Jiangxi; Hangzhou exemplifies a historically cosmopolitan city once described by Marco Polo as “greater than any in the world.”¹⁸ Together, these three gazetteers can provide a comparative lens to explore how local memories of Yuan officials were preserved, adapted, or reinterpreted in late-Ming historiography. While a broader corpus of late-Ming gazetteers would provide a more comprehensive foundation for analysis, I argue that this comparison nonetheless can offer valuable preliminary insights into regional differences in the memory of Yuan officials serving in their respective localities.

The analysis proceeds by contextualizing each gazetteer regarding the historical circumstances of its locality and the conditions of its compilation. I draw on Dennis’ distinction between “statist” and “localist” perspectives to evaluate the extent to which each gazetteer articulates local or state-centered points of view. The identities, careers, and intellectual orientations of the compilers are examined to assess how their positions may have influenced biographical selection and narrative emphasis. Particular attention is given to the textual sources on which the compilers relied. Heavy reproduction from the centrally compiled *Yuanshi* might indicate limited engagement with local records or a deliberate privileging of state-sanctioned narratives, whereas reliance on local sources may offer a closer view of local memory of Yuan rule. The frequent mention of shrines is one possible indicator of such memory. As Sarah Schneewind has observed that the establishment of shrines often involved local participation, and shrines without inscriptions could imply the involvement of illiterate community members.¹⁹ Thus,

¹⁷ The YNTZ is categorized as being from the Longqing era (1567–1572) in the online database of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. The production of the gazetteer started in the final year of the Longqing era, but the project was completed in the first year of the Wanli era (1573). In the bibliography I maintained the categorization of the SBZB as being from the Longqing era.

¹⁸ Mote 1999, 461.

¹⁹ Schneewind 2018, 102 & 189.

frequent mention of shrines in the biographies could indicate a more local appreciation of the officials, rather than state-sanctioned memory.

To compare the gazetteers, I examine which officials were selected and what aspects of their careers were highlighted. This includes an analysis of their posts, origins, and the periods of service emphasized. Following Humble's approach to the *Yuanshi*, I identify omissions, rephrasing, and additions to reconstruct what elements of Yuan history local compilers deemed worthy of remembrance. Drawing also on Bol's work on biographical selection in the Jinhua gazetteers, I consider the inclusion or exclusion of figures such as administrators, loyal officials, and neo-Confucianists, and what these choices could reveal about regional priorities. The *HZfz*'s occasional editorial comments further illuminate the rationale behind particular inclusions. In comparing the gazetteers, I will specifically look at the portrayal of foreign elements and loyalty across the gazetteers.

This approach is, however, limited in that it returns the focus only to regional literati writing. Additionally, the small number of gazetteers I compare can only give us a limited view on the extent of regional differences in the legacy of the Yuan. My selection of gazetteers with a large section of Yuan period biographies may result in the research being skewed towards regions that had allocated more importance to the Yuan dynasty. This is because the inclusion of Yuan dynasty officials already suggests a degree of importance the localities attached to the period of Yuan rule.²⁰ For the *NCFZ*, no predecessor exists that it can be compared with, making the research solely rely on the context of its production and the selection of the content itself. The compilers' statements about their methods vary considerably, hindering direct comparison. Moreover, the mention of shrines and steles in the biographies could indicate a more genuine local memory than biographies copied from the *Yuanshi*. However, this is not always the case as some officials whose accounts have been copied from the *Yuanshi*, such as Sham al-Din, are revered even today in their local area.²¹ Complicating the matter of steles further is that at times the Yuan emperor ordered steles and shrines to be built or destroyed for certain officials who had his favor or had fallen out of favor.²² Thus, not every stele necessarily reflects the popular appraisal of an official. Nevertheless, the recurrence of steles and shrines in the gazetteers can serve as an indication of local esteem, particularly when a substantial number of officials are recorded as having a stele or

²⁰ Not all gazetteers from the late Ming dynasty feature a section of Yuan dynasty officials in their "famous officials" sections. Some gazetteers only one or two, while others have dedicated extensive sections to the Yuan officials. For example, the Jiajing era (1521–1567) *Jiangxi tongzhi* and *Jiujiang fuzhi*, and the Tianqi era (1620–1627) *Xinxiu Chengdu fuzhi*, only contain a few biographies of Yuan officials, while the Wanli era *Yangzhou fuzhi* has none, despite having an extensive biographical section.

²¹ Armijo-Hussein 1996, 243.

²² Dunnell 2024, 16.

shrine dedicated to them. Although these limitations shape the interpretation, the three gazetteers examined here still provide valuable insight into the representation of Yuan officials and the ways in which regional memories of Yuan rule could diverge.

The Outline

To analyze the differences, it is first important to get a better sense of the sources discussed: the gazetteer, and the importance of biography in history writing in the late Ming. Therefore, chapter 1 outlines the late-Ming gazetteer as a historiographical genre and examines the function of biography within it, emphasizing selection, omission, and moral evaluation as mechanisms through which historical memory was constructed.

Chapters 2 through 4 present each contextualize their respective locality and the compilers of the late-Ming regional gazetteers and look at how these have shaped their presentation of the Yuan officials. Chapter 2 analyzes the *YNTZ*, arguing that its Yuan-period biographies advance a predominantly statist narrative that treats the Yuan conquest and incorporation of Yunnan as a defining historical moment. By emphasizing early Yuan officials associated with conquest and administration, while largely avoiding portrayals of loyalty and marginalizing native institutions, the gazetteer reflects both its reliance on imperially commissioned *Yuanshi* biographies and the perspective of a Yunnanese literatus who viewed imperial incorporation as historical restoration.

Chapter 3 turns to the *NCFZ*, which presents a localist perspective on the Yuan period. Drawing more extensively on local sources and revising *Yuanshi*-derived material, the *NCFZ* foregrounds officials' contributions to local society and frames loyalty as commitment to the community rather than exclusive service to a single dynasty.

Chapter 4 examines the *HZFZ*, whose Yuan-period biographies adhere closely to *Yuanshi* and adopt a predominantly statist perspective. The gazetteer privileges high-ranking officials, emphasizes dynastic loyalty, and perpetuates *Yuanshi* biases against foreign elements in the Yuan administration. At the same time, Chen Shan's appended commentary introduces his personal views.

The concluding chapter summarizes the thesis' findings on how the gazetteers are shaped by their compilers and sources, differ in their portrayals of foreign elements in the careers of the officials, and the interpretation of loyalty.

Chapter 1. Biographical writing and the Gazetteer

Biography (*zhuan* 傳) has occupied a central place in Chinese official historiography, serving primarily as a means to convey prevailing moral values and distinctions between right and wrong.²³ From the *Shiji* (*Records of the Grand Historian* 史記) onward, biographical writing has taken up the largest part of any standard history (*zhengshi* 正史).²⁴ In history works biographies served the broader dynastic narrative by describing moments of exemplary official conduct, with praise or blame.²⁵ People were selected because they had politically significant careers, fulfilled essential functions or upheld the moral order.²⁶ Their biographies provided details on important events and developments, and showed the moral character of the government. Therefore, the biographies in Chinese official writing are not full biographies but only show the relevant events to their purpose of inclusion.²⁷ Understanding the conventions of official biography is essential, since these same moral and narrative frameworks shaped the ways in which local gazetteers represented historical figures.

Although early gazetteers can be traced to the Zhou dynasty (1045–256 BCE), biographical writing only began to appear in gazetteers during the Song dynasty (960–1279), reflecting a growing identification among literati with their native regions rather than solely with the imperial court.²⁸ This local focus deepened during the subsequent Yuan and Ming dynasties, when biographical writing in gazetteers expanded further.²⁹ Particularly during the Ming dynasty and Qing dynasty, the production of gazetteers became increasingly driven by local initiatives.³⁰ Officials created gazetteers to gain a deeper understanding of the areas they governed, fulfill administrative duties, or even to show their role in local development.³¹ In frontier regions, local gazetteers also served a strategic purpose: they helped incorporate unassimilated territories into the state. The presence of a gazetteer in a borderland signaled that the area was part of documented “Chinese civilization”, rather than an undocumented “barbarian” periphery.³² Regardless of the reason for its compilation gazetteers were usually a collaborative process that

²³ Mann 2009, 631–632.

²⁴ Mann 2009, 633; Twitchett 1992, 62.

²⁵ Mann 2009, 633. Interestingly gazetteers generally only include biographies that praise their subjects, unlike standard histories such as the *Yuanshi*.

²⁶ Twitchett 1992, 63–64.

²⁷ Twitchett 1992, 63–64.

²⁸ Bol 2001, 48; Dennis 2015, 1.

²⁹ Dennis 2015, 30–31.

³⁰ Dennis 2015, 1–3.

³¹ Dennis 2015, 50.

³² Dennis 2015, 56.

involved local people under the supervision of an official, either an outsider stationed in the area, a retired local official, one returning for a period of mourning, and in rare cases even an aspiring official still studying for the examinations to become an official.³³ In the process of compiling some compilers relied on ghostwriters, while others were deeply involved in the writing and editing.³⁴ During a compilation project local elites often sought to have their ancestors included in biographical sections, such as the lists of “exemplary women” (*lienü* 列女), to enhance family prestige, to assert claims to land or local rights, or to influence future policy through the (re)writing of history in a local gazetteer.³⁵ A way local people did this was through financing the production of local gazetteers or presenting their own material to the compilers.³⁶ Such interactions underscore that the gazetteer was not a neutral administrative record, but a negotiated product of competing social and political claims. Thus, depending on the involvement of local people and the role of their main compiler, the perspective of gazetteers could vary greatly. Ranging from what Dennis calls a “statist” to “localist” perspective.³⁷ As for the biographies of “famous officials” of the Yuan this connection to local families would have been less likely.³⁸ However, their inclusions could still show what local literati involved deemed important as evinced by Bol in his research on the biographies of the Jinhua gazetteers.³⁹

The biographies of “famous officials” in gazetteers are similar to the biographies of officials appearing in the standard histories and are frequently copied from them.⁴⁰ Like the biographies of the standard histories, they identify the official by name and origins, and they generally focus on events relevant to their purpose of inclusion; their acts in office in the respective locality of the gazetteer. This is for example the case with Gao Nalin 高納麟, whose biography appears in the *Yuanshi*, *NCFZ* and *HZFFZ*.⁴¹ In both localities Gao Nalin’s biography largely copies the part of the *Yuanshi* concerning his acts in either Nanchang or Hangzhou with minor edits and additions. Like the biographies of standard histories most biographies start with a problem, that the official acts

³³ Dennis 2015, 132-133.

³⁴ Dennis 2015, 133.

³⁵ Dennis 2015, 99 & 295.

³⁶ Dennis 2015, 108-109.

³⁷ Dennis 2015, 135.

³⁸ The Yuan officials are separated in time and space from the local communities as most officials were foreigners or served in a locality far away from their native place.

³⁹ Bol 2003, 19-21.

⁴⁰ See Appendix A for the list of biographies and which biographical material can ultimately be traced back to the *Yuanshi*.

⁴¹ *Yuanshi* 142.3406-3308; *NCFZ* 15.18; *HZFFZ* 61.76-77. The *HZFFZ* is almost identical to the *Yuanshi*. The *NCFZ*, however, provides some extra details on his acts in Nanchang.

upon with a solution, and the outcome of that action.⁴² This structure is, for example, evident in the biography of A Lawei 阿剌威 from the *NCFZ*:

A Lawei. He was a native of Hexi. In the beginning of the Dade era (1297-1307), he was appointed General of Martial Strategy and *darughachi* of Fuzhou. The prefecture suffered from yearly floods. The dike of Lake Ma burst, diminishing 40 *qing* of arable land. When [A] Lawei arrived, he constructed a dike of 300 *zhang* in length. He additionally repaired 64 [other] dikes within the [county] borders. He piled up stones for a wall to defend against the charges of the water and restored it to its old course. The year, subsequently, [experienced] a good harvest.⁴³

阿剌威，河西人。大德初，授武畧將軍、富州達魯花赤。州境歲受水患，馬湖墻衝決，損田四十頃。剌威至，築堤三百丈，又修境內壞堤六十四處，甃石禦衡水，復故道，歲遂有秋。

However, gazetteers do generally feature shorter biographies than standard histories, such as the *Yuanshi*. Frequently these short biographies do not feature any acts, but only a character description of the official in question:

Yang Zuo. His courtesy name was Qingzhi. He was a Surveillance Commissioner. He was talented and wise and wherever he went, he prioritized the cultivation of people through education.⁴⁴

楊祚，字慶之，廉訪僉事。有才略，所至以興學化人爲先。

Nonetheless, the biographies in all three gazetteers seem to fit in a similar idealized mold of narration to praise the officials' achievements, moral integrity, loyalty, or other commendable acts and characteristics. That the people featured in the biographies are put in this idealized mold of "praise" and "blame" is best shown in the cases of the officials; Mǒngtei 忙兀台 and Qingtong 慶童. Mǒngtei appears as a capable administrator who cared for the populace in his own biographical entry in the *HZFFZ*. At the end of his biography he leaves Hangzhou "to govern in Jiangxi, where he was also known for powerful and benevolent rule."⁴⁵ In the biography of Shentu Zhiyuan 申屠致遠, however, Mǒngtei reappears as the villain of the story who tried to intimidate the people who accused him of breaking the law.⁴⁶ Qingtong appears in a biography that solely depicts his good deeds in Hangzhou. Chen Shan's comment on the biography, however, shows a

⁴² Humble 2017,

⁴³ *NCFZ* 15.20.

⁴⁴ *YNTZ* 9.11.

⁴⁵ *HZFFZ* 61.43.

⁴⁶ *HZFFZ* 61.68. I think that the reappearing of Mǒngtei as a morally bad character in this biography is possibly an oversight by Chen Shan.

more nuanced understanding of Qingtong's official career. According to Chen Shan, Qingtong "indulged in comforts and pleasure [of this time], while rejecting men of talent and integrity."⁴⁷ Nonetheless, Chen Shan believed Qingtong made up for his past mistakes later in his official career.⁴⁸

However, despite the tendency to idealize the subjects of biographies, most Ming historians (and readers) would have likely believed them to be accurate depictions of history. This is evinced by Susan Mann, who pointed out the example of the Qing historian Zhang Xuecheng (1738–1801) who explains how people thought about writing biographies. Writing to a friend, Zhang argued that while factual accuracy in recounting events is indispensable, the rendering of a person's speech must be imaginative, designed to express what the speaker likely thought, rather than an exact record of their words.⁴⁹ In Zhang's view, biographies were not supposed to be exact transcripts but creative reconstructions meant to capture an individual's moral essence. His need to defend this practice, however, suggests that there were different ideas about history writing at the time and that some readers might have expected these accounts to be more literally true. Comments in the *HZfZ* also clearly show that the compilers believed in recording real history. This is for example shown in a comment by Chen Shan 陳善 on the inclusion of Tuotuo 脫脫 to the list of "famous officials":

The achievements of Tuotuo in defending [the realm] have stopped appearing in the records. However, seeing how he could defend the proper public affairs, without receiving generous bribes. It was lost [from our records] that he was an official that upheld the law. So, I recorded it.⁵⁰

脫脫藩屏之績，不見于傳述，而觀其能守正奉公，不受緇於重賂，蓋執法吏也。紀之。

Chen Shan's comment on the inclusion of Tuotuo in the *HZfZ* shows the underlying motivation for its inclusion; properly recording history, rectifying past mistakes in its recording of events and people.

The comments of Chen Shan serve as a valuable example of how we should approach the biographies in the gazetteers; not simply as objective accounts of fact, but as reflections of what Ming authors like Chen Shan believed to be true and worth remembering from the Yuan-period. Li Yuanyang, the main-compiler of the *YNTZ*, similarly expresses his desire to properly record

⁴⁷ *HZfZ* 61.51.

⁴⁸ *HZfZ* 61.51.

⁴⁹ Mann 2009, 633.

⁵⁰ *HZfZ* 61.47.

history, stating that the predecessor had many “gaps” and “omissions” in its recordings that the compilers consequently tried to address.⁵¹ The fact that there was discussion on how to record history and what to remember makes it important to understand who were involved in the process of the gazetteer. Because gazetteers were the products of collaboration among officials, literati, and local communities, understanding the perspectives behind them requires attention to the backgrounds of both their compilers and their locales. To what extent were they personally involved in the compilation process, and how much did they depend on local contributors? Looking at what can be known about their level of engagement, as well as any information about their personal backgrounds, careers, or ideological leanings, may shed light on how their individual perspectives shaped the representation of local society, history, and identity within the gazetteers. Thus, to what extent does a gazetteer represent a local perspective, a more state-centered one, or even a more personal perspective?

⁵¹ *YNTZ xu*, 2.

Chapter 2. Li Yuanyang, Yunnan and the *Yunnan tongzhi*

The compilation of the *YNTZ* was initiated in the final year of the Longqing era (1572) by the provincial governor of Yunnan, Zou Yinglong 鄒應龍 (1525–1585), Zou appointed, the retired local official Li Yuanyang 李元陽 (1497–1580), as chief compiler. The work was completed the following year (1573).⁵² The gazetteer draws much of its material from the earlier (*Zhengde*) *Yunnan zhi* (正德) 雲南志 that was compiled in 1510 and subsequently reprinted in 1553.⁵³ According to Li Yuanyang the predecessor lacked information about the region.⁵⁴ However, many of the biographical entries are borrowed from this work, which in turn has borrowed most of its material from the *Yuanshi*.⁵⁵ The *YNTZ* does not clearly state which people are involved other than Li Yuanyang. Although Li was already in his seventies at the time and likely worked with a team of assistants, the content and structure of the gazetteer reflect his own outlook and vision for Yunnan.⁵⁶

Yunnan, a province located in the southwestern corner of present-day China, was a frontier zone influenced by its surrounding areas, such as Tibet, South and Southeast Asia, and China throughout its history. To this day the province is a diverse region that houses many different peoples.⁵⁷ However, the region's first experience of Chinese imperial control dates to the first century BCE, when the Han dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE) established a commandery in the area around present-day Kunming. Han authority, however, remained limited, as much of the territory continued to be governed by local chieftains.⁵⁸ In the eighth century, the chieftain Piluoge 皮羅閣 unified several tribal groups and established the Nanzhao Kingdom (738–902).⁵⁹ Nanzhao maintained a complex relationship with both the Tang dynasty (618–907) and the Tibetan Empire (620s–842), oscillating between alliance and conflict. Although Nanzhao rulers often accepted titles that placed them in a subordinate position to Tang or Tibetan emperors, they asserted their

⁵² Yuan 2023, 410; Huang 2020, 104–105.

⁵³ *Yunnan zhi* 17.1–23.

⁵⁴ *YNTZ* xu.2.

⁵⁵ See Appendix A for an overview of what biographies can ultimately be traced back to the *Yuanshi*.

⁵⁶ The gazetteer does not state who were involved in the production, but it frequently copies passages from the *Yunnan zhi* or the *Yuanshi* with many character mistakes and it seems unlikely to me that Li, who held a *jìnshì* degree, made those writing mistakes. I think they are most likely made by the people who wrote under his supervision, or that the errors were made in later copies and reprints of the work. The errors in the text are frequent. This is visible in the many character mistakes, such as writing 刺 *ci* for 刺 *la* and errors in names 段智興 “Duan Zhixing”, which must be 段興智 “Duan Xingzhi”. See *YNTZ* 9.7–8.

⁵⁷ Bryson 2016, 2. The demographics of Yunnan are so diverse, that Mote called it “an ethnographers challenge, so complex is its ethnic makeup.” See Mote 1999, 709.

⁵⁸ Yang 2008, 11.

⁵⁹ Yuan 2023, 403.

own prestige by claiming a superior Buddhist legitimacy due to having a closer connection to India.⁶⁰ After a series of internal coups, Nanzhao collapsed, and power was ultimately seized by the Duan 段 family, who founded the Dali Kingdom (937–1253). The Dali Kingdom maintained limited contact with the Song dynasty (960–1276), yet its elites selectively adopted Chinese cultural elements, including the use of patronymic naming practices. These adaptations reflected both the persistence of indigenous political traditions and the growing influence of Sinitic models of governance and culture in the region.⁶¹

In 1253 the Mongols began their campaign against the Dali Kingdom, under the command of future emperor Qubilai 忽必烈 (r. 1260–1294) and the general Uriyangkhadaï 兀良哈台.⁶² The conquest was followed by the establishment of the Yunnan Branch Secretariat, equivalent to a provincial administration, which brought many Han Chinese, Mongols, Central Asians, and others into local government.⁶³ Among the most prominent figures were Sayyid Ajjal Shams al-Din 賽典赤·瞻思丁 (d. 1279) and his two sons Nasr al-Din 納速剌丁 (d. 1292) and Husayn 忽辛 (d. 1310), all of whom served as governors of the Branch Secretariat. Shams al-Din and his family occupy a central place in the YNTZ, and they are credited with introducing numerous administrative reforms to Yunnan under the Mongol Yuan. One of their most significant initiatives was the creation of the “native chieftain system” (*tusi* 土司) to manage tribal groups, which they placed under the supervision of the Duan family.⁶⁴ After the fall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368, the Duan family, together with the Prince of Liang 梁王, a descendant of Qubilai, continued to rule Yunnan for more than a decade, before the Ming also conquered Yunnan in 1382.⁶⁵

Although many Yuan-era administrative institutions were retained, most notably the native chieftain system, the Ming rulers also attempted to draw Yunnan more closely into the imperial system. This effort included promoting Confucian education among local elites and encouraging Han migration to the region.⁶⁶ Local literati such as Li Yuanyang played an active role in this cultural transformation, adapting indigenous traditions and reshaping local religious

⁶⁰ Bryson 2018, 107.

⁶¹ Bryson 2016, 39–41.

⁶² YNTZ 9.7–8. See Appendix B for the biography of Uriyangkhadaï and his involvement in the conquest of Yunnan.

⁶³ The Yunnan Branch Secretariat covered most of present-day Yunnan and Guizhou. In 1413 the Ming created a separate Guizhou province. See Herman 2007, 72.

⁶⁴ Yang 2008, 93 & 113. See Appendix B for the biographies of Shams al-Din, Nasr al-Din and Husayn.

⁶⁵ Robinson 2020, 245. See Appendix B for the biography of Lü'er, who followed the Prince of Liang in his suicide, while fleeing the approaching Ming armies.

⁶⁶ Yuan 2023, 404; Yang 2008, 95 & 129.

narratives. Li Yuanyang, for instance, rewrote the stories of a local goddess, to conform with Ming moral and ideological norms.⁶⁷

Li Yuanyang, like many Yunnanese elites of his time, strongly identified as a loyal Ming subject while also taking pride in his native province. In his writings he emphasized Yunnan's integral role within the Chinese empire and supported the Ming state's project of consolidating its authority over the region.⁶⁸ Yet what makes Li's perspective particularly notable is his insistence that Yunnan was not a peripheral frontier, but rather a longstanding part of the Chinese realm. This position diverged from that of some contemporaries, who acknowledged that before the Yuan conquest, imperial control over Yunnan had been largely nominal.⁶⁹ In the preface to the *YNTZ*, Li expressed regret that the Song dynasty had failed to reconquer Yunnan, and he traced Yunnan's integration into the empire back to the Han dynasty, underpinning the idea of Yunnan as a historical part of the realm.⁷⁰

The Biographies

Upon looking at the biography section of the *YNTZ*, the work seems to reflect this outlook in its emphasis on officials involved in the conquest of the Dali Kingdom and the subsequent set up of Yuan administration in the region. The first volume of "famous officials" features twenty-two officials. Almost all officials are foreign officials, with a few Han exceptions, or people who are not identified by their origins.⁷¹ The gazetteer, notably, features no people identified as being native born serving as officials in its first volume of the "famous officials". The *YNTZ* features many officials that served in relatively high-ranking roles and few of the biographies have any mention of steles or praise by the local populace.⁷² Additionally the gazetteer seems to include little locally produced material and most biographies can ultimately be traced back to the *Yuanshi*.⁷³ The biographical entries range from the conquest of Yunnan in the 1250s to the fall of the Prince of Liang in 1382. However, the majority of biographies cover officials that served in the early Yuan as military officials. The main focus of the acts of the officials is on achievements they made. Specifically, military achievements feature prominently, such as those of the general

⁶⁷ Daniels 2020, 142.

⁶⁸ Yuan 2023, 409-410.

⁶⁹ Yuan 2023, 412.

⁷⁰ Yuan 2023, 404.

⁷¹ See Appendix A for an overview of the names and origins of the officials in the *YNTZ*.

⁷² See Appendix B for a translation of all the biographies of the Yuan officials appearing in the first volume of the "famous officials".

⁷³ See Appendix A for an overview of what biographies can be traced back to the *Yuanshi*.

Uriyangkhadai 兀良哈台 who played a large role in the conquest of Yunnan. Similarly, officials with achievements in governing occupy a large space in the gazetteer. The biographies of Shams al-Din and his sons Nasr al-Din and Husayn, describe their involvement in the early set up of administration in Yunnan and take up almost half of the space allocated to the famous officials in the *YNTZ*. Their biographies seemingly emphasize Yunnan's (re)integration into the imperial state. His view that Yunnan has always been part of the central state is further evident in a passage of the biography of Uriyangkhadai, the Mongol general who conquered Yunnan for the Yuan dynasty, where the conquest is presented as part of the empire's larger unification efforts:

Additionally, [Uriyangkhadai] requested to follow the precedent of the Han dynasty by making all the Southwestern Yi territories into administrative divisions of the dynasty. The request was approved.⁷⁴

且請依漢故事，以西南夷悉爲郡縣，從之。

Although this passage also appears in the Zhengde era gazetteer and can ultimately be traced back to the *Yuanshi*, its selection aligns with Li's views on the province. Especially considering other cut-outs from the gazetteer that were made. Upon examining the predecessor of the *YNTZ*, the Zhengde era *Yunnan zhi*, it becomes clear that most of the biographies copy the entire text, or parts of the text with only minor edits from its predecessor.⁷⁵ The Zhengde era edition has notably a different outlook on Yunnan's place in history, stating that dynasties before the present Ming only had loose control over the region.⁷⁶ In editing the Zhengde edition, the compilers of the *YNTZ* made some editorial choices that seem to align with Li Yuanyang's differing outlook on local history. For example, several biographies from the Zhengde edition do not reappear in the *YNTZ*. Since most of the biographies that were cut out are describing lower-ranking officials in the Zhengde era gazetteer, it is likely that the compilers of the *YNTZ* cut them out to create space in their gazetteer.⁷⁷ However, an editorial decision must have been made considering who the most important officials were, and who could be cut out.

⁷⁴ *YNTZ* 9.7.

⁷⁵ *Yunnan zhi* 17.1-23.

⁷⁶ *Yunnan zhi xu*.1-2.

⁷⁷ Yao Kou 姚樞, Zhang Lidao 張立道, Aluogelishi 阿羅哥里室, Xie Lihan 燮理翰, Shulüyuanshuai Jie 述律元帥杰, Zhang Wenqian 張文謙, Gao Ming 高明, Kuina 魁納, Gao Binxian 高斌祥, Zhangji Tiemu 章吉帖木, Duan Ajian 段阿堅, Li Xuan 李宣 and Han Sai 寒賽 were not copied from the *Yunnan zhi* into the "famous officials" section. However, some have moved and do reappear in the second volume of the "famous officials". Most of these officials held relatively low positions, such as that of Pacification Commissioner. See *Yunnan zhi* 17.1-23.

It is notable that some of the officials that are cut out feature acts of compassion for the populace in their respective biographies. For instance, Zhang Wenqian 張文謙, convinced Qubilai to spare the people of Dali.⁷⁸ In contrast, the compilers added the biography of Qielie 怯烈, who was involved in the suppression of various local tribes. The entry is also largely identical to its biography in the *Yuanshi*.⁷⁹ Biographies of officials, such as Xie Lihan 僊理翰, that had steles or shrines dedicated to them also disappeared from their prominent spot in the *YNTZ*, further reflecting a loss of the local in the *YNTZ*.⁸⁰

Many of the biographies cut out feature Yunnan natives, such as Gao Bingxian 高斌祥, Zhangji Tiemu 章吉帖木 and Duan Ajian 段阿堅. Some of them, such as Duan, were Pacification Commissioners that were often concurrently native chieftains in Yunnan.⁸¹ These omissions make Yunnan seem more like a regular province than one with special administrative positions such as that of native chieftain. This is further shown in the removal of Zhang Lidao 張立道 from his prominent position in the “famous officials” section.⁸² Zhang Lidao was involved in the conquest of Yunnan, promoted agriculture and education, by establishing a Confucius temple. However, he served outside of the regular bureaucracy as *biduchi* 必闡赤 under Tolui 拖雷, the fourth son of Činggis Qan.⁸³ Later he was attached to the court of the imperial prince Hügeči 忽哥赤. The fact that a large part of his official career was outside the “regular” bureaucracy, such as the Central Secretariat or Branch Secretariats,⁸⁴ perhaps contributed to his removal from his prominent spot he occupied in the Zhengde era gazetteer. It is also possible that Zhang Lidao’s family history played a role, as he was the son of a Jin dynasty (1115–1234) scholar that at some point changed allegiance to the Mongols.⁸⁵

It is interesting to note the relatively few biographical entries that feature acts of loyalty in the *YNTZ*. The biographies of Lü’er 驢兒 and Zhu Bao 朱寶 are the only biographies that feature acts of loyalty. Both tell the story of people who would rather die than surrender. Especially in the

⁷⁸ *Yunnan zhi* 17.1-2.

⁷⁹ *Yuanshi* 133.3236 & 165.3880-3881.

⁸⁰ *Yunnan zhi* 17.16.

⁸¹ It seems likely to me that Duan Ajian was a member of the Duan family, the former royal family of Dali. However, I could not find a source to verify this.

⁸² Zhang Lidao only reappears on a less prominent spot in the second volume of “famous officials”. See *YNTZ* 10.8.

⁸³ *Yunnan zhi* 17.10-11; Humble 2017, 86; Hucker 1985, 376: *Biduchi* 必闡赤 is a Chinese transliteration for a Mongolian title for scribes. This position had some importance before the establishment of the Yuan dynasty in 1271.

⁸⁴ *YNTZ* 10.8.

⁸⁵ *Yuanshi* 167.3915. Činggis Qan is also known as Genghis Khan or Chinggis Khan.

case of Lü'er, as he follows his leader, the Prince of Liang in his death. These are not stories that convey to its readers that it is right to switch allegiance. Considering the frequent rebellions in Yunnan during the Ming, condemning rebels and native chieftains that had gained amnesty and now loyally served the Ming would not be a good example to set in the gazetteer. That the portrayal of loyalty was a local concern in the biographies of the gazetteers, is further evinced by the complete removal of any biographies featuring acts of loyalty in the successor of the *YNTZ*: the (*Kangxi*) *Yunnan tongzhi* (康熙) 雲南通志. Yunnan was just brought under full Qing control when the Kangxi era gazetteer was published.⁸⁶ Many rebels, such as the native chieftains that allied with the rebellious Wu Sangui 吳三桂, were still around.⁸⁷ A heavy presence of officials included for dying in loyal service to their ruler could function as an implicit moral indictment of collaborators and potential collaborators, suggesting that accommodation with the Qing offered no legitimate future. By omitting such figures as models of exemplary conduct, the gazetteer avoids issuing this judgment.⁸⁸ A comparable dynamic is evident in Yunnan, where multiple uprisings occurred during Li Yuanyang's lifetime.⁸⁹ This political context helps explain why Yunnan gazetteers contain relatively few loyalist biographies, especially in contrast to gazetteers from other provinces, and why the *YNTZ* in particular appears to avoid the topic of loyalty.

The edits to the biographies featured in the Zhengde era *Yunnan zhi*, are limited. In most cases the biographies are copied verbatim. In instances where there are edits, they are mainly to correct minor details in the biographies. The biography of Cheli Tiemu'er 徹里帖木兒, for example, has a small revision:

After the bandits were pacified, [Cheli Timuer] was awarded generously, but all [that he was awarded] he distributed and bestowed [to others]. He passed away from disease.⁹⁰

賊平，賞賚甚厚，悉分賜。以疾卒。

The compilers of the *YNTZ*, however, added slightly more detail on his charitable character and omitted the reference to his passing later:

⁸⁶ For the biographies of Yuan officials in the Kangxi era gazetteer: *Yunnan tongzhi* 12.392-396.

⁸⁷ Mote 1999, 845-847

⁸⁸ I first developed this argument in an earlier unpublished essay. "Yuan Dynasty Officials in Yunnanese Ming and Qing Memory" written for the course Culture and Conquest: The Impact of the Mongols and their Descendants, at Leiden University.

⁸⁹ Li Yuanyang's writings are for example one of our main sources regarding the sixteenth century tribal raiding and the campaigns against them by the Ming. See Daniels 2020, 141 & 152.

⁹⁰ *Yunnan zhi* 17.18-19.

After the bandits were pacified, [Cheli Timu'er] was awarded generously, but all [that he was awarded] he distributed and bestowed on his officers and soldiers. When he returned, he had nothing left but his personal belongings.⁹¹

賊平，賞賚甚厚，悉分賜將士。師旋，囊裝惟巾櫛而已。

With this edit the *YNTZ* copies from the *Yuanshi* to correct minor details missing in its predecessor.⁹² This is in line with the preface that mentions correcting information that was lacking. Nonetheless, its edits are minor and do not seem to impact what the biographies convey.

Taken together, the Yuan-period biographies in the *YNTZ* suggest that Li Yuanyang regarded the Yuan conquest and incorporation of Yunnan as a defining moment in the province's history. By lacking the portrayal of loyalty in most of its biographies, the gazetteer stands out and possibly reflects more local concerns. The removal of native-born officials and officials associated with the native chieftain system seems to reflect a certain unease with its non-Chinese history and makes institutions in Yuan Yunnan seem more like regular institutions to make it align more with other provinces within the Ming empire. By emphasizing figures in the early Yuan associated with conquest, suppression of rebellion, and administrative establishment, the gazetteer further advances a statist narrative, one that centers imperial unification and governance rather than local experience. Yet, in doing so, it also expresses the perspective of a Yunnanese literatus who saw his native region's incorporation into the empire as a return of Yunnan to its rightful place, where the compilers in the Zhengde era believed it to be originally foreign land.

⁹¹ *YNTZ* 10.12.

⁹² *Yuanshi* 142.3403-3406.

Chapter 3. The *Xinxiu Nanchang fuzhi* and its local contributors

The compilation of the *NCFZ* was initiated by Fan Lai 范涑 (1543–1623), the contemporary prefect of Nanchang prefecture. The gazetteer was completed in 1588.⁹³ Fan initiated the project because he lacked records providing him with local knowledge.⁹⁴ As an outsider originally from Huizhou,⁹⁵ Fan put together a team of compilers that included many retired local officials or local officials on leave from office.⁹⁶ The gazetteer is the earliest gazetteer of Nanchang preserved to us today. Unlike the *YNTZ*, the *NCFZ* has no preceding gazetteer that it takes most of its material from.⁹⁷ Instead, the compilers compiled the gazetteer with the support of local officials and residents who helped collect information from old records in the prefecture and inquired with older locals to complete the gazetteer.⁹⁸ Because the *NCFZ* was compiled by mostly local contributors, drew on local materials, and highlighted locally born officials and their service to Nanchang, it ultimately presents a localist view of the prefecture.

Just as Fan Lai found records of Nanchang to be scarce, Anne Gerritsen has observed that the history of Nanchang has generally been understudied.⁹⁹ Although Nanchang Prefecture, in contrast to Yunnan, was an integral part of the Song Empire, its regional history has not received sustained attention. Nanchang, known as Longxing 隆興 during the Song and Yuan periods, served as the administrative seat of the Jiangnan Xi Circuit 江南西道.¹⁰⁰ Situated on the fertile plains along the west bank of the Gan River, near its confluence with Poyang Lake and just south of the Yangtze, the region was agriculturally rich yet vulnerable to periodic flooding caused by

⁹³ Fan Lai and the other compilers are rather vague about when the project was exactly initiated in their respective prefaces.

⁹⁴ *NCFZ xu.1*.

⁹⁵ Lü Chunyang 2016, 5–6.

⁹⁶ *NCFZ xu*. Fan Lai, Zhang Wei, Deng Yizan, Wan Gong and Wan Tingyan each wrote their own preface to the gazetteer.

⁹⁷ To my knowledge this is the earliest gazetteer of Nanchang. It does not base its biographies of Yuan officials on any earlier local gazetteer accessible to me. The *Jiangxi tongzhi* and the *Jiujiang fuzhi* from the Jiajing era (1521–1567) both contain no similar officials. However, county gazetteers, such as the Jiajing era *Jinxian xianzhi* that were not accessible to me, potentially contain biographies that were copied in the *NCFZ*. For example, the *Jinxian xianzhi* from 1871 contains short biographies of Bolanxi 李蘭奚 and Duolietu 朵列禿. It is possible that the Ming dynasty predecessor had larger biographies that matched with the *NCFZ* in content for certain officials. See (*Tongzhi*) *Jinxian xianzhi* 23.823–824.

⁹⁸ *NCFZ xu.2*; Gui 2011, 42. Unfortunately, it is unclear what old records the gazetteer is exactly referring to, but according to Gui the compilers had access to some records dating back from the Song dynasty.

⁹⁹ Gerritsen 2020, 136.

¹⁰⁰ Mote 1999, 356.

surrounding marshlands.¹⁰¹ Although Nanchang was long regarded as a remote provincial capital with little distinction, the Tengwang Pavilion stood out. Visible from far across the Gan River, it was the prefecture's one landmark and a favorite subject for poets, painters, and ceramic artists.¹⁰² Nanchang had a literati community, but in the region around Lake Poyang it was overshadowed by Jiujiang that was also home to the White Deer Grotto Academy that was associated with the famous neo-Confucianist Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), whose ideas remained influential long after the fall of the Song and would come to dominate Yuan intellectual thinking.¹⁰³

Nanchang and the rest of Jiangxi would fall to the Yuan not long after the Mongols set their sights on the Song dynasty. In 1271 Qubilai claimed the Mandate of Heaven had been transferred to him and proclaimed his new dynasty called “Great Yuan” (*Da Yuan* 大元).¹⁰⁴ In 1274, the Yuan launched their full-scale invasion that attacked the Song from multiple fronts. From the southwest, the Mongols sent native armies led by the Duan family from Yunnan.¹⁰⁵ From the north the Mongols attacked with Mongol and Han Chinese troops.¹⁰⁶ When Yuan troops entered the Yangzi area in 1275, several Song military leaders and officials surrendered to the Mongols.¹⁰⁷ The area of Nanchang for example, came into Mongol hands by the surrender of Liu Pan 劉槃, after which Yuan officials were dispatched to win support and cooperation of the local populace.¹⁰⁸ The Yuan set up the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat 江西行省, which consisted of present-day Jiangxi and Guangdong, with the Longxing Route 隆興路 as its capital, which covered the area around present-day Nanchang.¹⁰⁹ The newly set up administrative offices brought many Mongols, Central Asians and other groups of people to serve in the newly conquered areas to staff its bureaucracy. In its appointments the Yuan preferred Mongols in the highest positions, followed by various people from Central Asia and beyond, such as Uyghurs.¹¹⁰ They were often

¹⁰¹ Gerritsen 2020, 136. Floodings are a common problem faced by the officials in the *NCFZ*. See for example the biography of Jia Juzhen 賈居貞 in Appendix C.

¹⁰² Gerritsen 2020, 136.

¹⁰³ Gerritsen 2020, 107; Dennis 2015, 279; Mote 1999, 507-508. Figures such as He Zhong 何中, who contributed to local learning, feature in the *NCFZ*. See Appendix C for his biography.

¹⁰⁴ Mote 1999, 460.

¹⁰⁵ Daniels et al. 2020, 3

¹⁰⁶ Mote 1999, 461-463.

¹⁰⁷ Mote 1999, 463.

¹⁰⁸ *NCFZ* 15.17-18. See for example Appendix C for the biographies of Jia Quan 賈全, Liu Rong and Jia Juzhen on the initial period of Yuan rule in Nanchang.

¹⁰⁹ Mote 1999, 485-486. Sometimes also written as 龍興 in the gazetteer.

¹¹⁰ See for example the biographies of the Uyghur officials Mai Ge 買哥 and Ye Xiannai 葉仙鼐 in Appendix C.

classed as the *semu ren* 色目人.¹¹¹ Below them were the *Hanren* 漢人 from northern China, which could include northern Chinese, but also Jurchens, Khitans and Koreans.¹¹² At the bottom were the 南人 *Nanren*, “southerners”, the former subjects of the Song dynasty.¹¹³ This left local elites with fewer opportunities for government service, and led many to turn their focus on arts and education.¹¹⁴ The period of Yuan rule in Nanchang lasted less than a century and by the early fourteenth century the Yuan bureaucracy already started to fall apart.¹¹⁵ In the Jiangxi area this period gave rise to widespread banditry and invasions by rebels such as Chen Youliang 陳友諒 (1320–1363) and the Red Turban Rebellion.¹¹⁶ The period was marked by the raising of local militias in self-defense and heavy fighting in the area.¹¹⁷ Stability returned to the Nanchang area after Zhu Yuanzhang defeated rival rebel Chen Youliang in the Battle of Lake Poyang in 1363 and took control over the area. From the area he continued to expand his territory to eventually proclaim the Ming dynasty in 1368.¹¹⁸ In the early Ming, much rebuilding took place in Jiangxi and the province became an area that produced a surplus of rice, sustaining other areas within the empire. Despite that Jiangxi produced many literati that served at the highest levels of the Ming bureaucracy, Nanchang Prefecture never produced its own gazetteer before the compilation of the *NCFZ*.¹¹⁹ By the late Ming Jiangxi had gradually lost its status as a major producer of high officials but nonetheless remained a center of literati activity.¹²⁰

It was within this late-Ming intellectual and political environment that the *NCFZ* was compiled. Fan Lai involved several local literati, but their exact responsibilities in the production

¹¹¹ In recent years the existence of a four-tiered class system by the Mongols has been put into question. See for example Funada 2014, “The Image of the *Semu* People: Mongols, Chinese, and Various Other Peoples under the Mongol Empire”. Funada points out that there is no equivalent word to *semu* in Mongolian or any other languages than Chinese. It appears to be a term created by the Chinese. Furthermore, it is rarely used in the biographies of the Ming gazetteers. In Qing, gazetteers I have seen the term being used more frequently. However, regardless of whether there was such a clear category, from the biographies of the gazetteers it seems evident to me that the Mongols generally took the highest positions in government, followed by other non-Chinese peoples, *Han* and former subjects of the Song in the lower positions.

¹¹² Funada 2014, 10.

¹¹³ Mote 1999, 490.

¹¹⁴ Mote 1999, 506-507.

¹¹⁵ Mote 1999, 517-519.

¹¹⁶ *NCFZ* 15.15 & 15.24-26. See Appendix C for the biographies of Yang Qian 楊謙, Tongtong 同同, Wu Dang 吳當, Daotong 道童 and Quan Pu'ansali 全普庵撒里 and their encounters with Chen Youliang's forces. Mote 1999, 530. Although the Red Turban movement originated from Jiangxi and Ming founder Zhu Yuanzhang was a leader within the Red Turban movement, the Red Turbans are only mentioned once in the *NCFZ*. For this mention, see the biography of Hu Mingfu 胡明甫 in Appendix C.

¹¹⁷ Ha 2023, 123-125.

¹¹⁸ Gerritsen 2007, 118.

¹¹⁹ Gerritsen 2007, 118. Jinxian county that was located within Nanchang already had its own gazetteer in the Jiaping era (1521–1567).

¹²⁰ Peng 2023, 135.

process, including who compiled the Yuan biographies, remain unclear. Fan does state in his preface that the contributors had different views, but eventually they all came together in the gazetteer.¹²¹ From the prefaces we know that Nanchang natives, Zhang Huang 章潢 (1527–1608), Zhang Wei 張位 (1534–1605), Deng Yizan 鄧以讚 (1542–1599), Wan Gong 萬恭 (1515–1591) and Wan Tingyan 萬廷言 (1530–1610) were involved in the compilation of the gazetteer.¹²² These figures were all local literati with varying careers. Zhang Huang was from Nanchang, where he lived most of his life.¹²³ According to Akin, Zhang Huang was open to new ideas and willing to challenge long-held beliefs. Zhang Huang is often heralded as an example of late-Ming intellectual openness.¹²⁴ According to Fan Lai's preface to the gazetteer Zhang appears to have taken a coordinating role in the compilation process of the *NCFZ*.¹²⁵ Zhang Wei, also a Nanchang native, was in Nanchang because he had resigned from his post due to illness. Zhang Wei had served in high positions in the government and was in the middle of his official career.¹²⁶ Similarly, Deng Yizan was a Nanchang native who temporarily returned home to mourn the passing of his mother.¹²⁷ When Wan Gong became involved in the compilation of the *NCFZ* he had retired in his native Nanchang after being impeached after a long career as an official with several high positions.¹²⁸ Despite their different paths in life, Zhang Huang, Deng Yizan and Wan Tingyan share that they were associated with the Wang Yangming school of thought that had gained prominence among Ming literati in the sixteenth century.¹²⁹ According to Frederick W. Mote, Wang Yangming's school of thought reoriented moral and political concern away from the imperial center and toward the local community where responsibility was shared among its members.¹³⁰ The *NCFZ* seems to take a more localist approach to its biographies than the *YNTZ*. In its selection of local officials and the content of the biographies the compilers appear to have put more emphasis on the local populace. This "localist" orientation is reinforced by the *NCFZ*'s source base. Although there is no preceding, or other local gazetteer that the *NCFZ* can be

¹²¹ *NCFZ xu.1-2*.

¹²² *NCFZ xu*.

¹²³ Goodrich et al. 1976, 82.

¹²⁴ Akin 2023, 66.

¹²⁵ *NCFZ xu.1-4*.

¹²⁶ *Mingshi* 219.8-11.

¹²⁷ *Mingshi* 283.26-27.

¹²⁸ *Mingshi* 223.10-11.

¹²⁹ Israel 2022, 16; *Mingshi* 283.26-27; Zhang 2013, 23; Mote 1999, 681-682.

¹³⁰ Mote 1999, 682.

compared with, the preface suggests that the compilers put effort in using local sources from older documents as well as tales of elders.¹³¹

The Biographies

The biography section of Yuan dynasty “famous officials” in the *NCFZ* has a stronger focus on local officials and people in comparison to the *YNTZ* or the *HZFFZ*. The “famous officials” section is not neatly separated from the “famous officials” section of the Song. The section contains over fifty biographies of Yuan officials from across the Mongol empire.¹³² The order of the biographies does not follow a strict chronological order and spans from Nanchang’s surrender to the Yuan through the early Ming, focusing especially on the late Yuan and its collapse. Nonetheless, the section has a strong focus on biographies of officials whose careers span across the early and late Yuan reign in Jiangxi. The period of turmoil at the end of the dynasty is featured prominently.¹³³ None of the entries dominate in length, but many include evidence of local commemoration, such as steles, shrines, or popular praise, suggesting genuine local esteem rather than state-sanctioned recognition.¹³⁴ In contrast to the *YNTZ* and the *HZFFZ*, the *NCFZ* contains fewer biographies that can be traced back to the *Yuanshi*. When the *NCFZ* does feature biographies that also appear in the *Yuanshi*, the compilers made more edits or additions to the biography, than those of the other two gazetteers. An example of this is the case of Gao Nalin discussed in chapter one.¹³⁵ Compared to the *YNTZ* and the *HZFFZ*, a large number of officials included were native to nearby counties or Nanchang itself. *Han* and *Nanren* take up most of the officials, yet the gazetteer still has a sizable number of officials identified as being foreign or with no mention of their background at all.¹³⁶ Many of the officials served in relatively minor posts, such as county magistrates or *darughachi*, while others were educators or produced literary

¹³¹ I have checked the famous officials of the *Jiangxi tongzhi* 江西通志 from 1525 and the *Jiujiang fuzhi* 九江府志 from 1527, but none of the Yuan officials included in those works reappear in the *NCFZ*. I was unfortunately not able to access other earlier local gazetteers such as the Jiajing era *Jinxian xianzhi* 進賢縣志 or the Zhengde era *Raozhou fuzhi* 饒州府志.

¹³² There is a character above the biography of Xu Youren 許有壬 marking the start of the Yuan official entries. However, some biographies of officials that served the Yuan appear before the biography of Xu Youren. See *NCFZ* 15.16.

¹³³ See Appendix A for the time periods featured in each biography.

¹³⁴ *NCFZ* 15.17-18 & 15.19, See Appendix C for the biographies of An Qian 安謙, Jia Quan 賈全, Wu Guan 吳觀 and Duolietu 朵列秃, whom all had shrines, steles or statues dedicated to them by the people.

¹³⁵ See Appendix A for the biographies that can ultimately be traced back to the *Yuanshi*. Edits to the *Yuanshi* are for example also visible in the biography of Guan Rude 管如德. See *Yuanshi* 165.3871-3873 & *NCFZ* 15.22-23.

¹³⁶ See Appendix C or an overview of the names and origins of the officials in the *NCFZ*.

works. In some cases, such as the local Fan Shou 范壽, no official position is mentioned at all, and Fan Shou seemed to act on his own accord.¹³⁷ Most entries rarely mention orders from central authorities or other central involvement in their governing. The result is a portrait of Yuan-period governance that comes across as grounded more in local community memory rather than imperial historiography.

The officials' recorded deeds encompass a range of different acts throughout their official careers, yet biographies that emphasize learning and loyalty stand out as the most prominent themes. Many officials are mentioned as being involved in the promotion of local education or having association with famous neo-Confucian scholar Wu Cheng 吳澄.¹³⁸ The gazetteer features many officials that are included for their acts of loyalty. Officials like Yang Qian 楊謙 and Boyan 伯顏 are featured for their loyalty to the dynasty, refusing to serve two dynasties.¹³⁹ Other officials' acts of loyalty are more concerned with the fate of the people. Officials such as Tang Pan 湯盤 and Tiemu'er 帖木兒, raised militias to defend their local communities against invading rebels, and often ended up giving their lives in the process.¹⁴⁰ The local Hu Mingfu 胡明甫 for instance, is not mentioned as serving as an official, but solely seems to be included for his role in defending Nanchang against invaders:

During the final days of the Yuan dynasty local rebels rose up in swarms. At that time the governor Daotong recruited brave soldiers, who prepared reserves. At each of the twelve gates of the city they established guard towers and determined [guard] duties to defend the city. As for the four inside walls of the city, each wall had its own officials posted. They also listed heads of each alley and organized seventeen militia camps, lined up around the city on top of the walls. They worked together with the soldiers of [stationed at] the walls and alleys in mutual support. Hu Mingfu was selected to serve as an official by the wall because of his talents.¹⁴¹

當元季，土寇蜂起，時平章道童募壯勇，備資儲。城門十二，各建樓櫓定職守城。城內四廂，廂各設官，又列巷值長，編民兵為十七屯，環列城上，與廂巷之兵相為聲援。明甫以才能選仕廂官。

The majority of biographies frame loyalty in terms of service to the local community rather than dynastic allegiance. This focus on exemplary conduct under conditions of turmoil parallels Bol's

¹³⁷ NCFZ 15.19.

¹³⁸ Mote 1999, 509. Wu Cheng is mentioned in the biographies of He Zhong, Dong Shixuan 董士選, Jing Yan 敬儼 and Fan Peng 范梈. See Appendix C.

¹³⁹ NCFZ 15.15. & 15.26.

¹⁴⁰ NCFZ 15.21-22.

¹⁴¹ NCFZ 15.25.

findings for Jinhua, where the Mongol conquest formed a backdrop against which officials' actions were remembered in times of a failing government.¹⁴² This prominence of service to the community in the *NCFZ* is further evinced by entries such as Jia Juzhen 賈居貞 who according to his biography protected locals from punishment by the Yuan authorities:

At that time, [the authorities] vigorously arrested those of the people that had received official documents of two princes of the Song dynasty. Over 300 prominent families had been convicted and imprisoned. [Jia] Juzhen released them all and threw [their] documents in water or fire.¹⁴³

時逮捕民間受宋二王文帖者甚急，坐繫巨室三百餘。居貞悉出之，投其文帖於水火。

Additionally, the gazetteer features the officials, He Zhong 何中 and Guan Rude 管如德, who are included, despite their earlier service to the Song dynasty.¹⁴⁴ He Zhong's biography explicitly states that he attained his *jinshi* degree during the Song dynasty while he later served the Yuan as a teacher who is praised for his great literary accomplishments in the Yuan. Guan Rude's biography does not mention his allegiance to the Song and merely states how he "got rid of powerful bullies and officials who abused their power, which greatly pleased the populace", and his leniency towards people that were pushed into becoming rebels.¹⁴⁵ Both appear to be included for their local contributions despite serving two dynasties during their lifetime.

The focus on the local is also visible in the inclusion of many officials serving as *darughachi* (or *daluhuachi* 達魯花赤 in its Chinese transliteration). Many of the officials serving in this position seem to be included for their contributions to local society. However, foreign elements of the office appear to have been downplayed in their depiction in the *NCFZ*. The *darughachi* was a position unique to the Yuan dynasty bureaucracy. It was a hereditary position that was in theory exclusively held by non-Chinese people.¹⁴⁶ It was originally a military role that by the time of the Yuan dynasty had evolved to become a role mostly involving civilian affairs. The *darughachi* were sent out by the emperor or imperial relatives to serve in an overseeing and authorizing role next to regular officeholders from the county level up to the circuits and

¹⁴² Bol 2001, 54.

¹⁴³ *NCFZ* 15.22.

¹⁴⁴ *NCFZ* 15.15 & *NCFZ* 15.22-23. He Zhong's biography appears in the section of the "famous officials" that is not clearly part of the Song or Yuan-biographies. His biography, however, is followed by a late-Yuan official and He Zhong is also mentioned as serving the Yuan. Therefore, I believe we can consider him to be an inclusion in the Yuan section of "famous officials".

¹⁴⁵ *NCFZ* 15.22-23. Guan Rude's surrender of Jiangzhou to the Yuan is described in the *Yuanshi*. See *Yuanshi* 165.3871.

¹⁴⁶ Endicott-West 1989, 26.

Pacification Offices.¹⁴⁷ Thus, the *darughachi* served in relatively low positions and in close cooperation with officials from the regular bureaucracy and would have been in relatively close contact with the people under their jurisdiction. The *NCFZ* features seven officials identified as *darughachi*, who served throughout the Yuan-reign in Nanchang and of which several are described as having received praise from the local people for their service in the prefecture.¹⁴⁸ Even though the position was outside the “regular” bureaucracy, the biographies in the *NCFZ* portray it as a regular office. That the office holders inherited the position is not mentioned in the gazetteer. In the case of Chuang Wu’er 創兀兒 and Bolanxi 孛蘭奚, for instance, the biographies merely mention that both father and son served as *darughachi*.¹⁴⁹ On the contrary, one of the few biographies of the *YNTZ* that features a *darughachi* does mention it as a position the official had inherited.¹⁵⁰ Apart from the non-Chinese sounding name of the position, most of the officeholders are also identified as being non-Chinese or carry a distinctively non-Chinese name. Names such as Tiemu’er 帖木兒 would have made the official stand out as foreign to the readers of the gazetteer.¹⁵¹ An exception to this is the *darughachi* Ma Hemo 馬合末 who is identified as being a native of Nanchang.¹⁵² Aside from his position, nothing indicates that he could be foreign and to the readers of the *NCFZ* he would have likely been identified as a local.¹⁵³ However, in a later Qing edition of the Nanchang gazetteer Ma Hemo is identified as *Semu*, raising the possibility that the *NCFZ* compilers either lacked this information or deliberately omitted it.¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately I cannot determine whether the compilers deliberately minimized foreign elements or whether this had already occurred in the sources available to them. Nevertheless, in local memory these officials have largely become officials as in any Chinese dynasty.

Overall, the Yuan-period biographies in the *NCFZ* reveal a distinct local perspective on the Yuan dynasty in its portrayal of loyalty and learning as contributions of the officials to the local communities. The Yuan-period biographies primarily use local sources and rely less on the *Yuanshi* than the other gazetteers and when *Yuanshi* biographies are copied, the compilers of the

¹⁴⁷ Endicott-West 1989, 18 & 29; Mote 1999, 493.

¹⁴⁸ *NCFZ* 15.17-18 & 15.20-22. See Appendix C for the biographies of Chuang Wu’er 創兀兒, Tiemuzhen 帖木真, Mai Ge 買哥, A Lawei, Ma Hemo 馬合末, Bolanxi and Tiemu’er 帖木兒, who all served as *darughachi*.

¹⁴⁹ *NCFZ* 15.17 & 15.22.

¹⁵⁰ *YNTZ* 10.9.

¹⁵¹ *NCFZ* 15.22.

¹⁵² *NCFZ* 15.21.

¹⁵³ The name Ma Hemo could indicate that it is a Chinese transliteration of the Islamic names Mohamed or Mahmoud. The *NCFZ*, however, refers to him as if Ma 馬 is his family name and Hemo 合末 his given name. See Appendix C for his biography.

¹⁵⁴ *Nanchang fuzhi* 46.11.

NCFZ made frequent edits to them. Additionally, the compilation team itself consisted largely of local literati, several of whom appear to have been influenced by Wang Yangming's intellectual tradition, which redirected political and moral concern away from the dynastic center toward local society. This local focus is evident in the inclusion of numerous relatively low-ranking officials whose careers unfolded close to the communities they served. The compilers focused particularly on periods of dynastic transition, when officials' actions had immediate consequences for local people and could earn enduring communal esteem, which is evinced by shrines or steles. This emphasis on officials' conduct during times of dynastic transition corresponds with Bol's findings for Wuzhou. Unlike the *YNTZ*, the *NCFZ* also includes figures whose service crossed dynastic boundaries. Loyalty is framed not as steadfastness to a single dynasty but as loyalty to the community. This emphasis on local action also helps explain the unusually high number of *darughachi* included. Although the officials serving as *darughachi* are generally portrayed as if they were regular officials in the bureaucracy, are included because they contributed to and were held in high regard by their local community. The gazetteer, thus, takes a strong localist perspective on the officials of the Yuan period.

Chapter 4. The *Hangzhou fuzhi* and Chen Shan's Commentary

The compilation of the *HZFZ* began in 1577 and was completed the following year. The project was initiated by Xu Shi 徐埏 (1519–1581), who acted as the Vice Minister of War and Right Vice Censor-in-Chief of Zhejiang concurrently.¹⁵⁵ Xu Shi believed that existing information on Hangzhou was inadequate and after consultation with other high-ranking officials, responsibility for the project was assigned to the prefect of Hangzhou, Liu Bojin 劉伯縉, who oversaw funding and logistics.¹⁵⁶ The *HZFZ* was unusual in the size and rank of its editorial team. Many central and provincial officials participated in compiling and revising the text, and it went through several rounds of corrections before reaching its final form.¹⁵⁷ Ultimately, the principal compiler was Chen Shan 陳善 (1514–1589), a native of Hangzhou who had held multiple government posts before retiring to his hometown.¹⁵⁸ Distinctively, Chen Shan occasionally inserted his own comments after the biographies, offering insight into his selection criteria and moral judgments. Moreover, the prefaces and the “guide to the reader” (*fanli* 凡例) describe the editorial process in detail, identifying the compilers, explaining source usage, and revealing the rationale for the selections.¹⁵⁹ The only other surviving Ming gazetteer for Hangzhou is the (*Chenghua*) *Hangzhou fuzhi* (成化) 杭州府志 of 1474, completed more than a century earlier. The *HZFZ* draws on the Chenghua edition, several earlier gazetteers that are now lost, unfinished local gazetteers, and on the *Yuanshi*, from which it reproduces many of its biographies of Yuan officials.¹⁶⁰ Although the “famous officials” section was compiled by the local scholar, Chen Shan, its reliance on official Yuan histories gives the gazetteer a statist perspective on the Yuan period in Hangzhou. Yet what stands out is the existence of editorial comments on the biographies.

Hangzhou lies in the fertile lowlands of the Yangzi River delta within the Liangzhe West Circuit 兩浙西道, positioned in between the West Lake and the Zhe River.¹⁶¹ After the fall of the Northern Song capital at Kaifeng to the Jin (1115–1234) in 1127, the Southern Song court established itself in Hangzhou (then known as Lin'an 臨安).¹⁶² The city subsequently became the wealthiest and most populous city in the world, renowned for its merchant communities,

¹⁵⁵ Zhang 2008, 37.

¹⁵⁶ Zhang 2008, 36–37.

¹⁵⁷ Zhang 2008, 37–38.

¹⁵⁸ Zhang 2008, 36–37.

¹⁵⁹ *HZFZ zhongxiu Hangzhou fuzhi xu*.1–4; *HZFZ fan li*.1–5.

¹⁶⁰ Zhang 2008, 39. See Appendix A for the biographies that can ultimately be traced back to the *Yuanshi*.

¹⁶¹ Mote 1999, 367–368 & 461; Duan 2020, 51.

¹⁶² Mote 1999, 291–296.

cosmopolitan population, and flourishing commercial, artistic, and intellectual life.¹⁶³ When the Yuan turned their attention to the Southern Song, Mongol forces under the general Bayan 伯顏 (1237–1294) advanced down the Yangzi toward the city, while the naval forces of the former Song pirates Zhang Xuan 張瑄 (d. 1303) and Zhu Qing 朱清 (1247–1303) strengthened the Yuan's position from the east.¹⁶⁴ By early 1276, following the sack of Nanjing, Yuan troops neared Hangzhou while Zhang and Zhu's fleet captured Shanghai.¹⁶⁵ Under mounting pressure, the Song Empress Dowager Xie 謝太后 (1210–1283) surrendered the capital without resistance.¹⁶⁶ Hangzhou then became the seat of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat 江浙行省, broadly corresponding to today's Zhejiang and Fujian provinces.¹⁶⁷

Although the transfer of power was peaceful on paper, the early years of Yuan rule were troubled. Bayan transported many treasures to Dadu, and the region witnessed uprisings, collaboration with remnants of the Song court, and abuses stemming from false accusations of treason.¹⁶⁸ As the political and economic center of Jiangzhe, Hangzhou attracted many Mongols and other foreigners.¹⁶⁹ Yet its density and prosperity made it vulnerable to disasters, such as fires, which frequently swept through the crowded city.¹⁷⁰ In the fourteenth century, the Yuan gradually lost control of the surrounding region. Salt smugglers turned warlords, Zhang Shicheng 張士誠 (1321–1367) and Fang Guozhen 方國珍 (1319–1374), began to encroach on the city, and in 1356 Zhang Shicheng seized Hangzhou, holding it loosely until his defeat by the Ming in 1367.¹⁷¹

By the Ming period, Hangzhou had been eclipsed by Suzhou as the region's leading economic center, but it remained a prosperous city and home to a significant population of literati and influential local families.¹⁷² Late-Ming sources describe how wealthy landowning lineages frequently clashed with local officials over the management of West Lake's waterways.¹⁷³ Their influence appears also to have complicated the production of local gazetteers. Qiao Yinfu 喬因阜

¹⁶³ Mote 1999, 367–368 & 461.

¹⁶⁴ Mote 1999, 463; Chaffee 2023, 9.

¹⁶⁵ Chaffee 2023, 9; Mote 1999, 464.

¹⁶⁶ Mote 1999, 464–465. Empress Dowager Xie 謝太后 appears in the biography of Xie Bingde 謝枋得 in the *NCFZ*. See Appendix C for his biography.

¹⁶⁷ Mote 1999, 486. The administrative division experienced several changes over the course of the Yuan. See Pan 1999, 158.

¹⁶⁸ Zhu 2014, 7; *HZFFZ* 61.72–73. See for example Appendix D for the commentary on Zhang Chu 張礎 and his role in the Sui'an uprising in Hangzhou.

¹⁶⁹ Pan 1999, 160.

¹⁷⁰ *HZFFZ* 61.44–45. Fires were a common problem the officials in the *HZFFZ* dealt with.

¹⁷¹ Mote 1999, 525–526. Both Zhang Shicheng and Fang Guozhen appear in the Yuan biographies. See *HZFFZ* 61.67 & 61.61.

¹⁷² Brook 1998, 75; Duan 2020, 185.

¹⁷³ Duan 2020, 185–186.

noted in his preface to the *HZFFZ* that compiling a gazetteer in Zhejiang was notoriously difficult because locals could not agree on what or whom to include, which often resulted in the compilers facing harsh criticism. Many earlier attempts to produce a Hangzhou gazetteer had failed for this reason.¹⁷⁴ This dynamic was the reason why it took over a hundred years to produce a successor to the earlier Chenghua edition.¹⁷⁵

The *HZFFZ*'s preface sets out a clear hierarchy of values that guided the compilers' selection process. It places "neo-Confucian learning" (*lixue* 理學), "loyalty and righteousness" (*zhongyi* 忠義), and "moral integrity under hardship" (*fengjie* 風節) at the top of its criteria, while ranking "literary attainment" (*wenyuan* 文苑) and "official record" (*huanji* 宦跡) lowest.¹⁷⁶ In doing so, the *HZFFZ* provides a more explicit account of its editorial priorities than the *YNTZ* or the *NCFZ*. These stated values also align with the political and moral concerns of the late Ming. The period was marked by factional conflict between the bureaucracy and literati networks, and Chen Shan himself had experienced dismissal from office.¹⁷⁷ His commentary suggests a consistent admiration for officials who upheld moral principles in the face of slander, false accusations, or corruption, even when such steadfastness carried personal cost. This inclination, shaped by both personal experience and historical context, appears to have informed his judgments about which individuals deserved inclusion and the moral framing given to their lives.

The Biographies

The biographical section of the *HZFFZ* is the largest of the three gazetteers. It contains five volumes of "famous officials", with a significant inclusion of Yuan officials.¹⁷⁸ It follows a clear and hierarchical organizational scheme and includes sixty-nine officials in its first volume of Yuan officials. In this respect, the gazetteer expands significantly on its predecessor, which only includes eight biographies of Yuan officials.¹⁷⁹ The biographies are arranged first by the offices they held and then in chronological order within each office. The section begins with twenty-six officials who served in high-ranking positions in the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat, followed by twenty officials who served in the Censorate or Surveillance Commissions in Hangzhou. Later sections cover a Pacification Commissioner, Salt Distribution Commissioners and an official from

¹⁷⁴ *HZFFZ xu.3*.

¹⁷⁵ *HZFFZ xu.3-4*.

¹⁷⁶ Zhang 2009, 144.

¹⁷⁷ *Ming shilu youguan Yunnan lishi zhai chao*, 29.1160; Miller 2009, 22-29.

¹⁷⁸ Zhang 2009, 146.

¹⁷⁹ *Hangzhou fuzhi* 37.17-19.

the Supervisorate of Revenues. Ten officials who served in the Supervisorate of Confucian Schools feature at the end.¹⁸⁰ This structure places high-ranking, often non-local, officials in the most prominent sections, while lower-ranking and local officials are relegated to later volumes with shorter entries.¹⁸¹

Some individuals are included primarily because they served in Hangzhou, yet the events described in their biographies took place elsewhere.¹⁸² The *HZFFZ* is the largest and most diverse gazetteer of the three gazetteers. The officials' recorded deeds vary widely but acts of compassion feature less frequently than in the *NCFZ*. Instead, the majority of entries, particularly those of high-ranking officials, emphasize administrative achievements.¹⁸³ Governors such as Möngtei and Bie'erqie Buhua 別兒怯不花 are praised for their reforms and efficient governance, while other figures, such as Qingtong 慶童 and Tai Buhua 泰不華, are commended for their loyalty and willingness to die for the dynasty.¹⁸⁴ Later biographies focus on scholarly contribution rather than administrative achievement, which aligns more with the criteria of inclusion that the gazetteer states in its "guide to the reader".¹⁸⁵

Chen Shan especially emphasizes moral integrity in his comments on the biographies. In comments attached to several biographies, Chen often elaborates on the officials' moral conduct and integrity even when the main text is silent on such matters. For instance, in his commentary on officials such as Möngtei and Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, Chen highlights their steadfastness in the face of slander, portraying them as paragons of upright character despite the absence of such details in their biographies.¹⁸⁶ This emphasis is further evinced by the inclusion of Dalima 答里麻, who Chen includes despite the lack of notable local achievements, justifying his inclusion by emphasizing his resistance to corruption and moral integrity:

Dalima did not leave behind any remarkable achievements while [serving] in the Zhe[xi Circuit] Surveillance Commission, and it might [seem reasonable] not to record him.

¹⁸⁰ See Appendix D for the exact layout of the positions held by the officials.

¹⁸¹ *HZFFZ* 63.43-45 & 64.16-19. *Juan* 63 features some officials that served as route commanders of Hangzhou Circuit 杭州路總管, while *juan* 64 features officials serving as county magistrates and *darughachi*.

¹⁸² Qingtong 慶童 for example dies fighting the Ming in the capital. The entry of Dalima 答里麻 does not take place in Hangzhou. The official Fu Shou 副壽 is also included despite that his biography also mentions events mainly outside of Hangzhou. See *HZFFZ* 61.75-76 & 61.65. or see Appendix D for the comment of Chen Shan on Dalima's biography.

¹⁸³ *HZFFZ* 61.42-44.

¹⁸⁴ *HZFFZ* 61.51 & 61.61-62.

¹⁸⁵ *HZFFZ* 61.83-87. The final section of the Yuan biographies, for instance, is dedicated to officials who served in the Supervisorate of Confucian Schools.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix D for Chen Shan's comments on their biographies.

However, he firmly resisted the demands and requests of powerful and favored individuals, and when summoned for punishment, he did not shy away.¹⁸⁷

答里麻不著蹟于浙泉，可以無紀，然其拒權倖之請索，其召罪譴，不為避。

Chen's emphasis on moral integrity suggests that his own experience, marked by impeachment and the general political climate of the late Ming, may have shaped his selection of officials. Regardless of the cause, his choices and commentary frequently elevate moral integrity above other accomplishments. The coverage extends from the early Yuan period in Hangzhou through its fall in 1368, with most periods treated relatively evenly.

Strikingly, this gazetteer deviates from the *Yuanshi*, *YNTZ* and *NCFZ* in that no biography mentions the fall of Hangzhou to the Mongols. This is the case even for entries of officials who were directly involved in the conquest of the Southern Song, such as Möngtei, who features in the opening biography.¹⁸⁸ The intentional exclusion of narratives related to the conquest of the Song is evident in the removal of Meng De 孟德 from the *HZFFZ*. Meng De was involved in the conquest of the Song and is the only official that does not reappear in the *HZFFZ* from the Chenghua edition.¹⁸⁹ Although his biography in the Chenghua gazetteer only mentions his role in guarding Hangzhou, his biography in the *Yuanshi* is almost exclusively concerned with the conquest of the Song and reveals that this posting in Hangzhou was part of his larger role in the conquest of the Song from where he continued southwards.¹⁹⁰ In later volumes officials such as Du Jian 堵簡 are included in similar lower-ranking military roles,¹⁹¹ leaving no reason not to include Meng De on the basis of his relatively low position. As Meng De's biography was wholly related to the conquest, his removal suggests that Chen Shan deemed conquest-related narratives inappropriate for inclusion.

However, in its selection of new entries, the *HZFFZ* draws heavily from the *Yuanshi* with few biographies that cannot be traced back to it.¹⁹² Moreover, most biographies are almost direct

¹⁸⁷ *HZFFZ* 61.76.

¹⁸⁸ See for example the biography of Möngtei, who was involved in the conquest of the Song and is the first Yuan official entry in the *HZFFZ*. *Yuanshi* 131.3186-3190.

¹⁸⁹ All *Hangzhou fuzhi* entries reappear in *HZFFZ*, except Meng De. Most of the figures, however, do not return in the first volume, but in later volumes of the "famous officials" as they generally held lower positions in government. These officials include Liang Ceng 梁曾, Gao Nalin, Zhao Lian 趙璉, Baoge 寶哥, Tiemuliesi 帖睦烈思, Xia Sizhong 夏思忠 and Shentu Zhiyuan 申屠致遠. See *Hangzhou fuzhi* 37.17-19

¹⁹⁰ *Yuanshi* 166.3902-3903.

¹⁹¹ *HZFFZ* 65.9.

¹⁹² In the first volume of Yuan "famous officials" only eleven out of sixty-nine inclusions do not also appear in the *Yuanshi*. See Appendix A for the biographies that can ultimately be traced back to the *Yuanshi*.

cut-outs from the *Yuanshi*, without any added material.¹⁹³ Only a few biographies contain additional details that the *Yuanshi* does not provide, such as the biography of Tuotuo. His biography includes a conflict with a monk that does not appear in his *Yuanshi* biography.¹⁹⁴ Perhaps this reliance on the *Yuanshi* biographies was because of the involvement of many figures from the central government, or a lack of documents available to Chen Shan. As a result, the *HZfZ* takes a statist outlook. This is, for example, evident in how the *HZfZ* has a proportionally lower number of references to steles and shrines in comparison to the *NCFZ*. When steles do appear in the *HZfZ*, they are frequently described as having been erected by other officials rather than by the local populace.¹⁹⁵

The gazetteer's treatment of foreign officials reflects and, at times, intensifies the *Yuanshi*'s negative portrayals of non-*Han* or *Nanren* officials, particularly those serving as *darughachi*. The gazetteer has a very limited inclusion of officials serving as *darughachi*. Although many foreign officials appear in the "famous officials" section, only Aizuding 愛祖丁, Baduluding 八都魯丁, and Yideningguoli 義德寧國禮 are explicitly recorded as *darughachi*. All appear in the fourth volume of "famous officials" and their biographies are rather short and insignificant.¹⁹⁶ Even though the organization of the gazetteer emphasizes officials that served in high-ranking positions, the *HZfZ* still features a section for Pacification Commissioners in its first volume of "famous officials" and has various lower-ranking offices in its later volumes. Many of these posts would typically have had officials serving as *darughachi* alongside them. On the few occasions *darughachi* appear in the gazetteer, they are depicted in conflict with the officials included. In the biography of Zidang 自當 the *darughachi* of Hangzhou is described as using his power to extort other officials.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, Gao Yuan 高源 was falsely imprisoned due to his conflict with the *darughachi* Ma Shu 馬恕.¹⁹⁸ Humble has observed a similar tendency of the *Yuanshi* compilers to link foreigners to transgressions, and many of the *HZfZ*'s biographies

¹⁹³ This is the case with the biography of Gao Nalin, discussed in chapter 1.

¹⁹⁴ *HZfZ* 61.47; *Yuanshi* 119.2943-2945. I have not been able to go by every biography to verify if they include any additional details. However, this is the only biography I have seen that includes a full passage not appearing in the *Yuanshi* biography of the same official. In other *HZfZ* biographies, derivations, or extra details to *Yuanshi* biographies are rare.

¹⁹⁵ Zhao Zhizhang 趙知章, for instance, is mentioned as having a stele inscribed by fellow official Lü Chen 陳旅. Similarly, the Vice-Minister of Personnel erected and engraved a stele to honor of Zhao Lian's 趙璉 administrative achievements. See *HZfZ* 61.81 & 63.43.

¹⁹⁶ *HZfZ* 64.16-18. Baduluding is notably one of the officials who is said to have had a stele built for him by the people after he left office in the gazetteer.

¹⁹⁷ *HZfZ* 61.76.

¹⁹⁸ *HZfZ* 61.73.

replicate these accounts verbatim.¹⁹⁹ Chen Shan discusses these foreign officials in his comments, sometimes even when the biography he comments on does not include the “evil” official at all. This occurs, for example, in his comments on Möngtei and Zhao Mengfu, where he criticizes Bulinjitai 卜憐吉台 and Sangha 桑哥 (d. 1291).²⁰⁰ Furthermore, in the comment on Duo’erzhi’s 朵兒只 inclusion Chen Shan states his surprise that multiple people from the Kangli tribe could possess such virtue:

For [people] of a different kind to be father and son, both displaying such noble virtues, with no flaws as many [others] of the Kangli tribe, is this not like [hearing] the sound of footsteps in a desolate valley?²⁰¹

以彼異族而父子跳美德音，不瑕若康利氏者，豈非空谷足音哉？

The gazetteer relies much on the *Yuanshi*, which already displayed a tendency to portray foreigners as the antagonists in conflicts. In turn, Chen Shan’s own views on foreign officials possibly amplified these tendencies even further in the gazetteer. Yet he also acknowledged that foreigners could adapt to the moral standards of *Han* and *Nanren* officials. This is illustrated by his comment on Tiemuliesi 帖睦烈思 and Baoge 寶哥：

Tiemu[liesi] and Baoge, [though from peoples] arising from the northern steppes, were also able to contend equally among them. Baoge, when he faced danger, accepted his fate, displaying especially remarkable integrity. Who, then, can say that *yidi* cannot [advance] into [the level of] the Middle Kingdom?²⁰²

帖睦寶哥種出漠北，亦能頡頑其間；寶哥則見危授命，尤著奇節。孰謂夷狄不可以進于中國哉？

Chen Shan particularly emphasizes Baoge’s defence of the dynasty and his subsequent suicide as proof as a redeeming quality for an official of foreign descent.²⁰³

These acts of loyalty appear frequently throughout the gazetteer. In addition to the earlier mentioned Qingtong and Tai Buhua, several other officials died fighting bandits, rebels or the

¹⁹⁹ Humble 2017, 198. See for example the biography of Gao Yuan 高源, which also features the “treacherous” Ahmad Fanakati 阿合馬. *HZFFZ* 61.73; *Yuanshi* 170.4002.

²⁰⁰ *HZFFZ* 61.43 & 61.84.

²⁰¹ *HZFFZ* 61.46.

²⁰² *HZFFZ* 63.44-45.

²⁰³ *HZFFZ* 63.45.

Ming to defend the Yuan.²⁰⁴ These portrayals of loyalty, however, all seem to be displays of loyalty to the dynasty and do not mention the fate of the common people as opposed to the *NCFZ*. Exemplary for the *HZFF* is the biography of Yuelu Buhua 月魯不花, who explained why he could not live under Zhang Shicheng in his biography:

When Zhang Shicheng seized control of Zhexi, he arrogated himself to be king. Considering that he could not coexist with him, [Yuelu Buhua] said to his nephew Tongshou: “Our family has for generations received the favor of the state. It is my regret that I cannot kill this bandit to repay the country. How could I then coexist with a bandit!”²⁰⁵

會張士誠據浙西，僭王號，度弗可與並處，謂侄同壽曰：「吾家世受國恩，恨不能刺賊以報國，矧乃與賊同處邪！」

The official's biography frames loyalty entirely in terms of the officials' relationship with the dynasty. Unlike the *NCFZ*, which appears to place a greater emphasis on officials' service to the local community, the *HZFF* adopts a more dynastic orientation in regard to loyalty. Furthermore, compared to the *NCFZ*, few stories focus on leniency to locals or defense of the populace against abuses by other Yuan officials, such as in the case of Jia Juzhen in Nanchang.²⁰⁶ Instead, the gazetteer largely depicts officials, such as Zidang, in conflicts with other officials at higher levels of government. Overall, the portrayal of loyalty is oriented toward the state rather than toward the people.

A notable exception to the portrayal of loyalty is the biography of Zhao Mengfu. The biography itself makes no mention of Zhao's service to the Song, but Chen Shan's comment reveals his ambivalence towards Zhao's loyalty:

The service of Zhao Mengfu to the Yuan was widely criticized by his contemporaries. Reading the poem he wrote at the imperial palace on Mount Feng, with a sigh of admiration for “the old country [the Song dynasty], the people of the Jin, and the jade horses of those days.” His intentions could be felt sorrow for. When he established himself at court, he bravely made his own achievements, and did not accept humiliation at the hands of Sangha. Thus, this person is certainly not a person greedy for wealth, favors and profit, or one whose upright character stood deceitfully. [Yet] he looked north to [serve] two states. Treading on an honorable position until old age. Was it that

²⁰⁴ Shimo Yisun 石抹宜孫, Dong Tuanxiao 董搏霄, Yang Cheng 楊乘, Xing Ji 星吉 and Yuelu Buhua 月魯不花, all died defending the dynasty, died of suicide after losing to invaders, or refused to live under another dynasty. See *HZFF* 61.58-59, 61.60, 61.62, 61.64 & 61.66-67.

²⁰⁵ *HZFF* 61.67.

²⁰⁶ One example from the *HZFF* that features an official showing leniency to local rebels is biography of Zhang Chu 張礎 and his role in the Sui'an uprising. See *HZFF* 61.72-73.

there was a fear of harm deep in his heart? Or were his views wrong?

Considering [this] to see his true ambitions. The gentlemen pitied him for this, for his literature and virtue he truly was a man who was widely known. [As in] the past it would still be recorded, he is [therefore] included in the list of famous officials.²⁰⁷

子昂之仕元，世多譏之。觀於過鳳山故宮所為詩，有「故國、金人、當年玉馬」之嘆，其意亦可悲矣。方立朝時，矯矯自樹，不受辱于桑哥，則其人固非貪冒寵利、廉隅罔立者。顧北面雙國，踐清華以竟老，將由衷怵害，有所畏忌然歟？抑見解謬戾？

思一摠其蘊抱也。君子深致惜之，以其文行，寔方聞之士。故仍舊志，列之名宦。

Although Chen Shan sympathizes with Zhao's sorrow for the fall of the Song and recognizes his integrity, he expresses difficulty understanding Zhao's political choices and ultimately cites precedent as the reason for his inclusion.²⁰⁸ This stands in stark contrast to the *NCFZ*, which treats dynastic loyalty far more flexibly, or the *YNTZ* that largely avoids depicting acts of loyalty in its biographies.

Although the *HZFZ* is the largest and most heterogeneous of the three gazetteers, the Yuan-period biographies in the gazetteer overall take a statist perspective. In its often verbatim copying of the imperially commissioned *Yuanshi*, it emphasizes high-ranking officials and has relatively little concern for the local people of Hangzhou. It further perpetuates the *Yuanshi*'s bias toward non-Chinese elements in the Yuan administration that frequently casts foreigners as antagonists in the narratives. As a result, the gazetteer leaves little room for officials who served outside the regular bureaucracy, such as the *darughachi*. Furthermore, unlike the *NCFZ*, loyalty is portrayed solely in terms of service to the dynasty, rather than to the local community. Officials die for the dynasty and refuse to serve another regime, while the fate of the common people receives relatively little attention. The single exception is Zhao Mengfu, yet Chen Shan's comments on Zhao's biography reveal his difficulty in reconciling Zhao's decision to serve the Yuan. However, through Chen Shan's comments on the biographies his own views become apparent. For example, his emphasis on moral integrity, loyalty and how this can be a redeeming quality for foreign officials, which is further visible in the selection process where these officials feature relatively frequently. Additionally, the choice to cut out material related to the conquest of Hangzhou appears to be deemed inappropriate inclusion. In these remarks and selection choices the gazetteer does show a more personal perspective on local history.

²⁰⁷ *HZFZ* 61.84. Zhao Mengfu is referred to by his courtesy name Zi'ang 子昂 in this passage.

²⁰⁸ I am not sure whether Chen Shan refers to Zhao Mengfu inclusion in the *Yuanshi* (*Yuanshi* 172.4018-4023) or a precedent of including officials despite having served two dynasties.

Overall, the Yuan-period biographies in the *HZFFZ* adopt a statist perspective. The gazetteer relies heavily on imperially commissioned *Yuanshi* biographies, which greatly shapes its perspective. Because of this, the *HZFFZ* emphasizes high-ranking officials, further perpetuates the *Yuanshi*'s bias toward non-Chinese elements in the Yuan administration and frequently casts foreigners as antagonists in the narratives. As a result, the gazetteer leaves little room for officials who served outside the regular bureaucracy, such as the *darughachi*. The gazetteer presents loyalty primarily in dynastic terms. Officials die for the dynasty and refuse to serve another regime, while the fate of the common people receives relatively little attention. The single exception is Zhao Mengfu, yet Chen Shan's comments on Zhao's biography reveal his difficulty in reconciling Zhao's decision to serve the Yuan. In these remarks, where moral integrity is repeatedly stressed, the gazetteer does show a more personal perspective on local history. Nonetheless, the gazetteer has a predominantly statist outlook.

Conclusion

In this thesis I aimed to offer alternate regional perspectives to the Yuan legacy in the Ming by analyzing regional gazetteers of Yunnan, Nanchang and Hangzhou compiled in the late Ming period. Rather than presenting a uniform view of the Yuan past, these gazetteers reveal how regional conditions, compilation contexts, and compiler perspectives shaped what aspects of Yuan rule were remembered, emphasized, or omitted.

Although all three gazetteers follow a standard biographical model that puts the subject of the biographies in an idealized mold of praise, the gazetteers differ markedly in what they deem worthy of remembrance, reflecting perspectives that range from statist to localist depending on regional historical circumstances and the conditions under which each text was compiled. At the same time, all three gazetteers do incorporate some elements of their compilers' perspectives, which are visible throughout their selection and presentation of biographies. The social context of the compilers appears to significantly shape how biographies were selected, edited, and framed within the gazetteers.

This influence is evident in the *YNTZ*'s emphasis on the (re)integration of Yunnan, in the *HZFZ*'s omission of entries that feature the Yuan conquest of Hangzhou and Chen Shan's appended comments about moral integrity, and in the *NCFZ*'s focus on local contributions. The extent to which each gazetteer borrows from and edits *Yuanshi* biographies further shapes the perspectives they present on Yuan officials. Whereas the *YNTZ* and *HZFZ* rely largely on biographies reproduced from the *Yuanshi*, the *NCFZ* makes greater use of alternative sources, more extensively revises *Yuanshi*-derived material, and its compilers place stronger emphasis on the local community rather than the state. In its selection process from *Yuanshi* biographies, the *YNTZ* seems to cut out biographies of officials that served outside the regular bureaucracy. The *HZFZ* similarly perpetuates the *Yuanshi*'s bias against foreign elements, resulting in the exclusion of many non-Chinese *darughachi*, whereas the *NCFZ* includes a substantial number of officials serving as *darughachi* for their local contributions, albeit portraying them as conventional officials. The most pronounced divergence among the gazetteers emerges in their treatment of loyalty. The *YNTZ* largely avoids the portrayal of loyalty in its selection of officials, while the *HZFZ* and *NCFZ* both contain several officials who are included for their loyalty. They differ in that the *HZFZ* portrays loyalty primarily in terms of service to the dynasty. In contrast the *NCFZ*'s portrayal of loyalty has a less rigid understanding of loyalty, as it contains officials who served both the Song and Yuan dynasties and are included for their local contributions. In these cases, loyalty seems to be directed not to the dynasty, but to the local community.

These divergent portrayals show that loyalty was not a fixed moral category, but one that was subject to different interpretations. Although loyalty was a key criterion for evaluating officials in official historiography, its meaning and usage varied according to the nature and purpose of different modes of historical writing. Official histories such as the *Yuanshi* were shaped by court-centered concerns, whereas compilers of local gazetteers operated within a more diverse range of environments where they balanced imperial values with regional memory and local interests. Late-Ming compilers selectively cut out, emphasized or redefined loyalty in light of regional experience or contemporary political concerns. This reflects not only different regional historiographies of the Yuan period but also differing ideas in the late Ming over dynastic legitimacy and moral conduct, which shaped how the Yuan past could be remembered in the late Ming.

Ideally, a more comprehensive study would extend this analysis by comparing Yuan-period biographies with those of officials from other dynasties, allowing for a clearer assessment of how biographical writing varies across both time and place. Further mapping the social networks and career trajectories of those involved in gazetteer compilation could also shed greater light on the editorial decisions that shaped these texts and help determine the extent to which these choices reflect broader national debates within literati circles, such as those associated with the more locally oriented Wang Yangming school of thought, or local memory specific to the gazetteer's region. Investigating sources other than the *Yuanshi* would further enhance our understanding of the perspectives adopted in the gazetteers. In addition, engaging more fully with existing Chinese-language scholarship on gazetteers, not merely as a source of data, would strengthen future studies. While this thesis has primarily focused on foreign elements and loyalty, other dimensions, such as representations of violence, its targets, and officials' relationships with Buddhism, remain other dimensions in the portrayal of officials that could deepen our understanding of regional variation in gazetteers.

Nevertheless, this thesis provides initial insight into how the three late-Ming gazetteers diverged in their regional memories of the Yuan dynasty. Whether these differences reflect broader empire-wide patterns remains to be seen. I believe this is an area where further research could provide a more balanced insight into the legacy of the Yuan.

Appendix A: A List of the “Famous Officials”

<i>Yunnan tongzhi</i> 雲南通志 <i>Minghuan yi</i> 名宦一					
	Name	Courtesy/ Art name	Mentioned Origin	Years mentioned in Gazetteer	Source in the <i>Yuanshi</i>
1.	Wulianghetai (Uriyangkhadai) 兀良合台	-/-	Mongol	1252-1257	121.2978- 2982
2.	Shan Siding (Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din) 賽典赤·瞻思丁	-/-	<i>Huihui</i>	1274-1279	125.3063- 3066
3.	Nasulading (Nasr al-Din) 納速 剌丁	-/-	<i>Huihui</i>	1279-1292	125.3067- 3068
4.	Huxin (Husayn) 忽辛	-/-	<i>Huihui</i>	1297-1310	125.3068- 3070
5.	Ailu 愛魯	-/-	—	1268-1288	122.3011- 3012
6.	Zhao Shiyan 趙世延	X/-	Yonggu tribe	1265*-1311	180.4163- 4167
7.	Cheng Silian 程思廉	-/-	—	1289	163.3829- 3831
8.	Liu Zheng 劉正	X/-	Han	1397-1303	176.4106- 4109
9.	Zhi Weixing 支渭興	X/X	Han	1330-1369	—
10.	Li Jing 李京	X/-	Han	1301	—
11.	Sandanba 三旦八	X/X	Xixia	1341-1370 (Zhizheng)	—
12.	Manggudai 忙古帶	-/-	Khitan	1292-1311	149.3533- 3534
13.	Yehandijin 也罕的斤	-/-	Karluk	1280-1292	133.3226- 3227
14.	Duo'erchi 朵兒赤	X/-	Xixia	1260-1294 (Shizong reign) -1329	134.3254- 3255
15.	Yexian Buhua 也先不花	-/-	Mongol	1286	134.3266- 3268
16.	Cheli Tiemu'er 徹里帖木兒	-/-	Western Regions	1330	142.3403- 3406
17.	Qielie 怯烈	-/-	Western Regions	1275-1278	133.3236
18.	Zhangwan Jianu 張萬家奴	-/-	—	1283	165.3880-

<i>Yunnan tongzhi</i> 雲南通志 <i>Minghuan yi</i> 名宦一					
					3881
19.	Yang Zuo 楊祚	X/-	-	-	-
20.	Zhang Jin 張瑾	X/X	Han	1341-1370 (Zhizheng)	-
21.	Lü'er 驢兒	-/-	-	Yuan-Ming Transition	-
22.	Zhu Bao 朱寶	-/-	-	1328-1329 (Tianli)	-

<i>Xinxiu Nanchang fuzhi</i> 新修南昌府志 <i>Minghuan yi</i> 名宦一					
	Name	Courtesy/ Art name	Mentioned Origin	Years Active in Gazetteer	Source in the <i>Yuanshi</i>
1.	He Zhong 何中	-/-	-	Song-Yuan Transition - 1331	199.4452
2.	Yang Qian 楊謙	X/-	Nan	Yuan-Ming Transition	-
3.	Xie Bingde 謝枋得	X/-	Nan	Song-Yuan Transition	-
4.	Xu Youren 許有壬	X/-	-	1322	182.4200
5.	Li Shian 李世安	X/-	Xixia	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	-
6.	Dong Shixuan 董士選	X/-	-	1294-1307 (Chengzong reign)	156.3667- 3679
7.	Quan Yuezhu 全岳柱	-/-	-	-	130.3175- 3178
8.	Liu Rong 劉容	-/-	-	Song-Yuan Transition	134.3259- 3260
9.	Jing Yan 敬儼	X/-	Han	1313	175.4093- 4096
10.	An Qian 安謙	-/-	-	-	-
11.	Li Lian 李廉	X/-	Nan	-	-
12.	Chuangwu'er 創兀兒	-/-	<i>Huihui</i>	-	-

13.	Jia Quan 賈全	-/-	Han	Song-Yuan Transition	—
14.	Chen Yuankai 陳元凱	X/-	Han	—	—
15.	Wu Guan 吳觀	-/-	Nan	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	—
16.	Gao Nalin 高納麟	-/-	Son of Gao Rui	1328	142.3406-3408
17.	Yang Yuanjun 楊元鈞	-/-	Han	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	—
18.	Tiemuzhen 帖木真	-/-	<i>Semu</i>	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	—
19.	Fan Shou 范壽	X/-	Nan	—	—
20.	Liu Shen 劉家	X/-	—	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	—
21.	Huang Ze 黃澤	-/-	—	—	189.4322-4324
22.	Duolietu 朵列禿	X/-	Mongol	1295-1297 (Yuanzhen)	—
23.	Wanyan Duo 完顏鐸	X/-	Han (Jurchen?)	—	—
24.	Gao Fuli 高復禮	X/-	Han	—	—
25.	Mai Ge 買哥	-/-	Uyghur	—	—
26.	A Lawei 阿剌威	-/-	Hexi	1297-1307 (Dade)	—
27.	Wanyan Bi 完顏璧	-/-	Han (Jurchen?)	1297-1307 (Dade)	—
28.	Duan Congzhou 段從周	X/-	—	1297-1307 (Dade)	—
29.	Cheng Dadu 程大度	-/-	—	—	—
30.	Chen Shirong 陳世榮	X/-	—	1324-1328 (Taiding)	—
31.	Yuan Zhouhaiya 袁州海牙	X/-	—	1341-1370 (Zhizheng)	—
32.	Yang Zongxun 楊宗訓	X/-	Han	1352-1353	—
33.	Tang Pan 湯盤	X/-	Nan	1352	—
34.	Ma Hemo 馬合末	-/-	Longxing native*	1341-1370 (Zhizheng)	—
35.	Bolanxi 孛蘭系	-/-	<i>Huihui</i>	—	—
36.	Tiemu'er 帖木兒	-/-	—	1352	—
37.	Ye Xiannai 葉仙鼐	-/-	Uyghur	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	133.3227
38.	Hachu 哈出	-/-	Son of Buwula	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	135.3270-3272
39.	Jia Juzhen 賈居貞	X/-	Han	1278-1280	153.3622-3625

40.	Guan Rude 管如德	-/-	Nan	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	165.3871-3873
41.	Liu Sijing 劉思敬	-/-	—*	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	152.3604-3605
42.	Wang Gen 王良	X/-	Nan	—	192.4370-4372
43.	Shili Yatusi 十里牙禿思	-/-	—	—	—
44.	Fan Peng 范梈	X/-	Nan	—*	181.4174-4184
45.	Xu Huan 徐煥	X/-	Nan	1341-1370 (Zhizheng)	—
46.	Fu Ji 傅箕	X/-	Nan	1348	—
47.	Tongtong 同同	-/-	Mongol	1358	—
48.	Wu Dang 吳當	X/-	Grandson of Wu Cheng (Nan)	Yuan-Ming Transition	187.4299-4300
49.	Daotong 道童	-/-	Gaochang	1351	144.3442-3444
50.	Hu Mingfu 胡明甫	X/-	Nan	Yuan-Ming Transition	—
51.	Yilian Zhenban (Irinjinbal) 亦憐真班	-/-	Xixia	1350	145.3445-3447
52.	Lian Huishanhaiya 廉惠山海牙	X/-	—	1321	145.3447-3448
53.	Guo Guan 郭貫	X/-	Han	1301	174.4060-4061
54.	Quan Pu'ansali 全普庵撒里	X/-	Gaochang	1356-1358	195.4413
55.	Puyan Buhua 普顏不花	X/-	Mongol	1345-1356	196. 4418
56.	Boyan 伯顏	X/	—	Yuan-Ming Transition	—

<i>Hangzhou fuzhi</i> 杭州府志 Minghuan yi 名宦一						
	Name	Courtesy/ Art name	Mentioned Origin	Years Active in Gazetteer	Source in the <i>Yuanshi</i>	Comment by Chen Shan
	<i>Grand Councillors of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat</i> 江浙行省丞相					
1.	Mangwutai (Möngtei) 忙兀台	-/-	Mongol	1285-1286	131.3186-	X

					3190	
2.	Kangli Tuotuo 康里脫脫	-/-	(Royal) Kangli tribe	1314	138.3321-3326	X
3.	Tuohuan 脫歡	-/-	–	1328	136.3295	–
4.	Bie'erqie Buhua 別兒怯不花	X/-	Mongol	1330-1333	140.3365-3367	X
5.	Duo'erzhi 朵兒只	X/-	Kangli tribe	1344-1347	139.3353-3355	X
	<i>Governor</i> 平章政事					
6.	Shi Bi 史弼	X/-	Han	1282-1284	162.3799-3903	–
7.	Gao Xing 高興	X/-	Han	1282-1299	162.3903-3906	X
8.	Tuotuo 脫脫	-/-	Kangli tribe	1297-1307 (Dade)	119.2943-2945	X
9.	Cheli 徹里	-/-	–	1297-1307 (Dade)	130.3161-3163	X
10.	Buyan Tiemuer 卜顏鐵木兒	X/-	Tangut	1328-1329 (Tianli)	144.3436-3437	–
11.	Cheli Tiemu'er 徹里帖木兒	-/-	Aluwen tribe	1330-1333 (Zhishun)	142.3403-3406	–
12.	Kuikui 巉巉	X/-	Kangli tribe	1333-1368 (Shundi reign)	143.3413-3417	X
13.	Qingtong 慶童	X/-	Kangli tribe	1350-1360	142.3398-3400	X
14.	Yuelu Tiemuer 月魯帖木兒	-/-	–	1352	144.3433-3435	X
	<i>Right Assistant Provincial Administrator [of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat]</i> 右丞					
15.	Dong Shixuan 董士選	X/-	–	1297-1307 (Dade)	156.3667-3679	X
	<i>Left Assistant Provincial Administrator [of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat]</i> 左丞					
16.	Wan Zhedu 完者都	-/-	Kipchak	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	131.3192-3194	–
17.	Wu Yuangui 吳元珪	X/-	Han	1302-1313	177.4124-4126	X
18.	Zhang Siming 張思明	X/-	Han	1296-1337	177.4121-4124	X

	<i>Unclear position</i> 〇〇〇〇					
19.	Wang Kejing 王克敬	X/-	Han	1318-1333	184.4232-4235	X
20.	Su Tianjue 蘇天爵	X/-	Han	1341-1370 (Zhizheng)	183.4224-4227	
21.	Fan Zhijing 樊執敬	X/-	Han	1350-1352	195.4412	X
22.	Shimo Yisun 石抹宜孫	X/-	Former Liao	1357-1358	188.4309-4312	X
23.	Gong Shitai 貢師泰	X/-	Han	1355-1362	187.4294-4296	X
24.	Dong Tuanxiao 董搏霄	X/-	Han	1351-1358	188.4301-4306	X
	<i>Directors of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat</i> 江浙行省郎中					
25.	Tai Buhua 泰不華	X/-	Boyawutai Tribe	1351-1352	143.3423-3426	X
	<i>Vice Directors [of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat]</i> 員外郎					
26.	Yang Cheng 楊乘	X/-	Bohai	1341-1370 (Zhizheng)	194.4405-4406	X
	<i>Jiangnan Various Circuit Branch Censorate Censor-in-Chiefs</i> 江南諸道行臺御史大夫					
27.	Xiang Wei 相威	-/-	Son of Suhuncha	1277-1283	128.3129-3131	-
28.	Xing Ji 星吉	X/-	Hexi (Tangut?)	1321-1348	144.3438-3440	X
29.	Fu Shou 副壽	-/-	Tangut	1355-1356	144.3441-3442	X
	<i>Vice Censor-in-Chief [of the Various Circuits]</i> 御史中丞					
30.	Zhang Gui 張珪	X/-	Han	1299	175.4074-4076	X
31.	Yuelu Buhua 月魯不花	X/-	Mongol	1333-1335 (Yuantong)	145.3448-3451	X
	<i>Investigating Censors</i> 監察御史					
32.	Shentu Zhiyuan 申屠致遠	X/-	Han (Jurchen?)	1283	170.3988-3990	X
33.	Gai Miao 蓋苗	X/-	Han	1318	185.4259-4262	-

	<i>Vice Pacification Commissioner of Zhexi [Circuit]</i> 同知浙西宣慰司事					
34.	Liu Xuan 劉宣	X/-	Han	1275-1288	168.3950-3954	X
	<i>Zhexi Circuit Provincial Surveillance Commissioners</i> 浙西道提刑按察使					
35.	Lei Ying 雷膺	X/-	Han	1286-1292	170.3990-3992	—
36.	Heshang 和尚	-/-	Boyawutai clan	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	134.3256-3257	X
37.	Qiannu 千奴	-/-	Boyawutai clan	1307-1311 (Wuzong reign)	134.3257-3259	X
	<i>[Zhexi Circuit Provincial] Vice Surveillance Commissioner</i> 按察副使					
38.	Lu Hou 陸垕	X/-	Han/Nan	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	—	—
39.	Zhang Chu 張礎	X/-	Bohai	1277	1673928-3929	X
	<i>Assistant Surveillance Commissioner [of a Circuit]</i> 按察僉事					
40.	Gao Yuan 高源	X/-	Han	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	170.4002	X
	<i>Zhexi Surveillance Commissioners</i> 浙西肅政廉訪使					
41.	Xu Yan 徐琰	X/X	Han	1291-1294	—	X
42.	Tian Zi 田滋	X/-	Han	1298	191.4359-4360	—
43.	Zhao Hongwei 趙宏偉	X/-	Han	1301-1315	166.3912-3913	X
44.	Dalima 答里麻	-/-	Gaochang (Tangut?)	1324	144.3431-3433	X
45.	Zidang 自當	-/-	Mongol	1329-1332 (Wenzong reign)	143.3417-3420	—
46.	Gao Rui 高睿	-/-	Hexi (Tangut)	-	125.3073-3074	X
	<i>[Zhexi] Assistant Surveillance Commissioners</i> 廉訪僉事					
47.	Deng Wenyan 鄧文原	X/-	Han	1290-1317	172.4023-4025	—

	<i>Unclear position</i> □□ 學名宦祠					
48.	Han Yong 韓鏞	X/-	Han	1328-1329	185.4255-4257	–
49.	Lü Sicheng 呂思誠	X/-	Han	1324-1341/1370 (Zhizheng)	185.4247-4251	–
50.	Shan Si 瞻思	X/-	Arab	1326-1337	190.4351-4353	X
	<i>Liangzhe Salt Distribution Commissioners</i> 兩浙都轉運鹽使					
51.	Wang Duzhong 王都中	X/-	Nan	–	184.4229-4232	X
52.	Qu Tingfa 瞿霆發	X/-	–	1311-1321 (Renzong reign)	–	–
53.	Li Tingzuo 李廷佐	X/-	Han	1347	–	X
	<i>[Liangzhe] Salt Distribution Deputy Vice Commissioners</i> 轉□同知					
54.	Chen Siji 陳思濟	X/-	Han	1264-1294 (Zhiyuan)	168.3956-3958	X
55.	Zhao Zhizhang 趙知章	X/-	Han	–	–	–
56.	Tuohancha'er 脫歡察兒	X/-	Saidianchi clan	1342	–	X
	<i>Salt Distribution Vice Commissioners</i> 運鹽副使					
57.	Li Shouzhong 李守中	X/-	Han	–	–	–
	<i>Salt Distribution Assistant Commissioner</i> 運鹽判官					
58.	Dai Wenbi 戴文璧	X/-	Nan	–	–	–
	<i>Jiangzhe Vice Supervisorate-in-chief for Revenues</i> 江浙財賦府副總管					
59.	Cao Jian 曹鑑	X/-	Nan	1322-1328	186.4282-4283	–
	<i>Jiangzhe Provincial Supervisors of the Supervisorate of Confucian Schools</i> 江浙儒學提舉					
60.	Yu Qian 余謙	X/-	Nan	–	–	–
61.	Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫	X/-	Nan	1286-1308/1311 (Zhida)	172.4018-4023	X
62.	Yang Gangzhong 楊剛中	X/-	Nan	1341-1370	190.4341	–

				(Zhizheng)		
63.	Yuwen Gongliang 宇文公諒	X/-	Nan	1333	190.4349	–
64.	Huang Jin 黃潛	X/-	Nan	1315/1341-1370 (Zhizheng)	181.4187- 4189	X
65.	Wang Daben 王大本	X/-	Nan	1341-1370 (Zhizheng)	–	–
	[Jiangzhe] Assistant Provincial Supervisors [of the Supervisorate of Confucian Schools] 副提舉					
66.	Chen Lü 陳旅	X/-	Nan	1335-1338	–	–
67.	Li Qi 李祁	X/-	Nan	1333-1345	–	–
68.	Li Huang 李桓	X/-	Nan	1341-1370 (Zhizheng)	190.4341	–
69.	Hong Qin 洪欽	X/-	Nan	1341-1370 (Zhizheng)		–

Appendix B: Yunnan²⁰⁹

Comprehensive Gazetteer of Yunnan 雲南通志

(Yuan) 〔元〕

Uriyangkhadai was a Mongol. His father was Subutai. In the year after Möngke Khan ascended the throne (1252), Möngke Khan appointed his younger brother, Qubilai, to lead the troops in the expedition against the Wuman, Baiman, Guiman and the various kingdoms of the Southwest,²¹⁰ and appointed Uriyangkhadai as Supreme Commander of military matters.²¹¹ The Guiman were from the Chituge Kingdom.²¹² In the autumn of the *guichou* year (1253), the great army entered Yunnan from the Dandang mountain ridge.²¹³ Two chieftains of the Mosuo tribes,²¹⁴ Suohuo Tuoyin and Tahuoma came to welcome the Mongols and surrender to them. Subsequently they reached the Jinsha river. Uriyangkhadai split his forces and entered Chahanzhang, which was the territory of the Baiman.²¹⁵ He attacked and subdued one after the other stockade of the area. Only the Bankonghe stockade, where Atala lived, positioned against the mountains and bordering the river, was safe from capture by Uriyangkhadai, so Uriyangkhadai sent people to spy on them. When the spies returned they said they should first cut off their water supplies. Uriyangkhadai then led his crack troops to set up cannons and attacked, but Atala sent over his forces to ward off the attack. In response Uriyangkhadai sent his son, Ashu, to repulse their attack, leading the soldiers from Atala to retreat. Thereupon, both Atala and his brother Ashucheng were defeated. After, the army marched through and took possession of the Longshou pass, to assist Qubilai to enter the capital of Dali.

²⁰⁹ The translations of the YNTZ are partly reused or adapted from an earlier translation of the text that I made.

²¹⁰ *Wuman* 烏蠻 “Black barbarians” refers to the Yi elites and *Baiman* 白蠻 “White barbarians” refers to the Yi commoners. They are the forebears of present-day Nasu Yi. *Guiman* 鬼蠻 refers to the various tribes (including the *Wuman*) in eastern Yunnan and western Guizhou. See Herman 2007, *Amid the Clouds and Mist*, 34 & 49. Names for tribes and groups of people in the Southwest seem not to be standardized and seem to be often used to refer to various groups. Although works, such as Li Jing’s *Yunnan Zhilüe*, already describe many local tribes and customs, categorization of peoples and tribes in the Southwest became more common in the Ming period. See Shin 2006, *The Making of the Chinese State*.

²¹¹ Qubilai, as an imperial prince, was appointed to lead the expedition, but the role of the experienced military leader Uriyangkhadai was probably more important to the Yuan conquest of Yunnan.

²¹² Located in the Yunnan-Guangxi border area.

²¹³ Located on the Sichuan-Yunnan border area.

²¹⁴ Also referred to as *Moxie* are people living around Lijiang in northwest Yunnan. See Armijo-Hussein 1997, *Sayyid 'Ajjal Shams al-Din: A Muslim from Central Asia, Serving the Mongols in China, and Bringing 'Civilization' to Yunnan*, 117.

²¹⁵ Chahanzhang refers to the area of Lijiang, northwestern Yunnan.

In the autumn of the *jiayin* year (1254), Uriyangkhadaï again split his forces, went on to capture the regional capital Shanchan,²¹⁶ and then advanced to attack Shuicheng in Helazhang territory, massacring the city.²¹⁷ Helazhang was the territory of the Wuman. Earlier in a Luo native prefecture, the great chieftain Gao Sheng gathered troops from various tribes in resistance, but Uriyangkhadaï inflicted a devastating defeat on them beneath the slopes of Mount Yikelang.²¹⁸ Subsequently he marched to the Wuman capital of Yachi.²¹⁹ This city bordered Lake Dian and was surrounded by water on three sides, making it dangerous and strong [to defend]. Uriyangkhadaï selected brave soldiers with cannons to destroy the north gate and launched an assault with fire, but all attempts failed. Then, loud drums were beaten, and [the troops] advanced, starting and halting their movements unpredictably, leaving the defenders not knowing how to react. This continued for seven days, waiting until the defenders were exhausted. At night after five drums at a time, Uriyangkhadaï sent his son Ashu to secretly lead troops to climb into the city. In the confusion they struck down the defenders and caused them a great defeat.

When Uriyangkhadaï arrived in Kunze,²²⁰ he captured Duan Xingzhi,²²¹ the King of Dali, as well as one of his key leaders, Mahelaxi,²²² [displaying his success] to the court. The remaining defenders blocked the mountain valleys and were pursued by Uriyangkhadaï's assistant generals Yelitubo and Yazhen, who flanked the right, while the guard Hetai flanked the left. After thirteen days, they surrounded and closed in on them. Then they continued with encirclement, and Uriyangkhadaï and Ashu led a force of 200 skilled archer units, launching a four-sided attack for three days. Uriyangkhadaï broke the enemy ranks and engaged in bitter fighting. He also attacked and seized Xianzhai. When the army reached the city of Qiangdege,²²³ Uriyangkhadaï fell ill and gave his command over the army to Ashu. Ashu surrounded the city, set up cannons, filled the moat outside the city walls with grass and began to gather the troops. Ashu then personally led the troops to battle in the city, which they subsequently captured.

In the *yimao* year (1255), they attacked Huaheyin, Ahe'ayin and other cities. With Ashu leading they took three cities. They also attacked a mountain stockade in Chituge, where Ashu climbed the mountain to fight and eventually defeated [the defenders]. Seizing the momentum, they

²¹⁶ Present-day Kunming area.

²¹⁷ Areas of present-day Chuxiong and Kunming Prefectures.

²¹⁸ Appears as 浪可浪山 in the *Yuanshi*, 121.2979. I cannot find any other reference to this location.

²¹⁹ Present-day Kunming area.

²²⁰ Present-day Yiliang, Yunnan.

²²¹ The text uses 段智興 “Duan Zhixing”. However, this must be an error and be 段興智 “Duan Xingzhi”.

²²² In the *Yuanshi* it reads 馬合刺昔 Mahelaxi, instead of 馬合刺昔 Mahecixi. This is likely the correct spelling. See *Yuanshi*, 121.2980.

²²³ Present-day Chengjiang, Yunnan.

destroyed the city of Tahun of the Lusi Kingdom and subsequently captured the city of Hulan. Terrified, the ruler of the Lulu si Kingdom offered to surrender.²²⁴

The Kingdom of Abo had an army of 40,000 and did not surrender.²²⁵ Ashu attacked them, entered their city making the entire kingdom offer their surrender. They then returned to attack the Alu mountain stockade, advanced further to attack the city of Alu and defeated them. Thereafter, when they searched and captured those who had not yet surrendered, they encountered the Chituge army in the Hedatai mountains. They pursued them to the edge of a cliff, where they killed them all.

In the *dingsi* year (1257), with the pacification of Yunnan, an envoy was sent to report the victory to the imperial court. Additionally, Uriyangkhadai requested to follow the precedent of the Han dynasty by making all the Southwestern *yi* territories into administrative divisions of the dynasty.²²⁶ The request was approved. Uriyangkhadai's troops were bestowed with 50 taels of silver and 24,000 bolts of silk.²²⁷ Uriyangkhadai was granted a silver seal, promoted to Grand Marshal, and assigned to keep controlling Dali.²²⁸

兀良合台

蒙古人。父速不台。憲宗即位之明年，世祖以皇弟總兵討西南夷、烏蠻、白蠻、鬼蠻諸國，以兀良合台總督軍事。其鬼蠻，即赤禿哥國也。癸丑秋，大軍自旦當嶺入雲南境，摩步二部酋長唆火脫因、塔裏馬來迎降，遂至金沙江。兀良合台分兵入察罕章，蓋白蠻也。所在寨柵，以次攻下之，獨阿塔刺所居半空和寨，倚山枕江，牢不可拔，使人覘之，言當先絕其汲道。兀良合台率精銳立砲攻之，阿塔刺遣人來拒，兀良合台遣其子阿朮迎擊之，寨兵退走，遂并其弟阿叔城俱拔之。進師取龍首關，翊世祖入大理國城。

甲寅秋，復分兵取附都善關，轉攻合刺章水城，屠之。合刺章，蓋烏蠻也。前次羅部府，大酋高昇集諸部兵拒戰，大破之於夷可浪山下，遂進至烏蠻所都押赤城。城際滇池，三面皆水，既險且堅。選驍勇以砲摧其北門，縱火攻之，皆不克。乃大震鼓鉦，進而作，作而止，使不知所為。如是者七日，伺其困乏。夜五鼓，遣其子阿朮潛師躍入，亂斫之，遂大潰。

至昆澤，擒其國王段智興及其渠帥馬合刺昔以獻。餘衆依阻山谷者，分命裨將也里脫伯、押真掩其右，合台護尉掩其左，十三日，捲而內向，及圍合，與阿朮引善射者二百騎，期以三日四面進

²²⁴ Both *Lu si* 魯廡 and *Lulu si* 魯魯廡 likely refer to the Luosi Kingdom.

²²⁵ The Abo Kingdom is located in present-day Tonghai and Jianshui counties.

²²⁶ During the rule of Emperor Wu of Han Dynasty (140 - 87 BCE) several areas of Yunnan were incorporated as prefectures. See Yang 2008, *Between Wind and Clouds*, 11.

²²⁷ *Liang* 兩 “taels” is a unit of measurement equivalent to approximately 50 grams.

²²⁸ YNTZ 9.6-7.

擊。兀良合台陷陣鏖戰，又攻織寨，拔之。至乾德哥城，兀良合台病，委軍事於阿朮。還城立砲，以草填塹，衆軍始集。阿朮已率所部搏戰城上，城遂破。

乙卯，攻下花合因、阿合阿因等城，阿朮先登，取其三城。又攻赤禿哥山寨，阿朮緣嶺而戰，遂拔之。乘勝擊破魯廝國塔渾城，又取忽蘭城。魯廝國大懼，請降。阿伯國有兵四萬，不降，阿朮攻之，入其城，舉國請降。復攻阿魯山寨，進攻阿魯城，克之。乃搜捕未降者，遇赤禿哥軍於合打台山，追赴臨崖，盡殺之。自出師至此，凡一年，平大理五城、八府、四郡，自烏、白等蠻三十七部，兵威所加，無不款附。

丁巳，以雲南平，遣使獻捷於朝，且請依漢故事，以西南夷悉爲郡縣，從之。賜其軍銀五千兩、綵幣二萬四千匹，授銀印，加大元帥，還鎮大理。

Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din, also known as Umar, was a *huihui* person and a descendant of the messenger (Muhammed). In his homeland being called Sayyid is similar to being called nobility by the Chinese. In the eleventh year of the Zhiyuan era (1274) of Qubilai, the emperor addressed Shams al-Din: “Regarding Yunnan, I went there myself, but then made unsuitable appointments, causing my faraway subjects to become unruly. I wish to select a person that is cautious and honest, and there is no one like you to pacify and govern.” Shams al-Din received the position and left from his audience at the court. He immediately sought out those with knowledge of the geography of Yunnan to draw a map of its mountains, rivers, walled cities, postal stations, garrisons, difficult paths and distances to present to the emperor, who was greatly pleased. Thereupon he was appointed governor of the Yunnan Branch Secretariat. He was bestowed with fifty million in paper money along with golden jewelry that was countless.²²⁹

At the time, Prince Tuohulu (of the Yuan royal family) who militarily controlled Yunnan, was misled by his advisors, who made him believe that when Shams al-Din arrived, he would seize the prince’s power, so he prepared his army. When Shams al-Din heard about it, he thereupon sent his son, Nasr al-Din, who arrived at the prince first. Nasr al-Din requested: “The son of heaven thought that the defenders of Yunnan were not the right people,²³⁰ causing the betrayal of various kingdoms. Therefore, he ordered Shams al-Din to bring peace and stability to Yunnan. Moreover, the emperor warned Shams al-Din that upon reaching the border of Yunnan he should immediately foster obedience. Shams al-Din does not dare to act without consulting others and

²²⁹ The *Yuanshi* speaks of a lower amount of “500,000” 五十萬. See *Yuanshi*, 125.3064.

²³⁰ The situation in Yunnan before the arrival of Shams al-Din seems to have been quite unstable, as Qubilai’s fifth son Hügeči was murdered in a plot by some Yuan officials. See Armigo-Hussein 1996, *Sayyid ‘Ajall Shams al-Din: A Muslim from Central Asia, Serving the Mongols in China, and Bringing ‘Civilization’ to Yunnan*, 164.

wishes that the prince sends a person to come and discuss the matter together.” When the prince heard this, he immediately blamed his subordinates and said: “I was nearly misled by the likes of you!” The next day he sent out his trusted servants Saman and Weihantai. When they reached Sayyid al-Din, he inquired what etiquette they should use to meet. Saman and Weihantai answered: “We came together with Nasr al-Din and we see him as our brother, so please use the etiquettes [that one uses] for a son to meet us.”²³¹ They gifted Sayyid al-Din a priced horse and bowed to show their great respect. Onlookers were greatly surprised by this display of courtesy. Shams al-Din then held a banquet displaying the gold jewelry and drinking vessels that were bestowed upon him by the emperor. After the banquet was finished, Shams al-Din gave everything to the two servants. The two were overjoyed by surprise. The next day they came to Shams al-Din to express their gratitude, who said to them: “Although you are trusted servants of the prince, you do not yet have titles, so we cannot discuss state affairs. I wish to appoint each of you as provincial officials, but I have not yet seen the prince, so I dare not to appoint you without authorization.” Shams al-Din ordered one of them to return to first report this to the prince, who was greatly pleased. As a result of this, the prince left government orders fully to Shams al-Din.

In the twelfth year (1275), he presented a memorial [from Shams al-Din] to the throne that stated: “Several *yi* of Yunnan that have not submitted to our authority are still numerous. I propose that the Pacification Commissions will also be made responsible for the matters of the Military Command and will at the same time fall under the supervision of the provincial administration.” In another memorial he stated: “The area of Halazhang and Yunnan are the same,²³² but subprefectures and counties are all led by *wanhu* and *qianhu*.²³³ It would be appropriate to change them for civilian officials.”²³⁴ Both were accepted. In the thirteenth year (1276) all the changes of the administrative divisions of Yunnan were reported to the court.

The customs of Yunnan were without etiquette or rituals. Men and women often had relationships with each other as they pleased. When kin passed away, they cremated them, without a proper burial ceremony. There were no fields with rice, no mulberry or hemp, and the younger generation did not receive an education. Shams al-Din taught them about rituals, about marriage through matchmakers, and that the deceased were to be in a coffin with a ceremonial burial. He taught the people to sow seeds, to make reservoirs to prepare for draughts, to build Confucius temples and

²³¹ By comparing them to be brothers to Nasr al-Din, the two servants of the prince use Confucian language to establish the hierarchy between the parties involved.

²³² Halazhang, also Qarajang, is the Mongolian name for the area of the Dali Kingdom.

²³³ A *wanhu* 萬戶 is a commander of a military brigade theoretically consisting of 10,000 soldiers, subdivided into brigades of a 1,000 soldiers headed by a *qianhu* 千戶. See Hucker 1985, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in imperial China*, 153 & 562.

²³⁴ Literally magistrates, but here it refers to replacing military officials for civilian officials.

lecture halls. He purchased the Classics and histories and granted land for schools. Because of this, the culture and manners began to flourish. The people of Yunnan used cowrie shells to represent money, and at this time the government started implementing regulations for paper money, but the people did not find it convenient. Shams al-Din informed the court, allowing them to maintain their custom [of using cowrie shell money]. There was also the Zhongshan route that was dangerous and remote. The coming and going of bandits and thieves caused hardship on travellers. So he placed guards in a series of strategic locations, with each guard having a native chieftain and a military commander (of 100 men) stationed. If those that travelled the route were robbed, the persons appointed would be held responsible and be punished.

There were several low-ranking officials who resented Shams al-Din for not employing them. When they reached the capital, they made several false accusations of Shams al-Din acting without authority and usurpation of power. The emperor looked upon his officials and said: “Shams al-Din is concerned about the state and loves the people. I know him very well. How dare you people falsely accuse him!” He immediately ordered them to be shackled and brought to Shams al-Din to let him punish them. When they reached him he had their shackles taken off and proclaimed to them: “I suppose you did not know the emperor gave me the authority. So you accuse me of acting without authority and usurpation of power. Therefore, I will not punish you. Moreover, I will appoint you to official positions. Can you redeem yourselves with loyalty?” They all kowtowed and thankfully said: “The death penalty would have been proper for our offence, but the governor let us live and take official positions. We pledge to repay him with our lives [devoted to you].”

Jiaozhi constantly alternated between obedience and rebellion and the Huguang Branch Secretariat repeatedly sent soldiers [to Jiaozhi] to no avail.²³⁵ Shams al-Din also sent people [to Jiaozhi] to persuade them to submit [to Yuan authority]. Moreover, the agreement would make them brothers.²³⁶ The King of Jiaozhi was overjoyed and personally traveled to Yunnan, where Shams al-Din went out to welcome him. He treated the king with the etiquette for an honored guest. Thereupon, the king requested to forever be a vassal.

When Luopandian rebelled,²³⁷ [Shams al-Din] went to attack them, he looked worried. When his followers asked why, Shams al-Din replied: “I am not worried about going out to attack. I am worried that you who risk meeting the tip of a spear, die unfortunately and without a reason; I also worry you plunder and take captives from common people, leaving them not even able to make ends meet, leading the people to rebel and thereby making us attack them.”

²³⁵ Referring to the Dai Viet Kingdom, located in northern Vietnam.

²³⁶ This makes the King of Jiaozhi equal to Shams al-Din, but below the Emperor.

²³⁷ Located in present-day Yuanjiang, south-central Yunnan.

When the troops stopped at the city of Luopan, they did not surrender after three days and various generals requested to assault the city, but Shams al-Din could not allow it and sent an envoy to reason with the rebels. The leader of Luopan responded: “I respectfully received your orders.” After three days the city had still not surrendered and the various generals summoned up their courage to ask to enter the city with their soldiers, but Shams al-Din again could not allow it. Suddenly a general and some soldiers climbed the city wall and entered to attack. Shams al-Din was greatly angered and immediately beat the gong to signal a retreat to stop the attack. He summoned the *wanhu*, reprimanded him and said: “The son of heaven ordered me to pacify Yunnan. He has not ordered me to do this by means of a massacre. To attack without the order of a superior warrants execution in military law.” He then ordered his attendants to tie them up. Several generals then bowed their heads and requested he wait until the day of the fall of the city before following up on the matter. The leaders of Luopan heard about this and said: “With a governor as lenient and benevolent as this, me resisting his orders would be inauspicious.” Subsequently all of Luopan surrendered and the general and soldiers were also released without facing the death penalty. Because of this the various *yi* of the Southwest agreed to be submitted to the authority [of the Yuan]. Each time the *yi* chiefs had an audience [with Shams al-Din], it was regulated that the gifts they presented, Shams al-Din would divide and bestow on his followers or give to the poor people. He completely lacked selfishness. He provided food and drinks for the chieftains, made them clothes, headgear, socks and shoes, replacing their arrowroot clothes and straw shoes, leaving the native chieftains all moved with joy.

Shams al-Din resided in Yunnan for six years and passed away in the sixteenth year of the Zhiyuan era (1279), at the age of 69 *sui*.²³⁸ The common people wept together in the streets. He was buried by the north gate of Shanchan. The King of Jiaozhi sent an envoy of twelve people, who wore mourning garments and composed a memorial [for Shams al-Din] that included phrases like “He gave birth to us and nurtured us as a kind parent.” The envoy howled and cried loudly. The emperor lamented on Shams al-Din’s achievements and proclaimed that Yunnan Province and its cities should do everything to adhere to Shams al-Din’s established rules and that they not change it.²³⁹

In the first year of the Dade era (1297) he was conferred the posthumous titles of Official of Outstanding Achievements, who was a Defender of Benevolence, Assistant of Transport and Pacifier of Faraway Subjects, and Grand Preceptor, Commander unequalled in Honor and Supreme Pillar of the State, and Prince of Xianyang and the posthumous name Zhonghui.

²³⁸ Chinese age *sui* starts counting beginning at one.

²³⁹ 輒攻 is likely a typo for 輒改. The *Yuanshi* version of the text also contains 輒改. *Yuanshi*, 125.3066.

[Shams al-Din] had five sons: his eldest son was Nasr al-Din; his second son was Hasan, who served as Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-chief in the Guangdong Circuit; his third son was Husayn; his fourth son was Shansuding Wumoli, who served as Supervisor-in-Chief of the Jianchang [route];²⁴⁰ his fifth son was Masuhu, who served as governor of the Yunnan Branch Secretariat overseeing its various routes.²⁴¹

賽典赤·瞻思丁

一名烏馬兒，回回人，別菴伯爾之裔，其國言賽典赤，猶華言貴族也。世祖至元十一年，帝謂賽典赤曰：「雲南朕嘗親臨，比因委任失宜，使遠人不安，欲選謹厚者，撫治之無如卿者。」賽典赤拜受命，退朝，即訪求知雲南地理者，畫其山川、城郭、驛舍、軍屯、夷險、遠近，為圖以進帝，大悅。遂拜平章政事行省雲南，賜鈔五千萬緡、金寶無算。

時宗王脫忽魯方鎮雲南，惑於左右之言，以賽典赤至，必奪其權，具甲兵以為備。賽典赤聞之，乃遣其子納速刺丁先至王所，請曰：「天子以雲南守者非人，致諸國背叛。故命臣來安集之，且戒以至境即加撫循。今未敢專，願王遣一人來共議。」王聞，遽罵其下曰：「吾幾為汝輩所誤！」明日，遣親臣撒滿、位哈乃等，至賽典赤問以何禮見，對曰：「吾等與納速刺丁偕來，視猶兄弟也，請用子禮見。」皆以名馬為贄，拜跪甚恭，觀者大駭。乃設宴陳所賜金寶飲器，酒罷，盡以與之，二人大喜過望。明日來謝，語之曰：「二君雖為宗王親臣，未有名爵，不可以議國事，欲各授君行省斷事官，以未見王，未敢擅授。」令一人還，先稟王，王大悅。由是政令一聽賽典赤所為。

十二年，奏：「雲南諸夷未附者尚多，今擬宣慰司兼行元帥府事，並聽行省節制。」又奏：「哈刺章、雲南壤地均也，而州縣皆以萬戶、千戶主之，宜改置令長。」並從之。十三年，以所改雲南郡縣上聞。

雲南俗無禮儀，男女往往自相配偶，親死則火之，不為喪祭，無杭稻桑麻，子弟不知讀書。賽典赤教之拜跪之節，婚姻行媒，死者為之棺槨奠祭，教民播種，為陂池以備水旱，創建孔子廟、明倫堂，購經史，授學田，由是文風稍興。雲南民以具代錢，是時初行鈔法，民不便之，賽典赤為聞於朝，許仍其俗。又忠山路險遠，盜賊出沒，為行者病，相地置鎮，每鎮設土酋吏一人、百夫長一人，往來者或值劫掠，則罪及之。

有士吏數輩，怨賽典赤不已用，至京師，誣其專僭數事，帝顧侍臣曰：「賽典赤憂國愛民，朕洞知之，此輩何敢誣告！」即命械送賽典赤處治之。既至，脫其械，且諭之曰：「若曹不知上以便

²⁴⁰ Located in Sichuan.

²⁴¹ YNTZ 9.7-8.

宜命我，故訴我專僭，我今不汝罪，且命汝以官，能竭忠自贖乎？」皆叩頭拜謝曰：「某宜死罪，平章既生之而又官之，誓以死報。」

交趾叛服不常，湖廣省發兵屢征不利，賽典赤遣人諭以逆順禍福，且約為兄弟。交趾王大喜，親至雲南，賽典赤郊迎，待以賓禮，遂乞永為藩臣。

蘿槃甸叛，往征之，有憂色，從者問故，賽典赤曰：「吾非憂出征也。憂汝曹冒鋒鏑，不幸以無辜而死；又憂汝曹劫虜平民，使不聊生，及民叛，則又從而征之耳。」

師次蘿槃城，三日不降，諸將請攻之，賽典赤不可，遣使以理諭之，蘿槃主曰：「謹奉命。」越三日，又不降，諸將奮勇請進兵，賽典赤又不可，俄而將卒有乘城進攻者，賽典赤大怒，遽鳴金止之，召萬戶叱責之曰：「天子命我安撫雲南，未嘗命以殺戮也，無主將命而擅攻，於軍法當誅。」命左右縛之，諸將叩首，請俟城下之日從事，蘿槃主聞之曰：「平章寬仁如此，吾拒命不祥。」乃舉國出降，將卒亦釋不誅。由是西南諸夷翕然款附。夷酋每來見，例有所獻納，賽典赤悉分賜從官，或以給貧民，秋毫無所私。為酒食勞酋長，製衣冠襪履，易其卉服草履，酋皆感悅。

賽典赤居雲南六年，至元十六年卒，年六十九，百姓巷哭，葬鄯闡北門。交趾王遣使者十二人，衰經為文致祭，其辭有生我育我，慈父慈母之語。使者號泣震野。帝思賽典赤之功，詔雲南省城盡守賽典赤成規，不得輒攻。

大德元年，贈守仁佐運安遠濟美功臣、太師、開府儀同三司、上柱國、咸陽王，諡忠惠。

子五人：長納速剌丁；次哈散，廣東道宣慰使都元帥；次忽辛；次苦速丁兀默里，建昌路總管；次馬速忽，雲南諸路行中書省平章政事。

Nasr al-Din, was given the title Grand Master for Palace Attendance and promoted to Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-chief in Yunnan for his merits.

In the sixteenth year of the Zhiyuan era (1279), he was transferred to act as Marshal in Dali, where he led the army in campaigns against Jinchi, Pu, Piao, Qula and the Mian Kingdoms.²⁴² He offered amnesty to and incorporated 300 *yi* villages into his army, registering 120,200 households. He set taxes and levies, set up postal stations, established guards and returned with 12 tame elephants

²⁴² *Mian* 緬 here refers to the Pagan kingdom in present-day Myanmar. *Jinchi* 金齒 “Gilded teeth/Gold tooth” refers to a group of people in the southwestern Yunnan, ancestors of the present-day Dai people. *Qula* 曲蠟 is located near Dehong in western Yunnan. The *Pu* 蒲 are the ancestors of the Bulang people in southwestern Yunnan. See Armijo-Hussein 1997, *Sayyid ‘Ajjal Shams al-Din: A Muslim from Central Asia, Serving the Mongols in China, and Bringing ‘Civilization’ to Yunnan*, 139 & 296. *Piao* 縹 likely refers to Piaodian, a kingdom/Pyu polity located in northern Myanmar. See Christian Daniels 2018, *The Mongol-Yuan in Yunnan and ProtoTai/Tai Polities during the 13th-14th Centuries*, 225.

as tribute [to the court]. [For these achievements] there was an imperial decree bestowing 50 taels of gold and two robes [on Nasr al-Din], and varying amounts of silver for those under his banner. When his father passed away, the officials of the Yunnan Branch Secretariat had just lost control over regions of the various *yi*. Qubilai was greatly worried about the situation and his close officials recommended Nasr al-Din [to him to handle the matter]. In the seventeenth year (1280), he was conferred the title Grand Master for Assisting toward Virtue and the position of Left Assistant Provincial Administrator of Yunnan, and later promoted to Right Assistant Provincial Administrator of Yunnan. He proposed three reforms [in memorials to the throne]:

He stated that the regulation for the production of gold foils and the trade of it causes suffering to the people and should be stopped.

He stated that Yunnan has the Branch Secretariat, the Pacification Commission and also the Military Command. Recently the Pacification Commission has already been abolished through a memorial to the throne, but the Military Command still exists.²⁴³ He argued that the Branch Secretariat already administers both military and civil [matters], thus the Military Command should also be abolished here.

He stated that children of officials were being [taken] as hostages. He argued that [only] the children of high-ranking officials should be sent away [to be hostages]. For the rest [of the officials] it should be abolished.

The memorials were approved.

In the 21st year (1284), he was promoted with the title Grand Master for Glorious Happiness and advanced to become the governor [of the Yunnan Branch Secretariat]. He submitted a memorial to the throne to reduce the superfluous officials of Halazhang, saving the Secretariat 900 taels of gold in annual salary. He had lands opened up for agriculture and taxed, regulated, and assigned people to oversee the newly opened up lands, making 5000 taels yearly [in tax]. In the 29th year (1292), he passed away. He was posthumously granted the titles Official of Outstanding Achievements, who was Promoting Sincerity, and Aiding in restoring Virtue and Harmony, Grand Preceptor,²⁴⁴ Commander unequalled in Honor, Supreme Pillar of the State, Grand Councilor of the Left [of the Central Secretariat], and he was conferred the title of Prince of Yan'an. He had twelve sons [and among them were]: Huxian, who served as the Governor of the Yunnan Branch

²⁴³ This must be referring to a specific one. Not to all Pacification Commissions, as there are many more Pacification Commissioner appointments after.

²⁴⁴ In the *Yuanshi* the title is given as 太師 "Grand Preceptor". 大師 here is likely an error by the compilers of the Gazetteer, or one of its later reprints. See *Yuanshi*, 125.3067.

Secretariat, and Shadi, who served as Left Assistant Provincial Administrator in the Yunnan Branch Secretariat.²⁴⁵

納速剌丁

累官中奉大夫、雲南路宣慰使都元帥。至元十六年，遷帥大理，以軍抵金齒、蒲、縹、曲蠟、緬國，招安夷寨三百，籍戶十二萬二百，定租賦，置郵傳，立衛兵，歸以馴象十二入貢。有旨賞金五十兩、衣二襲、麾下士嘗銀有差。

會其父瞻思丁歿，雲南省臣於諸夷失撫綏之方，世祖憂之，近臣以納速剌丁爲言。十七年，授資德大夫、雲南行中書省左丞，尋陞右丞。建言三事：其一謂雲南省規措所造金薄，貿易病民，宜罷。其一謂雲南有省，有宣慰司，又有都元帥府，近宣慰司已奏罷，而元帥府尚存，臣謂行省既兼領軍民，則元帥府亦在所當罷。其一謂雲南官員子弟入質，臣謂達官子弟當遣，餘宜罷。奏可。

二十一年，進榮祿大夫、平章政事。奏減哈刺章冗官，歲省俸金九百餘兩。屯田課程，專人掌之，歲得五千兩。

二十九年，卒。贈推誠佐理協德功臣、大師、開府儀同三司、上柱國、中書左丞相，封延安王。子十二人：忽先，雲南行省平章政事；沙的，雲南行省左丞。

Husayn. In the first year of the Dade era (1297), he was transferred from the position of Pacification Commissioner of the Jiangdong Circuit to become Right Assistant Provincial Administrator in Yunnan Branch Secretariat. As soon as he arrived, he outlined several matters that were not good and requested the imperial prince to rectify them.²⁴⁶ The prince, however, did not approve it. Husayn and the Left Assistant Provincial Administrator [of Yunnan] Liu Zheng thereupon immediately went back to the capital, where the prince was ordered to cooperate in carrying out [the proposals of Husayn]. As a result the policies that burdened the people were all reformed or replaced. Influential people avoid corvée and are often employed in the guard of the princely establishment [as a way to avoid corvée], leaving offices unable to provide supplies and labor. Husayn investigated the households that were not registered by the Yuan court and registered them all as civilians and removed the amount of people that were employed by the guard [to avoid corvée] by two thirds.

²⁴⁵ YNTZ 9.8.

²⁴⁶ It is not completely clear to which prince this is referring. Because the text refers to an imperial prince it is likely the Prince of Yunnan.

In Malong prefecture,²⁴⁷ a chieftain planned to rebel and secretly colluded with bandits from outside, supporting [these bandits] with imperial proclamations they had been conferred to demonstrate their allegiance [to them]. When the plot was discovered, the advisors of the imperial prince misled him, and wanted to dismiss the matter and asked no further questions. Husayn and Liu Zheng, however, investigated it thoroughly and uncovered the case of treason to the bottom. In the end the perpetrators were beheaded.

As for the distribution of military provisions, varying distances of the region led to officials taking advantage [of the situation] and becoming corrupt. Husayn registered the names of the military households as well as the locations of granaries and [a system] of distributing provisions in turns, which began to eradicate the corruption of the officials.

Earlier, when Shams al-Din served as governor of the Yunnan Branch Secretariat, he established Confucius temple that functioned as a school and allocated 5 *qing* of land [to the temple] for sacrifices and education.²⁴⁸ When Shams al-Din passed away, all the land was appropriated by the (Buddhist) Dade temple. Husayn investigated the old records of the temple school and returned it [to its original purpose]. Thereupon he directed all counties and prefectures to establish similar temple schools, appointing scholars to serve as teachers, which let culture and manners flourish greatly.

The horses of the princely establishment had become great in numbers. They all freely roamed the countryside, destroying the crops of the commoners. Caretakers of the horses also lodged in the houses of the common people, allowing them no rest at home. Husayn measured and allocated pastureland and built dozens of shelters on the land for the caretakers of the horses, allowing the commoners to live in peace.

Shanu, a chieftain native from Guangnan,²⁴⁹ was strong and courageous by nature. He had received gold rewards during the Song dynasty but remained resistant [to Yuan authority] despite the pacification of all other regions of Yunnan. Husayn sent an envoy to persuade [Shanu] to come. [Husayn] treated him with courtesy and [Shanu] stayed for several months. When the chieftain requested to return, Husayn responded: “If you wish to return, you should offer your seal.” The chieftain had no choice but to accept and offered the seal. Husayn held a banquet [in honor of the event], where he persuaded [Shanu] to take the seal to an imperial audience. The emperor was greatly pleased.

²⁴⁷ Located in present-day eastern Yunnan.

²⁴⁸ A *qing* 頃 is a measure for areas equal to roughly 6.7 hectares.

²⁴⁹ Area of Yunnan bordering Guangxi.

In the fifth year of the Dade era (1301), the ruler of Mian was defiant and disloyal. Husayn sent an envoy who conveyed a message: "I am the son of the old Branch Secretariat governor Shams al-Din. Nevertheless, I follow his example. Any inappropriate matter the government caused you, will be rectified." Soon after hearing this, the ruler traveled to the court with envoys, bringing a white elephant as tribute. He declared: "This elephant is unlike any in history and is here because of the supreme morality of the emperor. I humbly offer this local product." After the ruler had entered, the emperor bestowed the ruler of Mian the title of Rightful King."

In dealing with the taxes and levies of the Wuman, which previously required military force to collect, Husayn posted placards explaining the benefits of compliance to the various *man*. Without deploying a single soldier, the taxes were fully collected.

When rumors were spread to mislead the imperial prince, Husayn selected Liu Zheng to discreetly and quickly report the matter to the court. After the court dispatched an envoy to investigate, and everyone that spread rumors was executed. Husayn accompanied the envoy back to the court.

In the third year of the Zhida era (1310), he passed away. He was posthumously bestowed with the titles Official of Outstanding Achievements, who was a Defender of Virtue, Propagating Kindness, and Governed Wisely, Supreme Pillar of the State and Duke of Yong. He was given the posthumous name Zhongjian. He had two sons, [one of them was]: Bohang, who served as *darughachi* to the Zhongqing route.²⁵⁰

忽辛

大德元年，以江東道宣慰使改雲南行省右丞。既至，條具諸不便事，言於宗王，請更張之，王不可。忽辛與左丞劉正馳還京師，有旨令宗王協力施行。由是一切病民之政，悉革而新之。豪民規避繇役，往往投充王府宿衛，有司不勝供給。忽辛按朝廷元額所無者，悉籍爲民，去其宿衛三分之二。

馬龍州酋謀叛，陰與外賊通，持所授宣勅納賊以示信。事覺，宗王爲左右所蔽，將釋不問。忽辛與劉正反覆研鞫，反狀盡得，竟斬之。軍糧支給，地里遠近不同，吏竇緣爲姦。忽辛籍軍戶姓名及倉廩處所，爲更番支給，吏姦始除。

先是，瞻思丁爲雲南平章時，建孔子廟爲學校，撥田五頃，以供祭祀教養。瞻思丁卒，田爲大德寺所有，忽辛按廟學舊籍奪歸之。乃復下諸郡邑，遍立廟學，選文學之士爲之教官，文風大興。王府畜馬繁多，悉縱之郊，敗民禾稼，而牧人又在民家宿食，室無寧居。忽辛度地置草場，構屋數十間，使爲牧所，民得以安。

²⁵⁰ YNTZ 9.8-9. A position generally for Mongols, appointed alongside regular officials, overseeing their activities. See Hucker 1985, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in imperial China*, 468. The Zhongqing route is located in the present-day Kunming area.

廣南酋沙奴素強悍，宋時賞賜以金，雲南諸部悉平，獨此梗化。忽辛遣使誘致，待之以禮，留數月不遣。酋請還，忽辛曰：「汝欲還，可納印來。」酋不得已，齎印以納，忽辛置酒宴勞，諷令偕印入覲，帝大悅。

大德五年，緬國主負固不臣，忽辛遣人諭之曰：「我老賽典赤平章子也，惟先訓是遵。凡官府於汝國所不便之事，當一切為汝更之。」頃國主聞之，遂與使者偕來，獻白象一，且曰：「此象古來所未有，今聖德所致，敢效方物。」既入，帝賜緬國主以世子之號。烏蠻等租賦，歲發軍徵索乃集，忽辛以利害榜諭諸蠻，不遣一卒，而租賦咸足。俄有為飛語及符識以惑宗王者，忽辛引劉正密為奏馳報，朝廷遣使臨問，凡造言之徒悉誅之。忽辛偕使者還覲。

至大三年，卒。贈守德宣惠敏政功臣、上柱國、雍國公，諡忠簡。子二人：伯杭，中慶路達魯花赤。

Ailu was the son of Xili Qianbu. He inherited the position of *darughachi* of the Daming route.²⁵¹ In the fifth year of the Zhiyuan era (1268), he joined a campaign in Yunnan against the Jinchi and other tribes. The *man* armies were 10,000 soldiers strong and had cut off paths to Piaodian.²⁵² [Ailu] attacked them and killed over a thousand of them, striking fear into the various other tribes and leading them to surrender. In the sixth year (1269), he entered the area again to set taxes. He pacified 24 stockades, including Huobuma. He returned with seven tame elephants he had obtained.

In the seventh year (1270), he was transferred to become the *darughachi* of the Zhongqing route, while also leading Cuan and Bo forces.²⁵³ In the tenth year (1273), the governor of the Yunnan Branch Secretariat, Shams al-Din, ordered Ailu to go to the border and manage Yongchang, where he expanded the area of cultivated land.²⁵⁴ In the eleventh year (1274), when [Ailu] inspected the household registers of Zhongqing [route], he discovered over 90,000 hidden [households hidden from the registers].²⁵⁵ He promptly settled the land with 4,000 military households [creating] military farms. In the sixteenth year (1279), he was transferred to become Pacification Commissioner and Vice Commander-in-chief of various routes of Yunnan. In the seventeenth year

²⁵¹ Located in present-day Hebei.

²⁵² Located in northern Myanmar.

²⁵³ The terms Cuan and Bo can refer to various groups of people in the southwest throughout history, but in the Yuan generally refer to Bai groups such as the *Wuman*. See Armijo-Hussein 1997, *Sayyid 'Ajjal Shams al-Din: A Muslim from Central Asia, Serving the Mongols in China, and Bringing 'Civilization' to Yunnan*, 112 & 295.

²⁵⁴ Present-day Baoshan, Yunnan, on the border with Myanmar. The year must, however, be a mistake as the Yunnan Branch Secretariat was only established in 1275, and Shams al-Din was appointed to go to Yunnan by Qubilai in 1274.

²⁵⁵ The *Yuanshi* actually only mentions 10,000 households. See *Yuanshi*, 122.3012.

(1280), [Ailu] again became an official in the Yunnan Branch Secretariat, where he was appointed as Assistant Administrator. In the eighteenth year (1281), the *man* of the Luozuo mountain in Wumeng and the Baiyong river murdered the *wanhu* and rebelled.²⁵⁶ [Ailu] led a campaign to suppress the rebellion and successfully restored order. In the nineteenth year (1282), during the campaign against Mian, when Prince Xiangwu Da'er led several generals, Ailu supplied the troops with rations leaving them no shortages.

In the 25th year (1288), he passed away. He was posthumously given the title of governor and the posthumous name Yimin. His son Jiaohua, who served as Director of Political Affairs of the Central Branch Secretariat, requested the court to posthumously bestow his grandfather Xili Qianbu the title Grand Preceptor and the posthumous name Zhenxian, and to also posthumously bestow Ailu the title Grand Preceptor, to give him the posthumous title of Duke of Gui and change his posthumous name to Zhongjie.²⁵⁷

愛魯

昔里鈴部子也。襲為大名路達魯花赤。至元五年從雲南征金齒、諸部。蠻兵萬人，絕縹緲道，擊之，斬首千餘級，諸部震服。六年，再入定其賦租，平火不麻等二十四峇，得七馴象以還。七年，改中慶路達魯花赤，兼管爨焚軍。十年，平章賽典赤行省雲南，令愛魯疆理永昌，增田為多。十一年，閱中慶版籍，得隱九萬餘，以四千戶即其地屯田。十六年，遷雲南諸路宣慰使副都元帥。十七年，復立雲南行省，拜參知政事。十八年，烏蒙羅佐山、白水江蠻殺萬戶阿忽以叛，復討平之。十九年，諸王相吾兒帥諸將征緬，愛魯供餉餽，無乏絕。

二十五年，卒。贈平章政事，諡毅敏。

子教化，中書平章政事，請於朝，贈其祖昔里鈴部太師，諡貞獻，加贈愛魯太師，追封魏國公，改諡忠節。

Zhao Shiyan. His court name was Zijing. His ancestors were from the Yonggu tribe, but he resided in Yunzhong. In the second year of the Zhiyuan era (1265),²⁵⁸ he was appointed as an Administrative Assistant for a Surveillance Commission of the various routes of Yunnan. At that time he was 24 *sui* old. When a Wuman chieftain rebelled, Zhao Shiyan assembled the officials of the [Yunnan] province and pacified the rebellion. When *man* armies suffered a great defeat, they immediately asked [Zhao Shiyan to accept their] surrender. After he was promoted to

²⁵⁶ Located around the present-day northeastern Yunnan-Guizhou border area.

²⁵⁷ YNTZ 9.9.

²⁵⁸ In the *Yuanshi* it is 至元二十一, the 21st year of the Zhiyuan era (1284). See *Yuanshi*, 180.4163. This is a more plausible date as he is still in function by the year 1311.

Investigating Censor. Later he was promoted to act as Surveillance Commissioner in Sichuan for his merits. In the fourth year of the Zhida era (1311), he was given the title Grandmaster for Palace Attendance and promoted to Secretarial Censor of the Branch Censorate in Shaanxi.

Before his tenure, Babai Xifu invaded the border region.²⁵⁹ Assistant to the Grand Councilor of the Right Liu Shen went to [the area] to restore order, but his armies were defeated and he retreated. [For this] crime he was publicly executed. Hereafter, [the new] Assistant Director of the Right Ahutai was put in charge of carrying on with the expedition. Zhao Shiyan argued: "The matter of [managing] the *manyi*, lies in having a loose rein [policy].²⁶⁰ Repeatedly launching troublesome expeditions leads to military losses and the killing of provincial officials. Suppose you completely control the lands, what benefit does it bring to the state? Today's exhaustion of the army and indiscriminate use of force harms sage rule.²⁶¹ The court should select a high-ranking official who understands governance to handle the border affairs. The military [campaigns] should stop, and troops should not be deployed further."

However, when the matter was brought to the imperial court, the officials in the Bureau of Military Affairs considered using military force of great importance to the state and thought that it should not be halted based on the opinion of one individual. When Zhao Shiyan heard [the response], he submitted the proposal again, which finally ended the matter.

He later served as Chancellor of the Hall of Literature, Hanlin Academician Recipient of Edicts, Director of Political Affairs of the Central Branch Secretariat, and was given the title of Duke of Lu. When he passed away, he was posthumously given the name Wenzhong.²⁶²

趙世延

字子敬，其先雍古族人，居雲中。至元二年，授雲南諸路提刑按察司判官，時年二十有四。烏蠻酋叛，世延會省臣以軍討之，蠻兵大潰，即請降。擢監察御史，累官四川肅政廉訪使。至大四年陞中奉大夫、陝西行臺侍御史。先是，八百媳婦為邊患，右丞劉深往討之，兵敗而還，坐罪棄市。及是，右丞阿忽台當繼行，世延言：「蠻夷事，在羈縻，而重煩天討，致軍旅亡失，誅戮省臣，藉使盡得其地，何補於國？今窮兵黷武，實傷聖治。朝廷第當選重臣知治體者，付以邊寄，兵宜止，勿用。」事聞，樞密院臣以為用兵國家大事，不宜以一人之言為興輟。世延聞之，章再上，事卒罷。

後官至奎章閣大學士、翰林學士承旨、中書平章政事，封魯國公。卒諡文忠。

²⁵⁹ Babai Xifu 八百媳婦 refers to Lan Na, a kingdom in northern Thailand.

²⁶⁰ *Jimi fu* 羈縻府, literally: "loose rein prefecture", were prefectures during the Tang and Song dynasties for native groups. See Hucker 1985, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in imperial China*, 132.

²⁶¹ Rule based on Confucian thought.

²⁶² YNTZ 9.9.

Cheng Silian. In the 26th year of the Zhiyuan era (1289), the Yunnan Branch Censorate was established, and [Cheng Silian] was recalled to serve as Assistant Censor.²⁶³ When he first arrived in Yunnan, *manyi* chieftains came to pay their respects. While what they said seemed modest, their intent was extremely rude. Cheng Silian proclaimed the emperor's orders to be lenient towards his faraway subjects and clearly stated the disasters and fortunes [of following or not following], making known to them they were not outside of [the Yuan's] range. Those who heard it were scared into submission.

Yunnan has had schools for a long time, but teaching of etiquette has not flourished. Cheng Silian put effort in reorganizing and rebuilding them, only then there were those that pursued study and took an interest in Confucian studies.²⁶⁴

程思廉

至元二十六年，立雲南行御史臺，復起思廉爲御史中丞。始至，蠻夷酋長來賀，詞若遜而意甚倨。思廉奉宣上意，緩懷遠人，且明示禍福，使毋自外，聞者懾服。雲南舊有學校，而禮教不興，思廉力振起之，始有從學問禮者。

Liu Zheng. His courtesy name was Qingqing. He was a native of Qingzhou. He was promoted to Branch Secretariat Vice Censor.

In the first year of the Dade era (1297), he was appointed to concurrently act as official within the Bureau of Military Affairs. Shortly afterwards, he was dispatched to the Yunnan Branch Secretariat to act as Left Assistant Provincial Administrator. [At that time], Right Assistant Provincial Administrator Wutulumishi proposed to invade Mian. Liu Zheng believed that this [plan] was not feasible. Soon after, both of them were summoned, and [Liu Zheng] again strongly stated [the plan] was not feasible. [His advice] was not followed, and the military [expedition] ended in failure.

The people of Yunnan transported gold and silver as tribute to the capital every year, but the households and villages near the Zhongqing [route], would falsely claim they had fled their homes. For those who were [still] away from fields and stockades in the last month of autumn, officials would be dispatched to lead troops on a punitive expedition against them. The fodder and provisions for people and horses that went into the cost to go there and back, amounted to tens of

²⁶³ The more extensive biography in the *Yuanshi* states that Cheng Silian was not in any official function, because of the passing of his mother, before taking up his new position as Assistant Censor. Therefore, the text starts with Cheng Silian “being recalled”. See *Yuanshi*, 163. 3829-3831.

²⁶⁴ YNTZ 9.9-10.

thousands annually; the officials [that were tasked with collecting tribute] had to give hefty bribes to provincial ministers before obtaining permission to go. To the gold and silver levy, 10% was added, and the amount taken in inspections [of the levy] was equally [high]; the gifts for welcoming and sending off [officials], were also equal [in value] to the collected tax. Those that were dispatched would again mix copper into silver collected tax.

Liu Zheng first memorialized the throne about this corruption, implemented standard scales, and made native officials deliver payments to the government in person. [As a result] this corruption started to disappear.

When [Liu Zheng] first took office, the [local government] had stored up 2.7 million in fertile lands from investigations and 100 ingots of silver. Four years later, the [local government] obtained 10.7 million in fertile lands from investigations, 100 ingots of gold, and 3,000 ingots of silver. In the autumn of the seventh year [of the Dade era] (1303), [Liu Zheng] returned to Qingzhou.²⁶⁵

劉正

字清卿，清州人也。累官行御史臺中丞。大德元年，改同僉樞密院事，尋出爲雲南行中書省左丞。右丞兀突魯迷失請征緬，正以爲不可，俄俱被徵，又極言其不可，不從，師果無功。

雲南民歲輸金銀，近中慶城邑戶口，則詭稱逃亡，旬寨遠者，季秋則遣官領兵往征，人馬芻糧往返之費，歲以萬計；所差官必重賂省臣乃得遣，徵收金銀之數，必十加一，而折閱之數又如之；其送迎餽贐，亦如納官之數，所遣者又以銅雜銀中納官。正首疏其弊，給官秤，俾土官身詣官輸納，其弊始革。

始至官，儲肥二百七十萬索、白銀百錠，比四年，得肥一千七十萬索、金百錠、銀三千錠。七年秋，還清州。

Zhi Weixing. His courtesy name was Wenju. His art name was Longxi. He was a native of Heyang.²⁶⁶ In the *gengwu* year of the Zhishun era (1330), he achieved a second class *jinshi* in the imperial examination. He was conferred the title Gentleman for Managing Affairs, and positions as vice magistrate in Han prefecture in the Chengdu Route, Supervisor of Confucian schools in Sichuan, Administrative assistant at the Headquarter of the Supervisorate-in-Chief of Jiading route and Sub Prefectural magistrate in Changning prefecture.²⁶⁷ He served as a presiding

²⁶⁵ YNTZ 9.10.

²⁶⁶ Located in Shaanxi.

²⁶⁷ All located in Sichuan.

examiner in the Sichuan Provincial Examinations three times and as the main presiding examiner in the Shaanxi Provincial Examinations once.

In the 29th year of the Zhizheng era (1369), He became an examination official in the Yunnan Branch Secretariat. However, because of obstruction of the roads, he stayed as Provincial Censor in Yunnan and was dispatched to serve as Supervisor-in-Chief of the Zhongqing route.²⁶⁸ Later he was appointed Pacification Commissioner and Vice Commander-in-chief to Lin'an, Yuanjiang and Cheli,²⁶⁹ and a Surveillance Commissioner to Yunnan. Afterwards, he was promoted to Vice Commissioner. With the title Grand Master for Palace Attendance, when he was serving as Assistant Grand Councilor in Sichuan, he retired from office. He left behind a collection of poetry, which circulated widely.²⁷⁰

支渭興

字文舉，號龍溪，邵陽人。至順庚午，科進士第二甲，授承事郎、成都路漢州同知、四川儒學提舉、嘉定路總管府判官、長寧州知州。同考試四川行省鄉試者三，主考陝西鄉試者一。至正二十九年，爲雲南行省考試官，道梗，留雲南省憲，權中慶路總管。除臨安、元江、車里等處宣慰司副都元帥、雲南諸路肅政廉訪司僉事。陞副使，以中奉大夫、四川行省參政，致仕。有詩集行於世。

Li Jing. His courtesy name was Jingshan, he was a native of Hejian Prefecture.²⁷¹ In the spring of the fifth year of the Dade era (1301) he was ordered by the Bureau of Military Affairs to pacify the Wuman and was later promoted to Vice Pacification Commissioner of the Wusa and Wumeng Circuit.²⁷² He wore a tiger talisman and was also in charge of 10,000 military households. At the time when the region fell under the jurisdiction of the Branch Secretariat of Yunnan and Li Jing took a local office, a group of *man* rebelled. He conducted inspections, organized troops, provided supplies, and brought stability to the area, and because of this he traveled throughout Yunnan's borders. Later, drawing from what he had seen and heard, he wrote *An Outline of Yunnan*,²⁷³ consisting of four volumes and presented it to the court. The Hanlin academicians Yu Ji and Yuan Mingshan wrote its preface.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁸ Located in the Kunming area.

²⁶⁹ Lin'an, Cheli and Yuanjiang are located in southern Yunnan.

²⁷⁰ YNTZ 9.10.

²⁷¹ Present day Hebei.

²⁷² Present day northern Guizhou.

²⁷³ In the text the gazetteer uses an abbreviation: *Zhilüe* 志略. The full title of the work is: *Yunnan zhilue* 雲南志略.

²⁷⁴ Yu Ji 虞集 is referred to by his courtesy name Bosheng 伯生 in the text. See *Yuanshi*, 181.4174.

李京

字景山，河間人。大德五年春，由樞廷宣慰烏蠻，尋陞烏撒烏蒙道宣慰副使，佩虎符，兼管軍萬戶。時其地隸雲南行省，京方下車，會羣蠻不靖，按行調發，餽給鎮撫，周履雲南境。後悉其見聞為《誌略》四卷以進，翰林學士虞伯生、元明善序之。

Sandanba. His courtesy name was Shantang, his art name Feishanzi, he was from the (former) Western Xia dynasty. In the Zhizheng era (1341–1370) he was the Right Assistant Provincial Administrator in Yunnan Branch Secretariat. He was good at governing and won the hearts of the military and the people, leaving benevolence to future generations.²⁷⁵

三旦八

字山堂，號飛山子，西夏人。至正間，雲南行省右丞。善於為政，深得軍民之心，有遺愛焉。

Manggudai, was a Khitan and the son of Baotong. During the reign of Qubilai, he was bestowed with a golden talisman and inherited the official post of his father. He acted as Route Commander of the Sui route's newly established army and Commander of the newly established armies in two Shanxi routes. He followed Yesudai'er and conquered Sichuan, Sizhou, Bozhou, Jiandu, and other *manyi*.²⁷⁶ It was a success and Manggudai was promoted to *wanhu*. Because of the campaign against Luobi dian he arrived in Yunnan,²⁷⁷ he ordered his troops to enter the Mian Kingdom to meet the Prince of Yunnan. [On their way] the Jinchi, Baiyi, Daben and other *man* groups often held strategic positions, but Manggudai vigorously attacked and destroyed them. After more than ten battles, he arrived at the border of Mian. He had opened up the Jinchi Circuit and escorted the prince back. He was transferred to Vice Commander-in-chief, when he followed Prince Atai in the invasion of Jiaozhi. Upon reaching the Baihe river, they fought a battle with the false king Zhaowen and captured 87 of his warships.²⁷⁸ Later he followed the Prince of Yunnan again in a campaign against Luobi dian, who they defeated.²⁷⁹

In the 29th year (1292) he entered the court to see the emperor.

²⁷⁵ YNTZ 9.10.

²⁷⁶ Sizhou and Bozhou were two Song vassals in present-day Guizhou.

²⁷⁷ Luobi dian is located in Myanmar, near the border with Yunnan.

²⁷⁸ Also known as as Trần Nhật Duật.

²⁷⁹ The Prince of Yunnan, together with Prince of Liang were two titles the Yuan emperors awarded to family members, who usually resided in Kunming and Dali. As princes they had considerable authority in Yunnan and controlled their own army. See Robinson, *In the shadow of the Mongol Empire: Ming China and Eurasia*, 228.

When Temür ascended the throne, Manggudai was appointed Pacification Commissioner to the Wusa Wumeng and other places, while also in charge of 10.000 military households (as *wanhu*). Later he advanced to become Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-chief to the Dali-Jinchi and other places. In the sixth year [of the Dade era] (1302), the Wusa and Luoluo si rebelled and the Yunnan Branch Secretariat ordered Manggudai to lead the army and pacify them. After the court heard about the events, they bestowed him with 3.000 in strings of coins, 50 taels of silver, and a golden saddle, reins and bow and arrow, to honor his success.

In the ninth year (1305), he was sent with an army to suppress the rebellious traitor Atianqin of Pu'an county, in the Luoxiong Prefecture, and killed him. He was promoted to Generalissimo of the Cavalry Guard, and was awarded the honorary title of the Left Assistant Provincial Administrator of Yunnan, while serving as Pacification Commissioner to Wusa Wumeng and other places. He passed away while on campaign.

In the fourth year of Zhida era (1311), he was posthumously granted the titles of General of the Dragon and Tiger guard and governor of the Branch Secretariat. He was also conferred with the posthumous title of Duke of Pu and the posthumous name Weimin. His son, Huonichi, inherited his position as *wanhu*.²⁸⁰

忙古帶

契丹人，寶童之子也。世祖時，賜金符，襲父職，爲隨路新軍總管，統領山西兩路新軍。從行省也速帶兒征蜀及思、播、建都諸蠻夷，有功，陞萬戶。從攻羅必甸，至雲南，詔以其衆入緬迎雲南王。金齒、白衣、答奔諸蠻，往往伏險要爲備，忙古帶奮擊破之。凡十餘戰，至緬境，開金齒道，奉王以還。遷副都元帥，從諸王阿台征交趾，至白鶴江，與交趾僞昭文王戰，奪其戰艦八十七艘。又從雲南王攻羅必甸破之。

二十九年，入覲。成宗即位，授烏撒烏蒙等處宣慰使，兼管軍萬戶，遷大理金齒等處宣慰使都元帥。六年，烏撒、羅羅斯叛，雲南行省命率師討平之。事聞，賜鈔三千貫、銀五十兩、金鞍轡及弓矢，以旌其功。

九年，討普安羅雄州叛賊阿填擒，殺之。進驃騎衛上將軍，遙授雲南諸路行中書省左丞，行大理金齒等處宣慰使都元帥。卒於軍。至大四年，贈龍虎衛上將軍、平章政事，仍追封濮國公，諡威愍。子火你赤，襲萬戶。

Yehandijin was a Karluk person. He was given the title Supporter-generalissimo of the State because of his merits and was appointed Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-chief in

²⁸⁰ YNTZ 9.10.

Sichuan. In the seventeenth year of the Zhiyuan era (1280), he invaded Woduan, and was later appointed to serve as Assistant Administrator in the Yunnan Branch Secretariat. In the 21st year (1284), [Yehandijin], along with the Assistant to the Right, Taibu and Prince Xiangwu Da'er, invaded Mian from several points simultaneously. They constructed a total of 200 ships in the Abei and Ahe rivers and launched an assault on the city of Jiangtou, which they sacked and where they captured 10,000 elite troops. [Yehan Dijin] ordered Commander-in-chief Yuan Shi'an to defend [the area] and to map its terrain and state affairs. [Yehan Dijin] also sent an envoy to the palace to inform the emperor on strategies for both offense and defense in the region.

Earlier, when Jiangtou had already been sacked, envoys such as Heidi'er and Yang Lin were sent to discuss Mian's surrender. However, they received no response. Meanwhile, rebellious *man* occupied the cities of Jiandu and Taigong, resisting large [Yuan] armies. Later another envoy, a monk, was sent to warn them of the consequences [of resisting the Yuan], but he returned injured. Subsequently, [Yehandijin] commanded his troops to advance simultaneously by water and land, attacking and destroying them. Twelve cities of the Jinchi, including Jiandu, all surrendered. [Yehanndijin] then assigned Commander-in-Chief Hedai and *wanhu* Buduman, along with 5,000 troops, to guard the region.

In the 28th year (1291), when he was appointed to serve as Vice Commissioner for the Bureau of Military Affairs in Sichuan he passed away. He had two sons [one of them]: Huonichidijin, who served as Commander-in-chief in Yunnan.²⁸¹

也罕的斤

匣刺魯人。累官奉國上將軍、四川宣慰使都元帥。至元十七年，征幹端，拜雲南行省參知政事。二十一年，與右丞太卜、諸王相吾答兒分道征緬，造舟於阿背、阿禾兩江，得二百艘。進攻江頭城，拔之，獲其銳卒萬人，命都元帥袁世安守之，且圖其地形勢，遣使詣闕，具陳所以攻守之方。先是，既拔江頭城，遣黑的兒、楊林等諭緬使降，不報。而諸叛蠻據建都、太公城以拒大軍，復遣僧論以禍福，反為所害，遂督其軍水陸並進，擊破之，建都、金齒等十二城皆降，命都元帥合帶、萬戶不都蠻等以兵五千戍之。二十八年，改四川行樞密副使，卒。子二人：火你赤的斤，雲南都元帥。

Duoerchi. His courtesy name was Mingdao. He was a native of Ningzhou in the (former) Western Xia dynasty. During the reign of Qubilai, he was appointed Surveillance Commissioner in Yunnan on the recommendation of an official of the Censorate. At that time the various *man* of Yunnan rebelled. While the assistants in office all made up excuses and fled, Duoerchi alone

²⁸¹ YNTZ 9.10-11.

stayed to protect [the region]. After eight months had passed, [remaining] provincial officials started to grow deeply fearful and returned their talismans and official seals, wishing to flee. Duoerchi thereupon reported this to the Prince of Liang, who called to arms before fleeing [himself]. [Later Duoerchi] was appointed as Surveillance Commissioner in Shannan.²⁸²

Before long, he was again transferred to serve as Surveillance Commissioner in Yunnan. During this time, the Counselor-in-chief Tiemudi'er was notorious for his greed and tyranny, executions and killing. The Pacification Commissioner of Luozhi, Fahualuding, had received a severe punishment [from Tiemudi'er]. Duoerchi said [to Tiemudi'er]: "The authority over life and death rests with the son of heaven. You are a local official, but take the authority to take lives. How can you do this? When common people break the law, [their case] must be reviewed. Let alone an official of the imperial court!" Fahualuding was finally let go after this and soon returned to office. When Jiye and Man killed each other out of hatred, provincial officials at that time accepted bribes to aid in [these] revenge [killings]. Thereupon [these officials] would fraudulently report *man* rebellions to the court, to raise an army and kill law-abiding commoners. Duoerchi reported [on these practices] in a memorial, ultimately leading to their dismissal.

At the age of 62 *sui*, he died in office. His son, Rentong, served as Judicial Secretary in Yunnan. In the third month of the second year of the Tianli era (1329), the various princes of Yunnan and the *wanhu* Bohu rebelled. Rentong led the government troops to resist them, but perished on the battlefield.²⁸³

朵兒赤

字明道，西夏寧州人。世祖時，用臺臣奏，爲雲南廉訪副使。時雲南諸蠻叛，僚佐悉稱故而去，朵兒赤獨居守。又八月，省臣大懼，歸符印欲遁，朵兒赤乃白於梁王，檄而后出。遷山南廉訪副使。

未幾，復調雲南廉訪使。會行省丞相帖木迭兒貪暴擅誅殺，羅織安撫使法花魯丁，將置於極刑。朵兒赤謂之曰：「生殺之柄繫於天子，汝以方面之臣而專殺，意將何爲？小民罹法，且必審覆，况朝廷之臣耶！」法花魯丁竟獲免，尋復其官。棘夷與蠻相讎殺，時省臣受賄助其報仇，乃詐奏蠻叛，起兵殺良民，朵兒赤奏劾，竟廢之。年六十二，卒於官。子仁通，爲雲南省理問。天歷二年三月，雲南諸王與萬戶伯忽等叛，仁通率官軍抗之，沒於陳。

²⁸² Likely located in the Henan Jiangbei Branch Secretariat.

²⁸³ YNTZ 9.11.

Yexian Buhua was a Mongol of the Qielie tribe. In the 23rd year of Qubilai's reign (1286) he received the titles Supreme Pillar of the State and Grand Master of Splendid Happiness and the position of governor overseeing all routes of the Yunnan Branch Secretariat. At that time Alang and Kemading of the various Bo and Yi groups rebelled. He put down their uprising. Thereupon he established more than 60 routes, prefectures, sub-prefectures and counties in Yunnan, registered over 200,000 households, and gave official positions to tribal leaders and set their tribute [requirements], bringing peace to the frontier.²⁸⁴

也先不花

蒙古怯烈氏。世祖二十三年，拜上柱國、光祿大夫、雲南諸路行中書省平章政事。時阿郎、可馬丁諸種焚夷為變。討平之，遂立登雲等路、府、州、縣六十餘所，得戶二十餘萬，官其酋長，定其貢稅，邊境以甯。

Cheli Tiemuer was from the Aluwen tribe. His forefathers had achieved numerous military achievements, making them one of the great tribes of the western regions. From a young age Cheli Tiemur displayed a steadfast and ambitious [character]. Early in life he served in a guard and was promoted to act as Drafter on Duty in the Central Secretariat. Later he was appointed Investigating Censor and was promoted because of merit to become Director of Political Affairs of the Central Secretariat.

In the first year of the Zhishun era (1330), when Bohu rebelled in Yunnan,²⁸⁵ [Cheli Timuer] was appointed by the Bureau of Military affairs to lead the troops to suppress the rebellion. He led his troops with moral discipline, as wherever they passed through, none [of the people] were violated. After the bandits were pacified, [Cheli Timuer] was awarded generously, but all [that he was awarded] he distributed and bestowed on his officers and soldiers. When he returned, he had nothing left but his personal belongings.²⁸⁶

徹里帖木兒

阿魯溫氏。祖父累立戰功，為西域大族。徹里帖木兒幼沉毅有大志，早備宿衛，擢中書直省舍人，拜監察御史，累官中書平章政事。至順元年，雲南伯忽叛，以知行樞密院事總兵討之。治軍有紀律，所過秋毫無犯。賊平，賞賚甚厚，悉分賜將士。師旋，囊裝惟巾櫛而已。

²⁸⁴ YNTZ 9.11.

²⁸⁵ Bohu was a rebellious *wanhu*.

²⁸⁶ YNTZ 9.11.

Qielie, [his family] originated from the Western regions, but have resided in Taiyuan for generations.²⁸⁷ He was a translator for the Central Secretariat, when he followed Shams al-Din on an inspection tour through Sichuan and Shaanxi. In the twelfth year of the Zhiyuan era (1275), the Yunnan Branch Secretariat was established, [Qielie] took office there. Various Dongman and Yi chieftains submitted to [Yuan authority]. Qielie made a great contribution to this. In the fifteenth year (1278), he was sent to Dali. When Mian invaded, he immediately mobilized military resources and led soldiers to defeat them, for which he was transferred to the position of Vice Director of the Left and Right Office of the Central Secretariat.

In the eighteenth year (1281), the Governor Nasr al-Din sent him to the palace to report on the matters of the border to the emperor. Impressed by his intelligence and skills Qubilai conferred a tiger talisman upon him and appointed him *darughachi* of Pacification Commission of Western Mian and Luchuan and while also being in charge of military for the Bandit Suppression Commission. When communication through postal stations in Chengdu and Wumeng was obstructed, Qielie purchased horses on the market to restore [communication], whereafter he improved the postal system. Shortly after he was summoned to the court, and asked about the strategy for the campaign against Mian by the emperor, who met his memorials with approval, and bestowed him with silk and feathers and armour. During the campaign against Mian by Prince Xiangwu Da'er and the Assistant to the Right Taibu, Qiele was appointed to lead the warships as a guide. He destroyed Jiangtou before returning victorious. On his return he then followed the Prince of Yunnan leading 3,000 troops to be stationed in Pyu.²⁸⁸ [Qielie] came up with a strategy that encouraged households to return [to register themselves with the authorities] and let the people return to their livelihoods again.

Later he had an imperial audience, where Qubilai showed him his appreciation [for his achievements] and inquired about the history and future of Mian and gave [Qielie] the title of Grand Master for Proper Consultation and a position in the Central Mian Branch Secretariat.²⁸⁹ He was conferred on a golden tiger talisman, declared to be powerful and virtuous. [Because of the achievements in Mian] the King of Mian kowtowed to express his gratitude. Thereafter the King of Mian sent his son, the crown prince Xinheba, as a hostage [to the Yuan court].²⁹⁰ [Qielie] was given the title Grand Master for Thorough Service and promoted to Assistant Administrator in the Yunnan Branch Secretariat. He was later given the title Grand Master for Assisting toward

²⁸⁷ Located in present-day Shanxi.

²⁸⁸ Pyu city-states were located in present-day central Myanmar but were later part of Pagan.

²⁸⁹ Likely an honorary position or temporarily established Branch Secretariat.

²⁹⁰ Also known as King Kyawswa and crown prince Theingapati of Pagan.

Goodness and advanced to become Left Assistant Provincial Administrator of the Yunnan Branch Secretariat.

In the fourth year of the Dade era (1300), he passed away from illness.²⁹¹

怯烈

西域人，世居太原。由中書譯史從平章政事賽典赤經略川、陝。至元十二年，立雲南行省，署為幕官。諸洞蠻夷酋長款附，怯烈功居多。十五年，分省大理。會緬人入寇，怯烈即以戰具資軍士討平之，授行中書省左右司員外郎。

十八年，平章納速剌丁遠詣闕敷奏邊事，世祖愛其聰辨練達，錫虎符，拜鎮西緬麓川等路宣撫司達魯花赤，兼管軍招討使。成都、烏蒙諸驛阻絕，怯烈市馬給傳，往來便之。俄被召，上親問以征緬事宜，奏對稱旨，賜幣帛及翎根甲。諸王相吾答兒、右丞太卜征緬，命怯烈率兵艦為鄉導，拔其江頭城，振旅而還。復從雲南王之緬總兵三千屯鎮驃國，設方略招徠其黨，由是復業者衆。後入覲，世祖慰勞之，詢以緬國始末，擢正議大夫、僉緬中行中書省事，佩金符，頒詔於緬，宣布威德。緬王稽顙稱謝，遣世子信合八的入貢。遷通奉大夫、雲南諸路行中書省參知政事，進資善大夫、雲南諸路行中書省左丞。大德四年，以疾卒。

Zhangwan Jianu. During the Zhiyuan era (1264–1294), he was promoted to Vice Commander-in-chief, leading troops from Sichuan and Hunan in a campaign against Halazhang. At the time, the Echang, Duoxing, Luoluo and other *man* groups all rebelled, killing and robbing envoys, plundering and robbing the common people, leaving no local officials able to control the situation. Zhangwan Jianu thereupon used his forces to suppress them, exterminating many. For this, the people erected a shrine in his honor.

In the twentieth year (1283), he participated in the campaign against Mian, where he died in battle. The Prince of Yunnan ordered Zhangwan Jianu's son, Baotong, to lead his father's armies in the campaign. Baotong achieved merit by capturing the city of Taigong and succeeded to the position of Vice Commander-in-Chief. Baotong served as Associate Commissioner to Puhua and Lin'an Pacification Commission. He was known for his integrity and loyalty. He governed with strictness and clarity. He had restored peace far and near and he continues to be admired to this day.²⁹²

²⁹¹ YNTZ 9.11.

²⁹² YNTZ 9.11.

張萬家奴

至元間，進副都元帥，將四川、湖南兵征哈刺章。時雲南惡昌、多興、羅羅諸蠻皆叛，殺掠使者，劫奪人民，州郡莫能制。遂以其兵討之，剿其衆，民爲之立祠。

二十年，從征緬，戰死之。雲南王命其子保童將其軍從征，入太公城有功，襲副都元帥。普花、臨安宣慰司同知。存心忠厚，莅政嚴明，遠近靖安，至今慕之。

Yang Zuo. His courtesy name was Qingzhi. He was a Surveillance Commissioner. He was talented and wise and wherever he went, he prioritized the cultivation of people through education.²⁹³

楊祚

字慶之，廉訪僉事。有才略，所至以興學化人爲先。

Zhang Jin. His courtesy name was Junxi. He was a native of Henan. His art name was Yuxi. In the Zhizheng era (1341–1370), he was a Surveillance Commissioner in Yunnan. Zhang Jin previously held positions in various circuits, such as Zhedong and Hunan and in all cases he received appraisal. Upon arriving in Yunnan, he protected the weak and eradicated the powerful, he reported the crooked officials and honored the virtuous. His efforts compelled the corrupt and wicked to reform, while others fled Yunnan to seek refuge outside its borders. He regularly traveled to inspect and when he arrived in Chengjiang, he resolved over fifty difficult legal cases and settled more than 300 leftover cases. Wherever he went, people always lauded him.²⁹⁴

張瑾

字君錫，河南人，號玉溪。至正間，雲南廉訪副使。瑾歷浙東、湖南諸道，皆有聲。至雲南，扶弱鋤強，申屈旌善，使奸惡革心，避境遠遁。常行部至澂江，辯釋疑獄五十餘起，剿決冗案三百餘件，所至人皆頌之。

Lü'er served as the Right Assistant Provincial Administrator in Yunnan. Dade served as the Left Assistant Provincial Administrator in Yunnan.

Earlier, after Dalima was defeated, the Prince of Liang,²⁹⁵ upon hearing the news, fled by boat to Kunming Lake with his mother Jiayi, his wife Hudijin, and over a hundred others. The Prince of

²⁹³ YNTZ 9.11.

²⁹⁴ YNTZ 9.11-12.

²⁹⁵ Basalawarmi, also transliterated as Vajravarmi, held the title Prince of Liang and was a descendent of Qubilai. See Robinson 2020, *In the shadow of the Mongol Empire: Ming China and Eurasia*, 227.

Liang said to Lü'er and the others, "I am of the imperial lineage. I will not surrender to them." He then took poison and died. His wife and children followed him in death. Now that Lü'er and Dade had presented the poison to the prince, they too committed suicide. Their wives and children also chose to die with them, amounting to almost 200 people.²⁹⁶

驢兒

行省右丞。達德，行省左丞。初，達理麻既敗，梁王聞之，率其母嘉僖、妻忽的斤等百餘人乘舟趨昆明池，謂驢兒等曰：「我宗室，無降理。」仰藥死，妻子皆死之。驢兒、達德既進毒於王，亦皆自殺，妻子從死者幾二百人。

Zhu Bao was appointed to defend the garrison at Shiping.²⁹⁷ Alongside him, the *qianhu* Heng You also took part in the defense of Shiping. At the beginning of the Tianli era (1328–1329), all the administrative divisions in the region had fallen. Only Zhu Bao and his people led well trained cavalry. With a group of over 50 people he reached the Pacification Commission office at night, where they launched a surprise attack on false officials and returned a stolen seal.

[Back in Shiping] Zhu Bao saw that Yilong lake and Long island had a wall and moat that could be deepened, so he led people to take refuge there. Later, a group of bandits had formed and came to attack them. They came with 300 boats, and amongst Zhu Bao's people some wished to surrender. Heng You confronted them, smeared the blood of a sacrifice on his mouth as he declared: "Whether we fight or surrender, we will die. We shall repay our country with our death. Whoever talks about surrender, will be executed!"²⁹⁸ Everyone reacted enthusiastically. When the boats with bandits were about to land, the people were eager to engage with the enemy, but Heng You said: "Do not act rashly." Before long, the bandits came towards them like ants. They unleashed cannon fire on them, destroying dozens of ships in succession and killing 300 bandits. They had endured the siege for seventy days, when they started to run out of provisions. Wealthy commoners and the treasury of a prince, contributed over a thousand *dan* [of rice] to the people.²⁹⁹ [At last], help arrived, and they were liberated [from the bandits].³⁰⁰

²⁹⁶ YNTZ 9.12. The story follows the exemplary suicide of Lü'er along with the Prince of Liang, also known as Basalawarmi, after the defeat of his general Dalima. It differs from other accounts about the Prince of Liang, where he drowned his wife and children before hanging himself. It is also notable that this story that concluded in 1382 is included in the Yuan period as the Yuan had already fallen. See Robinson 2020, *In the shadow of the Mongol Empire: Ming China and Eurasia*, 239-240.

²⁹⁷ Located in south-central Yunnan.

²⁹⁸ 插血 should probably be the characters 歃血 "to smear the blood of a sacrifice on the mouth", meaning to swear an oath.

²⁹⁹ *Dan* 石 is a unit of measurement for volume equivalent to approximately 100 litres.

³⁰⁰ YNTZ 9.12.

朱寶

守鎮石屏。千戶亨祐，同守石屏。天曆初，各處郡縣皆陷，獨寶等率驍騎，五十餘人夜至宣慰司，掩襲僞官及所奪符印以歸。

見異龍湖和龍島有壘塹可深，引衆據之。後賊合衆來攻戰，舟三百艘，有欲降者，亨祐對衆插血曰：「我等戰亦死，降亦死，當以死報國，有言降者斬！」衆皆踴躍。賊舟將至，衆欲迎敵，亨祐曰：「毋急也。」無何，賊兵蟻附。發砲繫之，連碎數十艘，斬首三百級。受圍七旬，糧乏，富民王帑出粟千餘石以給衆。會救至，得免。

Appendix C: Nanchang

Nanchang Prefectural Gazetteer 新修南昌府志

He Zhong, was a native of Le'an.³⁰¹ Before the end of the Song he became a *jinshi*. With the study of the classics, he took on the responsibility [of teaching], his knowledge was broad and profound. With his disciples he discussed the *Yijing* (Book of Changes), the *Shijing* (Book of Songs), the *Shujing* (Book of Documents), and the *Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals). Wu Cheng and Jie Xisi both esteemed and admitted [his knowledge].

In the beginning of the Zhengshun era (1331),³⁰² the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat requested [He Zhong] to be employed as a teacher in the Longxing district.³⁰³

When he later passed away, he left several works behind, including *Yixiang lei*, *Shu Zhuan Bu Yi*, *Tongjian Gangmu Ce Hai*, and *Zhi Fei Tang Ji*.³⁰⁴

何中

樂安人。宋末舉進士。以古學自任，其學宏深該博，與門弟子講《易》、《詩》、《書》、《春秋》，吳澄、揭傒斯皆推服。

元正順初，江西行省聘為隆興郡學師。卒，所著有《易象類》、《書傳補遺》、《通鑑綱目測海》、《知非堂集》等書。

Yang Qian. His courtesy name was Bogong. He was a native of Jishui.³⁰⁵ At the end of the Yuan, when [Yang Qian] was appointed as Instructor at a Confucian school in Longxing Route, Chen Youliang was raiding in Jiangxi, and [caught] various counties unprepared. Yang Qian submitted a memorial to the border garrisons, [explaining about] Chen Youliang's military movements and financial management [to counter him]. His words were profound and sharp, but many dismissed them as unrealistic.

Soon after, Liu E was assigned to defend Jiangzhou, but halted upon hearing alarming reports when he was halfway there.³⁰⁶ When he stopped he had not yet entered Longxing. Yang Qian

³⁰¹ Le'an 樂安 is located in central Jiangxi.

³⁰² In the *Yuanshi* his biography gives the second year of Zhishun era 至順二年. However, the NCFZ contains Zhengshun era instead. This is either a typo, or a way to differentiate between the Zhishun eras and give the "correct" Zhishun era, as multiple Yuan claimants to the throne reigned during the Zhishun era. See *Yuanshi*, 199.4452.

³⁰³ Longxing 隆興 was the name for the Nanchang area during the Song and Yuan dynasties.

³⁰⁴ NCFZ 15.15.

³⁰⁵ Jishui 吉水 is located near Ji'an in Jiangxi province.

³⁰⁶ Jiangzhou 江州 is located in present day Jiujiang in northern Jiangxi province.

devised a strategy for him and recruited troops to accompany his advance. As soon as he set out, Yang Qian repeatedly sent letters urging Liu E, saying: “There is still a chance to act, but it must not be postponed.” He also persistently wrote to the bordering censors, but only the Censor Han Zhun shared his views and wanted to cooperate with Yang Qian, while those in charge of military affairs ignored him.

As Chen Youliang continued to sack several counties, Yang Qian led his people with righteousness and raised gold and silk for the recovery plans. As matters were being accomplished, he was again stopped by those in charge of the military. Therefore he went into retirement to never return. Before long, Longxing was also sacked.

As soon as [Chen] Youliang was defeated and died, Jiangxi submitted to the court [of Zhu Yuanzhang]. A court decree was issued to reinstate former officials with talent and experience to restore order. Yang Qian, because of illness, declined the offer and was allowed to retire.³⁰⁷

楊謙

字伯恭，吉水人。元季任隆興路儒學正時，陳友諒掠江西，諸郡無備。謙上書藩鎮，陳用兵、理財數事，言甚開切，衆迂視之。既而，劉鶚守江州，中道聞警，止隆興未進。謙為畫計，募兵隨行。既行，又數遺書促鶚曰：「乃今尚可為，不可緩也。」又數以書干藩憲，獨憲使韓準與謙意合，而典兵者不聽。

友諒既連陷諸郡，謙以義倡眾，抬金帛為克復計。事集，又為典兵所沮，遂隱歸，不復出。未幾，而隆興亦陷矣。友諒既敗死，江西內附。詔舉故官有才幹者肅之，謙以疾辭，得免。

Xie Bingde. His courtesy name was Junzhi. He was a native of Yiyang.³⁰⁸ His conduct was bold, forthright, loyal and righteous. During the Baoyou era [of the Song dynasty] (1253–1258), after passing the examination, he was appointed as a Pacification Commissioner in Jiangxi, but his dispatched generals were unsuccessful in battles against the Yuan forces. Thereupon, he changed his name and went into hiding in the mountains of Jianning, calling himself Yuansu Yifeng.

At the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, high-ranking officials repeatedly offered him [official positions], but he always dismissed them, which angered some. He was forced to travel north, arriving in the capital of the Yuan, where he asked about the whereabouts of Empress Dowager

³⁰⁷ NCFZ 15.15.

³⁰⁸ Yiyang 弋陽 is located in northeastern Jiangxi province.

Xie and the Duke of Ying.³⁰⁹ He wept bitterly, did not eat and died. His wife, Li, also hung herself to follow him [in death].³¹⁰

謝枋得

字君直，弋陽人。為人豪爽忠義。寶祐中，試經科後，為江西招諭使，遣將與元兵戰不利。乃變姓氏，入建寧山中，號怨肅易封。

元初，大臣累薦，輒辭，有怒之者。強以北行至元都，問謝太后及羸國公所在，慟哭不食而死。妻李氏亦自縊以殉。

Yuan 元

Xu Youren. His courtesy name was Keyong. In the second year of the Zhizhi era (1322), he was appointed as Investigating Censor in the Jiangnan Branch Censorate. While he inspected Jiangxi, he met Surveillance Commissioner Mao Haoqian, who supervised paper money. From minor officials managing the storehouses to lower [clerks], [all] were tortured to having no complete skin. [Xu] Youren learned about this and released them. Powerful officials and local wealthy, were feared by the people as if they were tigers and wolves. [Xu] Youren arrested and prosecuted them in accordance with the law. Within the department, he was [regarded with] respect.³¹¹

許有壬

字可用。至治二年，遷江南行臺監察御史，行部江西，會廉訪使苗好謙監鈔。筦庫吏而下，榜掠無全膚，有壬悉釋之。凡勢官豪民，人畏之如虎狼者，有壬悉擒治以法，部內肅然。

Li Shi'an. His courtesy name was Yanhao. He was from the (former) Western Xia dynasty. In the Zhiyuan era (1264-1294), he served in the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. He identified a shrewd monk that had forced wealthy families into lending him treasures. [The monk] had [protection] from the officials of Xinfeng and various other places.³¹²

When bandits arrived, seventeen stockades had surrendered. [Li Shi'an] distributed millet for the people to return to their livelihoods. Later he was appointed Governor of the Branch Secretariat.³¹³

李世安

字彥豪，西夏人。至元間，僉江西行中書省事。辨黠僧脅取富室貸寶，平信豐諸處臣。

³⁰⁹ Duke of Ying 羸國公 was a title given to the former Song Emperor Gong 宋恭帝 (r. 1274-1276). The character 大 *da* should likely be 太 *tai* here. Referring to Empress Dowager Xie 謝太后.

³¹⁰ NCFZ 15.15.

³¹¹ NCFZ 15.16.

³¹² Xinfeng 信豐 is located in present-day southern Jiangxi province.

³¹³ NCFZ 15.16.

寇至，降一十七寨，散粟以給復業之民。後除行省平章政事。

Dong Shixuan. His courtesy name was Shunqing. During the Chengzong reign (1294-1307), he was appointed as Left Assistant Provincial Administrator in the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. When bandits in Gan[zhou] gathered a force reaching over 10,000, the court sent forces to suppress them, but to no avail.³¹⁴ [Dong] Shixuan requested to go there himself. As soon as the sun came up, he set out, only leading the two clerks, Li Tingzhen and Yuan Mingshan, to travel to the border area [of Ganzhou].³¹⁵ [Dong Shixuan] punished the bureaucrats that harmed the people. He investigated the people that caused revolts and made scoundrels into refugees. Because of this, the people vied to come out and contribute [to local defences]. Subsequently they captured the rebel leader and broke up the forces [of the rebels] returning them to farming.

While serving in office, he honored the able and virtuous. He discovered Wu Cheng and instructed him, and he invited Yu Ji to teach. He also recruited [Yu] Ji's son [Yu] Ji along with several others.³¹⁶ He discovered Fan Peng, as well as several others, but in all cases their knowledge was evident. Therefore, people in that generation said that when looking for a recommendation, one should certainly take that of the Dong family as foremost.³¹⁷

董士選

字舜卿。成宗時，拜江西行省左丞。贛賊聚衆至萬餘，朝廷遣兵討之，無功。士選請自往，即日就道，但率掾史李廷鎮、元明善二人，同至境部，官吏害民者治之。察激亂之人，并奸民為囊橐者。于是民爭出請自效。遂擒渠魁，散餘衆歸農。

在任，敬禮賢士，得吳澄而師之，延虞汲於家塾，又招汲子集與俱，得范梈等數人，皆以文學顯。故世稱求薦士，必以董氏為首。

Quan Yue Zhu. He served as Governor of the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. At that time there were those that falsely accused wealthy people of owing money to the treasury of the Prince of Yongnin. An envoy was sent to collect it. When the envoy reached Jiangxi, [Quan Yue] Zhu said: "This matter involves a false accusation, I cannot act on these orders. Moreover, the people are the basis

³¹⁴ *Gan* 贛 refers to the area of present-day Ganzhou, Jiangxi province, where the Gan river flows.

³¹⁵ Yuan Mingshan would later be a Hanlin academician and is also mentioned in the biography of Li Jing in the *(Wanli) Yunnan tongzhi*.

³¹⁶ Yu Ji 虞集 would later also be a Hanlin academician and is mentioned along with Yuan Mingshan in the biography of Li Jing in the *YNTZ*.

³¹⁷ *NCFZ* 15.16.

of the state. Harming the basis by means of provoking resentment, is not a good fortune to the country.” When the prime minister heard these words, he was deeply moved.³¹⁸

全岳柱

為江西行省平章政事。時有誣富民負永寧王官帑錢者，遣使徵之。使至江西，柱曰：「事涉誣，不可奉命。況民為邦本，傷本以斂怨，非國家福也。」時相聞之，感動。

Liu Rong. During the Zhiyuan era (1264–1294), he was sent to assist officials in Jiangxi to pacify the newly submitted populace by the Central Secretariat. Some advised him to take and give bribes from and to the powerful to gain their favor. [However], Rong responded: “If I exploit the people for personal gain, then how can my heart feel at peace?” So he refused.³¹⁹

劉容

至元中，以中書省掾使江西撫慰新附之民。或勸其受送遣歸賂權要以致榮寵，容曰：「剝民以自利，吾心何安？」不聽。

Jing Yan. His courtesy name was Weiqing. He was a native of Yimu.³²⁰ In the second year of the Huangqin era (1313), he took part in governing in the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. According to old customs, when commoners had disputes, they frequently [bypassed local authorities and] appealed to a higher court in the Branch Secretariat. Officials would get [the chance] to go out of their jurisdiction to obtain illegal benefits [for themselves], which therefore led to numerous [lawsuits]. Jing Yan ordered the provincial authorities that if they did not hold [the proper] office, they could not get involved [in the affairs] of the people. Thus, the matters of litigation were decreased.

When an imperial decree (re)established the examination system, Jing Yan recommended Wu Cheng from Linchuan and Yang Gangzhong from Jinling as examiners.³²¹ [Their selections] led to the discovery of many [talented] individuals.³²²

敬儼

字威卿，易木人。皇慶二年，為江西省案政。舊俗，民有爭，往往越訴於省，吏得竝緣為奸利，訟以故繁。儼下令省府，非有司不得侵民，訟事遂簡。

³¹⁸ NCFZ 15.16.

³¹⁹ NCFZ 15.17.

³²⁰ Yimu 易木 is located in present-day Hebei province.

³²¹ Linchuan 臨川 is located in present-day Fuzhou in Jiangxi province. Jinling 金陵 was the name of Nanjing during the Yuan dynasty.

³²² NCFZ 15.17.

詔設科舉，儼薦臨川吳澄、金陵楊剛中為考試官，得人為多。

An Qian. He served as Departmental magistrate. He was steadfast and clear of judgment. He governed by paying attention to pacifying *yi*. He moralized and changed them with great confidence. As for repelling invaders, promoting education, and rectifying bad policy, he paid special attention to it. Later generations established a stele in honor of his virtuous [governance].³²³

安謙

監郡沉毅明斷，政尚清夷，德化大孚。至于退彊寇、興學校、舉弊政，尤加意焉。後人為立德化碑。

Li Lian. His courtesy name was Xingjian. He was a native of Luling.³²⁴ With [studying] the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, he became a *jinshi* and was appointed as an office clerk in the Longxing Route. It was said that: “After doing public work, he teaches many students at night.” He left behind *An Explanation of the Spring and Autumn Annals*, which circulated widely.³²⁵

李廉

字行簡，廬陵人。以春秋兩舉進士，授隆興路錄事，曰：「置公事，夜課諸生」。有《春秋會通》行於世。

Chuang Wu'er, was a *Huihui* person. He was *darughachi* in Fengcheng county.³²⁶ He was honest and upright, and he was a good administrator.

Once, when soldiers were traveling by boat through his jurisdiction, they were killed by bandits. When the case was reported, the provincial official Zheng sent out Guo to arrest [the perpetrators]. Guo wanted to slaughter all the commoners [living along the] riverside. However, Chuang Wu'er [intervened], saying: “As the county magistrate, I have investigated this thoroughly and know that [the perpetrators] were river pirates. What does it have to do with the commoners?” He then firmly argued [against such an action], declaring that if his request was denied, he would report the matter to the imperial court. Guo [thereupon] withdrew his troops.

The county was surrounded by water, and for several consecutive years, he oversaw the construction of embankments to prevent flooding. Additionally, he built several hundred *zhang*

³²³ NCFZ 15.17.

³²⁴ Located in present-day Ji'an, Jiangxi province.

³²⁵ NCFZ 15.17.

³²⁶ One of the counties located in Longxing prefecture.

of defensive walls.³²⁷ Despite these efforts, the people did not suffer shortages, and the population steadily increased. [The region] became increasingly prosperous.

Later, when Xinfeng was elevated from a county to a prefecture, he was appointed as its *darughachi*. There, he promoted education and moral teachings, bringing a renewal of governance and teaching.

His son, Bolanxi, later served as the *darughachi* of Ningzhou, Xinjian and Jinxian.³²⁸ In Jinxian, he [served for] over ten years and was widely recognized for his achievements.³²⁹

創兀兒

回回人。豐城縣達魯花赤。明怒廉介，為政有方。嘗有軍人舟行過境，死於盜。事聞，省路委同知鄭某，會郭招討出捕。郭欲盡屠瀕江民，兀兒曰：「吾為令長檢覆，知為河寇，於民何與？」乃直前辨白，謂不得請，則將入奏。郭斂兵去。

邑四面皆水，連歲增築堤防，又築牆數百丈，民不告匱，戶口日增。產物殷。一新阜陞縣為州，就授州達魯花赤，興學崇化，政教一新。

子孛蘭溪，歷寧州、新建、進賢達魯花赤。在進賢十餘年，甚著功績。

Jia Quan. He was a native of Zhenchen.³³⁰ He was the magistrate of Fengcheng. In the twelfth year of the Zhiyuan era (1275), the official in charge of defending Longxing, Liu Pan, surrendered the city, and instructed the dependent village to submit and comply. The townspeople were afraid and those that had fled numbered nineteen streets [of people]. The villages were desolate. [Jia] Quan, with benevolence and forgiveness, comforted the people, in order to return and settle them. He decreased corvee duties and set up schools. [Because of this] the people of the villages [built] a shrine to him.³³¹

賈全

甄城人。豐城縣尹。至元十二年，隆興守臣劉槃以城降，諭屬邑順附。市民懼而徙者十九井，邑蕭然。全以仁恕慰撫民，以還定。省徭役，興學校。邑人祠之。

³²⁷ Zhang 丈 is a unit of distance equal to approximately 3.3 meters

³²⁸ Ningzhou 寧州 was a prefecture located in present-day Jiujiang in Jiangxi province. Xinjian 新建 and Jinxian 進賢 were counties within the Longxing Route.

³²⁹ NCFZ 15.17.

³³⁰ Located in present-day Shandong.

³³¹ NCFZ 15.17-18.

Chen Yuankai. His courtesy name was Shiju. He was a native of Hedong.³³² When Fencheng was first elevated to a prefecture, [Chen] Yuankai serving as a Director in the Branch Secretariat became the magistrate. He established rules and regulations in order to teach the people goodness, paying attention to moral education before resorting to punishment. He managed the Confucius Temple, rebuilt its lecture hall, recast sacrificial vessels, and built the Tower of the Outstanding of Jiangshan. He recruited apprentices and promoted achievements in culture and education.

After finishing official duties, he would ride a single carriage to the school, where he instructed and encouraged students. He discussed and inquired about the hardships of the people, he inquired into the advantages and disadvantages, the gains and losses of governmental affairs, and then put what he had learned into practice. At that time, [people] regarded his governance as good, and they [lived] in harmony.³³³

陳元凱

字時舉，河東人。豐城初陞州，元凱以行省郎中為尹。立紀綱以新民，聽先教化而後刑罰。經理學宮，重修講堂，改鑄祭器，創江山秀傑樓，招學徒，興文治。

公退，即單車請學，訓勉諸生，講求民瘼，詢考政事利害得失，而罷行之一。時善治，翕然。

Wu Guan. He was a native of Jiangzhou.³³⁴ During the Zhiyuan era (1264-1294), he served as the magistrate of Fenning county.³³⁵ He was honest and prudent with few desires. The doors [of his office were] not [open to] the pursuit of personal favors. He used his personal fund to pay for several hundreds of *mu* of arable land, installed village heads to manage the funds, and set up granaries to store [the harvest] that came in. He said: “To preserve benefit [to the community], whenever encountering floods or drought, immediately distribute [from the granaries] as to relieve the poor people.”

After he left [office], the people cherished his virtue. They established a shrine and made a statue for him beside the [local] government office and made seasonal sacrifices to it.³³⁶

吳觀

江州人。至元間，知分寧縣。清慎寡欲，門無私謁。括私帑買田數百畝，設鄉司以掌之，置倉積其所入，曰：「存惠，遇水旱，輒發之以賑卹貧民。」

³³² Located in present-day Shanxi province.

³³³ NCFZ 15.18.

³³⁴ Located in present day Jiujiang, Jiangxi province.

³³⁵ Located in present-day Jiujiang.

³³⁶ NCFZ 15.18.

去後，民懷其德，立祠塑像於公署之側，歲時祭之。

Gao Nalin. He was the grandson of [Gao] Zhiyao and the son of [Gao] Rui. In the first year of the Tianli era (1328), he was transferred to serve as Surveillance Commissioner in Jiangxi. [Jiangxi] experienced a famine that year, the supervisors of the troops immediately examined [the situation], the households had been asking for millet for several months. [Gao Nalin] distributed the grain from the state granaries to the household, and if it was not sufficient he would use [his own] salary to help. He prohibited encouragements of sharing, and subsequently lowered the prices in order to suppress the trade in rice. To the elderly and weak that were unable to move, he sent officials to aid them; to the sick who could not recover, he gave medicine; to those starving along the many roads, there was porridge to eat; to those in despair, were healed. From then on, [disaster] relief and consolation, always followed [Gao Nalin's] methods. He was also able to cast out the villainous and expose secrets, and cared for the weak. The people all [admired] his virtues.³³⁷

高納麟

知曜之孫，睿之子。天歷元年，改江西廉訪使。值歲饑，督守今覈，戶口討米數月，發官廩給之，不足則抬已俸為助。禁勸分而彊人之不欲，乃抑價以遏糴。其老弱不能移者，遣吏往濟之；病不能愈者，給以醫藥；饑餓千道者，為鬻食之；厄于命者，痊之。下今州賑撫，皆如其法。又能發奸摘伏，撫恤孤弱，民咸德焉。

Yang Yuanjun. He was a native of Shen County.³³⁸ During the Zhiyuan era (1264-1294), he was the magistrate of Ningzhou. He was honest, free from corruption, and merciful. His governance was balanced, and he kept legal matters brief. He remained in his office for long, and [therefore] the people became prosperous.

On the day he left his office, the people all wailed and laid in the tracks of his carriage begging for him to stay.³³⁹

楊元鈞

莘縣人。至元間，知寧州。廉明寬恕，政平訟簡，久於其任，民以殷富。去任之日，民皆臥轍告留。

³³⁷ NCFZ 15.18.

³³⁸ Located in present-day Shandong.

³³⁹ NCFZ 15.18. *Wo zhe* 臥轍 is an allusion to the official Hou Ba 侯霸 in *Book of the Later Han* 後漢書, to whom the common people begged to stay. See *Hou Hanshu* 56.7.

Tiemuzhen. He was a *semu* person. During the Zhiyuan era (1264-1294), he served as *darughachi* of Nanchang [County].³⁴⁰ He was mindful, benevolent and tolerant. He loved the people as his own children, and the people revered him as a parent. When experiencing a year of early drought, [Tiemuzhen] reduced the provision responsibilities and prayed at a sacred shrine, which was responded to with a long spell of rain followed.³⁴¹

帖木真

色目人。至元間，爲南昌達魯花赤。處心仁恕，愛民如子，民戴之如父母。嘗歲旱，減膳責已禱於神祠，霖雨隨應。

Fan Shou. His courtesy name was Yuhong. He was a native of Fengcheng [county]. His teachings and discussions introduced new [ideas]. At that time, monks from a temple forcibly seized land belonging to a school, leading to several legal disputes with the temple. The case was eventually assigned to a special officer from the Bureau of Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs for investigation, but when he arrived his questioning was dismissive, and his character was corrupt. Fan Shou presented historical records as evidence, which angered the envoy, who then seized the documents. Fan Shou declared: “These records and I share the same fate. If you take them, I will certainly knock on the palace gates to seek justice. That is not something I fear.” Ultimately, the land was preserved and not taken away.³⁴²

范壽

字于洪，豐城人。教諭舉新。時寺僧豪奪學田，寺訟數載。適宣政院專官板勘，逮詰問辭，氣俱腐。壽出載籍捐陳，使者怒，執其籍。壽曰：「此與我同生死，若執之，必叩闕求真，非所憚也。」田竟得不奪。

Liu Shen. His courtesy name was Junchou. In the Zhiyuan era (1264–1294), he served as administrator in Yihuang.³⁴³ From there he was called to assist in Longxing and as soon as [he arrived] he received rice measured by *dou*,³⁴⁴ without taking from the people. The Assistant Grand Councillor Hu Moqing prescribed him to act as Assistant Administrator in Ningzhou. [Liu Shen]

³⁴⁰ Nanchang 南昌 was a county within the Longxing Route.

³⁴¹ NCFZ 15.18-19.

³⁴² NCFZ 15.19.

³⁴³ Yihuang 宜黃 is located in central Jiangxi.

³⁴⁴ A *dou* 斗 is approximately 10 Litres by volume.

led his people to overcome bandits, without leaving the people with more expenses. The annals record no harsh suffering [during his tenure] and he was considered to be truly remarkable.

Later on, when he served as magistrate in Xinjian [county], Han Qing acted as Assistant Grand Councillor and treated [Liu Shen] very well. When Liu Shen was stationed in Ju County, he decided cases swiftly and fairly and people high and low never dared to doubt his decisions.³⁴⁵

劉案

字君疇。至元間，為宜黃丞。自撫檄攝隆興，便受米平斗甬，畧無取於民。參政胡漢卿時方為寧州判官，率其民以賊上，民無羨費，吏無苛苦，甚異之。

及尹新建，漢卿為參政，待之甚厚。案居劇縣，決訟如流，上下莫敢易之。

Huang Ze was the head of the Donghu Academy. He was devoted to understanding the *Classics* and spreading (Confucian) learning. He produced numerous works and had many students. He once raised over a thousand doubts concerning the *Six Classics* to instruct students.³⁴⁶

黃澤

東湖書院山長，以明經講道為志，多所著述，受學者甚眾，嘗揭《六經》疑義千餘條，以示學者。

Duolietu. His courtesy name was Renqing. He was a Mongol. In the Yuanzhen reign period (1295–1297), he was the magistrate of Jinxian [county]. He [ruled] with authority in order to keep officials in order, and with virtue in order to appease the people. He frequently repaired dams and diverted over eight hundred dams for irrigation, profoundly benefitting the people. The people were satisfied and built a stele for [Duolietuo], when he left.³⁴⁷

朵列禿

字仁卿，蒙古人。元貞間，為進賢令，威以攝吏，德以懷民，常修陂，墻八百餘所，民甚利之。秩滿民為立去思碑。

Wanyan Duo. His court name was Zhenzhi. He was a native of Caozhou.³⁴⁸ He was appointed as magistrate of Fuzhou by the Vice Prefect of Longxing route.³⁴⁹ He was excellent at governing, Everywhere he served as an official, he had an outstanding view on what was right and wrong. He

³⁴⁵ NCFZ 15.19.

³⁴⁶ NCFZ 15.19.

³⁴⁷ NCFZ 15.19.

³⁴⁸ Likely located in present-day Shandong province.

³⁴⁹ Fuzhou 富州 was one of the prefectures of the Longxing Route.

constructed government offices, established new Confucian temples. In all cases [he did this] without burdening the people.³⁵⁰

完顏鐸

字振之，曹州人。由隆興路同知除富州尹。優於為治，凡處察案，斷是非意見傑出。改築公廳，作新文廟，皆不煩民。

Gao Fuli. His courtesy name was Renqiao. He was a native of Henan. He initially was sent to Japan as an envoy by the Vice Director of the Ministry of War, [afterwards] he was conferred the title Grandmaster for Palace Accord.

Subsequently he served as magistrate of Fuzhou. When he arrived at his post, he stopped visitors from asking for personal favors. [Outside] his gates it was quiet, with only a single servant handing him affairs [to tend to]. Subsequently, he took charge of government affairs personally, only speaking of important matters. When his duties ended, he shut the doors and read books. He maintained his honesty and frugality, eating nothing but rice porridge. From the beginning [of his tenure] to the end, he was like this. He died at his posting from illness.³⁵¹

高復禮

字仁卿，河南人。先以兵部侍郎使日本，授中順大夫。

遂尹富州。到官，屏謝謁，戶庭闐然，一蒼頭給事而已。乃臨政出言不易，公退閉戶讀書。清儉自持，饘粥外無異味，始終如一。以病終于官。

Mai Ge. He was an Uyghur. He served as *darughachi* of Fuzhou. He was gracious and had great ambition. He once studied under the honourable Xu Luzhai,³⁵² where he never let the [book] scrolls leave his hands. He loved writing characters with the brush, and captured the intention of the ancients [with them]. His nature was simple and upright. In governing the people he never used floggings, and he did not change what was right or wrong on account of requests.³⁵³

買哥

畏兀兒人。為富州達魯花赤。仁厚有大度，嘗從學魯齋許公，手不釋卷，喜書大字，得古人筆意。性簡直，臨民不事鞭朴，不以請囑易是非。

³⁵⁰ NCFZ 15.19.

³⁵¹ NCFZ 15.19-20.

³⁵² Referring to the famous neo-Confucian scholar from the Yuan dynasty Xu Heng 許衡. See Mote 1999, 508.

³⁵³ NCFZ 15.20.

A Lawei. He was a native of Hexi. In the beginning of the Dade era (1297-1307), he was appointed General of Martial Strategy and *darughachi* of Fuzhou. The prefecture suffered from yearly floods. The dike of Lake Ma burst, diminishing 40 *qing* of arable land. When [A] Lawei arrived, he constructed a dike of 300 *zhang* in length. He additionally repaired 64 [other] dikes within the [county] borders. He piled up stones for a wall to defend against the charges of the water and restored it to its old course. The year, subsequently, [experienced] a good harvest.³⁵⁴

阿剌威

河西人。大德初，授武畧將軍、富州達魯花赤。州境歲受水患，馬湖壩衝決，損田四十頃。剌威至，築堤三百丈，又修境內壞堤六十四處，甃石禦衡水，復故道，歲遂有秋。

Wanyan Bi. He was a native of Heyang.³⁵⁵ During the Dade era (1297-1307), he was governing Jinxian. He was honest, free of corruption, fair and generous. He was friendly and liked other people. He was particularly generous with taxation. Once he was reproached by the prefecture because of a delay [in his tax deliveries]. [Wanyan] Bi feared the common people would hear about this and get frightened. [Therefore], he called them together to comfort them. The people were sincerely grateful, and the people hurried to deliver [their taxes], out of fear for causing him trouble.³⁵⁶

完顏璧

河陽人。大德中，今進賢。廉明公恕，愷悌愛人，尤寬於賦稅。嘗以稽緩爲府所責，璧恐百姓聞之而懼，召慰安之。民感戴，爭先運輸，惟恐累之。

Duan Congzhou. His courtesy name was Yuwen. During the Dade era (1297-1307), he was in charge of Jinxian. His registers were refined, and he was decisive, took charge of government affairs personally, and was careful and observant.

At that time, the registers of taxation were not clear. The rich schemed to avoid [the tax obligation], [while] the poor suffered from them. [Duan Congzhou] gave an order permitting the people to display their circumstances themselves. Because of this, the people were in awe of his brightness. They did not dare to cover up anything, and all submitted to him.³⁵⁷

段從周

字郁文。大德間，主進賢。溥簿文雅，清斷臨政，精察。

³⁵⁴ NCFZ 15.20.

³⁵⁵ Likely located in present-day Henan province.

³⁵⁶ NCFZ 15.20.

³⁵⁷ NCFZ 15.20.

時賦稅之簿不明，富者計避，貧者苦之。下令許民自陳其情。由是，民畏其明，不敢隱諱，而咸服焉。

Cheng Dadu. He acted as magistrate of Nanchang [county]. He served his superiors with propriety, [while] treating his subordinates with leniency. His governance was balanced, and he kept legal matters brief. His [local] court had no chaos and unrest.

[As for] schools in the Yuan period, he repaired and constructed many. [This] should have been compiled into the *Gazetteer of Yuzhang*.³⁵⁸ He died while in office.³⁵⁹

程大度

爲南昌尹。事上以禮，待下以寬，政平訟簡，庭無紛譁。元之學校，多其修創。當編《豫章續志》。卒于官。

Chen Shirong. His courtesy name was Xianqing. During the Taiding era (1324-1328), he served as magistrate in Jinxian county. He promoted education and corrected the social customs of the people. He once said: “Although the people may be wronged, Heaven cannot be deceived.” In handling official affairs, he did all he could to manage them, without burdening the people. At the time, it was a year of famine, he had made preparations to save up, [letting] several thousands survive [the year].

Due to old age, he asked [retirement] from his position. He was conferred the title of Grand Master for Admonishment in his retirement. [However], the people did not [want] to hear of his departure and built him a house at the southern outer wall of the city in order for him to remain there.³⁶⁰

陳世榮

字顯卿。泰定中，知進賢縣。興學校，正民俗。嘗曰：「民雖可殘，而天不可誣也。」幹辦公事，悉出措置，不擾於民。時歲饑，預爲儲蓄，活數千人。

以老辭任，授奉訓大夫致仕。民不聽其去，爲築室於南郭以留之。

Yuan Zhouhaiya. His courtesy name was Boyuan. During the Zhizheng era (1341–1370), he served as a magistrate in Jinxian. [There], he demonstrated his integrity and ability, promoting

³⁵⁸ Yuzhang 豫章 is an old name for the northern half of the present-day Jiangxi province.

³⁵⁹ NCFZ 15.20.

³⁶⁰ NCFZ 15.20-21.

public welfare without causing harm. He expanded the public stables and established new schools, and the people respected him as if he was [their] parent.³⁶¹

袁州海牙

字伯源。至正間，監進賢縣事，公勒廉能，興利除害，增公廩新學校，民戴之如父母。

Yang Zongxun. His court name was Yuanqing. He was a native of Luoyang. He had received his post as assistant in Ningzhou through hereditary privilege. His work was honest and free of corruption and the people were deeply grateful to him.

In the *renchen* year of the Zhizheng era (1352), several ten thousands of bandits from Yongxing and Wuning entered the territory [of Ningzhou].³⁶² Yang Zongxun led righteous men, including Wu Dewen, and engaged with [the bandits] in battle, but they were defeated. The righteous man, Zhu Xing, came with the expected [reinforcement] soldiers and recaptured [what was lost] and resisted the bandits in the fight. The war captives and dead enemies were numerous.

In the *guisi* year (1353), Wu Dewen and the others said to Yang Zongxun: “None of the bandits are as strong as You Qingxi. Thus, we should eliminate You Qingxi first”. Thereupon they went to battle and were [initially] victorious. [However], suddenly the bandits came out of ambushes from four [sides], Yang Zongxun and Wu Dewen and the others [were forced to] part ways, saying: “Since I inherited the grace of the state, I must repay my state with all I have. Now is the moment! You all escape with your life when you get the chance”. Wu Dewen and the others wept and said: “You do not turn your back on the grace of the state. How can we dare to turn our backs on you?! We pledge to die with you”. Yang Zongxun devoted all his energy and fought desperately, killing several bandits, until he had no more power to continue and he was killed by the bandits. Wu Dewen found no opening to strike and was captured along with the others. He died cursing the bandits.³⁶³

楊宗訓

字源清，洛陽人。以蔭授寧州判，為政廉明，民甚德之。

至正壬辰，永興、武寧寇數千人入境，宗訓率義士吳德文等與賊接戰，敗。義士祝興以兵應期，克復，與賊拒戰，俘馘甚多。

癸巳，吳德文等謂訓曰：「賊莫強於遊清溪，今莫若先勦清溪。」遂往戰，勝。忽賊伏兵四起，宗訓與德文等訣曰：「我世受國恩，委身報國，此其時也！汝等各宜逃生。」德文等泣曰：「相

³⁶¹ NCFZ 15.21.

³⁶² Yongxing 永興 is in present-day southern Hubei province, bordering northern Jiangxi. Wuning 武寧 was in the area of present-day Jiujiang, Jiangxi province.

³⁶³ NCFZ 15.21.

公不負國恩，我輩敢負相公耶！誓與同死。」宗訓奮身死戰，殺數賊，力不能勝，為賊所殺。吳德文機莫以中，俱被擒，罵賊而死。

Tang Pan. His courtesy name was Youxin. He was a native of the Longxing Route.

In the *renchen* year of the Zhizheng era (1352), he was promoted from teacher to the position of assistant in Ningzhou.

When the city fell, the official Ye Bohou conspired with Yang Zongxun, leading righteous men Wu Dewen, Huang Jujian, Jiang Benda, and others. They entered the administrative center of the prefecture and killed more than ten enemy leaders. However, the rebels later gathered more than two thousand troops and launched an attack on the prefecture. Tang Pan and his men fought multiple big battles but were ultimately exhausted and killed. At the same time, Liu Yan, the inspector of Dingjiang, also died under the circumstances.³⁶⁴

湯盤

字又新，龍興路人。至正壬辰，泰以教官陞判寧州。陷僚屬葉伯厚從間道與楊宗訓合謀，率義士吳德文、黃居簡、姜本道等，值入州治，殺賊數十人。明口賊復統二千餘眾攻闢州治，盤等與賊大戰數合，力屈，為賊所殺。時定江巡檢劉儼，亦同死於難。

Ma Hemo. He was a native of Longxing. In the Zhizheng era (1341–1370), he was appointed as *darughachi* of Xinjian county. He governed with proper methods, he was fair, without slacking. As a result, the people were satisfied and did not want [Ma Hemo] to leave.³⁶⁵

馬合末

隆興人。至正間任新建縣達魯花赤，為政有方，公平無私，及滿民不忽舍去。

Bolanxi.³⁶⁶ He was a *Huihui* person. He served as *darughachi* in Jinxian. He supervised the county for ten years, and government officials feared the misfortunes of the people. From beginning [of his tenure] to the end, [the situation] was like this. When matters in other counties and prefectures could not be decided on, the censorate would sometimes entrust it [to Bolanxi]. In many [of these matters] he showed achievements because of his talent. He died in office.³⁶⁷

李蘭奚

³⁶⁴ NCFZ 15.21.

³⁶⁵ NCFZ 15.21.

³⁶⁶ Bolanxi is the son of the Chuang Wu'er 創兀兒, whose biography featured earlier.

³⁶⁷ NCFZ 15.22.

同回人。進賢達魯花赤，監縣十年，吏畏民懷，始終如一。他州縣事不能決，憲府時委之，多著能績。歿于官。

Tiemu'er. He was the *darughachi* of Wuning. In the *renchen* year of the Zhizheng era (1352), the local bandit, Zhang Puxian, led a group of bandits in its invasion of the county. Tiemu'er said to assistant magistrate Chu Yan: "We received the grace of the state, and we devote our lives to repay it. This is the moment!" Thereupon, he recruited righteous men, and fought with the bandits in the east of the county. His forces could not resist and he died.³⁶⁸

帖木兒

武寧達魯花赤。至正壬辰，土寇張普憲率賊衆侵縣境。帖木兒謂主簿楚彥曰：「我等受國家恩，委身報效，此其時也！」於是募義士，與賊戰于縣東，力不敵而死。

Ye Xiannai. He was an Uyghur. During the Zhiyuan era (1264-1294), he served as the governor of the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. The notorious robber, Zhong Mingliang, had for many years caused severe harm.³⁶⁹ [Ye] Xiannai attacked and captured him.³⁷⁰

葉仙鼐

畏吾兒。至元間，為江西行省平章政事。巨盜鐘明亮積歲肆虐，仙鼐討擒之。

Hachu.³⁷¹ He was the son of Buwula. He was orphaned at a young age but grew up to be very good at equestrian archery. During the Zhiyuan era (1264-1294), he went to serve in the court and was later transferred to serve as a Commander-in-chief in Jiangxi. Later he was appointed as Assistant to the Grand Councilor of the Left of the Branch Secretariat.

When Jiangxi had just been pacified, the emperor ordered city [walls] to be demolished. [In response] Hachu said: "The various counties of Yuzhang all have their cities built along the river. When long spells of rain [cause the waterways] to overflow, having no city [walls] will certainly lead them to get submerged into water. [Thus], demolishing them is not practical." The emperor followed the advice.

³⁶⁸ NCFZ 15.22.

³⁶⁹ Zhong Mingliang was an outlaw who was identified as being part of the "She bandit" 畚賊 by some contemporary sources. This is one of the earlier references with the term *She* 畚 which would later come to refer to the modern-day She ethnicity. See Chan 2006, 267 & 277-279.

³⁷⁰ NCFZ 15.22.

³⁷¹ The characters 哈出 for Hachu are likely an error. In the *Yuanshi* he appears as Tachu 塔出. The biography in the gazetteer features very similar text as the biography in the *Yuanshi* and is likely copied directly from it or a source the *Yuanshi* biography is based on. See *Yuanshi* 135.3270-3272.

When the prefectures had just surrendered [to Yuan rule], there were some that were plotting rebellions, but they were soon defeated and captured. Hachu told his fellow-officials: “This was caused by improper appeasement and governance. Amidst [this all] how can there have been no false accusations?” [Hachu] executed the leaders of the rebellion but released all the remaining [collaborators].

When he had an audience with the emperor, he was again ordered to serve in the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. Soon after, he died of illness.³⁷²

哈出

布兀刺子也。幼孤，長善騎射。至元，入侍，遷江西都元師，後授中書左丞，行中書省事。

初江西甫定，帝命隳其城。哈出表言：「豫章諸郡皆瀕江為城，霖潦泛溢，無城必至墊溺，隳之不便。」帝從之。

降附之初，有謀畔者，既敗獲矣，哈出謂同僚曰：「撫治乖方之所致也，中間豈無誣誤？」止誅其渠魁，盡釋餘黨。

入覲，復命行省江西，尋疾卒。

Jia Juzhen. His courtesy name was Zhongming. He was a native of Huolu in Zhending.³⁷³ In the fifteenth year of the Zhiyuan era (1278), he was transferred to serve as Assistant Administrator in the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. At that time, [the authorities] vigorously arrested those of the people that had received official documents of two princes of the Song dynasty. Over 300 prominent families had been convicted and imprisoned. [Jia] Juzhen released them all, and threw [their] documents in water or fire.

When a great flood destroyed the houses of the people, he gave alms and distributed [food] from the granaries to relieve the people.

In the seventeenth year [of the Zhiyuan era] (1280), the court [prepared] to invade Japan again, and warships were being constructed in Jiangnan. [Jia Ju]zhen spoke strongly of the hardships of the people [that this caused], and that [it] would certainly lead to disorder. He planned to enter court to submit a memorial to stop the invasion, but before he could go he died of illness.³⁷⁴

賈居貞

字仲明，真定獲鹿人。至元十五年，遷江西行省參知政事。時逮捕民間受宋二王文帖者甚急，坐繫巨室三百餘。居貞悉出之，投其文帖於水火。

³⁷² NCFZ 15.22.

³⁷³ Located in present-day Shijiazhuang, Hebei.

³⁷⁴ NCFZ 15.22.

大水懷民廬，舍發倉廩賑之。

十七年，朝廷再征日本，造戰艦於江南。真極言民困，必致亂，將入朝奏罷其事，未行，以疾卒。

Guan Rude. He was a native of Huangpi county.³⁷⁵ During the Zhiyuan era (1264-1294), he was appointed as Assistant Administrator in the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. He got rid of powerful bullies and officials who abused their power, which greatly pleased the populace. At the time, rebellion arose in Ganzhou and Tingzhou.³⁷⁶ [Guan] Rude commanded several generals to pacify them. He fully pardoned many of those that were pressured into becoming rebels.

He was then appointed to serve as Left Assistant Provincial Administrator. At that time, Zhong Mingliang rebelled in Xunzhou.³⁷⁷ The emperor ordered [Guan] Rude to command the armies of four Branch Secretariats to suppress them. Various generals wished to directly attack the rebel hideouts, but [Guan] Rude instead sent an envoy to tell them of the disasters and fortunes [of submitting or not submitting]. The rebels were moved by [Guan] Rude's sincere words, and soon after reached Shicheng county in Ganzhou with over ten horsemen to surrender. The governor, Aoluchi, was angry with the arrogance, brutality and disobedience of the rebels, and wished to kill [Zhong] Mingliang for it. When [Guan] Rude heard of this, he said: "The sovereign of the Yuan is kindhearted. He never tried to kill those who surrendered. [As for Zhong] Mingliang, he is a rebel, but where is our compassion? What is important is that our trustworthiness must not be lost!"

When he died, he was conferred the title Duke of Pingzhang, and given the posthumous title Wuxiang.³⁷⁸

管如德

黃陂縣人。至元，遷江西行省參政。破豪猾，去奸吏，居民大悅。時贛、汀二州盜起，如德指揮諸將討平之，其脅從者多所全宥。

遷尚書左丞。時鐘明亮以循州叛，帝命如德統四省兵討之。諸將欲直擣其巢穴，如德乃遣使諭以禍福，賊感如德誠信，即擁十餘騎詣贛州石城縣降。平章政事奧魯赤怒其跋扈不臣，欲以事殺明亮。如德聞之曰：「皇元仁厚，未嘗殺降。明亮叛人，何惜？所重者，信不可失耳！」

³⁷⁵ Located in present-day Wuhan, Hubei province.

³⁷⁶ Ganzhou 贛州 is in southern Jiangxi province. Tingzhou 汀州 in Fujian province.

³⁷⁷ Located in present-day Guangdong province, which was part of the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat during the Yuan dynasty.

³⁷⁸ NCFZ 15.22-23. Some characters of the biography of Guan Rude are unintelligible because of damages to the document. However, because the biography appears to be largely copied from the *Yuanshi*, I could fill in the missing characters based on the *Yuanshi*. This concerns the following characters: 居，諸將討平，脅從 and 使. See *Yuanshi* 165.3871-3873.

卒，贈平昌郡公，諡武襄。

Liu Sijing. He was a native of Licheng.³⁷⁹ Qubilai bestowed upon him the name Habardu. In the Zhiyuan era (1264–1294), he was appointed Assistant Administrator in the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat, where he dealt with the bandits in the Ji[zhou] and Gan[zhou],³⁸⁰ and the people relied on him for peace and security.³⁸¹

劉思敬

歷城人，世祖賜名哈八兒都。至元間，授江西行省參知政事，治吉、贛盜，民賴以安。

Wang Gen. His courtesy name was Zhishan. He was a native of Zhuji.³⁸² He served as a left and right assistant in the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. In Anfu [county] in Ji[zhou], a minor official had falsely accused the people of hiding and misreporting over 9,000 *dan* of rice in tax, originally involving only eight households.³⁸³ This accusation spread to a thousand households. The Jiangxi Branch Secretariat repeatedly sent officials to investigate, and the accused officials admitted to the falsehood. However, the higher authorities, pleased with the outcome, failed to resolve the issue.

When Wang Gen arrived in office, he first remarked: “The grain tax in this subprefecture has increased by over 1,100 *dan* compared to the original management. How could there still be any hiding or misreporting?” Based on Wang Gen’s words, the [Jiangxi] Branch Secretariat decided to cancel all the false charges.³⁸⁴

王艮

字止善，諸暨人。為江西行省左右司員外郎。吉之安福有小吏，誣民隱欺詭寄田租九千餘石，初止八家，株連至千，行省數遣官按問，吏已服其虛誑，而有司喜功生事，終莫能結。艮到官，首言：「是州之糧，比原經理已增壹千壹百餘石，豈復有欺隱詭寄者乎？」行省用艮言悉蠲之。

³⁷⁹ Located in present-day Shandong province.

³⁸⁰ Ji'an 吉州 (today Ji'an 吉安) and Ganzhou 贛州 are both Routes and prefectures in the southern half of present-day Jiangxi province.

³⁸¹ NCFZ 15.23.

³⁸² Located in present-day Fujian province.

³⁸³ *Dan* 石 is a unit of measurement for volume equivalent to approximately 100 litres.

³⁸⁴ NCFZ 15.23.

Shiliya Tusi, acted as deputy Judicial secretary in the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. Jiangxi had many lawsuits and disputes compared to other provinces. [Shiliya] Tusi quickly settled complicated cases, [ensuring] that the people were not unjustly treated.³⁸⁵

十里牙禿思

為江西行省理問副。江西於諸省號多獄訟，禿思儻辦決疑獄，民得不冤。

Fan Peng. His courtesy name was Deji. He was a native of Qingjiang.³⁸⁶ He acted as record keeper in the Surveillance Commission of the Hudong Circuit in Jiangxi. Wherever he went he established schools and educated the people. He set right the grievances of unjust cases. As aide of the officials he came to be regarded as strict and impartial, and in the entourage [of officials] he was the only one that was respected. He was especially upright and honest and while stationed he would not interfere with private [affairs]. He ate little and drank water and was at peace like that.

While serving at the headquarters of the Censorate, he compiled the *Yuzhang Collection*.³⁸⁷ Wu Cheng, who was committed to studying the Way, seldom gave his approval, but he called [Fan Peng] a scholar who was standing tall and practiced his path independently. When [Wu Cheng] composed an epitaph for his tomb, he compared him to the various gentlemen of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 CE).³⁸⁸

范梈

字德機，清江人。為江西湖東道廉訪司照磨，所至興學教民，雪理冤滯，長史索稱嚴明，於僚屬中獨敬異之，特正廉謹，居官不可干以私，疏食飲水，澹如也。

居憲幕，著有《豫章集》。吳澄以道學自任，少許可，至稱為特立獨行之士。為文志其墓，以東漢諸君子檢之。

Xu Huan. His courtesy name was Bingwen. He was a native of Sanqu in Zhejiang. At the end of the Zhizheng era (1341-1370), he served as magistrate in Ningzhou. He was strict but clear, capable and effective. Lawsuits did not remain unresolved, and officials did not dare to cheat [the people]. [Because of] the remnants of rebel troops and bandits, the people wandered about and

³⁸⁵ NCFZ 15.23.

³⁸⁶ Qingjiang is located in present-day Zhangshu county in central Jiangxi.

³⁸⁷ Yuzhang 豫章 was another name for the Northern Song poet Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅. Yuzhang, however, is also the old name of the region of present-day north and central Jiangxi, where both Huang and Fan hailed from.

³⁸⁸ NCFZ 15.23-24.

scattered. Government offices were damaged and destroyed [to the point that] there were barely any left. [Xu] Huan's hard work certainly attracted [people] to come [back], as he [re]established public and private affairs without disturbances, and the people rejoiced in his governance.³⁸⁹

徐煥

字秉文，浙江三衢人。至正末，知寧州事。嚴明幹濟，獄無留訟，吏不敢欺。兵寇之餘，民多流散，公署殘毀殆盡。煥勞心招來，剏置公私不擾，而民樂其政焉。

Fu Ji. His courtesy name was Gongchen. He was a native of Jinxian. In the *wuzi* year of the Zhizheng era (1348), he obtained the *jinshi*-degree, and was appointed to serve in the Yanping Route Administration Office.³⁹⁰ Later, he was appointed as magistrate of Jinxian county, where he received appraisal for his governance, and the people all cherished his memory.³⁹¹

傅箕

字拱辰，進賢人。至正戊子，進士，授延平路錄事。再授進賢縣尹，為政有聲，人皆思慕。

Tongtong. He was a Mongol. He was appointed as the Registrar of the Surveillance Commission of Jiangxi. In office he had a reputation for competence. In the *wuxu* year of the Zhizheng era (1358), Chen Youliang of the Han [dynasty] (1360-1364) attacked the county seat. He encountered the bandits in Hetong alley, and cursed them before being killed.³⁹²

同同

蒙古人。授江西廉訪司經歷，在官有能名。至正戊戌，為漢陳友諒攻陷郡城，與賊遇于合同巷，遂罵賊而死。

Wu Dang. His courtesy name was Boshang. He was the grandson of [Wu] Cheng. From a young age he followed the teachings of his ancestors, and became an expert of the Classics, the [Standard] Histories, and [the ideas of] the Hundred Schools. When he accompanied his grandfather to the capital, he filled a spot at the Imperial Academy as a student.

During the Zhizheng era (1341-1370), [after] the rebellions of Jiangnan, he was repeatedly promoted and [eventually] became Surveillance Commissioner in Jiangxi. He pacified bandits in various parts of Fuzhou. [Because of this] he was appointed as Assistant Administrator of the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat, but before the order had arrived, Chen Youliang had already captured

³⁸⁹ NCFZ 15.24.

³⁹⁰ Located in present-day western Fujian province.

³⁹¹ NCFZ 15.24.

³⁹² NCFZ 15.24

the counties and prefectures of Jiangxi. [Wu] Dang [thereupon] shut his door and wrote books. [Chen] Youliang [tried] to recruit him into his service, but he did not accept the appointment. [Thereupon], he was taken into custody, but in the end he did not give in.

His writings included *Writings of the Rites of the Zhou* and the *Manuscript of Studying Speech*.³⁹³

吳當

字伯尚，澄之孫也。幼承祖訓，精通經史百家言。侍祖至京，補國子生。

至正間，江南兵起，屢遷江西廉訪使，平撫州各處賊。拜江西行省參知政事，命未下，而陳友諒已陷江西諸郡。當杜門著書。友諒辟之，不就，拘留，終不為屈。

所著有《周禮纂言》及《學言藁》。

Daotong. He was a native of Gaochang. In the eleventh year of the Zhiyuan era (1274/1351),³⁹⁴ he was appointed as Governor of the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. That year, rebellion arose in Qizhou and Huangzhou.³⁹⁵ Daotong had no prior knowledge of military [affairs], and subsequently followed [the advice of] Puyan Buhua, the Director [of the Branch Secretariat]. He invited former Left Assistant Provincial Administrator, Zhang Boyan, who had retired in Fuzhou, with due courtesy to assist in military affairs. [Zhang] Boyan also happily agreed to take on the role, saying: “This is the right time to repay my state.” Upon arriving, he and Puyan Buhua set up a very detailed plan to defend against the enemy. The rebels had besieged the city for three months, but because Daotong had cared about the suffering of the people, all the people helped out. They vigorously destroyed the bandits, and Zhang Boyan and Puyan Buhua achieved many [military] accomplishments.

Later, when Chen Youliang conquered Jiangxi, [Dao]tong fled to Fuzhou, where he met his end. He was conferred the posthumous title Zhonglie.³⁹⁶

道童

高昌人。至元十一年，以平章政事行省江西。是年賊起蘄、黃，道童素不知兵，乃從郎中普顏不花，禮請撫州致仕左丞章伯顏同理軍事。伯顏亦欣然為起，曰：「此正我報國之秋也。」至則與

³⁹³ NCFZ 15.24.

³⁹⁴ In the *Yuanshi* Daotong's biography takes place in the Zhizheng era (1341-1370). That the Nanchang gazetteer has the Zhiyuan era (1264-1294), is likely a copyist error. The correct year according to the *Yuanshi* should be 1351, the eleventh year of the Zhizheng era. See *Yuanshi* 144.3442-3444.

³⁹⁵ Qizhou was located in the southeast of present-day Hubei province, close to the northern border of Jiangxi province. Huangzhou ...

³⁹⁶ NCFZ 15.24-25.

普顏不花設禦敵計甚悉。賊圍城三月，因道童素恤民，故民皆為之用。奮擊破賊，而章伯顏與普顏不花功俱多。

後陳友諒功陷江西，童走撫州遇害，謚忠烈。

Hu Mingfu. He was a native of Nanchang. During the final days of the Yuan dynasty local rebels rose up in swarms. At that time the governor Daotong recruited brave soldiers, who prepared reserves. At each of the twelve gates of the city they established guard towers and determined [guard] duties to defend the city. As for the four inside walls of the city, each wall had its own officials posted. They also listed heads of each alley and organized seventeen militia camps, lined up around the city on top of the walls. They worked together with the soldiers of [stationed at] the walls and alleys in mutual support. Hu Mingfu was selected to serve as an official by the wall because of his talents.

Not long after, the Red Turban rebel leader Zou Pusheng came by . . . , he pushed his people forward to encircle the city. [The siege] lasted 54 days. [Those] inside the city firmly defended it. They came out and struck the bandits heavily, who were inflicted a defeat and left. Hu Mingfu was appointed as District Defender of Fengxin because of his achievement [in battle].³⁹⁷ He later advanced to become Assistant Administrator in the Longxing route.³⁹⁸

胡明甫

南昌人。當元季，土寇蜂起，時平章道童募壯勇，備資儲。城門十二，各建樓櫓定職守城。城內四廂，廂各設官，又列巷值長，編民兵為十七屯，環列城上，與廂巷之兵相為聲援。明甫以才能選仕廂官。未幾，紅巾賊首鄒普勝由 □ 廣來，推眾圍城，凡五十四日。城中固守，出苛搏賊，賊送敗去。明甫以攻授奉新縣尉，尋升龍興路判。

Irinjibal, was a person from the Western Xia. He was upright by nature and always acted according to the proper rites. In the tenth year of the Zhizheng era (1350), he was appointed as the Grand Councilor of the Left of the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. At that time, rebel bandits had invaded Raozhou from Qizhou and Huangzhou.³⁹⁹ Irinjibal led a campaign to recruit those who had been coerced into joining the rebels and launched an attack on their strongholds.

Previously, Daotong had governed with leniency, leading to a decline in discipline among both the military and civilian populations. However, as soon as Irinjinbal arrived, his graceful bearing

³⁹⁷ Fengxin (county) 奉新 is located in northwest Jiangxi.

³⁹⁸ NCFZ 15.25.

³⁹⁹ Raozhou 饒州 is located in present-day Poyang county, Jiangxi province, on the eastern shores of Lake Poyang.

alone was inspiring, and his reputation spread widely. As a result, bandits across the region surrendered without resistance.⁴⁰⁰

亦憐真班

西夏人，性剛正，動有禮法。至正十年，移江西行省左丞相。妖賊由蘄、黃陷饒州。真班招揀脅。從攻擣巢穴。先是，道童以寬容為政軍民懈弛。真班既至，風采一影，威聲大振，所在群盜盡歸款矣。

Lian Huishanhaiya. His courtesy name was Gongliang. In the first year of the Zhizhi era (1321), he became a *jinshi* and was appointed Right Assistant Provincial Administrator of the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. At that time, administrative divisions under [Jiangxi jurisdiction] housed many bandits. Thereupon [Lian Huishanhaiya], the Governor and the minister Daotong came up with a plan to defend [the area] and seize [the bandits]. Following [his achievements], he was appointed as the Censorate Commissioner in the local Circuit of the Branch Secretariat.⁴⁰¹

廉惠山海牙

字公亮。至治元年，進士遷江西行省右丞。時所隸郡縣多盜賊，乃與平章政事、司徒道童協謀殫力，以定守禦招捕之策，就除本道廉訪使。

Guo Guan. His courtesy name was Andao. He was a native of Baoding.⁴⁰² In the fifth year of the Dade era (1301), he was transferred to serve as the Surveillance Commissioner of the Jiangxi Circuit. He provided relief to famine-stricken people, and the local population benefited from his benevolent governance.⁴⁰³

郭貫

字安道，保定人。大德五年，遷江西道肅政廉訪使司事，賑恤饑民，民有惠政。

Quan Pu'ansali. His courtesy name was Ziren. He was a native of Gaochang. In the sixteenth year of Zhizheng (1356), due to his merits, he was appointed as Assistant Administrator in the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat and was assigned to administer Ganzhou.

⁴⁰⁰ NCFZ 15.25.

⁴⁰¹ NCFZ 15.25.

⁴⁰² Located in present-day Hebei province.

⁴⁰³ NCFZ 15.25.

In the eighteenth year of Zhizheng (1358), many down-river Jiangxi prefectures fell under the control of Chen Youliang. In response, Quan Pu'ansali, together with Supervisor-in-Chief Hahaichi, resolutely defended [Ganzhou] together.

Chen Youliang sent his general Xing Wencai to lay siege to Ganzhou and sent people demanding their surrender. [Quan] Pu'ansali executed the envoy. He put on his armor and mounted the city's walls to ward off the besiegers. After four months of bitter fighting, the [remaining] soldiers were few and the food [supplies] depleted. The *wanhu* of the righteous troops, Mou, wished to break out of the city and surrender to the bandits. [Quan] Pu'ansali did not follow and subsequently committed suicide by cutting his throat. When [the court] heard about the matter, he was conferred the posthumous title Jingtai [by the emperor].⁴⁰⁴

全普庵撒里

字子人，高昌人。至正十六年，以功拜江西行省參政，分省于贛。十八年，江西下流諸郡皆為陳友諒所據，乃與總管哈海赤勦力同守。

友諒遣其將幸文才師兵圍贛，使人脅之降，普庵撒里斬其使，日擐甲登城拒之。力戰凡四月，兵少食盡，義兵萬戶某欲舉城降賊。普庵撒里不從，遂自剄。事聞，贈諡曰：愍哀。

Puyan Buhua. His courtesy name was Xigu. He was a Mongol person. In the fifth year of the Zhizheng era (1345), he achieved a first class *jinshi*-degree and was appointed to serve as Director of the Left and Right Offices of the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. Xu Shouhui came to invade from Qizhou and Huangzhou, but Puyan Buhua made great contributions to the battle and defense. In the sixteenth year [of the Zhizheng era] (1366), he was appointed as Vice Surveillance Commissioner in Jiangxi.⁴⁰⁵

普顏不花

字希古，蒙古人。至正五年，進士第一，遷江西行省左右司郎中。蕲黃徐壽輝來寇，普顏不花戰守之功為多。十六年，除江西廉訪副使。

Boyan. His courtesy name was Zizhong. He followed his father who held office in Jiangxi and subsequently took residence in Jinxian. When Assistant Administrator Quan Pu'ansali and Hahaichi were defending Ganzhou, they considered Boyan's learning and moral character as honest and sincere, as someone with whom things could be done. They gathered together and made him Office Manager.

⁴⁰⁴ NCFZ 15.25-26.

⁴⁰⁵ NCFZ 15.26.

During the Zhizheng era (1341-1370), troops ravaged [the region]. Boyan inquired about the [local conditions] before entering into the administration of Fujian. [Afterwards] he returned to Jianchang,⁴⁰⁶ where he then explained about the urgency of the state of Jiangnan, which led the ministers of the court to gasp in surprise. [Because of this] he was appointed as prefect of Nansi, and was later promoted to Vice Director in the Ministry of Personnel.

When all of Fujian and the two Guang [provinces] all were incorporated in the current (Ming) dynasty, Boyan hid into the northern hills of Jinxian. In the beginning of the Hongwu era (1368-1398), he was to be summoned with courtesy, but Boyan, on hearing that the envoys were approaching, wrote seven mournful poems commemorating his fellow officials who died in loyal service of the dynasty. He wrote a short poem that he sent to his friend Tai Zhao, entrusting affairs after his death to him. When the night ended, he gazed north, bowed twice, drank a poison and died.⁴⁰⁷

伯顏

字子中。因父官江西，遂家進賢。參政全普庵撒里、哈海赤守贛，以伯顏學行醇正，可與有為，群為都事。

至正中，兵陷，伯顏問道，入閩政，復建昌，因陳江南緩急之勢，朝臣驚嘆，授南思知州，尋除吏部侍郎。

會全閩二廣皆入本朝，伯顏遂陰進賢之北山。洪武初，以禮往徵，伯顏聞使者將至，作七哀詩，祭其同事死節之士，書短歌寄別態釗，以後事囑之。夜盡望北，再拜飲樂，而卒。

⁴⁰⁶ Jianchang 建昌 is the historical name for Nancheng, a city located in eastern Jiangxi province.

⁴⁰⁷ NCFZ 15.26.

Appendix D: Hangzhou

Chen Shan's Comments to the Hangzhou Prefectural Gazetteer

Grand Councillors of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat

浙江行省丞相

Mangwutai (Möngtei) 忙兀台

[Chen] Shan: "In governing, Möngtei made many proposals, and achieved notable results in maintaining order among the people. His proposal to move the administration to Yangzhou benefitted transport by water. It was suitable to implement everywhere, earning him appreciation. [For which] he in the end became governor [of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat]. [The proposals] were slandered by Bulinjital. How is that not deluding the way to claim credit for oneself?

Now, officials should work hard and give their lives for the state, but retreat [from public affairs] with humility. Afterwards one can establish merit and make a name for oneself and have the eternal blessings from Heaven.

[However, if Möngtei's] humble governing [still] invited jealousy, how could he have avoided [slander]? A gentleman should follow the lesson of humble service and hard work, and caution oneself against seeking profit and favor. One cannot blame Möngtei."⁴⁰⁸

善曰：「忙兀台在治，多所建白，著保釐之效。其議移鎮揚州，有裨漕計，宜以旬宣被賞，而卒為平章。卜構吉台所排，豈非昧於居功之道耶？」

夫人臣以勞徇國，而退然若無然，然後可以樹勳揚名，永終天祿。苟宅蒲以招忌，其能免乎？君子服勞謙之訓，省寵利之戒，不能責備夫忙兀台也。」

Kangli Tuotuo 康里脫脫

[Chen] Shan: "As for those good at planning for the state, is [their value] not in [their ability] to make judgements?

At the time, Tuotuo carried out a plan to dredge the river. The intention was to bring benefit to the people, but various discussions full of opposition, and imperial edicts repeatedly attacked him. At that moment, if there had been even a single thought of self-interest, it would have been exceptional had the grand plan not been ruined. Only with the determination of the official was the grand plan preserved. He was unshaken by public discussion, undisturbed by their interventions. In the end, he revealed the benefit to helping the people, who [still] remember his

⁴⁰⁸ HZFZ 61.43.

virtue to this day. The saying is: “When a loyal minister plans for the state, he does not [consider] himself.” Can this not be said about Tuotuo?”⁴⁰⁹

善曰：「善計國者，豈不在斷哉？方脫脫發浚河之謀，本以興利於民，而眾喙漂山，重以詔旨臨之。

當斯時也，苟有一念及於身圖，鮮不隳大計矣。惟公以定力持大謀，不搖於群議，不撓於中制，卒開示利以濟生民，民至今德之。語曰：「蓋臣計國，不謀其身」，其脫脫之謂乎？」

Bie'erqie Buhua 別兒怯不花

[Chen] Shan: “Bie'erqie Buhua worried about the suffering of the people and grieved because of the fire [in Hangzhou]. He appealed to heaven and put blame on himself. Moreover, he did his utmost to care for the people. It can be said he achieved the [proper] mutual relationship between the governing and the governed. He was not unworthy of taking up the responsibility of spreading morality! In times of drought and flood, his prayers at temples were answered as swiftly as an echo. Only sincerity [moves] the hidden sacred, and this proved his sincerity.

Those who oppose and alienate their people, they care nothing for the prosperity or hardship [of their people]. What kind of heart do they have?”

善曰：「別兒恤民罹災，籲天自罪，且厚有以煦育之，可謂得上下一體之誼，無忝旬宣之任矣。

旱潦禱祠，感應如響，惟誠幽格，于斯驗之。

彼胡越其民，腴瘠罔關於念者，獨何心哉？」

Duo'erzhi 朵兒只

[Chen] Shan: “After Duo'erzhi succeeded Bie'er Buhua, he inherited and protected [Bie'er Buhua's] virtuous accomplishments. Without . . . , he governed strictly following precedents.⁴¹⁰ It can be said [Duo'erzhi] was one that understood the principles of governing. He strengthened those under his command, reaching peacefulness and quietness [of the areas under his control]. Isn't this the virtue of a military official?

Moreover, together with his father Tuotuo, they made substantial contributions to the Zhejiang [region]. Tuotuo had a son, Duo'erzhi, and both held imperial appointments, becoming renowned ministers.

⁴⁰⁹ HZFD 61.44.

⁴¹⁰ This section is partly unintelligible. *Xiao gui Cao sui* 蕭規曹隨 “Xiao's governance followed by Cao”, a historical allusion meaning strictly following precedents.

For [people] of a different kind to be father and son, both displaying such noble virtues, with no flaws as many others of the Kangli tribe, is this not like [hearing] the sound of footsteps in a desolate valley?”⁴¹¹

善曰：「朵兒只承別兒不花之後，嗣守芳烈，無所 □ 置若蕭規曹隨，可謂知治體者。休養所部，躋於晏謚，斯鎮臣之良與。」

且與父脫脫俱有厚施於浙，脫脫有子朵兒有父已，俱執國命，為名臣。

以彼異族而父子跳美德音，不瑕若康利氏者，豈非空谷足音哉？」

Governors

平章政事

Gao Xing 高興

[Chen] Shan: “The achievements of [Gao] Xing in Zheshi remained unchanged. His punishment of rebels, securing of territory, and . . . , merits of suppression and restraint. Certainly, these were the foundations laid during his time as Pacification Commissioner of Zheshi.

The old records did not record his official positions and [merely] outlines his military merits. These should be fully recorded.”⁴¹²

善曰：「興浙石之績，無改然。其誅叛人、奠境土、 □□ 者，戡戡之勳，固宣慰浙石時所樹也。舊志止紀官位，而畧其戰功，令具列焉。」

Tuotuo 脫脫

[Chen] Shan: “The achievements of Tuotuo in defending [the realm] have stopped being recorded. However, seeing how he could defend the proper public affairs, without receiving generous bribes. [Lost from our knowledge] was that he was an official that upheld the law. So I recorded it.”⁴¹³

善曰：「脫脫藩屏之績，不見于傳述，而觀其能守正奉公，不受緇於重賂，蓋執法吏也。紀之」

Cheli 徹里

[Chen] Shan: “*The Book of Documents* states: “When the Three Rivers entered [the sea], [it became possible] to still the marsh of Zhen.” Thus, the marsh of Zhen is the region of Zhexi that receives the waters, gathering hundreds of rivers to prepare against flooding, serving as the final

⁴¹¹ HZFFZ 61.46. The character 跳 *tiao* (to emerge/jump) is potentially a copying mistake that should be 趾 *zhi* (foot/footprint). This would make more sense with the second part that refers to the sound of footsteps.

⁴¹² HZFFZ 61.47.

⁴¹³ HZFFZ 61.47

outlet in the southeast. If the waterways are obstructed, the fields become useless submerged, and both the livelihood of the people and the affairs of the state suffer.

Cheli devoted himself to matters for the people, directing the waters back to their moats and allowing flooded lands to become prosperous. His merit is truly incalculable. Moreover, the work was completed quickly, and the people did not complain of exhaustion. Those above enjoyed the benefits, while those below forgot about the labor [they had to provide]. His talent and strategy are far beyond other people. Is it not appropriate to also record this?”⁴¹⁴

善曰：「《書》云：「三江既入，震澤底定。」故震澤者，浙西受水之區，併納百川以備滂溢，蓋東南之尾閭也。水道不通，則田虛昏墊，而民生國計交受其害矣。徹里身徇民務，導水復歸放壑，使茫浸溢之鄉，罄為樂土，功德固已不貲。且功成甚速，民不告疲，上享其利，而下忘其勞，才猷幹畧，絕人遠矣。紀之不亦宜乎？」

Kuikui 嶸嶸⁴¹⁵

善曰：「子山之居浙，省吏不載。其行政之悉，將德學夙稱隆重，即一二外庸，乃其餘緒。不必以 □ 紀述爾耶？」

抑臨位未久，無 □□ 之績可 □ 也。□□ 其自浙趨朝，身後無以 □□□□□□，清操可見。而一介無敢于浙 □，猶 □□□□ 入士共知 □□□ 翰蹟，而或略其 □ 守 □□ 稱 □□□。』

Qingtong 慶童

[Chen] Shan: “[According to] the historical records, when Qingtong first arrived to govern, it was a time of peace and prosperity within the boundaries [of Hangzhou]. [He] indulged in comforts and pleasure [of this time], while rejecting men of talent and integrity. Because of this he did not partake in public discussions [in government].

However, if we look at his subsequent actions and achievements, there were accomplishments in suppressing banditry and bringing peace to the people, thereby earnestly making up for his past mistakes. [This], indeed, is worthy of being recorded. Later, when entrusted with the responsibility of defense, he was unable to see it through to the end, for the rise of the true sovereign and the fate of the people was far beyond [his control]. Why should Qingtong be blamed for this?”⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴ HZFF 61.48.

⁴¹⁵ HZFF 61.49.

⁴¹⁶ HZFF 61.51.

善曰：「史紀慶童來鎮之初，時際承平，沉湎晏樂，且擯斥遺逸之士，以是不與物論。乃觀其後所措注績，有弭盜安民之功，振振克違前過焉，亦足紀矣。迨後受托居守，不克有蓋。真主龍興，人命攸在，于慶童何譏焉？」

Yuelu Tiemu'er 月魯帖木兒⁴¹⁷

善曰：「月魯吏能，將畧 □，有 □ 可稱，而朝議猶 □ 其 □ 宜之 □，以是能不得六展其克復淳安諸縣之 □，已見一 □，而 □□□□□□ 之不競， □□□□ 乎？若月魯者，其祖士 □ 之 □ 亞乎？」

Right Assistant Provincial Administrator [of the Zhejiang Branch Secretariat] 右丞

Dong Shixuan 董士選

[Chen] Shan: "Since the way of honour and shame have been forgotten, many officials . . . in order to grow private interests. Thus they are merchant-officials. [Although Dong] Shixuan was honoured as regional commander, he sold off [the rewards] of his ancestors outstanding achievements in order to take up office. In his moral conduct and integrity he had no equals among his generation. How could he not be innocent and called a person of honesty and integrity? Moreover, while others took not being poor as a treasure, [Dong Shixuan's] descendents also took family reputation as a treasure. Even though his family members were [left] destitute, he still did not leave them with nothing.

In former times, those that were engaged with the labor of the horse and the ox, yet willingly ignorant, these [people's] ideas went beyond [what is good].⁴¹⁸

善曰：「自廉恥道喪，仕者多豐 □□ 以肥私家，是以官賈也。士選貴為方鎮，至鬻先業以之官，清操廉節，當代無二，豈不嶄然稱介士哉？」

且彼既以不貧為寶，子孫亦以清白家聲為寶，即室如懸磬，未為無所遺也。

昔，服馬牛之勞，而自甘老悖者，斯其計過矣。」

⁴¹⁷ HZFZ 61.51-52.

⁴¹⁸ HZFZ 61.52.

Left Assistant Provincial Administrator [of the Zhejiang Branch Secretariat] 左丞

Wu Yuangui 吳元珪

[Chen] Shan: “Bullying and annexing [of property] by [powerful] families, depends on officials [like Wu Yuangui] to be suppressed. If they (officials) do not cherish law and discipline, and value people of great reputation and integrity, then those that view their jurisdiction not as a rare and a precious commodity are few.

Bribes of the Zhu [Qing] and Zhang [Xuan] reached the powerful and wealthy everywhere, but they could not [reach] into the gates of [Wu] Yuangui.⁴¹⁹ How strict was his protection of the office!

Moreover, his ambition was helping the people become wealthy. He did not follow the consultation of fellow grain transport officials, when he inspected and assessed the fields. Thereupon, he stated that [their assessment] did not match [his]. Following that, he retired and withdrew to maintain his health. He had attained the way. Being as such, it can be said he had the demeanor of a great official!”⁴²⁰

善曰：「豪強兼併之家，賴臣以彈壓之。自非愛法紀、重名節之人，其不視所部為奇貨者鮮矣。

朱張之賂遍逮權貴，而不能行於元珪之門，其守官者一何嚴哉！

且志在富民，不徇同漕臣之議，檢勘田畝，乃言有不合，輒奉身而退去，就有道，如此可謂有大臣之風矣！」

Zhang Siming 張思明

[Chen] Shan: “There is the saying: “Subordinates look upon the fatness or leanness of the people of Yue with indifference.” Going from Shaanxi to Zhe[xi] is very far, yet [Zhang] Siming immediately went [to Zhexi]. The next year he transported the one year's worth of harvest to relieve a devastating famine [in Shaanxi], and his words [to address the situation] “as carps stranded on the dry” captured the urgency of the [famine] for people. Truly, the words of a benevolent man! His beneficence could reach out of a thousand li, how much more [could it reach] those that were nearby [to him]?

That [Zhang Siming] bestowed favors and kindness on Zheyou is not up for discussion. At the time, . . . , he did not desire himself to be in the good graces of others or leave behind problems

⁴¹⁹ Zhu Qing and Zhang Xuan were two pirates from the Song dynasty, who aided the Yuan in conquering the Song. See Chaffee 2023, “Governance, Lawlessness and Ethnic Difference in Coastal China During the Early Yuan: The Case of Zhu Qing and Zhang Xuan”.

⁴²⁰ HZFD 61.53.

for the next generation searching to blame others. . . . When other officials see this, their faces ought to blush with shame.”⁴²¹

善曰：「語有之：「奉人視越人之肥瘠，恬不為。」陝西去浙遠甚，而思明急發，來年當輸歲課賑其凶饑，而「鮒在涸轍」數語，切中氓急，誠仁人之言哉！澤及千里之外，矧邇者乎？

惠施浙右，無俟論已。方為轉 □ 時，不欲希一己榮寵，貽後世求害。彼貧功干 □□，臣視此當色慙矣。」

Unclear Position □□ 學名宦祠

Wang Kejing 王克敬

[Chen] Shan: “When [Wang] Kejing assumed office, he did not avoid difficulties and rehabilitated the crooked and [was] not [afraid to] causing suspicion. His memorial to exempt Jiangnan from silver payment, led to the cessation of the laws for salt makers [to provide the silver]. He deeply showed [his] virtue to the people of Zhe[xi].

When he was not yet greying, he requested to retire, as he took joy in knowing when to stop, being cautious of dangers and abuse. Was he not detached from . . . ? . . . ?”

善曰：「克敬任事，不避難雪枉，不引嫌。其奏免江南包銀，乃罷牢盆之法，有德於浙民厚矣。

未衰請老，懼止足之分，遠殆辱之戒，豈不超然今 □ ？

今終 □ 以 □ 其才，使得竟 □ 施，登諸政府，即康 □ 之 □□□，何 □ 焉？」

Fan Zhijing 樊執敬

[Chen] Shan: “[Fan] Zhijing was held in high esteem, frail in appearance and was merely a scholar, [but] when faced with trouble he was courageous and resolute. From the masses no one could repudiate him. His loyalty and braveness were also innate qualities! Considering his refusal of the position of Imperial Tutor, his steadfast and noble moral integrity had already been established in his everyday [conduct]. [Fan Zhijing] was certainly different from those that have a single [display of virtue].”⁴²²

善曰：「執敬孱然，一書生耳，臨難果毅，萬夫莫之奪。其忠勇，亦天性然哉！觀其不拜帝師，耿節已樹于平日，殆異乎忼慨一朝者矣。」

⁴²¹ HZFF 61.54.

⁴²² HZFF 61.58.

Shimo Yisun 石抹宜孫

[Chen] Shan: “Shimo Yisun defended the borders of Zhedong and died [defending them]. This has no direct connection to the achievements in Zhexi, but he served in the position of Assistant Administrator [of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat], he sacrificed himself for the state following his purpose. [Because of] . . . loyalty, I have recorded it specifically.”⁴²³

善曰：「宜孫守浙東境，死之。此於浙西名績無涉，然其官則行省參知也。徇國逐志，□ 浙使之忠者，特紀之。」

Gong Shitai 貢師泰

[Chen] Shan: “Gong Taifu literature and history were refined; his penned words and administrative achievements were grand and admirable. His name in the previous dynasty, could be [grouped] with esteemed good men of learning; he had the talent to be a Grand Chancellor, but Heaven cut short his years. He had . . . obtained a position in the Ministry of Personnel, thus he certainly was a man of learning who did not become a Grand Chancellor.”⁴²⁴

陳善曰：「貢泰甫翩翩文史；詞翰政業，蔚然可觀。其勝國之名，聊與推轂士類；其宰相器，而天奪其年。□ 得登於冢司，則固士之不宰也。」

Directors of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat

江浙行省郎中

Dong Tuanxiao 董搏霄

[Chen] Shan: “When Tuanxiao was in Zhexi, he always triumphed in battle. Later he directed the troops to Nanpi, where in one battle he suffered a defeat and lost his army. He himself was killed at the hands of the bandits. Did heaven give him this [fate] because of his loyalty and righteousness?

Why . . . and defeated later? Hearing about his death was very unusual. His spirit was like a white rainbow, but not . . .

Is there truth in the case of Chang Hong transforming to green jade?⁴²⁵ Alas! How astonishing indeed!”⁴²⁶

⁴²³ HZFZ 61.59.

⁴²⁴ HZFZ 61.59.

⁴²⁵ Chen Shan compares Dong Tuanxiao to Chang Hong 萇弘 whose blood turned to green jade 碧 after he wrongfully died, showing his great integrity, according to the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. See Kristoffer Schipper 1997, 348.

⁴²⁶ HZFZ 61.60-61.

陳善曰：「搏霄在浙西時，每戰輒克，乃督兵南皮，一戰喪師，身殲賊手，豈天將以忠節授之乎？」

何銳於 □ 而挫於後也？聞其死甚怪，氣若白虹而不具血 □。

萇弘化碧之事，信有之耶？吁，亦異矣！」

Directors of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat 江浙行省郎中

Tai Buhua 泰不華

[Chen] Shan: “When [Tai] Buhua was posted in Zhe[xi], he vigorously attacked the treacherous and powerful officials, and he He cast out the wicked and cherished the virtuous and had achieved upholding righteousness. Did he not equal his elder brother in greatness? . . . , he died for the state, wholly becoming an exemplary man”

善曰：「不華之位浙也，力攻權姦，而壁 □ 氓隱，激揚保義之績，均兄震耀乎？班行X後，以死報國，成為完節烈丈夫。無泰史紀其為賊所 □，身猶植立不 □□□□ 男，蓋天賦者，孰 □ 書生中無果 □□□□ 。」

Vice Directors [of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat] 員外郎

Yang Cheng 楊乘

[Chen] Shan: “[Yang] Cheng held office as a subordinate of Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat, [but] was later dismissed from his post. His achievements in governing are not passed down in the histories, and nothing about [his time in] Hangzhou can be recorded. [However], looking back at when [Yang Cheng] resided in Songjiang, and the [attempt by] rebellious factions to recruit him, he was able to take his responsibility with great righteousness, and followed his guest in death. He manifested his loyalty and righteousness for everyone to see. [This is] also enough to elevate the standing of the officials of Zhe[xi]. The old records have already recorded it. It is again listed [here].”

善：「乘官江浙省屬，尋解秩去。史不載其政績，于杭可無紀。顧其寓松江也，于逆黨之招，而能責以大義，從容就死，忠節炳然，亦足為浙臣增重。舊志已紀之，茲仍列云。」

Jiangnan Various Circuit Branch Censorate Censor-in-Chiefs

江南諸道行臺御史大夫

Xing Ji 星吉

[Chen] Shan: “At a time when both internal and external [groups] were waiting and observing [each other], [Xing Ji] alone maintained his discipline. It could even be said that he was a scholar-official who was unbiased and did not depend on others. Moreover, he had deep faith in the integrity of Sanbaozhu. He then submitted a memorial to the court to impeach the Censor and cleared [Sanbaozhu] the false accusations.

Most officials in higher positions tend to protect their subordinates, but Xing Ji was not like that. A loyal minister who acts without favoritism. This approaches [true righteousness]!”⁴²⁷

善曰：「星吉當內外觀望之時，獨持風裁，可謂中立不倚之士。且深諒三寶住之廉，奏罪御史而白其誣。諸為官長者，多庇其屬，而星吉不然，忠臣不私，斯近之矣！」

Fu Shou 副壽

[Chen] Shan: “The death of Fu Shou did not [occur] on the soil of Zhe[xi], but he did hold office in Zhejiang. He was connected [to Zhejiang], and his moral integrity was shining brightly. He also brought his shining brightness to this territory. [Therefore], it is recorded.”⁴²⁸

善曰：「副壽之死，不于浙壤，然其官固在浙，有繫而忠節炯炯，亦於境土有光也。紀之。」

Vice Censor-in-Chief [of the Various Circuit Branch Censorate] 御史中丞

Zhang Gui 張珪

[Chen] Shan: “Zhang Gui was a Provincial Surveillance Commissioner in Zheshi, when he sent a memorial to dismiss the greedy and cruel from office. His power and influence were awe-inspiring. He came to embody [a good] Surveillance Commissioner. Later, when he was Vice Censor in the [Jiangzhe] Branch Censorate, he again dared to honestly criticize [others], and exposed and impeached influential officials. Because his advice was ignored, he suddenly excused himself on the grounds of illness to retire [from office]. Is he not what we call [a person] who corrected others for the [benefit of] the state, whose virtue never faltered?”⁴²⁹

善曰：「張珪廉訪浙石，奏罷貪殘，威稜赫然，得監司之體。迨丞行臺，則又諤諤敢言，糾彈權貴。因言不見用，翻然謝病以歸。所謂邦之司直，其德不回者，非邪？」

⁴²⁷ HZFD 61.64.

⁴²⁸ HZFD 61.65.

⁴²⁹ HZFD 61.66.

Yuelu Buhua 月魯不花

[Chen] Shan: “Yanming, when dispatched to Jiangzhe, was capable without burdening the people, while benefitting the collection of money for the military, and the people remained peaceful and orderly. His policies were good for both public and private [interests]. When he came to take on the administration of the [Jiangzhe] Branch Censorate, he again was balanced and harmonious. Is he not whom the *Classics* would call “Suitable for both the left and right [administration]”? He had a good character that did not yield. He died suddenly at the hand of bandits. How regrettable!”⁴³⁰

善曰：「彥明奉使江浙，能以不擾乎民，裨益軍興，而群下按堵。其策於公私胥便，迨來承行臺行政，又中和，經所謂「左右咸宜」者耶？秉節不詘，死奄盜手，惜矣！」

Investigating Censors 監察御史

Shentu Zhiyuan 申屠致遠

[Chen] Shan said: “[Shentu] Zhiyuan first served in a low-ranking post in the Zheshi, but quickly rose and dared to speak [his mind]. He passed through . . . , taking down abuses of power. . . . , and put an end to bribery and gifts. His talent for making clear judgments, and his purity and uprightness of conduct, were also outstanding and rarely equaled. While posted in the Censorate, he did pander to the powerful, and even when the indulgent tried to intimidate him with their influence, he would not budge.

The ancients spoke of the true censor. [Shentu] Zhiyuan is not a name to feel ashamed of.”⁴³¹

善曰：「致遠始以卑秩臣浙右，而即振敢言，歷 □□ 槩權，與于是繼持司理之秉，則洗錄冤 □□□，絕其賄謝。明央之才、清白之操，亦卓乎罕及焉。□ 居行臺，不阿權貴，縱釋無脅之以勢，不為動。古稱真御史，致遠無愧爾矣！」

Vice Pacification Commissioner of Zhexi [Circuit] 同知浙西宣慰司事

Liu Xuan 劉宣

[Chen] Shan: “[As for] the death of [Liu] Xuan, [there were] some that regarded [his death] as hanging himself in a narrow ravine and criticized it. Now, looking at the farewell letter to his nephew, it contains [the words]: “Acting as a Censorial official, I was righteous and cannot accept humiliation. I must take my own life. I, however, regret not having been able to give my life for

⁴³⁰ HZFZ 61.67.

⁴³¹ HZFZ 61.68-69.

the state.” His words were indeed moving and tragic. Troubled by powerful and treacherous . . . , the sharp blade penetrated his flesh in order to preserve his integrity. . . . When passing judgement on his administrative career, and his son, who served as Vice Pacification Commissioner, I therefore [decided] to list him under the Pacification Commissioners [section].”⁴³²

善曰：「宣之死，或以同于自經溝壑訾之。今觀其與從子訣書，有曰：「身為臺臣，義不受辱，當自引決，但不獲以身殉國為恨。」其詞亦悲壯矣。憤為權奸 □ 中，而飲刃以全節，槩抑何可非也。第其政績著、子同知宣慰時，故列宣慰後云。」

Zhexi Circuit Provincial Surveillance Commissioners

浙西道提刑按察使

Heshang 和尚 / Qiannu 千奴

[Chen] Shan: “Yu’er (Heshang) held the authority to examine and impeach. Moreover he rose through military achievements, and looking at his capable composure that was calm and without disturbing [others], it was seen and well esteemed by others. [He Shang] could be called a virtuous person.”

Qiannu followed his father, and he already held a rank. He resembled his father when he requested to relocate the Branch Censorate in a memorial, fearing that the [current] office would burden and disturb the people. Again he truly had the calmness and composure of his father. Is this not resembling the virtue of those that comfort and rescue [others]?

In the end he ascended to high official rank, worthy of the rank of a minister who assists. What he achieved was unique.”⁴³³

善曰：「玉耳持按劾之柄，且起自戎功，而顧能鎮靜不擾，見服于人，可謂賢者。

千奴踵父，名秩既稱，克肖其請徒行臺一疏，懼在官繁擾民，又深得鎮靜遺意。斯象賢康濟者耶？

卒階鼎衡者，稱丞弼之任，其所自樹者，有索矣。」

[Zhexi Circuit Provincial] Vice Surveillance Commissioner 按察副使

Zhang Chu 張礎

[Chen] Shan: “[Zhang] Chu and Liu Xuan were both renowned Surveillance Commissioners. During the uprising in Sui’an [county], [Liu] Xuan advocated exterminating [the rebels], [while]

⁴³² HZFZ 61.70-71.

⁴³³ HZFZ 61.72.

[Zhang] Chu advocated persuading [the rebels].⁴³⁴ In the end, [Zhang] Chu's policy was adopted, and the territory was brought under [Yuan] control and the people were spared from the blades. [Liu] Xuan gasped in admiration of him. [By this way, Zhang's method was used to pacify Guanglin. [In vein of how] Gong Sui pacified Bohai, [Zhang] Chu understood the intention of his predecessor."⁴³⁵

善曰：「礎與劉宣，皆名監司也。遂安之亂，宣主勦，礎主推，卒用礎策，而境土乂寧，斯民免于鋒刃之，宣為嘆服焉。是道也，張網以靖廣陵。龔遂以奠渤海，礎得其遺意矣。」

Assistant Surveillance Commissioner [of a Circuit] 按察僉事

Gao Yuan 高源

[Chen] Shan: "[Gao] Yuan investigated and punished the treacherous and greedy. He was brave and fulfilled his duties competently, but because he encountered [those] biting back, he was exposed to powerful officials and his situation became perilous. Eventually, because of his filial piety he won the trust of the people. Fortunately, he was spared from disaster.

Should men of the gentry holding office not consider taking strong action to do what is right?"⁴³⁶

善曰：「源按治奸貪，矯矯舉職，而以是遭其反噬，見中柄臣，勢岌岌矣。乃卒以至孝孚人，幸獲免禍。薦紳之士曷思力干為善矣哉！」

Zhexi Surveillance Commissioners 浙西肅政廉訪使

Xu Yan 徐琰

[Chen] Shan: "Xu Yan was recognized early among the literati for his knowledge of reputation and seniority, and by the time he was an official in a (Circuit) Surveillance Commission he put a lot of effort in promoting education and reviving the rites. This was [his] aim, for it was what he had studied intensely from early on. Therefore, he was eager to see it implemented. Is he not one that [should be] called one that governs adorned with the *Classics*? A single inscription on a stone admonishing tablet,⁴³⁷ very clearly [shows] he had the right conduct of respecting the people and being strict and appropriate. He had the ferocity of an eagle and the harshness of a hide, and compared to those that indulge in thoughts of profit, both [traits should] wake [people] up to a sharp awareness of the truth."⁴³⁸

⁴³⁴ Sui'an 遂安 county is located in present-day Hangzhou near Qiandao Lake.

⁴³⁵ HZFFZ 61.73.

⁴³⁶ HZFFZ 61.73.

⁴³⁷ A stone tablet with warnings for officials on how to (not) govern.

⁴³⁸ HZFFZ 61.74.

善曰：「徐琰蚤以文儒見知于名輩，而迨為臬長，孜孜於勸學興禮，是圖，蓋其夙所深造，故殷切見之施用。所謂以經術飾治者邪？戒石一銘，深明欽恤明允之義。鷹擊毛摯，與姑息市恩者，俱可深省。」

Zhao Hongwei 趙宏偉

[Chen] Shan: “[Zhao] Hongwei’s accomplishments in Hangzhou were without the slightest flaw. His benevolence extended to neighboring counties, as can be seen by comparison. When he later served in Eastern Zhejiang, he was able to restore the transmission of (Confucian) learning. To this learning he put his devotion. Therefore, I have recorded him together with the others.”⁴³⁹

善曰：宏偉之績于杭，無微然。惠施旁郡，可以類見。迨官浙東，能力振道學之傳，於斯文有裨焉，故併紀之。

Dalima 答里麻

[Chen] Shan: “Dalima did not leave behind any remarkable achievements while [serving] in the Zhe[xi Circuit] Surveillance Commission, and it might [seem reasonable] not to record him. However, he firmly resisted the demands and requests of powerful and favored individuals, and when summoned for punishment, he did not shy away. His integrity in upholding the truth was preeminent. Certainly, for matters in Zhe[xi]. Moreover, his achievements throughout his life are all worthy of mention. It is appropriate to write them down.”⁴⁴⁰

善曰：答里麻不著蹟于浙臬，可以無紀，然其拒權倖之請索，其召罪譴，不為避。矯矯直節，固在浙事也。矧其生平建樹，皆與是稱，宜特書之。

Gao Rui 高睿 / Gao Nalin 高納麟

[Chen] Shan “Scoundrels were in charge of the rights and wrongs of history, with heretics depending on their posts [to take advantage of this] to violate the laws. This is the superficial social atmosphere of the end of a dynasty, that laws should strongly prohibit. However, officials skilled in currying favors worried [about their position], and regularly neglected such matters. The father and son of the Gao family were upright and performed their duties diligently, without the slightest retreat. They were truly those that carried on with the good [work of their predecessors]!”⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁹ HZFD 61.75.

⁴⁴⁰ HZFD 61.76.

⁴⁴¹ HZFD 61.77.

善曰：「姦氓持史長短，與異端有所倚席而翫法，此最末世澆風，法當重禁者。乃巧宦顧忌之士，恒舍置之。高氏父子振振舉職，不稍前却，誠濟美者哉！」

Unclear position □□ 學名宦祠

Shan Si 瞻思

[Chen] Shan: “[Shan] Si, as a judicial official, was known for rehabilitating [those who faced injustice] wherever he went. Yet, his foundation lay in the study of the classics, rather than merely mastering laws and regulations. It was through his scholarly pursuits that he cultivated a compassionate heart, always sympathizing with the innocent. Those who are merely praised for their decisiveness and thoroughness in judgment are ultimately of lesser importance.”⁴⁴²

善曰：思為法吏，所至以平反著聲，然其基本在經術而不徒律令之究。乃知矜閔無辜之心，恒自問學中得之。彼惟以聽斷敏毅微能稱于世者，抑末矣。

Liangzhe Salt Distribution Commissioners 兩浙都轉運鹽使

Wang Duzhong 王都中

[Chen] Shan: “In governance [Wang] Duzhong, there was no [aspect] in which he did not excel, and in governing the administration of salt, all [his decisions] showed his long-term planning [capability]. As an official, he did not avoid language that could lead to demotion, and was especially concerned with the loyalty of those that were talented. . . . ? Because he had received teaching of the Classics from Xu Heng, [Wang Duzhong] had long understood the right intention.⁴⁴³ Who then could say that his good governance was without basis?”⁴⁴⁴

善曰：「都中吏治，無所不優，而於鹽筴，具徵其長畫。其為臣子，不當避謫之言，尤耿耿茂著忠誠。視首鼠希進之徒，豈 □ 霄壤隔也？蓋受經許衡，夙知趨嚮，孰謂善政無基本哉？」

Li Tingzuo 李廷佐

[Chen] Shan: “All that are in control of economic rights, but become tainted [by them], are mostly [so] because of desire. Although [they might] have a heart for pursuing public affairs and kindness for subordinates, how can [they] get to flourish and put themselves to good use? The joy of [Li] Tingzuo lies only in the common principles (as prescribed by the *Classics*). He was not ashamed

⁴⁴² HZFZ 61.79.

⁴⁴³ Xu Heng 許衡 (1209–1281) was a famous Neo-Confucian scholar during the Yuan dynasty. See Mote 1999, 508.

⁴⁴⁴ HZFZ 61.80.

in speaking of “sincerely not pursuing fame and fortune”. Therefore, his policies for the salt [distribution] were implemented and the benefits distributed. . . .”⁴⁴⁵

善曰：「凡持利權，而有所濡者，多怨故也。雖衷存奉公惠下，抑何得振振自展哉？廷佐所樂，惟在經事，無愧於「澹泊明志」之言。是以鹽筴舉而利澤布，故行政貴砥操，而其要，□□室怨云。」

[Liangzhe] Salt Distribution Deputy Vice Commissioners 轉運同知

Chen Siji 陳思濟

[Chen] Shan: “[Chen] Siji’s achievements in transport were truly admirable! Furthermore as Pacification Commissioner of Zhedong, he took pity on the people of [Zhe]xi and relieved them during their famine, because of the gentleman’s kind heart for his subordinates. His thoughts and feelings were certainly reaching [the people in Zhexi]. So why question whether he was diligent in his duty [with giving this aid]? These duties were [clearly] his’, but for those looking at the prosperity or misery of the people without close attention, looking at these [deeds of Chen Siji] makes them impure and ashamed!”⁴⁴⁶

善曰：「思濟轉運之績，美矣！而宣慰浙東，則文軫恤西人，濟其饑，因蓋君子惠下之衷，觸感必達，詎問職守之顛否哉？彼職守有在，而顧視珉腴瘠不加意者，視此汙報矣！」

Tuohuancha’er 脫歡察兒

[Chen] Shan: “Since the Han and Tang dynasties, officials who pursued profit have presented surplus revenues to flatter their superiors, causing harm that persists for generations without end. Those in charge, though aware of the damage to the people, still resort to harsh exactions and relentless taxation, not daring to ease up. Yanming was not like that and was a benevolent and upright official.”⁴⁴⁷

善曰：自漢唐言利之臣，進羨餘以媚上，而害貽萬世不息。在當事者，雖心知其病民，然任敲撲以催科，毋敢緩也。彥明不然，誠循吏歟。

⁴⁴⁵ HZfZ 61.80.

⁴⁴⁶ HZfZ 61.81.

⁴⁴⁷ HZfZ 61.82.

Jiangzhe Provincial Supervisors of the Supervisorate of Confucian Schools

江浙儒學提舉

Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫

[Chen] Shan: “The service of Zi’ang to the Yuan, was widely criticized by his contemporaries. Reading the poem he wrote at the imperial palace on Mount Feng, with a sigh of admiration for “the old country [the Song dynasty], the people of the Jin, and the jade horses of those days.” His intentions could be felt sorrow for. When he established himself at court, he bravely made his own achievements, and did not accept humiliation at the hands of Sangha. Thus, this person is certainly not a person greedy for wealth, favors and profit, or one whose upright character stood deceitfully. [Yet] he looked north to [serve] two states. Treading on an honorable position until old age. Was it that there was a fear of harm deep in his heart? Or were his views wrong?

Considering [this] to see his true ambitions. The gentlemen pitied him for this, for his literature and virtue he truly was a man who was widely known. [As in] the past it would still be recorded, he is [therefore] included in the list of famous officials.”⁴⁴⁸

善曰：「子昂之仕元，世多譏之。觀於過鳳山故宮所為詩，有「故國、金人、當年玉馬」之嘆，其意亦可悲矣。方立朝時，矯矯自樹，不受辱于桑哥，則其人固非貪冒寵利、廉隅罔立者。顧北面雙國，踐清華以竟老，將由衷怵害，有所畏忌然歟？抑見解謬戾？

思一摠其蘊抱也。君子深致惜之，以其文行，寔方聞之士。故仍舊志，列之名宦。」

Huang Jin 黃潛

[Chen] Shan: “The traces of [Huang Jin’s] supervision of literature and education, are not seen in the records of official histories. However, the standards of teaching in high education [he set], can really be observed in other types of education. His knowledge and skills made him outstanding. He can be called a Confucian!”⁴⁴⁹

善曰：「文獻督學之蹟，史不見于紀載，乃成均之教則，寔可比類互觀焉。彼其道藝擅傑，稱于儒哉！」

⁴⁴⁸ HZFF 61.84.

⁴⁴⁹ HZFF 61.86.

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For the citation of primary sources, I generally follow the conventions outlined in *Writing, Publishing and Reading Local Gazetteers in Imperial China, 1100–1700* by Joseph Dennis, with minor modifications. Primary sources are listed alphabetically by title, followed by the approximate date of publication. This is then followed by the names of the compilers, as recorded in the relevant database or printed edition, the total number of *juan*, and finally the database consulted or, where applicable, full publication details of the printed source.

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