MING TAIZU (R. 1368–98) AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE MING DYNASTY IN CHINA

Hok-lam Chan

VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES

ROUTLEDGE

Also in the Variorum Collected Studies Series:

HOK-LAM CHAN
China and the Mongols
History and Legend Under the Yüan and Ming

HERBERT FRANKE and HOK-LAM CHAN
Studies on the Jurchens and the Chin Dynasty

PAUL W. KROLL
Studies in Medieval Taoism and the Poetry of Li Po

PAUL W. KROLL
Essays in Medieval Chinese Literature and Cultural History

RODERICH PTAK
China, the Portuguese, and the Nanyang
Oceans and Routes, Regions and Trade (c. 1000–1600)

DAVID R. KNECHTGES
Court Culture and Literature in Early China

EDWIN G. PULLEYBLANK
Central Asia and Non-Chinese Peoples of Ancient China

EDWIN G. PULLEYBLANK
Essays on Tang and pre-Tang China

DONALD HOLZMAN
Immortals, Festivals, and Poetry in Medieval China

DONALD HOLZMAN
Chinese Literature in Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages

DENIS SINOR
Studies in Medieval Inner Asia

JENNIFER HOLMGREN
Marriage, Kinship and Power in Northern China

JOSEPH F. FLETCHER, JR
Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia

VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES

Ming Taizu (r. 1368–98) and the Foundation of the Ming Dynasty in China

Hok-lam Chan
1938–2011
(Photo: Kin May Chan)

Hok-lam Chan

Ming Taizu (r. 1368–98) and the Foundation of the Ming Dynasty in China

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2011 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Chan, Hok-lam.
Ming Taizu (r. 1368–98) and the foundation of the Ming Dynasty in China.
– (Variorum collected studies series)
1. Ming Taizu, Emperor of China, 1328–1398. 2. China – History –
Ming dynasty, 1368–1644. 3. China – Politics and government – 1368–1644.
4. Emperors – China – Biography.
I. Title II. Series
951'.026'092–dc22

ISBN 978–1–4094–3128–2

Library of Congress Control Number: 2011924282

ISBN 13: 978-1-4094-3128-2 (hbk)

VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES CS987

CONTENTS

This volume contains xii + 360 pages

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The articles in this volume, as in all others in the Variorum Collected Studies Series, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and is quoted in the index entries.

PREFACE

Ming Taizu (r.1368–98), temple-name of Zhu Yuanzhang, who rose from an illiterate farm boy and mendicant Buddhist monk to become leader of a well-organized rebel army that brought down the Mongol-Yuan regime and founded the Ming dynasty, was one of China's most extraordinary emperors. He is not only remarkable for his unusual background, his intellectually complex, self-willed, suspicious character, erratic behavior, and imposition of brutal punishments against detractors, but also because of his unrelenting effort to build a Confucian, Legalist social and political order. He achieved his goals through ever changing policies, forceful political persuasion, enactment of new regulations, and physical repression. His political agenda, patriarchal injunctions and legal edicts molded the character and laid the foundation of his empire, which had a lasting impact on his descendants in political and institutional development to the end of the dynasty in 1644.

In afterlife, Ming Taizu cast a giant shadow, as his achievements inspired later rulers of China including the Manchu rulers of the Qing dynasty, Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic, and the Communist helmsman Mao Zedong. The life and deeds of Ming Taizu have fascinated scholars and laymen for generations and are the source of both officially propagated myths and popular legends. The persistent scholarly interest in Ming Taizu since the early twentieth century, whetted by Wu Han's controversial biography, *Zhu Yuanzhang zhuan*, continued in the last decades through the profusion of biographical and historical studies in both Chinese and Western languages, and is crowned by the recent publication of the stimulating symposium: *Long Live the Emperor! Uses of the Ming Founder across Six Centuries of East Asian History*, edited by Sarah Schneewind (Minneapolis, Society for Ming Studies, 2008). The present collection of essays on Ming Taizu continues some of the work contained in my earlier Variorum, *China and the Mongols*: *History and Legend under the Yüan and Ming* (1999). What is not included in the volume, however, are two articles pertaining to Ming Taizu's official and private historiography. They are "Xin Jin (1369–1415) as Imperial Propagandist: His Role in the Revisions of the *Ming Taizu shilu*," *T'oung Pao* 91.1–3 (2005); and, coauthor with Laurie Dennis, "Frenzied Fictions: Popular Beliefs and Political Propaganda in the Written History of Ming Taizu" published in the symposium *Long Live the Emperor!* They complement some of the essays included in the previous and present Variorum.

In this variorum, Article I examines how Han Liner and Xu Shouhui, two anti-Mongol leaders of the Buddhist White Lotus-Maitreya society, respectively adopted the name of the "Great Song" dynasty (960–1279) and its Fire cosmic patron to legitimate their state. Fighting against the Mongols and his adversaries as Han's high commander, Zhu Yuanzhang also embraced the Song symbols. After founding his own dynasty in 1368, however, he concealed his former affiliation with Han Liner and adopted the name "Ming" and the Fire cosmic symbol traceable to Pure Land Buddhism to establish his legitimacy. These facts, however, were distorted by the historian Wu Han, who incorrectly claimed that the anti-Yuan rebellions and the dynastic name "Ming" were inspired by Manichaeism – an assertion that must be corrected.

Article II retraces the career of Naqaču, a powerful Mongol grand marshal in Manchuria in the waning days of the last Yuan emperor Toqon Temur (r. 1333–70) and a fierce adversary of Zhu Yuanzhang, the Ming dynasty founder. A brilliant military leader and regional administrator, Naqaču emerged as an independent warlord in Liaoyang, protecting his tribesmen against the Korean and Chinese adversaries. He fought courageously against the Ming forces until he was caught and surrendered to the Ming emperor in 1387; he was ennobled as a marquis and was awarded a residence in Nanjing, where he died a year later. Article III is a translation of the biographies of the Daoist immortals Crazy Zhou and Iron-Cap Master, two legend-laden personages who allegedly made significant contributions to the founding of the Ming dynasty. Their stories were excerpted into the reign chronicles of Ming Taizu (*Taizu shilu*) revised in 1418 in an effort to strengthen the story of the emperor's rise to power through connection to the supernatural. They were later embroidered with miraculous details by imaginative writers and inspired a series of legends that gradually transformed these two famed Daoists into mythological heroes in Chinese folk tradition.

Article IV is a reevaluation of the notorious cases of "literary persecution" allegedly committed by Ming Taizu against dissidents through a detailed exposition of the historical sources to distill facts from hearsay. It has been said that many innocent individuals were executed by Taizu because their eloquent literary presentations offended the emperor, whose learning was so deficient that he often misinterpreted laudatory phraseology as derogative or abusive due to similarity in sound or in form. There is no substantiated evidence to support such allegations. In fact, it appears that Ming Taizu was a master manipulator of letters who was prone to using false accusations as reasons to eliminate his enemies. Such "literary persecution" may simply have been fabricated by later writers to criticize and satirize the autocratic emperor. Article V examines Ming Taizu's harsh extra-legal punishments against serious criminal offenders through a translation and analysis of five excerpts of such "placard"

pronouncements as revealed in Gu Qiyuan's *Kezuo zhuiyu*, a sixteenth-century literary miscellany. They cover cases of misconduct of military personnel, improper hairdo, misuse of nomenclature for personal names, rules on proper boot-wear, and taboo on theatrical performances. The offenders were subject to cruel and inhuman penalties ranging from castration, severing part of the limbs, to military-exile involving the entire family, and capital punishments by beheading or slicing of the body. These cases shed significant light on Ming Taizu's employment of harsh laws and punishments to create a reign of terror to achieve absolute rule.

Article VI examines Ming Taizu's problems with his sons who were invested as imperial princes – twenty-six in total – with semi-autonomous fiefdoms of civil and military authorities all over China. The essay uses as a case study the offenses committed by Taizu's second son Zhu Shuang, the Prince of Qin. Invested in 1370, at the age of fourteen, Shuang grew to manhood and assumed charge of his fief-state, but turned out to be an inept and brutal ruler. He repeatedly committed heinous crimes against officials, the military and civilian populace. A litany of indictments against the prince and the emperor's reactions was documented in the imperial compendium *Taizu huangdi qinlu*, and *Jifei lu,* a registry of crimes and offenses committed by the imperial princes. This essay analyzes the impact of these negative acts on the revisions of the laws governing the enfeoffment system, and the repercussions they had on the imperial succession and related crises confronting Ming Taizu during his rule.

Article VII examines the making of the myths surrounding Liu Ji (1311–75) or Liu Bowen, Ming Taizu's eminent adviser, through an analysis of his fictionalization in the late Ming popular historical novel *Yinglie zhuan* and its early Qing sequel *Xu Yinglie zhuan*. *Yinglie zhuan* laid the groundwork of Liu Ji's mythologization as an ingenious adviser and Daoist strategist by recasting him in the model of Zhang Liang (?–189 B.C.) in contemporary fiction and Zhuge Liang (181–234) in the famed romance *Sanguo zhi yanyi*. *Xu Yinglie zhuan* complemented the work by creating an additional image of Liu Ji as a magical prognosticator through appropriating popular stories about the flight of the Jianwen emperor (r. 1399–1402?) at the fall of Nanjing from the mutinous forces of Zhu Di (1360–1424), the Prince of Yan, who usurped the throne and ascended as the Yongle emperor (r. 1402–24).

Article VIII is a study of the efforts by Zhu Di, Ming Taizu's fourth son, the Prince of Yan, at legitimating the deposition of the Jianwen emperor and succession to the throne through an elaborate scheme of historical revisions. Enraged by his nephew Zhu Yunwen's accession after his father's death, Zhu Di launched an intensive military campaign, known as *fengtian jingnan* (to clear away disasters by order of Heaven), against the court. He proclaimed that his punitive mission was to chastise the treasonous ministers and to

restore his father's sacred traditions. He justified his actions by proclaiming that he was the eldest surviving heir of Taizu's Empress Ma, and was obliged to rectify the disorder in accordance with the ancestral injunctions. Inasmuch as all of Zhu Di's claims were false and fabricated (his biological mother was a Mongol consort), he needed to improvise various devices to legitimize his usurpation and accession. This essay examines the elaborate schemes to achieve such objectives, and the various circumstances by which Zhu Di's claim to legitimacy came to be sustained and perpetuated by his descendants in the later Ming dynasty.

I wish to thank Dr John Smedley for his interest in arranging the reproduction of these essays in the Variorum Collected Studies Series, and also Ms Felicia Hecker of Seattle for various editorial chores. My special gratitude goes to Kin May; without her warm affection and staunch support, which have provided a safe anchorage for the family and children through four decades of my academic career, many of these essays would not have been written.

HOK-LAM CHAN

Seattle
January 2011

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the following persons, journals, institutions and publishers for their permission to reproduce the articles included in this volume: Dr Joanna Handlin Smith, Editor, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (article I); Dr Edward J. Lazzerini, Director, Denis Sinor Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University (II); Dr Lawrence Wong, Director, Research Centre for Translation, The Chinese University of Hong Kong (III); Dr Barbara Krauss, Director, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden (IV); Dr Howard L. Goodman, Editor, *Asia Major* (V, VI); The Chinese University Press, Hong Kong (VII, VIII).

I

The "Song" Dynasty Legacy: Symbolism and Legitimation from Han Liner to Zhu Yuanzhang of the Ming Dynasty

POLITICAL symbols, existing in many forms and dimensions and with numerous functions and meanings, have played a prominent role in the genesis and development of organized states and ruling dynasties in China's long history. Of these, none was more significant than the name of a state (*guo* 國) or dynasty (*wangchao* 王朝); this and the cyclical cosmic power (*deyun* 德運) associated with it became the twin symbols of political legitimacy for imperial regimes from the Qin (221–207 B.C.) dynasty through the Song (960–1279). The product of diverse political discourses and cosmologies that harked back to high antiquity, these symbols were ingeniously elaborated upon by state founders, statesmen, and philosophers.[1]

Although the state name or dynastic title of successive ruling regimes in the imperial era could spring from any number of literary, philosophical, and geographical sources, the practice of pairing it with a specific cosmic power to establish the twin symbols of political legitimacy began with Shi Huangdi 始皇帝 (r. 221–210 B.C.), who

[1] On the use of political symbols in premodern China, see Du Kuiying 杜奎英, *Zhongguo lidai zhengzhi fuhao* 中國歷代政治符號 (Taibei: Guoli zhengzhi daxue, 1973), Chapter 2; Hok-lam Chan, *Legitimation in Imperial China: Discussions under the Jurchen-Jin Dynasty (1115–1234)* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), Chapter 1; Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the Tang Dynasty* (New Haven:Yale University Press, 1985), Chapter 1.

This article first appeared in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 68 (2008) and is reprinted here with permission of the editors.

derived the name of his dynasty, Qin, from the birthplace of his forebears.[2] The practice originated in the Five Agents/Phases theory of the cosmologist Zou Yan 鄒衍 (305–240? B.C.), who postulated that all changes in the universe came from the cyclical rotation of the five major agents/phases (*wuxing* 五行) or powers (*wude* 五德): Earth, Wood, Metal, Fire, and Water. The permutation follows a sequence in which one phase overcomes or conquers its predecessor in the order E-W-M-F-Wa, each phase having a corresponding color—respectively, yellow, green, white, red, and black.[3] Invoking this scheme, known as the "conquest cycle" (*xiangsheng* 相勝) formulation, the First Emperor established his own political legitimacy by adopting the agent Water, with its associated color black, as an emblematic representation of Qin's conquest of the Zhou house, to which the cosmologists assigned the agent Fire. After replacing the Qin with his own dynasty, the Han, Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 202–195 B.C.) also claimed Water as his power, along with the color black. In 104 B.C., in consideration of the fact that Han had overcome the Water power of Qin, Emperor Wu 武帝 (140–87 B.C.) acted on a proposal that Earth and yellow be adopted as dynastic symbols. However, as political power gradually waned under his successors, dissident opinion at court held that Earth should give way to Fire in deference to the myth that Gaozu was the son of the Red or Fire Ruler (Yandi 炎帝). Aizong 哀宗 (r. 6–1 B.C.) invoked the blessings of the Red Ruler, but died before he could formally adopt Fire as his symbol.[4]

[2] On the designation of state names or dynastic titles in Chinese history, see Du Kuiying, pp. 42–51; Hou Shaowen 侯紹文, "Zhongguo lidai guohao zhi yuanqi" 中國歷代國號之緣起, *Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yuekan* 中華文化復興月刊 10.6 (May 1977): 8–13; Hok-lam Chan, "'Ta Chin' (Great Golden): The Origin and Changing Interpretations of the Jurchen State Name," *TP* 77. 4–5 (1991): 254–57, 298–99; Chen Xuelin 陳學霖, "Da Song 'guohao' yu 'deyun' lunbian shuyi" 大宋 '國號' 與 '德運' 論辯述義, in his *Songshi lunji* 宋史論集 (Taibei: Dong Da tushugongsi, 1993), pp. 6–10.

[3] On these historical and philosophical subjects see, for example, Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, "Wude zhongshi shuo xia de zhengzhi he lishi" 五德終始說下的政治和歷史, in *Gushi bian* 古史辨 (Beiping: Pushe, 1935), ed. Gu Jiegang, 5:543–753; Michael Loewe, *Divination, Mythology, and Monarchy in Han China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), Chapters 2, 6; Sun Guangde 孫廣德, *Xian Qin Liang Han yinyang wuxing shuo de zhengzhi sixiang* 先秦兩漢陰陽五行說的政治思想 (Taibei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1993); Aihe Wang, *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[4] See Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shujju, 1975), 6.237, 26.1260, 12.483, 28.1366, 1381, 1402; Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 1B.82, 6.199, 11.340, 21A.973, 25B.1245, 1270.

Wang Mang 王莽 (45 B.C.–A.D. 23) again drew upon cosmic symbols for legitimation after he dethroned the infant last ruler of the Han (r. 6–8 A.D.). The Confucian cosmologist Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179?–104 B.C.) had improvised a new Five Agents/Phases scheme, whereby each phase generates or produces the next, in the sequence W-F-E-M-Wa. In adopting this "generation cycle" (*xiangsheng* 相生) formulation, Wang Mang attempted to justify his founding of the Xin 新 dynasty (A.D. 9–23) in place of the Han by claiming that the Fire power of the Han had given way to the Earth power he now commanded. In this way, Wang Mang linked himself to the legendary ruler Fuxi 伏羲, the Zhou kings, and Han Gaozu through two cyclical sequences of cosmic pulsation, making some adjustments to accommodate all the interim rulers, in order to establish the cosmic sanction of his authority.[5] Thereafter most of the major dynasties, as well as smaller states, adopted these symbols. To explain the transitions between dynasties and legitimize their own rule, each dynastic founder proclaimed a cosmic patron according to the sequence of the five agents. Following the Later Zhou dynasty (951–960), which had reigned under the aegis of Wood, the founder of the Song, Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 (Taizu 太祖, r. 960–976), associated his own dynasty with the Fire power and with the color red; just as Emperor Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1190–1208) of the rival state of the Jurchen Jin adopted Earth, with its yellow color, thus implying the destruction of the Song's Fire power.[6]

No such cosmic sanction was invoked by the Yuan, Ming, or Qing dynasties. Not only had Neo-Confucian rationalism eclipsed cosmological theory as the predominant source of political ideology; definitions of legitimate authority had also changed, invalidating the Five Agents/Phases schemes for conceptualizing dynastic transition. The Yuan, a

[5] On Wang Mang's usurpation, see *Han shu, juan* 99; H. H. Dubs, trans., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1955), 3:84–150. See also Gu Jiegang, pp. 525–97; Zheng Wenxin 鄭雯馨, "Lun Wang Mang dui Xinchao 'zhengdangxing' de jianli" 論王莽對新朝 '正當性' 的建立, (*Guoli Taiwan daxue*) *Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu* (國立台灣大學) 中國文學研究 20 (June 2005): 5–38.

[6] See Chan, *Legitimation*, pp. 33–37; Chapter 5. On Song's adoption of Fire power, see Tuotuo 脫脫 et al., eds., *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 1.6. On Jin's adoption of the Earth power, see Tuotuo et al., eds., *Jin shi* 金史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shujju, 1975), 11.259. The Five Agents/Phases theory had steadily declined as a political symbol after the Song dynasty, according to Liu Pujiang 劉浦江, "'Wude zhongshi' shuo zhi zhongjie—jianlun Songdai yijiang chuantong zhengzhi wenhua de shanbian" "五德終始" 說之終結——兼論宋代以降傳統政治文化的嬗變, *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 中國社會科學 2006.2 (March): 177–90.

multi-ethnic conquest dynasty, needed legitimating symbols that would free them from the straitjacket of Chinese ideology. The last attempt to follow the traditional symbols of legitimacy was carried out by two anti-Mongol warlord states, both of which invoked the Song dynastic name and its cosmic symbol. Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–1398), who founded the Ming dynasty after vanquishing these two states, pursued a new strategy.[7]

During the corrupt and fractious reign of the last Yuan emperor, Toghōn Temür (Shundi 順帝, r. 1333–1370), a number of rebel states arose in the wake of the popular uprisings instigated in 1351 by Han Shantong 韓山童 (?–1351), leader of the messianic Buddhist sect, the White Lotus–Maitreya society, in the Huai 淮 River region. Several of the rebel warlords who fought for dominance in north and central China espoused legitimating symbols.[8] In 1351 and 1355, respectively, Xu Shouhui 徐壽輝 (?–1360) and Han Liner 韓林兒 (?–1367) each declared himself "emperor" of a new state. They adopted the name Song or Great Song (Da Song 大宋) and the color red as twin symbols of legitimacy in their emblematic restoration of Chinese ascendancy. Xu Shouhui, leader of the southern Red Turban (*hongjin* 紅巾) branch of the White Lotus–Maitreya society, was based in Qishui 蘄水 in Hubei. However, as I will show later, an epigraphic source places the founding of Xu's state in 1350, and his state name Song was replaced in the *Yuan shi* by the cryptic term "Heaven Consummated" (Tianwan 天完). Han Liner, the adopted son of Han Shantong, who had launched the northern arm of the Red Turban campaign, was installed by his father's followers at Bozhou 亳州 in Anhui.[9]

[7] See Hok-lam Chan, *Legitimation*, pp. 124–28; Liu Pujiang, pp. 187–90. See also Herbert Franke, "From Tribal Chieftain to Universal God: The Legitimation of the Yuan Dynasty," in his *China under Mongol Rule* (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Variorum, 1994), Part 4.

[8] On Toghōn Temür's reign, see Song Lian 宋濂 et al., eds., *Yuan shi* 元史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978) [hereafter *YS*], *juan* 38–47. For a modern appraisal of these events, see Han Rulin 韓儒林 et al., eds., *Yuanchao shi* 元朝史 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), Chapter 6. See also John W. Dardess, "Shun-ti and the end of Yuan rule in China," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, ed. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), Chapter 7. For Toghōn Temür's biography, see *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368–1644*, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976) [hereafter *DMB*], 2:1290–93; Qiu Shusen 邱樹森, *Tuohuan tiemuer zhuan* 妥懽貼睦爾傳 (Changchun: Jilin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991).

[9] For a survey of these anti-Mongol popular uprisings and the warlords, see Han, *Yuanchao shi*, 2:111–46; Edward L. Dreyer, *Early Ming China, A Political History, 1355–1435* (Stanford: Stanford

Other contenders for power followed suit. In 1354, Zhang Shicheng 張士誠 (1321–1367), a salt peddler, founded the state of Da Zhou 大周 in Gaoyu 高郵, Jiangsu, assuming the title Prince of Cheng 誠王. In 1360, Chen Youliang 陳友諒 (1320?–1363), a fisherman and protégé of Xu Shouhui, murdered Xu and declared himself emperor of the Da Han 大漢 state at Jiangzhou 江州 (Jiujiang 九江), Jiangxi. Then, in 1362, Ming Yuzhen 明玉珍 (1331–1366), a loyal follower of Xu Shouhui and a patron of Manichaeism (Mingjiao 明教), proclaimed himself emperor of the Xia or Da Xia 大夏 state in Chongqing 重慶, Sichuan.[10] These three states came to an end when Zhu Yuanzhang, a poor peasant and illiterate Buddhist novice who had risen through the ranks under the titular leadership of Han Liner, scored decisive victories against his rivals and the Yuan government, and enthroned himself as founder of the Ming dynasty in 1368. He was posthumously canonized as Ming Taizu (Grand Progenitor).

This paper examines the ways in which the two anti-Mongol warlord states that preceded the Ming used the name of the Zhao-Song dynasty and its cosmic patron Fire power as twin symbols of legitimacy. When Zhu Yuanzhang served under the Han-Song regime, he espoused the Song symbols to affirm the legitimacy of his own status. Later he parted company with these symbols. For his new dynasty, he instead adopted the name "Ming" and the fire symbol, which were traceable to Buddhism, and covered up Xu Shouhui's Song state in the *Yuan shi* along with all traces of his own former subservience. To reappraise this evolving pattern of legitimation, therefore, one needs to rectify a number of historiographical issues and methodology embedded in the documentary sources and reflected in modern interpretations.[11] Not

---

University Press, 1982), Chapter 2; Frederick. W. Mote and Denis Twitchett, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, *The Ming Dynasty*, Part 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 1–57; Bai Shouyi 白壽頤, Chen Dezhi 陳得芝, et al., eds., *Zhongguo tongshi* 中國通史 (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1997), 13:506–35; F. W. Mote, *Imperial China 900–1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 517–48. On Xu Shouhui's and Han Liner's states of Song/Da Song, see nn. 26, 79.

[10] On Zhang Shicheng's state of Da Zhou, Chen Youliang's state of Da Han, and Ming Yuzhen's state of Xia or Da Xia, see nn. 46, 52, 84.

[11] Besides the *YS*, primary sources on the late Yuan uprisings are found in private accounts, such as Quan Heng 權衡, *Gengshen waishi* 庚申外史; Ye Ziqi 葉子奇 (fl. 1340–85), *Caomuzi* 草木子; Tao Zhongyi 陶宗儀 (ca. 1320–1402), *Chuogeng lu* 輟耕錄; Yu Ben 俞本 (1331–1403+), *Jishilu* 記事錄 (1403). These are excerpted in Qian Qingyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664), *Guochu qunxiong shilüe* 國初群雄事略 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982) [hereafter *GCQXSL*]; and also more fully in

only did official historians tamper with the *Yuan shi* accounts and the *Ming Taizu shilu* 明太祖實錄 (Veritable records of Ming Taizu) so as to reflect favorably on him; the modern historian Wu Han 吳晗 (1909–1969) also grossly exaggerated the influence of Manichaeism on the dynastic founding. Wu's view that the Ming dynastic title originated in Manichean beliefs has misdirected much scholarship on the Ming founding and has only recently been challenged and dismissed.[12]

By reevaluating the records to correct both the distortions of the official historians and the errors of modern interpretations, this paper will illuminate how the various contending anti-Mongol powers invoked the symbols of an earlier dynasty to establish their political legitimacy, and why the founder of the Ming dynasty introduced new symbols to create a new pattern of legitimation in the early fourteenth century.

HAN SHANTONG AND "SONG" RESTORATION

Our chief sources on the origin of the popular uprisings led by Han Shantong and followers of the White Lotus–Maitreya sect against Yuan rule in the Huai River region derive from two synopses in the *Yuan shi* compiled by Ming official historians. The first, in the *Shundi ji* 順帝紀 (Annals of Shundi), introduces Han Shantong and Liu Futong 劉福通 (?–1367), their prophecy of the coming of Buddha Maitreya, and Han's claim to be a distant descendant of the Song emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1101–1125). The second, from the *Hequ zhi* 河渠志 (Treatise on rivers and canals), supplements the first with information about how the rebellion was started by disaffected laborers engaged in dredging the Yellow River and how the leaders manufactured and spread a prophecy to incite them.

The *Annals of Shundi* introduces the event under an entry in May 1351 that Liu Futong, a "sectarian person" (*yaoren* 妖人, meaning a member

---

Yang Ne 楊訥, Chen Gaohua 陳高華, et al., comps., *Yuandai nongmin zhanzheng shiliao huibian* 元代農民戰爭史料彙編, 3 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985) [hereafter *YDNM*].

[12] For examples of historiographical tampering in the *YS* and early Ming records, see Qian Qianyi, "*Taizu shilu* bianzheng" 辯證 [hereafter *TZSLBZ*], in *Muzhai chuxue ji* 牧齋初學集, Sibu congkan edition, *juan* 101–2; and Pan Chengzhang 潘檉章 (1626–1663), *Guoshi kaoyi* 國史考異, Xuxiu Siku quanshu edition (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002) [hereafter *GSKY*], *juan* 1–3. On Wu Han's distortions and a critical evaluation of his Marxist-inspired historical scholarship, see the works cited in n. 17.

of the White Lotus society) from Yingzhou 潁州 (inside present-day Jieshou 首界 city, Anhui), started a disturbance, using red headbands for the purpose of identification, and captured the subprefecture with his men. Han Shantong's grandfather, a native of Luancheng 欒城, Hebei, had been banished by the authorities for "beguiling the multitude" with the White Lotus society's practice of burning incense. Shantong later spread a prophecy: "The country is plunged into upheaval; the Buddha Maitreya is descending into the world" (*milefo xiasheng* 彌勒佛下生), after which people from south of the Yangzi and the Huai River were deluded into widely accepting his faith. Han's close comrade, Liu Futong, now joined by Du Zundao 杜遵道, Luo Wenshu 羅文素, Sheng Wenyu 盛文郁, and others, further spread this heretic message. They declared that Shantong was in fact the direct descendant in the eighth generation of Song Huizong and should rightfully become the ruler of China. Futong and others initiated a religious ceremony and planned an uprising; then, when their plans accidentally came to light, they openly revolted. Han Shantong was seized and executed by the authorities, but his wife, née Yang 楊, fled with their son Liner to Wu'an 武安 (Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu).[13]

The *Treatise on Rivers and Canals* attributes the uprising to the plight of the disaffected corvée laborers drafted under the order of Jia Lu 賈魯 (1297–1353), Minister of Works, to redirect the Yellow River back to its old channel in Hebei to prevent flooding. The account relates that, in 1350, a children's jingle came into circulation: "A stone man with one eye; when they have channeled the Yellow River, the empire will rebel." Later, as Jia was overseeing the dredging, workmen found a one-eyed stone man at Huangling Gang 黃陵崗, in northern Hebei, and the White Lotus bandits of Ruzhou 汝州 and Yingzhou took the occasion to rebel. The author of the prophecy was never discovered, but the account provides important supporting information on the background and progress of the anti-Mongol rebellion.[14]

[13] *YS*, 42.891. For Han Shantong, see the primary sources on his son Han Liner cited in n. 26. On the White Lotus and Maitreya societies, see Daniel L. Overmeyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), Chapter 5; B. J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), pp. 115–23; Yang Ne, *Yuandai Bailian jiao yanjiu* 元代白蓮教研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004), Chapter 11.

[14] *YS*, 66.1645. On Jia Lu's administration and the anti-Yuan uprisings among the conscripted laborers, see Nakayama Hachirō 中山八郎, "Shisei jūichinen ni okeru kōkin no kiji to Ka Ro no

Additional information is available in several late Yuan private writings. The *Yuan shi* mentions only that Liu Futong wore a red headband as an emblem, but Quan Heng's *Gengshen waishi* reports that Liu's band was called an "incense army" (*xiangjun* 香軍) because they burnt incense and worshiped the Maitreya Buddha. In fact, most of these uprisings were associated with the White Lotus–Maitreya sect; the rebels were known not only as "Red Turbans" (*hongjin* 紅巾) but also as the "Red Army" (*hongjun* 紅軍)—they burnt incense and revered the color red and fire. The latter could be construed as symbols associated with Pure Land Buddhism and other sectarian cults, but their origin and significance are not documented.[15] Liu Futong is known as Liu Taibao 劉太保 in Ye Ziqi's *Caomuzi*. Ye identifies Han Shantong and his colleague, evidently Liu Futong, as craftily making the one-eyed stone man and inscribing on it the prophecy: "Do not say the stone man has only one eye; when you excavate this, the empire will rebel." They then hid it along the path leading to the Yellow River and waited for the laborers to dig it up. Ye does not, however, mention their religious propaganda. Only Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀's *Chuogeng lu* 輟耕錄, after noting that Jia Lu mobilized 150,000 corvée laborers and 20,000 soldiers, mentions that Han Shantong spread word that the Buddha Maitreya would soon descend, bringing salvation, and that Han's band burnt incense and organized seditious meetings, engulfing even faraway regions in their ravages.[16]

---

kakō" 至正十一年に於ける紅巾の起事と賈魯の河工, in *Wada hakushi koki kinen Tōyōshi ronsō* 和田博士古稀紀念東洋史論叢, ed. *Wada hakushi koki kinen Tōyōshi ronsō* hensan iinkai (Kodansha, 1961), pp. 649–63; Qiu Shusen, "Yuandai hehuan yu Jia Lu zhi he" 元代河患與賈魯治河, in his *Helan ji* 賀蘭集 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1997), pp. 61–86. See also n. 16.

[15] See Ren Chongyue 任崇岳, ed., *Gengshen waishi jianzheng* 庚申外史箋證 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1991), pp. 58–59. On the Red Turbans rebelling against the Mongols, see Wada Sei 和田清, "Min no Taisō to kokin no zoku" 明の太祖と紅巾の賊, *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東方學報 13.2 (1923): 122–46; Wang Chongwu 王崇武, "Lun Ming Taizu qibing ji qi celüe zhi zhuanbian" 論明太祖起兵及其策略之轉變, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 10.1 (1942): 55–69. See also Hok-lam Chan, "The White Lotus-Maitreya Doctrine and Popular Uprisings in Ming and Ch'ing China," *Sinologica* 10.4 (1969): 212–33; John W. Dardess, "The Transformation of Messianic Rebellion and the Founding of the Ming Dynasty," *JAS* 29.3 (1970): 539–58.

[16] See Ye Ziqi, *Caomuzi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 3 *shang*.50–51; Tao Zongyi, *Chuogeng lu* (Taibei: Shijie shuju, 1963), 29.439. Local folktales alleged that Liu hired a mason to make a stone man. See Wang Ting 王頲, "Liu Futong qibing yu 'Jia Lu he'" 劉福通起兵與 '賈魯河', in *Hongjinjun lingxiu Liu Futong—Liu Futong xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 紅巾軍領袖劉福通——劉

The identification by Yuan sources of Han Shantong and his son as members of a White Lotus–Maitreya society is crucial to our assessment of their rebellion. However, this was challenged by Wu Han in his provocative 1941 article "Mingjiao yu Da Ming diguo" 明教與大明帝國 (Ming Religion and the Great Ming empire). Wu, eager to offer an explanation for the Ming dynastic name and the origin of the title Mingwang 明王, inadvertently exaggerated the influence of Manichaeism at this time. He argued that Han Shantong and his son were in fact converts to Manichaeism disguised as sectarians of the White Lotus society.[17] Manichaeism, a Persian doctrine founded by the prophet Mani (216–277) and known in Chinese as Moni jiao 摩尼教 or Mingjiao, was introduced into China in 694 during the reign of Empress Wuzetian 武則天 (690–704). It taught that the cosmos consists of two forces, Light and Darkness, or good and evil, engaged in constant struggle for mastery, and that Light will eventually triumph over Darkness, after which a Prince of Light or Radiance (Mingwang) would reign supreme. Light, the sun, fire, and the color red all symbolize the agency of good in a rigid dualism in which day and night, light and dark, are wholly antagonistic.[18]

Wu evidently shared the view of most scholars of Chinese Manichaeism of his time that the Manichaeans were synonymous with the heretical "vegetarian demon worshipers" (*shicai shimo* 食菜事魔). They based their view on two works by orthodox Buddhist historians of the Southern Song: Zongjian's 宗鑑 *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 (Orthodox tenets of the Buddhist order; 1237) and Zhipan's 志磐 (1220–1275) *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (General chronology of the Buddha and his patriarchs;

福通學術研討會論文集, ed. Jieshoushi renmin zhengfu (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1996), pp. 51–64, esp. pp. 52–54.

[17] Wu Han, "Mingjiao yu Da Ming diguo," *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 13.1 (January 1941): 49–50, reprinted in his *Dushi zhaji* 讀史劄記 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1956), pp. 235–37. See also Wu Han, *Zhu Yuanzhang zhuan* 朱元璋傳, rev. ed. (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1965), pp. 15–20, 139–43. For a critical evaluation of Wu Han's scholarship, see Pan Guangzhe 潘光哲, "Xuexi chengwei Makesizhuyi shixuejia—Wu Han de ge'an yanjiu" 學習成為馬克思主義史學家——吳晗的個案研究, *Xinshixue* 新史學 8.2 (June 1997): 133–85.

[18] On Mani's teachings and the spread of Manichaeism to China, see Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical Survey* (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp. 7–9; Lin Wushu 林悟殊, *Moni jiao jiqi dongjian* 摩尼教及其東漸 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), Chapters 2–4, 10–12; Wang Jianchuan 王見川, *Cong Moni jiao dao Mingjiao* 從摩尼教到明教 (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1992), Chapters 1–5.

1269).[19] A number of Song and Yuan scholars also held the erroneous view that Manichaeism in Song times had already intermingled with certain sects of Buddhism, such as the White Cloud 白雲, the White Lotus–Maitreya, and even the Chan 禪 sect. Since Han Liner boasted the epithet "Young" or "Junior" (Xiao 小) Mingwang, Wu assumed that his father Han Shantong must have been known as Mingwang and hastily co-opted them as Manichaean followers. He traced these names to the *Da Xiao Mingwang chushi jing* 大小明王出世經 (Sutra of the coming to the world of the Elder and Junior Enlightened Princes), one of several proscribed religious texts labeled as Manichaean works in both the *Shimen zhengtong* and the *Fozu tongji*.[20] As to the fact that the *Yuan shi* and other sources all stated that Han Shantong and his son were members of the White Lotus–Maitreya society, Wu argued that Manichaean elements had by this time penetrated sectarian Buddhism, to the extent that it was not improbable that one such sect concealed Manichaean converts. (It was not unusual to use the name of one such sect to cover up their conversion.) In this way he advanced a Manichaean origin for the Ming dynastic name; but his imaginative thesis, though influential during the next half century, has now been dismissed by critics for faulty methodology and slipshod scholarship.

The Maitreya prophecy of Han Shantong and his claim to be a descendant of Song Huizong are two dominant complementary themes in the anti-Yuan uprisings that warrant close examination. The *Yuan shi* refers to Han Shantong's prophecy only in abbreviated form as "Buddha Maitreya is descending into the world," leaving out both the related prophecy—that "the Prince of Light will come into the world" (*mingwang chushi* 明王出世) to bring salvation—and the claim that Han was the incarnation of Mingwang. The full prophecy is cited in two Ming works—Gao Dai 高岱, *Hongyou lu* 鴻猷錄 (1557), and He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠 (1558–1632), *Mingshan cang* 名山藏 (1640)—both of which identify Mingwang as the Buddha Maitreya of the White Lotus–Pure Land scriptures.[21] The prophecy appears to have been derived

[19] For their comments on *shicai shimo*, see Zongjian, *Shimen zhengtong*, in (*DaRiben*) *Xu Zangjing* (大日本) 續藏經, 1st series, 2nd division, vol. 5 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1923), 4.412b–13a; Zhipan, *Fozu tongji*, in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–32) [hereafter *T*], no. 2035, 39:370a, 42.391a, 48.431a, 5.474a.

[20] See Zongjian, *Shimen zhengtong*, 4.412a; Zhipan, *Fozu tongji*, 48.431a.

[21] See Gao Dai, *Hongyou lu*, Congshu jicheng edition [hereafter CSJC] (Shanghai: Shangwu yin-

from the sutra *Foshuo Mile xiasheng jing* 佛說彌勒下生經 (Maitreya-vyākaraṇa), translated from the Sanskrit by Dharmaraksa, also known as Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (239?–316?). The sutra gives a vivid picture of a utopian paradise that will arrive among us upon Maitreya's descent from the Tuṣita heaven to become the next Buddha: "At that time in the promised land grain and food shall flourish, having all kinds of wealth, people will live close together, dirtiness and evil will perish; the weather will be mild and the seasons regular; people will not suffer any of the hundred afflictions; lust, anger and idiocy rarely take place; people will all feel equal and will be of one mind, expressing pleasure upon meeting each other." This prophecy sufficed to incite the poverty-stricken multitude to rally around Han Shantong and his Red Turban following and legitimize their uprising.[22]

Han Shantong's pretension to the Song imperial pedigree is reported in Ye Ziqi's *Caomuzi*, which states that he was a direct, ninth-generation (eighth, according to the *Yuan shi*) descendant of Song Huizong. In a self-righteous proclamation, he declared: "[The Song ruler hid] the 'jade seal' in the east of the Sea, and [the loyalists] recruited élite soldiers from Japan; [under Mongol rule] poverty is extreme to the south of the Yangzi, and wealth is vaunted north of the Great Wall." He was alluding to the flight of the last Song emperor Zhao Bing 趙昺 (r. 1278–1279), who was pursued by the Mongols as far as Yaishan 崖山 on the southeastern coast of Guangdong, and to the story of Chen Yi-zhong 陳宜中 (ca.1228–ca.1285), one of the last Song prime ministers, who raised troops for the imperial cause in Japan.[23] Han's claim was probably faked, since his surname was not Zhao, and there is no further evidence to corroborate his royal pedigree; but he was apparently riding the wave of popular campaigns that invoked the Zhao-Song dynasty to legitimize rebellion against Mongol rule. In 1352, following the report of a Mongol censor that in recent years many bandits in Henan had been using the name of the late Song as a propaganda tool, the Yuan court took the drastic preemptive action of banishing the son of

---

shuguan, 1937), 7.12; He Qiaoyuan, *Mingshan cang* (Taibei: Chengwu chubanshe, 1971), "Tianyin ji" 天因記, 1a.

[22] This passage of *Fuoshuo Mile xiasheng jing* is found in *T*, no. 423, 421a–b. For an English translation and textual analysis, see Chan, "The White Lotus–Maitreya Doctrine," pp. 212–13.

[23] On the flight to Yaishan, see *Song shi*, 47.944–46. For Chen's biography, see *Song shi*, 418.12529–33.

the Song emperor Shaodi 少帝 (Zhao Xian 趙昺; r. 1275–1276, now the Duke of Yingguo 瀛國公), the monk Zhao Wanpu 趙完普, and their families to Shazhou 沙州 in Gansu.[24]

Han Shantong's invocation of the Maitreya prophecy and of an imperial pedigree together generated the double claim that, even as he personified Mingwang, he was also the rightful heir to the Zhao-Song legacy. We have already noted that the White Lotus–Maitreya followers used the red color and fire as emblems, and that the Song dynasty, to which Han Shantong and his compatriots laid claim, had also adopted Fire as its cosmic patron. It is not certain whether all the Red Turbans regarded Fire as a cosmic symbol, but we can reasonably argue that, to their partisans, their reverence of fire and the color red could be construed as an affinity with attributes of Fire as cosmic patron, and that this in turn tended to buttress the movement as a campaign for Song restoration. Religious and political symbols were thus joined, and though Han did not live to realize his ambition, these legitimating symbols came fully into play in the Song state founded by his son.[25]

HAN LINER AND THE SONG STATE

In 1355, four years after Han Shantong's execution by the Yuan authorities, Han Liner was installed by Liu Futong and other White Lotus followers as "emperor" of the Song state in Bozhou. According to the *Annals of Shundi* in the *Yuan shi*, in March of the same year, Liu Futong and others escorted Han Liner from Jiahe 夾河, Dangshan 碭山, to their camp at Yingzhou. They established him as "emperor" and invested him as Xiao Mingwang in fulfillment of the prophecy. A capital was set up at Bozhou, the state was officially named Song, and the new empeoror took the reign title "Dragon and Phoenix" (Longfeng 龍鳳). His mother became the empress dowager, Du Zundao and Sheng Wenyu were both appointed prime minister, Luo Wenshu

[24] *YS*, 42.900. See Chen Gaohua, "Yuanmo qiyi nongmin de kouhao" 元末起義農民的口號, in his *Yuanshi yanjiu lunji* 元史研究論集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), pp. 257–67.

[25] See Chen Xuelin, "Da Song 'guohao,'" pp. 25–31. The anti-Jurchen forces early in the Southern Song also wore red to symbolize the Song restoration movement, and were therefore known as the "red headband army" (*hongjin jun* 紅巾軍) or "red jacket bandits" (*hungao zei* 紅襖賊), thus setting a precedent for the anti-Yuan rebels. See Sōda Hiroshi 相田洋, "Kokinkō—Chūgoku ni okeru minkan busō shudan no dentō" 紅巾考——中國に於ける民間武裝集團傳統, *Tōyōshi Kenkyū* 東洋史研究 38.4 (March 1980): 54–63.

and Liu Futong became administrators of political affairs, and a certain Liu Liu 劉六 took command of the Bureau of Military Affairs. Du Zundao, who enjoyed the emperor's special favor, exercised absolute power. The jealous Liu Futong ordered his assassination and became the senior prime minister; he later became known as Grand Protector (*taibao* 太保).[26]

The *Yuan shi* and other contemporary accounts describe Han Liner as Han Shantong's son, but his biography in the *Ming shi*, drawing on earlier sources, suggests that he was the child of a certain Li 李 family and was adopted by Han Shantong. It is also thought that his original name was simply Han Lin and that the character *er* 兒 was added to his name, a common custom in addressing a young child.[27]

In most narratives, Han Liner claimed to be the ninth-generation descendant of Song Huizong; as such, it was natural that he should harbor aspirations to fulfill his father's pledge of dynastic restoration. Bozhou was chosen as the capital apparently because it was the capital of an ancient state also named Song and so would strengthen his claim to legitimacy. It is also noteworthy that, according to a later report, Liu Futong, the strong man behind Han and the architect of the Song state, also claimed that he was a descendant of Liu Guangshi 劉光世 (1089–1142), an eminent military official under the Southern Song, to bolster his own connection with the Song imperial lineage.[28] However, Xu Shouhui had given the name Song to the state he founded four or five years before this: why should Han Liner take a similar name that would only confuse his own political identity? It appears that, to Han and his supporters, "Song" was a powerful name, capable of inspiring support and invoking legitimacy, as many dissident groups had already used it for propaganda; moreover, since his father had laid claim to the

[26] *YS*, 44.922. On Han Liner and Liu Futong, see *GCQXSL*, *juan* 1; *YDNM*, 2:1–70. For their biographies, see Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., eds., *Ming shi* 明史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) [hereafter *MS*], 122.3681–86; *DMB*, 1:485–88. See also Jin Yuanshan 金元山 and Dai Hongyi 戴鴻義, "Han Liner jianlun" 韓林兒簡論, *Liaoning daxue xuebao* 遼寧大學學報 1988.3 (May): 61–64. On Liu Futong, see also n. 16.

[27] On the variants of Han Liner's name, see *Caomuzi*, 3 *shang*.51; *MS*, 122.3681; Yu Ben, *Jishilu* [hereafter *JSL*], in *Mingxing yeji* 明興野記, ed. Zhang Datong 張大同 (pref. dated 1626), *shang*.13a; Wang Chongwu, ed., *Ming benji jiaozhu* 明本紀校注 (Lizhuang, Sichuan: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1945), pp. 39–40.

[28] See He Qiaoyuan, *Mingshan cang*, "Chenlin ji" 臣林記, 5.3a. For Liu Guangshi's biography, see *Song shi*, 369.11478–85.

Zhao-Song imperial lineage, it was incumbent on him to stick to the Song pedigree. Believing their lord to be the genuine heir-apparent, Han Liner's supporters chose to challenge Xu Shouhui by force of arms to show that their regime was the only legitimate successor to the Zhao-Song dynasty. This is the logical explanation, but the evidence leading to this conclusion was unfortunately buried under the historiographical revisions of the early Ming.

As to the title Xiao Mingwang by which Han Liner was so well known, it figures prominently in the *Yuan shi* and other Ming sources, but its origin and meaning are not recorded. Wu Han and other modern scholars have contended that, because Han Shantong propagated the impending descent of Buddha Maitreya, and Maitreya is equated with Mingwang, Han Shantong would naturally have claimed the title Mingwang, and Han Liner, being his son, should rightly have been honored as the "young" or "junior" Mingwang. In this sense, Han Liner's assumption of the Mingwang title, along with that of the emperor of the Song state, also presumes the fulfillment of the Red Turban prophecy. He was commonly referred to as Xiao Mingwang without mention of his imperial status in Ming official records, which tabooed Han's real name and his official title, and concealed Zhu Yuanzhang's true relationship with the Song regime as they impinged on Zhu's quest for legitimation after he became emperor.[29]

The Song state gained control of Anhui and the lower Yangzi region and steadily expanded their influence. Two months after the state's founding, one of Du Zundao's White Lotus followers, Guo Zixing 郭子興, passed away. A wealthy landowner of Dingyuan 定遠, Anhui, Guo took part in a rebellion in 1352 and captured Haozhou 濠州 (Fengyang 鳳陽) as his own base. Amid the scramble for succession, Du Zundao successfully persuaded his son, Guo Tianxu 郭天敍, to join the new regime as commander-in-chief of his own forces. In May 1355, Zhu Yuanzhang, then a prominent figure in Guo's camp, having recently seized control of Chuyang (Chuzhou 滁州) and Heyang 和陽 (Hezhou 和州) in Anhui, was offered the post of left deputy commander-in-chief. The *Taizu shilu*, seeking to gloss over the dynastic founder's acceptance of Han Liner's mandate at this early stage, asserted that Zhu declined

[29] Wu, "Mingjiao yu Da Ming diguo," pp. 79–80; Wang Chongwu, "Lun Ming Taizu qibing," pp. 70–71.

the offer. In fact, he accepted the appointment, an action that helped to pave the way for his own rise to independent power in the Jiangnan 江南 region with the aegis of legitimate authority derived from the Song emperor.[30]

A quasi-Song central authority was established at the capital Bozhou, and a rudimentary bureaucratic government modeled on the Yuan local administration was set up to oversee branch civil and military administrations in the outside regions. Along with the appointment of regular civil administrators, the diverse armed forces were reorganized into regular military units. However, we know little about Han Liner himself, as much of the record relating directly to him was ultimately altered by Ming official historians. It appears that Han was only the titular head of the Song state, the dominant figure being Liu Futong, who, together with his lieutenants, used Han's family and its legacy to expand their personal power. Later, when Zhu Yuanzhang emerged as the unchallenged leader in the south, he came to the rescue of his nominal master on different occasions, restoring to him his legitimate status.[31]

Almost from the start, the Song leaders raised the banner of Zhao-Song restoration to legitimize their cause and win popular support in their campaigns against the Mongols and other rebel contenders. Soldiers wearing red headbands marched under a red flag emblazoned with "Great Song" in battles against the Yuan authorities, who were then increasingly hamstrung by corruption and factionalism in the central court following the dismissal of the powerful reformer Toghto (1313–1355).[32] As early as the second year of Longfeng (1356), troops dispatched by Liu Futong into Henan, Shandong, and Hebei carried a banner on which was written: "Three thousand 'Brave Soldiers' (*huben* 虎賁) are marching toward the land of You 幽 and Yan 燕; The Dragon, flying through the heavens, restores the universe of the

[30] On Guo Zixing, see *GCQXSL, juan* 2; *YDNM*, 2:77–100; *MS*, 122.3679–80; *DMB*, 1:777–80.

[31] On the political organization of the Song state, see Qiu, "Yuanmo Hongjinjun de zhengquan jianshe" 元末紅巾軍的政權建設, in his *He Lan ji*, pp. 209–34, esp. 215–21. On Zhu Yuanzhang joining the Song state, see Yang Ne, "Longfeng nianjian de Zhu Yuanzhang" 龍鳳年間的朱元璋, *Yuanshi luncong* 元史論叢 4 (1992): 196–229.

[32] On the sources for late Yuan politics at this time, see *YS, juan* 43–44; *Gengshen waishi jianzheng*, pp. 65–77. For the biography of Toghto, see *YS*, 138.3341–49. See also John W. Dardess, *Conquerors and Confucians: Aspects of Political Change in Late Yuan China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), Chapters 5–6; Han, *Yuanchao shi*, 2:153–56.

Great Song." In the latter couplet, extrapolated from the fifth line in the "Xici" 繫辭 (Explication) of the *Qian* 乾 hexagram in the *Book of Changes*, the image of the "flying dragon" represents the Song ruler as he embarks on a military campaign to restore the Zhao-Song dynasty. However, no records suggest that the leaders also tried to develop a viable program of political, social, and economic reconstruction on the model of the historical Song dynasty to back up their propaganda.[33]

Records show that, despite its pompous claims of success, the Song regime under Han Liner's titular leadership soon fell victim to a failed military strategy and internal strife among its leaders. Starting in the fall of 1356, with Liu Futong as commander-in-chief of the Red Turban army, Li Wu 李武 and Cui De 崔德 were dispatched to take on the Yuan defenses in Shaanxi, and Mao Gui 毛貴 to expand control into Shandong. In the following year, Liu Futong launched a three-pronged campaign to engage the Mongol forces commanded by Chaghan Temür (?–1362), a protégé of Toghto, and his rival Bolod Temür (?–1365), son of a powerful Mongol nobleman.[34] Mao Gui took the eastern route, striking the Yuan capital Dadu 大都 (modern Beijing) from Shandong; Guan Duo 關鐸 and Pan Cheng 潘誠, positioned at the center, moved on Hebei by way of Shanxi to encircle Dadu; Li Wu and Cui De, taking the western route, marched deep into Shaanxi.

At this time, Liu Futong was trying to capture Bianliang 汴梁 (Kaifeng 開封), the former Song capital, in Henan, to carry out the pledge to restore and thus to bolster the state's legitimacy. He succeeded in June 1358, and moved Han Liner and his court there. As a result of the three-pronged strategy, Mao, Guan, and Li each consolidated a power base in the domains they conquered. Guan even took the Red Turbans across the Yalu River into Koryŏ, ravaging its capital, Kaegyŏng 開京 (modern Kaesŏng 開城), in late 1361. Meanwhile, Zhu Yuanzhang concentrated his forces in the region south of the Yangzi and steadily expanded his power base. After their initial successes, Liu Futong and his cohort suffered repeated losses in their battles against the Mongols—starting with the fall of Bianliang to Chaghan Temür in

[33] This Yuan source is lost, but the quotation itself is preserved in *GCQXSL*, 1.6. For the quoted passage from the *Book of Changes*, see Hellmut Wilhelm, *Change: Eight Lectures on the I Ching*, trans. Cary F. Baynes (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), pp. 56–57.

[34] On these events, see *YS, juan* 45, 141.3384–89; *Gengshen waishi jianzheng*, pp. 84–94; *GCQXSL*, 1.11–27. For the biographies of Chagan Temür and Bolod Temür, see *YS*, 141.3384–93, 207.4601–5. On their rivalry, see Dardess, *Conquerors and Confucians*, pp. 142–50.

June 1359. They then relocated Han Liner to Anfeng 安豐 (Shou 壽 county, Anhui), but there they soon faced the hostilities of the warlord Zhang Shicheng. The balance of power then shifted in favor of Zhu Yuanzhang who, now entrenched in the southern region, continued to support Han Liner's leadership in order to further his own political objectives.[35]

ZHU YUANZHANG UNDER THE HAN-SONG STATE

I will now examine Zhu Yuanzhang's pursuit of political legitimacy—his espousal of the dynastic title of the Song and its associated symbols of Fire and red— but will first review his family background, his humble upbringing, and the different stages of his military career. Born into a poor peasant family in Zhongli 鍾離 in Haozhou, Anhui, in 1328 and orphaned at sixteen, Zhu Yuanzhang led a checkered early life, seeking refuge in the local monastery and becoming a mendicant monk amid the chaos of rebellion and banditry. He vividly records his reminiscences in such pieces as the "Huangling bei" 皇陵碑 (Stele for the imperial ancestors' mausoleum), "Ji meng" 紀夢 (Story of a dream), and other writings.[36] They were embellished in the twice-revised *Taizu shilu*, completed in 1418 under his son Zhu Di 朱棣 (1360–1424) the Yongle 永樂 emperor (Chengzu 成祖, r. 1403–1424), with the purpose of inflating Zhu Yuanzhang's prodigious endowments and dramatizing his imperial destiny.[37] In all his private accounts, Zhu muted his connection to the Han-Song regime as he sought to establish a new source of legitimate authority after the founding of his own dynasty, and the posthumous *Taizu shilu* followed suit.

[35] See *YS, juan* 45, 141.3384–89; *YDNM*, 2:18–55. On the Red Turbans' incursion into Koryŏ, see Chŏng In-ji 鄭麟趾, *Koryŏ sa* 高麗史 (1451; rpt., Kokusho kankokai, 1908–9), 39.39b, 40b, 42a, 43a, 40.1b, 4b.

[36] Collected in *Ming Taizu yuzhi wenji* 明太祖御制文集 (Taibei: Taiwan Xuesheng shudian, 1964); *Ming Taizu ji* (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1991). See also *Quan Mingwen* 全明文, vol. 1, ed. Qian Bocheng 錢伯城 et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992).

[37] The *MTZSL*, first compiled in the Jianwen reign in 1399–1402, was revised by order of the Yongle emperor in 1402–1403, and again in 1411–1418. The final version, edited by Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 et al., was completed in June 1418, in 257 *juan*. For textual verification of the *MTZSL*, see n. 12. On the compilation of the *MTZSL* and related historiographical issues, see Xie Guian 謝貴安, *Ming shilu yanjiu* 明實錄研究 (Wuhan: Hubei chubanshe, 2003), pp. 186–207; and Hok-lam Chan, "Xie Jin (1369–1415) as Imperial Propagandist: His Role in the Revisions of the *Ming Taizu shilu*," *TP* 91.1–3 (2005): 59–125.

A few special events in Zhu's early life that tied him to the Zhao-Song dynastic heritage merit attention. First, Zhu Yuanzhang's maternal grandfather, surnamed Chen, was a professional shaman in the escort of the last Song emperor, Zhao Bing, and had fought against the pursuing Mongol-Han armada off the island of Yaishan, Guangdong, in March 1279. During the ensuing battles at sea, the young emperor (who was still the prince) was drowned in a hurricane, in which most of the senior Song officials and generals also perished, but Chen survived and lived to be a centenarian. It appears that Zhu Yuanzhang learned about the Song cause from stories about his grandfather's heroic deeds that he probably heard from his mother; these must have left a strong impression on him.[38] Second, whereas Zhu learned to read and write, in addition to acquiring a smattering of knowledge about Buddhism, only after he became a novice at the local Huangjue Monastery 皇覺寺 in his teens, he was most likely exposed to the messianic message of the White Lotus–Maitreya society and to propaganda about the Song restoration during the next three years (1345–1347), when, as a mendicant monk, he traveled among the cities and rural communities to the west of the Huai River (western Anhui and eastern Henan). But he did not become closely affiliated with the White Lotus sect, rather shrugging off its influence as he embarked on a military career.[39]

Lastly, Zhu relates, after the Huangjue Monastery had been torched by marauding soldiers in spring 1352, he returned and prayed for direction before the intact image of the Buddhist guardian deity. Seek-

[38] On the maternal grandfather, see Song Lian, "Yangwang shengdao bei" 揚王神道碑, in his *Song xueshi wenji* 宋學士文集, Sibu congkan edition, *Luanpo ji* 鑾坡集, 1.5b–7a. This epitaph was based on a biography written by Zhu Yuanzhang, which mentions Yang only by his posthumous honorific Yangwang (Prince of Yang) in 1369. On Yangwang's possible influence on Zhu Yuanzhang, see Wang, "Lun Ming Taizu qibing," pp. 60–61.

[39] See Zhu Yuanzhang, "Huangling bei," in *Ming Taizu yuzhi wenji*, 16.1a–4a; *Ming Taizu ji*, 14.271–74; see also *MTZSL*, 1.2–4. On Ming Taizu, see *YDNM*, vol. 3, which includes excerpts from the *MTZSL* and contemporary historical works; *MS*, *juan* 1–3. For modern biographies, see Wu, *Zhu Yuanzhang zhuan*; *DMB*, 1:381–92; Lü Jinglin 呂景琳, *Hongwu huangdi dazhuan* 洪武皇帝大傳 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994). Recent scholarship on Zhu Yuanzhang is surveyed in Zhu Hong 朱鴻, "Jin shinianlai (1989–2000) youguan Zhu Yuanzhang yanjiu zhi jieshao" 近十年來 (1989–2000) 有關朱元璋研究之介紹, *Hanxue yanjiu tongxun* 漢學研究通訊 20.1 (2001): 28–44. On Zhu Yuanzhang's life and career, see also Romeyn Taylor, *The Annals of Ming Taizu* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1975); *DMB*, 1:381–92; Dreyer, *Early Ming China*, Chapters 2–4; *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, part 1, Chapters 1–3; Mote, *Imperial China*, Chapter 22.

ing guidance as to whether he should stay behind or join the rebel cause, he tossed the divining shells three times; the formations all indicated divine endorsement of the latter. He then proceeded to Guo Zixing's headquarters and enlisted as a foot soldier. Intriguingly, a similar story is told about Zhao Kuangyin, the Song founder, who tried the same divination at a temple in Kaifeng during his humble years. He tossed the shells to seek prognostication concerning a number of government positions to which he aspired; the formations all indicated signs of disapproval, but he got a positive response when he tried the title of Son of Heaven. It is not improbable that Zhu may have heard about this and subconsciously replicated the action in his own hours of trial, or that he deliberately spread the story in order to drive home his identification with Song Taizu and the Zhao-Song dynastic legacy.[40]

Zhu Yuanzhang's fortune ascended when he was admitted to Guo Zixing's camp. His successful exploits under Guo prepared him well for throwing in his lot with Han Liner's regime and embarking on a successful career. From a trusted aide and the corporal of a guard squad, he married Guo's adopted daughter—the future Empress Ma 馬 (1332–1382)—and rose to battalion commander. Busily recruiting men from his own village, including Xu Da 徐達 (1332–1385), Tang He 湯和 (1326–1395), and others who flocked to him, such as Feng Sheng 馮勝 (1330?–1395) and his brother, Zhu organized his own militia, which also incorporated defectors from the Yuan forces. In late 1354, having recovered Dingyuan from the Mongols, he moved toward the Yangzi, taking Chuzhou; there he was joined by Deng Yu 鄧愈 (1337–1377), a local rebel leader. Later that year, he recruited Li Shanchang 李善常 (1314–1390), a Confucian scholar, and began assembling a local government staff. He stayed clear of the in-fighting between Guo Zixing and his dissident comrades, holding onto Chuzhou and Heyang as a power base.[41]

[40] See Zhu Yuanzhang, "Ji meng," in *Ming Taizu yuzhi wenji*, 16.2b, 9a–9b; *Ming Taizu ji*, 14.271–72, 281–82; see also *MTZSL*, 1.4–5; *YDNM*, 3:19–22, 25–27. "Ji meng" has been translated in Romeyn Taylor, "Ming T'ai-tsu's Story of a Dream," *Monumenta Serica* 32 (1976): 1–20. On Song Taizu's divination, see Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077–1148), *Shilin yanyu* 石林燕語 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 1.1. Concerning this episode, see He Mengchun 何孟春 (1474–1536), *Yudong xulu* 餘冬序錄, CSJC edition,1.3b; *TZSLBZ*, 101.1b–2a.

[41] On these events, see *MTZSL*, 1.5–14, 2.21–28; *JSL*, *shang*.2b–4a; *YDNM*, 3:27–40. See also *TZSLBZ*, 101.2a–7a; *GSKY*, 1.5b–8b. For Empress Ma's biography, see *MS*, 113.3505–8; *DMB*, 2:2023–26. On Xu Da, Tang He, Feng Sheng, and Deng Yu, see *MS*, 125.3723–30, 126.3751–56,

Zhu Yuanzhang was apparently elated when, early in 1355, Liu Futong's representative Du Zundao asked him to join Han Liner's newly founded Song state. He was then not sufficiently strong to become an independent leader; siding with Han would definitely enhance his stature, and he would also gain legitimacy by serving in the cause of Chinese restoration. The *Taizu shilu*, seeking to conceal Zhu's subservience to Han's leadership, mentions only the latter's claim to emperorship at Bozhou but not the name of his state and asserts that Zhu turned down the offer. The truth is that, as part of his strategy, Zhu Yuanzhang continued until Han's death in 1367 to accept appointments from the Song regime and use its Longfeng calendar and color symbolism to strengthen his own claims to political legitimacy.[42] Liu Chen 劉辰 (1335–1412) later wrote in his *Guochu shiji* 國初事跡 (Events of the early years of the state): "The Grand Progenitor ruled by virtue of the Fire power. He revered the color red, so the combat jackets, skirts, and headgear of the commanders and soldiers, as well as the flags and banners, were all red." This passage confirms Zhu's embrace of the twin symbols of legitimacy that the Han regime claimed to have inherited from the Zhao-Song dynasty.[43]

Zhu Yuanzhang's affiliation with the Han regime evidently served him well in that it granted him legitimate authority for territorial aggrandizement south of the Yangzi River. In mid-1355, Zhu took his army across the Yangzi and seized Caishi 采石 and Taiping 太平 (Dangtu 當塗, Anhui); at Caishi, he was joined by Tao An 陶安 (1312?–1368), a resourceful Confucian scholar. He then captured Jiqing 集慶, the strategic ancient city of Jinling 金陵, in April 1356, renaming it Yingtian 應天 (Responsive to Heaven). Later, as the Ming capital, Nanjing 南京, it became his operational base. The Song regime then installed a branch Central Secretariat over the Jiangnan region and appointed Zhu administrator of political affairs of the headquarters of

---

126.3748–51,129.3795–96. See also *DMB*, 1:453–551, 602–8, 2:1248–51, 1277–80. On Li Shanchang, see *MS*, 127.3769–73; *DMB*, 1:850–54.

[42] See *MTZSL*, 3:30; *JSL*, *shang*.4b–5a. The *MTZSL* states only that Liu Futong and others "invited" Han Liner to be "emperor" and installed him at Bozhou. This statement was repeated in *MTZSL*, 66.1250. On the suppression of Zhu Yuanzhang's early relationship with Han Liner by Ming historians, see *TZSLBZ*, 101.6b–7a, 102.8a–b; *GSKY*, 1.12a–13b, 30a–31b. On Zhu's attitude toward the Han-Song regime before his own enthronement, see Yang, "Longfeng nianjian de Zhu Yuanzhang," pp. 199–204, 224–26.

[43] See Liu Chen, *Guochu shiji* (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1967), 20b–21a.

the chief military command (*yuanshuai fu* 元帥府).[44] From this point on, all the official appointments and honorary commendations conferred on Zhu Yuanzhang were made in the name of the Song "emperor" Han Liner. But the *Taizu shilu*, intending to elevate Zhu's pre-dynastic stature and keeping with the principle of historical compilation, not only honored him as "His Majesty" (*shang* 上), but also omitted all mention of the source of the authority for these appointments. In the case of the more highly laudatory appointments or honors bestowed by the "emperor" himself, the *Taizu Shilu* states instead that "His Majesty" accepted these positions at the urging of his subordinates.[45]

During the next three years, Zhu Yuanzhang further exploited his claim to legitimacy as a senior Song state general when he launched a series of offensives into the Jiangnan region against both the Mongols and the warlord Zhang Shicheng. Zhang, who founded the state of Da Zhou in 1354, had captured the Yuan territories stretching from Pingjiang 平江 (Suzhou 蘇州) to Hangzhou 杭州 during the summer of 1357. Zhu's armies took Changzhou 常州 and Jiangyin 江陰 in Jiangsu, encroaching on Zhang's heartland and forcing Zhang to submit briefly to the Yuan court for help. Zhu then changed course and seized control of other cities in Anhui and Zhejiang.[46] Zhu Sheng 朱升 (1299–1371), a Confucian scholar in Huizhou 徽州, offered Zhu three pieces of advice for future action: "Build high walls, accumulate ample provisions, and delay the proclamation of kingship."[47] The last one implied that he should remain loyal to the Han-Song state so as not to risk losing legitimate authority. Through all these campaigns, Zhu Yuanzhang continued to display the symbols of the Song state. After setting up the Zhedong 浙東 branch of the Central Secretariat in Wuzhou 婺州 (later Jinhua 金華) in early 1359, he erected two huge

[44] For these events, see *MTZSL*, 3.30–35, 4.41–47; *JSL, shang*.8a–14b; *YDNM*, 3:37–40, 41–51, 56–66. See also *TZSLBZ*, 101.6b–7a, 7a–9b; *GSKY*, 1.12a–13b. On Tao An, see *MS*, 136.3925–27; *DMB*, 2:1263–66.

[45] See, for example, *MTZSL*, 4.45, 14.175.

[46] On these events, see *MTZSL*, 5.51–57, 6.72, 7.90; *JSL*, *shang*.8a–14b; *GCQXSL*, 6.156–62. See also *TZSLBZ*, 101.9b–17a; *GSKY*, 1.13b–19a. On Zhang Shicheng, see *GCQXSL*, *juan* 6–7; *YDNM*, 2:393–561. See also Zhi Weicheng 支偉成, *Wuwang Zhang Shicheng zaiji* 吳王張士誠載記 (Shanghai: n.p., 1932); *MS*, 123.3693–97; *DMB*, 1:99–103.

[47] On Zhu Sheng, see *MS*, 136.3929; *DMB*, 1:348–50. See also Wang Chunyu 王春瑜, "Lun Zhu Sheng" 論朱升, in his *Ming Qingshi sanlun* 明清史散論 (Shanghai: Zhuzhi chubanshe, 1996), pp. 172–84. Zhu Sheng left an account of his service with Zhu Yuanzhang entitled "Yiyun jilüe" 翼運績略 in his *Zhu Fenglin ji* 朱楓林集 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1992), *juan* 9, pp. 141–49.

yellow flags in front of the administrative building, with two posters on each side of the flags. On the flags was written: "The mountains and rivers cover the land of the Middle Flower [Zhonghua 中華], the sun and moon restore the universe of the Great Song." The posters bore this couplet: "In highest heaven, the sun and moon mark the path of the Ecliptic (*huangdao* 皇道, alluding to the 'imperial way');/In the Song state, the rivers and mountains retrace the treasure chart (*baotu* 寶圖)." This emblematic representation of the Zhao-Song as the legitimate ruling dynasty of China again helped to buttress the legitimacy of Han Liner's Song state and thereby that of Zhu Yuanzhang himself.[48]

Flaunting his authority from the headquarters of the Song chief military command, Zhu Yuanzhang tried to persuade Fang Guozhen 方國珍 (1320?–1374), a sea trafficker who surrendered to the Yuan and then served as administrator of political affairs of the Jiangzhe 江浙 branch of the Yuan Central Secretariat, to surrender. Fang, then in control of Qingyuan 慶元 (Ningbo 寧波), Wenzhou 溫州, and Taizhou 台州 in eastern Zhejiang, sought to placate Zhu with offers of money and lip service while continuing to honor the Yuan calendar.[49] In June 1359, Zhu Yuanzhang was promoted to left prime minister of the Jiangnan branch of the Central Secretariat of the Song state; he redoubled his efforts to win support from the landed gentry and scholarly community and distance himself from the White Lotus–Maitreya sect. These promising gestures prompted Ye Ziqi to submit a memorandum to the administration at Chuzhou 處州 (Lishui 麗水, Zhejiang), proposing "eight essentials" of administrative, social, and economic reform that the new government should implement in order to live up to the legacy of the early Zhao-Song emperors.[50]

Zhu Yuanzhang's invocation of "Song" authority made a deep impression on the Zhedong region, the heartland of the Southern Song,

[48] *JSL*, *shang* 13a. Also quoted in *GCQXSL*, 1.25. In *Guochu shiji*, 41b, however, the last part of the first sentence is changed from *da Song zhi tian* to *da tong tian* 大統天 (the universe of grand unification). The alteration reflects the attempt by Ming historians to suppress Zhu Yuanzhang's early subservience to the Han-Song state.

[49] On Fang Guozhen, see *GCQXSL*, *juan* 9; *YDNM*, 2:563–660; *MS*, 123.3697–700; *DMB*, 1:433–35.

[50] Ye Ziqi's memorandum was submitted to Zhu Yuanzhang's close associate Sun Yan 孫炎, then the regulator-general (*zongzhi* 總制) of Chuzhou, who must have made its contents known to Zhu. Originally in Ye's collected works, *Jingzhai wenji* 靜齋文集, the memorandum is now preserved in *GCQXSL*, 1.28.

where the local gentry and literati harbored strong affection and nostalgia for the Zhao-Song dynasty and would welcome a strong leader in the Song lineage. As a result, in April 1360, Zhu successfully recruited as advisers four learned Confucian scholars, headed by Liu Ji 劉基 (1311–1375) and Song Lian (1310–1381), and began to put in place socio-economic policies and other measures calculated to win the support of the population and disarm the enemies of war; these helped strengthen his claim over those of rival warlords.[51] Two months later, he repulsed the attack on Yingtian mounted by Chen Youliang, newly declared emperor of the Da Han state, by defeating his naval fleet at Longwan 龍灣 on the city's outskirts. As a reward for this victory, the Song regime honored Zhu Yuanzhang with the rank of Duke of the Wu Kingdom 吳國公 early in the following year, making him the legitimate hegemonic overlord of the Jiangnan region. Thereupon Zhu routed Chen Youliang from his base in Jiangzhou in a ferocious counterattack, and steadily expanded control over the latter's territories in Jiangxi.[52]

In March 1363, Han Liner, then under the protection of Liu Futong at Anfeng, was attacked by Zhang Shicheng's general Lü Zhen 呂珍. Zhu now faced a difficult decision. His confidant Liu Ji reportedly favored non-action, as Han's demise would simply pave the way for his lord's ascendancy. But Zhu decided that he could not risk allowing his beleaguered lord to fall into the hands of his nemesis, which would complicate the political situation and jeopardize his own legitimacy. Racing to the rescue, he relocated Han Liner and his retinue to Chuzhou 滁州, which was under his direct control. Liu Futong too suffered during the onslaught, but survived. As a gesture of

[51] On the recruitment of Liu Ji and others, see *MTZSL*, 8.93, *YDNM*, 2:142–46. See also *TZSLBZ*, 102.1a–3b. For Liu Ji's biography, see *MS*, 128.3777–82, *DMB*, 2:932–38; for Song Lian's biography, see *MS*, 128.3784–87; *DMB*, 2:1225–31. For recent studies on Liu and Song, see Yang Ne, *Liu Ji shiji kaoshu* 劉基事跡考述 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004); Pan Jie 潘傑, *Song Lian zhuan* 宋濂傳 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1988). See also Chen Gaohua, "Yuanmo Zhedong dizhu yu Zhu Yhuanzhang" 元末浙東地主與朱元璋, in his *Yuanshi yanjiu lungao*, pp. 290–306.

[52] See *MTZSL*, 8.94–106, 9.117–20; 10.125–28; *JSL*, *shang*.6b–17b; *YDNM*, 2:292–302. See also *TZSLBZ*, 101.17a–18a; *GSKY*, 1.12a–13b. On Chen Youliang, see *GCQXSL*, *juan* 4; *YDNM*, 2:101–348; *MS*, 123.3687–91; *DMB*, 1:185–88. On Chen Youliang's attack, see Nakayama Hachirō, "Chin-yū-ryō no dai-ichiji kai Nankin kōgeki" 陳友諒の第一回南京攻撃, *Suzuki Shun kyōju kanreki tōyōshi ronsō* 鈴木俊教授還曆紀念東洋史論叢, ed. Suzuki Shun kyōju kanreki kinen kai (Daian hatsubai, 1964), pp. 447–72.