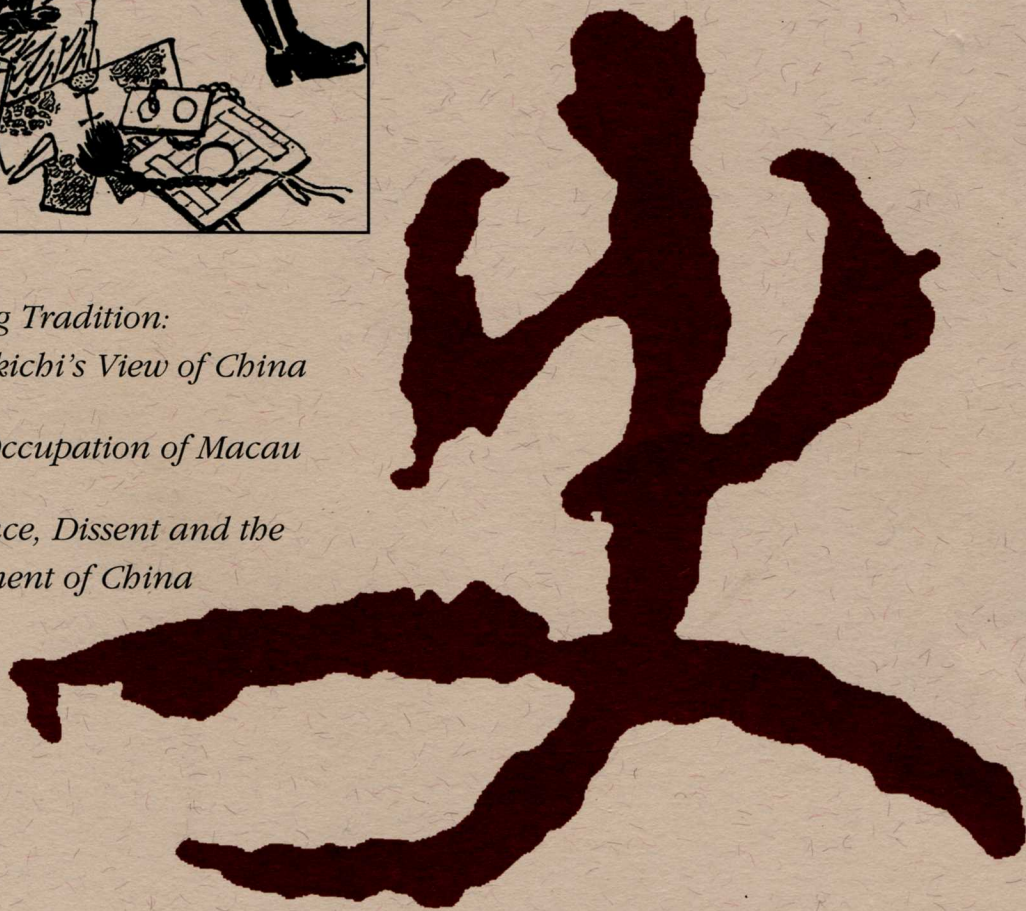




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# East Asian History

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## ON THE *SHENG-WU CH'IN-CHENG LU* 聖武親征錄

史 Igor de Rachewiltz

The *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* 聖武親征錄 (hereafter *CCL*) (Record of the Personal Campaigns of the Wise and Martial [Emperor]), i.e., Činggis Qan (? 1162–1227),<sup>1</sup> is undoubtedly one of our main reliable sources on the life and military exploits of the great Mongol conqueror.<sup>2</sup>

The textual history of the *CCL* has already been discussed by Louis Hambis (1906–78) in his introduction to *Histoire des Campagnes de Gengis Khan. Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou* (hereafter *HCG*), xi–xxvi, and subsequently critically reviewed within the context of the 13th century Sino-Mongolian historiographical activity in Hung 1951 (see, especially, pp.469–81). As shown by William Hung (1893–1980), the *CCL* is the Chinese translation of the Mongolian draft of the history of Činggis Qan and Ögödei Qa'an (r. 1229–41) compiled under Qubilai's auspices ca. 1290. This bare chronological record of events combined with data from the Chinese translation of the *Tobčiyān*, i.e., the Mongol text of the history from Činggis Qan to Möngke Qa'an (r. 1251–59), formed the first two parts of the *Wu-ch'ao shih-lu* 五朝實錄, or *Veritable Records of Five Reigns* (1303). These, in turn, served as basis for the "Basic Annals" (*pen-chi* 本紀) of T'ai-tsu 太祖 (= Činggis Qan) and T'ai-tsung 太宗 (= Ögödei Qa'an) of the *YS* (1368).<sup>3</sup> At the same time, the Mongolian draft of the history of Činggis and Ögödei was also the chief primary source for Rašīd al-Dīn's sections on Činggis Qan and Ögödei Qa'an in the *Ĵami' al-Tawāriḫ* (completed in 1310/11).<sup>4</sup> Hence the close relationship between the latter and the *CCL* already noted by Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) in 1920.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the *CCL* cannot be studied without a constant comparison with its Persian counterpart, as amply shown in the *HCG*.<sup>6</sup>

The text of the *CCL* has survived only by being included in T'ao Tsung-i's 陶宗儀 *collectanea*, the *Shuo-fu* 說郛, about which much has been

<sup>1</sup> For the conflicting dates of Činggis Qan's birth, see *SHM(R)*, I, pp.320–1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pelliot 1924, 203, n.1; Pelliot 1929, 169; *HCG*, p.vii.

<sup>3</sup> See, schematically, Hung 1951, 481.

<sup>4</sup> See *YS*<sup>2</sup> 1 and 2 (pp.1–41). Cf. F.W. Cleaves, *Yüan shih* 1 and *Yüan shih* 2 (unpublished translation, see Wright 1998, 289); Abramowski 1976.

<sup>5</sup> In Pelliot 1920, 177ff. For the account on Činggis and Ögödei in Rašīd's work, see *SL*<sup>2</sup>, I/2 and II, pp.7–64; *SGK*, pp.15–94; *HM*, I and II, pp.1–186.

<sup>6</sup> See *HCG*, p.1 et passim.

<sup>7</sup> For T'ao Tsung-i (1316–after 1399), see Pelliot 1924, 164–6. There is a good deal of information in the Chinese sources about this prolific writer of the end of the Yüan-beginning of the Ming period, author of the well-known work *Cho-keng lu* 輟耕錄 in 30 *chüan*. See the references in *RPN*, II, p.1797, IV, p.608. The two most important studies in Western languages on the *Sshuo-fu* are Pelliot 1924 and Jao 1966. There is a vast literature in Chinese on the *Sshuo-fu*, as well as valuable contributions by Japanese scholars. See Jao 1966, 87ff. The most recent large publication on the *Sshuo-fu* is the *Sshuo-fu san-chung* 說郭三種, issued by the Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she 上海古籍出版社 in 10 volumes (1988).

<sup>8</sup> For the 1646/7 (Shun-chih 順治) edition edited by T'ao T'ing 陶珽, see Pelliot 1924, 177ff.; *CKTSTL*, I, pp.7–21. For the 1927 *Han-fen-lou* 涵芬樓 edition published by the Commercial Press (商務印書館) and reprinted in the *Sshuo-fu san-chung* (see above, n.7), see Jao 1966, 87ff.; *CKTSTL*, I, pp.27–35. The various mss. of the *Sshuo-fu* (lost and extant) are discussed also in Pelliot 1924 and Jao 1966.

<sup>9</sup> There are about 640 different names in the text, many of which occur repeatedly.

<sup>10</sup> The *CCL* text is missing in the 1646/7 printed edition, but it is found in the 1927 edition (*chüan* 55, 1a–20b = pp.841b–851a of the *Sshuo-fu san-chung* ed., vol. 2), on which see Jao 1966, 87–9.

<sup>11</sup> On Ho Ch'iu-t'ao and Chang Mu, see *ECCP*, I, p.283, and pp.47–48 respectively. Both Chang's (undated) and Ho's (dated 1849) original prefaces are included in the 1894 edition on which see below, n.16.

<sup>12</sup> On Weng Fang-kang, see *ECCP*, II, pp.856–8. A ms. copy of the *CCL* was in his possession, as we are informed by Chang Mu in his preface to his and Ho Ch'iu-t'ao's edition of the text. See below, n.14.

<sup>13</sup> For the compilation of the *Sse-k'u ch'üan-shu* (1773–85), see *ibid.*, I, pp.121–2, 198–9. On the *CCL* considered for inclusion in the *Sse-k'u ch'üan-shu*, see the notice in *SKCSTMTY*, II, p.88 (1156), where the textual problems are duly emphasized. The *CCL* text (皇元聖武親征錄一卷) is, however, included in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu ts'un-mu ts'ung-shu* 四庫全書存目叢書 (Taipei, 1996), vol.45, pp.160–74.

<sup>14</sup> On Hsü Sung, see *ECCP*, I, pp.321–2. It is from Chang Mu's preface (1a; see above, n.11)

written.<sup>7</sup> The *Sshuo-fu* has been handed down in numerous manuscript copies and two printed editions (1646/7 in 120 *chüan*, and 1927 in 100 *chüan*).<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, the *CCL* contained in the *Sshuo-fu* has not fared well. The text is replete with Mongol and other “foreign” names—proper and geographical—in Chinese transcription.<sup>9</sup> In the course of transmission the copyists have misread a great many characters, with the inevitable result that the text has been transmitted in a very corrupt form, or rather forms, since there are numerous discrepancies between all the available texts printed and manuscript.<sup>10</sup> For this reason, several renowned Chinese scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries attempted to collate and revise the text. Ho Ch'iu-t'ao 何秋濤 (1824–62) and Chang Mu 張穆 (1805–49)<sup>11</sup> collated the *CCL* on the basis of ms. copies belonging to contemporary officials and bibliophiles such as Weng Fang-kang 翁方綱 (1733–1818),<sup>12</sup> one of the learned editors of the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* 四庫全書,<sup>13</sup> and Hsü Sung 徐松 (1781–1848), the great topographer of Sinkiang.<sup>14</sup> Ho also appended useful notes to the text, but their joint edition, completed in 1840, was not published in their lifetime. However, the manuscript was revised and enlarged by Li Wen-t'ien 李文田 (1834–95), Wen T'ing-shih 文廷式 (1856–1904) and Shen Tseng-chih 沈曾植 (1850–1922),<sup>15</sup> and was eventually published in 1894 by Yüan Ch'ang 袁昶 (1846–1900) under the title *Chiao-cheng Yüan Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* 校正元聖武親征錄 (Record of the Personal Campaigns of the Wise and Martial [Emperor] of the Yüan [Dynasty] Collated and Revised).<sup>16</sup> There are several editions of this important work,<sup>17</sup> which was also used by Ting Ch'ien 丁謙 to prepare his study of the geographical names contained in it.<sup>18</sup> The revised *CCL*, a copy of which was communicated by Ch'en I 陳毅 to Naka Michiyo 那珂通世 (1851–1908) in Japan in 1900 served as basis for the latter's annotated edition, which appeared posthumously in 1915.<sup>19</sup>

/that we learn that the collation was carried out on two ms. copies belonging to Weng Fang-kang and Hsü Sung respectively.

<sup>15</sup> On Li Wen-t'ien, Wen T'ing-shih and Shen Tseng-chih, see *ECCP*, I, pp.494–5, II, pp.855–6, and I, p.361 respectively.

<sup>16</sup> On Yüan Ch'ang, see *ibid.*, II, pp.945–8. This first and now rare edition, known as the *T'ung-lu Yüan shih Hsiao-ou-ch'ao k'ian-pen* 桐廬袁氏小瀛集刊本, is seldom mentioned. A copy of it, formerly belonging to Naitō Torajirō 內藤虎次郎 (1866–1934), who had apparently obtained it from Wen T'ing-shih, is now in the Naitō Collection of the Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 人文科學研究所 in Kyoto. Another copy, formerly belonging to Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, is also in Kyoto. It will be discussed further on. The *Hsiao-ou-ch'ao* edition has been reprinted in vol.423, pp.543–768, of the *Hsü-hsiu Sse-k'u ch'üan-shu* 續修四庫全書,

/Shanghai, 1995.

<sup>17</sup> Yüan Ch'ang's *Chien-hsi-ts'un-she ts'ung-k'an* 漸西村舍叢刊 edition, which is the best known, appeared in the same year 1894. (The *Chien-hsi-ts'un-she ts'ung-k'an* was republished in photo-reproduction by the Taiwan National University Library in 1969.) In 1896 the Yüan Ch'ang/Ho Ch'iu-t'ao edition was included in the third series of the *Chib-fu chai ts'ung-shu* 知服齋叢書. See *ECCP*, I, p.283. A punctuated and reset text of the same edition was published in the first series of the *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* 叢書集成 collection (The Commercial Press, Shanghai) in 1936 (vol. no.3910). There is also a 1986 Peking reprint of the *CCL* and an early twentieth century Japanese edition (Tokyo, 1901); however, none of these editions adds anything new.

<sup>18</sup> This is the *Yüan Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu ti-li k'ao-cheng* 元聖武親征錄地理攷證 /OVER

Nevertheless, as Pelliot has rightly pointed out, the collations and revised editions by the above-mentioned scholars, although valuable for their learned commentaries, are still most unreliable ("estrèment fautifs") insofar as the text of the *CCL* is concerned.<sup>20</sup> The situation, in this regard, improved beyond measure with the publication (alas also posthumous) of the annotated edition of the *CCL* by Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 (1877–1927).<sup>21</sup> Wang had access to several hitherto unavailable ms. copies of the *Shuo-fu*;<sup>22</sup> therefore, he was able to produce a critical text edition of the *CCL* by far superior to those of his predecessors thanks to his profound knowledge of the Chinese sources on the Mongols.

This work first appeared in a movable-type edition of the Ch'ing-hua hsüeh-hsiao yen-chiu yüan 清華學校研究院 in the summer of 1926, the year before Wang's historic suicide, under the title *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu chiao-chu* 聖武親征錄校注 (Record of the Personal Campaigns of the Wise and Martial [Emperor] Collated and Annotated).<sup>23</sup> The year after his death, Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 (1866–1940) edited and published Wang's collected works, the *Hai-ning Wang Chung-ch'üeh kung i-shu* 海甯王忠愍公遺書 which contains the *CCL* virtually unchanged.<sup>24</sup> However, because of the haste with which this monumental work was assembled and the numerous misprints that had crept into the movable-type edition, a new and more accurate edition was called for. This was likewise duly prepared by Lo Chen-yü and published in Shanghai in 1940 as the *Hai-ning Wang Ching-an hsien-sheng i-shu* 海寧王靜安先生遺書.<sup>25</sup>

While Wang's outstanding achievement marked the high point of native textual criticism of, and research on, the *CCL*, one must mention a further useful contribution in Chinese to the elucidation of the *CCL* text by Chia Ching-yen 賈敬顏 (H. Pai-yen 伯顏) who in 1983 published his *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu chiao-pen* 聖武親征錄校本 (Collated Text of the Record of the Personal Campaigns of the Wise and Martial [Emperor]) in 3 *ts'e*.<sup>26</sup> In his work Chia

/mediocre Mongol translation by Kökeöndör (*Boyda bayatur beye-ber dayılaysan temdeglel*, Hailar 1985, pp.9–92) is based.

<sup>24</sup> In the third part of the collected works. See Pelliot's evaluation in Pelliot 1929, 169–72 (Pelliot 1929 is an article entirely consecrated to Wang's collected works). Wang's informative "Preface" (*hsü* 序) to the *CCL* is also included separately in the first part of the collected works entitled *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* 觀堂集林. See Pelliot 1929, 130. For the *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin*, see also below, n.25.

<sup>25</sup> Wang's critical edition of the *CCL* is found in *ts'e* 38. The 1940 edition of the collected works was photographically reprinted in Taipei in 1976. A punctuated photo-reproduction in two volumes of the *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* (1940 ed.) was also published in Taipei under the title *Ting-pen Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* 定本觀堂集林 in 1961. (At the end of the second volume there are five pages of *corrigenda*.) Wang's preface of the *CCL* is found in *chüan* 16, 16b–18a (= vol.2, pp.796–9). For F.W. Cleaves's unpublished translation of the preface see further on and n.46.

<sup>26</sup> The work was actually completed in 1955 (as Chia himself informed me), but was only published in a provisional mimeographed form at his own expenses, and in a limited number of copies in Peking in 1983.

/which appeared in the second series of Ting's *Che-chiang t'u-shu-kuan ts'ung-shu* 浙江圖書館叢書 (1915).

<sup>19</sup> In *Naka Michiyo isho* 那珂通世遺書, Tokyo, 1915. Naka's contribution, entitled *Kōsei zōchū Gen Shinsei-roku* 校正增注元親征錄 (Record of the Personal Campaigns of the Yuan, Collated and Revised, with Additional Annotations), occupies 149 pages and contains a very useful commentary.

<sup>20</sup> See Pelliot 1929, 170.

<sup>21</sup> On the great erudite Wang Kuo-wei, see the obituary by P. Pelliot in *T'oung Pao* 26: 1929: 70–72; and, principally, his biography by his son Wang Te-i 王德毅, *Wang Kuo-wei nien-p'u* 王國維年譜, Taipei, 1967, as well as the book by J. Bonner,

*Wang Kuo-wei. An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986). Cf. also Yü Ta-chün 余大鈞 in *Nei Meng-ku Ta-hsüeh chi-nien hsiao-ch'ing erh-shih-wu chou-nien hsüeh-shu lun-wen-chi* 內蒙古大學紀念校慶二十五周年學術論文集 1982.10, pp.115–26.

<sup>22</sup> On these ms. copies, see Wang's preface to his edition of the *CCL* (pp.1a–b of the 1940 ed. on which see below, n.25); cf. Pelliot 1929, 170, and Hambis in *HCG*, p.xxiii.

<sup>23</sup> As the first item of his *Meng-ku sbib-k'o ssu-chung chiao-chu wu-chüan* 蒙古史料四種校注五卷. Wang's preface to the *CCL* is dated of the second month of 1926 (p.3). The *Meng-ku sbib-k'o* ... was reprinted in Taipei in 1962. It is on this edition of Wang's *CCL* that the



<sup>27</sup> In St. Petersburg in the first and only volume of *Vostočnyĭ sbornik* (*Oriental Collection*) which is dated 1877. However, as noted by Pelliot (Pelliot 1929, 169, n.1), the issue in which it appeared had already been published separately in 1872. The title of Palladiĭ's translation is "Starinnoe kitaĭskoe skazanie o Čingiskhane" ("An Old Chinese Story about Čingiskhan") and it occupies pp.149–202 of the issue (the translation proper begins on p.152). Palladiĭ's contribution was briefly mentioned by E. Bretschneider in his *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (London, 1888; new ed. 1937, reprint 1967), I, p.194. Cf. Pelliot 1929, 170.

<sup>28</sup> R. Grousset, *L'empire mongol (Ire phase)*, Paris, 1941, where on pp.565–80 there is a summary of the contents of the *CCL* based on Palladiĭ's translation, entitled "L'ordre des faits dans le Cheng wou ts'in tcheng lou."

<sup>29</sup> *HCG*, p.xxvi.

<sup>30</sup> See Pelliot 1929, 203; *HCG*, p.xxiii.

<sup>31</sup> See Pelliot, loc. cit., *HCG*, p.xxiii. Hambis adds (p.xxiv) that the collation was carried out "par M. Haneda sur son exemplaire de l'édition de Yüan Tch'ang," i.e., on the 1894 edition of the *CCL*. Cf. *ibid.*, p.xxvii.

<sup>32</sup> See Pelliot, loc. cit.; cf. *HCG*, p.xxiv.

<sup>33</sup> See *HCG*, p.xxvi.

<sup>34</sup> The original typescript of the index ("Index des noms mongols et chinois," 12pp.) is kept in the Pelliot-Hambis Archives at the Centre de Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute Asie, Instituts d'Asie, Collège de France, Paris. See below, n.36. The index was originally compiled by Hambis, but was extensively and thoroughly revised by Pelliot as evident from the latter's hand-written corrections and additions.

has collated no less than 18 texts, printed and manuscript, of the *CCL* that were available to him at the time. Any future edition of the *CCL* must take into account Chia's painstaking work which, incidentally, was undertaken in very difficult circumstances. All subsequent developments were due to the unplanned joint efforts of Chinese, Japanese and European scholars. Before discussing these important developments it is necessary, however, to describe the repercussions of the Chinese investigations of the *CCL* in the West in the 19th century and up to the middle of the 20th century.

The first Western scholar to become interested in the *CCL* was the Archimandrite Palladiĭ, i.e., P.I. Kafarov (1817–78). Recognizing the value of this work as a primary historical source on the Mongols, he prepared a Russian translation using a copy made for him of the text established by Ho Ch'iu-t'ao and Chang Mu. His translation appeared in 1872.<sup>27</sup> It was still being fully utilized in 1941 by René Grousset (1885–1952) for his account of Činggis Qan and Ögödei Qa'an in *L'empire mongol*.<sup>28</sup> However, already in 1931 Pelliot had entrusted his (then) student Louis Hambis with the translation of the *CCL*, "tenant compte de tous les progrès déjà fait et surtout des améliorations qui pouvaient y être apportées sous sa direction."<sup>29</sup> The "progress" and "ameliorations" to which Hambis refers consisted essentially in taking into account not only Wang's newly published critical edition of the text, Naka Michiyo's posthumous contribution and the 1927 printed edition of the text in the 100-*chüan Shuo-fu*, but also the numerous variant readings in the *CCL* contained in a ms. copy of the *Shuo-fu* belonging to the former government minister and bibliophile Fu Tseng-hsiang 傅增湘 (1872–1950). According to Pelliot, Fu owned a ms. of the 'ancient' *Shuo-fu* containing the text of the *CCL* which (adds Hambis) was not known to Wang Kuo-wei.<sup>30</sup> The well-known Japanese scholar and friend of Pelliot, Haneda Tōru 羽田亨 (1882–1955), had—always according to Pelliot and Hambis—made a collation of the *CCL* "sur le texte de l'ancien *Chouo fou* appartenant à M. Fou Tseng-siang" and had communicated a copy of his collation to Pelliot in 1920.<sup>31</sup> We are also informed by Pelliot that the *CCL* in question was found in *chüan* 55 of Fu's copy of the *Shuo-fu*.<sup>32</sup> In 1941 Pelliot decided to complete Hambis' work on the *CCL*.<sup>33</sup> The revised Chinese text established by Pelliot was divided into 80 "paragraphes" or sections (I–LXXX), and an index of all proper and geographical names occurring in the *CCL* ("Index des noms mongols et chinois") was prepared in transcription, the references being to these sections.<sup>34</sup> By 1945, the year he died, Pelliot had revised Hambis' draft translation of §§ I–XXI (= pp. 1a–27b of Wang's 1940 edition) and written his extensive commentary to this portion of the work. In the following years Hambis prepared the manuscript for publication while continuing to work on Pelliot's project, using the revised Chinese text and a number of notes left by Pelliot. *HCG* appeared as 'Tome I' under their joint names in 1951. This volume—a major contribution to Sino-Mongol studies—contains, beside a rather unsatisfactory introduction by Hambis, a table of concordances of

various editions of the *CCL* (covering only §§ I–XXI) on pp.ix–x, and a “Collation du Chouo fou<sup>3</sup>” on pp.473–7. “Chouo fou<sup>3</sup>” refers to Fu Tseng-hsiang’s ms. copy of the *Shuo-fu* and, in particular, to the text of the *CCL* in *chüan* 55 “collated by Haneda.”<sup>35</sup> Hambis’s list thus contains the variant readings communicated by Haneda Tōru to Pelliot in 1920.

By the time of his own death in 1978, Hambis had 1) completed the translation of §§ XXII–LXXX of Pelliot’s revised text, 2) completed almost two-thirds of the commentary, albeit with many gaps, and 3) almost completed a chronological concordance of events as they are related in the *CCL*, *YS*<sup>1</sup> and the *Ĵami‘al-Tawāriḫ*. Hambis’s manuscripts, together with a number of loose notes by Pelliot, are kept in the archives of the Centre de Recherches sur l’Asie Centrale et la Haute Asie, Institut d’Asie, Collège de France, Paris.<sup>36</sup>

Before discussing Hambis’s unpublished work on the *CCL*, a few comments are called for with regard to Pelliot’s and Hambis’s statements concerning the *CCL* text published by Yüan Ch’ang supposedly collated by Haneda Tōru with that of “Chouo fou<sup>3</sup>.” Such statements are, in fact, inaccurate. What really happened is the following.

Fu Tseng-hsiang had a copy of Yüan Ch’ang’s 1894 *Hsiao-ou-ch’ao* edition of the *CCL*<sup>37</sup> and owned a ms. copy of the *Shuo-fu*; indeed, according to the published catalogue of his library, he possessed three ms. copies of this work.<sup>38</sup> One of these, a ms. copy of the Ming (1505) in 100 *chüan*, which contained the *CCL* text in *chüan* 55, was used by Fu himself to collate Yüan Ch’ang’s edition. The collation (comprising additions to the text, deletions, amendments and markings of omissions) affected “over 700 characters.” So much we learn from Fu’s autograph colophon, dated 丁巳九月二十日, or “Twentieth day of the ninth month of (the year) *ting-ssu*” (= either 20 September or 4 November 1917), on p.100b of Yüan’s edition. Fu’s exemplar of this edition, on which the revisions are all clearly marked in red ink, was acquired soon after by Haneda Tōru (we do not know in what circumstances) who in 1920 made a copy of Fu’s revisions which he sent to Pelliot.<sup>39</sup> The exemplar acquired by Haneda Tōru was in 1986 in the possession of his son Akira 明 in the family residence in Kyoto. In the spring of that year, Professor Haneda Akira kindly presented me with a microfilm of the book during a brief visit I made to Kyoto.

By comparing the text collated by Fu with Pelliot’s text published in *HCG*, we notice that 1) Fu’s “improvements” are not improvements at all and have, in fact, not been adopted by Pelliot in the majority of cases, and 2) Fu’s revised text of the *CCL* is virtually identical with that contained in the 1927 printed edition of the *Shuo-fu*. Now, we know that three of the six ms. copies of the *Shuo-fu* used by Chang Tsung-hsiang 張宗祥, i.e., beside those of the Han-fen lou, for the 1927 edition were the ones belonging to Fu, and that these included a ms. copy of 1505. The inescapable conclusion is that, in the case of the *CCL* text, Fu’s revised version corresponds to that in *chüan* 55 of the 1927 edition, both deriving from Fu’s 1505 ms. copy. This, in effect,

<sup>35</sup> “Chouo fou<sup>2</sup>” refers to the 100-*chüan* *Shuo-fu* published by the Commercial Press in 1927. Now, “Chouo fou<sup>2</sup>” and “Chouo fou<sup>3</sup>” presuppose a “Chouo fou<sup>1</sup>” which is not referred to in *HCG*, but which should designate the lost original of T’ao Tsung-i’s *Shuo-fu*. This, however, is not made clear.

<sup>36</sup> In Dossier M10 (Hambis). I am very grateful to M. Robert Jéra-Bezard and Mme Monique Maillard of Paris for having kindly supplied a photocopy of Hambis’s work in 1982 and for their subsequent dispatch of Pelliot’s and Hambis’s index of the *CCL*. I am also obliged to the Institut d’Asie for having authorized me to make use of the Pelliot-Hambis material on the *CCL* with a view to its publication.

<sup>37</sup> See above, n.16.

<sup>38</sup> See Jao 1966, 93.

<sup>39</sup> See above, n.31.

<sup>40</sup> This can be readily ascertained by comparing Pelliot's text in the *HCG* with the 1927 printed edition, taking into account Hambis's "Collation du Chouo fou<sup>3</sup>." I say "by and large" because Fu occasionally departs from the 100-*chüan Shuo-fu* text of the *CCL*. For the latter ms., see Fu Tseng-hsiang, *Shuang-chien-lou shan-pen shu-mu* 雙鑑樓善本書目 (repr. Taipei, 1969), p.127.

<sup>41</sup> *HCG*, p.xxiii.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p.xxiv.

<sup>43</sup> For example, none of the current editions of the *CCL* has the character 欲 "intended" between the words 時弘吉刺部亦 and 來附 (see Wang's 1940 ed., 27b13). Although in Pelliot's (unpublished) text the 欲 is also omitted (p.1, § XXII), Hambis has inserted the words 'avaient l'intention' in square brackets in his translation (p.2, § XXII) because the 欲 is found in the parallel passage in *YS*<sup>1</sup> 1, 8b1. The presence of the 欲 in the original *CCL* is now confirmed by the Shen Han text of the *CCL* (6b6).

<sup>44</sup> In Jao 1966. I am most grateful to Professor Jao for sending me an excellent photocopy of the *CCL* text contained in the Shen Han ms. copy of the *Shuo-fu*.

<sup>45</sup> Cleaves' papers are kept in Gilford, New Hampshire, under the custodianship of Fr. Hector Bolduc.

<sup>46</sup> See Wright, 1998, 290. In a communication of 22 March 2004, Professor Yuan-Chu (Ruby) Lam of Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., informed me that "one folder contains the typed manuscript. The others were handwritten drafts. The double-space typewritten manuscript has first a nine-page introduction, which was completed with 50 footnotes. After this, which seems to be the introductory part, the text begins with the title 'The Sheng-wu Ch'in-cheng-lu, with Collations and Annotations.' The text has 48 pages, marked with page numbers and has footnotes to #153. After that, there are additional four loose pages, marked 1 to 4, with footnotes 156 to 168. The last sentence of the translation reads, 'The army of Mu-hua-li (Muqali) captured *chou*[21b] such as Ch'ien, Ching, Pin, and Yüan. He attacked Feng-hsiang but did not bring it down.' Apparently, more pages should be recovered from the piles of unsorted papers." The last sentence of Cleaves' translation is actually from *YS*<sup>1</sup> 1, 21a-b, and refers to events related *s.a. jen-wu* 壬午 (1222). Clearly, a close examination of

means that *by and large* Hambis' "Chouo fou<sup>3</sup>" = "Chouo fou<sup>2</sup>."<sup>40</sup>

Fortunately, the text of the *CCL* established by Pelliot does not depend on either of the above texts, and Hambis is right when, speaking of the 1927 edition, says that "malgré l'effort que cette édition représente, elle ne nous apporte pas pour notre text ce que nous aurions pu en attendre et parfois complique la situation."<sup>41</sup> The same words should apply, as we have seen, to the "Chouo fou<sup>3</sup>" text which, on the other hand, always according to Hambis, "présente donc un intérêt exceptionnel pour nous,"<sup>42</sup> something which is certainly not confirmed by the facts. The text established by Pelliot is, essentially, Wang Kuo-wei's text, revised partly on the basis of Naka's edition of 1915 (which was apparently unknown to Wang) but chiefly through Pelliot's own profound knowledge of the subject and unmatched historical and philological methodology. Pelliot's is, therefore, the most reliable text available at present, but only 21 out of its 80 paragraphs have been published. Moreover, Pelliot was not aware of the existence of the Shen Han 沈翰 ms. copy of the *Shuo-fu* of the Chia-ching 嘉靖 period (1522-66), which is now in the Fung Ping Shan 馮平山 library of Hong Kong University. The *CCL* text found in it (*ts'e* 24) can at times improve Pelliot's text by confirming some doubtful readings.<sup>43</sup> To Professor Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 (b. 1917) we owe a detailed description of this valuable manuscript.<sup>44</sup>

As for Hambis's unpublished work, the translation is complete but needs a thorough revision; the commentary is not only incomplete, but also largely obsolete since Hambis stopped working actively on it about 1960. All the frequent references to Rašīd al-Dīn's work in the commentary are to I.N. Berezin's text edition and translation (*SL*<sup>1</sup>), the latter being superseded by that of L.A. Khetagurov and O.I. Smirnova (*SL*<sup>2</sup>) which Hambis ignored in order to be consistent with Pelliot's commentary in *HCG*. In fact, only a small portion of Hambis's commentary can be retained in its present form. Of the unpublished material in the Paris archives, only the index of proper and geographical names in the *CCL*, as well as the text edition prepared by Pelliot, are worth publishing as they are except for minor revisions.

One should mention in this connection that there exists also an unpublished partial English annotated translation of Wang's edition of the *CCL* by Francis W. Cleaves.<sup>45</sup> According to D.C. Wright of Brigham Young University, among Cleaves's papers are found "five thick file folders on the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*" which "contain annotated translations in manuscript and typescript. Annotations cover textual variations in the *Shuo-fang* (read *-fu*-I.R.), Ho, and Wang copies of the work and the *Secret History*."<sup>46</sup> Before

/Cleaves' material on the *CCL* is necessary to determine its value. I am greatly indebted to Fr. H. Bolduc and Professor Y.C. Lam for sending me a photocopy of Cleaves's

/9-page translation of Wang Kuo-wei's preface to his edition of the *CCL* (see above, nn.24 and 25), and to Fr. Bolduc for graciously allowing me to refer to it in the present article.

undertaking either a revision of Hambis's work or a fresh translation of the remaining portion of the *CCL*, (i.e., §§ XXII–LXXX), it would be advisable to examine Cleaves's unfinished work.

In view of the above and in order to help scholars interested in this task, I shall include in the present paper a table of concordance of Pelliot's text of the *CCL* (§§ XXII–LXXX) and Wang's 1940 edition of the same. This is followed, as a separate article, by Pelliot's and Hambis' index of proper names and places using the original transcription (i.e. with *ä* for *e*) which is also found in the *HCG*, correcting a number of typing errors and inconsistencies, and adding a few cross-references. Then, in a subsequent article, I intend to present a list of variant readings in Pelliot's text and the Shen Han ms., always in relation to Wang's 1940 edition.<sup>47</sup> For any errors in the reproduction of Pelliot's and Hambis's valuable contributions I am, of course, solely responsible.

<sup>47</sup> Although copies of Pelliot's and Hambis's manuscripts were sent to me by the C.R.A.C.H.A. in the early 1980s, various reasons relating to health and work prevented me to carry out this investigation. I very much regret this long delay. I also take this opportunity to thank Professor T.Y. Liu of Canberra for helpful comments and suggestions which he gave me during the preparation of this paper; to Professor S. J. Huang of Hangzhou University and to Dr C.F. Hung of Academia Sinica, Taipei, for kindly supplying photocopies of portions of the *Shuo-fu*; to Ms O.H. Collins and Mr S. Rivers of Canberra for assistance with the word processing (also in connection with the Pelliot-Hambis paper); and to the staff of the Menzies Library at the ANU and the National Library of Australia in Canberra for their unfailing assistance in locating rare publications.



## APPENDIX

A Concordance of P. Pelliot's Revised Text  
and Wang Kuo-wei's 1940 Edition of the *CCL* §§ 22–80

(The references to Pelliot's text are to the paragraphs in which he has divided the work, see *HCG*, p.x)

Pelliot ms. (Paris)	Wang 1940 ed./Year	Pelliot ms. (Paris)	Wang 1940 ed./Year
XXII	27b13 [1201/2]	LII	70b12
XXIII	30a8 (1202)	LIII	71b8 (1215)
XXIV	30b13	LIV	72a3 (1216)
XXV	33a1	LV	72a11 (1217)
XXVI	33b6	LVI	72b13 (1218)
XXVII	35a3 (1203)	LVII	73b10
XXVIII	38a7	LVIII	75a4 (1219)
XXIX	43a5	LIX	75a6 (1220)
XXX	45b7	LX	75a11 (1221)
XXXI	47b5	LXI	76b2 (1222)
XXXII	49b8	LXII	77b8 (1223)
XXXIII	50b6	LXIII	78a9 (1224)
XXXIV	51b10	LXIV	78a11 (1225)
XXXV	52a13	LXV	79a7 (1226)
XXXVI	53a1	LXVI	79a9 (1227)
XXXVII	53b1 (1204)	LXVII	79b1 (1228)
XXXVIII	56b2	LXVIII	79b7 (1229)
XXXIX	57a3 (1205)	LXIX	80b2 (1230)
XL	57a6 (1206)	LXX	80b13 (1231)
XLI	57b8 (1207)	LXXI	81b7 (1232)
XLII	58b4 (1208)	LXXII	84a5 (1233)
XLIII	58b11 (1209)	LXXIII	84b6 (1234)
XLIV	60b1 (1210)	LXXIV	85a9 (1235)
XLV	61a5 (1211)	LXXV	86a1 (1236)
XLVI	61b10	LXXVI	86a7 (1237)
XLVII	63a4	LXXVII	86a13 (1238)
XLVIII	63b8 (1212)	LXXVIII	86b3 (1239)*
XLIX	64a7 (1213)	LXXIX	86b4 (1240)
L	66b5 (1214)	LXXX	86b6 (1241)
LI	68a9		

\* There is no entry for this year in the *CCL*

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Abramowski 1976 W. Abramowski, 'Die chinesischen Annalen von Ögödei und Güyük – Übersetzung des 2. Kapitels des Yüan-shih –', *Zentralasiatische Studien* 10:1976, 117–167
- CCL* *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* 聖武親征錄
- CKTSTL* *Shang-hai t'u-shu-kuan* 上海圖書館 ed., *Chung-kuo ts'ung-shu tsung-lu* 中國叢書綜錄, I–III, Shanghai, 1959–62
- ECCP* A.W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, I–II, Washington, D.C., 1943
- HCG* *Histoire des Campagnes de Gengis Khan. Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*, traduit et annoté par Paul Pelliot et Louis Hambis, Tome I, Leiden, 1951
- HM* C. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols, depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Tamerlan*, I–IV, La Haye-Amsterdam, 1834–35; repr. Tientsin, 1940
- Hung 1951 W. Hung, 'The Transmission of the Book Known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14(1951): 433–92
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- Pelliot 1929 P. Pelliot, 'L'édition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-wei', *T'oung Pao* 26(1929): 113–82
- RPN* I. de Rachewiltz and M. Wang, *Repertory of Proper Names in Yüan Literary Sources*, I–III, Taipei, 1988; IV, *Supplement*, with the collaboration of C.C. Hsiao and S. Rivers, Taipei, 1996
- SGK* Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, tr. by J.A. Boyle, New York, 1971

