



This dissertation is my original
work being based on research
carried out from February 1956
to August 1959 as a scholar of
the Australian National University.

Igor de Rachewiltz

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- Page 38, line 19 For Bedger read: Begder
- Page 54, line 16 For 1248 read: 1246
- Page 89, note 137 Add: For an interesting study of the role played by Confucian scholars in the early phase of the dynasty, cf. YCJH, 1-55
- Page 162, line 23 For exonerated read: discharged
- Page 250, line 19 After ogamu" add: Further details about religious rites connected with the use of felt in old Asia, classical antiquity, and the Middle Ages, cf. L. Olschki's study The Myth of Felt, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949).
- Page 253, line 8 For tao-tsu read: tao-tzu
- Page 259, line 7 For Schumann read: Schurmann
- Page 259, line 23 For primary read: principal
- Page 271, line 9 After ja'un~jagun add: (a mistake for ja'un~jayun - I.R.),
- Page 294, line 14 For dependant read: protégé
- Page 295, lines 21-23 Delete whole passage about the Wang-yu chi
- Page 306, line 17 For Meng Ku-kang read: Meng-ku Kang
- Page 315, line 24 For Presidential read: Secretarial
- Page 316, line 22 For 2b. read: 2b).
- Page 340, line 24 For P. Abel-Rémusat read: J-P. Abel-Rémusat
- Page 341, line 1 For Mongol read: mongol
- Page 347, line 6 For is quite justified, in my opinion, read: may be justified

- Page 359, line 18 For Ch'ü-fou read: Ch'ü-fou"
- Page 360, line 3 For 2a) read: 2a - I.R.)
- Page 365, line 1 Insert: 九經講義
- Page 366, line 19 After Apparent read: (tung-kung 東宮), i.e., to K'ü's son, Širemün.
Delete the whole passage in brackets, from p. 366, l. 19 to p. 367, l. 2.
- Page 382, line 13 For 318-319. read: 318-319).
- Page 410, line 15 For 1277 read: 1337
- Page 413, lines 9-10 For (CSTT apud....67a. read: (TYMCC, 29b, and KCWL 41, 67a. This seems to be a repetition of the edict of 1229, on which see supra n. 178, with provision for the owner of up to ten head of cattle.
- Page 421, line 16 For 术虎解 read: 术忽解
For YS, 6b, read: YS 2, 6b,
- Page 421, line 17 After 2b. add: The original Mongolian name borne by this personage was probably* Juqudai (<juqus), meaning "The Hasty One".
- Page 427, line 4 For (Ratchnevsky read: (cf. Ratchnevsky,
- Page 447, lines 10-12 Delete: In....them. Instead read: I have been unable to find any reference to this personage.
- Page 474, line 24 After Qulan" add: as already pointed out by L. Hambis in TP 47 [1959], 141).
- Page 504, lines 2-6 For "When....much. read: "In my youth I had a liking for Buddhism, as that was my natural inclination. When I reached manhood I had read superficially many Buddhist texts and although I

gained a certain knowledge from these, I rather exaggerated my achievement.

Page 509, line 18 For eespression read: expression

Page 525, note 3 For PWC read: PWL

Page 566, lines 15-17 For certain special "arts", such as astrology, divination, physiognomy and medicine. read: medicine and pseudo-sciences like astrology, divination and physiognomy.

Page 574, line 1 Delete: mountains

Page 611, lines 2-3 For this, however, must be a mistake for Wang Chih-ming. read: Chih-ming 志明 was his religious name.

Page 611, line 14 Delete: (mountain)

Page 620, line 21 For chih-ch'ang 指掌 "to point at the hand" read: chih-chang 指掌 "to point to the palm (of the hand)"

Page 620, line 23 For yün-ch'ang read: yün-chang

Page 660 Between TYHKL and Vernadsky insert: TYMCC = Ta Yüan ma-cheng chi 大元馬政記, 1 chüan, in Kuang-ts'ang hsüeh-chün ts'ung-shu, chia-lei ti-i chi 廣倉學窘叢書, 甲類 第一集, 1916.

Page 664 Between YCHHSWC and YCMCSL insert: YCJH = Sun K'e-k'uan 孫克寬, Yüan-ch'u ju-hsüeh 元初儒學, T'ai-pei, 1953.

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PREFACE

The present dissertation is a biographical study of the XIII century statesman and scholar Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189-1243). It is an attempt to refine our understanding of the life, career and thought of this eminent figure in the history of Asia in the light of his own writings and of contemporary accounts. At the same time it is intended to serve as a preliminary investigation to a major work on the early culture contacts between the Mongols and the Chinese.

The Introduction begins with some general remarks and a brief description of the principal primary sources used in the study. This is followed by a survey of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's background, his education and the formative influences he received. His career under Cinggis Qan is then traced, with particular reference to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's relations with the leader of the Ch'üan-chen sect, Ch'ang-ch'un. Through a study of these relations a new insight is gained into the circumstances that brought about the violent Taoist-Buddhist conflict at the beginning of the Mongol rule in North China. Further, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's

activity under "Ögödei is dealt with, special emphasis being placed on the significance of the administrative reforms that he carried out during the latter's reign. An analysis of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's thought and influence conclude the Introduction. In this last section an effort has been made to illustrate the statesman's peculiar brand of religious syncretism.

The Introduction is followed by the Translation of the Spirit-way Stele (shen-tao-pei) of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. The lengthy text of this inscription, composed by Sung Tzu-chen in 1267, is not only the main biographical source on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, but also a precious mine of information on the period. The numerous philological and historical problems raised by the interpretation of this text are discussed in the Notes to the Translation.

The Appendix comprises a translation of the complete text of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's geographico-polemical work, the Hsi-yu lu, also preceded by an introduction and followed by notes.

A Bibliography and the photostatic reproduction of the Hsi-yu lu complete the study.

In translating from the Chinese, offices and titles have been consistently rendered into English, following the general criteria adopted by K.A. Wittfogel and Feng



Chia-sheng in History of Chinese Society. Liao (907-1125), Philadelphia, 1949 (pp.36-37).

The pronunciations of Chinese words are given in the Wage-Giles system, with minor modifications (e.g., y^heh for yo and i for yi). The half-circle and the circumflex over u and e have been omitted for typographical reasons.

For the romanization of Mongolian, I have followed the system found in A. Mostaert, Dictionnaire Ordos III, "Index des mots du mongol écrit et du mongol ancien", Peking, 1944, but without the diacritic ˇ over c and j.

The transcription of Japanese is according to the Hepburn system.

In most instances book titles and titles of periodicals have been quoted in abbreviated form. All titles are arranged alphabetically in the Bibliography.

Roman numerals immediately following Western book titles refer to the physical volume; after a comma, the Roman figure refers to the page (of preface, or introduction) which is so numbered in the work. Arabic numerals refer to the page-numbers. Arabic numerals following a Chinese book title refer to the chapter (chüan) number before and to the page-number after the comma.

For sake of abbreviation, references to Notes to the Translation of the Spirit-way Stele and to Notes to the

Translation of the Hsi-yu lu are given simply to the Stele and to the HYL; e.g., Stele, n.3 refers to note 3 to the Translation of the Spirit-way Stele, and HYL, n.3 refers to note 3 to the Translation of the Hsi-yu lu.

The age of people is given, as a rule, according to Chinese reckoning.

I wish to thank my supervisor, Professor C.P. FitzGerald, Head of the Department of Far Eastern History at the Australian National University, and Drs G. Mulder, Senior Fellow in the same Department for their invaluable guidance during my years of research. I am indebted to Dr Wang Ling, School of Oriental Studies, Canberra, for having kindly helped me to elucidate difficult passages on more than one occasion. I should also like to thank Professor Emeritus V. Minorsky, Cambridge, and Professor J.A. Boyle, Manchester University, for having supplied the references to Blochet's edition of the Jāmi'at-Tawārīkh.

INTRODUCTION

In the last few decades there has been a considerable growth of interest among sinologues for the Yüan dynasty. Thanks to the untiring efforts of P. Pelliot and E. Haenisch, the two great pioneers of Sino-Mongolian studies in the West, and the important contributions to this field made by Chinese and Japanese scholars, the difficulties of handling the relevant sources have been greatly reduced. Many formerly puzzling questions pertinent to the institutional, cultural and economic history of the Yüan have been discussed and solved. However, owing to the large variety of sources to consult (in Chinese, Persian, Mongolian, etc.), and the complexity of the social and administrative organization under the Mongols, progress has been slow and much spade work still remains to be done before we can draw a clear and comprehensive picture of this dynasty.

To begin with, the early phase of Mongol conquest, i.e., the establishment of nomadic rule in North China during the reigns of Cinggis Qan and Ögödei Qayan (ca. 1210-1234), and the "period of symbiosis"¹ following it (ca. 1234-1260), still require a thorough investigation. In these periods

Mongol and Chinese societies for the first time came into close contact with each other and to a considerable extent "shaped" their future relationship.

Of particular significance for the understanding of early Sino-Mongol culture contacts is the role played by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai ² 耶律楚材 (1189-1243), secretary-astrologer to Cinggis Qan and later Chief of the Secretarial Council (chung-shu-ling 中書令) under Ögödei.

Although a famous figure in the history of China, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai has not yet been made the subject of a detailed study: his life, career and thought are therefore only imperfectly known. The only biography worth mentioning in a western language is the essay published in 1829 by the French sinologue J-P. Abel-Rémusat under the title of "Yeliu-thsou-thsai, Ministre tartare". ³ Previously, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai ⁴ was known in the West mainly through the works of Gaubil, ⁵ Deguignes ⁶ and de Mailla. Abel-Rémusat's study rendered useless all the references to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai scattered in these early works, and it has been utilized by later scholars until the present.

In 1888 E. Bretschneider published in his Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources ⁷ a translation of a fragmentary text of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's Hsi-yu lu 西遊錄 ("Record of a Journey to the West"), a complete MS copy of

which has since been discovered in Japan (see below).

In recent years various aspects of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's administrative activity have been discussed by H. Franke and⁸ H.F. Schurmann in their works on Yüan economic history.

Several studies on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, mostly short articles of uneven value, have appeared in China and Japan in the last decades.⁹ By far the most important of these¹⁰ is the nien-p'u by Wang Kuo-wei 王國維.

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's fame rests chiefly on the administrative reforms that were carried out under his leadership during the reign of Ögödei (T'ai-tsung 太宗, r. 1229-1241), and on his constant endeavour to mitigate the harsh Mongol rule in North China. It is mainly for these activities that he has been praised as one of the greatest political figures¹¹ in the history of Asia. His achievements, however, are known to us only through Chinese sources; no mention of him¹² is found in the works of the Persian historians nor in the so-called Secret History of the Mongols.¹³ This fact led the great Turkologist W. Barthold to suggest that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's political role may have been exaggerated by the Chinese historian;¹⁴ while E. Blochet, pressing the¹⁵ argument further in an article published in 1926, made a daring but vain attempt to identify him with Mahmūd Yalawāch, a well-known Moslem official of the time. Until very

recently, the extent of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's authority at
 the Mongol court has been open to question.¹⁶

Moreover, the biographies of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai written by Confucian scholars give us a one-sided view of his personality, seeing him as an exemplar of the humane and wise Confucian statesman. It is only from his literary works that we learn about his deep Buddhist faith. To what extent then was Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai the genuine Confucian that the historians claim him to be, and were his actions truly motivated by orthodox thought?

Sometimes, general statements are also made about his "civilizing influence" on the Mongols and its indirect effect on the policies later pursued by Qubilai. One wonders how far these statements are true.

In this introduction I shall attempt to throw some light on the above problems by reviewing Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's activity in relation a) to his environment and the historical context; b) to his political ideology and religious beliefs, so far, at least, as they can be discerned from his extant
¹⁷
 writings.

The introduction is followed by: a) a translation of the funerary inscription in honour of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai composed by Sung Tzu-chen 宋子貞 (1187-1267), our chief primary source on the statesman's life; b) an extensive

commentary to the translation; c) an appendix, consisting of an annotated translation of the Hsi-yu lu.

The Sources

The following is a brief description of the principal primary and secondary sources that I have utilized in my work.

1) The funerary inscription written for Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai by Sung Tzu-chen in 1267. Its full title is Chung-shu-ling Yeh-lü Kung shen-tao-pei 中書令耶律公神道
碑 ("Spirit-Way Stele of His Excellency Yeh-lü, Chief of the Secretarial Council"). It is found in the Kuo-ch'ao wen-lei
18
國朝文類 (KCWL) 57, 9b-24a.

This inscription (hereafter cited as Stele) is our main source on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's life and the one on which all his later biographies are based. Its special value lies in the fact that the author, being a contemporary of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and personally acquainted with him, had direct
19
knowledge of many of the events which he relates. In composing the Stele, Sung also made use of the biographical information contained in the obituary (hsing-chuang 行狀)
20
for Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai composed by Chao Yen 趙衍 and in the tomb inscription (mu-chih 墓誌) for the same composed
21
by Li Wei 李微. As both these earlier sources are now



lost, we cannot say to what extent Sung drew upon them.

Because of the great importance of the Stele, I have prepared an integral translation of it and made it the basis of the present study.

2) The biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in the Yüan shih
²³ 元史 (YS) 146, 1a-11a.

Although based on the Stele, this biography (hereafter cited as Biography) contains some additional information which must have been obtained from the no longer extant Tobciyan ("History") or Shih-lu 實錄 ("Veritable Records"). This can be inferred from the fact that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's Mongolian nickname Urtu Saqal ("Long Beard") - which is mentioned in the Biography but not in the Stele - occurs in the Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu 聖武親征錄.²⁴ The amusing episode of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's intoxication related in the Biography, 9b, was no doubt taken from the Shih-lu. From the same source must also come Ögödei's words quoted in the Biography, 9a9-10.²⁵

In my notes to the translation of the Stele I have translated all the corresponding passages of the Biography, as well as the additional material found therein.

3) The Chan-jan chü-shih wen-chi 湛然居士文集 ("Collected Works of Chan-jan chü-shih"), in 14 chüan.

This collection (hereafter cited as WC) comprises 505 "pieces" - mostly poems - written by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai between 1216 and 1236.²⁶ It is a very important source on the statesman's life and Wang Kuo-wei has made extensive use of it for the NP. Besides poems, the WC includes prefaces,²⁷ letters and other literary compositions. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's miscellaneous writings were collected by Tsung Chung-heng 宗仲亨, an official of the Secretarial Council, and published in P'ing-yang 平陽 (modern Lin-fen hsien 臨汾縣 in Shan-hsi) in 1234. The first edition comprised only 9 chüan and had prefaces by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's Buddhist teacher Wan-sung 萬松 (on whom see below), Wang Lin 王鄰,²⁸ Meng P'an-lin 孟攀麟,²⁹ and the aforementioned Li Wei.³⁰ The edition in 14 chüan, published after 1236, is the one reproduced in the Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an 四部叢刊 on the basis³¹ of a Yüan MS copy.

4) The Hsi-yu lu 西遊錄 "Record of a Journey to the West") by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai.

Written in 1228 and published in 1229, the Hsi-yu lu (hereafter cited as HYL) contains a sketchy description of the places seen, sometimes only heard of, by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai during his years in Central Asia (1219-1226), followed by a sharp attack on the Taoist patriarch Ch'ang-ch'un 長春 and the Ch'üan-chen 全真 sect. The geographical section

occupies only one fourth of the whole. For the history of this text see the Introduction to the Translation of the HYL in the Appendix.

My reason for translating the HYL is three-fold. Firstly, in the HYL we have a counterpart of the Hsi-yu chi 西遊記 (HYC) by Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 (1193-1278). The account Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai gives of events related to Ch'ang-ch'un's arrival at Cinggis Qan's encampment and of his subsequent deeds is quite at variance with that of Li Chih-ch'ang. As Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was a personal witness of Ch'ang-ch'un's activity in Central Asia, the importance of his report cannot be underestimated.³²

Secondly, the HYL is an invaluable source for Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's own political and religious beliefs.

Thirdly, the HYL is the best specimen we possess of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's prose writing.³³

In the present study all references to the HYL are to the Kanda edition. A photostatic reproduction of this text is given at the end of the study.

5) The funerary inscription in honour of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's father Yeh-lü Lü 耶律履 (1131-1191), composed by Yüan Hao-wen 元好問 (1190-1257).³⁴ Its full title is Ku Chin shang-shu yü-ch'eng Yeh-lü Kung shen-tao-pei 故金尚書右丞耶律公神道碑 ("Spirit-way Stele of His

Excellency Yeh-lü, the Late Assistant of the Right in the Presidential Council of Chin"). It is found in the KCWL 57, 1a-9b.

The text of this document (hereafter cited as Stele A) is the immediate source of the biography of Yeh-lü Lü in the Chin shih.³⁵ I have included a translation of the major portion of Stele A in Stele, n.37.

Among the numerous secondary sources that I have used, the following works in Chinese deserve special mention:

1) Yüan-ch'ao ming-ch'en shih-lüeh 元朝名臣事略 ("Biographical Data of Illustrious Ministers of the Yüan Dynasty") (YCMCSL) by Su T'ien-chüeh 蘇天爵 (1294-1352).³⁶ The biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is found in 6, 57-67, under the title of Chung-shu Yeh-lü Wen-cheng Wang 中書耶律文正王 ("The Secretary [of State] Yeh-lü Wen-cheng").

Although based chiefly on the Stele, Su T'ien-chüeh's biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is important for having preserved, in quotation, passages relating to the statesman extracted from works of contemporary authors which are no longer available.

2) Yüan-shih lei-pien 元史類編³⁷ ("Collectanea on Yüan History") (YSLP), by Shao Yüan-p'ing 邵遠平 (fl. 1664-1700).

The biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is found in 11, 1a-6b. It is an excellent biography, based chiefly on the primary sources mentioned above (Stele and Biography in particular), and enriched by many interesting notes.

3) Meng-wu-erh shih-chi ³⁸ 蒙兀兒史記 ("Historical Memoirs Relating to the Mongols") (MWESC), by T'u Chi 屠寄 (fl. 1885-1912).

The biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is found in 48, 1a-8a.

4) Hsin Yüan shih ³⁹ 新元史 ("New History of the Yüan") (HYS) by K'o Shao-min 柯劭忞 (1850-1933).

The biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is found in 127, ⁴⁰ 1a-10a.

5) Yeh-lü Wen-cheng Kung nien-p'u ⁴¹ 耶律文正公年譜 ("Chronological Biography of His Excellency Yeh-lü Wen-cheng") (NP), by Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 (1877-1927).

In the NP Wang has made use of a large number of sources unexplored by previous biographers of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. He has also extracted many new biographical data from the poems in the WC. The result is an outstanding piece of scholarship. The NP was written, however, before the discovery of the complete text of the HYL in Japan. To the NP are appended extremely interesting notes on the following topics: a) Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's birthplace; b) Yeh-lü Lü's apanage

in Tung-p'ing; c) Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and the Ch'i-tan language; d) Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and the Moslem calendar; e) Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai as a Buddhist and a Confucian; f) Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's poems written "to the rhymes" of Ch'ang-ch'un's poems; g) Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Cheng Ching-hsien 鄭景賢; h) the population of Pien-ching; i) Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's collected writings; j) Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's defective poems; l) Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai as a humanitarian minister; m) chronological errors in the SWCCL and YS; n) Yüan Hao-wen's humanitarian spirit.
42

References to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai are also found in the Annals, the Monographs and the Biographies in the YS, as well as in the writings of contemporary Sung and Yüan authors. These references, whenever relevant, have been discussed in the notes to the translation of the Stele.

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's Background and Formative Influences

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's lineage, as given in his funerary inscription, begins with T'u-yü 突欲, eldest son of the founder of the Liao dynasty, A-pao-chi 阿保機. T'u-yü, whose personal name was Pei 倍, is well-known to history. A fervent admirer of Chinese culture, he was himself a scholar in both Ch'i-tan and Chinese, as well as a skilled painter. He ruled over Tung-tan 東丹, i.e. the old kingdom of Po-hai 渤海, from 926 to 930 (whence his title of

Prince of Tung-tan), and shortly afterwards had to flee Liao for fear of being assassinated by his brother Te-kuang 德光 (T'ai-tsung 太宗, r. 927-947), in whose favour he had been forced to abdicate the throne. He met a violent death in exile in 937.⁴³

Next in line comes T'u-yü's second son Lou-kuo 婁國, younger brother of Emperor Shih-tsung 世宗 (r. 947-951). He became governor of Yen-ching 燕京, the Southern Capital of Liao, and Chief of the Political Council. In 952 he plotted rebellion against Emperor Mu-tsung 穆宗 (r. 951-969) in order to assert the claims of the senior branch of the clan to the imperial succession (Mu-tsung was a member of the junior line). He was discovered and arrested, and subsequently committed suicide.⁴⁴ Of Lou-kuo's descendants for the next four generations we only know the names and official titles. Among them figure two Grand Preceptors.⁴⁵

T'u-yü's sixth-generation descendant, Te-yüan 德元, took service under the Chin dynasty and rose to be Commanding Prefect of the Hsing-p'ing Commandery 興平軍 (nr. modern Lu-lung hsien 盧龍縣, Ho-pei). Having no sons of his own he adopted the son of a younger cousin making him his heir. Te-yüan's adopted son, called Lü 復, was the father of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai.⁴⁶

Born in 1131, Yeh-lü Lü entered the civil service through the yin ^陰 privilege and rapidly gained renown as a translator from Chinese into Ch'i-tan and Jurchen. He held various posts in the Department of National Historiography, the Imperial Academy, the Ministry of Rites, and in the provincial administration. He attracted the attention of Emperor Shih-tsung 世宗 (r. 1161-1189) who, during his last illness, made him his personal attendant. After the emperor's death, Yeh-lü Lü "gained merit" in connection with the enthronement of Chang-tsung 章宗 (r. 1190-1208). Thereupon he rose to be President of the Ministry of Rites and Assistant of the Right in the Presidential Council. He died in office in 1191.⁴⁷ His biographies portray him as a capable and thoroughly Sinicized official. His funerary inscription relates several anecdotes illustrating his Confucian outlook. For example, when Chang-tsung was still Heir Apparent, Yeh-lü Lü dissuaded him from studying the Tso chuan because, although a classic, "it is on the whole full of intrigues and lacking purity". Instead he recommended him to concentrate on the Shang shu and Meng-tzu,⁴⁸ for these works "contain the pure Way of the Sages". Also, at the time when Yeh-lü Lü was serving in the Ministry of Rites, the question arose whether Shih-tsung's late mother should be buried separately as stated in her will (she had



become a Buddhist nun on her husband's death), or together with him, in the way proper to an Imperial Consort. Yeh-lü Lü memorialized that her will should not be taken into account, on the ground that the "regular statutes" have precedence over the Buddhist precepts, and the status of Queen Mother over that of devotee. This advice was followed.⁴⁹

During his long and successful career, Yeh-lü Lü accumulated a considerable fortune, and instances of his munificence are recorded in his biography.⁵⁰ The family also enjoyed the income derived from a hereditary apanage in Tung-p'ing, Shan-tung, the origin of which is unknown.⁵¹

Yeh-lü Lü married three times. By his first two wives he had two sons. The third son, born to his third wife (a lady née Yang 楊),⁵² was Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai.

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was born on August 3, 1189,⁵³ in the Chin capital, Chung-tu 中都. (This place corresponds to Peking and will hereafter be referred to by that name.)

His father died when he was only three. His mother, a scholarly woman who later became tutoress at the Palace, brought him up and personally took care of his formal education.⁵⁴ At the age of thirteen he was busy studying the Shih and the Shu.⁵⁵ At seventeen he had the opportunity to enter the Chin civil service on the strength of the yin

privilege, to which he was entitled as the son of a Chief Minister. He declined, however, in order to compete for the chin-shih. Shortly afterwards he was granted special permission to compete in the "decree examination" conducted by Chang-tsung and came out first on the list. We have no information regarding his first appointment, but we know that upon conclusion of the "examination of merits" he was promoted Vice-Prefect of K'ai-chou 開州 (modern Pu-yang hsien 濮陽縣, Ho-pei). From references contained in one⁵⁶ of his poems, it appears that he held this post in 1213.

Meanwhile, the Mongols had begun their invasion of Chin. It may be recalled that since 1211 the Mongol army had been carrying out a series of attacks against the Jurchen fortresses in northern Shan-hsi and Ho-pei, and in Jehol. In the autumn of 1213, Cinggis Qan, taking advantage of the confusion following the murder of the Chin ruler Wei-shao Wang 衛紹王 (r. 1209-1213) in a palace revolution, launched a three-pronged offensive which took his armies deep into Shan-hsi, Ho-pei and Shan-tung. They eventually converged on Peking, but failed to take it owing to the city's exceptional defences. A peace treaty was then concluded between the newly elected Emperor Hsüan-tsung 宣宗 (r. 1213-1224) and the Mongol emperor. No sooner had Cinggis Qan retired, than Hsüan-tsung, feeling unsafe in Peking, decided to move

the capital south. At the end of June 1214, he transferred the court to Pien-liang (K'ai-feng), leaving Wan-yen Ch'eng-hui 完顏承暉 in charge of Peking under the orders of the Heir Apparent. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, who had in the meantime been recalled from K'ai-chou, was appointed on Wan-yen Ch'eng-hui's recommendation Auxiliary Secretary of the Boards of Right and Left in the old capital.⁵⁷

Cinggis Qan, enraged at the news of the emperor's flight to Pien-liang, resumed hostilities and in August his army again invested Peking. The siege lasted ten months. Of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's activity in this period we know nothing, except that even in the two months of serious famine before the fall of the city "he attended to his official duties as usual".⁵⁸

Peking was captured at the end of May 1215. One month of looting followed in the course of which thousands of people were killed and a great part of the city burnt down. The suffering experienced by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai during the siege affected him deeply, precipitating a mental crisis.

In the past Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had shown a certain interest in Buddhism, but his knowledge of it was only superficial. In the preface to one of his poems he says: "In my youth I had a liking for Buddhism, as that was my natural inclination. When I reached manhood I had read superficially

many Buddhist texts and although I gained a certain knowledge from these, I rather exaggerated my achievement".⁵⁹ He was particularly attracted by Ch'an Buddhism, which was predominant at the time, and before the fall of Peking he often visited the monk Ch'eng澄 of the Sheng-an Temple 聖安寺, discussing with him the "sayings" (yü-lu 語錄) of the old masters. However, as this was a favourite pastime among the literati, the monk Ch'eng had never taken Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's interest too seriously.

After the fall of Peking Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai decided "to seek the Patriarch's doctrine more earnestly", and with this in mind he once more went to see his friend at the Sheng-an Temple. Ch'eng immediately realized that this time Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's desire for enlightenment was genuine, and not a merely intellectual pursuit as in the past. However, on account of his age and inadequate knowledge of Confucianism he declined to instruct him. Instead he directed him to Wan-sung 萬松, the abbot of the great Pao-en Temple 報恩寺, as one "well versed in both Confucianism and Buddhism and very thorough in doctrine and expression", in other words, as an outstanding teacher.⁶⁰ Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai could not have been given better advice, as Wan-sung was indeed one of the leading Ch'an masters of the time.⁶¹ Besides being a learned Buddhist scholar he was equally versed in

Confucianism and Taoism. Although officially belonging to the Ts'ao-tung school⁶² Wan-sung was in reality a syncretist who combined in his teaching the views on enlightenment peculiar to other schools of Ch'an (Yün-men and Lin-chi in particular), and maintained the theory, very popular in this period, of the common origin of the Three Religions.⁶³

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai began his training as a lay-student under Wan-sung some time in 1215, and pursued it relentlessly for three years. During this period of rigorous instruction he cut himself off from family and friends, devoting himself single-mindedly to his quest for the realization of truth. He finally attained enlightenment, and his master gave recognition of the achievement by conferring on him "the seal of discipleship", and the Buddhist style of Chan-jan chü-shih Ts'ung-yüan.⁶⁴

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Cinggis Qan: the Years in Central Asia

On April 12, 1218, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was summoned by Cinggis Qan to Mongolia.⁶⁵ The Mongol conqueror had in the past rallied many Ch'i-tan hereditary leaders, including several descendants of the imperial house of Liao (such as Yeh-lü Liu-ko 留哥 and the two brothers Yeh-lü A-hai 阿海 and T'u-hua 朮花), who had proved faithful allies in struggle against Chin. Beside racial affinity, Ch'i-tan

and Mongols were united by common hatred for the Jurchen. This is shown in the well-known words pronounced by Cinggis when he met Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai for the first time at his ordo in the Sāri Steppe: "Liao and Chin have been enemies for generations; I have taken revenge for you." To which Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai replied: "May father and grandfather have both served it (i.e. Chin) respectfully. How can I, as a subject and a son, be so insincere at heart to consider my sovereign and my father as enemies?" The Mongol is said to have been impressed by this frank reply, as well as by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's looks (he was a very tall man with a magnificent beard), and sonorous voice. He gave him the nickname Urtu Saqal ("Long Beard"), and placed him in his
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retinue.

In the spring of the following year, Cinggis Qan set out on his punitive expedition against the Khwārazmian empire. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai accompanied him to Central Asia and remained there till 1226. His duties in this period were varied. He combined the office of bicigeci ("scribe-secretary") in charge of official documents in Chinese, with that of court astrologer-astronomer. Concerning the latter activity, several anecdotes are related in his funerary inscription. Cinggis Qan, like all the Mongols, had a

superstitious fear of natural phenomena, and used to consult him whenever these occurred. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai on such occasions would take the omens following the Chinese method, while the emperor as an additional safety measure, took them in the traditional Mongol way by burning the thigh-bone of a sheep. According to our source, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai correctly predicted the successful outcome of the war against Khwārazm, the death of its ruler Muhammad, and that of the Chin emperor Hsüan-tsung.⁶⁷ It was through his remarkable skill as astrologer that he acquired renown, and gradually⁶⁸ established his authority at the Mongol court.

The Auspicious Unicorn

One episode related in the inscription is of particular interest. I refer to the famous story of the apparition of⁶⁹ the unicorn ("la farse de la Licorne", as Wieger calls it), whose interpretation by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is said to have caused the withdrawal of the Mongol army from India. The inscription states that when Cinggis was encamped at the Iron Gate Pass (present Buzgala Pass in Uzbekistan), his body-guard saw an animal with a deer's body, a horse's tail, green in colour and with a single horn. Addressing the body-guard in human speech, it said: "Your Lord should return home at the earliest." When Cinggis Qan questioned

him on the incident, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai explained that this prodigious animal, called chüeh-tuan 角端, could travel eighteen thousand li a day and speak all languages. Being a symbol of hatred for bloodshed, it had been sent by Heaven to warn the emperor against further killing. On the same day, the inscription says, the emperor issued the order to withdraw the army.

This story, which is also related by several other contemporary authors, has up till now been interpreted as a clever means devised by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai to prevent the Mongol conqueror from engaging in further warfare by playing upon his superstitious nature. I doubt the truth of this. In the account of the same event by Yeh-lü Liu-ch'i 柳溪, a grandson of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, the chüeh-tuan is described as having "two eyes like torches, a scaly five-coloured body, a single horn on top of its head, and empowered with speech". According to him, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai advised the emperor to prepare offerings and to sacrifice to it in the place where it had appeared. It seems to me that we are dealing here with a real incident. It is very likely that some Mongol soldiers saw a rhinoceros. This may well have happened during the raid into the Punjab in the summer of 1222. Although on its way to extinction, the rhinoceros was still to be found in the Punjab and Sind in

the fourteenth century, and in the region of Peshawar as late as the fifteenth century. The report of such a sight could have easily been distorted and exaggerated by the witnesses themselves, to whom the animal was totally unknown. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's identification of the animal and interpretation of the incident is, of course, based on Chinese literary sources. The chüeh-tuan, a legendary animal closely related to the ch'i-lin 麒麟, is already mentioned by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如 (second century B.C.) as one of the marvellous creatures that lived in the Imperial Park of Ch'ang-an. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had no hesitation in identifying the animal seen by the Mongols with the chüeh-tuan rather than with the ch'i-lin, because the former is traditionally believed to possess the gift of languages and the ability to cover large distances. His interpretation of the sight was also orthodox, in that the chüeh-tuan, like the ch'i-lin, is a symbol of all goodness and benevolence. ⁷¹

We know from the Persian historians that in 1222 Cinggis Qan had considered returning to Mongolia via India, the Himalayas and Tibet. One of the reasons that dissuaded him from putting his plan into effect was, according to Jūzjānī, the advice of the soothsayers not to go to India. ⁷² Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's oracle probably had something to do with it, although it was by no means the only determining factor. ⁷³

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Ch'ang-ch'un

Of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's secretarial activity we have evidence in letters inviting the celebrated Taoist master Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 丘處機 (1148-1227), better known as Ch'ang-ch'un 長春, to join the Mongol conqueror in Central Asia. Cinggis Qan summoned Ch'ang-ch'un on the advice of Liu Wen 劉溫, a Chinese doctor and arrow-maker in his service.⁷⁴ We know, however, that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had also recommended him to the emperor. Liu Wen's aim was to introduce to Cinggis Qan an adept in possession of the elixir of life; Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai expected, on the other hand, that Ch'ang-ch'un would acquaint the emperor not only with the Taoist tenets, but also with the doctrines of Confucius and Buddha. His assumption was based on the fact that the Ch'üan-chen 全真 sect, of which Ch'ang-ch'un was the leader, professed a syncretist philosophy based on the Tao Te ching, the Hsin ching (Prajñāparamitahrdaya), and the Hsiao ching. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, under Wan-sung's influence, had also become an advocate of syncretism.⁷⁵ As Ch'ang-ch'un enjoyed a high reputation in China, it is not surprising that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai thought of him as the right person to teach Cinggis Qan the Way of the Three Sages. In the HYL he states: "As I see it, at the time of the foundation of Our State, when government affairs were very numerous and there was war

in the Western Region, so that one had not time to cultivate polite studies and exalt virtue, the teachings of the Three Sages would have all been of (particular) advantage to society. When I read the two books on the Way and its Virtue my admiration was deeply roused. I wanted to make Our Lord (Cinggis Qan) tread in the footsteps of the ancient worthies, this is the reason why I supported (Ch'ang-ch'un); also, I wished to make him an advocate of Confucianism and Buddhism."⁷⁶

In the letter Liu Wen personally took to Ch'ang-ch'un in 1219 (which, I believe, was written by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai himself), the Taoist adept is invited to join the emperor in order to advise him on matters of government and the means of prolonging life.⁷⁷ Ch'ang-ch'un set out under Mongol escort, but when he arrived in Te-hsing 德興 (present Cho-lu hsien 承德縣 in Chahar), distressed at the thought of the distance he still had to cover, he sent the emperor a message requesting permission to end his journey there on the grounds of his great age and incompetence in administrative affairs.⁷⁸ Upon receipt of Ch'ang-ch'un's message, Cinggis, who was anxious to meet the adept, ordered Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai to draft another letter urging him to continue his journey.⁷⁹ Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in very polite phraseology makes clear the emperor's wish and, in

answer to Ch'ang-ch'un's objections, states that political advice is not at all what the emperor expects from him, but only moral advice. To emphasize further the importance of Ch'ang-ch'un's mission to Cinggis, he quotes the cases of Bodhidharma who travelled to the East in order to transmit the Mind, and of Lao-tzu who went West to convert the barbarians and attain enlightenment, i.e. to become Buddha.⁸⁰

I think that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai used the latter illustration to suggest a parallel between the civilizing work of Lao-tzu and that of Ch'ang-ch'un, both engaged in the conversion (hua_化) of the barbarians (hu_胡). The parallel is particularly apt as the barbarians, supposedly converted by Lao-tzu, were in the West and so were Cinggis Qan and his Mongols at this time. However, in drawing this comparison, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai implied that he accepted the thesis propounded by the apocryphal Book of the Conversion of the Barbarians (Hua-hu ching _{化胡經}).⁸¹ True, he inserted as a safeguard a hypothetical huo_或 in his statement ("when Lao-tzu went to the West, it was, so it seems, to convert the barbarians..."). Nevertheless, this must have laid him open to attack from Buddhists when, a few years later, the followers of Ch'ang-ch'un began propagating on a large scale the idea that Buddha was merely one of Lao-tzu's incarnations.⁸²

Ch'ang-ch'un did continue his journey, and his meeting with Cinggis Qan and subsequent deeds are well known through his disciple's account, the HYC. Significantly, there is no mention of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in this work; for information on the relationship between him and Ch'ang-ch'un, as also for references to those of Ch'ang-ch'un's doings which are not recorded in the HYC, we must turn to the HYL.

There, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai admits that his relations with Ch'ang-ch'un were at first very friendly; he was naturally enough looking for congenial company after four years spent in alien surroundings and among most unenlightened people.

The two men exchanged poems (which we still possess),⁸³ drank tea together, made trips to the famous gardens around Samarqand and conversed late into the night.⁸⁴ Ch'ang-

ch'un, however, was not particularly eager to exert his civilizing influence on the Mongol conqueror in the way desired by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. On the contrary, he used all his skill to convert the emperor to "alchemical" or esoteric Taoism, relating the mystical feats of Lin Ling-su 林靈素 and Emperor Hui-tsung 徽宗 of Sung, and extolling the ecstasies and trances dear to the followers of the Ch'üan-chen sect.⁸⁵ But it was in his attitude towards Buddhism that, according to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, Ch'ang-ch'un finally revealed his true self. Not only did he show

contempt for the members of the Ch'an sect, but through a casual remark he betrayed his utter ignorance of Buddhist doctrine. "Thereafter", says Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, "in his presence I behaved politely, but in my mind I thought little of him."⁸⁶ To add insult to injury, Ch'ang-ch'un's disciples suggested that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai should receive a Taoist name from their master. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai brushed them off saying: "In my youth I practised Confucianism, when I grew older I embraced Buddhism. Why should I 'descend from lofty trees to enter into dark valleys'?"⁸⁷

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's hopes of enlightening the emperor were thus frustrated. Although his disappointment was intense, particularly as Cinggis showed a genuine liking for Ch'ang-ch'un, he refrained from criticizing him openly. "As our faiths were different," he says in the HYL, "had I attacked him it would have created a dispute. This is why I disapproved of him in my mind and laughed at him in privacy."⁸⁸

Ch'ang-ch'un's subsequent actions were to turn disappointment into bitter resentment. In his sermons delivered to the emperor, Ch'ang-ch'un had touched upon the subject of practical administration, and suggested that the people of North China, harassed by many years of war, be relieved of taxation for three years.⁸⁹ Cinggis did not

follow this advice but, shortly before Ch'ang-ch'un and his party left for China, he gave orders that the Taoist leader be granted an edict exempting the clergy from taxes and corvée.⁹⁰ According to the HYC, the exemption was granted only to Ch'ang-ch'un and his disciples.⁹¹ Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, on the other hand, states in the HYL that Ch'ang-ch'un had requested Cinggis Qan to exempt from taxation all persons who had entered monastic life, and that Cinggis had acceded to the request on condition that no further conversions be made. However, as the man in charge of drafting imperial decrees (presumably Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai himself) was away at the time, the Taoists were given permission to draft the edict themselves. Instead of making clear that taxation was remitted for both Buddhist and Taoist monks, Ch'ang-ch'un phrased the edict in such a way as to make it valid only for the "monks" subject to him.⁹² The term for monks used in the edict was ch'u-chia 出家, lit. "those who have left home", a term originally applied to Buddhist monks. The text of the edict thus opened the way to a double interpretation of which the Taoists soon took advantage in order to gain control over the Buddhist clergy.⁹³ Armed with the "forged" edict and a warrant which authorized them to make free use of the postal relay service, the Taoist party returned to China. Once back, they immediately



began appropriating Buddhist and Confucian temples. The possession of the powerful warrant enabled them to move⁹⁴ freely from place to place for this purpose. In Peking, where Ch'ang-ch'un had established his headquarters, the Taoist clergy enjoyed moreover the protection of Shih-mo Hsien-te-pu 石抹咸得卜, the local military commander,⁹⁵ a great admirer of Ch'ang-ch'un. Within a few years the Ch'üan-chen sect reached the apex of its power, and by the time Ch'ang-ch'un died (1227), many of the Buddhist clergy⁹⁶ had passed under its control.

Meanwhile Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was busy in Central Asia, and although conversant with events at home, he could do little to remedy a state of affairs for which, no doubt, he felt partly responsible.

In the HYL he says that when he heard of the abuses that Ch'ang-ch'un was perpetrating in China, he wanted to condemn his evil-doings frankly to his face but was pre-⁹⁷vented by official duties from meeting him. This may be true, but it is not the whole truth. Until the year of his death the conqueror continued to show friendship for⁹⁸ Ch'ang-ch'un and to bestow favours on him. Thus, it is very doubtful whether Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai would have taken a definite stand against Ch'ang-ch'un with the emperor still alive. In 1226 he wrote an attack against the Dhūta (Ch.

T'ou-t'o 頭陀), a Buddhist heretic sect which had quite a number of followers in China but of which almost nothing is known.⁹⁹

In the preface, the only surviving part of the work, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai refers to Yang Chu and Mo Ti as the "evil of Confucianism", and to the Dhūtaists as the "evil of Buddhism".¹⁰⁰ He does not mention, however, the followers of the Ch'üan-chen sect as being the evil of Taoism, as he does in the preface to the HYL, written three years later.¹⁰¹ His anti-Ch'üan-chen feelings during the years in Central Asia are only expressed in a few poems satirizing some of his friends in Peking who, during his absence, had turned philo-Taoists, and on the whole these are in the form of mild reprimands.¹⁰²

When Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai returned to Peking in the winter of 1227 "to search for some literary texts",¹⁰³ the situation had changed considerably. Cinggis Qan was dead, and so was Ch'ang-ch'un. If he had still any doubts as to the truth of the reports he had received about the misdeeds of the Taoists, they were dispelled by the sight that confronted him.

Former Buddhist temples, now turned Taoist, were crowded with "converts" whose only aim was to avoid the heavy taxes imposed by the Mongols.¹⁰⁴ The Buddhist clergy were reluctant to defend their rights for fear of incurring the

wrath of the authorities who, impressed by the marks of favour accorded by the emperor to Ch'ang-ch'un, supported and protected the Ch'üan-chen sect. ¹⁰⁵

Banditry had assumed alarming proportions in the city due to the bad administration of Shih-mo Hsien-te-pu, a corrupt and cruel official. Robbers had become so daring that they operated in broad daylight, and even took carts with them when making their forays. ¹⁰⁶ The local intelligentsia blamed Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai for having initially supported Ch'ang-ch'un, and held him indirectly responsible for the abuses of the Taoists. ¹⁰⁷ To clarify his position he immediately set to writing the HYL, a kind of Apologia in form of a dialogue with an imaginary "guest", in which he answers the main criticism raised against him. On his return to Mongolia shortly afterwards, he received an order from Tolui (Jui-tsung 睿宗, r. 1227-1229), then Regent of the Empire - no doubt at his own prompting - to go back to Peking to deal with the local banditry. He and his Mongol colleague, Tācar, arrested and executed the ring-leaders, who proved to be either relatives of Shih-mo Hsien-te-pu or members of powerful families. ¹⁰⁸

Career under "Ögödei

On September 13 (or 11) 1229, "Ögödei was elected qayan by a Mongol diet convoked at Kōde'e-aral, on the

Kerülen. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's role on this occasion is not very clear. We know from the Chinese sources that there was disagreement in the assembly, a section of which supported Tolui's candidature against Ögödei's. According to the YS, Tolui wished to postpone the election on account of this disagreement. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai as court astrologer insisted that the day fixed was auspicious and no deferment should be made. Moreover, he persuaded Cayatai (the eldest surviving son of Cinggis) that he should himself lead the imperial clan and court officials, and that they all pay obeisance to Ögödei in the order assigned by their rank.¹⁰⁹ Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai has therefore been credited not only with bringing about the enthronement of Ögödei, the successor designated by Cinggis Qan, but also with the introduction of two new elements in the Mongol inauguration ritual, i.e. the obeisance of the clan elders to the new qayan, and the assignment of proper places to the princes of the blood, members of the imperial clan and Mongol notables, according to their dignity. These innovations suggest China as their immediate model. Similarly, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's stand in support of the legal succession has a strong Confucian tinge. To what extent the Chinese sources are reliable on this issue it is difficult to determine. No doubt Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai may have

exerted a certain influence on the assembly as court astrologer, and he may well have been responsible for the fixing of the inauguration day. However, his direct intervention in the affairs of the quriltai could have been justified only if he had been personally entrusted with Cinggis Qan's testament. Although a passage from one of his biographies seems to support this view, the question can hardly be settled, particularly as it is not certain that Cinggis ever left a written will.

As regards Ögödei's investiture, we learn from the Persian sources that it was carried out in the Mongolian traditional form, and no reference is made to a hierarchical placing more sinico. However, if such procedure was in fact introduced, it remained an isolated case and it was not followed by the Mongols at their subsequent assemblies until 1271, the year in which the Chinese court ceremonial was officially adopted by Qubilai.¹¹⁰ It is possible that here, as in the case of Cinggis Qan's "withdrawal" from India, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's role may have been somewhat exaggerated by his biographer.

After his enthronement, Ögödei was faced with a double task in North China. First, to annihilate Chin; second, to consolidate the Mongol rule and devise effective means of exploitation in the conquered territory. The campaign

against Chin presented tactical problems which "Ögödei and his generals could easily manage; the second task was beset, however, by serious difficulties. In the course of the long war against Chin, the Mongols had enforced in the newly conquered territories their customary law and the modes of exploitation peculiar to their nomadic society. Large groups of people in the occupied areas were given as slaves to victorious generals and nobles by the court, and were often removed from their homes. The heavy exactions and harsh rules imposed by the Mongol officials in the territories under their jurisdiction had also caused many "to flee and disperse", thus adding to the already considerable number of civilians uprooted by the war with Chin. The monasteries gradually became populated with escaped prisoners, army deserters, displaced civilians and frightened peasants. The land suffered, particularly as the Mongols, like their Jurchen predecessors, requisitioned large tracts of it for grazing.¹¹¹ A "conservative" section of the Mongol court, led by a Bedger, was in favour of the complete annihilation of the native population, and insisted that the entire occupied territory should be turned into pasture-land. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai opposed this radical suggestion and with figures illustrated the material advantages to be gained by a more rational exploitation of the

country. He won his argument, and in 1229 was put in charge of the taxation program for North China.¹¹² Knowledge of conditions in China as well as of the Mongolian point of view made him admirably suited for this task.

His first step was to obtain from Ögödei a decree to the effect that crimes committed prior to the first month of 1229 should not be dealt with. This was an important measure, as the Chinese were not yet acquainted with the conquerors' code and were constantly infringing the Mongol prohibitions. It was also the first time an amnesty was granted by the Mongols, a practice so far unknown to them.¹¹³

He then addressed to the emperor an eighteen-point plan designed to obviate the state of chaos in North China. Only the principal measures proposed by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in his memorial are known.¹¹⁴ His chief concern was to restore order and to create a strong, centralized government, a pre-requisite for the systematic and effective exploitation of the country. This was impossible, however, unless a strict division was to be made between military and civil authority. At the time there was no separation between the two and the conquered areas were under the control of military leaders (called in Chinese hsing-sheng 行省),¹¹⁵ virtually independent of the court. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai divided the country into ten principal administrative units or districts (lu 路) and established in the

centre of each a tax-collection bureau administered by two civil officials. These were drawn from the former personnel of Chin who had rallied to the Mongols.¹¹⁶ The appointment of such officials, who were directly responsible to the court (which at this time was synonymous with the government), was specially designed to stop the arbitrary collection of taxes by the local military officials. This served a dual purpose. On the one hand, it asserted the authority of the court versus local rule, on the other, it tended to reduce the fiscal burden on the subject people. Before Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was put in charge of the fiscal program, there had been no regular system of taxation in North China. The Chinese populace was irrationally exploited, the levies imposed by their masters consisting of periodical and irregular exactions of goods and labour (ch'ai-fa 差發).¹¹⁷ Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's fiscal reforms of the years 1229-1230 represented the first step towards transforming these confused fiscal practices into a rational system on Chinese lines. He introduced a land tax on a household basis, as well as a poll tax on all adults but with different rates for town dwellers and peasants. The taxes were to be paid in silk (usually commuted to silver) and grain. He also introduced a tax on commerce and the traditional Chinese duties on liquor and vinegar, salt, iron smelters and mining products.¹¹⁸

The clergy had so far been exempted from levies of any kind, thanks to the edict issued by Cinggis Qan. Consequently, the monasteries had grown in number and power, the monks now possessing land and engaging in commerce. Immediately after his election, Ögödei, no doubt on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's recommendation, issued an edict to the effect that Buddhist and Taoist monks below the age of fifty should pass an examination on their respective scriptures in order to qualify for the priesthood and be allowed to reside in monasteries. Furthermore, the edict warned monks of both faiths against the unlawful appropriation of temples and the destruction of religious images. Finally, it imposed fiscal obligations on monks who cultivated land and engaged in commerce.

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These measures are clear evidence of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's intention to curb the power of the clergy, a class in China traditionally hostile to the government. But mere fiscal reforms were doomed to failure as no supporting network of civil officials existed capable of enforcing their application. The appointment of tax-collectors was the initial step towards the establishment of a local bureaucracy. However, the appointment of Chinese nationals to positions of responsibility was regarded with disfavour by the ruling Mongols. Like all the other "alien" rulers

before them, they had an evident distrust of a politically independent Chinese leadership.¹²⁰ Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's civil background and outlook had already in the past been subject to criticism at court. During Cinggis Qan's lifetime some had pointed out the incongruity of a man of letters holding office in a military society.¹²¹ The dispute with Begder must certainly have brought him more enemies. His establishment of the tax-collection bureaux dealt a serious blow to the authority of the powerful military leaders. One of the most prominent among them, the afore-mentioned Shih-mo Hsien-te-pu, with the support of "Ögödei's uncle Temüge-otcigin, accused Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai of harbouring a "treacherous mind", because of his appointment of former Chin personnel and the fact that members of his family were still serving Chin. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was able to clear himself, but it is significant that no action¹²² was taken against the slanderer.

In September 1231, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's fiscal reforms bore their first fruit. In Yün-chung 雲中 (modern Ta-t'ung hsien 大同縣 in Shan-hsi), the tax-collectors of the ten districts submitted to "Ögödei the granary inventories and the revenue (in silver and silk) collected for the treasury. The amount raised tallied with the figure originally stated by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. The emperor was so pleased that he

appointed Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai Chief of the Secretarial Council
 (chung-shu-ling) on the spot.¹²³ The Secretarial Council
 (chung-chu-sheng 中書省) was nothing more than the Sino-
 Uiyur chancellery established under Cinggis Qan, in which
 Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had worked since the beginning of his
 career with the Mongols. Hence, what Ögödei did while in
 Yün-chung, was not to create a new administrative body,
 but rather to ratify the establishment of his former chan-
 cellery as a supreme administrative bureau planned on
 Chinese lines, and to place at its head Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai,
 the man chiefly responsible for its organization and ef-
 ficiency. It was also on this occasion that Chinese titles
 conferred on government officials (although they had been
 in use before this date) were first formally sanctioned by
 the emperor.¹²⁴

Such concessions on the part of Ögödei might be inter-
 preted as a victory for the more enlightened element with-
 in the court and as a sign of progressive acculturation.
 To a certain extent this is, no doubt, true. We must not
 forget, however, that these changes were purely formal and
 did not really affect the basic attitude of the Mongols
 towards their subjects. The adoption of certain traditional
 elements of Chinese culture was only designed to ensure a
 better and more efficient system of exploitation.

The number of civil officials in charge of tax-collecting was small at first. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai fully realized that in spite of his initial success it was not wise to antagonize the conservative element too much. Moreover, while the war with Chin dragged on, it rendered increasingly difficult the full enforcement of his administrative program. The Mongol armies in China were in constant need of goods and revenue, and continued to exact these from the local population over and above what the latter - under the new regulations - had to pay to the court. As the administrative machinery was still rudimentary, the revenue exacted by the court was collected in form of annual quotas, fixed by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in 1230 at 10,000 ingots of silver (equal to 500,000 taels).¹²⁵ The displacement of population, in addition to the famines and epidemics that characterized the early period of Ögödei's reign, seriously reduced the number of tax payers at a time when the government's need of revenue was increasing. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai tried in vain to impose on the privileged non-Chinese residents of North China (Mongols, Central Asians and so on) the same fiscal obligations as those to which the Chinese were subject.¹²⁶ Contrary to what is stated by Sung Tzu-chen, his proposal was not carried into effect. Instead, we know that by 1232-1233 the land tax (for the Chinese!), which was originally of two bushels, had been raised to

four bushels. With the conquest of Ho-nan in 1233-1234,¹²⁷ the annual quota of silver was also doubled.

Although the reforms of 1229-1230 represented a step towards the resurrection of the Chinese administrative tradition and state power, in practice they had the effect of rendering even more intricate the already confused fiscal system and of aggravating the tax burden on the individual. Before tax categories could be re-defined it was necessary to carry out a general census, which was not possible until after the annihilation of Chin. By this time (1234), the floating population had reached enormous proportions: according to Sung Tzu-chen, the number of slaves owned by the Mongol princes, dignitaries and army¹²⁸ leaders constituted half the population of North China. The Mongol high officials, dissatisfied with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's rearrangement of the fiscal program along Chinese traditional lines and anxious to increase revenue above the limit imposed by him, insisted that the basic unit for taxation purposes should be the individual adult male (instead of the household). They pointed out that this was the practice followed by the Mongols as well as being the one enforced in the Western Region, whereas the system introduced by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was based on the administrative rules of a defeated country. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai

opposed the re-definition and won his point by stating that if it were introduced, the population would pay taxes for one year, but would then flee and disperse.¹²⁹

The national census ordered by Ögödei in 1234 upon Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's recommendation was completed in 1236.¹³⁰

While Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was in favour of the census for administrative reasons, the incentive for it, on the Mongol side, was a very different one. For Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai the registration of the population was indispensable to fix the social status and obligations of those registered, so as to do away eventually with the Mongol system of arbitrary tributes and levies. For the Mongol rulers the census not only marked the definite taking possession of the new territory, but it enabled them to grant equitable shares of land (and the people attached to it) to members of the imperial family and the nobility.¹³¹ The Mongols had by now realized the impracticability of displacing large sections of conquered people and had started turning land to the aristocracy as hereditary fiefs. Upon the completion of the census, Ögödei, in spite of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's recriminations, divided North China into a series of apanages and distributed them among the princes and the meritorious officials. This measure brought about a further decentralization, as the court had no effective control

over the newly created domains. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai then proposed the establishment of government officials entrusted with the collection of revenue from the apanages, which was to be handed over to the treasury and re-distributed to the apanage-holders.¹³² Although the proposal was adopted in theory by Ögödei, it was not until the reign of Qubilai that the central government actually gained financial control over the apanages.¹³³

The parcelling of the country into a series of independent administrative units was a serious obstacle to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's policy of building up a strong centralized administration. This did not prevent him, however, from carrying out the proposed program of fiscal reforms.

The land tax that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had introduced in 1229-1230 on a household basis, was now (1236-1237) reassessed according to the quality and quantity of the land owned, thus fully conforming to the traditional Chinese system. The poll tax was continued but at reduced rates; and a new silk tax, assessed on the basis of the household, was created to replace the loose system of specifically Mongolian tributes. Labour service and duties on commerce, salt, liquor, etc., were, of course, retained. All in all, the new rates represented about 1/10 of those previously exacted.¹³⁴

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai then proceeded to reorganize the bureaucracy. With the fall of Pien-liang and the subsequent annexation of Chin, the administrative machinery of the Jurchen state had fallen into the hands of the Mongols. Immediately after the capitulation of Pien-liang, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, in response to a moving appeal by Yüan Hao-wen, had rescued from captivity a few scores of former Chin leading scholars and grandees, including the fifty-first lineal descendant of Confucius, K'ung Yüan-ts'u. On his recommendation the latter was promptly restored by imperial edict to the title of Duke Yen-sheng 衍聖公¹³⁵ and to the traditional privileges connected with it. With the assistance of K'ung Yüan-ts'u and other Chinese officials in the Mongol service more scholars were gathered in the following years. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was now faced with the difficult task of finding suitable appointments for them. While some found employment in the Mongol administration, others were absorbed in newly created institutions, such as the Compilation Bureau (Pien-hsiu-so 編修所) in Peking and the Bureau of Literature (Ching-chi-so 經籍所) in P'ing-yang, both established by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in 1236¹³⁶ to edit and publish books under official sponsorship. Private academies (shu-yüan 書院) were also set up in Peking, to which a number of scholars were appointed to

lecture on the Chinese classics to the Mongol princes and
 to the sons of the great dignitaries.¹³⁷ The appointment
 of Confucians as tutors to the Mongol aristocracy is of
 particular significance, for, as far as we know, the very
 restricted literary education of the nobles had till then
 rested primarily with the Taoists. Later in the dynasty
 this task was to be shared by Buddhists and Confucians,¹³⁸
 although instances of Taoist preceptors are not unknown.

The scholars thus recruited by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and
 his colleagues were the surviving élite of the former Chin
 administration, and their assignment to various offices
 had been made possible, as in the case of the earlier tax-
 collectors, through the personal recommendation of Yeh-lü
 Ch'u-ts'ai or of other high dignitaries. Not only was the
 great majority of former Chin bureaucrats still unemployed,
 but a considerable number of them, after the collapse of
 the dynasty, had been attached to the households of Mongol
 leaders, and had subsequently been registered as slaves
 (ch'ü-k'ou 驅口) in the census lists. In order to redeem
 them from bondage and, at the same time, promote the creation
 of a Chinese bureaucracy vis-à-vis the Mongol and Central
 Asian officialdom, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai memorialized in 1237
 to the effect of selecting Chinese for office through com-
 petitive examinations. Ögödei gave his consent to the

proposal. Examinations were then held in the various districts, the required subjects being classical exegesis, poetry and essays. The rules set up by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai were such as to enable the largest possible number of candidates to participate. Severe penalties (our text speaks of capital punishment) were decreed for all owners of enslaved scholars who prevented them from attending. The examinations resulted in four thousand and thirty successful candidates, about a thousand of whom, formerly slaves, "were sent back to their homes", i.e. gained their freedom.¹³⁹ Regarding their employment, the YS informs us that they were allowed to take part in the administration of their native places as "councillors" (i-shih-kuan 議事官¹⁴⁰). In the case of most of them, this simply meant that they were used in an advisory capacity on local administrative matters by their Mongol or Central Asian superiors, who naturally continued to hold all the senior posts. They were, however, exempted from taxes and corvée.

According to Sung Tzu-ch'en, at the same time as he introduced government examinations for Confucian scholars, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai prescribed special examinations on the canonical texts for Buddhist and Taoist monks.¹⁴¹ We have seen that a decree to this effect had already been issued in 1229; it appears, however, that it was never actually

enforced, probably because of resistance on part of the clergy. At the time of the great census another attempt was made to enforce the holding of the examination; this failed, we know, because of the opposition by the famous Ch'an master Hai-yün 海雲, who objected that Buddhist monks should be concerned not with the knowledge of books, but rather with the cultivation of virtue. Hai-yün obtained the support of the powerful judge Šigi-Qutuqu, and as a result the examination was reduced to a mere formality, no candidate failing, and admission to the monasteries continuing virtually as before. In 1237, the question of the examination for the priesthood was probably discussed again in connection with the civil service examination, and a new attempt made to carry it out. However, no practical results ensued and the question did not arise again until the end of Qubilai's reign, when an edict was issued to the effect that only persons versed in the canons were allowed to take up monastic life. It is doubtful whether this condition alone ever constituted a serious obstacle for those wishing to enter a monastery. The civil service examination also proved short-lived: no examination was held after 1238.¹⁴²

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's failure effectively to introduce the traditional examination system coincides with, and is

partly to be explained by, his decline in power at the Mongol court. Several factors contributed to this decline. After 1235 Ögödei withdrew more and more from active participation in government affairs. The anti-Chinese element at court, opposed from the beginning to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's policy, had been further aroused by the reforms of 1236. These had imposed a limit to the fiscal exploitation of Chinese subjects at a time when the lavish use of revenues by the emperor and his entourage necessitated an increasing amount of silver to be drawn from the conquered territories. The Central Asian merchants who had followed in the wake of the Mongol invasion and now monopolized the money-lending business in North China, came forward with the alluring offer of multiplying the income of the Mongol court by means of the well-known system of tax-farming. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, aware that such a measure, if adopted, would weaken the authority of the government and bring about a still greater decentralization, vigorously opposed it. He declared that the annual quota (which in 1238 was 22,000 ingots) could be doubled, but only through the enforcement of stern laws, and that the people would become destitute and inevitably take to robbery. His words were of no avail; the emperor, influenced by the opinion prevailing at court, in 1239 conferred the privilege of farming

the taxes in North China on the Moslem businessman 'Abd ar-Rahmān. The annual quota was then raised to 44,000¹⁴³ ingots.

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's authority had also been undermined in this period by personal conflict with his nearest colleagues in the Secretarial Council. It seems that there had already been some dissention with the Left Prime Minister Chen-hai before these events.¹⁴⁴ Chen-hai, who later showed marked hostility towards the Moslems, at this stage¹⁴⁵ supported them, perhaps to antagonize Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Charges of embezzlement and corruption brought against the latter and some of the Chinese tax-collecting officials (in the case of these apparently not unfounded) had worsened Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's position. Serious doubts grew even in the emperor's mind as to the true worth of the principles proposed by him, and as regards the honesty of the Confucians.¹⁴⁶

The struggle between the various factions and cliques at the Mongol court during the latter part of Ögödei's reign helped to weaken the already precarious administrative structure established by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. The pro-Chinese party which he headed was replaced in power by the pro-Moslem section of the court. In 1240, all tax bureaux of¹⁴⁷ North China were placed under 'Abd ar-Rahmān's direction.



Soon after another Moslem from Central Asia, the famous Mahmūd Yalawāch, was given a key administrative post in Peking.¹⁴⁸ Yeh-lū Ch'u-ts'ai retained his title of Chief of the Secretarial Council and continued to perform his astrological duties; however, he now no longer had a part in government affairs.

After the death of Ögödei (December, 1241) his widow, Töregene, assumed the regency of the empire. The question of succession was debated at court and Yeh-lū Ch'u-ts'ai once more raised his voice against suggestions violating the will of the deceased emperor.¹⁴⁹ Although our sources are cautious here and mention no names, it appears that Yeh-lū Ch'u-ts'ai spoke in favour of the election of Širemün, the successor designated by Ögödei, whereas Töregene favoured the candidature of Ögödei's son, Güyük, who was eventually elected in 1248.

Yeh-lū Ch'u-ts'ai's protests no longer carried any weight. Töregene resented his opposition, but, according to Sung Tzu-chen, "she still endeavoured to treat him with respect and deference, in consideration of his long and distinguished service during the previous reigns".¹⁵⁰ This might have changed to active hostility, involving a violent death for Yeh-lū Ch'u-ts'ai, had he not died (some say of a broken heart) in 1243. As it was, his death was openly

regretted by many. The Mongol capital went into mourning and his wish to be buried with his wife at the foot of Weng-shan ¹⁵¹ 衡山, one of the Western Hills near Peking, was fulfilled.

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's Thought and Influence

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai believed that the Mongol dynasty possessed the Heavenly Mandate and clearly states this in his works. For him the success that accompanied Cinggis Qan's expedition against the state of Chin was granted by Heaven. The emperor's "pacification" of the country in less than five years [sic] was a feat "that human power (alone) could not have achieved".¹⁵² In other words, Cinggis Qan had proved his right by victory, and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai considered himself free from allegiance to Chin when he took up service with him. Having been an eyewitness of the Mongols' conquest of Central Asia and North China, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai no doubt believed that the whole of China would eventually be unified under their rule. The following words he addressed to Hsü T'ing ¹⁵³ 徐霆 - Sung envoy to North China in 1235-1236 - seem to confirm this view: "You (Southern Sung) only rely on the Great River (Yangtze, for protection), but our horses' hooves can reach any place, be it heaven or sea!" Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's conviction that the

Mongols were in possession of the Mandate to rule "all-under-heaven", may have also been reinforced by his rulers' dogmatic faith in the heavenly-ordained submission of the world to Mongol sovereignty.¹⁵⁴

But legitimacy of the new imperial house was not sufficient in itself to ensure good government. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai realized that it was imperative to make the emperor appreciate and adopt those principles which would guide him in organizing a stable and efficient rule, once the destruction that inevitably accompanies a period of transition was over. He plainly states in the HYL that he wished to make Cinggis Qan "tread in the footsteps of the ancient worthies", and this, we know, he hoped to achieve by acquainting him with the doctrines of the Three Sages. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, as has been mentioned previously, held the view that Confucius, Buddha and Lao-tzu had taught the same truth. In that age of philosophical syncretism the old theory of the fundamental identity of the Three Religions was very popular, indeed it was a characteristic feature of the intellectual history of the Chin period. Wan-sung, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's teacher, maintained that the three doctrines have a common origin in the Storing Centre of Ideation (*Ālaya-vijñāna*),¹⁵⁵ a view influenced no doubt by the monistic Hua-yen philosophy in which he was particularly

well versed, and which had by now been fully assimilated by
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 Ch'an Buddhism.

Under Wan-sung's influence, Li Ch'un-fu 李純甫 (1185-1231) and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, his most prominent lay disciples, developed syncretic tendencies. 157 While Li Ch'un-fu's attempt to combine Confucianism and Taoism with Buddhism in a grandiose synthesis embracing and fusing diverse and complex teachings shows pre-eminently philosophical preoccupations, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's synthesis is animated by a practical spirit.

His premise is of course the same, namely, that the doctrines of the Three Sages have a common origin, and that the different traditions of their schools (tsung-feng 宗風) have developed only to meet the exigencies of the times. Although essentially identical - only the fool, says Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, would deny this truth - the three doctrines in relation to man and society have thus acquired individual characteristics and fulfil different purposes. Taoism and Confucianism are the repository of ancient wisdom, and as such illustrate the teachings of the Sage-Kings of the past; the doctrine of Buddha and the Patriarchs, on the other hand, penetrates in its temporal and real aspect both the realms of the absolute and the relative-phenomenal. 158
 With regard to their specific functions, he states that

the aim of Taoism is to foster man's nature (yang-hsing ^養 _性); Confucianism, with its emphasis on man's proper duties and well-defined obligations, provides the key to social order; while Buddhism constitutes the ideal means of self-cultivation.

Although Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai emphasizes the need for the teachings of the Three Sages to "stand firmly in the world like the three legs of a tripod", ¹⁵⁹ it is quite clear that he did not attribute equal value to each of the Three Religions. His syncretism is, in fact, strongly biased in favour of Confucianism and Buddhism. His practical formula for social and mental transformation is two-fold, not three-fold: "To rule the state with Confucianism and the mind with Buddhism." ¹⁶⁰ In giving advice to his son Chu on his fifteenth birthday, he exhorts him not to forgo the Confucian doctrine, and to cherish that of the (Ch'an) Patriarchs, but he makes no mention of Taoism. ¹⁶¹ To a friend who warned him against forgetting Confucius' tenets, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai replied: "To grasp fully the universal principle and get to the bottom of one's nature, nothing is better than the Buddhadharma; to help society and pacify the people, nothing is better than the teachings of Confucius. In office, I follow the constant Way of Hsüan-ni (Confucius); in private, I enjoy Śākyamuni's Absolute ¹⁶² (Bhūtatathatā). Surely this is not wrong?" ¹⁶³

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's urge to convert Cinggis Qan to the Way of the Sages shows the statesman's concern with the ideals of education and transformation (chiao-hua 教化) so strongly advocated by Confucianism. Even before his encounter with the Mongol emperor he cherished the ambition of attaining enough power to put these ideals into practice. In 1216, at the time when he had just started his training under Wan-sung, he wrote: "Now, the reason why a superior man pursues his study is not a selfish one. His aim is: 'My prince should be a prince like Yao and Shun, my people should be like the people of Yao and Shun'. And, even if there were only one man or woman who did not enjoy the benefits of Yao and Shun, would not the superior man feel ashamed? Therefore, is it not a delight for him to be in power and have sufficient standing to practise the Way (of the Sages), and sufficient means to confer extensive benefits (upon the people)?¹⁶⁴ And is it not sad for him to maintain what he has and to remain unassuming, paying as much attention to the conclusion as to the beginning (of his affairs [i.e. being careful throughout], feeling however as anxious) as if he were driving six horses with rotten reins?"¹⁶⁵

The task he had set himself was fraught with immense difficulties. No real "transformation" could in fact be

carried out without first educating the ruler and bringing him to an understanding of the social situation he had to deal with in his newly conquered empire. The Mongols on the whole held no great interest for the mores of the Chinese, but were primarily concerned with the exploitation of their territory and resources.¹⁶⁶ It would have been vain to exalt the rules of civilized life unless their adoption offered hopes of greater material gain. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's plans for social and administrative reform therefore did not stress the moral so much as the practical aspect. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai has passed into history for his humanitarian acts; these, however, could not have been carried out except by appealing to the Mongols' cupidity. When he pleaded with the emperor to spare the people of Ho-nan, he pointedly remarked that "they could be used as a source of troops and revenue as the occasion may demand".¹⁶⁷ He is also said to have prevented the wholesale massacre of the inhabitants of Pien-liang in 1233 by showing that the destruction of the population, which included skilled artisans, would have meant a loss of valuable services for the Mongols.¹⁶⁸ In order to obtain Ögödei's endorsement of his proposal for the re-institution of civil service examinations, he again referred to the "skilled artisans", drawing a parallel between their useful role and that of

the Confucian officials. Similarly, when he opposed a bad scheme put forth by some of the other court dignitaries, he carefully pointed out the material loss that would eventually ensure if it were enforced. The gain-and-loss argument, however, was not always successful, owing to the Mongols' insatiable cupidity and their unwillingness to modify substantially their traditional law and customs.

In addition to strong factional opposition within the court, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had furthermore to contend with the hostility of the clergy. Following his bitter struggle with the Taoists was the antagonism of the Buddhist authorities when he tried to re-introduce the special examination for monks. We have already seen that his attempt was foiled by the direct intervention of the Buddhist leader Hai-yün. In these circumstances it is not surprising that many of his proposals met with failure. According to Sung Tzu-chen, of all his plans only "two or three out of ten" were actually put into effect.¹⁷⁰

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's Confucian attitude is also clearly present in his emphasis on "rectification" and orthodoxy. He uses the age-old argument of the "rectification of names" to repudiate what he considers heterodox teachings. Speaking of the HYL, he says: "In it, I have been rather concerned with the distinction between orthodoxy and

heterodoxy in the teachings of the Three Sages. Some people have criticized my love of making distinctions. My reply to them is: 'The Lu-yü says: "What is necessary is to rectify names", and it also says: "Have no depraved thoughts".' This means that to discriminate between orthodoxy and heterodoxy should not be neglected." After this introduction he lists the theories that he regards as heterodox. Among them are the philosophies of Yang Chu, Mo Ti and T'ien P'ien; the teachings of the Chen-yen, Dhūta and White Lotus; and the doctrines preached by the Ch'üan-chen, Ta-tao, Hun-yüan and T'ai-i sects. He dismisses the "alchemical" practices of the Taoists as the corruption of the "techniques" (fang-chi 方技), and regrets that "the tolerance and benevolence advocated while the State was in the making" has resulted in a growth of falsehood. He concludes by stating that Han Yü's repudiation of Buddhism and Taoism represents "the wrong way of discriminating", while Mencius' repudiation of Yang Chu and Mo Ti as well as his own rejection of the Dhūta and of Ch'ang-ch'un

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represent the correct one.

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's conception of "evil" (or "heterodox") is basically Confucian. His violent denunciation of sects like the Dhūta and the Ch'üan-chen arises from the actions, harmful to other religious groups or to the whole

community, carried out by their followers. He accuses the Dhūtaists of destroying Buddhist images, oppressing the Buddhist monks, failing to help people in distress, and corrupting filial custom.¹⁷² Similarly, his criticism of the Ch'üan-chen sect is mainly directed against the behaviour of its members, not against their doctrine. He is obviously more concerned with Ch'ang-ch'un's appropriation of temples and the illegal use of travel credentials than with his religious tenets. He considers Lin Ling-su an arch-criminal for having gained his position at the Sung court through "prodigies and artful powers", but maintains that he was not as bad as the followers of the Ch'üan-chen sect, for "he did not dare to rename Buddhist temples as Taoist temples nor change Buddhist images into Taoist ones".¹⁷³

This clearly illustrates the emphasis Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai placed on the moral duties of the individual towards society. But if adherence to the Confucian norm is the best way to achieve social stability, according to his two-fold formula the cultivation of the self, or mind transformation, is best carried out by following the Buddhist doctrine. It is in Buddhism, not in Confucianism, that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai finds his source of moral strength. In the preface to the HYL he writes: "When in the past superior men travelled beyond the great mountain ranges in the south

or the Yang Pass in the west, however strong and determined, they could not help feeling sad and discouraged. When, by Imperial Decree, I undertook a trip of several tens of thousands of li to the west, it was by virtue of my training in the vast expanse of the Law (dharma), and not of other methods, that I remained steady and unperturbed."¹⁷⁴

Does this mean that he regarded the Confucian teachings as inadequate for self-cultivation and the principles of Buddhism unsuitable for the practical affairs of the state? The answer to this important question is given by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai himself. Wan-sung once wrote to him on the subject of the formula quoted above and warned him against the danger of furthering Confucianism at the expense of Buddhism. The text of Wan-sung's letter is lost, but we possess Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's reply. This can be summarized as follows: Man's most important undertaking is the cultivation of the mind for, as stated in the Ta-hsüeh, it is only when the mind is rectified that the state can be properly ruled. In so far as mind cultivation is concerned, however, the teachings of Confucius cannot match Buddhism for they lack the latter's depth. According to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, the Confucian doctrine of the Five Constant Virtues (wu-ch'ang chih tao 五常之道) corresponds to the more superficial teaching of Buddha. As Buddhism alone

provides the ideal means of self-cultivation, it follows that it is also the doctrine best suited for government. He would then dispense with the Confucian tenets altogether but, in order not to displease the "petty Confucian scholars" (yung-ju 庸儒), he has adopted - as a mere "expedient" - his conciliatory formula. Even so, the petty scholars are vexed and dissatisfied; they "gnash their teeth" and accuse him of "violating the doctrine and forgetting the fundamentals". Such being the case, exclaims Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai¹⁷⁵ "it is certainly not worth speaking of the Great Doctrine!"

From these statements it would seem that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai conceived as the ultimate goal the realization of a society which transcended Confucianism. He envisaged, as we can infer from his reference to the Great Doctrine (ta-tao 大道), the utopian order of the Great Unity (ta-t'ung 大同) - a world morally regenerated by the superior ethic of Buddhism. However, because of the confusion in which contemporary society was plunged, all Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai could hope to attain in his own lifetime were conditions of relative social and administrative stability. His Confucian-inspired reforms were therefore directed towards the restoration of the Small Tranquillity (hsiao-k'ang 小康), a task for which he still required the traditional services of the "petty Confucian scholar". For all his leanings towards

syncretism and his personal devotion to Buddhist ideals he was yet forced as a practical statesman to admit the immediate superiority of Confucianist realism. ¹⁷⁶

His decline and death marked the end of Chinese influence at the Mongol court and a return to the state of administrative confusion similar to what existed before the accession of Ögödei. 'Abd ar-Rahmān held administrative control over North China from 1243 to 1246, and continued his policy of reckless exploitation, as a result of which ¹⁷⁷ "the people did not know how to move hand or foot".

The Secretarial Council nominally remained in existence (with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's son, Chu, heading it), ¹⁷⁸ but we know that at the end of Ögödei's reign it had actually ceased to function as the central administrative bureau. The YS laconically states: "Since the year jen-yin (1242) onwards, the law was no longer one; there was dissention inside and outside (the court), and the good government of ¹⁷⁹ T'ai-tsung declined."

The election of Möngke (Hsien-tsung 憲宗, r. 1251-1259) in 1251 and the transfer of rule from the line of Ögödei to that of Tolui saw the beginning of the reconstruction of state power.

The fiscal reforms carried out under Möngke by Mahmūd Yalawāch were directed towards a further rationalization of

tributes and levies (the aim pursued by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai) and paved the way to the centralizing fiscal reforms of Qubilai (Shih-tsu 世祖, r. 1260-1294).¹⁸⁰ Möngke reaffirmed, however, the conquerors' preference for a non-Chinese officialdom and, although he also exempted the Confucians from taxation and corvée, he did not conceal his contempt for them as a class having, he considered, no¹⁸¹ practical use.

It is with the advent of Qubilai and the removal of the capital from remote Qara-Qorum to Peking, that complete centralization is achieved. The administrative reforms of the early part of Qubilai's reign represent the outcome of the slow process of acculturation or semi-Sinicization that had started during the reign of Ögödei. The re-establishment of the Secretarial Council as the supreme administrative body in 1260, and the subsequent creation of a bureaucratic structure modelled on the Chinese, the adoption of the nien-hao and of the Chinese court ceremonial, the unification and systematization of the tax structure, the separation of civil from military authority, the subordination of the apanages to the fiscal control of the central government, the promotion of agriculture, the restriction of privileges of the ortağ merchants and the clergy, the promotion of learning through the founding of

schools and academies for Mongols, Moslems and Chinese, all show the progress made since Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai drew up the blue print for the Mongol administrative organization. The pattern of civilian (as opposed to military) control that he had restored under Ögödei was carried on under Qubilai by an élite group of Chinese counsellors, among whom was the famous Buddho-Confucian statesman Liu Ping-chung (1216-182 1274). Like Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, he maintained that "although the empire had been conquered on horseback, it 183 could not be administered on horseback".

It would be incorrect, however, to think that the reforms in the civil administration, carried out on the recommendation of Qubilai's Chinese advisers, were inspired by similar reforms previously introduced or advocated by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Owing to the particular forma mentis of the Chinese, who recognize no culture other than their own, and the irreconcilable character of the Chinese and Mongol societies, the conquerors had to choose: either they must annihilate Chinese civilization or adapt themselves to it. Having rejected the former course, thanks to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's momentous intervention, a change in their original policy became unavoidable.

The scholar-officials who, in their capacity as experts on local conditions, helped to elaborate the new policy,

were, apart from the clergy, the principal link between the Mongol and the Chinese cultures.

It is for his role of mediator between two ways of life that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai commands our special interest. As a Sinicized Ch'i-tan, he was particularly well fitted to undertake this task. His racial origin made it possible for him to become a trusted adviser, first of Cinggis, then of Ögödei, neither of whom would have entertained as readily the advice he proffered had it come from a Han Chinese. On the other hand, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, though trained in Chinese ways and thoroughly familiar with the Confucian tradition, gave to neither his unqualified allegiance. His intellectual horizon, as witness his acceptance of Buddhism as the higher ethic, refused to be bounded by Confucianism alone. His racial origin, and subsequent political experience, gave him "a foot in both camps"; and his syncretic turn of mind seems, at least to some degree, to have been a reflection of this.

He was unrivalled in his understanding of the Mongols, and, above all, of their motivation. He recognized the Mongol power that, in China, he sought to bridle and restrain, for what it was: a predatory nomadic feudalism. He was under no illusion that his arguments, if these were to influence Mongol policy, would have to be directed to the

cupidity of the conquerors. Hence his choice of weapons. The appeal to Buddhist idealism would have to be deferred to less troublous times, while for the moment policies based on hard-headed Confucian practicality offered the better chances of success. It is almost as if Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had adumbrated, centuries before that other period of culture-conflict that was to rend China in the nineteenth century, an early version of the t'i-yung 體用 formula, which we might express as: Fo-hsüeh wei t'i, Ju-hsüeh wei yung 佛學為體, 儒學為用. For him, however, this reflected a personal, much more than a social, dilemma.

The success he achieved, of preventing the devastation of North China and its reduction to a grazing ground for the horses of the nomads, was a real one. His tragedy was that, this once achieved, he found himself discarded in favour of Moslem advisers whose willingness to appeal to the rapacity of their Mongol employers was uninhibited by even the "lower" social ethic by which Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had been constantly guided.

Historians have increasingly turned their attention to periods of Chinese history marked by the contact, and conflict, of cultures. Perhaps a closer study of such "mediating figures" as Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai will throw a clearer light on the dynamics of the acculturation process.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. I have adopted H.F. Schurmann's division of the era of Mongolian rule in China which is found in the ESYD, 2.
2. This is the conventional orthography of his name. He himself used the form I-la Ch'u-ts'ai 移刺楚才. See infra, n.64.
3. NMA 2 (1829), 64-88. Abel-Rémusat's source for this study (hereafter cited as Rémusat) was the biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in the YSLP 11, 1a-6b. A biographical sketch of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is found in CBD, 929-930, no.2446.
4. Cf. Gaubil, 29 et passim.
5. Cf. Deguignes IV, 37 et passim.
6. Cf. Mailla IX, 72 et passim.
7. MR I, 9-24.
8. GWC, 36; ESYD, 66-67 et passim; H.F. Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices in the Thirteenth Century", 361 sqq. See also R.P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East Down to the Mongol Epoch", 323-325.
9. See CJCSNP and the articles by Takao Yoshitaka, Ch'en Yüan, Yen Tun-chieh and Sun K'e-k'uan cited in the



Bibliography. One article on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai by Yasuoka Masaatsu 安岡正篤 and two articles by Yoneyama Gorō 米山梧朗 are quoted in MSK, "Nihon senjutsu no bu", 16-17. I have, however, failed to procure them.

10. Hereafter quoted as NP (see under "Sources").
11. Rémusat, 86.
12. Pelliot's statement that "Les sources musulmanes permettraient d'ajouter encore quelques informations sur ce ministre de Gengis-khan et d'Ögödüi" in TP 26 (1929), 160, is, I believe, incorrect. There is no reference to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in the works of Juwaynī and Rashīd ad-Dīn, nor, to my knowledge, in any other Persian or Arabic source.
13. This fact has already been pointed out by F.W. Cleaves in HJAS 18 (1955), 405 n.287.
14. W. Barthold, 12 Vorlesungen..., 167.
15. E. Blochet, "Deux Residents Mongols...". Blochet's identification, suggested earlier by D'Ohsson (HM II, 193-194 n.1), is untenable on both historical and linguistic grounds, and was curtly dismissed by Pelliot in TP 26 (1929), 161.
16. Sun K'e-kuan, "Chan-jan chü-shih chi...", 186. Sun maintains that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had no "real authority" at the Mongol court.

17. Owing to consideration of space and time, I have been unable to discuss in detail such aspects of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's private life and literary activity which, although interesting, are of no immediate relevance to my study. I hope, however, to deal adequately with them in the future.
18. It is also reproduced in the CFTC 165, 7a-12a.
19. Sung Tzu-ch'en (T. Chou-ch'en 周臣; a native of Ch'ang-tzu 長子, in Shan-hsi), joined the Mongol administration in 1225, or shortly afterwards, and retired from office in 1266. During his long career he filled several important posts: Deliberating Official (hsiang-i-kuan 詳議官) and Superintendent of Schools (t'ichü hsüeh-hsiao 提舉學校) in Tung-p'ing 東平 (present Tung-p'ing hsien, Shan-tung); Secretary of the Board of Right (yu-ssu lang-chung 右司郎中); Peace Promotion Commissioner for the I-tu district (I-tu lu hsüan-fu-shih 益都路宣撫使); President of the Three Ministries of Right (yu-san-pu shang-shu 右三部尚書), and Provincial Commander of Shan-tung (hsing-sheng Shan-tung 行省山東). In 1265 he was made Academician (Han-lin hsüeh-shih 翰林學士), and, in the following year, he was promoted Administrator of Political Affairs in the Secretarial Council (chung-

shu p'ing-chang cheng-shih 中書平章政事), thus rising to 1b in official rank. Although he retired from office due to old age in the same year, he was still consulted on all matters of importance of the Secretarial Council until his death, which occurred in 1267 (on this date see Translation of the Stele, n.366). The biography of Sung Tzu-chen is in YS 159, 1a-3b. Other biographies are found in HYS 158, 10a-12b; YCMCSL 10, 163-166; YSLP 12, 4b-5b; YSHP 32, 26a-27b; YShu 45, 5a-6b, and MWESC 85, 1a-2b. The two principal sources used by the editors of the YS to compile Sung's biography were the tomb inscription composed by Li Ch'ang 李昶 (1203-1289) and the spirit-way stele composed by Hsü Shih-lung 徐世隆 (1206-1285). These two sources had already been utilized by Su T'ien-chüeh in preparing the biography in the YCMCSL. From a passage of the tomb inscription quoted in the YCMCSL (the original text of the inscription is now lost) and included also in a slightly modified version in the YS biography, we learn of the circumstances which led to the friendship between Sung Tzu-chen and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Yen Shih 嚴實 (1182-1240), the well-known Chin general rallied to the Mongols, was apparently in the habit of addressing petitions to the

throne using as intermediary one of the emperor's personal assistants. After Sung Tzu-chen had been appointed by Yen Shih Deliberating Official and Superintendent of Schools, he opposed this practice, which violated the bureaucratic procedure set up by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, and insisted that all official communications to the court should be referred to the latter. This greatly pleased Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and the two men became close friends (YCMCSL, 164; cf. also YS 159, 1a-b). Although no date is given for this event in the YCMCSL, it must have taken place at the beginning of Ögödei's reign. There are unfortunately no references in our sources to the subsequent relations between Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Sung Tzu-chen. Sung is not mentioned at all in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's works and of the former's literary productions only the Stele and a few poems are extant (they are found in the YSHKC 乙, 6b; Sung's Chiu-shui chi 九鳥水集 is lost, except for its preface, written by the great scholar Yuan Hao-wen 元好問, which has been preserved in the ISHSWC 36, 15b-16b). We know, however, that after the fall of the Chin capital Pien-liang 汴梁 (K'ai-feng) in 1233, Sung Tzu-chen was actively engaged in the reorganization of the local bureaucracy and in promoting

education. For this purpose he availed himself of the services of several former Chin scholars, whom he had rescued from among the war prisoners and gathered in Tung-p'ing (YCMCSL, 164; YS 159, 1b). Among the scholars who found employment in Tung-p'ing was K'ung Yüan-ts'u 孔元措, a descendant of Confucius in the fifty-first generation, whose release from the besieged Chin capital was due to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's efforts (see Stele, n.195). Tung-p'ing was one of the ten district centres where Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had set up a tax-collection bureau in 1229-1230 (YS 2, 2a; see Stele, n.129). We know that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's family estate was also in Tung-p'ing (Stele, n.147 and 341). In view of the above, there can hardly be any doubt that the two men kept in touch with each other although there is no record of it. Sung was later associated with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's son Chu 鑄 in the provincial administration - both of them sharing the office of Provincial Commander of Shan-tung in 1264 or 1265 - and it was Chu who entrusted Sung in 1267 with the composition of the Stele (cf. YCMCSL, 166; YS 159, 3a; Stele, n.348 and 366). Under the circumstances, Sung Tzu-chen was a person eminently suited to write the biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai.

20. See Stele, 22b and n.365. On Chao Yen see also K.T. Wu, "Chinese Printing under Four Alien Dynasties", 456.
21. Li Wei (T. Tzu-wei 子微; H. Chiu-shan chü-shih 九山居士), a native of Tung-ch'eng 東城 (nr. present Yang-yüan hsien 陽原縣, Chahar) was an official in the Chin administration. After the fall of Pien-liang in 1233, Yüan Hao-wen recommended him to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (Li's name figures among those of the scholar-officials listed in Yüan's letter of 1 June 1233 - see the Stele, n.195 and 200). Li returned to his native province in the same year. We have no information regarding his later doings with the exception of a reference contained in Ma Ke's 麻革 Yu Lung-shan chi 潞龍山記 ("Account of a Journey to Lung-shan") from which it appears that he went to Qara-Qorum before 1239 (KCC 13, 15a; the relevant passage is missing in YCWL 27, 9b). He is the author of one of the prefaces to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's collected works (dated 2 December 1233). One of his poems is preserved in KCC 14, 7a-b. From a poem in the SCTYC 3, 2a, it is evident that he was on very close terms with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's son Chu who, after his father's death, must have entrusted him with the writing of the tomb inscription.

22. Several passages from the obituary and the tomb inscription are quoted in the biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai by Su T'ien-chüeh (YCMCSL 5, 59, 64, 65, 66; see Stele, n.114, 278, 322 and 333).
23. For this work cf. MR I, 180-191; Ratchnevsky, V-VI; HJAS 14 (1951), 472.
24. SWCCL, 80a and 81a. See Stele, n.73.
25. See Stele, n.299.
26. As pointed out by Wang Kuo-wei (NP, App.5a), Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's writings after 1236 are lost. Only one poem, composed in the winter of 1240, has been preserved. The original scroll with this poem was formerly in the possession of a Mr. Yüan 袁 of Wu-chin 武進 (NP, 23b).
27. These are found interspersed among poems in chüan 8 to 14.
28. I have been unable to find any information on this personage. One poem dedicated to him is found in WC 14, 17a.
29. Born 1204, died 1267. A well-known scholar-official first in the Chin service, later in the Mongol administration. His biography is found in YS 164, 20b-21b.
30. From Wang Lin's preface we learn that the first edition was in 9 chüan, and from Li Wei's and Meng P'an-

lin's prefaces that the editor was Tsung Chung-heng. Regarding the latter Meng informs us that he was an Assistant Secretary in the Secretarial Council (chung-shu tu-shih 中書都事) and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's "oldest protégé". Nothing else is known about him.

31. In the PYSIWC, 8423c, Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕 (1728-1804) lists also an edition in 35 chüan. There is, however, no evidence that this edition actually existed. The earliest printed edition which we possess is that published last century by Yüan Ch'ang 袁昶 (1846-1900) under the title of Chan-jan chü-shih chi 湛然居士集 in the first series of the Chien-hsi-ts'un-she ts'ung-k'e 漸西村舍叢刻 (1895). This edition, based on a different text from that reproduced in the SPTK, is not as good as the latter. It contains, however, annotations by Li Wen-t'ien 李文田 (1834-1895), as well as an anonymous preface dated 13 February 1875. This is the edition reproduced in the KHCPTS and in the TSCC (no.2053). On the various MS copies of the WC in Chinese collections cf. WSWCL 18, 1026a-b.
32. It is indeed regrettable that A. Waley could not consult the HYL when preparing his translation of the HYC (The Travels of an Alchemist, London, 1931 - hereafter cited as Waley). Owing to this, the section on Ch'ang-

ch'un and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai ("Taoist Indiscretions",
ibid., 26-29) must be revised.

33. In addition to the HYL and the short prose compositions, for the most part prefaces, found in the WC, we also possess the Hsi-cheng keng-wu-yüan li 西征庚午元曆 ("Keng-wu-yüan Calendar of the Western Campaign"), composed by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in 1222, which is found in the YS (see Steele, n.86). Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is moreover the author of several works now unfortunately lost. The following titles have been preserved: Huang-chi ching-shih i 皇極經世義 ("Interpretation of the 'Cosmological Chronology'") - an exegetical treatise on Shao Yung's 邵雍 famous work; Wu-hsing pi-yü 五星秘語 ("Esoteric Dicta on the Five Planets"), in 1 chüan; Hsien-chih ta-shu 先知大數 ("On the Prediction of Fate"), in 1 chüan; and Pien-hsieh lun 辨邪論 ("Essay on the Confutation of Heresy"), in 1 chüan (PYSIWC, 8413a, 8417b, and 8421a). On the Pien-hsieh lun see Translation of the HYL, n.5. Among Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's prose writings we must also include the letter that he wrote to Ch'ang-ch'un, on Cinggis Qan's instructions, in 1220 and, in my opinion, the text of Cinggis' summon to Ch'ang-ch'un of 1219 as well. (On these documents see Introduction, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Ch'ang-ch'un").

34. On Yüan Hao-wen (T. Yü-chih 裕之; H. I-shan 遺山) see the short biography in the CS 126, 12a-b. A nien-p'u of this famous scholar composed by Ch'i Pei-yen 祁北石 is found in the YISSC, ts'e 1. Cf. also WHC, no.2858.
35. CS 95, 1a-3a.
36. On the YCMCSL and his author cf. provisionally HJAS 19 (1956), 195 n.34.
37. For this work cf. TP 35 (1939), 382 n.2, and MR I, 191-192.
38. For this work cf. HJAS 19 (1956), 195 n.36.
39. For this work cf. CYYY 7 (1937), 287-354.
40. There are also biographies of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in the YSHP 25, 1a-7b, and in the YShu 43, 1a-4b. They are, however, of little value.
41. For a brief review of this work cf. P. Pelliot, "L'édition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-wei", TP 26 (1929), 160-161.
42. Wang Kuo-wei's work has rendered useless the nien-p'u of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai by Chang Hsiang-wen (CJCSNP). The latter contains, however, some interesting notes on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's origin, the location of his home on the Western Hills, his tomb, etc. (ibid., 22 sqq.). Some of the points discussed by Chang in his

notes, particularly those concerning Ch'ang-ch'un and Cheng Ching-hsien, have been followed up and expanded by Wang in the appendix of the NP. A biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, based chiefly on the NP, has been published in Japan by Iwamura Shinobu under the title of Yaritsu Sozai 耶律楚材 (see the Bibliography, under Iwamura).

43. Stele, 10a and n.27.
44. Ibid., and n.28-30.
45. Ibid., and n.31-34.
46. Ibid., and n.35 and 36.
47. Ibid., n.37.
48. Stele A, 3b-4a; Stele, n.37.
49. Stele A, 4a-b; Stele, n.37.
50. Stele A, 6b and 8b; Stele, n.37.
51. NP, App.2a; Stele, n.147.
52. Stele A, 6b-7a; Stele, n.37. On Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's two brothers Pien-ts'ai and Shan-ts'ai cf. *ibid.*, n.147.
53. Stele, 10b and n.46.
54. Ibid., and n.37 and 54.
55. Ibid., n.53.
56. Ibid., 10b and n.55-59.
57. Ibid., and n.60-65.

58. Ibid., n.66.
59. WC 12, 2a.
60. Ibid., 8, 21a-b.
61. According to Nogami Shunjō, Wan-sung was the leading Buddhist personality of the Chin dynasty (RKB, 199-200). Wan-sung is the literary name of the monk Hsing-hsiu 行秀 (1166-1246), a native of Ho-nei 河內 (modern Ching-yang hsien 沁陽縣 in Ho-nan). His family name was Ts'ai 蔡. He attained enlightenment under the Ts'ao-tung master Hsüeh-yen 雪巖 (Hui-man 慧滿) of the Ta-ming Temple 大明寺 in Tz'u-chou 磁州 (modern Tz'u-hsien, Ho-pei), who made him his spiritual successor. Held in high esteem by Chang-tsung, Wan-sung was appointed abbot of the important Wan-shou Temple 萬壽寺 and then of the Pao-en Temple in Peking. In the latter temple he built his retreat, which he named Ts'ung-yung-an 從容庵 ("The Hut of Serenity"). There he spent the latter part of his life, writing and meditating. He is the author of several Buddhist works, the most famous being the TYAL. This is a collection, with practical commentaries, of hundred "cases" (kung-an 公案) derived from Hung-chih Cheng-chüeh 宏智正覺 (1091-1157), the great master of the Ts'ao-tung school. The preface to the TYAL, by Yeh-

lŭ Ch'u-ts'ai, is also included in the WC (8, 21a-23a).
Wan-sung's biography is found in the HHKSC 17, 3b-4b;
for references to other biographies cf. RKB, 208 n.19.
Cf. also ZS I, 420 sqq., and DCZ, 39-40.

62. Wan-sung occupies the twenty-third place in the line of
transmission of Ch'ing-yŭan 青原 (Hsing-ssu 行思).
Cf. RKB, 199.
63. WC 13, 23b, and Introduction, under "Yeh-lŭ Ch'u-ts'ai's
Thought and Influence".
64. Cf. Wan-sung's preface to the WC, 1b, and *ibid.* 8, 21b.
Yeh-lŭ Ch'u-ts'ai usually signed himself Chan-jan chŭ-
shih Ch'i-shui I-la Ch'u-ts'ai Chin-ch'ing 湛然居士
漆水移刺楚才晉卿, or simply Chan-jan chŭ-shih.
Cf., e.g., WC 8, 12b, 13b, 17b, 19a, 23a, 23b-24a; 13,
5b, 11a and b (for the form I-la see *Stele*, n.26; for
Ch'i-shui see *ibid.*, n.45; and for Chin-ch'ing, Yeh-lŭ
Ch'u-ts'ai's courtesy name, see *ibid.*, 10b and n.51).
His friends addressed him in writing as Chan-jan chŭ-
shih, or by his literary style of Yŭ-ch'ŭan 玉泉 (cf.
the various prefaces to the WC and Chao Chu's 趙著
preface to the SCTYC. On Yŭ-ch'ŭan cf. also *Stele*,
n.338 and NP, 23b). For the expression chŭ-shih 居士
cf. CKL 6, 102.
65. HYL, 1a.

66. Stele, 11a and n.67-73.
67. Ibid., 11a-b and n.75-82, 91-95.
68. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is also said to have greatly impressed Cinggis Qan with his accurate prediction of eclipses (Stele, 11b). However, the calendar he composed in Central Asia in 1222 was never adopted officially by the Mongols (see *ibid.*, n.86).
69. Wieger II, 1652.
70. Stele, 11b-12a.
71. Ibid., n.101.
72. Turkestan, 453.
73. According to Rashīd ad-Dīn, the reasons for his turning back were the difficulty of crossing the mountains, the bad climate and drinking water, and the report that the Tanguts had revolted (SL I/2, 225). This is partly confirmed by Juwaynī (I, 137-138).
74. HYL, 4b-5a. On Liu Wen cf. *ibid.*, n.141.
75. Waley, 27-28, is mistaken in saying that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai "confesses that 'in his youth'...he had been led away by the doctrines of the Ch'üan Chen Taoist sect." Waley's source was a phrase from the preface of a poem by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai quoted by Wang Kuo-wei in the HYC 1, 43b. The reference is not to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, but to his friend Liu Hsü 劉訥 (T. Tzu-



chung 子 中) to whose rhymes the poem was written (cf. WC 10, 14b-15a).

76. HYL, 4b.
77. CKL 10, 151; E. Chavannes, "Inscriptions...", TP 9 (1908), 302. Cf. HYL, n.142.
78. CKL 10, 152; Chavannes, op.cit., 304. Cf. HYL, 5a and n.144.
79. HYL, 5a and n.145. This document is very similar in style to the imperial message of 14 July 1219, summoning Ch'ang-ch'un. As in 1219 Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was already in Cinggis Qan's service, it is most likely that also the earlier document was drafted by him.
80. HYL, App.1a; Chavannes, op. cit., 305-308.
81. For the Hua-hu ching see provisionally the references given by K.K.S. Ch'en in n.1 on p.1 of his article, "Buddhist-Taoist Mixtures in the Pa-shih-i-hua t'u"; Waley, 30-32; and P. Demiéville, "La situation religieuse...", 206-209.
82. Cf. Demiéville, op. cit., 208.
83. HYL, n.150.
84. HYL, 5b.
85. Ibid., 6a and n.152-158.
86. Ibid., 6a-b.
87. Ibid., 5b.

88. Ibid., 7b.
89. HFCHL, 8a; Waley, 24-25.
90. HYL, n.170.
91. HYC, 2, 7b; Waley, 119; HYL, n.170.
92. HYL, 7a and 8b.
93. Cf. Demiéville, op.cit., 200.
94. PWL, 766c; HYL, 7a-b.
95. On Shih-mo Hsien-te-pu see Stele, 13a-b and n.108. On the friendly intercourse between him and Ch'ang-ch'un see Stele, n.108 and Waley, 133 sqq.
96. For a list of the Buddhist temples appropriated by the Taoist see the PWL 3, 766c sqq.
97. HYL, 8a.
98. Ibid., n.171.
99. On the Dhūta sect see ibid., n.5.
100. WC 8, 18a.
101. HYL, Pref. 1b.
102. See Ch'en Yüan, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai fu tzu...", 1007-1009.
103. NP, 9b.
104. HYL, 9a.
105. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai criticizes the meek behaviour of the Buddhist clergy in the HYL, 11a.
106. Stele, 12a.

107. HYL, 10a-b.
108. Stele, 12a and n.108.
109. Biography, 3a; Stele, 12a-b and n.114.
110. Stele, n.116.
111. ESYD, 2 sqq., 29.
112. Stele, 12b-13a; YS 2, 1b.
113. Biography, 3b; Stele, n.123.
114. Biography, 3b-4a; Stele, n.123.
115. Stele, 12b and n.140 and 162.
116. Ibid., 13a and n.128-132.
117. H.F. Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices...",
312 sqq., 362 sqq.
118. Stele, 12b-13a and n.178.
119. TCTK 29, 8a-9a, and Stele, n.266.
120. Cf. HCSL, 7-9, and Haneda Tōru, "Shina no hokuzoku
shochō to Kan-bunmei".
121. Stele, 11a.
122. Ibid., 13a-b and n.108.
123. Ibid., 13b-14a and n.162. On this occasion, Yeh-lü
Ch'u-ts'ai's two assistants, the well-known "proto-
notarius" Chen-hai 鎮海 (Cingai~Cingqai) and the
Jurchen Nien-ho Chung-shan 粘合重山 were appointed
Left and Right Minister respectively. On these
personages cf. Stele, n.149 and 150.

124. Ibid., n.162.
125. Ibid., 13a and 19b.
126. Ibid., 14b.
127. Ibid., n.178 and 307.
128. Ibid., 16a-b. This estimate is confirmed by a recent investigation (ibid., n.226).
129. Ibid., 16a.
130. Ibid., 16b and n.213. It showed a total population for North China of 1,730,000 household, i.e., about eight and a half million people.
131. Ibid., n.227.
132. Ibid., 16b-17a.
133. Ibid., n.238.
134. Ibid., 17a and n.244; "Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 363 sqq.
135. Stele, 15a and n.195.
136. Ibid., 15b and n.200.
137. YS 146, 14a (Biography of Yang Wei-chung 楊惟中); MWESC 61, 3a (Biography of Liu Min 劉敏); Stele, n.200, 280 and 316.
138. Stele, n.200.
139. Biography, 7a-8a; Stele, 18a and n.266.
140. YS 2, 6b; Stele, n.266.
141. Stele, 18a.
142. Ibid., n.266.

143. Ibid., 19a-20a and n.306 and 307.
144. Ibid., n.305.
145. Ibid., 20a. On Chen-hai's hostility towards the Moslems cf. EM, 542-543.
146. Stele, 18b-19a.
147. YS 2, 7a; Stele, n.306.
148. YS 2, 7b; SWCCL, 86a; Stele, n.316. There is no biography of this official in the YS. Biographies were compiled however, by T'u Chi (MWESC 46, 2b-4a) and K'o Shao-min (HYS 133, 4a-5b) on the basis of data contained in the Annals of the YS (2, 7b; 3, 3a; etc.), the SWCCL (80a and 86b), the YCPS (Sup.1, 50a-51a; SH, § 263), and the HM (II, passim). Further information on him can be gathered from the Persian sources (cf. e.g., Juwaynī I, 97 et passim).
149. Stele, 21a.
150. Ibid., 21b.
151. Ibid. Weng-shan is the modern Wan-shou shan 萬壽山 or "Hill of the Myriad Ages" (see *ibid.*, n.337). Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's death occurred on 2 June 1243.
152. WC 8, 15b-16a.
153. HTSL, 26b. In colloquial.
154. On the Mongols' concept of imperial power see Stele, n.185.

155. TYAL 1, 228a.
156. Cf. RKB, 218-219 and 220 n.10.
157. On Li Ch'un-fu (T. Chih-ch'un 之純; H. P'ing-shan 屏山) cf. RKB, 209-219, and Takao Yoshitaka, "Kindai ni okeru...", 148-151.
158. WC 2, 15a. Cf. also ibid. 6, 20b.
159. Ibid. 8, 19b. Cf. also the HYL, 11b.
160. HYL, 10b.
161. Ibid., 4b.
162. WC 12, 18b.
163. Ibid. 6, 15a-b.
164. See Meng-tzu (Legge II, 265, 363-364), and the Lun-yü (Legge I, 194).
165. WC 8, 27a-b.
166. On the attitude of the Mongols towards Chinese culture see Haneda Tōru, "Genchō no Kan-bunmei ni taisuru taido"; H. Franke, "Could the Mongol Emperors read and write Chinese?"; P. Demiéville, "La situation religieuse...", 217-219. Cf. also Steele, n.200.
167. Steele, 14b.
168. Ibid., 14b-15a.
169. Biography, 7b; Steele, n.266.
170. Steele, 23a.
171. HYL, Pref. 1a-b.

172. WC 8, 19b.
173. HYL, 10a.
174. Ibid., Pref. 1a.
175. WC 13, 22a-23a. Cf. Takao Yoshitaka, "Yaritsu Sozai no bukkyō shinkō", 395.
176. Cf. the passages relating to the Small Tranquillity and the Great Peace (ta-p'ing 太平) in the HYL, 11b-12a. These clearly show that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's "realistic" attitude was bitterly criticized at the time by scholars who advocated the precedence of moral to administrative reform.
177. YS 157, 4b (Biography of Liu Ping-chung 劉秉忠). 'Abd ar-Rahmān was executed by order of Güyük (Ting-tsung 定宗, r. 1246-1248) during the "purges" following his election.
178. Stele, n.348.
179. YS 2, 9b.
180. Abe Takeo, "Gen-jidai...", 270-274. Cf. also "Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 369 sqq.
181. YS 125, 11b (Biography of Kao Chih-yao 高智耀). Cf. also Demiéville, "La situation religieuse...", 217, and YHYJHHK 2, 8b-9a.
182. On him see the biographies in YS 157, 1a-8b; HYS 157, 1a-7b; YCMCSL 7, 87-89; MWESC 83, 1a-5a; FTLTTT 21,

705c sqq. Cf. also GWC, 37 sqq.; Demiéville, op. cit., 203-204.

183. YS 157, 2a; Stele, 13a and n.134. For an interesting study on the influence of the Chinese advisers on Qubilai cf. Yao Ts'ung-wu's article "Hu-pi-lieh tui y^u Han-hua t'ai-tu ti fen-hsi".

¹
SPIRIT-WAY STELE OF HIS EXCELLENCY YEH-LÜ,
²
CHIEF OF THE SECRETARIAL COUNCIL

by SUNG TZU-CHEN

(9b) As to the beginning of the state (i.e., dynasty),
the foundations were laid ³ in the Northern Region. ⁴ Whereas
the August Emperor T'AI-TSU ⁵ had received the mandate ⁶ be-
cause of his sagelike virtue, ⁷ he respectfully carried out
the punishment decreed by Heaven. ⁸ Wherever the head of his
horse was directed, there was no powerful country (that could
withstand him).

⁹
T'AI-TSUNG inherited it (i.e., the mandate). He che-
rished the whole world, ¹⁰ and so he pacified (i.e., con-
quered) North China. ¹¹ Pushing on beyond (the limits of) the
empire, ¹² all became his subjects. ¹³

Thereupon, he established the Great Government and the
August Perfection ¹⁴ and built a new palace ¹⁵ to give audience
to the nobles, for he was to lay the indestructible founda-
tions (of his heritage), and to hand down the beginning (of
a lineage) that could be perpetuated (by his successors). ¹⁶

¹⁷
His Excellency, with his remarkable talents, had the
good fortune to encounter a period of rising rulers. Basing

himself on his ability to undertake heavy government responsibilities¹⁸ and helped by his knowledge, both of Heaven and of mankind, he assisted two successive reigns (i.e., emperors)¹⁹ during twenty-four years of close association.

He helped the planning of government measures²⁰ at the beginning, when there was confusion and darkness in the world, and unified (10a) rules and regulations after peace had been restored.

He placed upon himself the burden of the realm,²¹ and stood as high and firm as the Ti-chu (Rock) in the middle of the stream.²² In this way he was able to benefit the people,²³ without fearing comparison with the great men of the past.

His personal name was CH'U-TS'AI,²⁴ his courtesy name CHIN-CH'ING,²⁵ and his surname YEH-LÜ.²⁶ He was a descendant in the eighth generation of T'U-YÜ,²⁷ Prince of Tung-tan of the Liao (dynasty).

The Prince (of Tung-tan) begot LOU-KUO,²⁸ Vicegerent of Yen-ching²⁹ and Chief of the Political Council.³⁰

The Vicegerent (LOU-KUO) begot General KUO-YIN.³¹

General (KUO-YIN) begot the Grand Preceptor HO-LU.³²

The Grand Preceptor (HO-LU) begot the Grand Preceptor HU-TU.³³

HU-TU begot NEI-LA,³⁴ General Pacificator of Distant Regions.

The (General) Pacificator of Distant Regions (NEI-LA) begot TE-YUAN³⁵, Great Officer of Eminent Dignity and Commanding Prefect of the Hsing-p'ing Commandery. He was the first to offer allegiance to the Chin dynasty.

His younger cousin YÜ-LU³⁶ begot LÜ³⁷.

(The Commanding Prefect of the) Hsing-p'ing Commandery adopted (LÜ) as his own son, and then made him his heir.

(LÜ) became known to SHIH-TSUNG for his literary compositions and righteous conduct, and was promoted Academician Who Attends to the Imperial Edicts³⁸. He was further promoted Vice-president of the Ministry of Rites³⁹.

When CHANG-TSUNG was enthroned, (LÜ), having gained merits in connection with the Emperor's enthronement⁴⁰, was advanced to (the offices of) President of the Ministry of Rites⁴¹ and Associate Director of Political Affairs⁴².

He died holding the position of Assistant of the Right in the Presidential Council⁴³, and received the posthumous name of WEN-HSIEN⁴⁴. He is His Excellency's late father. His late mother, née YANG, was enfeoffed (10b) State Lady of Ch'i-shui⁴⁵.

His Excellency was born on the twentieth day of the sixth month of the first year of (the period) Ming-ch'ang⁴⁶.

His Excellency WEN-HSIEN had a thorough knowledge of divinatory arts⁴⁷, and was especially proficient in the

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T'ai-hsüan. He once said confidentially to those close to him: "I had this son at the age of sixty. He is 'the thousand-li horse'⁴⁹ of my family. One day he will become an outstanding man.⁵⁰ Moreover, he is destined to be employed by a foreign country." Therefore, he selected TSO (CH'IU-MING's words) "Though it is Ch'u that possesses the materials, it is Chin that actually makes use of them" to⁵¹ compose his personal and courtesy names.

At the age of three His Excellency lost his father.⁵² His mother, lady née YANG,⁵³ brought him up giving him a most thorough education. When he was a little older⁵³ he learned to pursue his studies with greater energy: at the age of seventeen he read everything, and his essays had⁵⁴ (already) the writer's flair.

According to the Chin regulations the sons of the Chief Ministers were entitled to fill up posts of probational⁵⁵ officers in the Council, but His Excellency declined. CHANG-TSUNG then granted him permission to compete in the⁵⁶ special examination and he came first on the list (of the⁵⁷ successful candidates).⁵⁸ After the "examination of merits" had been completed, he was appointed Co-director of Affairs⁵⁹ for K'ai-chou.

In the year chia-hsü of (the period) Chen-yu (1214),⁶⁰ HSÜAN-TSUNG crossed (the Yellow) River and went south. The

Prime Minister ⁶¹ WAN-YEN CH'ENG-HUI ⁶² was left behind to guard Yen-ching ⁶³ and to conduct the affairs of the Presidential Council. ⁶⁴ On his recommendation, His Excellency was appointed Auxiliary Secretary of the Boards of Right and ⁶⁵ Left.

Next year the capital city fell ⁶⁶ and (His Excellency) became a subject of the National (i.e., Mongol) Dynasty.

(11a) As T'AI-TSU's aim had always been to annex the realm, he sought out the near descendants of the imperial ⁶⁷ house of Liao. ⁶⁸ When, summoned to the Emperor's camp, His Excellency was introduced to his presence, the Emperor said to him: "Liao and Chin have been enemies for generations; I have taken revenge for you." ⁶⁹ His Excellency ⁷⁰ replied: "My father and grandfather ⁷¹ have both served it (i.e., Chin) respectfully. How can I, as a subject and a son, be so insincere at heart to consider my sovereign and my father as enemies?" ⁷² The Emperor was very pleased with ⁷³ his words and placed him in his retinue to act as advisor.

In the sixth month in summer of the year chi-mao (13 July - 11 August 1219), the Great (i.e., Mongol) Army ⁷⁴ attacked the West. ⁷⁵ During the sacrifice to the banner, snow fell three feet thick. The Emperor was displeased about it, but His Excellency said to him: "This is a sign ⁷⁶ that you will conquer the enemy."

In the winter of the year keng-ch'en (1220), a loud clap of thunder occurred. The Emperor questioned His Excellency about it.

⁷⁷ His Excellency replied: "(It is a sign that) ⁷⁸ the So-li-t'an (Sultan) ⁷⁹ must perish in a waste land."

Later it was indeed so. ⁸⁰ So-li-t'an is the designation of ⁸¹ the Hui-hu (i.e., Moslem) ruler. ⁸²

⁸³ CH'ANG-PA-CHIN, a (Hsi-) Hsia man who had gained renown (with the Emperor) for (his skill in) making bows, once said boastfully to His Excellency: "The present dynasty praises arms while you, illustrious sir, desire to be promoted as a man of letters. Are you not going the wrong way?" His Excellency replied: "As to make bows one needs bow-makers, should one not, for the administration of the empire, employ men who are skilled in it?" (11b) The Emperor was very pleased when he heard this, and from then on he ⁸⁴ employed His Excellency ⁸⁵ with daily-growing confidence.

At the beginning the National Dynasty was not yet acquainted with the calendrical science. ⁸⁶ A Hui-hu ⁸⁷ memorialized the Emperor to the effect that on the night of the fifteenth day of the fifth month (17 June 1220) a lunar eclipse would take place. ⁸⁸ His Excellency said that no eclipse would occur (on that date). When the appointed time came there was, in effect, no eclipse.

Next year His Excellency memorialized the Emperor to the effect that on the night of the fifteenth day of the tenth month (31 October 1221) a lunar eclipse would occur.⁸⁹ The Hui-hu said that it would not. That night the moon was eclipsed eight-tenths. The Emperor, filled with great surprise at it, said (to His Excellency): "There is really nothing you do not know of heavenly affairs, let alone human ones!"⁹⁰

In the fifth month in summer of the year jen-wu⁹¹ (11 June-10 July 1222), a comet was seen in the west. The Emperor questioned His Excellency about it. His Excellency said: "The country of the Nü-chih⁹² (Jurchen) must change its ruler."⁹³ Next year the King of Chin died. Thereupon, every time that (the Emperor) was to start a military campaign, he would always order His Excellency to take the omens,⁹⁴ and he himself would likewise burn the thigh-bone of a sheep in order to verify them.⁹⁵

When the Emperor was encamped at the Iron Gate Pass⁹⁶ in Eastern India,⁹⁷ his body-guard⁹⁸ saw an animal with a deer's body, a horse's tail, green in colour and with a single horn. Having the power of speech, it said: "Your lord should return home at the earliest." The Emperor, amazed, questioned His Excellency, who replied: "This animal is called 'chüeh-tuan'. It travels eighteen thousand li

daily and it knows all foreign languages. It symbolizes the hatred for (12a) bloodshed: it is Heaven Above that has sent it to warn Your Majesty. I wish you would accept the will of Heaven¹⁰⁰ and spare the human lives in these few countries, thus substantiating Your Majesty's boundless prosperity." That very same day the Emperor issued the order to withdraw the army.¹⁰¹

In the eleventh month in winter of the year ping-hst¹⁰² (21 November-20 December 1226), Ling-wu fell. All the officers contended with each other to seize children, women and valuable property. His Excellency took only a few books, two camel-loads of rhubarb,¹⁰³ and that was all. A little later, when (the Mongol) soldiers fell ill as a result of an epidemic, it was only thanks to the rhubarb that they could be cured. Those whose life was thus saved¹⁰⁴ amounted to several tens of thousands of men.

Afterwards, Yen-ching became infested with robbers who even took carts with them when making their forays. The local authorities were unable to restrain them. At this time JUI-TSUNG¹⁰⁵ was Regent of the Empire.¹⁰⁶ He ordered that an Imperial Commissary¹⁰⁷ together with His Excellency should hasten (to Yen-ching) to deal with (the criminals). Shortly after their arrival, they caught them and had them¹⁰⁸ arrested. These were all members of powerful families.

Their relatives offered bribes soliciting their acquittal. Dazzled (by the offer), the Imperial Commissary intended to make representations to the Emperor on their behalf.¹⁰⁹ His Excellency, however, maintaining that such a course would be wrong, said to him: "Hsin-an¹¹⁰ is very close¹¹¹ to us and has not yet submitted.¹¹² If we do not enforce discipline, I fear that serious trouble will arise." Thereupon, sixteen men were punished. The capital became quiet and everybody could (again) enjoy peaceful nights.

In the year chi-ch'ou (1229), T'AI-TSUNG¹¹³ was enthroned.¹¹⁴ His Excellency fixed the plan and established¹¹⁵ the ceremonial. The senior members of the imperial clan (12b) were all instructed to pay obeisance (to T'AI-TSUNG) in the order assigned by their rank. The ceremony of the obeisance of the elders originates from this (time).¹¹⁶

Of the people who, from various countries, had come to court (on that occasion), there were many who had infringed the prohibitions, thus incurring capital punishment.¹¹⁷ His Excellency said (to the Emperor): "As Your Majesty has newly ascended the throne (lit., 'the Precious Seat'), I wish there would be no spoiling of the auspicious (lit., 'white') course."¹¹⁸ The Emperor followed his advice (and granted a pardon). The reason (of His Excellency's remark) is that, according to the National (i.e., Mongol) custom, white is praised (among the colours) and considered of good omen.¹¹⁹

At that time, as the realm had been recently conquered,
 laws and ordinances¹²⁰ were still lacking and the local
 leading officials spared and slew on their own authority.
 If someone only slightly opposed their will, he was forth-
 with executed.¹²¹ They went so far as to put entire fa-
 milies to death, not excepting infants in swaddling-clothes.¹²²
 Then, time after time, this commandery and that prefecture
 raised troops and fought one against the other. His Ex-
 cellency considered that the first (thing to do) was to
 declare that all (such actions) were forbidden.¹²³

From T'AI-TSU's western campaign onwards, the granaries
 and treasuries had been without a peck (tou) of grain and
 a foot of silk. Nevertheless, the Palace Commissary PIEH-
 TIEH¹²⁴ and others said unanimously that though one had
 conquered the Northern Chinese,¹²⁵ they were really of no
 use, and it would then be better to obliterate them and
 turn the (country's) luxuriant vegetation¹²⁶ into pasture-
 land. Upon this, His Excellency stepped forward and said:
 "With the empire being vast and rich,¹²⁷ what is there
 that cannot be obtained for the seeking? (If we do not
 obtain wealth) it is merely because we do not seek it; how
 can one call them useless?" Consequently, he reported to
 the throne that from the revenue of the land and (13a) com-
 mercial taxes, liquor and vinegar, salt, iron (smelters),

mountains and marshes (i.e., mining products), (the government) could annually obtain five hundred thousand ounces (liang) of silver, eighty thousand bolts of silk, and four hundred thousand bushels (shih) of grain. The Emperor said: "If it is truly as you say, there will be more than the state needs. You try to carry it out."

Thereupon, (His Excellency) advised the Emperor to establish tax-collection bureaux¹²⁸ in ten districts,¹²⁹ and to set up (in each district) the two posts of Commissioner and Deputy (Commissioner), both to be filled by scholars such as CH'EN SHIH-K'O¹³⁰ in Yen-ching and LIU CHUNG¹³¹ in the Hsüan-te district, all of whom were the élite of the realm.¹³²

Consequently, he would on all occasions step forward and expound (to the Emperor) the tenets of CHOU and K'UNG.¹³³ He would, moreover, say that though the empire had been conquered on horseback, it could not be administered on horseback.¹³⁴ The Emperor agreed entirely. Thus, the employment of civil officials by the National Dynasty owes its origin to His Excellency.

Previous to this, the leading officials¹³⁵ of the various districts were at the same time in charge of military and civil (affairs), and the collection of taxes.¹³⁶ Very often, relying on their wealth and power, they committed

illegal acts without restraint. His Excellency memorialized that the leading officials be solely concerned with the administration of civil affairs,¹³⁷ that the myriarch's departments¹³⁸ direct the military administration, and that the tax-collection bureaux¹³⁹ be in charge of taxation, no one exercising any control over the other. Thereafter,¹⁴⁰ this became a fixed system.

Rich and powerful¹⁴¹ (individuals) were, however, displeased. The chief official¹⁴² in the Yen-ching district, SHIH-MO HSIEN-TE-PU,¹⁴³ roused the Imperial Uncle's¹⁴⁴ anger (against His Excellency) and (13b) caused¹⁴⁵ him to send a special envoy with a report for the Emperor, stating that His Excellency was giving employment to all the former personnel of the Southern Dynasty (i.e., Chin),¹⁴⁶ and that, moreover, his own relatives were there (i.e., with the Southern Dynasty).¹⁴⁷ It was feared (the report said) that he had a treacherous mind, and thus it would not be advisable to entrust him with important functions. Furthermore, taking into due account what was disliked by the National Dynasty, he (i.e., HSIEN-TE-PU) fabricated a great number of charges against him, being absolutely determined to see him in the place of execution. In this affair he¹⁴⁸ also implicated various Executive Ministers.

CHEN-HAI¹⁴⁹ and NIEN-HO CHUNG-SHAN,¹⁵⁰ who indeed were
¹⁵¹at that time colleagues (of His Excellency), became very
 frightened by (all) this and said to him: "Why must you
 enforce a change?¹⁵² You should have reckoned that this
 would have inevitably brought about the present trouble."
 His Excellency replied: "Since the establishment of the
 court (i.e., dynasty), all these affairs have been managed
 by me. Why should you, gentlemen, be called to account
 for them? If this is really a crime I am committing,¹⁵³ I
 shall take the responsibility upon myself, and will on no
 account involve you." The Emperor, having ascertained the
 falsity of the allegations, angrily dismissed the envoy.

A few months later, it happened that some people laid
 a charge against HSIEN-TE-PU. The Emperor, knowing that
 there was no harmony between him and His Excellency, by
 special command ordered (the latter) to examine and judge
 the case.¹⁵⁴ His Excellency then memorialized: "As this
 individual is haughty,¹⁵⁵ without propriety,¹⁵⁶ and on in-
 timate terms¹⁵⁷ with inferior people,¹⁵⁸ he easily provokes
 criticism. Just now we are busy (with the war) in the
 Southern Region.¹⁵⁹ We shall deal with him another day:
 there is yet time." The Emperor was rather displeased.
 Later, however, he said to the officials in his retinue:
 "He is a superior man: you should follow his example."



In the eighth month in autumn of the year hsin-(14a)-
 mao (29 August-27 September 1231), the Emperor arrived in
 Yün-chung. ¹⁶⁰ The quota of silver and silk ¹⁶¹ exacted from
 the various districts, and the inventories of the rice and
 grain stored in the warehouses were displayed before him.
 They all tallied with the figures originally stated in the
 memorial. The Emperor said laughing (to His Excellency):
 "How can you make money and grain flow in like this with-
 out leaving Our side? We wonder whether in the Southern
 Kingdom (i.e., Chin) there are others like yourself." His
 Excellency replied: "(In the Southern Kingdom) there are
 indeed many who are wiser than I. It is because I am in-
 competent that I was left in Yen." The Emperor in person
 then filled a large cup with wine and offered it to him.
 That very same day he granted him the seal of the Secre-
 tarial Council and put him in charge of its affairs. All
 matters, irrespective of their importance, were entrusted
 to him. ¹⁶²

The chief official of the Hsüan-te district, ¹⁶³ the
 Grand Tutor ¹⁶⁴ T'U-HUA, ¹⁶⁵ lost through negligence over
 ten thousand bushels of government grain. Relying on his
 distinguished service and long acquaintance (with the Em-
 peror), he secretly memorialized him asking to be forgiven.
 The Emperor asked the Chief of the Secretarial Council ¹⁶⁶

whether he knew (about the matter), and the reply was that¹⁶⁷ he did not. The Emperor then took a "whistling arrow" and was twice on the point of shooting at (T'U-HUA). He scolded him for a good while and sent him off, ordering him to report to the Secretarial Council and make up the loss. He furthermore decreed that henceforth all matters should be first referred to the Chief of the Secretarial Council, and (only) then a memorial be addressed to the¹⁶⁸ throne.

The Palace Noble¹⁶⁹ K'U-MU-SSU PU-HUA¹⁷⁰ memorialized to the effect that ten thousand households be requisitioned for the mining and smelting of gold and silver, (14b) for¹⁷¹ the cultivation of the grape-vine, etc. His Excellency said that T'AI-TSU had decreed that the population beyond¹⁷² the mountains, being in no way different from the people of our dynasty (i.e., of the Mongol state), could be used as a source of troops and revenue as the occasion might demand. It would thus be better (stated His Excellency) to forgive and to spare the lives of the defeated people¹⁷³ of Ho-nan, as they can fulfil the duties in question and, furthermore, make good the territory beyond the mountains.¹⁷⁴ Said the Emperor: "You speak rightly."

(His Excellency) further memorialized that, as the population of the various districts was at present in great

distress owing to epidemics, it would be advisable to order
 that the locally resident Mongols, Hui-hu,¹⁷⁵ Ho-hsi¹⁷⁶ and
 others should pay taxes and render services¹⁷⁷ in the same
 way as the native inhabitants. This was all carried into
¹⁷⁸
 effect.

In the year jen-ch'en (1232), the Emperor, upon reach-
 ing Ho-nan, issued an edict to the effect that the people
 who had fled to the mountains and woods, or hidden them-
 selves in caves or grottoes in the Shen,¹⁷⁹ Lo,¹⁸⁰ Ch'in,¹⁸¹
¹⁸² Kuo and other prefectures, would have their lives
 spared provided they came and submitted to the (Mongol)
 army. Someone said that if these people were reduced to
 straits, they would surrender, but if leniency were shown
 to them, they would just turn back and help the enemy.
 His Excellency then memorialized that several hundred flags
 be issued to them and that (these people) be all released
 and sent back to the commanderies which had (already) sur-
 rendered. The lives spared (in this way) are beyond
¹⁸³
 reckoning.

According to the State (i.e., Mongol) Law, all the
 enemy who, resisting the orders, shot even one arrow or
 stone¹⁸⁴ (against the Mongol army) was to be killed without
 mercy.¹⁸⁵ When Pien-ching¹⁸⁶ was on the point of (15a)
 capitulating,¹⁸⁷ the general-in-chief SU-PU-TAI¹⁸⁸ sent a

messenger to inform (the Emperor), and to say that, as this city had put up a long resistance and many (Mongol) soldiers had been killed or wounded, he wished to slaughter all (the inhabitants). His Excellency then hastened to submit the following petition to the Emperor: "It is now altogether several decades that our officers and men have¹⁸⁹ been exposed (to all weathers). What they have been fighting for is nothing but the land and the people. If we obtain the land without the people, what use are we going to make of it?" The Emperor was still doubtful and undecided. (His Excellency) addressed him a further memorial: "Artisans who work on bows and arrows, on armours and weapons, on gold and gems, etc., as well as officials and privates, rich and nobles, are all assembled in this city. If we kill them we will not get a single thing, that is (all our) efforts will have been in vain." Only then the Emperor agreed and issued an edict to the effect that, with¹⁹⁰ the exclusion of the WAN-YEN clan, the rest (of the population) should be spared. At the time there were¹⁹¹ 1,470,000 households that had taken shelter in Pien.

Furthermore, (His Excellency) memorialized that (people from) the categories of artisans, Confucian scholars, Buddhists and Taoists, doctors and diviners, be se-¹⁹² lected and distributed in Ho-pei, and that their needs

be provided for by the government. Afterwards, when all the cities (in the region) of the Huai and Han (rivers) had been conquered, this became an established rule.¹⁹³

Previously, when Pien-ching had not yet surrendered, (His Excellency) had advised the Emperor to despatch an envoy into the city with a request to fetch (K'UNG) YÜAN-¹⁹⁴TS'U, a descendant of K'UNG-TZU (Confucius) in the fifty-first generation who had inherited the title of Duke YEN-SHENG.¹⁹⁵ He then instructed him to collect together persons (versed in) the rites and (15b) music who had fled and dispersed, and to gather renowned Confucian scholars, such as LIANG CHIH.¹⁹⁶ (With their assistance¹⁹⁷ His Excellency) established a Compilation Bureau in Yen-ching, and a Bureau of Literature¹⁹⁸ in P'ing-yang,¹⁹⁹ and thereby started the civil administration.²⁰⁰

At the time when Ho-nan had just been conquered,²⁰¹ those who were taken captive were beyond reckoning. When they heard that the Great (i.e., Mongol) Army was returning to the north, eight or nine men out of ten made their escape. Thus, an edict was issued to the effect that those who lodged fugitives, as well as those who helped them with food and drink, would all be put to death. Regardless of whether it was in a city or in a suburb, in a

202
 village or in a hamlet, if one single family trans-
 gressed this interdiction the rest (of the inhabitants)
 were also to be involved (in the crime). As a result, the
 population was frightened and even in the case of a father
 or son or brother who had once been a captive, they did
 not dare to recognize them. 203 Thus the fugitives had no
 means of finding food and those who fell and died on the
 roads were trodden on by the ones who walked behind. His
 Excellency then stepped forward and, without reserve,
 spoke (to the Emperor) as follows: "The reason why for
 over ten years you have been soothing and pacifying 204 the
 people is because they are useful. When (in war) it is not
 yet clear who is the winner and who the loser, one is
 (naturally) concerned about defections. 205 But now that
 our enemy's country has been conquered, where can one es-
 cape to? And why, for (the crime of) a single captive,
 should several hundred people be punished?" The Emperor
 saw the truth of it and ordered that his interdiction be
 abrogated. 206

207
 The Chin Kingdom had been extinguished but Ch'in,
 208 Kung and over twenty other prefectures resisted (lit.,
 "did not fall") for several consecutive years. 209 His Ex-
 cellency memorialized: "Those of (16a) our people (i.e.,
 the Northern Chinese) who, being regarded as offenders, 210

fled into the Chin Kingdom are all gathered there. The reason for their strenuous fighting is simply due to their fear of dying (by the hands of the Mongols). If we promise not to kill them, they will surrender of their own accord without struggle." An edict (to this effect) was issued and in each case (the citizens) opened the gates and came out to submit. Within a month (the territory) ²¹¹ beyond the mountains ²¹² had been completely pacified.

In the year chia-wu (1234), the census of the population was decreed ²¹³ and the great dignitary ²¹⁴ HU-TU-HU ²¹⁵ was put in charge of it. At the beginning of the state (i.e., dynasty), one just practised (the principle of) ²¹⁶ "advancing and taking". Consequently, those who surrendered were given (in reward to the Mongol leaders). ²¹⁷ From the time when every community and every individual had their own lords, who were independent of each other, the stage had now been reached when, for the first time, (the people) had become subordinate to (the authority of) ²¹⁸ the prefectures and counties.

All the court dignitaries wanted to define a male adult as equivalent to a household. ²¹⁹ His Excellency alone regarded (this procedure) as wrong. (The dignitaries) unanimously said: "Our Court and all the states in the Western Region without exception consider a male adult

as equivalent to a household.²²⁰ Why should we reject the laws of the Great (i.e., Mongol) Court and follow the administrative rules of a defeated country?"²²¹ His Excellency then said: "Since antiquity, in North China a male adult has never been defined as equivalent to a household. If we enforce this now, (the people) will pay taxes for one year²²² and then will flee and disperse." In the end²²³ His Excellency's recommendation was adopted.

At that time, the slaves²²⁴ owned by the princes, great dignitaries and army leaders had very often to live temporarily in various (16b) commanderies (= areas)²²⁵ and almost half of (the population of) the realm was in this position.²²⁶ His Excellency therefore memorialized that the census be taken and thus had them all registered as regular citizens.²²⁷

In the year i-wei (1235), the Court held a consultation and deemed it to be a good policy to employ Hui-hu troops (lit., "men") in the campaign against the South, and²²⁸ Northern Chinese troops in the campaign against the West. His Excellency, insisting that this was wrong, said: "The land of Han (i.e., Northern China) and the Western Region are several tens of thousands of li far from each other. When they will reach the enemy's territory, men and horses will be exhausted and unfit to be used. Moreover, the

difference in climate will certainly cause epidemics. It would be better if each of them carried on the military operations in their native lands; this seems to me more convenient for both." The argument went on for more than ten days but in the end (the original) deliberation was²²⁹ discarded.

In the year ping-shen (1236), the Emperor, having²³⁰ gathered the princes and the high dignitaries, personally held a goblet and, offering it to His Excellency, said: "The reason why We have extended Our confidence to you is because this was the order of the late Emperor (i.e., of T'AI-TSU). If it were not for you, there would be no empire today. It is due to your efforts that We can now²³¹ sleep peacefully." For, in his late years, T'AI-TSU had often admonished²³² the Emperor as follows: "Heaven has blessed us with this man. Your future administration²³³ must be wholly entrusted to him."

That autumn, in the seventh month (4 August-1 September),²³⁴ HU-TU-HU returned with the population (registers). The Emperor deliberated upon dividing up (17a) the various prefectures and commanderies and distributing them among²³⁵ the princes and the nobility²³⁶ as apanages. His Ex-²³⁷cellency said: "The tail would be too big to wag; (this plan) could easily create grudges. It is better to make

generous grants of gold and silk, which are adequate (marks) of your favour." The Emperor said: "I have already promised it." His Excellency then added: "If the appointment of (taxation) officials is decided by the Court and if, outside the regular taxes, no unauthorized collection of revenues is allowed, then it will still do for a long time." His advice was adopted.

This year for the first time (a fixed system of) taxation was established throughout the realm. Each two households were to pay one catty (chin) of silk yarn, as contribution towards public expenditure, and five households were to pay one catty of silk yarn, to be supplied to the family to whom they had been granted.

For a first-class field, the tax (rate) per acre (mou) was three and a half pints (sheng; i.e., of grain); for a second-class field it was three pints, and for a third-class field it was two pints. For irrigated fields it was five pints.

The commercial tax was one-thirtieth (to be paid by the merchants to the government).

As for salt, (the price per load of) forty catties was one ounce of silver. The above (rates) were made into a permanent (annual) quota. All the court dignitaries said that they were too light. His Excellency said: "As

in future there are bound to be some who will increase their profits (by means of these taxes), they are already heavy (enough)."²⁴⁴

At the beginning of the state (i.e., dynasty), robbers were so numerous²⁴⁵ that traders could not travel (safely any longer). Therefore, an order was issued to the effect that whenever an act of robbery took place, if within one year the responsible criminals²⁴⁶ had not been arrested, the population of the district concerned (17b) should repay in their place (the lost) property.²⁴⁷ In the course of time, (the losses) accumulated and ran often into figures of ten thousands; and, when the local officials²⁴⁸ had to borrow the lending money of the Hui-hu, in one²⁴⁹ year (the debt) was doubled and the following year, with the interests accrued, it was again doubled. This was called "young lamb interest".²⁵⁰ As (the debt) increased endlessly, very often it ruined homes and dispersed families; even wives and children were pawned, but eventually it could²⁵¹ not be paid off.

His Excellency petitioned the Emperor on their behalf to the effect that (their debt) be entirely paid off for them with government funds: altogether 76,000 ingots.²⁵² He further memorialized to establish that henceforth, ir-²⁵³respective of the length of time, when the interest

equalled the principal no additional interest should be
 accrued. Thereafter, this became a fixed system. ²⁵⁴

(The Emperor's) personal attendant ²⁵⁵ T'O-HUAN ²⁵⁶
 having memorialized that maidens (for the imperial harem)
 be selected (throughout the realm), it was decreed that
 the Secretarial Council should issue an edict to this ef-
 fect. His Excellency, however, did not allow the edict
 to be issued. ²⁵⁷ The Emperor angrily summoned him (to his
 presence) and questioned him about the reason (for his
 action). His Excellency said: "(The number of) maidens
 that have so far been requisitioned is twenty-eight, and
 there are still enough of them in Yen-ching to provide
 fully for the requirements of the harem. ²⁵⁸ However, T'O-
 HUAN has handed me an order exacting again extensive
 travelling for (a further) selection. Your Servant, fear-
 ing that this would cause serious disturbance among the
 people, intended to make representations to Your Majesty
 (about the matter)." After considerable time, the Emperor ²⁵⁹
 approved of his advice and the order was revoked.

He (i.e., T'O-HUAN) also wanted to requisition (18a)
 the mares in the Han territory (i.e., in Northern China).
 His Excellency said that the Han territory possesses mere-
 ly raw silk and the five grains, that it is not a horse-
 breeding country, and that if this be carried out today,

it will no doubt be a precedent for the future and will only cause disturbance in the realm. (The Emperor) acceded to his request.²⁶⁰

In the year ting-yu (1237), a selection (lit., "a sifting")²⁶¹ was made of (members of) the Three Faiths.²⁶² Buddhist monks and Taoists were examined on the canons.²⁶³ Those who were versed in them were given the certificate,²⁶⁴ received the rules and were allowed to live in monasteries. The successful Confucian candidates were sent back to their (former) homes. His Excellency had stated earlier that among the Buddhist monks and the Taoists there were many who (had taken up religious life in order to) evade levies²⁶⁵ and that for both a selective examination should be enforced. This was carried out now for the first time.²⁶⁶

At the beginning, the princes and the imperial relatives were all allowed to avail themselves of (the government) post-horses, and the official envoys were so numerous that the horses usually collapsed with fatigue. (The envoys) then seized forcibly the people's horses in order to replace them.²⁶⁷ Whether in the cities or on the roads, wherever they went they created disturbances. When they arrived at a post-house,²⁶⁸ they exacted all sorts of things and if (the post-house attendants) were a little

slow in supplying the provisions, they were at once flogged. The post-house attendants could not bear it any longer. His Excellency then memorialized that warrants²⁶⁹ be issued (to the official envoys) and fixed their rations²⁷⁰ of food and drink. Only then these abuses were stopped.²⁷¹

Subsequently, he set forth (the following) ten plans to meet the requirements of the time: 1) to make rewards and punishments dependable;²⁷² 2) to rectify names and duties;²⁷³ 3) to grant (appropriate) emoluments; 4) to enfeoff meritorious ministers; 5) to investigate the merits (of the officials);²⁷⁴ 6) to fix the property (tax);²⁷⁵ (18b) 7) to select artisans;²⁷⁶ 8) to devote attention to agriculture and sericulture;²⁷⁷ 9) to fix the local tributes; 10) to establish water transportation.

Although the Emperor was unable to carry out all (these plans at once), he selected and made use of them on the right occasion.²⁷⁸

The Hui-hu A-SAN-A-MI-SHIH²⁷⁹ accused His Excellency of having embezzled one thousand ingots of public silver. The Emperor summoned His Excellency and questioned him. His Excellency said: "Your Majesty should carefully think whether a decree has been issued in the past for the use of this silver." The Emperor said: "Now We remember that We once gave orders to the effect of using one thousand

ingots of silver for the repairing of the Palace." His Excellency said: "It is correct."

A few days later the Emperor, sitting in the Wan-an Hall, summoned A-SAN-A-MI-SHIH for a close interrogation, whereupon he admitted that his accusation was false.

The Tax Commissioner for the T'ai-yüan district and his deputy were reported to be guilty of corruption. The Emperor rebuked His Excellency: "You say that K'UNG-TZU's teachings should be practised and that the Confucians are all honest people. How is it that there are also such fellows (among them)?" His Excellency said: "How could rulers and fathers, when instructing their subjects and sons, ever wish to lead them into unrighteousness? However, unrighteous men also exist at times. As to the teachings of the Three Major Relationships and of the Five Constant Virtues, all those who have (the direction of) a state or family follow them, just as the sun, the moon and the stars in heaven (follow their immutable course). How can a doctrine which has been constantly practised for ten thousand generations be abolished only by our dynasty for a single man's (19a) error?" The Emperor was then appeased.

In the year wu-hsü (1238), the realm (suffered from) severe drought and locusts. The Emperor questioned His

Excellency on the expedients to fight them. His Excellency
 said: "I beg you to adopt exceptional measures²⁸⁵ and to
 rely on the storehouses." The Emperor said: "I am afraid
 there will not be enough (to provide for) state expenditures."
 His Excellency said: "What we have at present in the gra-
 naries and warehouses can meet the demand for ten years."
 (The Emperor) gave his consent.²⁸⁶

The households in the realm which had been registered
 at the beginning numbered 1,040,000. By now, those that
 had fled amounted to four or five out of ten; however, the
 tax (quota) was the same as before, and the realm was in
 distress. His Excellency then memorialized to the effect
 of removing (from the population registers) 350,000 house-
 holds that had fled, and the people were thus relieved.²⁸⁷

A certain LIU HU-TU-MA²⁸⁸ of Yen-ching, in collusion
 with powerful (individuals) and nobles, bid (for the pri-
 vilege of) farming²⁸⁹ the "ch'ai-fa" (tax) of the realm for
 500,000 ounces of silver.

A certain SHE-LIEH-FA-TING²⁹⁰ bid to farm the house,
 land and properties, waterworks, swine and fowl taxes of the
 realm destined for the government for 250,000 ounces of
 silver.

A certain LIU T'ING-YÜ²⁹¹ bid to farm the liquor tax of
 Yen-ching for 50,000 ounces of silver. Moreover, a Hui-hu

bid to farm the salt tax of the realm for 1,000,000 ounces of silver. There were even people who bid to farm the fishing, bridge, and ford taxes of the realm.

His Excellency said: "These are all dishonest people²⁹² who defraud (19b) inferiors and deceive superiors, causing great harm." In all cases he memorialized (requesting) the abolition of this. He used to say: "Better to re-²⁹³move one harm than to raise one gain; better to stop a disturbance than to start a business. Some people indeed²⁹⁴ thought of PAN CH'AO's words as nothing but commonplaces; after a thousand years, however, a definite (i.e., correct)²⁹⁵ opinion has naturally come about."

The Emperor had always been fond of liquor; in his late years he grew even fonder of it and daily caroused with the great dignitaries.²⁹⁶ His Excellency often remonstrated but (the Emperor) would not listen to him. Then (His Excellency), holding the metal mouth of a wine-vat,²⁹⁷ said to him: "If even this iron has been eaten up by liquor to²⁹⁸ such an extent, how much more would the man's viscera be damaged by it!"

The Emperor was pleased (with his words) and bestowed on him (presents of) gold and silk. Furthermore, he ordered his attendants to present him (the Emperor) with no²⁹⁹ more than three cups of liquor a day.



At that time the whole empire was free from disturbances. The Emperor rather relaxed his attention to government affairs and wicked people succeeded in seizing this opportunity to insinuate themselves (at Court).³⁰⁰

Initially, His Excellency, from the year keng-yin (1230) on, had fixed the quota of the tax collection bureaux at 10,000 ingots of silver annually.³⁰¹ After the conquest of Ho-nan, the population had increased and (the quota) had been raised to 22,000 ingots.³⁰²

(At this time), a Hui-hu translator (named) AN-T' IEN-HO³⁰³ arrived from Pien-liang and, seeking employment, prostrated himself and put himself in the service of His Excellency. Although His Excellency gave him encouragement, in the end (20a) he could not fulfil his expectations. Thereupon, he (AN-T' IEN-HO) went over to CHEN-HAI and plotted in all ways to create dissension.³⁰⁵ He first introduced (at Court) the Hui-hu AO-TU-LA-HO-MAN,³⁰⁶ who bid (for the privilege of) farming the taxes (of the realm).³⁰⁷ (The quota) was then increased to 44,000 ingots.

His Excellency said: "Although it is possible to collect 44,000 (ingots annually), (this can be achieved) only by establishing stern laws and interdicts, and by secretly depriving the people of their benefits. When the people are destitute they become robbers, which is not to the

country's good." However, (the Emperor's) retinue and personal attendants were all allured (by the prospect of gain). The Emperor too, being rather influenced by the general opinion, wished to have it (i.e., the proposal) enforced on a tentative basis. His Excellency reiterated his argumentation against it (until) both his voice and countenance grew harsh. The Emperor said to him: "Are you going to have a fight (with Us)?" His Excellency, having insufficient power to settle (the issue),³⁰⁸ uttered with a deep sigh: "When the profits (derived from) tax farming bids will increase, no doubt others will follow the example³⁰⁹ and rob the future generations. The people's misery will start from this." Thereupon, the government issued from³¹⁰ many gates.

His Excellency stood at Court correct in his deport-³¹¹ment and unwilling to bend even slightly. He wished to go throughout the empire in person (to instruct the people) and every time that the state's interest and the people's prosperity were discussed, his tone of voice became very earnest and he would spare no effort. The Emperor then would say: "Are you going to shed tears for the people again?" But (afterwards) he treated him with increased³¹² esteem.

His Excellency had been in charge of the state (administration) (20b) for a long time. However, all that he gained in emoluments and grants,³¹³ he distributed it among the members of his clan, but he never gave them secretly offices or titles. Someone urged him to seize the opportunity and "spread out the branches and leaves as a means of strengthening the root".³¹⁴ His Excellency said: "Subsidies in gold and silk (to my relatives) are quite sufficient to make their life pleasant. Should I confer official positions on them, in the event of some degenerate individual (among them) transgressing the fixed rules, I would be unable to do away with the public laws to follow my personal feelings."³¹⁵ Moreover, I am not like 'the cunning hare with three holes (to its burrow)'."³¹⁶

In the second month in spring of the year hsing-ch'ou (14 March-12 April 1241), the Emperor fell seriously ill and his pulse ceased (to beat). The Empress,³¹⁷ not knowing what was the cause, summoned His Excellency and asked him (for advice). His Excellency said: "At present, the Court does not employ the right people and, of the prisoners in the realm, indeed many have been unjustly charged. This is why (recently) portents have often appeared."³¹⁸ You ought to grant an amnesty." Then, quoting the case of Duke CHING of Sung and (the planet) Yung-huo (Mars) receding into

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(another) constellation, he used it as evidence (to substantiate his recommendation). The Empress was very anxious to carry it out; His Excellency, however, said that it could not be done without the Sovereign's order. After a while, the Emperor revived a little and the Empress reported the matter to him. The Emperor was unable to speak and only nodded in assent. The amnesty was promulgated and³²⁰ (the Emperor's) pulse came to life again.

By the eleventh month in winter (4 December 1241-2 January 1242), the Emperor had not for a long time taken any medicine. His Excellency, having taken the omens according to the T'ai-i (divinatory) art,³²¹ memorialized stating that he should not go (21a) hunting. The whole retinue said, however: "If we do not ride and shoot arrows, how can we enjoy ourselves?" On the fifth day of the hunt, (the Emperor) died.³²²

In the year kuei-mao (1243), the Empress questioned His Excellency about the successor to the throne. His Excellency said: "This is not something which should be deliberated upon by dignitaries extraneous to the (imperial) family. There exists the late Emperor's own will:³²³ if we comply with it, the state will derive great benefit."

AO-TU-LA-HO-MAN had just then taken hold, through bribery, of the court administration (to such an extent that)

also the government executives all flattered and seconded him.³²⁴ He only feared that His Excellency might prevent his doings, and thus (he attempted) to bribe him with 50,000 ounces of silver. His Excellency did not accept and without delay stopped any undertaking of his which was against the people's interest. At that time, the Empress had already assumed the regency.³²⁵ She consigned to AO-TU-LA-HO-MAN³²⁶ the imperial seal and blank paper, which she made him fill in at will (with decrees). His Excellency memorialized: "The empire is the late Emperor's empire and its statutes and ordinances proceed from the late Emperor. If (Her Majesty) insists (on acting) like this, I shall not venture to accept Her orders."³²⁷

Shortly afterwards, another decree was issued (by the Empress) stating that, should the scribe³²⁸ fail to draw up AO-TU-LA-HO-MAN's memorials requesting the authority³²⁹ for the transaction of an affair, he would have his hand cut off. His Excellency said: "The late Emperor had fully entrusted me³³⁰ with military and government affairs; why should the scribe be involved? If the affair is in conformity with right principles, it should be natural (21b) to carry it out; if it is not in conformity with right principles, (I would not carry it out) even at the risk of life, let alone of having the hand cut off!" Then he said in a

harsh tone: "I have served T'AI-TSU and T'AI-TSUNG for over
³³¹thirty years, and not once did I fail (in my duties)
 towards the state. Even Her August Majesty cannot kill me
³³²without cause."

Although the Empress resented much his opposition, she
 still endeavoured to treat him with respect and deference,
 in consideration of his long and distinguished service
³³³during the previous reigns.

On the fourteenth day of the fifth month in that year,
 His Excellency died of illness while in office, at the age
³³⁴of fifty-five. All the Mongols lamented him, as if
 they had lost a relative. In his honour, business and en-
³³⁵tertainment ³³⁶were suspended in Ho-lin for several days.
 All the scholars and grandees of the empire without excep-
 tion wept and exchanged condolences.

On the twentieth day of the tenth month of the second
 year of (the period) Chung-t'ung (14 November 1261), (His
 Excellency) was buried, in accordance with his will, in
³³⁷the southern side of Weng-shan, ³³⁸east of Yü-ch'üan.
³³⁹He is buried together with the State Lady of Ch'i-shui,
³⁴⁰née SU.

His former wife, lady née LIANG, ³⁴¹had been separated
 from him because of wartime disorders and had died in Fang-
³⁴²ch'eng, ³⁴³Ho-nan. She had borne him a son, HSÜAN, ³⁴⁴who
 died as Inspector of the K'ai-p'ing Granaries.

Lady née SU³⁴⁵ was the daughter of KUNG-PI,³⁴⁶ Prefect of Wei-chou and a descendant in the fourth generation of Mr TUNG-P'O.³⁴⁷ (22a) She had borne (His Excellency) a son,³⁴⁸ CHU, who is at present the Left Prime Minister in the Secretarial Council.³⁴⁹

(His Excellency's) eleven grandsons are called: HSI-³⁵⁰CHENG, HSI-PO,³⁵¹ HSI-LIANG,³⁵² HSI-K'UAN,³⁵³ HSI-SU,³⁵⁴ HSI-CHOU,³⁵⁵ HSI-KUANG,³⁵⁶ HSI-I,³⁵⁷ HSI-?, HSI-?, and HSI-?³⁵⁸ His five granddaughters married members of noble families.

His Excellency's natural endowment was outstanding and he by far surpassed any human model. Although he (usually) had his hands full with official documents (= matters), he still fulfilled all his social obligations³⁵⁹ appropriately. Furthermore, he was able to drive himself to apply the loyalty and diligence (required in his office). Once, while calculating the realm taxes for nine years, he did not sleep all through the night because of a trifling error.

It was his normal habit not to talk and laugh wantonly. He may have appeared to be sharp and overbearing but when one was received by him, he became warm and affable, so that people could not forget him.

Throughout his life he did not concern himself with the accumulation of wealth and never inquired about the state of

his patrimony. When he died, somebody slandered him, saying: "His Excellency has been a minister for twenty years: the tributes from the realm (destined for the government) have all gone into his own house." The Empress then sent the guards to inspect it. (They found) only several famous lutes and several hundred scrolls with inscriptions from bronze (vessels) and stone (tablets).³⁶⁰

He was so earnest in his love for learning (that he pursued it) without (22b) ceasing day or night. He used to admonish his sons saying: "Although public duties are numerous, the day belongs to the office and the night to oneself. So, one can still (find time to) study."

In learning he devoted attention to (both) extensive and detailed knowledge. Astrology, calendrical science, medicine, prognostication, sundry and esoteric mathematics,³⁶¹ music, Confucianism, Buddhism and foreign writings³⁶² he thoroughly investigated them all. He used to say that the calendar of the Western Region is more accurate with regard to the five planets than the Chinese. So, he compiled the Ma-ta-pa Calendar. This is the name of the Hui-hu calendar. Moreover, as the position of the solar eclipses (in the Western Region) was different from that in China on account of the gradual infiltration of errors into the Ta-ming Calendar, he set up the I-wei-yüan Calendar which had been

prepared by His Excellency WEN-HSIEN, and put it into
³⁶³
 circulation.

Seven years after His Excellency's burial, the present
³⁶⁴
 Prime Minister, holding the obituary (composed) by the
³⁶⁵
 "chin-shih" CHAO YEN, came to see me in order to entrust
³⁶⁶
 me with (the writing of) the epitaph.

367

After the great disorders that affected the nation,
 the laws of Heaven were shattered, the axis of Earth was
 broken, and the principles of Man were destroyed: truly it
 was the case, as one says, to create again husband and wife
 and establish anew father and son.

In addition to this, the southern and northern govern-
³⁶⁸
 ments were in constant conflict with each other. Those
³⁶⁹
 who held civil and military authority were people from
 various countries, of different languages and attitudes.

At that (23a) very time, His Excellency, being the only
³⁷⁰
 scholar, stood alone in the presence of the Emperor.

Wishing to practise what he had learned, how difficult and
³⁷¹
 full of obstacles it was!

He could fortunately rely on
 an enlightened Son of Heaven above him, who when (His Ex-
 cellency) reproved an action, would listen to his words.

Therefore, energetically waving his sleeves ³⁷² he went
 straight forward, and acted vigorously regardless (of the
 consequences). However, (of his schemes) not even two or

three out of ten were actually carried out, and yet the people of the realm have all received benefit from it. If His Excellency had not been there at this time, I wonder what would have become of mankind!

373

The epitaph reads:

As for the rising of an Emperor-King, 374
It depends (solely) on his assistants (= ministers).

375

Who would (otherwise) superintend the business?
They (i.e., Emperor and assistant) meet without
any previous arrangement.

376

A-HENG reverted to (King T'ANG of) Shang,
SHANG-FU gave allegiance to (King WU of) Chou. 377

378

One morning's encounter
(Brings) a thousand years' renown. 379

Red aura announced good luck:
The dragon flies in the northern wilds. 380

The righteous (i.e., Mongol) army pressed forward
And levelled the empire. 381 from afar

In scholar's robes and with composed demeanour,
Right and left repairing (the damage), 382

Eminently 383 sincere and meritorious,
Stood His Excellency, the Chief of the Secretariat.

Who was His Excellency? 384
For generations (his family) was in charge of
"harmonizing and regulating". 385

He was a descendant of Grand Preceptors 386
And the son of WEN-HSIEN. 387

(Pure as) a white gem and of stately manner, 388
He was the flower (i.e., the glory) of the nation.

Emperor (T'AI-TSU) said: "With this man
Heaven has blessed (23b) us. 389

The sun and moon³⁹⁰ will shine afar,
 Since the Great Mandate has been transferred.³⁹¹

Heaven and Earth have been turned over,³⁹²
 As if to be created again.³⁹³

Within and without, who will search out
 (The man) to entrust with the direction of the
 government?³⁹⁴

(In ruling) my nation and my people,
 You will assist me, you will act for me."³⁹⁵

His Excellency bowed, his head to the ground,
 And said: "I shall exert myself to the utmost."

He started by establishing the great imperial
 statutes,³⁹⁶
 And by setting up the guiding principles of mankind.

(At that time) countries and states led armies
 against each other
 And made killing an amusement.

(Even) the innocent people, rebelling in secret,
 Played with weapons in the ponds.³⁹⁷

His renown from one region spread out
 More rapidly than the wind and rain.

He beckoned all the heroes
 And caged leopards and tigers.³⁹⁸

He gave shelter to wise men and worthies
 And firmly opposed (the use of) prisons and barriers.

He went secretly to (see) the high officials
 And begged them to spare the common people.³⁹⁹

According to their ability he chose and employed
 men,
 Many of whom became the rafters and beams (of the
 state).⁴⁰⁰

He set nets in the four regions
 And hunted up unicorns and phoenixes.⁴⁰¹

The treasury was filled up,
Grain and silk circulated freely.

His Excellency, at this time,
Was (like) HSIAO HO in Kuan-chung.⁴⁰²

The central administration could discuss and judge
And the statutes were shining (again).⁴⁰³

His Excellency, at this time,
Was (like) HSUAN-LING in the Chen-kuan (period).⁴⁰⁴

When captives gathered in masses
And the corpses covered the fields,

(He would say:) "I am hot and yet I am cold,
I am satiated and yet I am hungry."⁴⁰⁵

When (the inhabitants of) the besieged cities
were in great fear,
He would put aside (all other business) for a while,

(And would say:) "I will free you from bondage,
I will save you from death."

They lived and for long were provided for
With education and victuals.

The people up to now,
(24a) Receive all benefit from it.

Although Heaven is high (above us),
Its vision is clear.

Therefore, It has conferred dignity on his son,⁴⁰⁶
Who again holds the direction of government
affairs.

His (i.e., His Excellency's) merits are preserved
in the official archives⁴⁰⁷
And his name will shine in our National History.

He had wealth, honours and a long life,
He will be lamented and glorified forever.⁴⁰⁸

(Like) luxuriant verdure
Renewing its rich foliage,

Or the vast flowing
Of running springs,

(So his name) will live on in history,
For countless ages yet.⁴⁰⁹

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE
SPIRIT-WAY STELE

1. In note 1 on pp.37-38 of Cleaves' article "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362..." we read: "The term shen-tao pei 神道碑 has been rendered 'Tablet on the Spiritual Way (i.e., grave-yard avenue)' by Ying Ts'ien-li in MS 3 (1937-1938).225. In TP (1912).305 P. Pelliot defined the pei as '...une stèle que l'on dresse sur le chemin du tombeau (石碑 pei), qui est signée et dont l'auteur peut, à la rigueur, intervenir personnellement en recontant la carrière du défunt'. Cf. also his remarks in JA 4 (1914).177. On page 46 of his Untersuchungen über das Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi, E. Haenisch has included the shen-tao pei among the 'Grabinschriften' as source materials for the study of the Yüan period. For the term shen-tao, cf. C. Imbault Huart, TP 4 (1893). 394."
2. Chung-shu-ling 中書令. Chung-shu is short for chung-shu-sheng 中書省, or Secretarial Council, established by Ögödei in 1231 to administer the affairs of the central government. On this office see infra, n.162.

3. The expression chao-chi 肇基 is from the Shu ching, where (Legge IV, 311) we read: 劉克篤前烈，至于大王，肇基王迹. Legge rendered this: "The duke Lew was able to consolidate the merits of his predecessor. But it was the King T'ae who laid the foundations of the imperial inheritance." The opening words of the Stele are, as customary, in the Shu ching style.
4. The expression shuo-fang 朔方 occurs in both the Shu ching (Legge III, 21) and the Shih ching (Legge VI, 263). It is used as a general term for the territories lying north of China proper.
5. T'ai-tsu huang-ti 太祖皇帝, the miao-hao 廟號 or temple name of Cinggis Qan (cf. YS I, 23b). For the name and title of Cinggis Qan, as well as for his date of birth and death cf. Cleaves, op. cit., 98-99 n.26.
6. The expression shou-ming 受命 "to receive the mandate (of Heaven)" occurs frequently in the Shu ching (Legge III, 64, 179; IV, 418 passim).
7. For an early example of the use of the expression sheng-te 聖德 "the sagelike virtue" of a ruler, or of a person appointed by Heaven to be a ruler, cf. SC I, 7b, where we read: 高陽有聖德焉 "Kao-yang (who later became Emperor Chuan-hsü - I.R.) had a sagelike virtue." Chavannes (MH I, 36) translated sheng-te with "une vertu sainte".

8. The expression kung-hsing t'ien-fa 恭行天罰 (～恭行天之罰) occurs more than once in the Shu ching (Legge III, 153, 296, 304).
9. 太宗, temple name of Ögödei, the third son of Cinggis Qan. He was born in 1186, was enthroned on 11 or 13 September 1229, and died on 11 December 1241. Cf. Moule, 102, and infra, n.114 and 322.
10. The term pa-huang 八荒 "the eight wild-lands" designates the furthestmost regions of the eight points of the compass and, by extension, the whole world. Cf. DKJ, 1450.124. For an early example of the use of this term cf. SC 6, 42b, where it is said about Duke Hsiao of Ch'in 秦孝公: 有席卷天下包舉宇內囊括四海之志并吞八荒之心, which Chavannes (MH I, 225) rendered as "il nourrissait le projet de rouler comme une natte tout l'empire, de prendre le monde dans ses bras, de lier dans un sac les quatre mers; il avait l'intention d'absorber à la fois les huit contrées sauvages."
11. Chung-yüan 中原, lit., "Central Plain". On this name cf. GCR V, 126.
12. Hai-nei 海內, lit., "within the seas", is the territory comprised within the four seas, i.e., the empire. Cf. Meng-tzu (Legge II, 146). The expression 外薄四海



ultimately derives from the expression 外薄四海 in the Shu ching (Legge III, 85).

13. The expression ch'en-ch'ieh 臣妾, lit., "servants and female attendants", occurs twice in the Shu ching (Legge IV, 623 and 624).
14. 立大政而建皇極, i.e., he established a government and imperial dignity in the tradition of the great emperors of antiquity. For these allusions cf. the Shu ching (Legge IV, 328-333 and 508-522). On the expression huang-chi 皇極 cf. also Po Hu T'ung, 295-296 n.174, and MH IV, 223 n.1.
15. By "a new palace" (新宮) is meant the Wan-an Palace 萬安宮 in Ho-lin 和林 (Qara-Qorum), which was completed in February-March 1236. Cf. YS 2, 5b, and *infra*, n.232.
16. This is a paraphrase of the words 君子創業垂統 為可繼也 in Meng-tzu (Legge II, 51) which Legge rendered as: "A prince lays the foundation of the inheritance, and hands down the beginning which he has made, doing what may be continued by his successors."
17. The expression 命世之才 is from the famous letter of Li Ling 李陵 to Su Wu 蘇武 (答蘇武書), in WH 41, 6b. Cf. Grube, 217, and Margouliès, 98.

18. 廊廟之器, lit., "a utensil for the Court". For this expression cf. DKJ, 9437.24. On the expression lang-miao 廊廟 cf. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338...", 47 n.79.
19. The words 開濟兩朝 are found in the poem entitled "The Minister of Shu" 蜀相 by Tu Fu 杜甫 (712-770). Cf. Tu Fu II, 341, 1/6. The full line is 開濟兩朝老臣心, which von Zach (I, 237, 11/5) rendered as: "Zwei Herrschern (Liu Pei und dessen Sohn Liu Ch'an) zu helfen, war zeitlebens das Bestreben von Dir, ihrem alten, treuen Diener."
20. The expression ching-lun 經綸 is found in the phrase 君子以經綸 in Chou I 1, 8a, which was rendered by Legge (Yi King 270, III) as: "The superior man, in accordance with this, (adjusts his measures of government) as in sorting the threads of the warp and woof."
21. The expression t'ien-hsia 天下, lit., "(all) under Heaven" in our text is normally used to designate China or, rather, the area of North China under the Mongol rule. In these cases I have rendered t'ien-hsia with "realm"; I have, however, employed the term "empire" in all those instances where t'ien-hsia occurs in a more general meaning.

22. I.e., he was a loyal minister. Cf. Giles, 236b, no.1886: 中流砥柱 "a rock in midstream, - unmoved under the most trying circumstances. The allusion is to the Ti-chu rock in the Yellow River, Honan". Ti-chu shan 砥(底)柱山 is a rock in the middle of the Huangho, north-east of Shen-hsien 陝縣 in Ho-nan. It is already mentioned in the Shu ching (Legge III, 128), where it is written 砥柱. Cf. the long note by Legge devoted to it (ibid., 129-130). A Ti-chu 砥柱 is also mentioned several times in SC (2, 12a and 14a; etc.), see, however, Chavannes' remarks in MH I, 136 n.3. Cf. also TM, 462b, and DKJ, 73.817.
23. Compare the words 道濟生靈 with the words 道濟天下 in the Chou I 7, 3a, which Legge (Yi King, 354, IV, 22) rendered as "his (i.e., the Sage's - I.R.) course is (intended to be) helpful to all under the sky".
24. See infra, n.51.
25. See ibid.
26. On the origin of the clan name Yeh-lü we read the following in HCSL, 59 n.1: "Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 claims that the clan name Yeh-lü was derived from the name of the region where A-pao-chi's Horizontal Tent was established. The passage states that A-pao-chi called

his family Shih-li 世里 after the name of the region of the Horizontal Tent where he lived. As the Chinese equivalent for Shih-li the translators chose Yeh-lü (WTS 72, 4b). The author of the CTKC points out that the name of Shih-li refers to the region two hundred li east of the Supreme Capital. In a note to this passage he says, 'At present there is Shi-li Mo-li. Rendered into Chinese this is expressed as Yeh-lü' (CTKC 23, 1a).

It is said that at the beginning of the Chin dynasty the Jurchen did not like to use the name Yeh-lü because it resembled the name of one of their rulers. So it was replaced by I-la 移剌 (MAC 8, 7b-8a). During both the Chin and the Yüan periods the name I-la 移剌 (or 喇) was used." In note 1 on page 175 of his article "L'édition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-wei", Pelliot wrote: "移剌 Yi-la est une autre forme du nom de famille Ye-liu; c'est elle qui est employée par Ye-liu Tch'ou-ts'ai lui-même dans l'édition originale de son Si yeou lou."

On the orthography 曳剌 for 移剌 in YS 95, 29a, cf. Cleaves' article "A Chancellery Practice...", 502 n.27. Cf. also Mostaert's remarks in note 2, pp.47-48, of Ordosica, and note 1, p.29, of Stein's "Leao-tche". The Chinese surname adopted by some members of

the I-la clan during the Yüan dynasty was Liu劉 (CKL 1, 27).

27. T'u-yü突欲 (~圖欲, ~T'o-yün托雲) is the hsiao-tzu小字 or childhood name of Pei倍, the eldest son of A-pao-chi阿保機, the founder of the Liao dynasty. T'u-yü represents the Chinese transcription of his Ch'i-tan childhood name. He participated in A-pao-chi's campaign against Po-hai渤海 in 926 and, after its conquest, he was appointed by his father to rule over it with the honorific title of Prince of Jen-huang人皇王. The old territory of Po-hai was rebaptised Tung-tan東丹 ("Eastern Tan"), probably because it was situated east of the Ch'i-tan, and its capital Hu-han忽汗 (in modern Kirin) was renamed T'ien-fu天福. He ruled over Tung-tan (whence his title of Prince of Tung-tan until 930, when he had to flee to Later T'ang後唐 for fear of being assassinated by his brother Te-kuang德光 who, with the help of his mother, had in the meantime become emperor (T'ai-tsung太宗, r. 927-947). T'u-yü was welcomed by Ming-tsung明宗 (r. 926-933) of Later T'ang who gave him in marriage the widow of Emperor Chuang-tsung莊宗 (r. 923-926), and conferred upon him the Chinese name of Li Tsan-hua李贊華 together with various titles. He eventually died by the

hands of an emissary of Kao-tsu 高祖 (r. 936-944) of Later Chin 後晉 in 937. His brother, the future T'ai-tsung, gave him the posthumous title of Wen-wu yüan huang-ti 文武元皇帝 and in 947, during the reign of Shih-tsung 世宗 (947-951), he received the title of Jang-kuo huang-ti 讓國皇帝 ("The Emperor who Yielded the Country"), in consideration of the fact that he had yielded the crown to his younger brother. At the same time he received the temple name of I-tsung 義宗. Finally, in 1051, he was also given the posthumous title of Emperor Wen-hsien 文獻皇帝. Cf. his biography in LS 72, 1a-3a, and the many references to him in HCSL and in Gibert (s.v. T'ou-yu, Hien-ling, etc.).

From his biography in LS (72, 2b) we also learn that T'u-yü was buried by his brother (and not by his son, the future Emperor Shih-tsung, as in Gibert, 239) near the I-wu-lü Mountain 醫巫閭山. It was in fact on the summit of this mountain that T'u-yü had built his "Buen Retiro". The LS (72, 2b-3a) says: "Pei had formerly purchased up to ten thousand chüan of books. They were kept in the Wang-hai Hall 望海堂 ('The Hall Overlooking the Sea') on the top of the I-wu-lü. He was versed in the yin and yang philosophy, knew music, was skilled in medicine, acupuncture and cauterizing,

and wrote essays in Liao and Chinese. He had translated the Yin-fu ching 陰符經 ('The Secret Charm Classic') (into Ch'i-tan). He was good at painting national (i.e., Ch'i-tan) figures, etc. etc." (this passage has been also translated in HCSL, 496-497).

The I-wu-lü Mountain 醫巫 (無) 閭山 is situated north-west of present Pei-chen 北鎮 in Liao-ning, and it is considered to be a continuation of the Yin-shan 陰山 range. In 947, when Shih-tsung conferred upon his late father T'u-yü the posthumous title of Jang-kuo huang-ti, he also gave the name of Hsien-ling 顯陵 to the site of his grave near the I-wu-lü Mountain, and ordered 300 households to move to the newly created Hsien-chou 顯州 from the Eastern Capital Liao-yang 遼陽, to serve his mausoleum. Cf. LS 72, 2b; Gibert, 238 (s.v. Hien-ling), 241 (s.v. Hien-tcheou), 346-347 (s.v. I-ou-lu-chan); JA 11 (1898), 409; TP 21 (1922), 199; HCSL, 70. Shih-tsung himself was buried in Hsien-ling in 951, and other members of the Liao imperial clan had also their mausoleums in this site (LS 5, 3a; 64, 14b; 71, 4a). In a note to one of his poems (萬歷亭, SCTYC 4, 1a) Yeh-lü Chu says: "My home was originally on the Liao (River); later my family settled at the I-wu-lü (Mountain)" 予家本遼上 ,

後家醫無閭. It was in Hung-cheng hsien 弘政縣, 25 miles north-east of modern I-hsien 義縣 (formerly I-chou 義州) and south-west of the I-wu-lü Mountain, that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's family tomb was situated. We know from their respective biographical epitaphs that his father and two brothers were all buried there (see *infra*, n.147). Ch'u-ts'ai broke the tradition that made his forefathers return to their country of origin after their death, and was the first in his family to be buried, by his express will, in Yen-ching 燕京 (Peking), near the site where he was born (see *infra*, n.338). In his poems there are frequent mentions of Mount Lü-shan (cf. WC 1, 6a; 2, 8b; 3, 8a; 4, 16b; 5, 17a; 7, 15a; 9, 9a and 11b; 10, 5b, 7b, 8a, 17b; 14, 9b) but, as already shown by Wang Kuo-wei (NP, App.1a-b), they actually refer to Hsi-shan 西山, the Western Hills near Peking, and not to the I-wu-lü Mountain. Wang's suggestion, however, that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai avoided mentioning the name Hsi-shan directly because of some taboo connected with it at that time seems to me unfounded, as both Lü-shan and Hsi-shan are found mentioned in the same poem (cf. 次韻黃華和同年九日詩十首, WC 9, 9a).

Of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's biographies, only the NP and Iwamura give the complete genealogy. None of the others mentions the names of his ancestors between T'u-yü and his father Lü. Rémusat, 64, translated the opening words of the biography in YSLP 11, 1a, as follows: "Yeliu-Thsou-thsai, surnommé Tsin-khing...descendait, à la huitième génération, de Thou-yo, prince de la race des Khitans ou Liao, dans le pays qu'on nomme Liao-toung." He evidently read 遼東丹王 as Liao-tung Tan-wang instead of Liao Tung-tan-wang.

28. Lou-kuo 婁國 (T. Mien-hsin 勉辛) was the son of T'u-yü and Shih-tsung's younger brother, thus a member of a collateral line of the senior branch. His biography is in LS 112, 4b-5a. In 952 he plotted a rebellion against his cousin, the future Emperor Mu-tsung 穆宗 (r. 951-969) but he was discovered and arrested, and afterwards committed suicide (LS 6, 1b-2a; 112, 4b). Cf. also HCSL, 402 and 417.
29. During the Liao dynasty, Yen-ching was the Southern Capital 南京. The Ch'i-tan, following the model of the administrative organisation of Po-hai, had divided their empire into five "capitals" (Supreme C. 上京, Eastern C. 東京, Central C. 中京, Southern C. 南京 and Western C. 西京). The term "capital" referred

either to the capital city or to the territory or circuit of which it was the urban centre. For a detailed analysis of the government organisation in Liao times cf. HCSL, 428-469.

The term liu-shou 留守, which literally means "to remain behind to guard", was the original designation of the official appointed by the emperor to guard the capital during his absence. In Liao times, there was a liu-shou (which I translate "Vicegerent", following the HCSL) in each of the five capitals with full authority over his territory. For more details on the duties of this official cf. HCSL, 448.

30. The cheng-shih-ling 政事令 was at the head of the cheng-shih-sheng 政事省 or Political Council, which had been established in the fourth year of the period T'ien-lu 天祿 (950). On this important office cf. LS 47, 1a and 3b-4a; HCSL, 447.
31. 國隱. There is no biography of this personage in LS or elsewhere. I have been unable to find any reference to him.
32. 合魯. There is no biography of this personage in LS. The LS mentions several people bearing the name Ho-lu, including two other members of the Yeh-lu clan, who however cannot be identified with the above one. On t'ai-shih 太師 or Grand Preceptor cf. HCSL, 428.

33. 胡篤 . There is no biography of this personage in LS.
34. 內刺 . There is no biography of this personage in LS.
The title ting-yüan-chiang-chün 定遠將軍, which des Rotours translates as "Général qui fait des conquêtes au loin" (TF, 101), was, during the Chin dynasty, the eleventh of the thirty-four military honorary titles 武散官, in official rank 4b. Cf. CS 55, 5b, where this title is listed as ting-yüan-ta-chiang-chün 定遠大將軍, in which correct form we find it in Stele A, 2a2, Stele B, 21a8, and Stele C, 20b3. This title, which was not used during the Liao dynasty, must have been conferred upon Nei-la posthumously, as it also appears from the character tseng 贈, by which it is preceded in Stele B (*ibid.*) and in Stele C (*ibid.*).
35. 德元 . There is no biography of this personage in CS.
The title yung-lu-ta-fu 榮祿大夫, which I translate Great Officer of Eminent Dignity, was the eighth of the forty-two civil honorary titles 文散官, in rank 2b. Cf. CS 55, 5a. The yung-lu-ta-fu of our text might stand, however, for yin-ch'ing yung-lu-ta-fu 銀青榮祿大夫 Silver (seal) and Blue (tassel) Great Officer of Eminent Dignity, the sixth of the forty-two civil honorary titles (rank 2a), which is the title that we find in Stele A, 2a3, and the one accepted by Iwamura,

20. Wang Kuo-wei follows the Stele and gives 榮祿大夫 (NP, 1a). On the office of chieh-tu-shih 節度使 or Commanding Prefect, which des Rotours translates "Commissaire imperial au commandement d'une region" (TF, 656 n.2), cf. CS 57, 11a, where we learn that in rank it was 3b. For its role during the Liao dynasty cf. HCSL, 489 n.27. Cf. also GCR II, 539, and TF, 662, 664, 820. The Hsing-p'ing Commandery 興平軍 depended from P'ing-chou 平州 (modern Lu-lung hsien 盧龍縣, Ho-pei). Cf. CS 23, 20a.
36. 韋魯. There is no biography of this personage in CS. Our text says that he was a ti 弟 of Te-yüan, while Stele A, 2a3-4, states that he was Te-yüan's tsu-ti 族弟. Now, the term tsu-ti indicates a male paternal cousin of the same sibname, of the fourth collateral line and beyond, younger than ego (Kinship, 149). In Lü's biography it is stated that Te-yüan was Yü-lu's tsu-hsiung 族兄 (CS 95, 1a), which confirms the fact that the latter was a younger cousin of Te-yüan. This being the case, the term ti 弟 in our text is a mere indicator of juniority for males within the generation of ego.
37. 履. The main source of information on the life of Yeh-lü Lü is Stele A (see the Introduction), on which his biography in CS 95, 1a-3a, is based. Besides these

two sources, some additional information may be obtained from the CS, particularly from the Annals of Shih-tsung 世宗 and Chang-tsung 章宗. Lü's only surviving literary works are three elegies 詞 (in the CCSCYJT 58) and a single poem (in CCC 9, 11a). The following is a translation of Stele A beginning from p.2a3, the introductory lines being of no importance, and the subsequent genealogy the same as in the Stele:

"His Excellency's late father was Yü-lu, a younger cousin of (the Commanding Prefect of) Hsing-p'ing (i.e., Te-yüan). His Excellency became an orphan at an early age and was brought up by (the Commanding Prefect of) Hsing-p'ing. Once, at the age of five, while lying in the open on a summer evening and observing the clouds floating to and fro in the sky, he suddenly said to his nurse: 'Would not this be (what is meant by Po Chü-i's verse): "To lie down gazing at the blue sky and at the white travelling clouds"?' When (the Commanding Prefect of) Hsing-p'ing heard that, he exclaimed both surprised and pleased: 'This shows my son's literary inclination.' Thereupon His Excellency applied himself daily to learning; when reading a book, if he had just one glance at it he never forgot it. Having grown up, he was well acquainted with the texts

of the Six Classics and the Philosophers, and became an adept in the I 易 and in the T'ai-hsüan 太玄. As to the principles of yin and yang philosophy, the 'techniques' (方技), astronomy and astrology, he thoroughly investigated them all. He was good at writing essays and was early praised by his contemporaries. As a man he was refined in habits and deportment, and of excellent speech. Those who met him respected him with deference.

Once, at (2b) the local examination (for the degree of 'chin-shih'), humiliated by the official inspections that were carried on throughout the test, he shook off his clothes (in sign of contempt) and left. Benefiting from the hereditary privilege (廢), he was appointed to the rank of Inner Court Attendant (nei-kung-feng 內供奉). Soon afterwards he was appointed Writer (shu-hsieh 書寫) in the Department of National History (kuo-shih-yüan 國史院). He used to know well the 'large' and 'small' Ch'i-tan scripts, and he translated books in a polished style, conveying the meaning and the essence of the original.

At the beginning of the period Ta-ting 太定 (1161), the Court was enjoying a period of peace (lit., 'had no worries'). Shih-tsung 世宗 (r. 1161-1189), who was

keen on books, issued the order to render the T'ang shih 唐史 in the (Ch'i-tan) smaller script and, upon its completion, to prepare another version of it in the Jurchen script in order to facilitate the reading. His Excellency was among those to be selected, and (at the end) he alone was charged with this task. When his work was presented to the Emperor, His Excellency received an extraordinarily high praise for it and was promoted Compiler (pien-hsiu-kuan 編修官) in the Department of National Historiography, and concurrently Head-clerk (chih-chang 直長) in the Imperial Stationary Office (pi-yen[-cht] 筆硯[局]). He was then transferred to the direction of the Registry (shu-so 書所), where he proceeded to translate Chinese writings into Jurchen. He also selected some outstanding noblemen to be trained (in translation techniques).

One day Shih-tsung summoned His Excellency and asked him: 'Lately, through my reading of the Chen-kuan cheng yao 貞觀政要 ("Essentials of the Administration of the Chen-kuan[period]") I have learned about Wei Cheng's 魏徵 sincere reproofs. How I regret that I did not live in his time! Why is it that in the present age a man like Cheng has not yet appeared?' His Excellency roused (by these words) replied to the Emperor: 'It is



not difficult to find men like Cheng, only (men like) T'ai-tsung do not come often, that's all!' To which Shih-tsung said: 'Do you mean that I do not accept criticism (3a)? You know Liu Yung-hui 劉用晦 (a mistake for Liu Chung-hui 劉仲誨) and Chang Ju-lin 張汝霖, do you not? Neither of them was entitled to obtain a third grade (三品), but on account of their frequent and honest advice, I have promoted them bypassing the normal procedure. How can one say that I do not accept criticism?' His Excellency replied: 'Since my youth I have never left the Court, and, truly, I have not yet heard these two men's reproofs. It was Hai-ling (-wang) 海陵 (王) (r. 1149-1161) who suppressed (lit., "obstructed the road of") censorship. The people of the empire shut their mouths and this practice has now become a general custom. I wish Your Majesty would condemn this old abuse and open the road to loyal censorship, so as to give free expression to the feelings of the people. This would be a real blessing for the empire.'

For the first time it was discussed whether there should be an examination for the degree of 'chin-shih' for Jurchen (candidates) based on a dissertation on contemporary affairs (時務策). The Ministry of Rites

(li-pu 禮部), on the ground that the (candidates') knowledge (necessary for such an examination) was not the same (as that usually required), objected to their being equally called 'chin-shih'. The Emperor decreed that His Excellency should settle this matter. Thereupon His Excellency advised him as follows: 'The examination for the degree of "chin-shih" was established for the first time during the period Ta-yeh 大業 (605-617) of the Sui dynasty. At the beginning the examination was in form of a dissertation. The T'ang dynasty at first conformed with it, but at the time of Kao-tsung 高宗 (r. 650-683) (the examination) included "exhortations" (箴), "inscriptions" (銘), "rhymeprose" (賦) and "odes" (公頌). With Wen-tsung 文宗 (r. 827-840) for the first time only rhymeprose was required. However, at the origin of the "chin-shih" degree there was only the examination on a dissertation. In the present case, the Jurchen candidates would obtain the "chin-shih" after an examination on a dissertation. How can one doubt (that this is right)?' Shih-tsung was pleased and the thing was subsequently (3b) put into effect.

In the fifteenth year (of the period Ta-ting, i.e., 1175), he was appointed Curator of Documents of the

Academy (ying-feng Han-lin wen-tzu 應奉翰林文字), while concurrently holding his previous office. As the accumulation of fractions in the Ta-ming Calendar 大明曆 had produced a gradual infiltration of errors, His Excellency, taking the year of the foundation of the Chin state as the starting year, prepared the I-wei-yüan Calendar 乙未元曆, in which he stated: 'The Ta-ming Calendar is in use since the year ting-ssu (1137). (According to it), on the first day of the third month of the year wu-yin of the Cheng-lung 正隆 period (1 April 1158), an eclipse of the sun should have occurred, but it did not. The astronomers said that it was necessary to amend (the calendar), but the Court did not take them into consideration. As to the solar eclipse of the first day of the fifth month of the year kuei-ssu and of the first day of the eleventh month of the year chia-wu of the period Ta-ting (12 June 1173 and 26 November 1174), in both cases (the calendar) was ahead of the astronomic phenomenon (先天). Regarding that of the first day of the ninth month of the year ting-yu (24 September 1177) it was, on the contrary, behind the phenomenon (後天). I have searched out the origin of these errors and I hope to have attained the correct calculation, so that it may be handed down

to posterity.' When the book was completed he presented it to the Emperor, and was universally praised for his accuracy.

In the nineteenth year (of Ta-ting, i.e., 1179), he was promoted Redactor-Compiler (hsiu-chuan 修撰).

In the twentieth year (1180), the Emperor decreed that he should supervise the painting of portraits of the meritorious ministers in the Yen-ch'ing Palace 衍慶宮. Because of delay in presenting a memorial he was demoted to the office of Curator, but the year after he was reappointed Redactor-Compiler. He was then transferred to the office of Auxiliary Secretary of the Ministry of Rites in the Presidential Council (shang-shu li-pu yüan-wai-lang 尚書禮部員外郎). Chang-tsung 章宗, who was then Commandery Prince of Chin-yüan 金源郡王, availing himself of His Excellency's profound knowledge, used to question him on doubtful meanings in the Classics and in the Histories. His Excellency once seized an opportunity and asked him: 'To which of the Classics does Your Highness (4a) give special attention?' Chang-tsung replied: 'I am just being taught Tso's Ch'un-ch'iu.' His Excellency then said: 'Although Tso was a saintly man in handling down a classic, (his work) is on the whole full of

intrigues and lacking purity. It is the Shang shu and Meng-tzu that contain the pure Way of the Sages: I wish you would concentrate on these.' Chang-tsung approved and said: 'Here are the words of a true scholar!'

In the twenty-sixth year (of Ta-ting, i.e., 1186) he was promoted Secretary (lang-chung 郎中) in the same ministry and, concurrently, Associate Redactor of National History (t'ung-hsiu kuo-shih 同修國史) and Redactor-Compiler of the Academy. He wrote a memorial to the throne recommending (Ssu-ma Kuang's) Hsiao ching chih-chieh 孝經指解 ('Explanation of the Hsiao ching'), in which he said: 'At the time of Jen-tsung 仁宗 (r. 1023-1063) of the Sung dynasty, Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 (1019-1086) believed that the Ku-wen Hsiao ching 古文孝經 had been transmitted from the time preceding (the burning of the books during) the Chin dynasty and, having found that this was true, he wrote the Chih-chieh and presented it to the Emperor. I, in my ignorance, have noticed that the recent generations have all made military expeditions and taxation their chief concern. (Ssu-ma) Kuang alone has put forward something with which to educate the youth. If the ruler rightly takes filial piety as the fundament of all moral actions, it will be possible to understand the

Spirits (神明), and to move Heaven and Earth. If there be such a ruler that, once he has sincerely grasped the meaning of this text, spreads it through the whole world, all the people will be thoroughly benefited. It is because I humbly admire (Ssu-ma Kuang's action) that I have ventured to take it as an example.'

Shih-tsung's mother, the Imperial Consort of Jui-tsung 睿宗, (4b) Chen-i 貞懿, became a Buddhist nun at the death of Jui-tsung. At that time (in 1161-1162, soon after her own death), the Court sanctioned the appellation of National Teacher (kuo-shih 國師) that she formerly had. But, when Shih-tsung proposed to remove her body (from Liao-yang 遼陽) and bury it together (with Jui-tsung) in Ching-ling 景陵, some court officials pointed out that, according to her will contained on her stele (碑) in the Hsiao-ning Palace 孝寧宮, she should be buried in the way proper to a devotee (i.e., separated from the husband), and that (such will) could not be violated. The matter was then submitted to the Ministry of Rites for examination. (This resulted in the following declaration): 'In the past, when our Sovereign was Heir Apparent, Chen-i embraced the Buddhist faith. This being sanctioned by the Court, there can be no doubt that she must be buried



separately. Moreover, out of regard for that which might hurt human feelings and fearing to wound the Sovereign's filial heart, she issued clear instructions in order that they could be obediently carried out. It is quite evident that this comes from her maternal tenderness, and that at that time she acted in such a way unaware of the present situation. Her son is now the Son of Heaven, thus we must honour her title of Queen Mother, while that of National Teacher must perforce be dismissed. If she had lived after the Emperor's enthronement, in paying homage and respect to him her duties would have followed the regular statutes. The Queen Mother had a thoroughly understanding nature; she certainly would have not disregarded the request of the (government) authorities in order to follow the precepts of the Buddhist monks. In view of (5a) this, we declare that what is contained in the inscription on her stele cannot be taken as evidence throwing light on the present (case).' (The Emperor) accepted the advice.

Shih-tsung once asked who was the most outstanding among the distinguished statesmen of Sung. His Excellency replied that it was the Academician of the Tuan-ming Hall (Tuan-ming-tien hst'eh-shih 端明殿學士)

Su Shih 蘇軾 (1036-1101). Shih-tsung said: 'I have heard that Su Shih is a very close friend of the Imperial Son-in-law Chief Commandant (fu-ma tu-wei 馬休馬都尉) Wang Shen 王詵, and that he goes so far as to write songs mocking even the Emperor's daughter, which is the extreme of impropriety. How can such a man count?' His Excellency replied: 'What is told in anecdotes is not necessarily reliable. Even if it is, how can such laughing matter cause serious reprobation? Surely, one cannot reject such a man (on account of it). The world knows only that the poetry and essays of (Su) Shih cannot be rivalled, and it is my opinion that in discussing national affairs he really had outstanding capacities of statesmanship. If we search among the ancients, there has not been a man who could compass with him since Lu Chih 陸贄 (754-805). Your Majesty should not disregard the words of a wise minister believing in what a story tells.' The following day he prepared copies of (Su) Shih's memorials to the throne and presented them to the Emperor, who ordered the Directorate of Education (kuo-tzu-chien 國子監) to publish them.

Soon afterwards he requested to be exonerated (from office) on account of illness. Shih-tsung was concerned

about his state of weariness and appointed him Prefect (tz'u-shih 刺史) of Chi-chou 荊州. In governing the commandery he tempered severity with gentleness and within a short time (5b) the fame of his good administration spread widely. In this prefecture was located the Salt Office (yen-ssu 鹽司) of Pao-ch'ih 寶坻. The people who lived near the sea used to make a living by obtaining salt through boiling and evaporating seawater (and then trading it illegally). The salt officials arrested them frequently with the help of armed forces. (Sometimes) innocent persons were also involved and, once they were under criminal charge, their property was frequently ruined. The local officials hated this state of affairs and in general, when somebody was arrested on account of the salt question, they always avoided to banish him. Sometimes they caught the armed soldiers (of the Salt Office) and put them into prison. The salt officials then took their revenge, and in the course of time several administrations were unable to find a solution. One day, as (more) soldiers had been seized, His Excellency summoned all the officials and expressing his desire for a conciliation, released the prisoners. In his verbal instructions and in his memoranda he acted with great humility. The salt

officials were very touched and pleased by that, and as a result they stopped their old abuses. The people of Chi are still praising him.

This year (1186) the Emperor went hunting to the east. When he passed by (Chi-)chou, he heard that His Excellency had quite recovered from his illness. Summoned (back to Court) he was appointed Academician Who Attends to the Imperial Edicts (Han-lin tai-chih 翰林待制) and (again) Associate Redactor of National History.

Next year (1187) he was promoted Vice-President (shih-lang 侍郎) of the Ministry of Rites, and concurrently Auxiliary Academician (Han-lin chih-hstueh-shih 翰林直學士), thus advancing five steps in official rank.

When Shih-tsung was ill, he called His Excellency to be his personal attendant. Thereupon he shared in the merits of the Grand Preceptor (t'ai-shih 太師) Tzu-wang 王 in fixing the plan (for the succession to the throne of Chang-tsung).

(6a) On the third month in spring of the twenty-ninth year (of Ta-ting, i.e., 19 March-17 April 1189), after Chang-tsung's enthronement, he was promoted President (shang-shu 尚書) of the Ministry of Rites, while concurrently holding (his previous offices of) Auxiliary

Academician and Associate Redactor of National History. He was specially granted the degree of chin-shih on Meng Tsung-hsien's 孟宗獻 list (of the successful candidates).

Shih-tsung had originally left in his will the order to transfer his coffin into the Wan-ning Palace 萬寧宮. Chang-tsung ordered that the body of officials should deliberate on this matter. They all said that the matter should be carried out according to the late Emperor's will. Only His Excellency memorialised to the throne as follows: '(Such action) would be improper. As "the Emperor's burial takes place seven months after his death, when all the nobles of the empire are present", how can one let the officials of all the states pay their respect to the late sovereign in a separate palace?' The Emperor followed his advice and transferred the coffin to the Ta-an Hall 大安殿.

In the seventh month (14 August-12 September 1189), he was appointed Associate Director of Political Affairs (ts'an-chih-cheng-shih 參知政事) and, concurrently, Redactor of National History (hsiu-kuo-shih 修國史), thus advancing two steps in official rank. His Excellency declined on the ground that his ability was inadequate to the importance of the office, and he feared

to become a laughing-stock of the whole country. Chang-tsung said: 'I knew your reputation well when I was still Heir Apparent. Now that I have observed you in action (lit., "your words and actions"), I see no reason why you should not (accept). As my appointing you to assist me comes from my own mind and it is not due to the recommendation of my retinue, you should not decline.' Thereupon His Excellency accepted the appointment, but he came to make obeisance according to (the rules prescribed for) his concurrent office of Auxiliary Academician. Then, reviving the precedent of 'honouring the Academy', he presented the Academy with (6b) five hundred thousand ch'ien 錢. The scholars glorified him (for his generous act).

In the first year of the period Ming-ch'ang 明昌 (1190), he was promoted Assistant of the Right (yuch'eng 右丞) in the Presidential Council.

On the day ping-wu of the sixth month in summer (of the second year of Ming-ch'ang, i.e., 22 July 1191), he died in office at the age of sixty-one. The Emperor was shocked with grief at the news.

On the day wu-shen (24 July), he was temporarily buried in Liu-ts'un 柳村, south of the capital. The Emperor ordered the body of officials to attend the funeral,

and an Imperial Commissary (chung-shih 中使) to condole his family, to which a grant of two million ch'ien was given.

On the day hsin-ssu of the eighth month in autumn (26 August), the Emperor performed the sacrificial offerings accompanied by the Chief Ministers (tsai-hsiang 宰相) and by the body of officials; he (i.e., His Excellency) was given the posthumous name of Wen-hsien 文獻, and (his family) was granted two million ch'ien, four hundred bolts of silk cloth and forty pieces of heavy lustring.

On the day keng-wu of the ninth month (14 October), he was buried alongside his family tombs in the country south-east of Hung-cheng hsien 弘政縣, at I-chou 義州. As to the funeral procession, by Imperial Command the body of officials accompanied it to the city border, envoys were sent to perform sacrifices on the road, and twenty 'drums and banners' (officers) were provided to serve as escort. The Emperor ordered the Co-director (of Affairs) for the Commanding Prefect of the Lin-hai Commandery (t'ung-chih Lin-hai chün chieh-tu-shih 同知臨海軍節度使) to look after the funeral affairs. All the implements necessary for the ceremony in honour of the dead were issued by the government.

The funeral service (lit., 'the wailing and glorifying') was, from beginning to end, of a kind unrivalled at the time. In addition, he was (posthumously) invested Grand Officer of Correct Advice (cheng-i ta-fu 正議大夫) and Commandery Duke of Ch'i-shui, Founder of State (Ch'i-shui-chün-k'ai-kuo-kung 漆水郡開國公).

He first married lady née Hsiao 蕭, of the noble clan of Liao. His second marriage was with (7a) lady née K'uo 郭, a descendant of an old family of Tse-shan 岢山. His third wife was lady née Yang 楊, daughter of the famous scholar T'an 曇. As His Excellency had, at the proper time, laid down the regulation that those sons who were brought up by their uncles should not be further bestowed with their father's titles, his three wives did not make any request for (other) titles of honour (to be conferred upon him).

He had three sons: the Eminent General Holder of Principality (feng-kuo shang-chiang-chün 奉國上將軍) and Chief of the Office of the Temple of Wu (-ch'eng-wang) (Wu [-ch'eng-wang] miao-shu-ling 武(成王)廟署令) Pien-ts'ai 辨才, the Eminent General of the Dragon and Tiger Guards (lung-hu-wei shang-chiang-chün 龍虎衛上將軍) Shan-ts'ai 善才, to whom was posthumously granted the office of President of the Ministry

of Works (kung-pu shang-shu 工部尚書), and Ch'u-ts'ai 楚材, who directs the Secretarial Council (chung-shu-sheng 中書省). He had three daughters who married distinguished men, and four grandsons: Chün 鈞, Hsüan 鉉, Yung 鏞 and Chu 鑄.

His Excellency was naturally endowed with a clever and penetrating mind, and with an excellent manner of speaking. His disposition was free and easy. He had courage and determination in both civil and military affairs, and whenever he met with adverse circumstances, he could find an easy solution. When speaking to others he was always sincere and open to the utmost. Whenever he found something good in another man it was as if he had found it in himself, and he would praise him without ceasing. He selected worthy men and gave place to the capable ones, recommending them most vigorously. Many of the young generation who availed themselves of the extant essays by His Excellency have reached high-ranking positions. When a matter had to be discussed he would come forward, and in judging its pros and cons he would only be guided by reason, never turning back or yielding to injustice.

During Shih-tsung's reign, the President of the Censorate (yü-shih ta-fu 御史大夫) Chang (7b) Ching-jen

張景仁, who was directing the (Department of) National Historiography when His Excellency was Compiler, received the order from the Emperor to write the Shih-lu 實錄 ("Veritable Records") of Hai-ling 海陵. One day Shih-tsung asked his retinue: 'When Hai-ling assassinated Hsi-tsung 熙宗 (r.1135-1149), the blood (of the victim) splashed on his face and wetted even the sleeves of his dress. Why has Ching-jen been silent on this point and did not mention it (in the Shih-lu)?' Someone replied: 'Ching-jen served Hai-ling and was highly trusted by him. This is why he has concealed it.' Shih-tsung coloured in anger and exclaimed: 'I did not think that Ching-jen had such a mind!' His Excellency then said: 'As in the past there has been a breach between Ching-jen and myself, I am certainly not the one who would cover his faults. Still, Ching-jen never had such a mind.' Shih-tsung inquired: 'What sort of breach was there between Ching-jen and you?' His Excellency replied: 'I became a historiographer on account of (my knowledge of) the small (Ch'i-tan) script, and Ching-jen on account of (his knowledge of) the Chinese language. On the occasion when we had to adjudicate praise and blame, our opinions often disagreed. He said, moreover, that I had concealed the Liao shih 遼

史 . At the expiration of my appointment he sent a report to the Ministry of Personnel (hsüan-pu 選部), which prevented me from being transferred to another post. This is my personal grudge against him. Now, to reply to Your Majesty's question is to make a public statement, and I would not dare to harm His Excellency (i.e., Chang Ching-jen) because of a private affair.'

Shih-tsung said further: 'When Yang-ti (r. 605-617) of Sui committed parricide, (the Emperor's) blood splashed on the screen. History has recorded it. You say that Ching-jen had not such a mind: (8a) why then did he not record it as has the Sui shih 隋史?' His Excellency replied: 'Yang-ti himself concealed his crime, this is why the official historiographers did not make a record of it in the Imperial Annals, though it is reported in detail in the other histories. This is what one calls "hidden but still manifest". Hai-ling used the pretext that (the Emperor) was weak and corrupt, which he proclaimed clearly to the whole empire, and held to his course without hesitation. This is a different case (from Yang-ti's). Besides, even if he had killed the sovereign without any pretext, the crime of having splashed his blood can pass without being recorded (in the official history).' Shih-tsung's anger was then dispelled.

Po-t'e-li 李特里, the Junior Supervisor of the Government Treasury (t'ai-fu shao-chien 太府少監), had in the past been a chief administrator (ch'ang-shih 長史) for the Chinese King (i.e., the Sung emperor). Some petty officials, exasperated by his harshness, accused him falsely of cherishing a resentment, insinuating that he was still connected with the Chinese King. The authorities judged that he deserved capital punishment. His Excellency sent a sealed memorial to the Emperor in which he said: 'At the beginning of Your Majesty's accession to the throne, first consideration should be given to keeping on good terms with the family connections. Po-t'e-li's case is the result of a collusion. Even if the facts were as they are said to be, he should be still forgiven on account of the Chinese King. How much more so in a doubtful case!' On the same day when this memorial reached the throne (Po-t'e-li) was pardoned.

Formerly, (the Commanding Prefect of the) Hsing-p'ing (Commandery) had adopted His Excellency as his son. Later he begot a son, Chen 震. When (the Commanding Prefect of the) Hsing-p'ing (Commandery) died, Chen yielded the entire family property in favour of His Excellency. When Chen died, his wife and son (8b) being

destitute, His Excellency in return took them upon himself. There was also a relative (of His Excellency) who had contracted a debt with somebody else and who had not come back from a trip undertaken to seek for a job. His Excellency paid the interests in his place for ten years, and since the debtor had still no means to liquidate his debt, His Excellency paid it off for him. When he was commissioned to (the territory) east of the (Yang-tzu) Chiang, he earned a great deal of money, which he distributed all between his relatives and friends. In a short time it was all gone. On the day of his death only two thousand ch'ien were left over in his safe. His body had become thin and wearied. One morning he was suddenly caught by attacks of vomit that increased till he was completely exhausted. The people in the house were in consternation and did not know what to do. His Excellency said: 'Life and death are like coming and going. This is the constant law of mankind. Why should one worry? Bring me my cap and dress.' He put them on and passed away peacefully. This was how he used to live in accordance with (right). In his late years he styled himself Wang-yen chü-shih 忘言居士. There exist several hundred p'ien 篇 of his writings. Among the essays, his Shih-shih shuo

撰著說('Discourse on the Divination with the Milfoil') was particularly praised, as he had attained this (knowledge) entirely on his own, without being gradually instructed by a teacher.

On the eighth month in autumn of the year kuei-mao (17 August-15 September 1243), an envoy from the Chief of the Secretarial Council gave me the following message: 'With regards to the spirit-way stele of His Late Excellency, at the end of the period T'ai-ho 泰和 (i.e., in 1208), when His Excellency's late wife was a tutoress at the Palace, Chang-tsung, deeming that the tomb inscription composed by Wei T'uan-hsiao 魏搏霄 (9a) was not adequate, wanted the Transportation (Commissioner) Ch'iao Yü (Ch'iao chuan-yün Yü 喬轉運字) to (re)write it, but it could not be done. Now the writing is left in your charge, trusting that you will fix it in a definite form, so that it may last for a hundred generations.' I paid my respect and replied that I was pleased to accept (lit., 'I repeatedly bowed and said: "I have respectfully received your instructions."'). And so I wrote it.

The epitaph (銘) reads: ..." (The ming 銘 or "epitaph" has not been translated here as it is of no interest.)

38. Han-lin tai-chih 翰林待制. For this office, which was 5a in rank, cf. CS 55, 20b.
39. In the li-pu 禮部 or Ministry of Rites there was one Vice-President (shih-lang 侍郎) with the rank of 4a. Cf. CS 55, 14b.
40. Stele A, 5b10 (cf. supra, n.37), says that Lü "shared in the merits of the Grand Preceptor Tzu-wang in fixing the plan (for the succession to the throne of Chang-tsung)" 預太師淄王定冊之功. This fact is also mentioned in the short notice on Yeh-lü Lü in TCKC 29, 218, but I found no reference to it in the annals of Shih-tsung and Chang-tsung, nor is it mentioned in Lü's biography in the CS.
41. Li-pu shang-shu 禮部尚書. The Ministry of Rites had one President at its head whose rank was 3a. Cf. CS 55, 14b.
42. Ts'an-chih-cheng-shih 參知政事. There were two ts'an-chih-cheng-shih in the shang-shu-sheng 尚書省 or Presidential Council, both 2b in rank. Cf. CS 55, 2b.
43. In the Presidential Council (shang-shu-sheng 尚書省, in our text shortened to shang-shu 尚書) there were one Assistant of the Left (tso-ch'eng 左丞) and one Assistant of the Right (yu-ch'eng 右丞), both 2a in rank.



Cf. CS 55, 2b. For the dates of the above appointments cf. *supra*, n.37.

44. 文獻 . Cf. Stele A, 6b5. The following is the brief passage on Lù in the Biography, 1a5-6: "His (i.e., Ch'u-ts'ai's) father Lù put his learning and (righteous) conduct to the service of Shih-tsung of Chin. He received (Shih-tsung's) special confidence and trust, and ended his life as Assistant of the Right in the Presidential Council."
45. Ch'i-shui-kuo-fu-jen 漆水國夫人 . Kuo-fu-jen is the feminine counterpart of kuo-kung 國公 . For the posthumous title of Ch'i-shui-chün-k'ai-kuo-kung 漆水郡開國公 conferred on Lù, cf. Stele A, 6b10, and *supra*, n.37.

Ch'i-shui 漆水, another name for the Ta-ling River 大凌河 (the Ling River 凌河 of Chin and Yüan) in Liao-ning and Jehol, indicates by extention Lù's ancestral home near the I-wu-lù Mountain (cf. *supra*, n.27). Hung-cheng hsien 弘政縣, the town in Liao-ning where the burial ground of Lù's family was situated and where he himself was finally interred, was on the Ta-ling River (cf. CS 24, 8a; for the identification of Ch'i-shui with the Ta-ling River cf. YSTLTS 4, 12a; on this river cf. also the JHC 71, 2b-5b and Gibert, 830). In

the HYL (end of the Preface and of the Text), Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai uses Ch'i-shui as a prefix to his family name, and his second wife, lady née Su, bore the title of Ch'i-shui-kuo-fu-jen, as it appears from the Stele and other sources (cf. the Stele, 21b8, and infra, n.345). Later in the dynasty, one of Ch'u-ts'ai's grandsons, the well-known Yeh-lü Hsi-liang 耶律希亮 (1247-1327) was posthumously enfeoffed Ch'i-shui-chün-kung 漆水郡公 or Commandery Duke of Ch'i-shui (YS 180, 5a).

46. The dates of birth and death of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai have been the subject of an article by Professor Ch'en Yüan in YCHP 8 (1930), 1469-1472, entitled "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai chih sheng tsu nien" 耶律楚材之生卒年 ("The Dates of Birth and Death of Yeh-lü-ch'u-ts'ai"). In it Ch'en shows, against the generally accepted dates of 1190 for his birth and 1244 for his death, that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was actually born in 1189 and that he died in 1243. The following is a summary of the second part of this article, that is the one dealing with Ch'u-ts'ai's date of birth. In the Stele, 10b1, we read that he was born on the twentieth day of the sixth month of the first year of the period Ming-ch'ang 明昌 (24 July 1190). We also learn from the same source

that at the birth of his son, L^ü remarked that he begot him at the age of sixty. In the Stele it is stated, moreover, that Ch'u-ts'ai lost his father when he was three years old (ibid., 10b2-5). The question then is to know in which year L^ü actually died. In Stele A, 6b1 sqq., we read: "In the first year of the period Ming-ch'ang he was promoted Assistant of the Right in the Presidential Council. On the day ping-wu of the sixth month in summer, he died in office at the age of sixty-one.... On the day hsin-ssu of the eighth month in autumn, the Emperor performed the sacrificial offerings...." Now, according to the Chinese calendar, in the first year of Ming-ch'ang (1190), the day ping-wu of the sixth month is the twenty-third day of the month (i.e., 27 July 1190). If we compare this date with that of Yeh-l^ü Ch'u-ts'ai's birth (24 July 1190), L^ü must have died when his son was four days, not three years, old. And, if L^ü was sixty when Ch'u-ts'ai was born and died at sixty-one, Ch'u-ts'ai became an orphan at the age of two. In the Chinese calendar, the first day of the eighth month of the first year of Ming-ch'ang is the day kuei-wei and there is no hsin-ssu day at all in this month. Therefore, the sentence "on the day hsin-ssu...the Emperor performed the sacrificial

offerings" cannot possibly refer to the first year of Ming-ch'ang. If Ch'u-ts'ai was born in the first year of Ming-ch'ang and lost his father at the age of three, his father must have died in the third year of Ming-ch'ang (1192). However, even in this year, there is no day hsin-ssu in the eighth month. Of the possible years, only in the second year of Ming-ch'ang (1191) there is a day ping-wu in the sixth month and a day hsin-ssu in the eighth month. The day ping-wu is the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month (22 July), and the day hsin-ssu is the fifth day of the eighth month (26 August). What obviously happened is that Yüan Hao-wen, the author of Stele A, omitted to put the two characters 二年 ("second year") before the words 夏六月 ("the sixth month in summer"). This is confirmed by the Annals of Chang-tsung, where (CS 9, 12a) we read that I-la Lü, the Assistant of the Right in the Presidential Council, died on the day ping-wu of the second year of Ming-ch'ang, and by Lü's biography in the CS, where (ibid. 95, 3a) it is said that he died in the sixth month of the second year of Ming-ch'ang, at the age of sixty-one. Once Lü's year of death is established, we can determine Ch'u-ts'ai's year of birth. Lü died in the second year of Ming-ch'ang (1191) and, as Ch'u-ts'ai

lost his father when he was three years old, it follows that he was born in the year chi-yu (1189). This is also confirmed by the opening words of the HYL (1a3-5): 戊寅之春, 三月既望, 詔徵扈從西遊, i.e., "In the spring of the year wu-yin, on the sixteenth day of the third month (12 April 1218), the Emperor summoned (Chan-jan chü-shih) to Court to accompany him on his journey to the West" (on this sentence, however, cf. *infra*, n.67). Now, before his trip to Central Asia, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had been a disciple of the Ch'an Master Wan-sung 萬松 for three years (on Wan-sung cf. the Introduction). In Wan-sung's preface to the WC we in fact read that at the age of twenty-seven Ch'u-ts'ai was initiated in the secrets of enlightenment by Wan-sung, and that he pursued his self-training assiduously for three years. He became a disciple of Wan-sung after the siege of Chung-tu by the Mongols in June 1215. This can be inferred from his preface to Wan-sung's "Record of the Hut of Serenity" (萬松老人評唱天童覺和尚頌古) 從容菴錄序, where he says: "Since I met with calamity...I sought for the First Patriarch's (= Bodhidharma's) doctrine more earnestly" 遭憂患以來...求祖道愈亟 (WC 8, 21a). Thus, if he was twenty-seven years old in 1215, he must have

been born in 1189. In concluding his argument, Ch'en points out that a) in the Stele it was a mistake to have made the year of Chang-tsung's enthronement correspond to the first year of Ming-ch'ang. According to the CS (8, 24a and 9, 2a), Shih-tsung died on the second day of the first month of the twenty-ninth year of Ta-ting (20 January 1189) and, although Chang-tsung was enthroned immediately after Shih-tsung's death, the following year became the first year of Ming-ch'ang. What the Stele calls "the first year of Ming-ch'ang" is actually the year of Chang-tsung's enthronement (i.e., 1189), therefore, the above statement should be changed into either "the twenty-ninth year of Ta-ting", or "the year of Chang-tsung's enthronement"; b) "sixty" in Lü's statement "I had this son at the age of sixty" is a round figure. In reality, Lü was only fifty-nine.

Ch'en's argument settles beyond doubt the problem of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's date of birth, which apparently did not arise with Wang Kuo-wei (NP, 1a, gives 1190 without comment). Ch'en's article, briefly reviewed in TP 29 (1932), 261, and acknowledged by O. Franke in his GCR V, 149, was unfortunately ignored by Grousset (cf. HMA, 308 and EM, 264), Iwamura (cf. *ibid.*, 28) and, more recently, by Martin (cf. *ibid.*, 179 n.63). Professor

Cleaves mentioned it in n.27 (p.503) of his article "A Chancellery Practice...", stating, however, that: "His (i.e., Ch'en Yüan's - I.R.) conclusion is that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was born in 1190 and died in 1244." This is, of course, a lapsus calami for 1189 and 1243.

47. Shu-shu 術數. On this term cf. HCP I, 26-30, and Ch'en P'an's article "Chan-kuo Ch'in Han...", 11-12. Cf. also Hulsewé, 360 n.71.
48. 太玄(經) or Book of the Great Mystery, by Yang Hsiung 揚雄(53 B.C.-18 A.D.). On this text cf. HCP II, 139 sqq. See Stele A, 2a8, and supra, n.37.
49. Ch'ien-li-chü 千里駒, the same as ch'ien-li-ma 千里馬 "a thousand-li horse", i.e., horse that can cover a thousand li in a day, hence an extraordinary horse. This expression is used metaphorically to indicate children or young people endowed with outstanding capacities. Cf. DKJ, 2697.425.
50. 必成偉器. The expression 必為偉器, which is identical in meaning with 必成偉器, occurs in 孔融 K'ung Jung's biography in HHSCC 70, 4a. For wei-ch'i 偉器 cf. DKJ, 837.5.
51. This passage, as we read it in the Tso chuan (Legge VIII, 521.7), runs as follows: 雖楚有材, 晉實用之. It was rendered by Legge (ibid., 526, Par.7) as "the

materials are Ts'oo's, but the using of them is Tsin's". In order to understand Lü's allusion, we must illustrate the passage of the Tso chuan.

We read in the Ch'un-ch'iu that in the twenty-sixth year of Duke Hsiang 襄公 of Lu 魯, "the people of Chin 晉 seized and held prisoner Ning Hsi 甯喜 of Wei 衛" (cf. Legge VIII, 518.7-8; *ibid.*, 523). The Tso chuan comments on this with two narratives, in the second of which we read: "When Hsiang Hsi 向戌 of Sung 宋 was trying to reconcile Chin 晉 and Ch'u 楚, Sheng-tzu 聲子 (of Ts'ai 蔡 - I.R.) was sent to communicate with Chin; and on his return, he went to Ch'u. The chief minister (of Ch'u - I.R.), Tzu-mu 子木, talked with him, and asked about things in Chin. He asked him also whether the great officers of Chin or those of Ch'u were the superior. 'The high ministers of Chin', replied Sheng-tzu, 'are not equal to those of Ch'u, but the great officers are superior. Every one of them has the abilities of a minister. And like the wood of the ch'i 杞 and the tzu 梓 (i.e., very fine wood for carving - I.R.), like skins and leather, they go from Ch'u. The materials are Ch'u's, but the using of them is Chin's.'" (Legge VIII, 521.5-7; *ibid.*, 526, Par.7. The above is Legge's translation with proper names in the Wade-Giles romanization). Lü's "foreign country" is, in the allusion,

represented by the state of Chin 晉, and Lü's son by the "material of Ch'u" (Ch'u ts'ai 楚材). And, as he is bound to be employed by Chin (i.e., the foreign country) as minister, he will be a "minister of Chin" (Chin ch'ing 晉卿). He was, therefore, given Ch'u-ts'ai as personal name (名) and Chin-ch'ing as courtesy name (字).

52. Cf. *supra*, n.37 and n.45. From Stele A, 8b10, we learn that at the end of the period T'ai-ho 泰和, i.e., in 1208, lady née Yang was a tutoress at the Palace (cf. *supra*, n.37). After the fall of Chung-tu she went to live in Shan-tung and later moved to Ho-nan. She died between 1232 and 1234. Cf. *infra*, n.341.
53. In his "Poem in thirty rhymes written for the son Chu" 為子鑄作詩三十韻 in WC 12, 17b-18b, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai says (18a5) that at the age of thirteen he studied the Shih ching and the Shu ching 十三學詩書.
54. In the Biography, 1a6-8, we read: "Ch'u-ts'ai became an orphan at the age of three. His mother lady née Yang, taught him his letters. Grown up, he had a most thorough knowledge of numerous books, beside being well versed in astronomy, geography, measurement and chronology (律歷), the arts of divination (術數), as well as in the principles of Buddhism, Taoism, medicine and

prognostication. When he jotted down an essay, it was (as perfect) as if it had been prepared beforehand (宿構 = 宿構)."

55. As beneficiaries of the yin 廢 privilege. By Council (省) is meant the Presidential Council (shang-shu-sheng 尚書省).
56. A reference to this event is in the already mentioned "Poem in thirty rhymes written for the son Chu", where Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai says: "When I was twenty I replied to the questions proposed by the Emperor" = + 應制策 (WC 12, 18a). Chih-ts'e 制策 was the dissertation in which the candidate at the special examination had to reply to questions proposed by the Emperor. On these special examinations in the Chin period cf. CS 51, 21a-21b. The figure "twenty" in the above line is, of course, a round one, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai being only seventeen at the time. Cf. NP, 2b.
57. The account of this event in the Biography, 1a8-b1, is more detailed: "According to the Chin system, the sons of the Chief Ministers (宰相) were (by hereditary privilege) classed as probational officers in the Council. Ch'u-ts'ai wished, however, to compete in the examination for the degree of 'chin-shih'. Chang-tsung, having issued an edict (setting up a special examination)

according to the old (i.e., Chin) system, proposed as questions several doubtful cases at law. On that occasion, Ch'u-ts'ai's fellow candidates were seventeen but his replies were by far the best."

58. On the "examination of merits" (k'ao 考), that is the examination of the yearly reports on the proficiency of the officials cf. TE, 50 sqq. The Biography, 1b1, says that after the special examination, Ch'u-ts'ai "was appointed subordinate official" 遂辟為掾. The examination of merits mentioned in our text refers no doubt to this first appointment, of which we do not know the nature nor the exact length. The YSLP 11, 1a, states that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was appointed subordinate official at the beginning of the Chen-yu 貞祐 period, i.e., in 1213. This, however, is incorrect, Shao Yüan-p'ing having confused Ch'u-ts'ai's first appointment with his appointment as Co-director of Affairs for K'ai-chou which, in fact, took place in 1213 (cf. *infra*, n.59).
59. T'ung-chih K'ai-chou-shih 同知開州事. The Co-director of Affairs for a Prefecture, or Sub-Prefect, was an official of rank 7a, charged with the "management of the current affairs of the prefecture" (CS 57, 12a). K'ai-chou 開州 is the modern Pu-yang hsien 濮陽縣 in Ho-peï. There is no reference in the Stele to the date

of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's appointment, and the Biography, 1bl, merely says that "later he was appointed Co-director in K'ai-chou." All we know is that he held this post in 1213. A note to his poem "In reply to a poem by Chang Yen-sheng of P'ing-yang, using his rhymes" 和平陽張彥升見寄 says: "I used to be Sub-Prefect in K'ai-chou" 予常倅開州 (WC 9, 13bl). Now, the events described in the poem, such as Hu-sha-hu's 胡沙虎 murder of Yün-chi 允濟, took place in 1213, hence Ch'u-ts'ai was at that time still in K'ai-chou (cf. NP, 3a).

60. Hsüan-tsung 宣宗 (r. 1213-1223) left Chung-tu on the day jen-wu of the fifth month of the second year of the Chen-yu period (27 June 1214), and arrived in Pien 汧 (or Pien-liang 汧梁, the modern K'ai-feng hsien 開封縣) in the seventh month (8 August-6 September). Cf. CS 14, 4b-5a.
61. Ch'eng-hsiang 丞相. In the Presidential Council there were two Prime Ministers, one of the Right and one of the Left, both 1b in rank. They held the title of tsai-hsiang 宰相 or Chief Ministers, and their duty was "to assist the Emperor in the management of the myriad affairs" (cf. CS 55, 2b; wan-chi 萬機; "the myriad affairs", are all the affairs which are directed by the

Emperor. Cf. Ratchnevsky 118, n.5). Wan-yen Ch'eng-hui was the Right Prime Minister (yu ch'eng-hsiang 右丞相). Cf. CS 101, 3a.

62. 完顏承暉 (Original M. Fu-hsing 福興, T. Wei-ming 維明). The biography of this loyal official is in CS 101, 1a-5a. He held various important posts under Chang-tsung. When Hsüan-tsung moved the capital south in 1214, he was promoted Right Prime Minister and General Commander-in-chief (tu-yüan-shuai 都元帥) and left in charge of Chung-tu together with the Assistant of the Left (tso-ch'eng 左丞) Mo-jan Chin-chung 抹撚盡忠, under the orders of the Heir Apparent Shou-chung 守忠. He committed suicide in May 1215, shortly before Chung-tu surrendered to the Mongols, as a result of a dissention with Chin-chung who wanted to abandon the city and flee south, instead of fighting the Mongols till the last as suggested by Cheng-hui. He was later canonized Chung-su 忠肅 by Hsüan-tsung. On him cf. also MWESC 3, 14a-16a; *ibid.* 49, 11a-11b. On Mo-jan Chin-chung cf. CS 101, 5a-8a.
63. At that time (1214) Yen, or Yen-ching (Peking) was still officially called Chung-tu 中都, as it had been renamed by Hai-ling-wang 海陵王 in 1153 (CS 5, 9b1). Dr. H.F. Schurmann (ESYD, 126 n.1) says: "The name Chung-tu continued to be used for many years after the fall of

the Chin, for we find it recorded in the Secret History; see Haenisch, Geheime Geschichte, p.120, § 247." I do not know of any other instance of the use of the name Chung-tu after the fall of Chin besides the ones in the SH (where it occurs in §§ 247, 248, 251, 252, 263 and 273 as Jungdu), except those cases when the author refers to this city previous to the Mongol conquest. In 1215, Chung-tu, now again called Yen-ching, became the capital of the Yen-ching lu, one of the districts (there were ten in 1230, cf. infra, n.126) in which North China was divided at the beginning of the Mongol administration (cf. YS 58, 3a). In 1264, Qubilai, following the advice of Liu Ping-chung 劉秉忠 (1216-1274) decided to fix his capital in Yen-ching which, by the edict of 5 September of the same year, was renamed Chung-tu (YS 5, 21b; JHCWK 4, 13b). In 1267 (ESYD, 106 n.20, erroneously gives 1272-1273), the construction began of the new city of Ta-tu 大都, at a little distance (Odoric of Pordenone says "half a mile", cf. SF I, 471) to the north-east of Chung-tu. The actual name of Ta-tu was given to the new capital, after its completion, on the fourth of March 1272 (YS 7, 16a; *ibid.* 58, 3a-b).

For the emplacement of the Chung-tu of the Chin cf. Pékin, 20sqq.; BMFEA 1 (1929), 53-54 and Map II. For the expression liu-shou 留守 cf. *supra*, n.29.

64. Shang-shu-sheng 尚書省. On the organization of this office in Chin times cf. CS 55, 2b-3b. Cf. also *infra*, n.162.
65. Tso-yu-ssu yüan-wai-lang 左右司員外郎. In the Presidential Council there was one Secretary of the Board of Left (tso-ssu lang-chung 左司郎中; rank 5a) who, together with the Auxiliary Secretary of the Board of Left (tso-ssu yüan-wai-lang 左司員外郎; rank 6a) supervised the Ministries of Civil Service, Finance and Rites. Similarly, there was a Secretary of the Board of Right (yu-ssu lang-chung 右司郎中; 5a) and an Auxiliary Secretary of the Board of Right (yu-ssu yüan-wai-lang 右司員外郎; 6a) who supervised the Ministries of War, Justice and Works (CS 55, 2b-3a). The title tso-yu-ssu yüan-wai-lang of our text shows that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai held both posts of Auxiliary Secretary concurrently. For a similar case cf. HJAS 12 (1949) 56, n.162. Rémusat, 65, translated this title as "gouverneur" ("Governor" in Waley, 27, and in CBD, 929, no.2446), which is not correct.

Regarding Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's last appointment with the Chin government, the Biography is even more concise than the Stele. It reads (1b1-2): "In the second year of Chen-yu, Hsüan-tsung moved to Pien. Wan-yen Fu-hsing 完顏復興 was left behind to guard Yen and to conduct the affairs of the Secretarial Council (中書). (Ch'u-ts'ai) was appointed Auxiliary Secretary of the Boards of Right and Left." In YS the name Fu-hsing occurs in the two forms 福興 (ibid. 1, 18a) and 復興. Chung-shu (-sheng) 中書 (省) is an error for shang-shu (-sheng) 尚書 (省).

66. Chung-tu surrendered on 31 May 1215 (cf. CS 14, 10a, and ibid. 101, 5a), after a ten-month siege. According to YS 1, 18a, the siege of Chung-tu started on the sixth month of 1214, i.e., between 9 July and 7 August. As to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's activity in this period, we know from Wan-sung's preface to the WC (2a3-4) that even in the two months of serious famine before the fall of the city "he attended to his official duties as usual" 圍閉京城, 絕米六十日, 守職如恆.
67. This sentence supplies the key to the motive for Cinggis Qan's summoning of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. The Biography is silent on this point and merely says (1b2-3): "T'ai-tsu having heard his (i.e., Ch'u-ts'ai's) name

after the conquest of Yen, summoned him to his presence." Now, we know that Cinggis Qan was on good terms with the Ch'i-tan. Beside the racial affinity between these and the Mongols, and the hereditary hostility that they both shared against the Tungus Jurchen, Cinggis Qan was also personally indebted to the Ch'i-tan rebels led by Yeh-lü Liu-ko 耶律留哥, another descendant of the former Liao rulers, who supported him in his campaign against Chin. In March 1212, Liu-ko had sworn allegiance to Cinggis and one year later he was allowed by him to assume the title of Liao-wang 遼王 or Prince of Liao. In December 1215, he was enthusiastically welcomed at the Mongol camp on the Kertülen, where he had gone to pay obeisance to the conqueror. (On Yeh-lü Liu-ko cf. YS 149, 1a-5b; HYS 134, 1a-5b; MWESC 31, 1a-4a; and, in particular, MSK, 33 sqq.)

On many occasions in the long struggle against Chin, Cinggis had realized of what precious assistance were the Ch'i-tan rebels siding with him. See, for instance, the important role played by the Ch'i-tan Shih-mo Ming-an 石抹明安, and the two brothers Yeh-lü A-hai 耶律阿海 and Yeh-lü T'u-hua 耶律秃花 (cf. Pelliot's important remarks in TP 27, 1930, 46-49, and EM, 526). He also knew that in order to insure their fullest



support and to win to his cause the dissatisfied Ch'i-tan still under the Chin yoke, the obvious step to take was to rally to his party the greatest number of their hereditary leaders. This explains why he was looking for the descendants of the imperial house of Liao and, consequently, how he came to know about Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Ch'en Yüan ("Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai fu tzu...", 1007) believes that Cinggis Qan wished to obtain the services of men of Ch'i-tan descent "in the Western Region" and, having heard of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, summoned him to go to Central Asia with him. Ch'en arrives at this conclusion by connecting, I believe, the above passage in the Stele, related to the members of the Ch'i-tan imperial clan, with the opening words of the HYL which, as we can see in his article "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai chih sheng tsu...", 1470 (cf. supra, n.46), he punctuates as follows: 戊寅之春, 三月既望, 詔徵 湛然居士 - omitted in Ch'en's article) 扈從西遊. "In the spring of the year wu-yin, on the sixteenth day of the third month (12 April 1218), the Emperor summoned (Chan-jan chü-shih) to Court to accompany him on his journey to the West." Thus, according to Ch'en, it would appear that when Cinggis Qan summoned Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, he was already thinking of using him in

connection with the campaign against Khwārazm. This, I think, is not historically correct. In the spring of 1218, the relations between Cinggis Qan and the Khwārazm-shāh Muhammad were still good, and the Mongol conqueror, busy as he was with his domestic affairs, was far from seeking hostilities with the Moslem world. Even after the Utrār catastrophe - which probably occurred at the end of spring - Cinggis' reaction showed that he still wanted to avoid a clash with Muhammad. It was only after the Shāh's murder of Ibn Kafraj Bughrā, Cinggis Qan's envoy, in June or July of the same year, that war became inevitable (cf. Turkestan, 396-400). It is, therefore, hardly credible that as early as April 1218 Cinggis was already planning the invasion of the Khwārazm empire. In view of the above, I believe that there is no connection between the "summon to Court" and the "journey to the West", and that the above-mentioned words of the HYL should be read as follows: "In the spring of the year wu-yin, on the sixteenth day of the third month, Chan-jan chū-shih was summoned to Court by Imperial Decree. In the Emperor's suite he made a journey to the West."

68. The first meeting of Yeh-lū Ch'u-ts'ai with Cinggis Qan is generally ascribed to the year 1215. Gaubil, 29,

describing the events that took place immediately after the surrender of Chung-tu, wrote: "Parmi les ordres que Mingan (Shih-mo Ming-an - I.R.) reçût de Gentchiscan, il eut celui de chercher un Mandarin de la race Royale des Leao appelé Yelutchoutsai; on le trouva, & on le conduisit à Gentchiscan." In Mailla IX, 72, this event is also placed in 1215, and it is to this year that Rémusat, 65, refers when stating: "Lorsque Tchingkiskhan se fut emparé de cette ville (Peking - I.R.), il appela à lui les princes de la famille des Khitans, entre autre Thsou-thsai." Relying on the authority of these scholars, later Western historians have, without exception, accepted this date (cf. e.g., HM I, 148-149; Wieger II, 1652, where the date 1214 is an error for 1215; HMA, 308; GCR IV, 277; CBD, 929, no.2446). More recently, Martin, 178, wrote that Cinggis, informed of the capture of Chung-tu, "sent a message of praise to the general (Shih-mo Ming-an - I.R.) and instructions to forward the loot and with it the principal Chin notables". He further stated (*ibid.*, 179): "With the treasures of Chung-tu, there also arrived many Chin officials. Among these was a young man of great stature and outstanding appearance. Inquiring his identity, the conqueror was told that he was a member of the

Khitan royal house named Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai." Although it is correct that Cinggis Qan praised Ming-an and gave instructions as to the delivery of the treasure (YS 1, 18b; cf. also SWCCL 68b-69a; SH, § 252), there is no reference in the Chinese sources to the Chin notables. Martin's statement is therefore unfounded. It is true that by merely relying on the Stele and the Biography (see *supra*, n.67), we are led to believe that Cinggis Qan sent for Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai immediately or, at any rate, soon after the fall of Chung-tu. Now, Rémusat's account is based on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's biography in the YSLP which, combining the material of both the Stele and the Biography, says on this point: "T'ai-tsu, having conquered Yen-ching, searched out (the members of) the imperial house of Liao, and his summon reached Ch'u-ts'ai" (YSLP 11, 1a). If, however, Rémusat had turned to the Annals of T'ai-tsu in the same work, he would have found that this event is not recorded s.a. 1215, but s.a. 1218 (*ibid.* 1, 7b). Although Shao Yüan-p'ing does not state his source for this date, I think that he must have obtained it from the HYL, where it is said that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was summoned by the Emperor on the sixteenth day of the third month in spring of the year wu-yin, i.e., 12 April 1218 (*ibid.*, 1a3-4; the

date 1218 is also found in Sheng Ju-tzu's abridged text of the HYL).

On the basis of the HYL, both Wang Kuo-wei (NP, 3b) and Ch'en Yüan ("Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai fu tzu...", 1007) have adopted 1218 as the year in which the well-known meeting between Cinggis Qan and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai took place. As there is no actual evidence of a meeting previous to the one in 1218, I think that we can safely assume that Cinggis Qan's summon referred to in the Stele and in the Biography is the one mentioned in the HYL, and that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai met the conqueror for the first time at the latter's camp in the Sāri Steppe towards the end of July 1218. On this date, the location of Cinggis Qan's camp and the route followed by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai cf. HYL, 1a8 sqq. and notes.

69. In the Biography, 1b3-4, these words are preceded by a physical description of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai which is not found in the Stele: "Ch'u-ts'ai was eight feet tall, had a magnificent beard and a resounding voice. The Emperor admired him and said: 'Liao and Chin have been enemies for generations. I have taken revenge for you.'" The expression "eight feet tall" 長八尺 is not, of course, to be taken literally. It simply means that he was a very tall man. For other examples of this

hyperbole in Chinese literature cf. PTLP 103, 8b
(s.v. 八尺).

In connection with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's unusual physique, Iwamura, 42, quotes a notice from the YHP (28, 10b-11a), in which Shen Te-fu 沈德符 (1578-1642) relates how a friend of his accidentally discovered a grave while working on the Western Hills 西山 near Peking. In its coffin he found a human skull much bigger than that of an ordinary man. He had no idea, however, whose grave it was. When Shen heard about it, he dissuaded his friend from further damaging the tomb saying that no matter when the man lived, he must have certainly been an extraordinary being on account of the unusual size of his head. Then, early one morning, he took the skull and reburied it on the same spot. While he was doing this he uncovered a stone tablet showing that it was Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's grave. Although Shen repaired the grave, he later heard that most of its contents had disappeared. On Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's beard see *infra*, n.73.

70. 臣父祖. In Rémusat, 65, this expression is rendered: "Mon père, mes aïeux et moi-même", which is not correct, ch'en 臣 meaning here "my" (lit., "the subject's").

Whereas Grousset (EM, 265) and Martin, 179, followed Rémusat, Franke (GCR IV, 277) translated it as "Meine Vorfahren". Fu-tsu 父祖 has, of course, also the meaning of "forefathers" (cf. Palladii II, 213a), but I think that in the present context it should be taken (as in Mailla IX, 73) in its literal meaning, the Yeh-lü having been the subjects of Chin for exactly two generations before Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (cf. the Stele, 1a6-7). Giles' translation of this passage in CBD, 929, no.2446, is free and inaccurate.

71. Lit., "facing the north" 北面, as subjects did when they were in the presence of the emperor, who always sat facing the south.
72. Cf. the Biography, 1b4-5: "He (Ch'u-ts'ai) replied: 'My father and grandfather have served it (i.e., Chin) as respectful subjects (lit., "offering presents"). How can I, as a subject, consider my sovereign an enemy?'"
73. The expression pei tzu-fang 備咨訪 "to be ready for consultation", is equivalent to the expression pei fang-wen 備訪問 in HTS 47, 5a, which des Rotours (TF, 196) renders as "se tenir prêts à répondre aux questions de l'empereur". For the duties connected with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's new office, see *infra*, n.86. In the Biography, 1b5-7, we read: "The Emperor appreciated his words and

placed him in his retinue. Thereafter he called Ch'u-ts'ai 'Wu-t'u Sa-ho-li', and not by his (real) name. In the National (i.e., Mongolian) language 'Wu-t'u Sa-ho-li' means 'long-bearded man'." Wu-t'u Sa-ho-li 吾圖撒合里 is the Chinese transcription of the Mongolian urtu saqal, "long beard". Another orthography of this nickname is found in YS 95, 29a, where Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is called I-la chung-shu Wu-t'u Sa-han-li 曳刺中書兀圖撒罕里, i.e., Urtu Saqal, the Secretary (of State) I-la. In the SWCCL, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is only referred to as Wu-tu Sa-han 兀都撒罕 (ibid., 80a and 81a). There is, of course, no mention of this nickname in the Stele. We have, however, a contemporary reference to his long beard and whiskers in the HTSL, 8a, where Hsü T'ing says: "His (Ch'u-ts'ai's) beard and whiskers are very black and reach his knees. He always binds them up in hornshape." This seems to be a slight exaggeration as Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai himself states in his poem "Self-eulogy" 自贊: "My beard and whiskers reach the waist" 髭髯垂到腰間 (WC 8, 28a; I owe this reference to Wang Kuo-wei. Cf. HTSL, 8a).

74. Cinggis Qan left his ordos in the Sāri Steppe (on which see the Appendix, HYL, n.39) in May 1219, and in June he pitched camp on the Eder (MWESC 3, 20a; HYC 1, 3b).

In July he left the Eder and crossed the Altai range. Cf. the HYL, 1b2-3: "Next year (1219), the Heavenly Troops (i.e., the Mongol army) attacked the West in full force. The road passed through the Chin-shan (Altai). At that time it was just the height of summer, but the snow flakes were flying over the mountain peaks and the mass of ice was a thousand feet thick."

75. The Mongol custom to offer a sacrifice to the banner (tuγ) before engaging in a battle is already attested in the SH (§§ 106 and 193). For a brief discussion on it cf. Poucha, 137-139. Similarly, a sacrifice to the banner was performed, after a victorious campaign, in the land which had been reduced to submission. Cf. the biography of Bayan, YS 127, 18b. For a translation of the relevant passage by Cleaves cf. HJAS 19 (1956), 268. In note 726 on the same page (268), Cleaves wrote with regard to this custom: "I shall deal with this, and other instances of a practice which survived until recent times, in a forthcoming article."
76. Cf. the Biography, 1b7-8: "In the sixth month in summer of the year chi-mao, the Emperor went to punish the Hui-hui (i.e., Moslem) Kingdom in the West. On the day of the sacrifice to the banner, snow fell three feet thick. The Emperor was perplexed. Ch'u-ts'ai said:

'The emanation of (the water-spirit) Hsüan-ming (i.e., cold, winter weather) appearing in the height of summer is a sign that you will conquer the enemy.'" On Hsüan-ming 玄冥 cf. Li Ki I, 296 n.2. This event must have taken place on the day when the army left the camp on the Eder, some time towards the middle of July. Iwamura, 45, places it at the time when Cinggis Qan left the camp on the Kertülen, i.e., the ordos in the Sāri Steppe. This, however, is not possible as Cinggis must have left his headquarters not later than the fourth month (16 May-13 June) in order to be on the Eder on the fifth (14 June-12 July), and we know that the episode in question took place in the sixth month. It is also very improbable that, as T'u Chi thinks (MWESC 3, 20a and 48, 1a), the portent occurred when the army left the Qara-Irtysh, where Cinggis had pitched his summer camp. Now, our sources dispel any doubt as to the time of the occurrence ("sixth month" in the Stele and the Biography, "height of summer" in the HYL), and moreover we know that Cinggis Qan did not leave the Qara-Irtysh until autumn, in all probability not before October (cf. SL 1/2, 198; SWCCL, 75a; Turkestan, 403). For other contemporary references to snow-falls in the territory between the Orkhon and the Altai as late as

the sixth month in summer cf. HYC 1, 20b, and HTSL, 3b. Summer snow-falls in Mongolia are also mentioned by John of Plano Carpini in his Ystoria Mongalorum, where we read: "Aer in ipsa (i.e., terra Tartarorum - I.R.) est mirabiliter inordinatus. In media enim estate... ibi sunt tonitrua magna et fulgura...cadunt etiam ibi eodem tempore maxime nives." (SF I, 31.)

77. It is well known that the Mongols were frightened by natural phenomena, in particular by thunder and lightning. The earliest mention of this fact is found, I believe, in the MTPL, 17a, where we read: "When they (i.e., the Mongols) hear the sound of thunder, they are frightened and do not dare to go on a campaign. They call it 'the cry of Heaven'." "The cry of heaven" has been, in fact, the expression used from early times by the Mongols to describe thunder (in the HHIY 1, 1a, lei 雷 "thunder" is glossed 騰古里董中豁敦 tenggiri dongyodun, i.e., "the cry of heaven"; cf. mo.: tegri dongyot-; Kh.: teŋger dūgar-; ord.: téŋgeriṯ dū). Juwaynī, 205, says that in the country of the Mongols "it rains most of the time from the beginning of spring until the end of summer, and the clashing of thunder is such that when it roars 'they thrust their fingers into their ears because of the thunder-clap, for fear

of death',...and it has been observed that when it lightens and thunders they become 'as mute as fishes'." In the Itinerarium of William of Rubruck we read that the Mongols "vestes numquam lavant, quia dicunt quod Deus tunc irascitur, et quod fiant tonitrua si suspendatur ad sicandum; immo lavantes verberant et eis auferunt. Tonitruum supra modum timent. Tunc omnes extraneos emittunt de domibus suis, et involvunt se in filtris nigris in quibus latitant donec transierit" (SF I, 184). Also, according to Rubruck, the Mongols used to carry a leather strap ornamented with a precious stone as a protection against thunder and lightning (*ibid.*, 311). On weather-conjuring among the Mongols cf. Yule I, 309 n.8.

78. 梭里壇, the same transcription as in HYL, 3a2 and 3a4. Other transcriptions: suan-tuan 算端 (HYC 1, 37a and 40a); so-le-t'an 莎勒壇 (YCPS, Sup.1, 38a); su-li-t'an 速里壇 (SWCCL, 77a). The sultan in question is the Khwārazm-shāh 'Ala ad-Dīn Muḥammad.
79. Chung-yeh 中野. The locus classicus of this expression is Chou I 8, 3a. Legge (Yi King, 385.22) translated it "in the open country". Rémusat, 66, omitted it in his translation of the above passage, which he rendered as "il répondit que ce phénomène présageait la mort du roi de Kharizme".

80. Muhammad of Khwārazm died in December 1220 or January 1221 on an island not far from the mouth of the river Gurgan, possibly the island now known as Ashur-Ade (Turkestan, 426).
81. 回鶻. This term, originally meaning "Uiyur" (Hui-hu > Uiyu[r]), is here a "form archaisante" of Hui-hui 回回, and may therefore designate a Moslem or any native of Central Asia. Cf. Pelliot, TP 32 (1936), 16 n.1, and Waley, 36. On the terms Hui-hui, Hui-hu and Hui-ho 回紇 cf. also TP 27 (1930), 35; D'Ollone, 420-426; CYYY 12 (1947), 91-94.
82. This episode is related in the Biography, 1b9-10, in the following terms: "In the winter of the year keng-ch'en a loud clap of thunder occurred. (The Emperor) again questioned (Ch'u-ts'ai) about it. He replied: 'The ruler of the Hui-hui Kingdom must perish in a waste land.' Afterwards, all this came true."
83. 常八斤. This is the Chinese transcription of the Hsi-Hsia name Č'añ-pa-čin (reconstruction uncertain). The punctuated text of the Stele (YWL 57, 831.7) has Ch'ang-ju-chin 常入斤, ju入 being a typographical mistake for pa八.
84. The character wang 王 in CKL 2, 37, where this episode is quoted from the Stele, is an error for kung 公.

85. The Biography, 1b10-2a3, relates this episode as follows:
 "A (Hsi-)Hsia man (named) Ch'ang-pa-chin had gained renown with the Emperor for his skill in making bows. Because of this, he was often boastful and once said (to Ch'u-ts'ai): '(Our) state is at present employing arms; what is the good of a Yeh-lü man of letters?' Ch'u-ts'ai replied: 'As to make bows one needs to employ men skilled in bow-making, should one not, in the government of the empire, employ men who are skilled in it?' When the Emperor heard this, he was very pleased and (Ch'u-ts'ai) was then employed (by him) with daily-increasing confidence."
86. In 994 the Liao rulers had set up a calendar of their own called the Ta-ming Calendar 大明曆. This calendar, however, was based on a system of astronomical calculation that went back to the first Sung dynasty. Its original author, Tsu Ch'ung-chih 祖冲之 (429-500) had presented it to the throne in the sixth year of the period Ta-ming 大明 of Hsiao-wu 孝武 (462), hence its name (Sung 13, 24a). This calendar (which is described in Sung 13 and LS 42) was presented to Sheng-tsung 聖宗 of Liao in the twelfth year of the period T'ung-ho 統和 (994) by Chia Chün 賈俊, the Prefect of K'o-han chou 可汗州, and it was used till the end of the dynasty

(LS 42, 1b; HCSL, 497 and 599). The Chin rulers took over the Ta-ming Calendar from their Ch'i-tan predecessors and promulgated it officially in 1137 (CS 21, 1a). However, as the Ta-ming Calendar had, in the course of time, lost its accuracy (cf. CS 21, 1b, and Stele A, 3b), Emperor Shih-tsung 世宗 (r. 1161-1189) entrusted the Director of the Board of Astronomy Chao Chih-wei 趙知微 to revise it. In the meantime (ab. 1180), Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's father Lü presented to the throne a new calendar, designed to replace the Ta-ming Calendar, which he had called the I-wei-yüan Calendar 乙未元曆 (i-wei being the cyclical year with which the calendar started. Cf. Stele A, 3b.). Although, as Stele A says, Lü was "universally praised for his accuracy", his calendar did not replace the Ta-ming Calendar which, revised by Chao, was still in use at the close of the dynasty (CS 21, 2a).

At the beginning of the Mongol rule over Northern China, the new administration continued to use the Ta-ming Calendar inherited from Chin. Even though the YS does not specifically state this fact, we can nevertheless deduce it from the following lines of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's "Memorial to the Throne for the Presentation of the Keng-wu-yüan Calendar of the Western Campaign" 進

西征庚午元曆表 : "In the year keng-ch'en (1220), the Emperor, who was engaged in the campaign against the West, halted in the city of Hsin-ssu-kan (Samarqand). On the fifteenth day of the fifth month of this year (17 June), according to the Ta-ming (Calendar) there should have been a lunar eclipse of two-tenths, the maximum of the eclipse being due at midnight. That night, however, before the end of the first watch (7-9 p.m.), the moon had already been eclipsed. Moreover, on the first of the second and of the fifth month (7 March and 3 June), a crescent moon was seen in the south-west. Checking these (phenomena) in the Ta-ming (Calendar), in both cases they were ahead of it" (WC 8, 15a).

Together with his purely secretarial duties (on which see *infra*, n.162), Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai combined at the time also those of court astrologer-astronomer. References to them are scattered throughout his works (cf., e.g., WC 4, 4b2; 7, 9b7; 8, 15b4. Cf. also NP, 6a). In this task he was associated with Moslem (Arabic or Persian) astronomers, as well as with Chinese ones. In 1222, a Chinese by surname Li 李, who is otherwise unknown to us, was in charge of the observatory in Samarqand, just at the time when Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was there

(cf. the HYC 1, 41b, where it is related how, in the spring of 1222, Ch'ang-ch'un, who was then residing in Samarqand, was invited for a walk to the west of the city by His Excellency Li, the official in charge of the local ssu-t'ien-t'ai 司天臺 or Board of Astronomy.

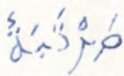
A description of the excursion follows, at the end of which Li Chih-ch'ang quotes a poem that his master wrote on the occasion. Now, in WC 5, 5a-7b, there is a poem entitled "On a spring excursion in Ho-chung [Samarqand] of the Western Region in the year jen-wu

1222 - Ten stanzas" 壬午西域河中遊春十首.

These ten stanzas are written to the rhymes of Ch'ang-ch'ung's poem quoted by Li Chih-ch'ang, and from their contents it appears that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was also in the party). That Moslem astronomers were also employed by the Mongols is confirmed by the Stele; it is no doubt through direct contact with them that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai became acquainted with Arabic astronomy. As we have seen, the Ta-ming Calendar had proved inaccurate in Central Asia; Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, therefore, set himself the task to reform it. The result of his work was a calendar "in which the Arabic way of applying time correction (appropriate to different localities) to astronomical phenomena was adopted, while the methods of

computation for the five planets were entirely Chinese" (Ch'ien Pao-tsung, "On the Shou-shih Calendar...", 431). This he presented to Cinggis Qan in 1222, under the title of "Keng-wu-yüan Calendar of the Western Campaign" 西征庚午元曆 (keng-wu is the cyclical year with which the calendar started and it had been chosen by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai because it was in the year keng-wu/1210 that Cinggis had planned the war against Chin. Cf. WC 8, 15b). For the text of the memorial to the throne for the presentation of this calendar cf. *ibid.* 8, 14a-17b. According to T'u Chi (MWESC 48, 1b), Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, in compiling the Keng-wu-yüan Calendar, availed himself of his father's work, the I-wei-yüan Calendar, now lost. This would explain the following passage in the Stele, 22b4-6: "Moreover, as the position of the solar eclipses (in the Western Region) was different from that in China on account of the gradual infiltration of errors into the Ta-ming Calendar, he set up the I-wei-yüan Calendar which had been prepared by His Excellency Wen-hsien, and put it into circulation." It would also appear from this passage that the calendar was actually published. As it is clearly stated in the YS 52, 1b, that the Keng-wu-yüan Calendar was not officially promulgated by the Mongol government,

it follows that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai published it privately, as he did in the case of the HYL. During his stay in Hsüan-te 宣德, in spring-summer of 1236, Hsü T'ing, one of the authors of the HTSL, saw a calendar which he says had been "computed, printed and published by I-la Ch'u-ts'ai himself" (ibid., 7b-8a). Wang Kuo-wei, on the basis of a statement in YS 2, 5a, to the effect that in the year i-wei (1235), the Secretarial Council - headed at the time by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai - requested and obtained the imperial sanction for the publication of the Ta-ming Calendar, assumed that what Hsü T'ing saw was a copy of this calendar (HTSL, 8a). I am not certain whether Wang is correct. The Ta-ming Calendar re-adopted in 1235 by the Mongol government was not a calendar compiled by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai; furthermore, it was an official publication. It would seem more likely that the calendar seen by Hsü T'ing was Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's privately published Keng-wu-yüan Calendar. This calendar has been fortunately preserved in the Monograph on Astronomy of the YS, divided in two parts (上 and 下) occupying ch. 56 and 57 respectively. This division in two parts no doubt reflects the arrangement of the original work which, as we know from the PYSIWC, 8416c, was in two chüan. The Keng-wu-yüan Calendar

is not Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's only calendrical work. In the Stele, 22b3-4, we read: "He (Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai) used to say that the calendar of the Western Region is more accurate with regard to the five planets than the Chinese. So he compiled the Ma-ta-pa Calendar 麻答把曆. This is the name of the Hui-hu Calendar." It is not clear what Ma-ta-pa means. Yen Tun-chieh and others have seen in it a variant of the term t'u-p'an 土盤 (~ 土板), which the Chinese applied to a foreign system of computation, used also in calendrical work, and the origin of which remains obscure (cf. Yen Tun-chieh, op. cit.; CHCTS II, 144; on the t'u-p'an system cf. CSSLT, 59 sqq.). Li Yen identifies the Ma-ta-pa Calendar with the Keng-wu-yüan Calendar without, however, giving any explanation (CKSHS, 138). Ma-ta-pa on the other hand appears to be the Chinese transcription of an Arabic/Persian word. So far as I know, the original word has not yet been identified. Professor V. Minorsky, in a personal communication of 20 June 1958, suggested as a possible candidate the Arabic martaba , "a grade, gradation", but, as he himself stated, this is not too obvious for "a calendar". It is, indeed, regrettable that we possess no other information on the Ma-ta-pa Calendar except what is stated

in the Stele (the relevant passage of which is also quoted in the CKL 9, 136), as it might have thrown light on the earliest contacts in the calendrical field between Western and Chinese science. In spite of the undecipherable word Ma-ta-pa, I think it is beyond question that this calendar was compiled on the basis of the Islamic Calendar. (Tasaka's doubts on this point are only due to his not knowing that the original source of the passage in question is the Stele and not the CKL. Cf. his article "An Aspect...", 124-125.) Therefore, Yen Tun-chieh (op. cit.) is correct in regarding it as the forerunner of the calendars compiled during the Yüan under the influence of Arabic-Persian astronomy. Wang Kuo-wei has already shown, on the basis of evidence contained in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's works, that the Islamic calendar was actually in use by the Mongols after the Khwārazmian campaign and previous to the readoption of the Chinese calendar under "Ögödei (NP, App.3a). It is possible that the Islamic calendar used in this period was Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's Ma-ta-pa Calendar. However, as we have seen above, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai recommended in 1235 the readoption of the Ta-ming Calendar. What made Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai discard the Islamic calendar - this being more accurate,



as he himself stated, than the Chinese - and to promulgate the same Ta-ming Calendar that he had previously criticised? The only explanation I can offer is that the adoption of a foreign calendar had then become incompatible with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's general policy of re-establishing Chinese traditional culture. To this we must add that the weakness of the Ta-ming Calendar lay in the fact that it did not provide the time correction for different localities. Except for the time correction, the Keng-wu-yüan Calendar and the Ta-ming Calendar were identical. But time correction was not essential when the use of the calendar was restricted to China: this is why the Ta-ming Calendar could be re-adopted after the enthronement of Ögödei. It may be interesting to note, in this connection, that in the calendar system of Kuo Shou-ching 郭守敬 (1235-1281), the methods of computation for the five planets are mainly the same as those used in the Keng-wu-yüan Calendar, while the time correction is also no longer found in it (cf. Ch'ien Pao-tsung, op. cit., 431).

For a description of the system of calendrical computation employed in the Keng-wu-yüan Calendar cf. Yen Tun-chieh's article "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai chih li-suan hst'eh". Cf. also K. Yabuuchi "Gen-Min rekihō-shi", 266-267.

87. We possess no information as to the identity of this personage. He probably was a local (Central Asian) astronomer, who had passed into Cinggis Qan's service after the fall of Samarqand.
88. A lunar eclipse was recorded in China on this day (Hoang, 127). It seems then that the Moslem astronomer was wrong only with regard to the actual time of the occurrence.
89. This eclipse was seen in China on the first of November (Hoang, 127).
90. The account of this event in the Biography, 2a3-5, is the following: "An astronomer of the Western Region memorialised the Emperor stating that on the night of the fifteenth day of the fifth month a lunar eclipse would occur. Ch'u-ts'ai said it would not. In the end, there was no eclipse. Next year, on the tenth month, Ch'u-ts'ai said that a lunar eclipse would occur. The man of the Western Region said that it would not. When the appointed time arrived, (the moon) was actually eclipsed eight-tenths."
91. Cf. CS 16, 13b2-3: "On the day chi-mao (of the eighth month of the first year of the period Yüan-kuang 元光 of Hsüan-tsung 宣宗, i.e., 10 September 1222) a comet was seen in the West." The Biography, 2a5, also gives

the eighth month (see *infra*, n.95). The "fifth month" of our text is clearly a mistake.

92. 女直. The Chin and Yüan authors call the Jurchen people Nü-chih 女直 in preference to Nü-chen 女真, which is the form employed by the writers of the Five Dynasties and of Sung. On Nü-chih and Nü-chen cf. E. Chavannes, "Kin", Grande Encyclopédie 21, 537; JA 9 (1897), 404; *ibid.* 15 (1920), 142.
93. Hsüan-tsung of Chin died on 14 January 1224 (CS 16, 20a). In the Chinese calendar this date still falls under the year kuei-wei, which is the year following jen-wu.
94. Lit., "to foretell the good or bad fortune". 預卜吉凶
95. Divination with the thigh-bone or shoulder blade of a sheep (scapulimancy) is the traditional form of divination of all Turco-Mongolian people, and one also known since antiquity in Europe (cf. Rockhill, 188 n.1). William of Rubruck, who saw it practised at the ordo of Möngke Qayan in 1254, has left a detailed account of it in his Itinerarium: "Itaque in sabbato septuagesime, quando est quasi pascha Hermenorum, ivimus processionaliter ad domum Mangu; et monachus et nos duo, scrutati prius utrum haberemus cutellos, ingressi sumus cum sacerdotibus coram eo. Et dum ingrediemur, exhibat quidam famulus exportans ossa scapularum arietum combusta

usque ad nigredinem carbonum, super quo miratus sum valde quid hoc sibi vellet. De quo cum postea inquissem, intellexi quod nichil facit in toto mundo quin primo consulat in ossibus illis, unde nec permittit hominem ingredi domum suam quin primo consulat os illud. Quod genus divinationis ita fit: quando vult aliquid facere, facit sibi afferri tria de ossibus illis nondum combustis, et tenens ea, cogitat de illo facto de quo vult consulere utrum faciet vel non, et tunc tradit famulo ossa ad comburendum. Et sunt semper due parvule domus, iuxta domum in qua iacet, in quibus comburuntur ossa illa, et queruntur diligenter cotidie per totam herbergiam. Combustis ergo illis usque ad nigredinem referuntur ei, et tunc ipse inspicit si ossa fissa fuerint ad calorem ignis recte per longum. Tunc via aperta est quod ipse debeat facere. Si autem crepata fuerint ossa ex transverso vel pecie rotunde exilierint, tunc non facit. Semper enim finditur ipsum os in igne vel quedam tela que est extensa desuper. Et si de tribus unum recte findatur, ipse facit." (SF I, 261-262; cf. Rockhill, 187-188.) This method is often mentioned in Chinese medieval works. The earliest Chinese source on the Mongols, the MTPL, has a very concise description of it in the section on "Cult"

祭祀: "In all cases of taking omens, when they (i.e., the Mongols) have to advance or retire, kill or attack, they always use a sheep bone. With an iron hammer they beat it on the fire and having observed its ominous cracks, they accordingly decide on important matters. It is something like our divination with the tortoise (shell)" (MTPL, 17a). The HTSL is more exhaustive: "Their (method of) divination consists in burning a sheep bone and, after having examined whether its veins (i.e., cracks) are crosswise or lengthwise, they (accordingly) judge whether the omen is good or evil. Heaven's disapproval or approval is determined by this (method). Their belief in it is very sincere. They call it 'to burn the shoulder blade'. There is no matter, trifling as it may be, for which they do not take omens: they certainly do it all the time" (HTSL, 9b). For an interesting study of this method of divination cf. the recent article by C.R. Bawden "On the practice of Scapulimancy among the Mongols".

The Biography, 2a5-8, relates this event as follows: "On the eighth month of the year jen-wu, a comet was seen in the Western Region. Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'The Nü-chih (Jurchen) are going to change ruler.' Next year, Hsüan-tsung of Chin in effect died. (Thereupon) every

time the Emperor went on a punitive expedition, he would always order Ch'u-ts'ai to take the omens, and he himself would likewise burn the thigh-bone of a sheep in order to have a mutual agreement (of prognostics).

Pointing at Ch'u-ts'ai he would say to T'ai-tsung (Ögödei): 'Heaven has blessed us with this man. In future, the general administration of our militant state must be wholly entrusted to him.'" The source of the last paragraph is the Stele, 16b9-10. For another reference to the practice of scapulimancy in the YS cf. *ibid.* 149, 13b (biography of Kuo Te-hai 郭德海).

96. T'ieh-men kuan 鐵門關. It is the present Buzgala Pass, 55 miles south of Shahr-i-sabr (the former Kish) in Uzbekistan. On the Iron Gate cf. MR 1, 82 n.211; Carruthers II, 406; Turkestan, 73 passim; EI I, 919-920, s.v. Dar-i Āhanīn; Thomsen, 137-138 n.6.
97. On the various transcriptions of the name "India" in Chinese cf. Wu Ch'i-ch'ang's article "Yin-tu shih ming".
98. Shih-wei 侍衛. For this term cf. TF, 543. On Cinggis Qan's body-guard (kešig) cf. RSM, 115 n.1, 156 n.3, 210; EM, 191-195; Ratchnevsky, 145; Turkestan, 383-385; Chavannes, TP 5 (1904), 429 n.3; Pelliot, TP 27 (1930), 27-31; Yule I, 379-381; Yanai, "Genchō kyōsetsu-kō". On the term kešig cf. Mostaert, 374-379, and Cleaves,

HJAS 20 (1957), 437-438 n.38. Cf. also YCHP 30 (1946), 286-288.

99. 解四夷語. The locus classicus of the term ssu-i 四夷 "the barbarians of the four regions" is the Shu ching (Legge III, 55). This term is used to designate all foreign people.
100. For the expression 承天心 cf. HSPC 85, 1b (biography of Ku Yung 谷永).
101. The ch'ieh-tuan 角端 (also written 角觶, 角端) is a legendary animal closely related to the ch'i-lin 麒麟 or unicorn. It is, in fact, with the latter that we find it mentioned by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如 (d. 118 B.C.) in his well-known "Shang-lin fu" 上林賦 (WH 8, 7a; SC 117, 17a), as one of the marvellous creatures that lived in the Imperial Park of Ch'ang-an. Whereas, according to Chang I 張揖 (III century A.D.), the ch'ieh-tuan has the body of an ox (the ch'i-lin has that of a deer), and a single horn which can be used for making bows, Kuo P'o 郭璞 (276-324 A.D.) states that "it resembles a pig with a horn on the nose, which is suitable for making bows", adding further that "Li Ling 李陵 once sent ten such bows as present to Su Wu 蘇武" (HSPC 57A, 31a). According to the HHSCC 90, 5b, among the animals living in the country of the

Hsien-pei 鮮卑, there were "chüeh-tuan oxen" 角端牛, whose horns were used for making bows, which were then popularly known as "chüeh-tuan bows" 角端弓. That the chüeh-tuan resembles a swine, with a horn which is good for making bows, is also stated by Hsü Shen 許慎 (II century A.D.). Cf. SWCTKL, ts'e 20, 1890b. Finally, we learn from Sung 29, 47a, that the chüeh-tuan can travel eighteen thousand li a day, and that it knows all foreign languages.

From the above references to the use of the horn of the chüeh-tuan in the manufacture of bows, it is clear that we are dealing here with a real animal, which Laufer has no hesitation in identifying with the one-horned rhinoceros of India (Laufer, 95). According to him (ibid.), the term tuan, or chüeh-tuan, is a counterpart of the word "monoceros". Like the ch'i-lin, the chüeh-tuan is a symbol of all goodness and benevolence and its apparition has been regarded, at least from the V century, as an auspicious sign. On the ch'i-lin cf. Legge V, 19 n. ; Doré II, 446-448; KCTSCT 519, 40a-49a; Laufer, 113 sqq., and Y. Izushi's article "A Study of the Origin of the Ch'i-lin..."; on the chüeh-tuan cf. also KCTSCT 519, 54a-54b.

The account of this event in the Biography, 2a8-2b3, is the following: "In the year chia-shen (1224), when the Emperor, having arrived in Eastern India, was encamped at the Iron Gate Pass, a one-horned animal with a body like a deer's, but with a horse tail and green in colour, addressed the imperial body-guard in human language saying: 'Your lord should return home at the earliest.' The Emperor questioned Ch'u-ts'ai about it. He replied: 'This is an auspicious animal called "chtieh-tuan". It is capable of speaking all the world's languages, it loves life and hates bloodshed. This is a happy omen sent down by Heaven to warn Your Majesty. You are Heaven's eldest son, and all the men under Heaven are your children. I wish you would accept the will of Heaven and preserve the people's lives.' That very same day the Emperor withdrew the army." No date is given for this event in the Stele but, as it follows the notice on the comet, one would assume that it occurred after June-July 1222. In the YS, both in the Biography and in Annals of T'ai-tsu (YS 1, 22a), we find it recorded under the year chia-shen, i.e., 1224. Although the YS, following a general error in chronology, places the events of 1219-1223 one year too late (cf. NP, App.5b), Cinggis Qan actually crossed the Iron

Gate on his way back to Mongolia as early as autumn 1222. No mention of this incident is to be found in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's works, or in the HYC, SWCCL and the SH. It is, however, reported by other authors of the Mongol period whose accounts might be worth mentioning. Of these, the first in chronological order is the one related by Chou Mi 周密 (ca. 1270) in his KHTC (hsü-chi 1, 38b-39a), under the heading "Hsi-cheng i-wen" 西征異聞 ("Strange Reports on the Western Campaign"). The story, as told by Chou Mi (who quotes as his source Ch'en Kang-chung 陳剛中, on whom cf. JM, 1083a), is essentially the same as that of the Stele. Chou (or Ch'en) only adds that the creature was "several tens of chang 丈 high, with a horn similar to the rhinoceros", and "a wonder like gods and demons". Another account of the same story, by far the most interesting, is related by Yeh-lü Liu-ch'i 耶律柳溪, one of Ch'u-ts'ai's grandsons, who also lived in the second half of the XIII century. Two lines from one of his poems, together with his own commentary, are quoted by Sheng Ju-tzu 盛如梓 in SCLHTT, 1a-b. They run as follows: "The chüeh-tuan, symbolizing good fortune, caused the move of the imperial camp/In the Western Region, subdued and punished, peace was

restored." Liu Ch'i's commentary says: "The chüeh-tuan travels eighteen thousand li daily and it is capable of speaking and understanding all foreign languages. Formerly, our August Emperor Sheng-tsu 聖祖 (i.e., Cinggis Qan) took the field to punish the Western Region. In the summer of the year hsin-ssu (1221), when he was encamped at the Iron Gate Pass, my late grandfather, the Chief of the Secretarial Council, presented a memorial to him stating: 'On the evening of the twentieth day of the fifth month (11 July 1121), your personal attendants while climbing a mountain saw a strange animal which had two eyes like torches, a scaly five-coloured body, a single horn on top of its head, and empowered with speech. This is the chüeh-tuan. We should prepare the offerings and sacrifice to it in the place where it appeared.' According to what they say, □ □ (two characters are missing - I.R.) is auspicious. This is a spiritual being sent down by Heaven as a good omen." (Cf. also YSCS 4, 44.) In the NP, 4b, Wang Kuo-wei quoted this story to support the statement in YS 1, 20b, to the effect that Cinggis Qan pitched camp at the Iron Gate Pass in summer 1221. He concludes: "Thus, the apparition of the chüeh-tuan occurred in the fifth month of the year hsin-ssu, just

at the time when T'ai-tsu was on the point of marching southwards, and two years before he (actually) withdrew his army. Sung Chou-ch'en (i.e., Sung Tzu-ch'en) was mistaken, and so were all later people (i.e., authors). I am not sure whether it is deceiving to follow Liu-ch'i's account, which so far has not been taken into consideration." Now we know from the Persian sources that Cinggis crossed the Amu-Darya in the spring of 1221, on his way to Balkh, and that he did not cross it again until autumn 1222, when he finally returned to Samarqand (Turkestan, 438 and 455). In the summer of 1221, the emperor's camp was situated either near Tālqān (i.e., modern Qunduz, in NE Afghanistan) or at the Hindu-Kush, in any case south of the Amu (cf. Iwamura, "Tōrikan-kō", and Turkestan, 444). Liu-ch'i therefore appears to be wrong. His error is the same as that also made by Yeh-lü Chu in the note to the preface of his "Nine elegies to celebrate the victory" 凱歌樂詞九首 in SCTYC 2, 1a, where we read: "Formerly our August Emperor T'ai-tsu took the field to punish the Western Region. In summer of the year hsin-ssu, when he was encamped at the Iron Gate Pass, etc. etc.." Although the event to which Chu refers, i.e., Kou Meng-yü's 苟夢玉 mission to Cinggis

Qan, did actually take place in 1221, the location is wrong. This is due, I believe, to the general error in chronology for the years 1219-1223 mentioned above. Cinggis Qan's stay at the Iron Gate Pass to which our Chinese sources refer was in 1220. We know that Cinggis Qan spent the summer of this year in the neighbourhood of Nasaf, that is in the proximity of the Iron Gate, before advancing on Tirmidh in the autumn (Turkestan, 427). Finally, we may note that Liu-ch'i's lines quoted by Sheng Ju-tzu had already been used before Wang by Ch'en Chiao-yu for the purpose of amending Sung Tzu-chen's account. Cf. CCTCYL 2, 34a-b. Whereas the story of the chüeh-tuan related in YCMCSL 5, 59, is quoted directly from the Stele, that related in CKL 5, 75, is based chiefly on the KHTC. The CKL, however, has "Western India" instead of "Eastern India". As already pointed out by T'u Chi, both these localizations of the Iron Gate are wrong (MWESC 48, 2a). The later Chinese compilations on the history of the Mongol dynasty quote the story of the chüeh-tuan from the Stele or the Biography with little or no variation, supplying, however, at the same time, most of the references to the Yüan sources that I have reviewed above.

Of the Western scholars, Rémusat (67-68) translated the account of the chüeh-tuan related in YSLP 11, 1b-2a, which is based on the YS, without commenting on it. Bretschneider merely reports the incident, extracting it from the Annals of T'ai-tsu in the YS, and translates chüeh-tuan as "upright horn" (MR 1, 83 and 289 n.696; in n.1090 he refers to it as a "legend"). Wieger calls the chüeh-tuan "Règle cornue", and makes the incident - to which he refers as Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's "farse de la Licorne" - occur in 1222, at the time of Cinggis Qan's attempt to reach Tibet (Wieger II, 1652-1653). Wieger's idea to place this event on the Himalaya is probably derived from HM I, 318 n.1, where D'Ohsson mentions it in connection with the conqueror's plan of returning to Mongolia via India and Tibet. In order to reconcile the date with the location given in the Chinese sources, Wieger states that the "Portes de Fer" mentioned in these are not those of Kish, but those (?) near Leh, in the Ladakh Range.

What the truth is behind the story of the chüeh-tuan is difficult to say. Ch'eng T'ung-wen 程同文, in his colophon to the HYC (cf. *ibid.*, App.8b-9a), rejected it as spurious, stating that it was fabricated, presumably by Sung Tzu-chen, in order to add glory to

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Although Ch'eng's arguments to support his statement are all questionable, the story of the chüeh-tuan may certainly be entirely devoid of truth. I am more inclined to believe, however, that a real incident occurred which gave origin to it, and which was later distorted and magnified. It is quite possible, as Hung Chün has suggested (YSIWCP 22A, 278), that some Mongol soldiers saw a rhinoceros. This may well have happened during the raid of Punjab in the summer of 1222. Although on its way to extinction, the rhinoceros was still present in Punjab and Sind in the XIV century, and in the region of Peshāwar as late as the XV century (cf. CI III, 406). The report of such a sight could have easily been distorted and exaggerated by the witnesses themselves, to whom the animal was totally unknown. If so, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's later interpretation of the incident, as related by Yeh-lü Liu-ch'i, is perfectly acceptable, even if the location and date in the latter's account are not to be relied upon. One cannot, of course, dismiss the possibility that Sung Tzu-chen afterwards "retouched" the story, in order to credit Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai with the merit for the withdrawal of the Mongol army.

102. 靈武 or Ling-chou 靈州, south-west of modern Ling-wu hsien 靈武縣, Ning-hsia. In Mongolian this city was known as Dörmegei (孛兒蔑該 in the Chinese transcription of the SH, cf. YCPS, Sup.2, 9b; Haenisch's reading is Dormegai, cf. GGM, 135, § 267). Mostaert, 222, has written with regard to this name: "Dörmegei balayasu est le nom de la ville de Ling tcheou 靈州 (à présent Ling ou 武, province de Ning hsia. Le nom Dörmegei balyasun se lit aussi dans la chronique Altan Tobci (Cadig, p.43, l. 4-5), ainsi que chez Sayang-secen (éd. de Schmidt, p.100, l. 4; p.104, dernière ligne). Schmidt lit Turmegei; de même les versions mandchoue (E. Haenisch, Monggo han sai da Sekiyen, Die Mandschufassung von Secen Sagang's mongolischer Geschichte, Leipzig, 1933, pp.49, 51) et chinoise (譯注蒙古源流 I tchou Moung kou iuen liou, f. 20v, l. 12; f. 21v, dernière ligne.) Le nom Dörmegei n'est plus connu chez les Mongols d'à présent. Les Ordos appellent la ville de Ling tcheou du nom de Gūgwr (Dict. ord., p.275a)." In note 208 on the same page Mostaert adds: "Dans un document officiel émanant de la bannière d'Otoγ (Ordos), j'ai vu ce nom de la ville de Ling-tcheou écrit Gūgger. Cf. l'article de 陳寅恪 Tch'en In-k'o, 靈州寧夏榆林三城譯名考 Ling tcheou, Ning hia, Iu lin san tch'eng i ming

k'ao, dans CYYY, vol.1, Part II, Pei p'ing, 1930, pp.125-129. Dans TP XXVIII (1931), p.480, Pelliot écrit à propos de cet article: 'Tch'en Yn-k'o, Sur les noms indigènes de || Ling-tcheou, de || Ning-hia, et de || Yu-lin.... Yule c'est trompé sur certains de ces noms. M. Tch'en a parfaitement raison de dire que "Turmegei" (lire plutôt Dörmägäi) est Ling-tcheou, que Iryai est Ning-hia et que Tämägätü (mot-à-mot la "Ville de chameaux") est Yu-lin...." Rashīd ad-Dīn calls Ling-chou Darshakāī (SL 1/2, 231 and n.3; cf. also EM, 274 and n.3 for variant readings), which is a corruption of the Mongol Dörmegei.

Ling-chou, one of the chief cities of Hsi-Hsia, was invested (not "seized" as stated by Krause, 39) by the Mongols on 29 November 1226 (YS, 22b) and fell, after a short siege, in the following month. The fact that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was with the Mongol army during the campaign against Hsi-Hsia is confirmed by the HYL, where he mentions several cities in Kan-su and Ning-hsia that he saw at the time, among which was Ling-chou (*ibid.*, 4a2). Furthermore, we know from his "Preface to the 'Ten-point essay on the uselessness of the Husk-pests' teachings" 糠粃教民十無益論序 that he was in Su-chou 肅州 (modern Chiu-ch'üan hsien

酒泉縣, Kan-su) on 1 June 1226 (WC 13, 7b), that is immediately after its fall. Cinggis Qan must have recalled Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai from Central Asia in the winter of 1225, when he left the ordos in the Sāri Steppe to lead his army against Hsi-Hsia. In the middle of December 1225 we find Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in Kao-ch'ang 高昌, the present Qarā-Khoja east of Turfan, on his way to join the conqueror. Cf. WC 8, 19a1-2. Therefore, he could not have been with Cinggis Qan in November, as stated by Martin, 288, probably following T'u Chi, who in MWESC 48, 2a, says that in 1225 Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai accompanied the emperor back to Hulin 和林.

103. Ta-huang 大黃. This is still the common name in China for rhubarb, the yellow referring to the colour of the root. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai must have collected the Rheum palmatum which grows in Kan-su, rather than the Rheum officinale (as in Iwamura, 63), which is mostly found in Ssu-ch'uan and SE Tibet (cf. BS, 229-232). William of Rubruck describes the medical use of this plant in his narrative (SF I, 265-266; cf. Rockill, 192-193 and n.2); Marco Polo, speaking of the province called "Tangut", i.e., Kan-su, says: "Et por toutes les sien montagnes i se treuve la ribarbar en

grant abundance. Et iluec l'acatent les mercaant et la portent puis por le monde." (Benedetto, 48; on this passage cf. the interesting note 3 in Yule I, 218.) Cf. also Cathay I, 290-292; II, 247; Sino-Iranica, 547-551; PTKM 17, 2-7.

104. According to the HHSS 42, 13a, the epidemic broke out in Chi-shih chou 積石州 (west of modern Lin-hsia hsien 臨夏縣, Kan-su) soon after its capture by the Mongols in February-March 1227. Martin (298 n.44) states with regard to the investment of Chi-shih chou: "...the Hsi-Hsia Shu Shih says that Chingis sent, not led, the army to the city, and that it only arrived there during the third month (March 19th to April 17th), but in view of the Mongol operations east and south of the Yellow River from the second month of the year (February 18th to March 18th) on, it is unlikely that the conqueror left Chi-shih chou unattacked in his rear until so late. Perhaps the discrepancy in the two dates is due to the Mongols having begun the siege in the first month (January 19th to February 17th), and captured the place in the third month of 1227." Martin is surely in error: in the HHSS 42, 12b, it is clearly stated that the city was taken by the Mongols in the second month. The epidemic, probably of typhus

as Haenisch ("Die letzten Feldzüge...", 548) has suggested, was almost certainly caused by the slaughter of the inhabitants after the fall of the city. The account of this event in the Biography, 2a3-5, is the following: "In the winter of the year ping-hstü (1226), after the fall of Ling-wu the officers contended with each other to seize children, women and valuable property (lit., "gold and silk"). Ch'u-ts'ai merely gathered together books that had been discarded, (some) rhubarb and medicinal materials. A little later, when (the Mongol) soldiers fell ill as a result of an epidemic, they were cured thanks to the rhubarb." In CKL 2, 40, this story is quoted almost verbatim from the Stele (the character 王 in 1.7 is a misprint for 公).

105. 睿宗 . This is the temple name of Tolui, the fourth son of Cinggis Qan. He was born between 1186 and 1190 (on these dates cf. HCG, 375), and held the regency of the Mongol empire during the period of interregnum 1227-1229. The date of his death is not certain. According to SH, § 272, Tolui died in China in 1231. However, from his biography in YS it appears that he died in Mongolia in 1232 (ibid. 115, 3b). These contradictions have been brought to notice by Cleaves in his article "The expression Jöb ese bol- in the Secret History of the Mongols", 318 n.18.

106. Chien-kuo 監國, lit., "to direct the state (during the Emperor's absence)". On this expression cf. TF, 577 n.1; DKJ, 23032.30.
107. Chung-shih 中使. This expression has been rendered by des Rotours "commissaire impérial de l'intérieur du Palais" (TF, 844 and n.3).

In the biography of Jui-tsung in the YS we read the following: "He (i.e., Jui-tsung) heard that in Yen-ching robbers were plundering the goods of wealthy people in broad daylight, and that the officials were unable to restrain them. Thereupon, he sent T'a-ch'a 塔察 and Wu-t'u Sa-ho-li 吾圖撒合里 to carry out a thorough investigation and deal with them. Sixteen men (i.e., criminals) were executed and only then did the robbers calm down (lit., 'hold their breath')" (ibid., 115, 1a). Wu-t'u Sa-ho-li (Urtu Saqal) is Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (cf. supra, n.73); T'a-ch'a 塔察 (correct form: T'a-ch'a-erh 塔察兒) is Tācar (< Tayacar, Ta'acar), the second son of the famous Boroqul-noyan of the Hūsin tribe, one of the four kültü'üd ("heroes") of Cinggis Qan (on the Hūsin tribe cf. HCG, 71-73; on Boroqul cf. his biography in YS 119, 22a-25b, the many references to him in the SH, SL, SWCCL, and the important note by Pelliot in HCG, 372-377, where further

bibliography can be found). In his youth Tācar served in the Mongol guard and was made qorci, i.e., "quiver-bearer" (on this title cf. HCG, 20, 75; on its institution and the duties connected with it, cf. SH 124, 225 and 229; Poucha, 118 sqq.; Turkestan, 382; TP 27, 1930, 27). From 1230 to 1234 he participated in Ögödei's campaign against Chin, during which he led the Mongol army to the conquest of several important towns in Shan-hsi, Shen-hsi and Ho-nan. It was Tācar who, with the help of the Sung general Meng Kung 孟珙 seized Ts'ai-chou 蔡州 (modern Ju-nan hsien 汝南縣 in Ho-nan), the last refuge of the Chin emperor Ai-tsung 哀宗 (Ning-chia-su 寧甲速) in February 1234. From 1236 to 1238 he carried out military operations against the Sung in Ho-nan and An-hui with varying fortune. He died in 1238 during the siege of Shou-chou 壽州 (modern Shou-hsien 壽縣, An-hui). His son Belgütei succeeded him to office in 1252. Of Tācar's several biographies (YS 119, 25b-26b; HYS 121, 13b-14b; YSLP 17, 11a-b; YShu 31, 9a-b; MWESC 44, 3a-4b), the one by T'u Chi in the MWESC is by far the best. Tācar is mentioned in HTSL, 23a, together with Sübütei and Temüdei (-qorci, on whom cf. HCG, 354), as a tireless warrior, and in SWCCL, 83a sqq., in connection with the campaign against

Chin. Concerning the role he played during this campaign and in the war against Sung cf. also HM II, 52-55 and 79-83. For Tācar's genealogy cf. MWESC 153, 20a-21b.

108. The account in the Biography, 2b5-3a4, supplies more information on the identity of some of the criminals: "Due to the fact that the Emperor (T'ai-tsu) had been occupied in the Western Territories (i.e., Central Asia), he had not had time to fix the laws and regulations. The leading officials in the prefectures and commanderies therefore spared and slew according to their will - children and women included - and seized private property and land. The chief official Shih-mo Hsien-te-pu 石抹咸得卜, Deputy Legate (liu-hou 留後) to Yen(-ching) and Chi 薊(-chou 州, the modern Chi-hsien 薊縣 in Hopei) was exceedingly covetous and cruel, and the bodies of his victims filled the markets. When Ch'u-ts'ai heard this, he shed tears and immediately addressed a memorial to the Emperor, requesting that in the prefectures and commanderies, (the officials) be forbidden to exact labour or to requisition goods unless in possession of an Imperial Rescript (authorizing them); that (the execution of) convicts deserving capital punishment should await a notification (from



the Emperor); that those who contravene (these orders) be punished by death. Thereupon the practice of grasping and oppressing somewhat abated. Yen was infested with robbers who, even before night, took ox-carts with them and, having marked down the wealthy people, seized their property and killed them if they refused to yield it. At this time Jui-tsung, as Imperial Son, was Regent of the Empire. Having heard (about the situation in Yen) he sent an Imperial Commissary together with Ch'u-ts'ai to carry out a thorough investigation and deal with them (i.e., with the robbers). Ch'u-ts'ai's inquiry led him into possession of their names: they were either relatives of the Deputy Legate or members of powerful families. They were all caught and imprisoned. Their families then offered bribes, and the Imperial Commissary was about to reprieve them. Ch'u-ts'ai, however, pointed at the results (of his action): the Imperial Commissary was frightened and complied with his (i.e., Ch'u-ts'ai's) words. Sixteen men were executed with prison instruments in the public market. Only then did the people of Yen enjoy peace (again)."

Shih-mo Hsien-te-pu was the son of Shih-mo Ming-an

石抹明安, the Ch'i-tan general in the service

of the Mongols who besieged and conquered Chung-tu in 1215 (on him cf. YS 150, 16a-18a; HYS 135, 9b-10b; MWESC 49, 10b-11b). Ming-an died in 1216, and Hsien-te-pu succeeded him as Military Commander of Yen-ching. He also succeeded him as Horse and Foot General Commander-in-Chief of the Mongol and Northern Chinese Armies (Meng-ku Han chün ping-ma tu-yüan-shuai 蒙古漢軍兵馬都元帥), and inherited his titles of Grand Guardian (t'ai-pao 太保) and Gold (badge) and Purple (tassel) Grand Officer of Brilliant Dignity (chin-tzu-kuang-lu-ta-fu 金紫光祿大夫). He appears to have been on friendly terms with the members of the Ch'üan-chên 全真 sect, and the text of two letters from him to Ch'ang-ch'un has been preserved (cf. HYC, App.2a-2b and 3a; cf. also *ibid.* 1, 5b-6a; 2, 13b and 17b). During Ögödei's reign Hsien-te-pu's office and titles passed to his elder brother Hu-tu-hua 忽篤華. The short notice devoted to Hsien-te-pu in YS 150, 18a, does not make any reference to his death in connection with such transfer of duties; T'u Chi has therefore suggested that he was exonerated from his charge and replaced by his brother because of his reprehensible conduct (MWESC 49, 12a). This raises a chronological point. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's suppression

of banditry in Yen-ching took place some time in 1228, as can be inferred from the reference to Jui-tsung and also from the fact that the date of the item following this one in the Stele is the year chi-ch'ou, i.e., 1229. Now, in the Biography, Hsien-te-pu's abuses of power and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's subsequent address to the Emperor are mentioned before the suppression of banditry, which is incorrect. The reforms advocated by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai to check the power of the high officials are of 1229-1230 (see *infra*, n.123), and the memorial mentioned in the Biography, 2b7, was actually addressed to T'ai-tsung (Ögödei) and not to Jui-tsung, as the account in the Biography would lead us to believe. This misplacing of facts in the Biography is probably due to the desire, on the part of the compiler, to give the reader an introductory account on Hsien-te-pu's character, etc., regardless of the chronological order of the narrative. The correct order of events is given by T'u Chi in MWESC 49, 11b-12a. However, as Hsien-te-pu was still in office in 1235 (cf. EEDZG 19416, 8a, where he is mentioned in connection with the edict of third July of this year), his dismissal must have taken place after this date, and can hardly be related to abuses that he committed previous to

1230, or even to the events related in the Stele, 13a-b (q.v.). Hsien-te-pu is briefly mentioned as the son of Ming-an in the HTSL, 23a, where his name is written Han-t'a-pu 憨塔卜. Rémusat's translation of the parallel account in YSLP 11, 2a5-10, is incorrect. He rendered the words 囚當大辟必待報 (see the Biography, 2b8) as "que les coupables attendraient en prison le sort qu'ils auraient mérité" (p.68), taking 報 in the meaning of "to recompense" instead of "to announce". Moreover, he translated the expression 曳牛車 (see the Biography, 2b9-10) by "enlevaient les boeufs et les chars" (p.69), while it literally means: "they (i.e., the robbers) pulled (i.e., drove) ox-carts", which they then used to carry off the stolen goods (cf. the words 至駕車行劫 in the Stele, 12a5).

109. In Tācar's biography in the YS there is no mention of the bribery attempt on the part of the criminals' relatives: "When Jui-tsung was Regent of the Empire, he heard that in Yen-ching bandits were carrying on reckless murders, that they used to mark down the houses of the wealthy people and then carried their goods away, and that the local authorities were unable to restrain them. Thereupon, he sent T'a-ch'a-erh and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai to make a thorough investigation and

bring their gang under control. Sixteen ringleaders were put to death. By this means ruffians were kept at a distance" (ibid. 119, 26a). In the arrest and execution of the ringleaders, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Tācar were assisted by Liu Min 劉敏, a Chinese who had passed into the service of the Mongols, and since 1223 had held several important offices in the Yen-ching district (cf. ibid. 153, 1b; MWESC 61, 2b-3a. On Liu Min cf. *infra*, n.316). On the expression fu-tsou 覆奏, which literally means "to address a counter-memorial to the Emperor", cf. TF, 133 *passim*.

110. 信安, fifty li east of modern Pa-hsien 霸縣, in Ho-pei.
111. Lit., "A foot or eight inches" 咫尺. The expression chih-ch'ih 咫尺 occurs once in the Tso chuan (Legge VII, 152.7).
112. During the conquest of Ho-pei in 1220, Muqali had failed to gain complete control over some of the areas held by the Chin forces. We know that in 1223, the Chin officer Chang Fu 張甫 was still holding Hsin-an, a town in central Ho-pei where part of the Jurchen troops, defeated by the advancing Mongols, had found shelter since the end of 1221 (cf. CS 118, 6a sqq.; ibid., 13a). From Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's remarks it

appears that Hsin-an was still a Chin stronghold in 1228. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai feared that the state of unlawfulness in the territory held by the Mongols would eventually create a favourable situation for the Chin army to launch an offensive. It is not known when Hsin-an was finally brought into submission, but it cannot have been later than 1229-1230.

113. See *supra*, n.9.

114. Ting-ts'ei 定冊 (= 定策) "is used to denote the fixing upon and putting into effect of some important procedure, usually with reference to the setting up of an emperor" (*HFH* II, 207 n.4.2). Although on the strength of this expression it would appear that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's part in the enthronement of Ögödei was an important one, it is, however, difficult to ascertain from our sources what was the precise role that he played on this occasion. In the Biography, 3a4-10, we read the following: "In autumn of the year chi-ch'ou (1229), T'ai-tsung was to be enthroned. The imperial relatives held a general assembly but did not reach any decision. On that occasion, as Jui-tsung was T'ai-tsung's younger brother, Ch'u-ts'ai said to him: 'This is the state's most important undertaking. It ought to be settled at the earliest.' Jui-tsung replied:

'As the matter is still undecided, could we chose another day (to settle it)?' Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'Once this (day) is over, there will not be another auspicious day.' Thereupon, he fixed the plan and set up the rules of the ceremonial. Then he notified the Imperial Prince Ch'a-ho-t'ai 察合台 (Cayadai) as follows: 'Although you, Prince, are (the Emperor's) elder brother, in rank you are his subject. According to the protocol you must pay obeisance to him. If you, Prince, pay obeisance, everyone will do so.' The Prince gave his full consent and, when the enthronement took place, he led the imperial clan and the court officials and made obeisance under (T'ai-tsung's) tent. After he had withdrawn, the Prince, patting Ch'u-ts'ai, said to him: 'You are a true statesman.' The ceremony of the elders' obeisance (to the Emperor) during the National (i.e., Mongol) dynasty takes its origin from this (time)." One of the sources used by the compilers of the YS in preparing this account was, I believe, the following passage from Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's epitaph by Li Wei 李微 (on which see the Introduction), quoted in YCMCSL 5, 59: "In autumn of the year chi-ch'ou, His Excellency, having received (T'ai-tsu's) testamentary edict to the effect of placing

T'ai-tsung on the throne, selected the twenty-second day of the eighth month (11 September; i.e., as the day of the enthronement). As there was still much indecision (in the assembly), His Excellency said: 'This is the state's most important undertaking; if it is not settled at the earliest, I fear that great calamities will arise.' Jui-tsung said: 'What about choosing another day?' His Excellency replied: 'Once this (i.e., the appointed) day is over, there will not be other auspicious ones.' When the day arrived, His Excellency and Jui-tsung assisted T'ai-tsung to ascend the throne." In this account we have another reference to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's role as court astrologer. As it was the custom, an auspicious day for the enthronement of a new qayan was appointed by "the astrologers and qams" (Juwaynī 187, 251, 567). Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai kept this office throughout the reign of Ögödei (cf. the Stele, 20b-21a; for a reference to his duties of astrologer at the beginning of Ögödei's reign, cf. the poem "Using the same rhymes again to thank Fei-hsiung for his invitation to dinner" 再用韻謝非熊召飲, WC 4, 4b2). In the above-mentioned passage, Li Wei refers to Cinggis Qan's testamentary will to place Ögödei on the throne (公奉遺詔立太宗).

The Chinese, Persian and Mongol sources all agree in stating that Cinggis Qan had appointed Ögödei as his successor (cf. YS 2, 1a-b; Juwaynī, 182; SL 1/2, 232; Blochet, 16; SH, §§ 255 and 269); Juwaynī, 182-183, says, moreover, that he had demanded from his other sons (Caḡadai and Tolui only, as Jöci had died by this time) a written statement to this effect. Truly, both Juwaynī (186-187) and Rashīd ad-Dīn (Blochet, 16) refer to some embarrassment felt by Ögödei at the time of his election, and of his repeated refusals of the imperial dignity. This was partly required by the Mongol custom (cf. Juwaynī, 251), but partly also due to a situation which was not entirely in Ögödei's favour. The Chinese and Persian sources state in fact that there was disagreement in the assembly, a section of which supported Tolui's candidature against Ögödei's (for a discussion on the reliability of our sources on this issue cf. EM, 286-289). Although there might have been more behind these dissensions than is actually shown by the official records, it would appear, according to the YS, that it was only thanks to the intervention of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai that Cinggis Qan's will was observed, and Ögödei eventually enthroned. (Contrary to what is stated in EM, 286, 289, and in

HMA, 311 n.1150, this fact is not mentioned at all in the Moslem sources.) Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's intervention in the affairs of the quriltai might have only been determined by his wish to see that Cinggis Qan's will was properly executed, and he was able to achieve this owing to the influence he had gained as the astrologer and trusted adviser of the late emperor. If so, Li Wei's sentence 公奉遺詔立太宗擇定八月二十 = 日 would simply mean that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai chose the twenty-second day of the eighth month for the enthronement of Ögödei, "in compliance with" (奉 = 遵奉, as understood by Iwamura, 66) Cinggis Qan's will to establish him as his successor. On the other hand, it might also mean that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai chose this day, having been personally entrusted with Cinggis Qan's testament. Although there is no supporting evidence to this effect in our sources, I do not think we can rule out the possibility that a document containing Cinggis Qan's will, possibly the same "written statements" mentioned by Juwaynī, did actually exist, and had been entrusted by Cinggis himself to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. (Juwaynī, 185, states that the princes, noyans and emirs attending the quriltai, after having feasted and revelled for some days, "spoke of

the affairs of the realm and the testament of Chingiz-Khan and read over again and again the written statements made by his sons that the Khanate should be settled on "Ögödei".)

The quriltai was held in the locality called Köde'earal, on the Kertülen (YS 2, 1a; SWCCL, 79b; SH, § 269). As to the actual date of the enthronement, Li Wei states that it was the twenty-second day of the eighth month, i.e., 11 September, while the YS and SWCCL state that it was the day chi-ch'ou of the eighth month, i.e., 13 September. Whereas Li Wei's date was adopted by Shao Yüan-p'ing (YSLP 11, 2a) and Wei Yüan (YSHP 25, 2b), T'u Chi (MWESC 4, 2b) and K'o Shao-min (HYS 4, 1b) followed the YS.

115. 皇族遵長. On the term tsun-chang 尊長 cf. Ratchnevsky, 15 n.1.

116. In § 103 of the SH there is a description of the Mongol traditional way of performing the act of submission to a superior power. After having successfully escaped from a Merkit raid by hiding in the forest of the Burqan-qaldun, Cinggis Qan - then only Temüjin - thanked the sacred mountain and "tourné vers le soleil, il accrocha sa ceinture à son cou, il suspendit son bonnet à sa main, et se frappant la poitrine et se

prosternant par neuf fois dans la direction du soleil, il fit des libations et des prières". (Trad. Pelliot, HSM, 145; cf. GGM, 23; YCPS 2, 51a. Cf. also RSM 130.) In Juwaynī's account of Ögödei's inauguration as qayan, we read the following: "Finally, after much importunity on their part and much refusing on the part of Ögödei, he obeyed the command of his father and followed the advice of his brothers and uncles. In accordance with their ancient custom they removed their hats and slung their belts across their backs; and it being the year 626/1228-9 Chaghatai took his right hand and Otegin his left and by the resolution of aged counsel and the support of youthful fortune established him upon the throne. Ulugh-Noyan took a cup, and all present in and outside the Court thrice knelt down and uttered prayers, saying, 'May the kingdom prosper by his being Khan!' ...And they named him Qa'an, and in accordance with the usual custom all the princes, in service and obeisance to Qa'an, knelt three times to the sun outside the ordu; then re-entering they held an assembly of mirth and sport and cleared the plains of merriment of the thorns of sorrow." (Juwaynī, 187-188; for Rashīd ad-Dīn's parallel account cf. Blochet, 16-17.) In the above

description the number of prostrations is given as three, and this is also the figure given in the same work in connection with Güyük's and Möngke's elections. However, several MSS of the Ta'rikh-i Jahān-gushāy have "nine" instead (cf. Juwaynī, 252 n.16; *ibid.*, 568 n.50), and it is this latter figure which has been adopted by D'Ohsson (HM II, 10, 199, 254). The confusion between "three" and "nine" probably arises from the fact that the subjects prostrated three times, each time bowing thrice to the ground (cf. *ibid.*, 10-11 n.1). The custom of bowing nine times in the coronation ritual of the nomads of Central Asia is a well-known one. Among the T'u-chüeh, "at the inauguration of a new khan the highest nobles of his entourage raised him upon a felt rug making nine turns in the direction of the sun's movement, and at each turn the new khan's subjects made obeisance to him" (Boodberg, HJAS 4, 1939, 245). Here we find mentioned not only two of the main features of the Turco-Mongolian ritual (facing the sun and bowing nine times), but a third element, that is, the lifting up of the elected qan on a felt rug. This custom, which is said to be an ancient T'o-pa tradition, appears to have been also followed by the Mongols of the XIII century. Simon of

St. Quentin relates how Güyük was lifted up on a felt with his wife at his coronation in August 1246, and according to Hethum's account this ceremony had also been performed with Cinggis Qan at the quriltai of 1206 (Boodberg, loc. cit., 242-245; neither of these reports is confirmed by the Chinese and Persian sources). Wassāf, cited by D'Ohsson (HM II, 528-529 n.) testifies that Qaišan (Wu-tsung 武宗, r.1308-1311) was also lifted on a white felt rug at his coronation in 1307. However, as pointed out by Boodberg, the details of the ceremony differ slightly from those noted by Hethum. Among some Turkish and Mongol tribes this custom has survived to the present time (Boodberg, *ibid.*; for this ceremony during the Liao dynasty cf. HCSL, 223, 274 n., 275 and n.; on the mystical importance attached to the number nine among the Mongols cf. Yule I, 392 n.2; on the custom of sun-worship among the Turco-Mongolian people cf. J. Murata's article "Taiyō wo ogamu").

From Rashīd ad-Dīn's and Juwaynī's accounts it is quite clear that Ögödei's investiture was carried out in the Mongol traditional form. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, however, seems to have been responsible for the introduction in the ceremony of two new elements. First,

the assignment of proper places to the princes of the blood, members of the imperial clan and the Mongol notables according to their rank (班列); secondly, the obeisance of the clan elders to the new qayan, which was performed for the first time on this occasion. While the ceremony of the elders' obeisance appears to have originated from the precautionary measure cleverly devised by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai to ensure the full support of the assembly in favour of Ögödei (cf. the Biography, 3a7-9, and supra, n.115), the hierarchical placing suggests China as its immediate model. This procedure, however, does not seem to have been followed by the Mongols at their subsequent assemblies until 1271, the year in which the Chinese court ceremonial was officially adopted by Qubilai. In the biography of the Academician Wang P'an 王磐 (1202-1291) in YCMCSL 12, 198-204, it is stated that at the beginning of the Chih-yüan period (1264) there were not yet audience halls and a fixed court ceremonial, and that "whenever it was the case of greeting (the Emperor), the court officials and the commoners, without distinction of rank, all gathered in front of the imperial pavilion" (ibid., 200). The procedure at the inauguration of Ögödei appears then to have been an

isolated case. The fact that it was not followed by his immediate successors must be related, in my view, to the fading of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's influence at the Mongol court after Ögödei's death. On the Mongol National Assembly (quriltai) cf. Yanai's important study "Mōko no kokkai...". For a description of the ritual prescribed for the emperor's enthronement during the Yüan dynasty cf. YS 67, 1b-2a.

117. Cf. the Biography, 3a10-3b2: "On that occasion, many were those who had incurred capital punishment on account of being late for the appointed date of the Imperial Assembly (i.e., the quriltai). Ch'u-ts'ai memorialised the Emperor: 'As Your Majesty has been newly enthroned, it would be advisable to forgive them.' T'ai-tsung followed the advice." That the Mongol law was very strict as regards the attendance to the quriltai is clearly shown by the following passage of the YS: "In the fifth month (of the sixth year of T'ai-tsung, i.e., 30 May-27 June 1234) the Emperor held a Great Assembly of the princes and the various officials in the territory of Ta-lan ta-pa 達蘭達葩 (Dalan-Dabā[n]). He issued the following regulations: 'Any one who does not come to an assembly when due, but privately organizes banquets, will be

decapitated;...' (ibid. 2, 4a; cf. also Ratchnevsky, VIII). Although this ordinance was codified for the first time in 1234, it is evident from the above account in the Biography that, according to the Mongolian customary law, any unjustified absence at the quriltai was considered a serious crime previous to this date.

118. I am not certain whether my understanding of this passage is correct. I take the expression tao-tsu 道子 in the phrase 願無汚白道子 as referring to the Royal Way or Course (王道). Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai advises the emperor against spoiling such an auspicious course by administering capital punishment at the very beginning of his rule. On white = auspicious cf. *infra*, n.119.
119. It is a well-known fact that white was considered by the Mongols as an auspicious colour. Cinggis Qan's standard with nine tails was white, and white was one of the four official colours worn by the Mongol notables at the time of Güyük's inauguration (cf. the *SH*, § 202, and *SF* I, 117). White was also the felt rug used in the ceremony of "carpet lifting" mentioned above (cf. *supra*, n.116, and Boodberg, *loc. cit.*, 244). Marco Polo, describing the New Year's Festival at the court of Qubilai, says: "Il est usance que le grant

kan, con tout sez sojés, se vestent de robbe blanche: et masles et fames, puis qu'il aient le pooir de fer le. Et ce font il po(r)ce que blanche vesteure senble elz beneurose et bone; et por ce le vestent il le chief de lor an porcoi tout l'a(n) prennent lor bien et aient joie." (Benedetto, 83; cf. Yule 1, 390.) In Waṣṣāf's account of Qaiṣan's inauguration, reference is made to white horses which bring luck. D'Ohsson's translation of the relevant passage reads as follows: "On faisait des libations avec le lait de plus de sept cents juments et de sept mille brebis consacrées; il était répandu en si grande abondance que les environs de l'Ordou ressemblaient à la voie lactée. Ces animaux, appelés Ongous, c'est-à-dire qui portent bonheur, tous d'une blancheur éclatante, étaient conservés intacts dans les troupeaux, parce qu'on croyait qu'ils les faisaient prospérer" (HM II, 529 n. In Written Mongolian onγon means, in fact, "pure, holy, sacred", cf. Kow., 353a, where we also find the expression onγon morin, "cheval consacré aux Esprits"; cf. ord.: oγᠭon, "saint; sacré, consacré (à une divinité, à l'obo)", DO, 514b). For the importance of the white colour among the Ch'i-tan cf. HCSL, 42, 121, 129 et passim.

The section in Steele, 12b1-3, is quoted in the CKL 1, 32, under the heading 白道子.

120. Hao-ling 號令. On this expression cf. the Shu ching (Legge IV, 585 and n.).
121. 則刀鋸隨之, lit., "then knife and saw followed them". For the expression tao-chü 刀鋸 "knife and saw", i.e., instruments of punishment cf. HSPC 23, 2a (translation in Hulsewé, 322), and LMTT II, 444.
122. Chiang-pao 襁褓, "swaddling-clothes" and, by extension, "a baby in swaddling-clothes, an infant". On this expression cf. HFH II, 200 n.1.2.
123. In the Biography, 3b2-4a2, we read the following:
 "When, at the beginning, order was just being restored in North China, a great number of people infringed by mistake the (Mongol) prohibitions, but the state laws did not contain any ordinance of amnesty. Ch'u-ts'ai deliberated upon pleading (with the Emperor) for mercy. Everybody said that this would not be correct. Unconcerned, Ch'u-ts'ai alone spoke to the Emperor, and an edict was issued to the effect that (criminal) cases prior to the first day of the first month of the year keng-yin (i.e., 27 January 1229) should not be dealt with. Moreover, he compiled a list of eighteen appropriate measures (lit., 'affairs') to be promulgated

throughout the realm. In outline these were the following: 'In the commanderies, leading officials (長吏) should be established to govern the people and myriarchs (萬戶) to direct the army, ensuring that their authority be equal so as to prevent abuses of power. Those who produce resources for expenditure should look after the welfare of (lit., "inquire after and relieve") their people (i.e., subordinates). In prefectures and counties, those who dare to impose on their own authority taxes or duties without having received an Imperial Mandate (to this effect) should be punished. Those who trade, borrow or lend public property should be punished. Any man, whether Mongol, Hui-hu (Moslem) or Ho-hsi (Tangut), who cultivates the land without paying (the land-) tax should be condemned to death. Chief Inspectors who embezzle public property should be condemned to death. All cases of criminals who have been condemned to death must be reported to the Emperor and wait for his pronouncement. Subsequently only punishment should be carried out. As the offering of presents causes serious harm it should be strictly forbidden.' The Emperor approved all of them, but only disagreed on the issue regarding the offering of presents, saying: 'If someone of

his own accord wishes to make a gift (to someone else), he should be allowed to do so.' Ch'u-ts'ai rejoined: 'This would indeed be the beginning of corruption.' The Emperor said: 'I have agreed on all (the issues) that you have submitted to me; cannot you agree with me on a single one?'" Of the above recommendations those regarding the arbitrary collection of taxes and the emperor's approval required in the case of capital sentences had already been mentioned in the Biography, 2b7-8, in connection with Hsien-te-pu (see *supra*, n.108). On the establishment of "leading officials" and "myriarchs" respectively in charge of civil and military affairs cf. the Stele, 13a3 sqq.

124. 别迭. According to T'u Chi (MWESC 48, 2b) this is the same person as Pieh-ti-yin 别的因, a Naiman official whose biography is in YS 121, 21b-23a. Pieh-ti-yin in his youth had been in the service of "Ögödei's third wife, Kirgiš Qatun (*ibid.*, 21b); this fact, according to T'u Chi, would account for his designation of "personal adviser" (近臣) to Ögödei, which we find in the Biography, 4a4. I am not certain that T'u Chi's identification is correct. From Pieh-ti-yin's biography we learn that he was still alive in 1294 (thirty-first year of Chih-yüan) and that he

died at the age of eighty-one (YS 121, 22b and 23a), which means that he was born in 1214 at the latest. He was therefore in his teens when these events took place, and it is hardly possible that at that age he could have already been a personal adviser to the emperor.

Pieh-tieh 别迭 presupposes an original Be(g)de(r), a fairly common Mongol name. I have been unable to find any reference to this personage, whom Ratchnevsky (VII-VIII) appropriately refers to as "le porte-parole du parti nationaliste 'vieux Mongol'", i.e., of that section of Ögödei's entourage that was in favour of the complete annihilation of the Chinese and the transformation of their country into pastureland suitable to the traditional nomadic life of the Mongols.

125. Han-jen 漢人. During the Yüan dynasty, this term was used to designate the Ch'i-tan, the Jurchen and the Northern Chinese in general. Cf. Ch'en Yin-k'o's article "Yüan-tai Han-jen i-ming k'ao".
126. The expression 草本暢茂 is from Meng-tzu (Legge II, 250).
127. Lit., "with the vastness of all-under-heaven and the wealth of all-within-the-four-seas". The locus classicus of the expression ssu-hai 四海, "the four

seas", i.e., the empire, is the Shu ching, where it occurs several times (Legge III, 41 et passim).

128. In our text these are called k'o-shui-so 課稅所 (the YWL 57, 832.7, wrongly punctuates after 稅), which is short for cheng-shou k'o-shui-so 徵收課稅所 (cf. YS 94, 21a7). For a discussion on Chinese fiscal terminology during the Yüan dynasty cf. H.F. Schumann, HJAS 19 (1956), 310 sqq.
129. The lu 路, lit., "roads", variously translated as "circuits" (Kracke), "routes" (Wittfogel), "districts" (Pelliot) and "Provinzen" (O. Franke, Haenisch), were established as administrative units for the first time by the Sung in 997, replacing the earlier tao 道. There were fifteen lu in 997, but they later increased to twenty-six (Kracke 50, n.139). The Chin, following the Sung model, also divided the territory they had conquered from the Liao into lu. For a description of the nineteen lu of the Chin cf. CS, 24-26. (Cf. also T. Mikami's article "Kinchō shoki no Ro-sei ni tsuite".) At the beginning of the Mongol rule in North China the lu were again established, following the Sung and Chin model, as the country's primary administrative units. The cities which controlled the ten lu mentioned in our text are listed

in YS 2, 2a. They were:

1. Yen-ching 燕京, modern Peking 北京, Ho-pei
2. Hst'uan-te 宣德, " Hst'uan-hua hsien 宣化縣, Chahar
3. Hsi-ching 西京, " Ta-t'ung hsien 大同縣, Shan-hsi
4. T'ai-yüan 太原, " T'ai-yüan hsien 太原縣, Shan-hsi
5. P'ing-yang 平陽, " Lin-fen hsien 臨汾縣, Shan-hsi
6. Chen-ting 真定, " Cheng-ting hsien 正定縣, Ho-pei
7. Tung-p'ing 東平, " Tung-p'ing hsien 東平縣, Shan-tung
8. Pei-ching 北京, " Ta-ning ch'eng 大寧城 (Tsaghan Tsuburghan), Jehol
9. P'ing-chou 平州, " Lu-lung hsien 盧龍縣, Ho-pei
10. Chi-nan 濟南, " Li-ch'eng hsien 歷城縣, Shan-tung

For further details on the lu in Yüan times, as well as for a bibliography on the subject, cf. ESYD, 57-58 n.7.

130. 陳時可 (T. Hsiu-yü 秀王; H. Ch'ing-ch'i chü-shih 清谿居士 and Chi-t'ung lao-jen 寂通老人) was a native of Yen-ching. During the Chin dynasty he was a member of the Han-lin Academy. Later he joined the Mongol administration and in December 1230-January

1231, upon Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's recommendation he was appointed to direct the tax bureau of the Yen-ching district (cf. the biographical notice on him in KCC 14, 13a. This notice is also included in KHCTL, 18b, where, however, his style is incorrectly written T'ung-chi lao-jen 通寂老人; this error has passed in NP, 5a, and in the HYC 1, 8b. Cf. also YS 2, 2a).

From one of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's poems we know that Ch'en Shih-k'o visited the Mongol court in the autumn of 1234 (WC 10, 4b-5a). His journey there was most likely in connection with the general assembly which "Ögödei had convoked in June in the territory of Dalan-Dabān (cf. YS 2, 4a, and supra, n.117). In August 1236, Ch'en Shih-k'o went, by imperial command, to Qara-Qorum "to review the records of penal, fiscal and other cases", a task certainly connected with the planning of the new tax legislation (cf. YS 2, 5b, and infra, n.244. Wang Kuo-wei, in NP, 18b2, stated that Ch'en Shih-k'o went to Qara-Qorum in the years chia-wu and i-wei, i.e., in 1234 and 1235. As there is no evidence for the 1235 trip, i-wei must be an error for ping-shen, i.e., 1236). He was still in office in September-October 1238 (cf. YS 2, 7a, and infra, n.286). In Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's works there are many

poems either dedicated to Ch'en Shih-k'o or just mentioning him. Cf., e.g., the following: 和陳秀玉. 繇
 稗詩韻 WC 1, 15a; 過燕京和陳秀玉韻, *ibid.* 3,
 19a-20a; 寄清谿居士秀玉, *ibid.* 6, 14a-b (the SPTK
 ed. erroneously has 溪谿 for 清谿); 戲秀玉, *ibid.* 6,
 14b-15a; 戲陳秀玉, *ibid.* 9, 14b-15a; 用秀玉韻,
ibid. 10, 3b; 用樽軒韻謝秀玉見惠東坡杖,
ibid. 10, 4a; 謝西方器之贈阮杖, *ibid.* 10, 4b;
 和秀玉韻, *ibid.* 11, 6a. From the preface to the
 poem "Laughing at Ch'en Hsiu-yü 戲陳秀玉" we learn
 that Ch'en Shih-k'o used to be interested in Buddhism
 and had highly praised Wan-sung's merits to Yeh-lü Ch'u-
 ts'ai, before the latter met him. Afterwards, however,
 when Ch'u-ts'ai, who had in the meantime become ac-
 quainted with the Ch'an Master, tried to induce Ch'en
 to visit him, he refused to do so (WC 9, 15a4-7). This
 strange behaviour was apparently due to Ch'en Shih-k'o's
 change of sympathies from Ch'an Buddhism to the Taoism
 of the Ch'üan-chen sect. We know that Ch'ang-ch'un
 met him in Yen-ching in the spring of 1220, as his name
 is recorded by Li Chih-ch'ang in the HYC together with
 those of several members of the local gentry, whom Li
 describes as all being "of our faith", i.e., Taoists
 (*ibid.* 1, 8a-b; Waley, 56-57; cf. also Ch'en Yüan,
 "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai fu tzu...", 1008-1009). That Yeh-lü

Ch'u-ts'ai's friendship with Ch'en Shih-k'o remained unaffected by the latter's conversion is evident from the fact that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai recommended him for the important post of director of the Yen-ching tax bureau. Moreover, even in those verses where Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai laughs at Ch'en's new Taoist leanings, the tone is always that of friendly rebuke.

By Ch'en Shih-k'o we still possess an "Inscription for the Kuei-ch'ien Hall" 歸潛堂銘 (with Preface), in the KCC 14, 3b-4b; the text of a stele in memory of Ch'ang-ch'un (長春真人本行碑) in the KSHYL 2, 4b-10a; and a memoir (燕京白雲觀處順堂會葬記), *ibid.* 9, 6a-8b.

131. 劉中 (T. Yung-chih 用之). Our information on this personage is very scanty. His name appears also among those of the Taoist gentlemen who exchanged verses with Ch'ang-ch'un during his stay in Yen-ching in the spring of 1220 (cf. HYC 1, 8b, and *supra*, n.129). In December 1230-January 1231 he was appointed Commissioner in the tax bureau of the Hsüan-te district (cf. YS 2, 2a, and *infra*, n.132). In August-September 1237 he was ordered to hold examinations in each district for the selection of scholars to fill government posts (YS 2, 6b; *ibid.* 81, 2b; cf. also the Biography, 7b10



sqq., and infra, n.266). The last notice about him that I have found is in the spirit-way stele of Yang Huan 楊煥 (1186-1255) by Yüan Hao-wen, where it is said that in the year wu-hsü (1238) he held examinations in Tung-p'ing 東平, Shan-tung (ISHSWC 23, 2b). In the WC 6, 15a-b, there is a poem "Sent to the Vice-President Yung-chih" 寄用之侍郎, from the contents of which, however, it is not possible to say whether this Yung-chih is Liu Chung or somebody else by the same courtesy name.

132. The Biography, 4a2-4b1, says: "During T'ai-tsu's reign, in the years when he was engaged in (the war against) the Western Region, there had been no time to make a land survey of North China, and many officials had collected imposts for their own private advantage. Their wealth had become immense but the granaries were left without provisions. The personal adviser (of T'ai-tsung) Pieh-tieh and others said (to the Emperor): 'The Chinese are of no use to the state. We should clear (the country) of them and turn it into pasture-land.' Ch'u-ts'ai retorted: 'Your Majesty is about to conquer the South and the army's needs must be provided for. If, truly, the revenue of the land and commercial taxes, salt, liquor, iron smelters, mountains and

marshes in North China be equitably fixed (the government) could annually obtain 500,000 ounces of silver, 80,000 bolts of silk, and more than 400,000 bushels of grain, which are sufficient to provide for its needs. How can one say that they (i.e., the Chinese) are useless?' The Emperor said: 'You try to carry this out for Us.' Then (Ch'u-ts'ai) advised the Emperor to establish tax commissioners in ten districts, such as Yen-ching, and to employ, for all principal and secondary posts, scholars like Ch'en Shih-k'o, Chao Fang and others, all of whom were liberal and superior men, by far the élite of the empire. Their assistants were all to be drawn from the former personnel of the (Presidential) Council and ministries." The above passage, from 1.4 of the Chinese text onwards has already been translated by Gardner (HJAS 2, 1937, 323-324), from 1.5 onwards by Schurmann (ESYD, 220), and from 1.5 to 1.8 by Ratchnevsky (VIII). The "徵收課稅所(cheng-shou k'o-shui so)" in Schurmann's translation is an error for "徵收課稅使(cheng-shou k'o-shui shih)". As to the date for the establishment of the tax-collection bureaux, Schurmann (loc. cit.) says: "The account in Sung Tzu-chen's biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is essentially the same

as that in the Yüan shih; cf. Yüan wen-lei 57.7b1-5. No exact date is given for the memorial, but it seems to have been composed early in the reign of Ögödei. The date of the item following this one in Sung Tzu-chen's biography is the hsin-mao year (i.e., 1231-32); see Yüan wen-lei 57.8a3. Consequently, we may conclude that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai proposed the establishment of tax-collecting officials some time in the year 1230-31.... According to our text (i.e., YS 94, 21a - I.R.) the tax-collection bureaus were established in the year 1234-35. In the section on salt, it is stated that the tax bureaus for Ho-chien and Shan-tung were established in the year 1230-31, the same year mentioned in the biographies of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Since Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai proposed instituting the commercial tax as well as other taxes, it is to be presumed that the commercial tax had already been introduced in the year 1230-31. Thus it would seem that the date 1234-35 of our text is wrong. On the other hand, the tax-collection bureaus mentioned in our text may have been special tax bureaus concerned primarily with the collection of the commercial tax. We know that the tax bureaus established in 1230-31 received revenue from several district taxes, such as

salt, liquor and vinegar taxes." I think that the year 1234 (i.e., the year chia-wu of T'ai-tsung) given in YS 94, 21a, is definitely an error and that the correct date for the establishment of the tax bureaux in the ten districts is 1230-31. Besides the evidence furnished by the Stele, we know from the Annals of T'ai-tsung that in 1229 Ögödei "ordered that the Chinese people of Ho-pei (i.e., of the territory north of the Yellow River) should pay a tax calculated per household, and that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai should supervise it" (YS 2, 1b; cf. SWCCL, 80a). In the second year of T'ai-tsung, always according to the Annals, "in the eleventh month in winter (6 December 1230-4 January 1231), tax commissioners were established for the first time in ten districts. Ch'en Shih-k'o 陳時可 and Chao Fang 趙昉 were commissioned to Yen-ching, Liu Chung 劉中 and Liu Huan 劉桓 to Hsüan-te, Chou Li-ho 周立和 and Wang Chen 王貞 to Hsi-ching, Lü Chen 呂振 and Liu Tzu-ch'en 劉子振 to T'ai-yüan, Yang Chien 楊簡 and Kao T'ing-ying 高廷英 to P'ing-yang, Wang Chin 王晉 and Chia-ts'ung 賈從 to Chen-ting, Chang Yü 張瑜 and Wang Jui 王銳 to Tung-p'ing, Wang Te-heng 王德亨 and Hou Hsien 侯顯 to Pei-ching, Chia-ku Yung 夾谷永 and Ch'eng T'ai 程泰 to P'ing-chou,

T'ien Mu-hsi 田木西 and Li T'ien-i 李天翼 to Chinnan" (YS 2, 2a). We know, moreover, from both the Stele (13b-14a) and the Biography (4b1-2), that when "Ögödei arrived in Yün-chung in the autumn of 1231, the tax commissioners of the ten districts submitted to him the granary inventories and the revenue, in silver and silk, that they had collected for the treasury (see *infra*, n.162). On the fiscal reforms in North China at the beginning of Ögödei's reign, besides the various references in ESYD (see, in particular, pp.65 sqq.; 88 sqq.; 169, 203-204, 213-214), cf. also Schurmann's article "Mongolian Tributary Practices in the Thirteenth Century", 360 sqq. In YCMCSL 5, 60.2, the character 千 is a misprint for 十.

133. I.e., of the Duke of Chou 周公 and of Confucius 孔子, in other words of Confucianism. On the expression 周孔之教 cf. DKJ, 3441.191.

134. These words are from the biography of Lu Chia 陸賈 in SC 97, 6a-9b, where (7b) we read the following: "He (i.e., Kao-tsu 高祖) appointed Lu Sheng 陸生 (i.e., Lu Chia) Grand Palace Grandee (t'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫). Lu Sheng would on all occasions step forward and expound (to the Emperor) the Odes and the Annals. Emperor Kao railing at him said: 'I

conquered it (i.e., the empire) on horse-back, why should I bother about the Odes and the Annals?' Lu Sheng replied: 'You conquered it on horseback, but you cannot administer it on horseback.'" (Cf. also HSPC 43, 7a.) Liu Ping-chung 劉秉忠 (1216-1274), whose influence on Qubilai was in many ways similar to that of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai on Ögödei, also quoted these words in his famous address to the future emperor, a summary of which is found in YS 157, 2a-6b (the relevant passage is on p.2a).

135. These "officials" were, for the most part, army leaders whom the Mongol court had put in charge of the districts that they had conquered from Chin. Their usual Chinese designation was hsing-sheng 行省 (see *infra*, n.140 and 162). My rendering of chang-li 長吏 as "leading officials" follows Schurmann's (EHYD, 63 n.49). On this expression cf. HFH I, 324 and n.8.1; DKJ, 41100.878.
136. Ch'ien-ku 錢穀, lit., "(taxes in) cash and grain" (Ratchnevsky, 75: "impôts en espèces et en nature"). This expression occurs for the first time in SC 56, 10b.
137. That is to say, all civil affairs with the exclusion of tax-collecting which was the competence of the

k'o-shui-so 課稅所 or tax-collection bureaux. Regarding the functions of the leading officials, Ratchnevsky (VII, n.3) wrote: "Une organisation de l'administration civile a été amorcée par Ögödaï qui, sur l'instigation de Ye-liu Tch'ou-ts'ai, institua en Chine des 'chefs-employés' (長吏 tchang-li) chargés de percevoir les impôts (v. Yuan-che, 146, 2r^o).". Ratchnevsky is surely in error: there is no such statement in YS 146, and it is quite clear from our text that in the new system the tax bureaux were, at least in theory, independent of the leading officials' authority.

138. Wan-hu-fu 萬戶府 . Wan-hu is the Chinese equivalent of the Mongolian tümen-tü noyan or "chief of ten-thousand", i.e., the leader of a tümen or division of ten thousand men. The organization of the Mongol army in units of ten thousand (tümen), thousand (mingyan), hundred (jayun) and ten (arban) as set up by Cinggis Qan was patterned after the Mongol natural groupings of tribe and tribal subdivision. Regarding this system, Vladimirtsov (RSM, 133-134) wrote: "Selon le système en honneur dans l'empire gengiskhanide, dominé par le 'Clan d'or' des Borjigin, les nököt, les aristocrates de la steppe ralliés au ha'an - la plupart

des nököt appartenait à ce même milieu aristocratique - obtiennent en fonction des services qu'ils ont rendus et compte tenu de leur personnalité, à titre de patrimoine féodal, un nombre d'ayil nomades pouvant selon les cas lever cent ou mille combattants, dans des cas plus rares jusqu'à dix mille. En conséquence, toutes les tribus et lignées mongoles, tous les clans et familles sont distribués en dizaines = arban, centaines = jä'tün ~ jägün, milliers = minggan, et myriades (dix mille) = tümän c'est-à-dire en groupes d'ayil susceptibles d'aligner dix, cent, mille guerriers, etc. Cette répartition, bien entendu très approximative, était loin d'atteindre une précision mathématique. Les passages arbitraires d'un chef à l'autre étaient interdits sous peine de mort. La répartition de la population en milliers et centaines, leur distribution entre chiliarques et centeniers, était enregistrée dans des livres spéciaux. Les fonctions de centenier, chiliarque, commandant de myriade étaient héréditaires; ceux qui en étaient revêtus, recevaient le titre générique de noyan, 'maître', 'seigneur', 'seigneur militaire'; titre d'origine chinoise adopté depuis fort longtemps par les représentants des clans aristocratiques de la steppe."

(For the organization of the Mongol army cf. SH, § 202 sqq.; HTSL, 18a sqq.; MTPL, 12a-b; Turkestan, 328-386; GK, 58-61; Martin, 11-47; Vernadsky, 28-29 and 104-105; Poucha, 110-145.)

From the SH we learn that during the great quriltai of 1206, Cinggis Qan appointed Bo'orcu "myriarch of the right", Muqali "myriarch of the left" and Naya'a "myriarch of the centre" (ibid., § 220); two charges of myriarch were also conferred on that occasion to Qorci and Qunan (§§ 207, 210). With the creation in 1229 of an army of Northern Chinese to fight the Chin, three more myriarchs were appointed, two of which were Chinese (see infra, n.150). Contrary to what is stated by Ch'ien Ta-hsin and T'u Chi (NESKI 86, 1412, and MWESC 51, 1b), charges of myriarch appear to have been conferred on Chinese nationals already in Cinggis Qan's time. In the biography of Liu Ni 劉嶽, better known by his nickname Hei-ma 黑馬, "Black Horse", it is said that he inherited his father's charge of myriarch (wan-hu 萬戶) in 1222 (YS 149, 6b). This statement was rejected by T'u Chi on the ground that Liu Ni's father, the famous Liu Pai-lin 劉伯林 (d.1221) was, according to his biography, only a chiliarch (ch'ien-hu 千戶) and not a myriarch (YS 149, 5b). As

the YS is not a model of accuracy, the 萬戶 in Liu Ni's biography may well have been an error for 千戶, except for the fact that two other independent sources state quite clearly that Liu Pai-lin was actually a myriarch. These are the HTSL, 23a, and the spirit-way stele of Ti Tse 邱澤 (潁州萬戶邱公神道碑) by Yao Sui 姚燧 (1239-1314), KCWL 63, 11a. According to the latter it would appear, moreover, that Nien-ho Chung-shan 粘合重山 (on whom see infra, n.150) also held the charge of myriarch during Cinggis' reign, a fact on which his biographies are silent. The information on the myriarchs in the Chinese sources relating to this early period is very scanty and it adds little or nothing to what we already know from the SH and the Persian authors. In the YS 85, 1a, we read: "When T'ai-tsu of the Yüan arose from the Northern Land, he united its numerous tribes. The wilderness did not have the system of walled cities. The national customs were simple and primitive and did not have the complexity of numerous affairs. He only used the wan-hu ('myriarch') to command the army and used the tuan-shih-kuan (斷事官 I.R.) to administer civil and criminal (affairs). Those whom he employed did not exceed one or two intimate and respected ministers."

(Transl. by Cleaves, HJAS 19, 1956, 204 n.9). Cf. also YS 98, 1b: "If we examine the officers who commanded the army at the beginning of the state (i.e., dynasty), they were given high or low ranks according to whether the number of their troops was great or small. The leader of 10,000 men was a wan-hu ('myriarch'), that of a 1,000 men a ch'ien-hu ('chiliarch'), that of a hundred men a pai-hu 百户 ('centurion')." The division of myriarchs into "left" and "right" is mentioned in the "Chün chih" 軍制 ("Military System") in the KCWL 41, 58b-61a, where we read (58b): "When the dynasty arose in the 'Dragon North' (its) institutions were simple and primitive. As to the officers who commanded the army, their titles were given according to the number of troops. They appointed wan-hu ('myriarchs') and ch'ien-hu ('chiliarchs') and the places which they garrisoned were divided into the left and right hands." (Transl. by Cleaves, op. cit., 203 n.5. In the CKL 1, 33, in the notice on ta-la-han 答刺罕 [darqan], there is a brief mention of the myriarchs and chiliarchs. This notice has been translated in full by Schurmann in HJAS 19, 322, where, however, the words 惟左右萬戶 "There were only myriarchs of the left and right" in 1.1 of the Chinese

text have been incorrectly rendered as: "There were only assistants, and myriarchs".) Regarding the wan-hu-fu or myriarch's departments set up by Yeh-lü Ch'uts'ai, our sources do not, unfortunately, supply any information as to their early structure and organization. These military bureaux later played an important role in the Mongol administration. During Qubilai's reign, together with the myriarch's departments we find chiliarch's and centurion's bureaux (ch'ien-hu-so 千戶所 and pai-hu-so 百戶所) established in all districts. Their organization is described in YS 91, 7b-8b, a summary of which is found in Ratchnevsky, 144 n.1. Cf. also Murakami's article "Gensho ni okeru 'Kansen-banko' setchi no igi ni tsuite", and MSK, 314-317.

139. K'o-shui-so 課稅所, on which see *supra*, n.132.

140. In the early phase of the Mongol conquest of China there was no separation of the civil from the military authority and army officers exercised both. In the YS 91, 1a, we read: "At the beginning of the state (i.e., dynasty), those who had served in the military campaigns were put in charge of military and civil affairs. They were all called hsing-sheng 行省. (At that time) there were not yet fixed regulations (as regards their

duties)." (Cf. also KCWL 40, 9a, and *infra*, n.162.) The system of autonomous bureaux in charge of civil, military and fiscal affairs formed the basis of the new administration, and it was through it that civil personnel was for the first time recruited during the Mongol dynasty. With the eclipse of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's power, the division of administrative authority, which in this period was never absolute, was less and less observed. During Möngke's reign we find myriarchs directing both civil and military affairs concurrently (cf. Yao Sui's spirit-way stele of Chia-ku Chen-min 夾谷貞敏, KCWL 62, 18b). With Qubilai's accession, an effort was made to separate again the civil from the military administration. An edict was issued on 22 January 1263 ordering that "in each district the General Officer (tsung-kuan 總管) who concurrently holds the office of myriarch will only manage civil affairs and will not take part in the military administration" (YS 5, 10b-11a). It is probably to this edict that Sung Tzu-chen refers when stating in the Stele that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's reform "afterwards became a fixed system". However, during the campaign against Southern Sung, the military authorities regained the control over civil affairs, and it was not

till the end of 1278 that Qubilai reverted to the previous system by establishing separate regulations for military and civil officials (YS 99, 19b; LTCKP 58, 1620; Ratchnevsky, 118 n.6). Mutual interference between the two classes of officials continued nevertheless to exist till late in the reign of Qubilai. In 1288 an edict was issued to the effect that "officials in charge of military (affairs) shall cease directing the people and the ones in charge of civil (affairs) shall cease directing the army" (YTC 8, 9b-10a; Ratchnevsky, XXV n.1).

141. For the expression ch'üan-kuei 權貴 cf. HSPC 60, 14a (biography of Tu Yeh 杜業), where we read: 數言得失不事權貴 "He (i.e., Tu Yeh) often spoke of success and failure, and did not pay court to the rich and powerful."
142. The term chang-kuan 長官 indicates the official or officials in charge of an office, as distinct from all the officials in the same office (Ratchnevsky, 31 n.3). Pelliot rendered chang-kuan as "gouverneur" (TP 27, 1930, 54).
143. See supra, n.108.
144. I.e., Temüge-otcigin, the youngest brother of Cinggis Qan. Towards the end of Pelliot's long note devoted

to him in HCG, 175-179, we read (ibid., 178) the following: "Tāmūgā-otcigin n'a pas de biographie dans le Yuan che; T'ou Ki, 22, 6-9, lui en a composé une où il y aurait bien des retouches à apporter. Si nous accordons créance à l'Histoire secrète, Tāmūgā-otcigin était de six ans plus jeune que Gengis-khan (cf. SH, { 60 - I.R.); peut-être est-il donc né en 1173. Par Rasīd (trad., II, 60), nous savons qu'il aimait les bâtiments et, partout où il passait, construisait palais, pavillon et jardin. Il s'entendit toujours bien avec Gengis-khan. Il vivait certainement encore en 1221 (Mong-Ta pei lou, 5a), et très probablement en 1236 (Yuan che, ch.2, s.a. 1236). Sa descendance a été nombreuse. L'apanage de sa famille était à l'extrême pointe Nord-Est des tribus mongoles, aux confins de la Mandchourie (Berezin, trad., II, 61)." According to Juwaynī, Temūge-otcigin was present at the election of Güyüg in 1246 and was executed shortly afterwards for his attempt to seize power during Töregene's regency (Juwaynī, 244, 248-249, 255; Rashīd ad Dīn's account of the trial and execution of Temūge-otcigin is copied word for word from Juwaynī, cf. Blochet, 245. Cf. also ES, 334; HM II, 194-195 and 203, and infra,

n.333). On Temüge-otcigin, besides the above-mentioned note by Pelliot and the biography in MWESC, cf. the various references to him in the SH (60, 79, 99, 245) and in SL (I/2, 52, 53, 55, 56, 59, 230), and his other biographies in HYS 105, 8a-9a; YSLP 30, 2b-3a; YSHP 16, 4a-b; YShu 30, 7b-8a. Cf. also HJAS 19 (1956), 153.

145. The YWL 57, 832.11 has 但, a misprint for 俾.

146. The term chiu-jen 舊人 occurs twice in the Shu ching. Cf. Legge III, 225, and IV, 370. In order to fill up the ranks of the new administration Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had, of course, to draw on the former personnel of Chin that was willing to cooperate with the Mongol government. Of the officials who filled the principal and secondary posts in the tax bureaux, Ch'en Shih-k'o 陳時可 was a former member of the Han-lin Academy, Chao Fang 趙昉 was a former official of the Directorate of Education (國子監) and Li T'ien-i 李天翼, a chin-shih of 1214, had been a Police Commissioner under Ai-tsung 哀宗 (r. 1224-1234). See supra, n.130; CS 14, 4b; and CCC 8, 23b. Of the twenty officials listed in YS 2, 1b, we have information about the previous appointments of these three alone.

147. The reference is, undoubtedly, to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's two brothers Pien-ts'ai 辨才 and Shan-ts'ai 善才 who at the time were both holding office with the Chin government in Pien 汴 (K'ai-feng). Pien-ts'ai, Lü's elder son, was born in 1271, eighteen years before Ch'u-ts'ai, probably from Lü's first wife lady née Hsiao 蕭 (see supra, n.37). At the age of eighteen he competed in the examination to enter the Imperial Guard (hu-wei 護衛, on which cf. CS 56, 16a) and, although there were more than seven hundred participants, he came out third on the list of the successful candidates. However, he was dismissed from office shortly afterwards for unspecified "official reasons".

In 1206-1207, he fought in the Chin army against the Southern Sung and distinguished himself in the capture of San-kuan 三關 (present Hsin-yang hsien 信陽縣, Ho-nan), in the course of which he received thirteen wounds. His merits were rewarded with an appointment as Assistant to the Record-Keeper (lu-shih p'an-kuan 錄事判官) in Chi-chou 冀州, Ho-pei, from which post he was soon transferred to the office of Inspector (ssu-hou 司候) in Ts'ao-chou 曹州, Shan-tung. Owing to disorders in the western district of Shan-tung, he was later garrisoned in Tung-p'ing 東平.

In all probability Pien-ts'ai himself had pressed to obtain this post in order to keep an eye at the same time on his estate. Wang Kuo-wei (NP, App.2a) has already pointed out that the Yeh-lü family had a fief in Tung-p'ing, the existence of which is only hinted at in some of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's poems (cf., e.g., the opening lines of the poem "Seeing off my niece Liao-chen" 送姪了真行 in WC 10, 17b: "My elder brother succeeding to the hereditary emoluments, inherited the apanage in Tung-p'ing." Cf. also NP, 15a). He was subsequently sent to negotiate for peace with Mongols, but was kept by them and taken as far as the Chü-yung Pass. He managed, however, to make an adventurous escape and returned to Chung-tu, where Emperor Hsüan-tsung praised his achievements and made him Vice-commanding Prefect (chieh-tu-fu-shih 節度副使) of the Shun-t'ien Commandery 順天軍.

In 1214 he was transferred with the court to the new capital Pien-ching. During the period Hsing-ting 興定 (1217-1221), he held various offices, chiefly in the military administration, in Ho-nan, Shen-hsi, Shan-tung and present Jehol. For his open criticism of several Chin generals and ministers he incurred the enmity of powerful dignitaries. As a result, he was

sent to Hsü-chou 許州 in Ho-nan as Foot and Horse Sheriff (ping-ma ling-hsia 兵馬鈴轄), and entrusted with the repression of local banditry. Later he was summoned to court again and appointed Chief of the Office of the Temple of (Prince) Wu (-cheng) (Wu [-ch'eng-wang] miao-shu-ling 武[成王]廟署令).

In February 1232, just at the beginning of the siege of Pien, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, with Ögödei's authorization, made an official request to the Chin court for the release and return to the north of his two brothers (see *infra*, n.195). On the twenty-third February, Pien-ts'ai and Shan-ts'ai, who had been summoned by Ai-tsung to the Lung-te Palace 隆德殿, begged the emperor to be allowed to remain in the besieged city. Ai-tsung, however, hoping that their release would make peace negotiations possible, gave them presents of gold and silk and insisted on sending them off. Pien-ts'ai left the capital while Shan-ts'ai remained, and returned to Ho-pei, where he finally settled in Chen-ting 真定 (present Cheng-ting hsien 正定縣). There he died of an illness on 29 November 1237, at the age of sixty-seven. In 1243 his remains were taken to Hung-cheng hsien 弘政縣 and buried in the family tomb (see *infra*, n.345). Pien-ts'ai was

survived by his son Yung 鏞 and by two grandsons, Chih-kung-nu 誌公奴 and Hsieh-chia-nu 謝家奴. It was Yung who, having in his youth studied under Yüan Hao-wen, asked this scholar to compose the inscription for Pien-ts'ai's tomb (Stele B).

Lü's second son was born in 1272. His personal name was Ssu-chung 思忠 and his courtesy name T'ien-yu 天祐, but he was currently known by his childhood name Shan-ts'ai 善才. At the age of twenty Shan-ts'ai began his official career as Warder of the Eastern Upper Postern (tung-shang-ko-men chih-hou 東上閣門祗候; on the ko-men 閣門 or Palace Postern Office, which dealt with the court ceremonies, cf. CS 56, 3b-4a). During the period 1204-1210 he held various minor posts in the province. In 1210 he was appointed Intendant of Ceremonies (tien-i 典儀) of the Heir Apparent, and was later transferred to the direction of the Construction Office (ts'ai-tsao-shu 裁造署).

In 1214 he went with the court to Pien and for his merits in connection with the transfer of the capital, he was promoted Commissioner of the Accommodation Bureau (i-luan-chü-shih 儀鸞局使). He subsequently held various important offices in the Treasury (t'ai-fu 太府), the Bureau of Imperial Victuals (shang-

shih-chū 尚食局), and in the provincial administration.

In 1231-1232, when the Mongol army, led by Tolui, invested Chin from the south and martial law was proclaimed in Pien, Shan-ts'ai was commissioned by imperial command to the Board of Waterworks (tu-shui-chien 都水監), and at the same time he was put in general charge of the repression of banditry. When, shortly afterwards, he was offered the opportunity to leave the capital with his brother Pien-ts'ai (see above), he chose to remain in spite of the emperor's protestations. He eventually committed suicide on 10 March 1232 by throwing himself into the city moat. He was then sixty-one years of age. Emperor Ai-tsung was deeply moved at the news of his death and granted him the posthumous office of President of the Ministry of Works (kung-pu shang-shu 工部尚書), and the rank of Eminent General of the Dragon and Tiger Guards (lung-hu-wei shang-chiang-chūn 龍虎衛上將軍). Shan-ts'ai was survived by a son, Chūn 鈞, who was a translator (i-shih 譯史) in the Presidential Council, and by two daughters. He had, moreover, three grandsons, named Ning-shou 寧壽, Ch'ang-shou 昌壽 and Teshou 德壽, and one grand-daughter. In 1243 Shan-ts'ai

was buried, together with Pien-ts'ai in the family tomb in Hung-cheng hsien. The text of his epitaph (Stele C) was also composed by Yüan Hao-wen, on Chün's request. It is from Stele B and Stele C that the above information on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's two brothers has been taken.

148. Chih-cheng 執政, lit., "(official) holding (i.e., directing) the government". This term occurs for the first time in the Tso chuan, where it appears several times (cf. Legge VIII, 444.1 et passim). During the Yüan dynasty, the Assistants to the Left and to the Right (tso-ch'eng 左丞 and yu-ch'eng 右丞), and the Associate Directors of Political Affairs (ts'an-chih-cheng-shih 參知政事, abbreviated to ts'an-cheng 參政) in the Secretarial Council were all called chih-cheng 執政 after the Sung and Chin system. They were the officials immediately under the tsai-hsiang 宰相 or Great Ministers, i.e., under the Prime Ministers (ch'eng-hsiang 丞相) and the Administrators of Political Affairs (p'ing-chang-cheng-shih 平章政事, abbreviated to p'ing-chang 平章). Cf. LTCKP 4, 79; Ratchnevsky, 116 n.4.

The Executive Ministers of our text must have been high officials in the Secretarial Council ranking

immediately below Chen-hai and Nien-ho Chung-shan (see *infra*, n.150). Their identity is unfortunately unknown.

149. 鎮海, the well-known "protonotarius" of Güyüg, as he is referred to by Plano Carpini in the Ystoria Mongalorum (SF I, 119 and 123). His name is usually written Cinqai (~ Cinqai); however, according to Cleaves, its original form was Cingqai (cf. HJAS 18, 1955, 397 n.238). A brief account of Chen-hai's life, followed by a discussion on his origins, is found in Waley, 33-38. Waley's basic source for the first was the biography of Chen-hai in the HYS 133, 1a-3a; for the second, the information contained in the HTSL, 2a-3a. Chen-hai's biography in the HYS is based on the Yüan ku yu-ch'eng-hsiang Ch'ieh-lieh Kung shen-tao-pei ming 元故右丞相怯烈公神道碑銘 ("Epitaph on the Spirit-Way Stele of His Excellency Ch'ieh-lieh [Kere(yid)], the Late Right Prime Minister of the Yüan"), composed by Hsü Yu-jen 許有壬 (1287-1364), which is found in his Kuei-t'ang hsiao-kao 圭塘小稿 in SITTS 10, 5a-8a. This epitaph, prepared by order of Chen-hai's descendants to honour the memory of their illustrious ancestor, was also one of the sources of his biography in the YS 120, 10a-11a. Other biographies

of Chen-hai can be found in YSLP 11, 9a-9b; YSHP 23, 2b-3a; YShu 33, 1a-b, and MWESC 48, 10b-12a. On him, besides the various mentions in the Jāmi'at-Tawārīkh, Ta'rikh-i jahān-gushāy, HYC and in the already mentioned HTSL (cf. HM II, 189 et passim; Juwaynī, 241 et passim; Waley, 73 et passim), see the SWCCL, 81a; EM II, 268 and n.1, 304, 310, 527-528; MR I, 60 n.144; Turkestan, 389-390; HJAS 14 (1951), 484-485 and 495 sqq.; *ibid.* 18 (1955), 397-398 and 407-409; TP 15 (1914), 628-629; JA 211 (1927), 265 n.1. For his genealogy cf. YSSTP, 8319-8320. His name is not mentioned anywhere in the SH.

The following are a few remarks on Waley's account of Chen-hai's life, to complement those already made by Pelliot in TP 28 (1929), 417-419.

Waley, 33, writes that Chen-hai "seems to have been born in 1171". According to Juwaynī, 588, Chen-hai died in 1252 (this is also the alternate year given by Waley, 35, the other being 1251; see below), and his age at the time of his death is given in the YS, followed by the HYS, as eighty-four (cf. YS 120, 11a; HYS 133, 2a. Rashīd ad-Dīn is silent on the subject). If we accept this information as reliable, Chen-hai must have been born in 1169. Even if he died in 1251 he would have been born in 1168 and not in 1171.

Also on p.33, Waley states: "In 1203 he 'drank the waters of the Baljuna river' with Chingiz Khan and was present at the assembly on the Onon River in 1206", adding in note 1 on the same page: "The legendary character of these early episodes has already been noticed, p.5 (note)." The historicity of the episode in question, i.e., the drinking of the Baljuna water by Cinggis Qan and his small band of followers to seal their covenants has been the subject of an important study by Cleaves, which appeared in HJAS 18 (1955), 357-421. Cleaves' conclusion is that the episode is historically true. As to the identification of the Baljuna, it has not yet been ascertained whether it was actually a river or a lake. For a full discussion on the subject cf. HCG, 42-49.

Waley, 34, says: "Ögödei, the successor of Chingiz, made him chief Secretary of State...." To render chung-shu yu-ch'eng-hsiang 中書右丞相 as "chief Secretary of State" is incorrect, as this position was occupied by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Chen-hai was Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's senior assistant. His Chinese title is given in the YS 2, 2b and *ibid.* 120, 10b, as yu-ch'eng-hsiang 右丞相, "Right Prime Minister", and as tso-ch'eng-hsiang 左丞相, "Left Prime Minister",

in the SWCCL, 81a. This discrepancy can be clarified by the following passage of Chen-hai's epitaph (6b): "When for the first time the Secretarial Council was established, as the left (side) was honoured, His Excellency (i.e., Chen-hai) was appointed Left Prime Minister. When, soon afterwards, the right (side) was preferred, (his office) was changed to that of Right (Prime) Minister." Apparently, the Mongol administration had at first adopted the traditional Chinese custom, followed also by the Liao and Chin rulers, of honouring the left side. Thus the Left Prime Minister was senior to the Right Prime Minister. Later, however, the Mongols gave preference to the right, according to their own traditional custom (on which cf. HTSL, 7b; cf. also MSK, 773 and n.2; TB 9, 1937, 76-77). Thus Chen-hai, being the senior of the two assistants, had been at first appointed Left Prime Minister; afterwards his title was changed to that of Right Prime Minister. This change naturally affected Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's junior assistant Nien-ho Chungshan 粘合重山 (see infra, n.150), whose original title of Right Prime Minister, recorded also in SWCCL 81a, was subsequently changed to that of Left Prime Minister, in which form we find it in YS 2, 2b and *ibid.*

146, 12b. We do not know when the change took place, but it was probably before Chung-shan went to fight against the Southern Sung in 1235. While the YS has recorded the Chinese titles held by Chen-hai and Nien-ho Chung-shan in their final form, the Mongol source of which the SWCCL is a translation had evidently recorded only the earlier version. As to Chen-hai's previous offices, we know from his epitaph (5b) that at the time of Cinggis' election in 1206 he was appointed jaryuci or "judge" (the text of the epitaph has the transcription cha-lu-hua-ch'ih 札魯花赤, which is the same as that found in the CYIY, 58b; on this title cf. Ratchnevsky, 52 n.1). A few years later he was made cerbi, that is assistant to the emperor (the 14-li-pi 閣里必 of the epitaph, 5b10, is an error for she-li-pi 闕里必). On this title, which is not among those listed in the NESCC 29, 610-611, cf. MKYLCC 3, 21a; Ordosica, 64-65; Poucha, 115 sqq., and 120; HCG, 348, 352-353. The CYIY, 53b, glosses cerbi as tsai-hsiang 宰相, i.e., "Chief Minister").

Waley, 35, writes: "...and in 1251, or early in 1252, he and Kadak, who had taken the same side, were both executed." According to Juwaynī, 588, Chen-hai was executed in November-December 1252. Regarding his death, Chen-

hai's epitaph reads (6b): "On the twenty-first of the eighth month of the year i-wei (4 October 1235), he died at his home. The Emperor grieved for him without ceasing and granted (his family) gold and silk to arrange for the funeral rites...." As pointed out by K'o Shao-min (HYS 133, 2b-3a) and T'u Chi (MWESC 48, 12a), these are untrue statements recorded by order of Chen-hai's descendants in order to obliterate the real date of his death and the ignominious circumstances connected with it. In his article "Genchō-hishi shōki" 元朝秘史小記 ("A short account of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih") in THG 10, 108-119, S. Uemura 植村清二 suggests that Chen-hai may have been the author of the SH. As remarked by Schurmann (RBS, no.148), Uemura's "reasoning is speculative, and is based entirely on a reinterpretation of existing material". On the relation between Chen-hai and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, see *infra*, n.305.

150. 粘合重山 (other M. Chün 鈞~均), a member of a noble Jurchen family who was sent as hostage to the Mongol court, probably in 1214. Realizing that the end of the Chin dynasty was close, he gave his allegiance to Cinggis Qan who appointed him bicigeci in the imperial guard (on the office of bicigeci see

infra, n.162) and granted him 400 horses as family property.

In 1226 he became one of the leaders of the Mongol army in the war against Hsi-Hsia. He took the city of Hsi-liang 西涼 (modern Chiu-ch'üan hsien 酒泉縣, Kansu) and in the course of the military operations he was wounded in the hand by a stray arrow.

Upon the establishment of the Secretarial Council in 1231 he was appointed Right Prime Minister (yu-ch'eng-hsiang 右丞相); this office was subsequently changed to that of Left Prime Minister (tso-ch'eng-hsiang 左丞相; see supra, n.149). While in the Secretarial Council, Nien-ho Chung-shan assisted Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in the planning of various administrative measures.

In 1229 Ögödei, in view of the resumption of hostilities with Chin, had organized an army of Northern Chinese in three divisions of 10,000 men each. At the head of the three divisions were placed the myriarchs Liu Ni 劉嶽, alias "Black Horse" (Hei-ma 黑馬), Hsiao Chung-hsi 蕭重喜, a Ch'i-tan also called Cha-la-erh 扎刺兒, i.e., Jalar (< Jalayir), and Shih T'ien-tse 史天澤, the younger brother of Shih T'ien-ni 史天倪 (MWESC 4, 4a; on Shih T'ien-ni see supra, n.138). When in 1232 Jalar was executed by order of Ögödei

(for details cf. MWESC 51, 4b), Chung-shan replaced him as leader of his army.

In 1235 he participated in the war against Southern Sung under the orders of Kōctū, Ögödei's third son, and was allowed by imperial edict to conduct at his discretion the administrative affairs in the conquered areas. In this task he was assisted by Yang Wei-chung 楊惟中 (see *infra*, n.280). He distinguished himself for bringing under submission over 300,000 people. The following year (1236) Kōctū died and Eljigidei, the son of Qaci'un, replaced him in command. Chung-shan retained under him the same position he had held under Kōctū.

In 1236-1237 he operated in Ho-nan and in the territory east of the river Huai 淮, conquering the two towns of Kuang-chou 光州 and T'ien-ch'ang 天長 without any bloodshed. His military achievements were rewarded with a present of forty horses from the imperial stables and a pearl-embroidered robe. He died in 1238. He was posthumously granted the office of Grand Commandant (t'ai-wei 太尉), enfeoffed Duke of the State of Wei (Wei-kuo-kung 魏國公), and canonized Chung-wu 忠武. Owing to his activity in the army, Nien-ho Chung-shan was also known in his lifetime as "The General" (chiang-chün 將軍). Of his biographies (YS 146, 12b-13a; HYS 133, 3a-b; YSLP 11, 8b-9a; YSHP 25, 8a-b; YShu 38, 6b-7a; MWESC



48, 12b-13a), the best is that in the MWESC, on which the above account is based. On him cf. also the HTSL, 2a-b, and *supra*, n.138 and 148.

Wang Kuo-wei (NP, 18b) suspected that the person who is often mentioned in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's poems under the style of Wang-yu 忘憂 or Wang-yu chü-shih 忘憂居士 (cf. WC 4, 14b; 8, 11a-b; 11, 15a-16b; 12, 2a-4a, 4b-5a, 8b; 14, 6b) is Nien-ho Chung-shan. Wang's argument is the following: "In the WC there are indeed many poems dedicated to Wang-yu. Moreover, he (i.e., Ch'u-ts'ai) often wrote memorials (疏) for him. Further, he refers to Liu Jui-chih 劉潤之 (one of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's friends, also frequently mentioned in the WC - I.R.) as a dependant of Wang-yu. Thus, at that time (Wang-yu) was a top official and a close friend of His Excellency (i.e., Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai). This poem (i.e., 'Congratulating Wang-yu chü-shih on his birthday' 祝忘憂居士壽 in WC 4, 14b - I.R.) has the following line: 'With jade pendants tickling at the waist, he (i.e., Wang-yu) shines in the Censorate.' This means that Wang-yu was in the Secretarial Council. At that time, of the two Prime Ministers in the Secretarial Council, Chen-hai did not get on well with His Excellency, while Nien-ho Chung-shan and he were on good terms. I suspect that

he (Wang-yu) is Nien-ho." It may be interesting to quote in this connection the following passage from Nien-ho Chung-shan's biography in the YS: "Shortly afterwards he (i.e., Nien-ho Chung-shan) was appointed official-in-waiting and had often the opportunity to be in attendance at court banquets. Therefore, he once rebuked (the Emperor for his habit of drinking liquor), saying: 'Your Servant has heard that the Emperor makes the empire his concern. There has never been (an Emperor) who was anxious about it (i.e., the empire) and yet did not rule duly, nor one who, forgetting his cares, was still able to rule properly. To find one's pleasure in wine is the technique of forgetting cares.' The Emperor accepted the rebuke and commended him highly" (YS 146, 12b). Now, in Chinese the expression "to forget cares", which occurs twice in the above story, is wang-yu 忘憂. I wonder whether there is any relation between this incident and the origin of the style Wang-yu that we find in the WC, and which may well then be, as Wang Kuo-wei suggests, the style of Nien-ho Chung-shan. A Wang-yu chi 忘憂集 by an unknown author is listed in the PYSIWC, 8420b. This work is now lost.

151. T'ung-lieh 同列. Cf. the HTSL, 9a: 楚材, 重山, 鎮海, 同握韉柄. "Ch'u-ts'ai, Chung-shan and Chen-hai together hold power over the Ta (i.e., the Mongols)." See *infra*, n.162.
152. For an early occurrence of the expression keng-chang 更張, lit., "to re-string" a bow or a musical instrument - from which meaning is derived that of "to change" - cf. the following simile by Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (II century B.C.): 琴瑟不調, 甚者必解, 而更張之, 乃可鼓也. "When lutes are badly out of tune, one must unstring them and string them anew before one can play on them" (HSPC 56, 7b).
153. The words huo-tsui 獲罪 are found in the Lun-yü (Legge I, 159), in the phrase 獲罪於天, 無所禱也 which Legge rendered: "He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray." They also occur in the Tso chuan (Legge VIII, 518.18; 546.12; 631.9).
154. The expression chü-ch'ih 鞠治 is found in the following passage of the biography of Li Ssu 李斯 (280?-208 B.C.) in the SC: 於是羣臣諸公子有罪輒下令鞠治之 (ibid. 87, 13a). Bodde, 35, rendered this: "Thereupon officials and princes (accused of) guilt were all examined and judged under Chao Kao's orders."

155. The expression *chtu-ao* 倨傲 occurs in the NHCC 10, 11b (Kwang-3zu, 200).
156. The expression *wu-li* 無禮 is found in the Shih ching (Legge V, 85), and in the Tso chuan (Legge VII, 279.16; VIII, 421.14 et passim).
157. For the expression *hsia-chin* 狎近 cf. DKJ, 20329.8.
158. For the term *hsiao-jen* 小人, lit., "small man" cf. LMTT III, 演 118-119.
159. I.e., against Chin. In August-September 1230, Ögödei in person took command of the military operations against the Jurchen and, assisted by his brother Tolui, launched the offensive which ended three years later with the annexion of the Chin Kingdom. For a detailed account of Ögödei's campaign cf. MWESC 4, 4b-9a.
160. 雲中, modern Ta-t'ung hsien 大同縣 in Shan-hsi. Ögödei was returning from the territory called "The Ninety-nine Springs" 九十九泉, in present Sui-yüan, where he had gone in June to avoid the summer heat. Cf. YS 2, 2b. The SWCCL, 80b, states that the emperor spent the summer at Kuan-shan 官山. According to the (Ta) Yüan (ta) i-t'ung chih (大)元(大)一統志 quoted in YSW, 48b, Kuan-shan was 150 li north-east of Feng-chou 豐州 (modern Kuei-hua hsien 歸化縣 in Sui-yüan) and on the mountain there were ninety-nine

springs, from which the Hei-ho 黑河 took its sources. T'u chi identifies the territory of Kuan-shan and "The Ninety-nine Springs" with Kung-ch'üan shan 公泉山 and the Tai-ha 代哈 (or Ta-hai 大海) lake, north-east of Liang-ch'eng hsien 涼城縣 in Sui-yüan (MWESC 4, 5b). In the CCCHITC 549, 6b, we find a "Lake of the Ninety-nine Springs" 九十九泉泊 in Chahar, the Mongol name of which, says the commentary, is "Lake Yiren-yistün" 伊倫伊孫泊, i.e., "Lake Ninety-nine". Now, we read in HM II, 20, that in June of 1231 Ögödei left Pei-chih-li "pour aller passer la saison des grandes chaleurs sur le bord du lac Yloun-oussoun, à cinquante lieues au nord de la grande muraille". The Yloun-oussoun of D'Ohsson is, no doubt, the Yiren-yistün mentioned above. According to the CCCHITC, this lake, which does not appear on our maps, is 50 li north-west of the area of the (former) Bordered Yellow Banner of the Chahar. This would approximately correspond to the location of Kuan-shan given in the Ta Yüan ta i-t'ung chih.

161. In the corresponding passage of the Biography (see *infra*, n.162), the expression yin-pi 銀幣, "silver and silk", has been replaced by the expression chin-po 金帛, "gold and silk". The tribute was

actually collected in silver, as stated in the Stele, and not in gold. On these tributes and on the quota system of taxation under the Mongols cf. Schurmann, HJAS 19 (1956), 317 sqq.

162. In the Biography, 4bl-5a3, we find the following account: "In the year hsin-mao (1231), in autumn, the Emperor arrived in Yün-chung. All (the tax collectors of) the ten districts submitted their granary inventories and the gold and silk, displaying them at the Court. The Emperor said laughing to Ch'u-ts'ai: 'You never leave Our side and yet you can ensure that the needs of the state are fully provided for. Among the subjects of the Southern Kingdom (i.e., Chin), are there others like yourself?' (Ch'u-ts'ai) replied: 'Those who are there are all wiser than I. It is because I am incompetent that I was left in Yen, and (could eventually) serve Your Majesty.' The Emperor, admiring his modesty, offered him wine and that very same day appointed him Chief of the Secretarial Council. All matters, irrespective of their importance, were first brought to his notice. Ch'u-ts'ai memorialized: 'It should be decided that in all the prefectures and commanderies the leading officials be solely concerned with the administration of civil

affairs and the myriarchs with the direction of the military administration, and that (the officials) who are in charge of taxation must not be encroached upon by the rich and powerful.' He also recommended that Chen-hai 鎮海 and Nien-ho Chün 粘合均 be appointed as his colleagues. Rich and powerful (individuals) were displeased and Hsien-te-pu, because of his former grievance, hated him even more. He slanderously said to the Prince of the Blood (Temüge-otcigin): 'The Chief of the Secretarial Council Yeh-lü is giving employment to all his relatives and old friends. Surely he has a treacherous mind: you should advise the Emperor to have him executed.' The Prince of the Blood sent a messenger to report this (to the throne). The Emperor, having ascertained the falsity of the allegations, rebuked the messenger and sent him off, dismissing him from office. (Some time later), it just happened that some people accused Hsien-te-pu of illegalities. The Emperor ordered Ch'u-ts'ai to carry out an investigation. He then memorialized: 'This man is haughty, hence he easily provokes criticism. Now we are going to be busy (with the war) in the Southern Region (i.e., against Chin). We shall deal with him another

day: there is yet time.' The Emperor then privately told the officials in his retinue: 'Ch'u-ts'ai does not contend with his enemies: he is a truly generous and superior man. You should follow his example.'" Lines 1 to 5 of the Chinese text have already been translated by Gardner in HJAS 2 (1937), 324. "(China)" in 1.7 of Gardner's translation is a lapsus for "(Chin)".

The narrative in the Biography is misleading with regard to the sequence of events. From it, it would appear that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai proposed to Ögödei the establishment of the leading officials and the myriarch's administrations after his appointment as Chief of the Secretarial Council, that is after September 1231. K'o Shao-min, following the Biography, places in fact the establishment of these offices s.a. hsin-mao, i.e., 1231, in the Annals of T'ai-tsung (HYS 4, 3b-4a). But the setting up of leading officials "to govern the people" and of myriarchs "to direct the army" is mentioned earlier in the Biography as one of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's eighteen recommendations submitted to Ögödei in 1229-1230 (see *supra*, n.123). Therefore, we find that both the establishment of the tax bureaux in the ten districts

and that of the leading officials and the myriarch's administrations are correctly placed s.a. keng-yin (1230) in the YSLP (1, 11a) and the MWESC (4, 4b-5a).

That these events took place previous to the establishment of the Secretarial Council is further confirmed by the Stele, where they are recorded before the entry relating to the emperor's arrival in Yün-chung, etc. Thus, the words 時鎮海黏合重山實為同列 in Stele, 13b3-4, which might have possibly misled the compiler(s) of the Biography, indicate in my opinion that Chen-hai and Nien-ho Chung-shan were already associated with Yeh-lü Ch'uts'ai in the direction of the Mongol administration before their actual appointment as Prime Ministers. This is not surprising, as we know that Nien-ho Chung-shan was first appointed to the office of bicigeci during Cinggis Qan's lifetime and that Chen-hai's office of cerbi goes back to 1212 (see supra, n.149 and 150).

The establishment of the chung-shu-sheng 中書省 or Secretarial Council deserves some comments. The supreme administrative body during the Chin dynasty was the shang-shu-sheng 尚書省 or Presidential Council. It had been established in 1126, following

the Liao and, indirectly, the T'ang model, as one of the Three Councils (san-sheng 三省), the other two being the chung-shu-sheng and the men-hsia-sheng 門下省 or Court Council. In 1156 the Secretarial Council and the Court Council were abolished and their functions taken over by the Presidential Council, the organization of which is described in CS 55, 2b-3b (on it cf. also the LTCKP 4, 75-76).

Often, during the war against the Mongols, the Chin emperors would appoint a high official "to manage (the affairs of) the Presidential Council" 行尚書省 (事), i.e., to represent the Presidential Council in a threatened area. The officials thus appointed, as well as the office itself, are frequently referred to in the Chinese sources as hsing-sheng 行省, which is short for hsing-shang-shu-sheng 行尚書省. They combined the supreme military and civil authority in the district or region placed under their command, and were virtually independent from the central government. The following are a few references to this office taken from the CS.

In November 1214, a few months after the Chin capital had been moved from Chung-tu 中都 to Pien 汴, Emperor Hsüan-tsung "sent the Associate Director

of Political Affairs (ts'an-chih-cheng-shih 參知政事) Po-shu-lu Te-yü 李求魯德裕 to manage the Presidential Council in Ta-ming fu 大名府" (ibid. 14,5b). In Te-yü's own biography as well as in that of Wan-yen Ch'eng-hui 完顏承暉 (ibid. 101, 15a and 4b), Te-yü is referred to as "the hsing-sheng of Ta-ming".

In September 1215, shortly after the fall of Chung-tu, Hsüan-tsung appointed Hou Chih 侯摯 "to manage the Presidential Council" in the two districts of Eastern and Western Ho-pei (ibid. 108, 14b. In the Annals of Hsüan-tsung, ibid. 14, 11b, the text erroneously has 行中書省 for 行尚書省. This error has passed into HTCTC, 4350). On the day keng-hsü of the tenth month of the same year (17 November), by imperial edict the Left Prime Minister P'u-san Tuan 僕散端 was concurrently appointed General Commander-in-chief (tu-yüan-shuai 都元帥) in charge of the Presidential Council for Shen-hsi (ibid. 14, 15b. Hsing-shang-shu-sheng is again shortened into hsing-sheng in Tuan's biography, ibid. 101, 10a).

In February 1216, the District Commissioner for South Ho-tung (Ho-tung-nan-lu hsüan-fu-shih 河東南路宣撫使) Hsü Ting 胥鼎 was conferred the

additional charges of Assistant of the Left in the Presidential Council (shang-shu tso-ch'eng 尚書左丞) and hsing-sheng for P'ing-yang 平陽, in Shan-hsi (ibid. 14, 18a). Many similar examples can be found in the CS (cf., e.g., ibid. 15, 3a, 4a, 5a, 8a; cf. also CCHTCNP, 16-18).

Now, if we turn from the side of the Chin to that of the Mongols in the same period, we notice that several of their officers, whether Mongol, Ch'i-tan or Chinese, were also appointed hsing-sheng. The following are examples taken from the YS and other sources.

In September 1217, Cinggis Qan enfeoffed Mu-hua-li 木華黎 (Muqali) Grand Preceptor (t'ai-shih 大師 mo. taiši) and Prince of State (kuo-wang 國王 mo. guyang), and at the same time made him "general hsing-sheng" (tu-hsing-sheng 都行省). Muqali subsequently established hsing-sheng in Yün 雲 and Yen 燕 (i.e., in Hsi-ching 西京, and Yen-ching 燕京) "in order to make plans for North China" (YS 119, 4a-b). Muqali's charge of hsing-sheng is mentioned in the contemporary source MTPL (8b). We find it also recorded, with his other titles, in the funerary stele of one of his descendants in the fifth

generation, An-t'ung 安同, composed by Yüan Ming-shan 元明善 in 1322 (丞相東平忠憲王石像, KCWL 24, 2b. Cf. also YCMCSL 1, 4).

In June 1220, Muqali "by imperial command conferred upon (Yen) Shih (嚴) 實 (the rank of) Gold (badge) and Purple (tassel) Great Officer of Brilliant Dignity (chin-tzu-kuang-lu-ta-fu 金紫光祿大夫) and (the office of) hsing-shang-shu-sheng-shih 行尚書省事" (YS 1, 20b). In Muqali's biography we read how in March-April 1221, Muqali having entrusted Yen Shih with the siege of Tung-p'ing 東平, appointed him hsing-sheng of the Western district of Shan-tung. After the city had surrendered in May-June of the same year, Yen Shih "established the hsing-sheng to relieve the people" (ibid. 119, 5b). Thus Yen Shih took over the post previously filled by Mang-ku 忙古 (i.e., Meng Ku-kang 蒙古綱), the Jurchen officer who had been appointed by Hsüan-tsung as hsing-sheng of Tung-p'ing in 1217 (cf. CS 102, 14b, and YS 1, 20b).

Li Ch'üan 李全, another Chinese officer who distinguished himself fighting on the Mongol side, was appointed hsing-sheng of Shan-tung 山東, Huai-nan 淮南 and Ch'u-chou 楚州 in 1227 (YS 119, 9b), and

among those who obtained this office in Cinggis Qan's time are Yeh-lü A-hai 耶律阿海, T'a-pen 塔本 (Tabun) and Shih-mo Hsien-te-pu 石抹咸得人 (cf. YHS, 8290; YS 150, 9b-10a; 124, 1a-b; 150, 18a). Regarding Hsien-te-pu, "the chief official of the Yen-ching district" as he is called in the Stele, although our sources usually refer to him as "the hsing-sheng of Yen-ching" (cf. YS 150, 18a; HYC I, 5b; 2, 13b; HTSL, 23a), we know that his full title was "hsing-shang-shu-sheng of Yen-ching" (cf. his letter to Ch'ang-ch'un, dated August-September 1223, in HYC, App. 2a).

The above examples clearly show that the charge of hsing-sheng held by several officers of the Mongol army in this period is patterned after the hsing-sheng (= hsing-shang-shu-sheng) of the Chin, and is not related to the same term, short for hsing-chung-shu-sheng 行中書省, which was used later. (On the hsing-chung-shu-sheng cf. Ratchnevsky, 134 n.1. For a study of the hsing-sheng at the beginning of the Mongol dynasty cf. T. Aoki's article "Gensho Gyōshō-kō", in particular pp.480-493. Cf. also YHS, Preface and pp.8290-95; KCWL 40, 7a-b.)

In the notice on the hsing-sheng in KCWL 40, 9a-10a, we read the following (9a): "At the beginning of the (Mongol) state, those who were put in charge of military and civil affairs were indiscriminately called hsing-sheng. There were no fixed regulations (as regards their duties)." A slightly modified version is found in YS 91, 1a: "At the beginning of the (Mongol) state, those who had served in the military campaigns were put in charge of military and civil affairs. They were all called hsing-sheng. (At that time) there were not yet fixed regulations (as regards their duties)." The absolute power held by local rulers, such as the hsing-sheng, in the regions placed under their control led often to abuses which aggravated the state of chaos in which North China was plunged by the Mongol invasion. This was the case, related in the Stele, of the hsing-sheng of Yen-ching Shih-mo Hsien-te-pu. The reforms proposed by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, whose chief concern was the welfare of the people of North China, were thus immediately directed at reducing that power.

In order to ensure the emperor's support in an enterprise which would have undoubtedly brought about serious opposition on the part of the military

Chavannes, TP 5, 1904, 431; YCHP 30, 1946, 285-286; HJAS 16, 1953, 61 n.1). The title of bicigeci was used also in the sense of "assistant, minister", a meaning undoubtedly derived from the fact that these scribe-secretaries, being culturally superior to the rest of the Mongols, acted often as personal advisers to the emperor, assisting him in the administration of the conquered territories. In the HTSL, 2a, we read the following: "His (i.e., Ögödei's) assistants are four men called An-chih-tai 按只解 (Eljīdei = Eljigidei)/A Black Ta (i.e., a Mongol). He is a man of good counsel and capable of decision/, I-la Ch'u-ts'ai 移刺楚材/T. Chin-ch'ing 晉卿, a Ch'i-tan, sometimes called chung-shu shih-lang 中書侍郎 (Vice-President of the Secretarial Council)/, Nien-ho Chung-shan 粘合重山 /A Ju-chen, sometimes called Chiang-chün 將軍 ('The General')/ - these are together in charge of Chinese affairs - and Chen-hai 鎮海/ A Hui-hui (Uiyur), who deals exclusively with the affairs of the Hui-hui (i.e., Moslem) countries/."

Appended to the above passage is an entry by Hstü T'ing which reads: "When T'ing reached the steppe (i.e., the Mongol territory), An-chih-tai was no longer (minister) and Nien-ho Chung-shan had followed

the pretended imperial prince Ch'ü-shu 屈术 (Köctü) in the invasion of the South. The following year Ch'ü-shu died and An-chih-tai 安只解 (Eljīdei = Eljigidei, here the son of Qaci'un - I.R.) replaced him (in command), with Nien-ho Chung-shan again as assistant. I-la (Ch'u-ts'ai) and Chen-hai have styled themselves chung-shu hsiang-kung 中書相公 ('Their Excellencies the Ministers of the Secretarial Council'). They are in general charge of state affairs. Chen-hai is not dealing merely with the Hui-hui (affairs, as stated by Peng Ta-ya - I.R.). The Ta people (i.e., the Mongols) have no term for 'minister' (hsiang 相), but only call them pi-ch'e-ch'e 必徹徹 (bicēci = bicigeci). Pi-ch'e-ch'e in Chinese means 'scribe' (ling-shih 令史). They are put in charge of official documents." (Cf. also *ibid.*, 7b. Pi-ch'e-ch'e 必徹徹 is an unusual transcription of bicigeci, the one occurring in the YS and other texts being always pi-she-ch'ih 必閣赤, cf., e.g., YS 87, 2a; 99, 2b; 120, 12b; 146, 12b; CKL 13, 201; NESCC 29, 610.)

Now we know that Nien-ho Chung-shan had been made bicigeci by Cinggis Qan some time after the fall of Chung-tu (see *supra*, n.150). Chen-hai, although never referred to as bicigeci in his biographies, under

"Ögödei was in charge of the "Uiyur script", i.e., of official documents in Mongolian, and it is very likely that he already held this position during Cinggis Qan's lifetime (cf. HTSL, 8b; HJAS 4, 1951, 500-501. See also *supra*, n.149. In the HYC I, 25a, Chen-hai is addressed by Liu Wen 劉溫 as hsiang-kung 相公, "Your Excellency the Minister". This may simply be, however, the polite form of address to him as *cerbi*). Finally, in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's case, we possess evidence that his scribal duties go back to the very beginning of his career under Cinggis Qan. In 1220 he wrote the text of the letter to Ch'ang-ch'un which is found in HYC, App. 1a, and he is almost certainly the author of the decree, dated 14 June 1219, summoning Ch'ang-ch'un to the Mongol court, which is published in the CKL 10, 151. He also wrote down in Chinese characters Ch'ang-ch'un's sermon of 20 November 1222 (cf. the Appendix, HYL, n.142, 145 and 152). Moreover, in the MTPL - written in 1221 - it is plainly stated that he was "in charge of official documents" (*ibid.*, 11b). Fifteen years later Hsü T'ing also refers to this aspect of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's activity in HTSL, 8b, in the entry devoted to the scripts in use by the Mongols (cf. Cleaves' translation of the relevant passage in HJAS 14, 1951, 502).

In a postscript to the HYL Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai refers to himself as chung-shu shih-lang 中書侍郎, i.e., Vice-President of the Secretarial Council (ibid., 12a9). Chung-shu shih-lang is also the epithet of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai recorded by P'eng Ta-ya (HTSL, 2a; see above). This is at first sight strange, as P'eng's text of the HTSL was written after Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had been appointed chung-shu ling 中書令. It is possible, however, that when P'eng wrote the passage in question the news of this appointment had not yet reached him. As the title of chung-shu shih-lang indicates, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai before becoming Chief of the Secretarial Council must have held for some time a subordinate position in the same office. This fact has led Wang Kuo-wei (apud Kanda, HYL, App. 1b; HTSL, 2a-b) to put forth the interesting suggestion that he had been assistant to Eljīdei, the first of the four ministers listed by P'eng, before replacing him in 1231. Wang identifies this Eljīdei with the Eljigidei mentioned in § 278 of the SH, where the passage related to him runs as follows: basa qayan jarliṯ bolurun . būrin noyat Eljigidei-yi agalaju . Eljigidei-yin ūge-'er yabudqun ke'e'ed. "Again the Emperor (i.e., Ögödei) ordered: 'As Eljigidei is the

chief of all the officers, act according to his words!'" (Cf. YCPS, Sup. 2, 43b.) The Eljigidei in question is also mentioned in §§ 229 and 275 of the SH. We know little about him. From the SH we only learn that he occupied an important position at the Mongol court already in Cinggis Qan's time (cf. also EM, 193). From the YS and the Persian sources we are informed of his appointment under Güyük as imperial representative in various regions of Asia Minor and Persia, and of his eventual execution by order of Möngke in 1251-1252 (cf. Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté", 171 sqq. On the Chinese transcriptions of the name Eljigidei cf. Hambis, Le Chapitre CVII du Yuan che, 29-30 n.1).

T'u Chi, on the other hand, identifies him with Eljigidei, the son of Qaci'un (MWESC 22, 5a). This is to be excluded, however, as Qaci'un's son is mentioned later in the HTSL (23a) with his name immediately followed by Peng Ta-ya's note stating that he is Cinggis Qan's nephew and the younger cousin of "Ögödei. If the Eljigidei mentioned in HTSL, 2a, were Qaci'un's son, Peng would have undoubtedly appended this note there in place of the one we find now. Although, as already pointed out by Pelliot (cf. Hambis,



op. cit., 29-30 n.1), there is confusion in the Chinese sources between the names Eljigidei and Alcitai, I think that Wang's identification is correct, and that his suggestion that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had been Eljigidei's assistant before being appointed Chief of the Secretarial Council provides the explanation for the title of Vice-President that we find in the HYL and in the HTSL.

Regarding the Chinese titles held by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and his colleagues, we should also mention the following passages from the YS and the SWCCL: "In the eighth month in autumn (of the third year of T'ai-tsung), the Emperor visited Yün-chung 雲中. For the first time he established the Secretarial Council and changed the official titles of his personal assistants. He made Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai Chief of the Secretarial Council, Nien-ho Chung-shan Left Prime Minister and Chen-hai Right Prime Minister" (YS 2, 2b). "On the twenty-fourth day of the eighth month (of the year hsing-mao, i.e., 21 September 1231), the Emperor arrived in Hsi-ching 西京 (i.e., Yün-chung). Each person in charge of (state) affairs received (his proper) title and rank. Wu-tu Sa-han (Urtu Saqal, i.e., Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai) (became) Chief of the Presidential

Council, Nien-ho Chung-shan Right Prime Minister and Chen-hai Left Prime Minister" (SWCCL, 81a). From the above passages we can gather that, although Chinese official titles were already employed before September 1231, their use was officially sanctioned by the emperor only with the establishment of the Secretarial Council.

In conclusion, what Ögödei did, while in Yün-chung, was not "to create" a new administrative body, but rather to ratify the establishment of his former chancellery as a supreme administrative bureau planned on Chinese lines and to put Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, who was chiefly responsible for its organization and efficiency, in charge of it.

It may be noted here that the title yu-ch'eng-hsiang 右丞相 which occurs in Nien-ho Chung-shan's biography in YS 146, 12b9, is an error for chung-shu-ling 中書令. A similar error is found in the biography of Liu Ping-chung in YS 157, 4b3, where chung-ch'eng 中丞 should also be replaced by chung-shu-ling (these errors have already been noted by Wang Hui-tsu. Cf. YSPC 20, 1a, and 21, 2b.

163. 宣德路. See *supra*, n.129.

164. T'ai-fu 太傅. On this title cf. YS 85, 2a-b, and the additional remarks in HWHTK, 3257b.
165. 花禿, i.e., Yeh-lü T'u-hua 耶律禿花, a member of the imperial clan of Liao whose family had resided for several generations in Huan-chou 桓州 (north-west of T'ung-kou 洞溝 in Chi-an hsien 輯安縣, Liao-ning). He and his elder brother A-hai (*Aqai or *Ayai) were sent by the Chin government as envoys to Toyril, Ong-qan of the Keraites, at whose residence they met for the first time the future Cinggis Qan. They soon decided to side with him and we find them both mentioned among the conqueror's followers who drank the water of the Baljuna. (As already remarked by Ch'ien Ta-hsin, in YS 1, 16a, it is erroneously stated that A-hai "surrendered" to the Mongols in 1209. Cf. NESKI 86, 1411. For a list of the participants at the Baljuna covenant cf. HJAS 18, 1955, 402).

T'u-hua (Tuqa) distinguished himself in the war against Chin, in which he took part first under Jebe's and later under Muqali's orders. In 1214-1215 he received from Cinggis Qan the title of t'ai-fu 太傅 or Grand Tutor, by which he is usually designated, as well as other titles, and was granted

the Tiger Tally with the Silver Seal. He was later appointed Commander-in-chief (yüan-shuai 元帥), with jurisdiction over the Hsüan-te district. This fact, which is not mentioned in T'u-hua's biography in the YS, is attested by our text, the HTSL, 23a, and HYC I, 10a. From this last source it appears, moreover, that he was already holding this office in 1220. When Ögödei resumed the war against Chin in 1229, he was put in command of the three divisions of the Northern Chinese Army. In 1231 Ögödei ordered him to take part, under Tolui's command, in the attack on southern Ho-nan with two of his three divisions. He died, however, shortly afterwards in Hsi-ho chou 西和州, Kan-su, and was succeeded in office by his son Mo-ko 末哥. Of T'u-hua, beside various mentions in the Jāmi'at-Tawārīkh (SL 1/2, 179 and 274), SWCCL, 73b, MTPL, 9a, HTSL, 23a, and HYC I, 10a (the "Yeh-lü T'u-hua" in Waley, 59, is an error for "Ho-la", cf. HYC I, 12a), there are biographies in the YS 149, 22b-25a; HYS 135, 2b-3a; YSHP 23, 7a-b; YShu 33, 3b, and MWESC 49, 2b-3a (the latter is of particular importance as it rectifies the errors contained in the YS biography).

On T'u-hua see also the short reference found in the CTSC, which has been translated by Cleaves in HJAS 18 (1955), 404. The first two lines of T'u-hua's biography have also been translated by Cleaves, op. cit., 401.

Finally, on T'u-hua and A-hai cf. the important remarks by Pelliot in TP 27 (1930), 46-49. It should be noted, however, that on p.47 Pelliot, on the basis of the passage in A-hai's biography in the YS 150, 9b-10a, which reads 阿行中都省事 太師行中書省事, stated with regard to him that "...Genghis-khan l'avait en effet nommé t'ai-che en 1214 et mis à la tête du Grand Secrétariat..." As there was not yet a "Grand Secrétariat" 中書省 in 1214, the expression hsing-chung-shu-sheng-shih 行中書省事 in the above passage must be an error for hsing-shang-shu-sheng-shih 行尚書省事 = hsing-sheng 行者 [see supra, n.162]. T'u Chi's rectification of 行中書省事 into 行中都省事 in MWESC 49, 1b, is, I think, also incorrect, as we know that after the fall of Chung-tu it was Shih-mo Ming-an who was appointed hsing-sheng of the former Chin capital. Cf. YS 150, 18a, and supra, n.108.

166. Chung-shu 中書 = chung-shu-ling 中書令. On the expression chung-shu cf. TH, 子集, 84b.
167. Ming-ti 鳴鏑. On these arrows cf. Laufer, 224-226 n.4, and B.E. Wallacker's "Notes on the History of the Whistling Arrow". For the Mongol period we find references to them in the SH, 弓 116 (YCPS 3, 26b; however, in the parallel Mongolian text in the ATN, 64, the word yor in the expression dayutu yor, "sounding arrow", is erroneously glossed numun, "bow"), and in the HTSL, 18a, where they are the first mentioned in the list of the various kinds of arrows used by the Mongols. During Cinggis Qan's lifetime a Chinese by the name of Liu Wen 劉溫 gained renown at the Mongol court on account of his skill in making whistling arrows (cf. Waley, 38; this information is ultimately derived from the PWL 3, 766a. On Liu Wen see the Appendix, HYL, n.141). William of Rubruck received from Möngke as a present for the King of the Franks a strong bow and two arrows with heads of silver, full of holes, which - he writes - "sibilant quando iaciuntur quasi fistule" (SF I, 255). Strangely enough, no mention of these arrows is to be found in Il Milione.

For several references to whistling arrows in Chinese literature cf. PWYF V, 4026b.

168. The whole section in our text related to T'u-hua is missing in the Biography. It is, however, reproduced in YCMCSL 5, 60-61, but without mentioning the passage relating to the whistling arrow. Also, the order of the two characters 聞奏 at the end has been inverted.
169. Chung-kuei 中貴, short for chung-kuei-jen 中貴人, lit., "Inner (Palace) Nobleman". According to the TH, 子集, 85d, chung-kuei is equivalent to chung-kuan 中官, an expression which designates various kinds of officials, particularly those of the imperial harem. We find, for instance, chung-kuei used as a synonym for nei-kuan 內官 or eunuch in the YS 9, 4a. Cf. HJAS 19 (1956), 245 n.487. K'o Shao-min, on the other hand, has substituted in his biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai the chung-kuei of our text with chung-shih 中使 or Imperial Commissary (HYS 127, 3b; on the expression chung-shih see supra, n.107).
170. 苦木思不花. I have not identified this person, whose original (Turkish) name appears to have been Kümüş-Buqa, i.e., "Silver Bull" (see MW, 43 and 117). In the Biography, 5a3, he is called K'o-ssu Pu-hua

可思不花(? Kò[mũ]ś-Buqa; cf. the reading K'o-ssu Pu-ha 克斯布哈 of the YCMCSL 5, 61). While the transcription found in our text has been retained by K'o Shao-min (HYS 127, 3b), all the other biographies of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai have K'o-ssu Pu-ha. As for Buqa, a very common Mongolian name of the XIII and XIV centuries, particularly as the second element of a name consisting of two elements, cf. HJAS 20 (1957), 441 n.44.

171. For an interesting historical account of the grape-vine in China cf. Laufer's article in Sino-Iranica, 220-243. A study on the grape-vine during the Mongol period by Professor S. Iwamura is found in MZ, 3-13. Cf. also H.W. Bailey's article "Madu, a Contribution to the History of Wine", and the important note by Chavannes in TP 9 (1908), 360-362.

The province of Shan-hsi - the region of modern T'ai-yüan hsien 太原縣 in particular - was famed for its grape-wine from the time of the T'ang dynasty (Sino-Iranica, 236). The Mongols were well acquainted with spirits and although their favourite drink was kumiss (mo. taray), a fermented liquor made from mare's milk, they also drank grape-wine which they obtained from Central Asia. Ögödei, for

one, was addicted to it (see *infra*, n.296). During his stay at the ordo of Möngke, William of Rubruck drank red wine which he compared to that of La Rochelle (SF I, 260). Rockhill (186, n.1) commented on this as follows: "Red wine was probably brought to the Mongol court from Persia and Turkestan, but it must have been an uncommon drink. Can the drink of which our author speaks have been tea? This beverage was already in general use in Tibet, and probably in Mongolia in his time." I think there is no doubt that what Rubruck drank was wine. As pointed out by Laufer, *op. cit.*, 243, Hsü T'ing relates in the HTSL, 19b-20a, that grape-wine was sent as tribute to the Mongol court from the Moslem countries, and he gives moreover details as to its colour, taste, etc. (Cf. also E. Dulaurier, "Les Mongols, d'après les historiens arméniens", JA 1858, 248; *ibid.* 1860, 301.)

The Mongols soon realized the advantages they could derive from reviving the wine production in North China, where it had no doubt suffered severely on account of the war. We know that during the period of their rule the use of grape-wine spread extensively. Marco Polo, in his description of

Taianfu (i.e., T'ai-yüan fu 太原府, now T'ai-yüan hsien) says: "Ele a maintes belles vignes, des quelz ont vin en grant abondance. Et en toute la provence de Taianfu ne naist vin for que en ceste (ville) seulamant; et de ceste ville en vait por toute la provence." (Benedetto, 104; cf. also Yule II, 14-15 n.3.)

172. I.e., the population of the territory held by Chin. By "mountains" are meant the various mountain ranges of Shan-hsi, Shen-hsi and West Ho-nan.
173. The expressions Ho-nan 河南 and Ho-pei 河北 that are found in texts dealing with this period refer to the territories south and north of the Yellow River, held respectively by the Jurchen and the Mongols, and which, particularly in the case of Ho-pei, embraced a much larger area than the present provinces by these names.
174. The account in the Biography, 5a3-6, supplies some further details: "The Palace Noble K'o-ssu Pu-hua 可思不花 memorialized that workmen for (the mining and smelting of) gold and silver, and agricultural labourers be selected from the Western Region, as well as viticulturalists. The Emperor gave orders that over ten thousand households be transferred to

Hsi-ching and Hsüan-te to carry out these tasks. Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'The late Emperor (i.e., T'ai-tsu) left directions to the effect that the population beyond the mountains, being simple and not unlike our people (lit., "the people of [our] state"), could be employed as the occasion may demand. It is not advisable to move (households) heedlessly. At present we are about to attack Ho-nan. I beg you to spare its population and to charge it with such duties.' The Emperor approved his memorial." On Hsi-ching and Hsüan-te see *supra*, n.129.

This is, I believe, the first recorded instance of a proposal for the transfer of workers from Central Asia to China during the Mongol period. Before this date we possess only records of Chinese artisans and craftsmen who were moved from their country to Central Asia and Mongolia. Such is the case of those transferred at the beginning of the dynasty to the remote Chien-chien chou 謙謙州 (other orthographies: Chien-chien chou 儉儉州, Ch'ien-ch'ien chou 欠欠州, or simply Chien-chou 謙州) in Kirghiz territory and who, according to Li Chih-ch'ang (HYC 2, 10a), were engaged in weaving "fine silks, gauze, brocade and damask" (Waley, 124;

the HYC merely states that they were "settled" there. Their actual removal from China "at the beginning of the state" is, however, mentioned in YS 63, 35a, as pointed out by Wang Kuo-wei in his commentary to the relevant passage of the HYC). Chinese colonists were seen by Ch'ang-ch'un and his followers in the City of Chen-hai, near the Argun Mountains, as well as in Samarqand in 1221 (HYC I, 22b and 40a; Waley, 73 and 93. Chen-hai's removal of Chinese workmen to the city by his name took place in 1212 or soon afterwards). In 1265 a number of artisans of "various categories" (chu-se 諸色; on this expression cf. JA 211, 1927, 266 n.4) was re-transferred from the City of Chen-hai and from Chien-chien chou to Peking by order of Qubilai. Cf. YS 6, 1a.

Although Kümüš-Buqa's proposal was apparently rejected by Ögödei, we know that shortly afterwards households of workers from Central Asia were actually moved to North China. In Chen-hai's biography we read the following: "In the year kuei-ssu (1233), (Chen-hai) for his achievements in conquering Ts'ai-chou 蔡州 (modern Ju-nan hsien 汝南縣 in Ho-nan), was granted a thousand households in En-chou 恩州 (near modern En-hsien 恩縣, Shan-tung). Previous to

this, he had gathered youths of both sexes as well as artisans, and had established them in Hung-chou 弘州 (modern Yang-yüan hsien 陽原縣, Chahar). Shortly afterwards, over three hundred households of golden fabric weavers from the Western Region and more than three hundred households of furcoat makers from Pien-liang were attached to Hung-chou and, by order (of the Emperor), placed under the control of Chen-hai and his heirs" (YS 120, 10b-11a).

175. See supra, n.81.

176. 河西, i.e., the Tanguts or Hsi-Hsia, who lived west of the Yellow River. On this term cf. Schurmann, HJAS 14 (1951), 294 and n.7.

177. In the fiscal system set up under Qubilai, the term fu-i 賦役 was applied to a special category of obligations, i.e., to "corvées imposed on individuals or households in order to execute a public activity (such as the construction of public works, acting as village head, etc.), and exacted in the form of labor or service, or equivalent monetary payment". (H.F. Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 367.) In our text, however, fu-i must be understood in its broader meaning of "taxes and corvée", that is of obligations in general (cf. TY, 1418d; Palladius II, 70a).

178. We know that the subjects of the Mongol rulers had imposed upon them certain fiscal obligations which differed according to whether they were Mongols, Chinese or the people from Central Asia. In 1229, "Ögödei decreed that the Mongols should be levied one mare, one cow and one female sheep from each herd of a hundred. As for the North Chinese, he decreed that they were to be taxed on the basis of households (YS 2, 1b). From the Economic Monograph of the YS, we learn that in this period the household tax consisted of two bushels (shih 石) of grain (YS 93, 8a). This tax was still one of the traditional obligations of the Chinese peasant, which also included corvées such as irrigation, dike maintenance and the like. However, the population of North China was also subject to a number of taxes and duties newly established by the Mongols on the model of their own fiscal system. An account of these obligations can be found in the HTSL, 11a-b (the relevant passages have been translated by Schurmann, op. cit., 312-314). With the exception of artisans, each male or female adult in the cities had to pay, either to the qayan or to the nobles, an annual "poll-tax" of 25 liang 兩 or ounces of silk yarn, plus 50 ounces per animal

(ox and sheep). In the country, the sum exacted from the peasants was of 100 ounces per individual. In addition they had to supply the official envoys with food, lodging and goods of all kinds, to contribute towards the maintenance of the postal relay system and to supply provisions to the army when required.

We have already seen that with the establishment of the tax bureaux in 1230-1231, the Mongol government began collecting revenues from the commercial tax and from taxes imposed on liquor, vinegar, salt, iron smelters and mining products. The silver that the Mongols were thus able to draw from North China, silver being usually paid in commutation for yarn and floss, amounted to 500,000 ounces in 1230-1231 and to twice this figure two years later, after the conquest of the Chin Kingdom (the figure given in the HTSL, 11a, referring to the year 1233, is 20,000 ting 錠 or ingots. In this period 1 silver ingot = 50 ounces).

Regarding the taxation of the third group, i.e., of "the people of the Western Region" (Hsi-yü jen 西域人), Ögödei decreed that it should be on the basis of adults (ting 丁), and placed his Moslem adviser Mahmūd Yalawāchin in charge of it (YS 2, 1b).

This system of taxation did not apply, however, to "Westerners", mostly Central Asian businessmen who resided in North China and who ran the numerous "ortaq" corporations. Although later, during Qubilai's reign, they were forced to pay the commercial tax, at this early stage they were still exempt from all fiscal obligations (cf. ESYD, 214-215).

The fiscal system imposed by the Mongols in the northern provinces of China in this period was thus exceedingly confused, and the burden of it fell almost entirely on the native Chinese population. This burden, of course, became even heavier when natural calamities occurred or epidemics broke out. It was to obviate such an emergency situation that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai put forward the proposal that the privileged non-Chinese residents be subject to the same fiscal obligations of the Northern Chinese. Although our text states that the proposal was actually enforced (施行之), I can find no evidence to support this statement. On the contrary, we know that by 1232-1233 the land tax, which was originally of two bushels of grain (see above), had been raised to four bushels (cf. ESYD, 66). Moreover, had such a proposal been carried out, it would no doubt have been

mentioned in the Biography, where however there is no reference to it, as well as in other sources. I, therefore, believe that the scheme, which seems to have been at first approved by "Ögödei, was not in the end put into effect.

179. 陝(州), present Shen-hsien 陝縣, Ho-nan.
180. 洛(州), present Shan-yang hsien 山陽縣, Shen-hsi.
181. 秦(州), the present T'ien-shui hsien 天水縣 in Kan-su. This must undoubtedly be an error, as Ch'in-chou was not only quite removed from the other places with which it is mentioned in the Stele but, while these were all conquered in February-March 1232, Ch'in-chou was among the last prefectures to surrender to the Mongols after the extinction of the Chin Kingdom (cf. YS 2, 3a; MWESC 4, 7a, and the Stele, 15b10). T'u Chi (MWESC 48, 3b) has replaced the Ch'in of our text with Shang 商 (i.e., Shang-chou 商州, present Shang-hsien 商縣 in Shen-hsi), without however appending a note to justify the substitution.
182. 虢(州), south of present Ling-pao hsien 靈寶縣, Ho-nan.
183. Cf. the Biography, 5a7-9: "In spring of the year jen-ch'en, when the Emperor in his campaign against the South was about to cross (the Yellow) River, he

issued an edict to the effect that those fugitives who surrendered (to the Mongol army) would have their lives spared. Someone said: 'If these people are reduced to straits they surrender, but if leniency is shown to them they run away to help the enemy. We cannot be clement.' Ch'u-ts'ai requested that several hundred flags be cut and distributed among the people who had surrendered and that they be sent back to their own villages. The lives that were spared (on this occasion) were indeed many."

"Ögödei apparently crossed the Yellow River at Pai-p'o 白坡 (south-east of present Meng-chin hsien 孟津縣 in Ho-nan) on 28 January 1232, this being the date given in CS 17, 11b, and accepted by K'o Shao-min (HYS 2, 4b) and T'u Chi (MWESC 4, 6b). The date found in the SWCCL, 81b, is 29 January, while the one given in YS 2, 2a, is 30 January. The latter date was adopted by Wang Kuo-wei in NP, 13b.

184. The character k'ou 口 in YWL 57, 883.8, is a typographical error for shih 石.
185. The following passage from Juwaynī, 145, is quite descriptive of the way the Mongol generals dealt with the people of the towns that they wished to conquer: "At the beginning of Rabi' I, 617 (May, 1220), Yeme

(i.e., Jebe - I.R.) and Sübetei arrived before Nishapur and dispatched an envoy to Mujir-al-Mulk Kafi Rukhkhi, Farid-ad-Din and Ziya-al-Mulk Zuzani, who were the ministers and sadrs of Khorasan, calling upon them to submit and surrender and demanding provisions ('ulūfa) and offerings of food (nuzl). They dispatched three persons from the mass of the people to Yeme bearing offerings and presents and making outward profession of submission. Yeme admonished them saying that they should eschew opposition and hostility and whenever a Mongol or a Mongol envoy arrived they should welcome him and not rely upon the stoutness of their walls and the multitude of their people; so that their houses and property might go unscathed. And by way of token they gave the envoys an al-tamgha in the Uighur script and a copy of a yarligh of Chingiz-khan, whereof the gist was as follows: 'Let the emirs and great ones and the numerous common people know this that...(missing in the text - I.R.) all the face of the earth from the going up of the sun to his going down I have given it unto thee. Whosoever, therefore, shall submit, mercy shall be shown unto him and unto his wives and children and household; but whosoever

shall not submit, shall perish together with all his wives and children and kinsmen.'

The Mongols indited documents after this manner and encouraged the people of the town with provinces.... Wherever the people came forward to tender submission they were spared; but those that offered resistance were utterly destroyed." According to the Armenian chronicler Kirakos, who was an eye-witness of the Mongol invasion, the mere possession of a weapon was fatal ("Quiconque possédait une épée la cachait, de peur que la découverte d'une arme chez soi ne le fît massacrer impitoyablement." Trans. by E. Dulaurier in JA, 1858, 217).

Ultimately, this was the logical and inevitable result of the enforcement of the principle, contained in the Yasa (mo. jasang, "[the Mongol] Law" to which our text refers as the "State Law" and the Biography as the "Old Law", see *infra*, n.191) that "every nation refusing to recognize the supremacy of the great khan is considered rebel" (Vernadsky, 102; cf. also HJAS 3, 1938, 344-345). We find this concept, which is at the foundation of the Mongol foreign policy of this period, referred to over and over again in contemporary accounts on the Mongols, as well as

in the letters sent by their qayans to leaders of other nations or faiths, in edicts, in the legends on the imperial seals and on "paizas". John of Plano Carpini, in his Ystoria Mongalorum, speaking of the laws and statutes made by Cinggis Qan, and which "Tartari inviolabiter observant", states: "Aliud statutum est quod sibi subiugare debeant omnen terram, nec cum aliqua gente pacem habere debeant, nisi subdatur eis, quousque veniat tempus interfectionis eorum." (SF I, 64.) He also states: "Sciendum quod cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem nisi subdantur eis, quia, ut dictum est supra, a Chingischan habent mandatum ut cunctas sibi si possunt subiciant nationes." (Ibid., 84.) The following words that Grigor of Akanc' quotes as having been spoken by Cinggis Qan to the Mongol general Cormaqan are also quite indicative: "It is the will of God that we (i.e., the Mongols - I.R.) take the earth and maintain order, and impose the (y)asax, that they (i.e., the others - I.R.) abide by our command and give us tzyu, mal, t'ayar, and yp'c'ur. Those, however, who do not submit to our command or give us tribute, slay them and destroy their place, so that the others who hear and see should fear and not act thus."

(Grigor, 33; see also Kirakos in JA 1858, 249. For the terms *tz̄yu*, *mal*, *t'ayar* and *yp'c'ur* cf. Grigor, 118 n.25.) In Güyüg's letter to Pope Innocent IV we find expressions such as "Et si vous agissiez selon vos propres paroles, toi qui es le grand pape, avec les rois, venez ensemble en personne pour nous rendre hommage, et nous vous ferons entendre à ce moment-là les ordres (résultant) du yāsā." (Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté, 18.) "Dans la force de Dieu, depuis le soleil levant jusqu'à son occident, tous les territoires nous ont été octroyés. Sauf par l'ordre de Dieu, comment quelqu'un pourrait-il rien faire? A présent, vous devez dire d'un coeur sincère: 'Nous serons (vos) sujets; nous (vous) donnerons notre force'. Toi en personne, à la tête des rois, tous ensemble, sans exception, venez nous offrir service et hommage. A ce moment-là nous connaissons votre soumission. Et si vous n'observez pas (?) l'ordre de Dieu et contravenez à nos ordres, nous vous saurons (nos) ennemis." (Ibid., 21.)

The same concept is expressed in Güyüg's edict that Baiju-noyan transmitted in 1247 to the Dominican friar Ascelin (ibid., 119), in Baiju's own letter to Innocent IV (ibid. 128), in Möngke's letter to

Louis IX (SF I, 307), and in the legend on Güyük's seal (HJAS 15, 1952, 494-495). Commenting on the Mongolian expression *il burya irgen-dür*, lit., "to the submitted and to the rebel people", occurring in the text of this seal, Mostaert and Cleaves wrote: "On se pose naturellement la question : Que faut-il entendre par 'peuples révoltés'? Pour nous, pour qu'il y ait 'révolte', il faut qu'il y ait eu un état de soumission qui l'a précédée, mais, pour le Mongols de cette époque, pour qui l'empire universel sous un souverain mongol était un dogme qu'on ne mettait pas en question, étaient bulya irgen 'peuple révoltés' tous ceux qui actuellement ne s'étaient pas encore soumis à leur domination. Ce sceau de Güyük apposé sur une lettre dont le destinataire était le pape, abstraction faite du contenu de cette lettre, montre déjà à l'évidence que son détenteur, tout comme ses prédécesseurs, se considérait comme étant de droit divin maître de l'univers, auquel toutes les nations devaient obéissance." (Ibid., 493.) Cf. also W. Kotwicz, "Formules initiales des documents mongols aux XIII-e et XIV-e ss.", 137. The Mongol concept of imperial power has already been discussed by E. Voegelin in his article "The Mongol

Orders of Submission to European Powers 1245-1255", in Byzantion 15, 1941, 378-413 (not available to me at present). On this subject cf. also GK, 55-56, and ES, 274-275. Further references to the diplomatic correspondence of the Mongol rulers can be found in HJAS 3 (1938), 345 n.29a.

Death penalty was prescribed for contravening the principle of universal submission to the Mongol sovereignty as well as for almost all types of crime, for, as stated by Vernadsky, 106, "the main objective of punishment as understood by the Yasa was physical annihilation of the offender". Hence the well-known ruthlessness displayed by the Mongols in the course of their campaigns. In the Chinese sources the earliest reference to the fate of the cities which opposed the Mongol army is the following brief but rather eloquent passage in the MTPL, 12a: "Once the city is taken, no matter whether old or young, beautiful or ugly, rich or poor, in favour or against, all are put to death. In general, they (i.e., the Mongols) do not show the slightest clemency." On the "jasay" cf. the important note (14) by Cleaves in HJAS 20 (1957), 429-433, which contains also the essential bibliography on the subject.

186. 汴京, i.e., Pien or Pien-liang 汴梁 (modern K'ai-feng hsien 開封縣, Ho-nan), the capital of the Chin Kingdom from 1214 to 1233. A short historical account on this city by A. Vissière is found in Madrolle, 206-208.
187. The siege of Pien began at the end of March 1232. The Mongol army, led by Sübütei, entered the city in May-June 1233 (YS 2, 3a-b). A detailed account of the siege in a Western language is found in HM II, 33-47. Cf. also CS 17, 13b-18, 6b, and MWESC 4, 7a-8a.
188. 速不台, i.e., the famous Mongol general Sübütei (1176-1248). This rather unusual transcription of his name is also found in the HTSL, 23a. Other transcriptions occurring in our sources are: Su-pu-t'ai 速不台, Hstleh-pu-t'ai 雪不台, Su-pu-tai 速不歹, Su-pieh-e-t'ai 速別額台, Su-pai-ko-t'e-i 蘇伯格特依. Regarding the orthography Su-pu-t'ai 速不台, Cleaves writes: "This transcription of the name of the great general is based on a current pronunciation of the period. It alternates with that of Sübütei below (i.e., with the transcription Hstleh-pu-t'ai 雪不台 which is found in YS 122, 10a - I.R.). Sübütei ~ Söbütei < Sübētei ~ Söbētei < Sübe'etei ~ Söbe'etei < Sübegetei ~ Söbegetei. In

the passage of $-\bar{e}-\rightarrow-\bar{u}-$ we have an instance of progressive assimilation which is so extremely common in Mongolian phonology." (HJAS 18, 1955, 398 n.239.) In a brief note (1) devoted to this name in JA 1920, 163, Pelliot wrote: "En mongol écrit, Sübügätäi; dans le texte 'mongol' du Yuan tch'ao pi-che, Sübü'ätäi; en prononciation réelle, Sübü'täi."

There are two biographies of Sübü'tei in the YS (121, 1a-8b, and 122, 10a-12a), a fact which, as already remarked by Pelliot (loc. cit.) and Cleaves (op. cit., 398 n.242), shows the haste with which this work was compiled. A number of errors contained in these two biographies have been pointed out by Ch'ien Ta-hsin in NESKI 94, 1525 and 1528-1529, and subsequently by Wang Hui-tsu in YSPC 17, 7b-8a and 10b.

Other biographies of Sübü'tei are found in HYS 122, 1a-5b; YSLP 17, 30a-32a; YSHP 22, 1a-3b; YShu 34, 2b-4a; MWESC 29, 9a-14a. An annotated biography of the general by Hung Chün, which was to form ch. 19 of the YSIWCP, was unfortunately never completed owing to the author's premature death. The only biography of Sübü'tei in a western language is the one by P. Abel-Rémusat entitled "Souboutai, Général

Mongol", in NMA 2 (1829), 89-97. Partial translations of Sübütei's biographies in the YS can be found in MR I, 287-288 (YS 121, 2a2-2a8); 297-298 (YS 121, 2a10-2b8); 330-332 (YS 121, 4a3-4b9; the last line of Bretschneider's translation in MR I, 332, which runs: "...where he died in 1246, sixty years old.", should be corrected to "...where he died in 1248, seventy-three years old."); E. Haenisch, "Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod", 533-534 (YS 121, 2a2-2a9); F.W. Cleaves, "The Historicity of the Baljuna Covenant", 398 (YS 121, 1a9-1b1, and 122, 10b1-3); Juwaynī 373, n.35 (YS 121, 2a4-5; trans. by Cleaves). A study by S. Iwamura entitled "Genshi Sokubudai-den no seisei kigi ni tsuite" 元史速不台傳の西征紀事に就いて ("Concerning the account of the Western Campaign in the biography of Su-pu-t'ai in the Yüan shih") is found in MZ, 147-152. Historical and geographical information contained in Sübütei's biographies has been utilized by several orientalist and historians, such as Bretschneider (MR I, 287-288, 297-298, 312, 330-332); Grousset (EM, 259-260 and 520-521); Pelliot (HCG, 43, 47, 115, 116; JA 1920, 163-164), and, more recently, by Martin (7, 133, 233, 290, 299) and Boyle (Juwaynī,

370 n.30, 373 n.35). Sübütei is, of course, frequently mentioned in the SH (120 et passim), in the works of the Persian historians (cf. SL 1/1, 97 et passim; 1/2, 204 et passim; Juwaynī, 101 et passim; HM I, 155 et passim), and in the Russian chronicles (cf. the sections dealing with Batu's campaign in Russia in the works by N.M. Karamzin, S.M. Soloviev, E. Khara-Davan, etc., which are listed in Vernadsky, 50 n.132. Cf. also MR I, 319 and n.759. Sübütei is also mentioned once in Kirakos' chronicle, cf. JA, 1858, 200 and n.1). On Sübütei cf. also CM, 340-346, and TP 31 (1934-1935), 157. Owing to an original error in YSLP 17, 32a3, where the location of Sübütei's death is given as T'u-na ho 秃纳河, i.e., the River Danube, instead of T'u-la ho 秃刺河, i.e., the Tūla River, both Rémusat, ib., 97, and Giles (CBD, 680, no.1784) have incorrectly stated that the Mongol general died on the banks of the Danube. On the Uriangqai, the tribe from which Sübütei originated, cf. the recent article by H. Wilhelm "A Note on the Migration of the Uriangkhai", which contains a useful review of earlier references to this interesting tribe.

189. I.e., that they have been in the field. On the expression pao-lu 暴露 cf. Palladius I, 341b, and LMTT V, 辰, 74-75.
190. 完顏, the imperial clan of the Jurchen. Members of this clan survived the Mongol persecution and, during the Manchu dynasty, some of their descendants distinguished themselves in public and literary life. Among these we may cite Asitan 阿什坦(d. 1683 or 1684), Hesu 和素 (1652-1718), Lin-ch'ing 麟慶 (1791-1846) and Ch'ung-shih 崇實 (1820-1876), whose biographies are found in Hummel. On the origin of this clan, besides the information contained in the SMCW (cf. p.42b in particular on the Chinese derivation of the name Wan-yen), see Gibert, 930; GCR IV, 184 and V, 105.
191. The Biography, 5a9-5b6, says: "According to the Old (i.e., Mongol) Law, whenever a city or town was attacked, to oppose resistance by shooting arrows or stones was to withstand the orders and, once conquered, (their inhabitants) were always put to death. When Pien-liang was about to fall, the great general Su-pu-t'ai 速不台 sent a messenger to report (to the Emperor) that, as the people of Chin had put up a long resistance and many (Mongol) soldiers had died

or were wounded, it was right to slaughter them on the day the city fell. Ch'u-ts'ai hastened to submit the following petition to the Emperor: 'It is several decades that our officers and men have been exposed (to all weathers). What they desire is nothing but the land and the people. If we obtain the land without the people, what use are we going to make of it?' The Emperor was still undecided. Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'Skilful workmen and wealthy people are all gathered here. If you exterminate them, there will be nothing to seize.' The Emperor then agreed and issued an edict to the effect that only the Wan-yen clan be condemned, and no punishment be inflicted on the rest (of the population). At the time there were 1,470,000 people who had taken shelter in Pien." From the last sentence of the above account we see that there is disagreement between the Stele and the Biography as to the actual population of Pien during the famous siege. The figure given in the Stele, i.e., 1,470,000 households, was adopted by Shao Yüan-p'ing (YSLP 11, 3b) and K'o Shao-min (HYS 127, 4b; 1,700,000 is a misprint for 1,470,000), while the one found in the Biography, i.e., 1,470,000 individuals was adopted by Wei Yüan

(YSHP 25, 4a) and, more recently, by T'u Chi (MWESC 48, 4a).

In a note devoted to this question in the NP, App. 4b-5a, Wang Kuo-wei wrote: "At the end of the Chin (dynasty), according to the spirit-way stele of Wen-cheng 文正 (i.e., of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai), the population of Pien-ching was 1,470,000 households. His biography in the Yüan shih says that it was 1,470,000 people. Now, 1,470,000 households would correspond to four or five million people, this is why (the word) 'households' 戶 has been changed to 'individuals' 口 (in the Yüan shih). However, in the Annals of Ai-tsung 哀宗 in the Chin shih (we read that) in the fifth month of the first year of T'ien-hsing 天興 (22 May-20 June 1232) 'an epidemic broke out in Pien-ching and in fifty days the dead taken out of the (city) gates (to be buried) were more than 900,000, this figure not including paupers who could not afford (a proper) burial' (ibid. 17, 14b - I.R.). Furthermore, in the biography of Ts'ui Li 崔立 (we read that) 'people stealthily told each other that the K'ai-feng Administration 開封府 had reckoned that in the seven-eight days following the attack of the city (by the Mongols), those who were taken out

of the (city) gates and buried were altogether more than a million people' (ibid. 115, 6b - I.R.). So, one can realize the density of the population of Pien-ching. At that time, North Ho-nan was swarming with soldiers and bandits, and this is why the population of Chin had all gathered in Pien-ching. Thus, the statement about the 1,470,000 households might not be entirely wrong." Among the Western scholars, Rémusat, 74, had already remarked with regard to this figure that it was a "nombre énorme, et qui pourrait sembler incroyable, si l'on ne savait que la terreur inspirée par les Mongols avait engagé la plupart des habitants du Ho-nan à se réfugier dans la vaste enceinte de Khaï-foung." More recently Wieger, referring to the million people who were killed during the first sixteen days of the siege ("sixteen days and nights" according to the TCTC 166, 4519, which is the source used by Wieger but, as mentioned above, only 7-8 days according to the CS) wrote: "Pour comprendre cette chiffre et les suivants, il faut savoir que presque toute la nation des Kinn s'était réfugiée dans la place; sept millions d'âmes environs..." (Wieger II, 1660). The discrepancy between Wang's and Wieger's figures for the total

population of Pien at the time of the siege (4-5 millions versus 7 millions) comes from the different ratio used by these two authors in regard to the number of individuals per household. Against the usual 1:5 ratio accepted by Wieger, Wang's apparently low 1:3 ratio is quite justified, in my opinion, in view of the severe losses in human lives suffered by the Chinese civilian population during the long war with the Mongols.

Another interesting point raised by Wang Kuo-wei in the NP, App. 4b, is that the credit for the sparing of Pien should actually go to a personage called Cheng Ching-hsien 鄭景賢 rather than to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Of Cheng Ching-hsien very little is known. Li Chih-ch'ang mentions him once in the HYC 2, 3b (Waley, 110 and n.1), from which source we learn that he was Ögödei's personal physician. His name appears frequently in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's works and many of the latter's poems, about one tenth of the total number, are on Ching-hsien or written "to the rhymes" of Ching-hsien's poems. In them he is always referred to either by his courtesy name Ching-hsien or by his style Lung-kang 龍岡, but never by his personal name which is unknown. From

these poems it appears that Ch'u-ts'ai was on terms of close friendship with the physician.

Yao Sui 姚遂 (1239-1314) states in MAC 3, 44, that Kao Tao-ning 高道凝, one of Sui's friends, composed Ching-hsien's tomb inscription, the text of which is now unfortunately lost. Yao Sui quotes, however, a passage from the inscription where three of Ching-hsien's virtues are praised. In the first place the text mentions his integrity (廉), and relates how Ögödei once offered him 50,000 ounces of silver as a present and he refused. On another occasion, the emperor offered him two thousand strings of cash "to pay off his debts" but he again declined. Next follow two examples of his modesty (讓). Ögödei twice wanted to endow him with land, like a feudal prince, but Ching-hsien refused both times. The emperor offered him the direction of the Secretarial Council but this office was also declined. Dealing finally with Ching-hsien's humanity (仁), the MAC says: "The Chin, after their territory had been reduced (by the Mongols), still held the capital Pien. T'ai-tsung was angry at its late surrender and, once captured, he intended to satisfy his desire (for revenge). His Excellency (Cheng) facing

(the Emperor's) wrath, explained to him the implications (of his planned action). Thanks to the sparing of the city, the people who were saved from death amounted, by and large, to several hundred thousands." Kao Tao-ning's statements, quoted by Yao Sui, are very interesting and it is indeed regrettable that we do not possess more information on this remarkable man. According to Wang Kuo-wei, T'ai-tsung's esteem for his Chinese physician was even higher than that for Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, as shown by the fact that the post of Chief of the Secretarial Council which was filled by the latter had apparently been first offered to Ching-hsien. Finally, Wang Kuo-wei credits Ching-hsien for the harmony that reigned always between Ögödei and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. According to the great Chinese scholar, Ching-hsien used his influence on the emperor to smooth away differences that may have arisen in the daily relations between him and his minister.

There is unfortunately too little evidence to support Wang's claim, although it no doubt provides a reasonable explanation for the unusually long and harmonious relationship between Ögödei and Yeh-lü

Ch'u-ts'ai. Wang himself, discussing the same question again in the HYC 2, 4a, is far less categorical about Ching-hsien's role than in his earlier work.

192. See *supra*, n.173.

193. See *infra*, n.195 and 200. By "the cities of the Huai and the Han" are meant the cities and towns in southern Ho-nan still held by the Jurchen. The Mongols, with the military assistance of Southern Sung, completed the conquest of the Chin Kingdom in February 1234, following the capture of Ts'ai-chou 蔡州 and the death of the last Chin emperor. For details cf. HM II, 50-56.

194. (孔) 元措, on whom see *infra*, n.195.

195. Yen-sheng Kung 衍聖公. Regarding this event, the Biography, 5b6-8, says: "Ch'u-ts'ai also petitioned (the Emperor) to despatch a messenger to the city to seek out Confucius' posterity. Having fetched Yüan-ts'u, a descendant (of Confucius) in the fifty-first generation, he (Ch'u-ts'ai) advised the Emperor to confer upon him the hereditary title of Duke Yen-sheng and to grant him the grounds of the Forest and Temple." The Forest and Temple (lin-miao 林廟) refer to the grave and temple of Confucius in Ch'ü-fou 曲阜 (present Ch'ü-fou hsien 曲阜縣 in Shan-tung),

the place of birth and death of the Sage. For a short description of this locality in a Western language, cf. Chavannes' notice in Madrolle, 168-173. Cf. also TRD II, 257c.

The title of Duke Yen-sheng (lit., "Overflowing Saintliness") was first conferred in 1055 by Emperor Jen-tsung 仁宗 (r. 1023-1063) of Sung upon K'ung Tsung-yüan 孔宗愿 (Wieger II, 1594, erroneously has K'ung Shih-yüan 孔世愿), a descendant of Confucius in the forty-seventh generation (SS 12, 9a; for more details see, however, HTCTC, 1337).

From the short notice on K'ung Yüan-ts'u in CS 105, 5b, and from the more informative section on him in the Chüeh-li chih 闕里志 (as quoted in KCTSCC 267, 11b-12a) we learn that Yüan-ts'u was born in 1181 and his courtesy name was Meng-te 夢得. He succeeded to his father's title of Duke Yen-sheng and to his post of Magistrate of Ch'ü-fou hsien (曲阜縣令) in 1197. He was subsequently appointed to several important offices by the Chin emperors Hsüan-tsung and Ai-tsung, his latest appointment being that of President of (the Hall of) Sacrificial Worship (T'ai-ch'ang [-ssu]-ch'ing 太常[寺]卿; on this office, which was of 3b, cf. CS 55, 21a). In 1233

Yüan-ts'u left Pien and went to Tung-p'ing, in Shantung, where he was put in charge of sacrificial affairs on the strength of his title (see below).

Additional information on Yüan-ts'u is found in the Annals of Ai-tsung in the CS, in the YS and in the works of Yüan Hao-wen. The following is a brief review of the relevant passages in these sources.

In CS 17, 13a, we read: "In the third month (of the first year of the period T'ien-hsing, i.e., 24 March-21 April 1232)...an envoy sent by the Great Yüan arrived (in Pien) from Cheng-chou 鄭州 with the order to surrender.... He also demanded (the release of) the Academician Chao Ping-wen 趙秉文, of K'ung Yüan-ts'u Duke Yen-sheng and of twenty-seven other persons, as well as of relatives of people who had offered allegiance (to the Mongols), the wife and sons of (1-la 移刺) P'u-a 蒲阿, women embroiderers, bow-makers, falconers and several tens of others."

Now, we know from the Biography that it was Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai who had prompted Ögödei to demand the release of K'ung Yüan-ts'u and, from the tomb inscriptions of Pien-ts'ai and Shan-ts'ai, that he had made a similar request with regard to his own two brothers (see supra, n.147). The latter's names were, no



doubt, among those of "the relatives of people who had offered allegiance". Regarding the exact date of the envoy's summon, both the *Stele* and the *Biography* are silent. In the above passage of the CS, the envoy's arrival in Pien is recorded with the entries of the third month (24 March-21 April). However, from Pien-ts'ai's tomb inscription it appears that Emperor Ai-tsung had already received Ögödei's message by the first day of the second month, i.e., by 23 February (see *supra*, n.147). As the CS states that the envoy came from Cheng-chou (modern Chenghsien 鄭縣, Ho-nan) and as Ögödei halted in this city on 5 February and left it almost immediately (he was in Hsin-cheng 新鄭 three days later, cf. YS 2, 2b-3a), we may conclude that the date given in Pien-ts'ai's tomb inscription is the correct one and that the envoy arrived in Pien not later than 23 February. This is further corroborated by the statement contained in the same tomb inscription to the effect that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was authorized by the emperor to demand the release of his two brothers "on the first month" (24 January-22 February).

According to the HTCTC, 4540-4541, Yüan-ts'u did not leave the Chin capital till the fourth month

(11 May-9 June) of the following year when, the text says, "(Ts'ui) Li (崔) 立 took the Queen Mother, the Empress, Prince Liang 梁, Prince Ching 荆 and all the imperial concubines and, on thirty-seven chariots, together with over five hundred members of the imperial house of both sexes, with K'ung Yüan-ts'u Duke Yen-sheng and (members of) the three faiths, physicians, diviners, artisans and women embroiderers, sent them over to Ch'ing-ch'eng 青城." (Ch'ing-ch'eng is the Southern Ch'ing-ch'eng 南青城, outside K'ai-feng, where Sübütei had encamped shortly before entering the Chin capital.) Although the HTCTC is probably correct, we must point out that while both the CS 18, 6b (and also 115, 6b) and the KCC 11, 11b, relate this event, no mention is made in either of these sources of K'ung Yüan-ts'u being among the people sent over to the Mongols on this occasion.

Further, in YS 2, 3b, we read the following: "In the sixth month (of the fifth year of T'ai-tsung, i.e., 9 July-6 August 1233)...an edict was issued to the effect that Yüan-ts'u, a descendant of K'ung-tzu in the fifty-first generation, be granted the hereditary title of Duke Yen-sheng." To fully understand the above passage, we should recall that after

the capital of Chin had been moved to Pien in 1214 and Yüan-ts'u transferred there with the court, a member of a collateral line of the K'ung family named Yüan-yung 元用 assumed the direction of sacrificial affairs in the north. When the Southern Sung army occupied part of Shan-tung in 1219-1220, Yüan-yung, who was in the occupied territory, was made Duke Yen-sheng by the Sung authorities. Later, when the Mongol army took over, Muqali, acting on Cinggis Qan's orders, sanctioned the title given by the Sung to Yüan-yung and further appointed him Magistrate of Ch'ü-fou. In 1225 both title and office passed to Yüan-yung's son Chih-ch'üan 之全 and remained with him till 1233 (cf. K'ung Yüan-yung's biography from the Chüeh-li chih quoted in KCTSCC 267, 12a; cf. also HWHTK, 3223b). Ögödei's edict of the sixth month of this year for which, as we learn from the Biography, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was responsible, finally restored the title of Duke Yen-sheng and the privileges connected with it to its rightful owner Yüan-ts'u. (A brief mention of this event is also found in CBD, 401, no.1043. However, according to the FTLTTT 21, 704a, the merit for reinstating Yüan-ts'u to his hereditary title and office goes to

the Ch'an Master Hai-yün 海雲, who apparently recommended him strongly to Šigi-Qutuqu. On Hai-yün see *infra*, n.266.) We possess, moreover, the text of a letter written by Yüan Hao-wen to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai which enables us to throw further light on the circumstances that led to the promulgation of the edict. Yüan Hao-wen, who was in Pien throughout the siege, wrote the letter in question on 1 June 1233, that is immediately after the surrender of the city to the Mongols. The text of the letter is published in the ISHSWC 39, 1a-3a and in KCWL 37, 1a-3a (YWL 37, 489-490). In it, after having emphasized the importance of obtaining accomplished officials for the public administration and the time and labour required to train a man for this task, Yüan Hao-wen wrote: "I happen to notice that the scholars and grandees of the South (i.e., those formerly with the Chin government) who have returned to (the territory) north of the (Yellow) River are among those available (for employment). Among them are: a descendant of the Sage (i.e., of Confucius) like Duke Yen-sheng K'ung; senior people like...(follow four names); and junior people like...(follow forty-nine names). All these men, though differing in learning and character,

are on the whole the most accomplished among the law-abiding people and can be of use to the world. Since hundreds of years education has been available to everybody but few are those who have achieved success: only thirty or forty people since (the beginning of the present) disorders. Nowadays, to live is difficult and to become an accomplished person even more so; yet (these men) have not died in war or perished by cold and hunger. What sense would there be in the fact that Heaven has raised and given a new dynasty to them (if they now perish)? If, with Your Excellency's influence, they were enabled to shake off the shame of their menial condition and put an end to the servitude of their wanderings, and be provided with communal living and individual duties - not necessarily with full scholar's emoluments, as some porridge would do them for food and coarse cotton to cover their bodies - the expense would not be very great. Still, by granting this to them, you will indeed put the flesh on their bones (i.e., you will bring them back to life). One day Your Excellency, looking for people to attend to the various government affairs, will find them close at hand, for (men versed in) etiquette, rites and music,

laws and belle lettres are all to be found among these...." Although Yüan-ts'u's reinstatement falls into line with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's policy of restoring the traditional order, I have no doubt, by comparing the date of this letter (1 June) with that of the edict (sixth month: 9 July-6 August), that his action was, in the present case, prompted in large measure by Yüan Hao-wen's moving appeal.

In 1237 Ögödei ordered Yüan-ts'u to restore the Hsüan-sheng Temple 宣聖廟 (i.e., Confucius' Temple) in Chüeh-li and public money was provided for the task (HWHTK, 3223b).

The next mention of Yüan-ts'u in the YS is of the eleventh month of the tenth year of T'ai-tsung (8 December 1238-6 January 1239) when, the text says, "he came to court and said to the Emperor: 'At present rites and music are neglected. As in Yen-ching, Nan-ching (i.e., Pien) and other places there is still a large number of former dignitaries of (the Hall of) Sacrificial Worship of the extinguished Chin (dynasty), and ritual texts and musical instruments as well, I beg you to issue an edict to the effect that they be employed.' Thereupon, (the Emperor) issued an edict ordering that in all

localities, the officials in charge of the civil administration should know the rites and music like under the extinguished Chin (dynasty). Former (Chin) officials were allowed to move to Tung-p'ing and (the Emperor) ordered Yüan-ts'u to take control of them. Their salary was provided by the revenue from the taxes of the district. In the eleventh year (of T'ai-tsung, i.e., in 1239), Yüan-ts'u went, by imperial decree, to Yen-ching to fetch the (former) Superintendent of Music of Chin, Hsü Cheng 許政, the (former) Superintendent of Rites, Wang Chieh 王節, the musician Ti Kang 翟剛 and other ninety-two persons. In the fourth month in summer of the twelfth year (of T'ai-tsung, i.e., 24 April-22 May 1240), for the first time (the Emperor) ordered music to be composed and have musicians go up (into the Hall), and to practise (music) in the Hsüan-sheng Temple in Ch'ü-fou (YS 68, 1a-b; cf. also *ibid.* 67, 2a). It is very likely to Hsü Cheng and the other people mentioned in this passage that Sung Tzu-ch'en refers in the next sentence of the Stele as the persons versed in rites and music who had fled and dispersed.

Yüan-ts'u is again mentioned in YS 72, 3a, where we read: "On the eighth day (on the 'eleventh day', according to YS 65, 2a) of the eighth month in autumn of the second year of the reign of Hsien-tsung 憲宗 (13 September 1252), for the first time (the Emperor), wearing the ceremonial cap and dress, worshipped Heaven on the Jih-yüeh shan 日月山. On the twelfth day (17 September; this is probably an error for 'twelfth month' 十月 = 月; cf. YSPC 10, 4a, and MWESC 6, 6b - I.R.), he (the Emperor), putting again into practice the words of K'ung's (i.e., Confucius') descendant Yüan-ts'u, performed a joint sacrifice to the Great Heaven and the August Earth." (Cf. also KCWL 41, 9b, and YSCSPM 2, 49.) From this last mention it would appear that Yüan-ts'u was still alive in 1252.

K'ung Yüan-ts'u is also the author of a work in 12 chüan entitled K'ung-shih tsu-t'ing kuang-chi 孔氏祖庭廣記 (pub. in SPTK, hstü-pien; TSCC, nos. 3316-3317), a collection of miscellaneous information on Confucius and his descendants. On this work, cf. K.T. Wu, "Chinese Printing...", 507-508, and Pl.XI. However, Wu's statement that the K'ung-shih... "was first printed in Nanking (i.e., in Pien -

I.R.) at the suggestion of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai during the Chin dynasty" (ibid., 507) is incorrect. There is no evidence that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was at any time connected with the printing of this work. For details cf. Ch'ien Ta-hsin's colophon to the K'ung-shih... (p.159 of the TSCC ed.).

196. 梁陟. See infra, n.200.
197. Pien-hsiu-so 編修所.
198. Ching-chi-so 經籍所. For the expression ching-chi 經籍 cf. LMTT VII, 未, 113b-c, and Palladius II, 194a.
199. 平陽. See supra, n.129.
200. In the Biography, 5b8-6a1, we read: "He (Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai) instructed him (K'ung Yüan-ts'u) to gather persons versed in the rites and music for Sacrificial Worship and to summon renowned Confucian scholars, such as Liang Chih 梁陟, Wang Wan-ch'ing 王萬慶 and Chao Chu 趙著. They were employed for the correct interpretation of the Nine Classics and to lecture on them to the Heir Apparent. Further, he induced the sons and grandsons of the great dignitaries to take up the Classics and explain their meaning, so that they may learn the Way of the Sages. He established a Compilation Bureau in Yen-ching and a

Bureau of Literature in P'ing-yang from which arose the civil administration." Among the Chinese scholars who, after the destruction of Chin, sought employment with the Mongol government through Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's assistance, we must mention the fifty-three people (fifty-four with K'ung Yüan-ts'u) recommended by Yüan Hao-wen in his famous letter (see supra, n.195). They are the following: Feng Shu-hsien 馮叔獻, Liang Tou-nan 梁斗南, Kao T'ang-ch'ing 高唐卿, Wang Ts'ung-chih 王從之, Wang Kang 王綱, Wang O 王鶚, Wang Pen 王賁, Li Hao 李浩, Chang Hui 張徽, Yang Huan 楊奐, Li T'ing-hsün 李庭訓, Li Hsien-ch'ing 李獻卿, Lo K'uei 樂夔, Li T'ien-i 李天翼, Liu Ju-i 劉汝翼, Hsieh Liang-pi 謝良弼, Lü Ta-p'eng 呂大朋, Wei Fen 魏璠, Li Heng-chien 李恒簡, Li Yü-i 李禹翼, Chang Sheng-yü 張聖俞, Chang Wei 張緯, Li Ch'ien 李謙, Chi Chih-chün 冀致君, Chang Te-hui 張德輝, Kao Wu 高鳴, Li Wei 李蔚, Li Yeh 李治, Hu Te-kuei 胡德珪, Ching Hsüan 敬鉉, Li Wei 李微, Yang Kuo 楊果, Li Yen 李彥, Hsü Shih-lung 徐世隆, Chang Fu-chih 張輔之, Ts'ao Chü-i 曹居一, Wang Chu 王鑄, Liu Ch'i 劉祁, Liu Yü 劉郁, Li Ch'üan 李全, Chia T'ing-yang 賈庭揚, Yang Shu 楊恕, Tu Jen-chieh 杜仁傑, Chang

Chung-ching 張仲經, Ma Ke 麻革, Shang T'ing 商挺, Chao Chu 趙著, Chao Wei-tao 趙維道, Yang Hung 楊鴻, Chang Su 張肅, Kou Lung-ying 勾龍瀛 Ch'eng Ssu-wen 程思溫 and Cheng Ssu-chung 程思忠. Over half of these people are known to history and several of them, such as Wang O (1190-1273), Li Yeh (1178-1265), Liu Ch'i (1203-1250), Yang Huan (1186-1255), Hsü Shih-lung (1206-1285), Yang Kuo (1197-1269) and Shang T'ing (1209-1288), rank among the great literati of the XIII century.

Liang Chih 梁陟 was the scholar whom Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai appointed to the direction of the Compilation Bureau of Yen-ching. In YS 2, 5b, we read that in the sixth month of the eighth year of T'ai-tsung (5 July-3 August 1236), "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai requested (the Emperor) to establish a Compilation Bureau in Yen-ching and a Bureau of Literature in P'ing-yang to edit and collect the Classics and Histories. He summoned the Confucian scholar Liang Chih to fill the post of senior official and Wang Wan-ch'ing and Chao Chu to assist him".

That Liang Chih was put in charge of the bureau in Yen-ching is also stated in the brief notice on him in the CFTC 295, 11a. From this notice, which

is copied verbatim from the TMITC 1, 45a-b, we also learn that Liang Chih's place of origin was Liang-hsiang 良鄉 (present Liang-hsiang hsien 良鄉縣, south-west of Peking), that he had obtained his chin-shih degree during the Chin dynasty and that he received the posthumous name of T'ung-hsien hsien-sheng 通獻先生.

I have been unable to find any reference to Wang Wan-ch'ing in the contemporary sources; Chao Chu, on the other hand, is frequently mentioned in them. The KHCTL, 18b, gives his style as Hu-yen hsien-sheng 虎巖先生 and states that he died holding the office of Compiler (p'ien-hsiu-kuan 編修官); Chao Chu's name appears in Yüan Hao-wen's letter (see above) preceded by his place of origin Yü-yang 漁陽 (present Chi-hsien 薊縣, Ho-pei); from the KCC 14, 8b, we learn that his courtesy name was Kuang-tsu 光祖. Two stanzas to the rhymes of Chao Kuang-tsu of Yü-yang (漁陽趙光祖二詩) are found in WC 10, 11a-b. Chao Chu is, moreover, the author of the text of a stele in memory of the Taoist Master Chi-chao 寂照 (on whom see below), which is found in the KSHYL 6, 7a-11a, and of a preface to the SCTYC. On Chao Chu cf. also CFTC 208, 37a.

The Chiu-ching chiang-i ("Discussions on the meaning of the Nine Classics") is the only title which has been preserved of the works produced by these three scholars (cf. the PSSIWC, 8526a, where Liang Chih's name is written 梁雋).

We find no mention of the two bureaux created by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai till 1266 when, on the day ting-ch'ou of the tenth month (16 November), the Bureau of Literature was moved from P'ing-yang to the new capital Chung-tu (YS 6, 8b). The following year, on the day ting-mao of the second month (6 March), this bureau changed name and became the Hung-wen-yüan 弘文院 or Department for the Development of Literature (YS 6, 10b). In 1273 the Hung-wen-yüan was absorbed into the newly established Pi-shu-chien 秘書監 or Board of Imperial Archives (cf. HWHTK, 4056b; on the organization of the Pi-shu-chien cf. YS 90, 21b-22a).

There is no evidence whatever to support D'Ohsson's statement in HM II, 72-73, that in the two "grands collèges" of Yen-ching and P'ing-yang "les seigneurs mongols envoyaient leurs enfants, qui étudiaient l'histoire, la géographie, l'arithmétique et l'astronomie, sous des maîtres choisis par le ministre lui-même". D'Ohsson quotes as his source Mailla IX,

215, where, however, reference is only made to the teaching of the Classics and there is no mention of subjects such as history, geography, arithmetic and astronomy (cf. *ibid.*, 215-216). This passage has in fact been tacitly omitted in Feng Ch'eng-chün's translation of the HM (TSMKS I, 209). Accordingly, n.1 on p.58 of FR II and n.f on p.368 of Needham III need revising. D'Ohsson's mistake, which has passed also into Cordier II, 240-241, is due to an erroneous statement found in Gaubil, 101 n.1. As already pointed out by K.T. Wu in his article "Chinese Printing...", 460, and, more recently, by L.C. Goodrich in Carter, 88 and 100 n.32 and 33, these two bureaux were established to edit and publish books under official sponsorship. (Cf. also the reference to the Bureau of Literature of P'ing-yang in SHTC 87, 1a.)

According to the Biography, Liang Chih, Wang Wan-ch'ing and Chao Chu also "lectured" on the Chinese Classics to the Heir Apparent (the text has tung-kung 東宮, which is a synonym of t'ai-tzu 太子; as t'ai-tzu, however, was used in this period to denote all the emperor's sons, it is possible that also tung-kung may refer here to the imperial princes in general rather than to the Heir Apparent alone. If the Heir

Apparent alone is meant, this could have only been Kōcū's son Širemūn).

Regarding the literary education of the Mongol princes and of the sons and grandsons of the great dignitaries, we may recall that at the time of "Ögödei's enthronement, in the autumn of 1229, an edict was issued to the effect that scholars versed in the Classics were to be appointed as tutors for the imperial princes. The famous Taoist Li Chih-ch'ang, who was then at the Mongol court probably on the occasion of the great quriltai, came forward with the I ching, the Shih ching, the Shu ching, the Tao Te ching and the Hsiao ching, and explained their general meaning to the emperor. "Ögödei was very pleased with him; Li Chih-ch'ang, however, did not stay at court longer than a few months. He left in November or December of the same year and returned to China after having obtained an imperial decree of which our source does not specify the nature (cf. Li Chih-ch'ang's funerary inscription 玄門掌教大宗師真常真人道行碑銘 by Wang 王鶚, KSHYL 3, 14a). The following year Li Chih-ch'ang was involved in a case against the priests of the Ch'üan-chen sect and put in prison; he was released, however, shortly

afterwards (for details cf. *ibid.* 3, 14a-b, and Waley, 17-18). In July-August 1233, he was appointed by imperial decree to tutor eighteen sons of Mongol notables in Yen-ching (Waley, 18, says that he was appointed tutor to the Mongol princes, but the Chinese text has only 蒙古貴官之子, cf. KSHYL 3, 14b), in which task he was assisted by the Great Master of the Ch'üan-chen sect Chi-chao 寂照 (i.e., Feng Chih-heng 馮志亨, on whom cf. CCTCYL 5, 11a-12a). Although, later in the dynasty, the literary education of the Mongol princes rested primarily with Confucian and Buddhist scholars, instances of Taoist preceptors are not unknown (Miao Tao-i 苗道一, the leader of the Ch'üan-chen sect and of the Taoist religion in China at the beginning of the XIV century had been Qaišan's tutor before he became emperor. On Miao Tao-i cf. TP 9, 1908, 405 and Pl.22-23).

The lectures on the Classics which the Chinese tutors delivered to the Mongol rulers had no doubt to be translated into Mongolian, as was still the case under Qubilai (cf. H. Franke, "Could the Mongol Emperors read and write Chinese?", 28-29). The short preface to the section on "lectures" (chin-chiang 進講) of the CSTT, preserved in the KCWL 41, 5a,

does not unfortunately give any details for the period before Qubilai. It states, however, that "at the beginning of the (Mongol) state, Confucian scholars were sought out during the hostilities, already with the purpose of asking them for instruction and consulting them on government". The truth of this statement is clearly attested by our sources. The various examples cited above suggest therefore that, even as far as the early period of the dynasty is concerned, it may not be altogether correct to say that the Mongol emperors had no interest for Chinese culture, this being the view expressed by Yao Shih-ao in his paper "Ein Kurzer Beitrag zur Quellens-kritik der Reichsannalen der Kin- und Yüan-Dynastie" in AM 9, 1933, 581. H. Franke (op. cit.) has collected ample evidence to the contrary for the emperors from Jen-tsung 仁宗 onwards.

201. I.e., immediately after the destruction of the Chin Kingdom. The Mongol army returned to Mongolia at the beginning of 1234, as we know that Ögödei was already back in his camp on the Orkhon in the spring of this year (YS 2, 4a, and MWESC 4, 9a).
202. Pao 保 = 堡.

203. Lit., "to look straight at them". On the expression cheng-shih 正視 cf. the Tso chuan (Legge VIII, 758.10; ibid., 760, Par.5).
204. The expression ts'un-fu 存撫 occurs in the biography of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如 in SC 117, 1a-47b, where (27b) we read: 陛下即位, 存撫天下.
"Your Majesty having ascended the throne has soothed and pacified the empire." (These words are taken from the Imperial Message to the people of Pa 巴 and Shu 蜀 delivered by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju early in 130 B.C.)
205. The expression hsi-erh 攜貳 is frequently used in the Tso chuan (cf., e.g., Legge VII, 123.14).
206. In the Biography, 6a1-5, we read: "At the time when Ho-nan had just been conquered, the prisoners were very numerous. When (the Mongol) army returned home, seven or eight out of ten made their escape. Thus an edict was issued to the effect that those who lodged fugitives, as well as those who gave them assistance, would be exterminated with their families, and their villages or hamlets would also be involved (in the crime). As a result, none of the fugitives dared seek shelter and a great number of them died of starvation on the roads. Ch'u-ts'ai without reserve said (to the Emperor): 'Ho-nan has been

pacified and its people are now all the children of Your Majesty. To where can they escape? And why for (the crime of) a single captive should several tens or hundreds of people be involved in capital punishment?' The Emperor saw the truth of it and ordered that his interdiction be abolished."

In Rémusat, 74, the words 軍還逃者十七人 in YSLP 11, 3b6, have been incorrectly rendered "on comptait dix-huit (sic) corps de troupes de cette province qui avaient pris la fuite".

The prisoners captured by the Mongols during their conquest fell under the category of slaves (ch'u-k'ou 驅口). After the destruction of Chin, their number, as stated in our text, was very large, and constituted a serious problem for the administrative authorities. It was not till the taking of the census in 1235-1236 that their status was regularized (see *infra*, n.225).

207. 秦(州). See *supra*, n.181.

208. 鞏(州), which subsequently became the Kung-ch'ang district 鞏昌路, is the present Lung-hsi hsien 隴西縣 in Kan-su.

209. See *infra*, n.212.

210. I.e., those people who, ignorant of the Mongol law newly imposed in North China, had transgressed some

of its regulations and, knowing the conqueror's harshness, had then escaped to Chin to avoid punishment.

In this group must also be included a large number of escaped war captives.

211. Cf. the expression 山後之地 in the Stele, 14b4 (see *supra*, n.172).
212. The Biography, 6a5-8, states: "Chin had been extinguished but Ch'in, Kung and over twenty (other) prefectures continued to resist for a long time. Ch'u-ts'ai memorialized the Emperor as follows: 'In the past years, some of our people gathered there in order to escape punishment. Thus, they are now fighting to resist death. If we promise not to kill them, they will certainly surrender of their own accord and without struggle.' An edict (to this effect) was issued and all these cities submitted with no exception." Ch'in-chou, Kung-chou and the other prefectures surrendered to the Mongol army led by Kōdōn, the second son of Ögōdei, in November 1236 (YS 2, 6a and MWESC 4, 12a). Further details about the fall of Kung-chou are found in the biography of Wang Shih-hsien 汪世顯 (1195-1243), the Commander-in-Chief of this city, in YS 155, 1a-2b (for the relevant passage cf. *ibid.*, 1a-b; the chief

source for this biography was the spirit-way stele of Wang Shih-hsien by Yang Huan 楊煥 [1186-1255].

Abstracts from the stele are also found, together with information collected from other sources, in Wang's biography in the YCMCSL 6, 69-71. The most complete biography of this personage is by T'u Chi, in MWESC 64, 1a-3a). The account given in the Stele is partly confirmed by this source, which states that Kung-chou surrendered voluntarily to the Mongols because Wang Shih-hsien knew that Kōdōn would spare its inhabitants.

D'Ohsson (HM II, 79) and Cordier (II, 244) erroneously state that Kung-chou was the only city which had not submitted to the Mongols after the destruction of the Chin Kingdom.

213. A partial census of North China had already been taken in 1233, and had shown a population of 730,000 households (YS 2, 3a and SWCCL, 84b; the 720,000 of MWESC 4, 8a, must be a misprint). The proposal for a second and, this time, general census is of 1234/1235, these being the dates found in our sources for the imperial edict authorizing it (the Stele and the Biography have 1234; the CSTT, quoted in YS 58, 1b, gives the year 1235. Cf. also KCWL 40, 15b). Hu-tu-

hu (i.e., Šigi-Qutuqu; see *infra*, n.215) presented the population registers to Ögödei upon the completion of the census in the sixth or seventh month of 1236 (YS 2, 5b, has "the sixth month", i.e., 5 July-3 August; the *Stele*, 16b-10 and the *Biography*, 7a3-4, have "the seventh month", i.e., 4 August-2 September. In the HYS 4, 10a, this event is incorrectly placed with the entries of the fourth month). They showed, according to the *Annals* of the YS, 1,100,000 additional households (YS 2, 5b; 1,110,000 according to SWCCL, 85a).

On the other hand, it is further stated in the *Stele* that the households which "were registered at the beginning" - the reference being to the great census of 1235-1236 - numbered 1,040,000 (cf. *ibid.*, 19a4 and *infra*, n.287). According to the *Monograph* on the Army in the YS they were 1,004,656 (*ibid.* 98, 4a) and, according to the *Geographical Monograph* in the same work, 873,781, equal to 4,754,975 individuals, "for Yen-ching, Shun-t'ien 順天 and other thirty-six districts" (*ibid.* 58, 1b; the 883,781 in GWC, 128, must be a typographical error for 873,781. For an explanation of the latter figures cf. however what is stated in HWHTK, 2887a. See *infra*, n.287).

M. Otagi 愛宕松男, who has studied the question in detail in his article "Mōkojin seiken jika no Kanchi ni okeru hanseki no mondai" 蒙古人政權治下の漢地に於ける版籍の問題 ("The Census of Northern China Taken by the Mongols in the Middle of the XIIIth Century") in Haneda Hakushi shōju kinen, tōyōshi ronsō 羽田博士 頌壽記念東洋史論叢 (Kyōto, 1950) says that the "new households", i.e., those which were included for the first time in the census of 1235-1236, numbered more than 1,000,000 (ibid., 390-391), which is the figure given also in MWESC 4, 11a. Although at present I have no access to Otagi's article, which is only known to me through references in ESYD, 67 and 73, I believe that, as in T'u Chi's case, the figure of "more than 1,000,000" is only an approximate one resulting from the discrepancies in the Chinese sources. If so, the population of North China registered in 1235-1236 could have totalled from 1,730,000 (this is the figure given by Schurmann in ESYD, 67) to 1,830,000-1,840,000 households, i.e., roughly nine million people. Even if we allow a considerable margin of inaccuracy in these figures, owing to the displacement of large sections of the population and the generally confused

state of North China immediately after the war against Chin, we still get a striking picture of the tremendous losses in lives suffered by the Northern Chinese since 1207-1208, when the last national census taken by the Chin in their nineteen districts showed a population of 7,684,438 households, equal to 45,816,079 individuals (HWHTK, 2885a). For a statistical table of the population in China during the Yüan dynasty cf. GWC, 128-129.

214. Ta-ch'en 大臣. For this term cf. TP 2 (1901), 52; 26 (1929), 248; 27 (1930), 63; HJAS 13 (1950), 36 n.39.
215. 忽覩虎 (Quduqu). This personage is undoubtedly Šigi-Qutuqu, whose name appears frequently in the SH and in the Chinese and Persian sources. His name, usually transcribed as Šigi-Qutuqu in the SH (202, 203, 214, 234, 242, 252 and 257) appears also in the forms Šigi-Quduqu (135), Šikiken-Quduku (ibid.), Šigiken-Qutuqu (138) and simply Qutuqu (252). Qutuqu (~ Quduqu), sometimes preceded by the title tuan-shih-kuan 斷事官, i.e., "judge" (see below) or followed by that of noyan (in Chinese transcription no-yen 那顏), "noble", or ta-ch'en 大臣, "great dignitary", is also the current transcription found

in the YS (cf., e.g., ibid. 1, 18b; 2, 5a; 98, 4a; 146, 7a; 149, 13b; 163, 11b), in the SWCCL (68b, 85a) and in the KSHYL 3, 14b. It also occurs in Rashīd ad-Dīn's work (SL 1/1, 179; 1/2, 174, 221-222, 257), alternating however with Šiki-Qutuqu (cf. ibid. 1/1, 95, 107, and 1/2, 269, 278). The form Qutuqu appears also in Juwaynī, 135. For other examples of this name cf. Hambis, Le chapitre CVIII du Yuan che, 173, and HJAS 19 (1956), 241 and n.438.

The only biographies of Šigi-Qutuqu known to me are those in YShu 37, 1a-b and in HYS 126, 1a-3a, the latter being by far the best. T'u Chi unfortunately never completed his biography of Šigi-Qutuqu which was to form ch.39 of the MWESC. (The Combined Indices to Thirty Collections of Liao, Chin and Yüan Biographies, 69c, erroneously lists biographies of this personage in YS 123, 5a and YSHP 16, 6a.) A study on Šigi-Qutuqu by Yao Ts'ung-wu 姚從吾 entitled "Hei-Ta shih-lt'eh chung so shuo Wo-k'uo-t'ai han shih-tai Hu ch'eng-hsiang shih-chi k'ao" 黑韃事略中所說窩闊台汗時代胡丞相事蹟考 ("A Study on the Prime Minister HU of the Ogadai Period as described in the Heta Shih-lt'eh"), has recently appeared in CYYY 28 (1957), II, 567-582. On it see *infra*, n.227.

Šigi-Qutuqu was found in the deserted Tatar encampment after the defeat of this tribe by Cinggis Qan and, according to the SH (§ 135), was adopted by Cinggis' mother Hō'elūn (by his wife Börte, according to Rashīd ad-Dīn, cf. SL 1/1, 107 and 1/2, 174; on the historicity of Hō'elūn's various adoptions cf., however, HCG, 375). In 1206, at the time of the great quriltai, Cinggis Qan appointed him jaryuci or "judge" (in Chinese tuan-shih-kuan 斷事官, lit., "official who decides on affairs"; on this title cf. Ratchnevsky, 52 n.1). The words pronounced by Cinggis on this important occasion are preserved in the SH, § 203 (cf. GGM, 93 and EM, 183). He instructed him, at the same time, to have his "judgements" (jarqu jarqulaqsan-i) and the "distribution of the population" (irgen-u qubi qubilaqsan-i) recorded in the "Blue Book" (kōkō debter; in the Chinese parallel text rendered as ch'ing-ts'e 青冊, cf. YCPS 8, 31a. This term has been discussed by Pelliot in TP 27, 1930, 38-42 and 195-198. Pelliot, however, dealt almost entirely with the material characteristics of the "Blue Book" and did not throw any light on its later use during the Yüan. Some interesting information on the subject, collected chiefly from the



TCTK and studied by Liu Ming-shu 劉銘恕 in his article "Yüan-tai chih hu-k'ou ching-ts'e" 元代之戶口青冊 ["The Census Blue Book of the Yüan Dynasty"], shows that the so-called Blue Books were used throughout the Yüan dynasty by the central government and the local administrations to keep the records of the population, which was therein classified for fiscal purposes according to the various socio-economic categories established by the Mongols).

According to Rashīd ad-Dīn, Šigi-Qutuqu was an exemplary judge and his judgements remained as models for subsequent times (SL 1/1, 107-108; Turkestan, 391 n.2; cf. also TP 27, 1930, 42 n.1). He distinguished himself in the war against Chin and his integrity earned him a high praise from Cinggis Qan when, having been sent by the conqueror to take possession of the imperial treasure after the fall of Chung-tu in 1215, he refused the presents with which the former Chin treasurer tried to ingratiate him, while his two colleagues Önggür and Arqai-Qasar accepted them (SH, 252, and SWCCL, 68b-69b).

He later participated in the war against Khwārazm and fought at Fārwan, where his troops were defeated by Jalāl ad-Dīn, this being the only serious reverse

suffered by the Mongols during the whole campaign (cf. Turkestan, 441-442). In July-August 1234 Ögödei appointed him judge for the whole territory of North China and subsequently put him in charge of the great census of 1235-1236, in which task he was assisted by the Uiyur Yeh-li-chu 野里朮 (on whom cf. YS 135, 1a; for Šigi-Qutuqu's activity in connection with the census and with taxation in this period see *infra*, n.227 and 266). In 1235 he also took part with Kōctū, Ögödei's third son, in the campaign against Sung, but he must have returned to the north towards the end of the year to carry on his administrative duties there (cf. YS 2, 5a; YShu 37, 1b, and HYS 126, 2b). According to Rashīd ad-Dīn (SL 1/1, 107) Šigi-Qutuqu died at a very old age during Arīq-Būge's rebellion, i.e., about 1260. On Šigi-Qutuqu cf. also HCG, 152 and 390.

216. Chin-ch'ü 進取. The locus classicus of this expression is the Lun-yü (Legge I, 272), where we read 狂者進取, which Legge rendered "The ardent will advance and lay hold of the truth". Here this expression refers, of course, to the policy of the Mongols towards the population of the conquered areas in the first period of their rule in North

China (1210-1234). For an outline of this policy, its consequences and its later modifications cf. the Introduction to the ESYD, 2sqq.

217. Sung Tzu-chen undoubtedly alludes here to the imperial grants of whole groups of conquered people made to the qayan's relatives and to members of the Mongol nobility, several instances of which are recorded in our sources. As pointed out by Schurmann, these people fell into the category of "slaves" (mo. injes, ch. ch'ü-k'ou, 馬口). Cf. ESYD, 3, and YTSHCCCT, 173 sqq.
218. I.e., to the authority of the government officials of the various administrative centres. The periods in question are: a) the period when, owing to the creation of the apanages granted by the qayan to the Mongol nobility, North China was divided into separate administrative units practically independent from the court; b) the (subsequent) period which saw the gradual strengthening of the central government and the establishment of its authority throughout the country. The transition from the first to the second period is marked by the administrative activity of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai at the beginning of Ögödei's reign and culminated with the great census of 1235 and the fiscal reforms of the following year.

219. I.e., to consider the individual male adult (ting 丁) instead of the household (hu 戶) as the basic unit for census and taxation purposes.
220. For a detailed account of the fiscal practices in early Mongolian society and the tributary system imposed by the Mongols in the West cf. H.F. Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 311 sqq. and 330 sqq.
221. In defining households for the purpose of taxation the Chin government had followed the Chinese traditional system (cf. ESYD, 89; on the taxation system under the Chin cf. Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 318-319).
222. In YWL 57, 834.6, the text is wrongly punctuated after the character 隨.
223. Cf. ESYD, 89.
224. Ch'ü-k'ou 驅口. This is the common term for slaves during the Yüan dynasty. For an account on slavery in China under the Mongols cf. I. Aritaka, "Gendai dorei-kō 元代奴隸考" ("A Study on Slavery during the Yüan Period"), of which there exists also a Chinese translation (see Bibliography, under Aritaka). This work must be supplemented, however, by Meng Ssu-ming's detailed discussion on the subject in YTSHCCCT,

170-206. Cf. also Ratchnevsky, LXXXVI-XCIX, and ESYD, 81-82 n.9.

225. I.e., removed from their original residence.
226. Cf. YTSHCCCT, 177, where Meng Ssu-ming quotes various figures obtained from the YS, referring to groups of people taken captive by the Mongols during the campaign against Chin. On the basis of these figures Meng concludes that the above statement by Sung Tzu-chen is no "idle talk". From the results of the 1235-1236 census we know, moreover, that of a total population of 1,730,000 households about 900,000 were in the category of those attached to the apanages (ESYD, 67).
227. Pien-min 編民 (= pien-meng 編氓); on this term, which literally means "classified people" (i.e., entered in the population registers divided by groups), cf. TH, 未集, 102c. In the Biography, 6a8-b1, we read the following: "In the year chia-wu it was proposed to register the population of North China. The great dignitary Hu-tu-hu 忽都虎 (Quduqu) and others proposed to define a male adult as equivalent to a household. Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'It is wrong. The male adults will flee and there will be no one to pay taxes. These must be established per

household.' He had to contend repeatedly over this point but in the end (the taxation) was established per household. At that time the slaves owned by generals, ministers and great dignitaries had very often to live temporarily in various commanderies. Ch'u-ts'ai therefore had the census taken and enabled them to become (regular) citizens. Those who kept them in their possession concealing them (from the census) were put to death."

The socio-economic aspects of the great census of 1235 and of the new tax legislation following it have already been dealt with by several authors. The reader is therefore referred to the relevant sections in the specialized works of M. Otagi, Meng Ssu-ming and H.F. Schurmann which have been mentioned in the preceding notes. Regarding [✓]Sigi-Qutuqu's role in this connection, T.W. Yao's article "Hei-Ta shih-lt'eh..." deserves special comment. In it Yao begins by definitely proving that the Prime Minister Hu (Hu ch'eng-hsiang 胡丞相) mentioned in the HTSL, 11b, is the same person as [✓]Sigi-Qutuqu (for the relevant passage in the HTSL see below; although Hu's identity had already been ascertained before Yao by Wang Kuo-wei [ibid., 13a], Schurmann in "Mongolian

Tributary Practices...", 313 n.8, does not appear to be certain about it). He then discusses the passages related to Šigi-Qutuqu in } 203 of the SH and concludes by emphasizing Šigi-Qutuqu's role in the census of 1235 and in the fiscal reform of 1236. According to Yao, the credit for this reform, which represented, as we know, a turning point in the Mongol rule of North China, goes in large measure to Šigi-Qutuqu. Yao's argument is based on the two following points: a) Šigi-Qutuqu was responsible for the census of 1235 which was the necessary premise for the subsequent tax reform; b) he was also responsible, in his official capacity as jaryuci for the territory of North China, for passing Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's recommendations with regard to administrative matters. In this capacity, Yao states, Šigi-Qutuqu displayed great intelligence and political foresight as, after much arguing with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, in the end he chose to follow the wiser course proposed by the latter, a course which represented an essential deviation from the traditional Mongol policy. I think that Yao's article, although on the whole excellent, must be taken with a certain reserve in so far as the above argument is concerned. If

it is true that Rashīd ad-Dīn praises Šigi-Qutuqu's integrity as a judge and that he is referred to as a good statesman by Chang Te-hui 張德輝, a noted Chinese official of the Yuan dynasty (cf. YS 163, 11b, and YCMCSL 10, 169), there is also evidence of the contrary as regards his administrative activity in North China. One of the two authors of the HTSL, Hsü T'ing 徐霆, who was in North China in the years 1235-1236, personally witnessed this activity. He writes (*ibid.*, 11b): "[I,] T'ing, was in Yen-ching when the present commissioner, Prime Minister Hu (i.e., Šigi-Qutuqu) arrived. His financial excesses were even more dreadful (than those of the previous tax commissioners). Even the guilds of school teachers and beggars had to give forth silver to make up the ch'ai-fa 差發." (For Schurmann's translation of this passage and his discussion of the term ch'ai-fa cf. "Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 313 sqq.) We know, moreover, that Šigi-Qutuqu was the chief representative of the Mongol faction within the court which advocated a redefinition of the households for purposes of taxation and which strongly opposed the adoption of alien administrative rules. Now, I am not at all certain whether after Yeh-lü

Ch'u-ts'ai's vigorous attack of the proposed redefinition, it was Šigi-Qutuqu who willingly complied with the former's advice or rather Ögödei who decided which of the two conflicting policies should be followed.

Finally, against Chang Te-hui's words of praise for Šigi-Qutuqu quoted by Yao (op. cit., 581; these words are also quoted in HYS 126, 3a), we have the opinion of Liu Ping-chung 劉秉忠, which has apparently escaped Yao's attention. In his famous memorial to Qubilai, which was probably written before Šigi-Qutuqu's death, Liu Ping-chung blames the latter for the establishment of excessive corvée duties and generally for an oppressive administration (YS 157, 2b-3a). Liu Ping-chung's words seem to confirm the general impression obtained from the HTSL, the Stele and the Biography, that Šigi-Qutuqu's policy towards North China was not as liberal as Yao indicates. A general census of North China was, of course, the necessary premise for a reform in the tax legislation. Sung Tzu-chen credits Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai for the memorial to the effect of taking the census with a view, he adds, of "registering" the slaves. Although Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was no doubt in

favour of an extensive census for administrative reasons, the incentive for it, on the Mongol side, was a very different one. In the SWCCL, 85a-b, we read s.a. i-wei (1235): "Hu-tu-hu registered over 1,110,000 Northern Chinese, thereupon the territory (lit., 'the cities and towns', i.e., of North China) was variously distributed among the princes." These two facts, i.e., the census of North China and the allotment of the apanages were of course closely linked up, for it was only after completion of the former that the court could decide about granting equitable shares of the conquered territory and people to members of the imperial family and the nobility. ᠶᠢᠭᠢᠴᠣᠳᠤᠭᠤ was naturally put in charge of it on the strength of his office of keeper of the population lists conferred on him by Cinggis Qan (see supra, n.215). We may recall in this connection that, as pointed out by Tucci (I, 13), the Mongol custom of carrying out the census was a sign of conquest. Thus in China, as well as in other countries conquered by the Mongols, this practice "marked the definite taking possession of its territory and its inclusion in the Mongol state" (ibid.).

228. I.e., to employ Central Asian soldiers in the campaign against the Southern Sung and Northern Chinese soldiers in the Middle Eastern and European campaigns. For an account of these campaigns cf. EM, 292-293 and 295-301. Cf. also HM II, 78-84, 110 sqq.
229. In the Biography, 6bl-4, we read: "In the year i-wei the court, holding a consultation on the impending punitive expedition against all those who had refused allegiance, approved the despatch of Hui-hui (i.e., Moslem) troops (lit., 'men') to campaign against Chiang-nan 江南 (lit., '[the territory] south of the Chiang', i.e., the Southern Sung empire) and of Northern Chinese troops to campaign against the Western Region, as a stratagem to bring (these areas) fully under control. Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'It is wrong. North China and the Western Region are very far from each other. The men and horses will be exhausted before reaching the enemy's territory. Furthermore, the difference in climate is going to cause epidemics. It is proper for each (army) to act in the way that suits it best.' (His advice) was adopted."
230. Kuei-ch'en 貴臣. For this expression cf. TH, 酉集, 94b.

231. Lit., "to sleep on a high pillow" 得高枕而卧 .

This expression occurs in SC 55, 10b.

232. Chu 屬 = 囑.

233. This last paragraph appears earlier in the Biography (see *supra*, n.95). In the Biography, 6b4-7, we read the following: "In the spring of the year ping-shen, at a general assembly of princes, the Emperor personally held a goblet and, offering it to Ch'u-ts'ai, said: 'The reason why We have extended Our confidence to you is because this was the order of the late Emperor. If it were not for you, We would not possess North China today. It is due to your efforts that We can now sleep peacefully (lit., "that We have obtained a restful pillow").'" We know from YS 2, 5a, that in spring of the year 1235 was begun in Ho-lin 和林, i.e., Qara-Qorum, the construction of the Wan-an Palace 萬安宮. A year later, in the first month of spring (9 February-8 March 1236), the construction of the palace was completed and all the Mongol princes came to attend a banquet held by "Ögödei (ibid. 2, 5b). It is undoubtedly on this occasion that the event related in the Stele took place (cf. HTCTC, 4584).

The Wan-an (lit., "Myriad Tranquillities") Palace was the first of a series of important buildings erected by Chinese and Moslem architects in the newly established capital of Ögödei. Its construction was contemporary with that of the wall encircling the city of Qara-Qorum (on this wall cf. MR I, 123 n.304; on Qara-Qorum see *infra*, n.336). There is no description of this palace in the Chinese sources; we possess, however, a short account of it in Juwaynī's work, from which we also learn that it was one of several imperial residences, and that Ögödei used to hold a month-long feast in it every year at the beginning of spring (Juwaynī, 237; HM II, 84-85). Möngke's "magnum palatium" in Qara-Qorum, described by William of Rubruck in his Itinerarium (SF I, 276-277) may have well been the same Wan-an Palace of Ögödei with later additions.

A short "Literary Composition for the setting up of the beams in the Imperial Residence erected in the City of Ho-lin" 和林城建行宮上梁文 is found in WC 13, 25b-26b, but I shall not give a translation of it here as it is a formal piece of no immediate interest. On Ögödei's palace cf. also Li Wen-t'ien's 李文田 historical poems entitled

"Wan-an-kung i-chih shih" 萬安宮遺址詩, i.e.,
 "Poems on the ruins of the Wan-an Palace", which are
 found in the HLS, 5a-b. Two lines of these poems
 together with the notes appended to them have been
 translated by Cleaves in his article "The Sino-
 Mongolian Inscription of 1346", 7-8. On the Wan-an
 Palace cf. also GCK V, 162 and 164; HJAS 15 (1952),
 25 and 27 n.31; SCTYC 2, 5a.

The Biography (6b7-7a3) continues: "Envoys from
 the various countries of the Western Region, the
 Sung (empire) and Kao-li 高麗 (Korea) had come to
 have audience with the Emperor. Most of what they
 said (at court) was not true. The Emperor then
 pointed out Ch'u-ts'ai to them and asked: 'Do you
 have a man like this in your countries?' They all
 apologetically replied: 'We do not; he is almost a
 supernatural being.' The Emperor said: 'Of what you
 have said (so far) only this is not a lie: We also
 consider that you definitely lack such a man.'

A certain Yü Yüan 于元 memorialized to the effect
 of issuing exchange notes (交鈔). Ch'u-ts'ai said:
 'At the time of Chang-tsung 章宗 (r. 1190-1208) of
 Chin, exchange notes which circulated together with
 cash were issued for the first time. The authorities,

making profit with the emission of (the exchange) notes, refused to redeem them calling them "old notes". The stage was reached when 10,000 strings of cash (貫; i.e., in notes) were exchanged against only one cake. The people's strength was worn out and the resources of the state exhausted. This must be taken as a warning. If exchange notes are to be printed now, they should not be in excess of 10,000 ingots (錠)."

The above section of the Biography is taken from a source other than the Stele, where it is missing altogether. I have failed to identify Yü Yüan 于元. The section dealing with the issue of banknotes has been translated by C. Gardner in HJAS 2 (1937), 324 and by H. Franke in GWC, 37, and the problems related to it have already been discussed by Schurmann in the ESYD, 131 sqq., where, however, the "20,000 kuan" on p.132 is an error for "10,000 kuan". On the paper currency during the Yüan dynasty cf. also GWC, 34-106; Yang, 62-66; NESCC 8, 631-634; and the relevant articles listed in ESYD, 244-247. Rémusat, 76, incorrectly renders the expression lao-ch'ao 老鈔 ("old notes") as "Seigneur-Billet". Also, the "cent mille onces d'argent" on p.77 is an error for "cinq cents mille onces d'argent". The same error occurs

in the CBD, 930, no.2446. In this period, the value of the ting 錠 or ingot was fifty ounces of silver (銀兩), not ten as believed by Rémusat, Giles, and, more recently, by R.P. Blake ("The Circulation of Silver...", 323). On the ting see *infra*, n.252.

234. See *supra*, n.213 and ESYD, 67.

235. Kuei-tsu 貴族. On this term cf. TH, 酉集, 94c.

236. T'ang-mu-i 湯沐邑. On this expression cf. MH I, 287 n.1, and YTSHCCCT, 115 n.699. Cf. also DKJ, 17874.133.

237. I.e., the apanages thus created would become an encumbrance to the central government. The source for this metaphor is the Tso chuan (Legge VIII, 632.18) where we read 末大必折，尾大不掉. Legge (*ibid.*, 635, Par.9) rendered this: "Great branches are sure to break (the roots); a great tail cannot be moved about."

238. The YS (see *infra*, n.244) supplies further details on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's proposal for the establishment of government officials entrusted with the collection of revenues from the apanages. Although Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's proposal was, in theory, adopted by Ögödei, it was not till the reign of Qubilai that the central government actually gained financial

control over the apanages (ESYD, 91, 93 and 104; YTSHCCCT, 115 sqq). This important fact has apparently been ignored by Yao. Cf. "Hei-Ta shih-lüeh...", 577.

239. The character 等 in YWL 57, 834.13, is a typographical error for 每.
240. I.e., to be paid to the central government. Cf. YS 93, 12a, and ESYD, 98.
241. The character 王 in YWL 57, 834.14, is a typographical error for 五.
242. I.e., to the holder of the apanage to which they were attached.
243. In YWL 57, 834.15, the text is incorrectly punctuated after 乙上.
244. In the Biography, 7a3-b2, we read the following: "In the seventh month in autumn, Hu-tu-hu arrived with the population registers. The Emperor deliberated upon dividing out the prefectures and counties and granting them (as apanages) to the princes of the blood and to meritorious officials. Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'To divide out the land and allot its people could easily cause grudges. It is better to make generous grants of gold and silk.' The Emperor said: 'There is nothing I can do, I have already promised it.'



Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'If the court appoints officials to collect the revenues (lit., "tributes and taxes") and, at the end of (each) year, turns them over (to the apanage-holders), so that they do not collect levies without authorization, then it will do.' The Emperor approved his plan. Thereupon, (a fixed system of) taxation was established throughout the empire. Each two households were to pay one catty of silk yarn as contribution towards public expenditure, and five households were to pay one catty of silk yarn as contribution towards the apanage assets of the princes and the meritorious officials. The land tax was two and a half pints per acre for a second-class field, three pints for a first-class field and two pints for a third-class field. For irrigated fields it was five pints per acre. The commercial tax was one-thirtieth. Salt was priced at an ounce of silver per (load of) forty catties. After these had been established as permanent (annual) tax (rates), the court, upon deliberation, was of the opinion that they were too light. Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'In making laws with slight requirements, the danger is of still desiring more; as in future there will be some who will increase their profits (by means of these taxes), they are already heavy (enough) now.'

The words 作法於涼其弊猶貪 in the final passage are a quotation from the Tso chuan (Legge VIII, 594.8; for the translation cf. *ibid.*, 598, Par.7). Further details on these events are found in YS 2, 5b-6a: "In the seventh month (of the eighth year of T'ai-tsung), (the Emperor) ordered Ch'en Shih-k'o 陳時可 to review the records of penal, fiscal and other cases. He (Ch'en Shih-k'o) went to court for a revision and control (of these matters). An edict was issued to the effect that the population of Chen-ting 真定 be offered to the Empress Mother as apanage, and the population of all the prefectures of North China be distributed among the princes and the nobility (as follows): Ping-yang fu 平陽府 to Ordu and Batu, T'ai-yüan fu 太原府 to Cayatai, Ta-ming fu 大名府 to Güyüg, Hsing-chou 邢州 to Boroltai, Hochien fu 河間府 to Qorugan, Kuang-ning fu 廣寧府 to Bölgüdei (= Belgütei), the households of the two prefectures of I-tu 益都 and Chi-nan 濟南 were allotted to Yekü, Pin-ti chou 濱棣州 to Elcidei and P'ing-luan chou 平濼州 to O[t]cîn-noyan (i.e., Temüge-otcigin); the households of Tung-p'ing fu 東平府 were variously allotted among the Imperial Son Ködön, the Imperial Son-in-law Cikü, the Princesses Alaqa and

Qojin, the Prince of State Cala'un (i.e., Tas), Kētei-dön(e)jin (?), Mōnggū-qalya, Elci-noyan, Ts'e (折?) - noyan and Qorci-Das. Yeh-lū Ch'u-ts'ai said that this was not advantageous (to the court). Thereupon (the Emperor) ordered that all the nobles should stop establishing 'daruyaci' (in their apanages), and that (instead) officials be appointed by the court to collect the revenues and then turn them over to them (i.e., to the nobles). Without an edict (authorizing it), they (the nobles) were not allowed to levy soldiers and taxes."

On the identity of the apanage-holders mentioned in the above text and the size of the apanages cf. MWESC 4, 11a-12a; NESKI 86, 1417, and YSPC 1, 3b. The list given by D'Ohsson in HM II, 70 n.1, which is taken from Iakinth, 260, is not reliable.

Ch'en Shih-k'o, who at the time held the direction of the tax bureau of the Yen-ching district (see *supra*, n.130), was undoubtedly called to Qara-Qorum for consultations in connection with the new tax reform. As shown by Meng Ssu-ming, the apanage-holders used to appoint their own local administrative officials (daruyaci) who were de facto independent from the central government. In spite of repeated

attempts, of which Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's is the first, by the central government to check this practice, daruyaci continued to be appointed by the imperial relatives and the nobles throughout the Mongol dynasty (cf. YTSHCCCT, 115 sqq.).

On the household tax established in 1236 cf. ESYD, 90-91, 104 n.4, and "Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 363-364.

Regarding the land tax (ti-shui 地稅), the rates of which were assessed on the basis of the quality of the land, we note that there is a discrepancy between the Stele and the Biography. The figures given in the latter refer, however, to the land tax established in the seventh month of the sixth year of T'ai-tsung (28 July-25 August 1234), that is before the present reform (cf. HWSTK, 2779a). The next tax legislation of 1236 marked an increase of half a pint over the previous tax rates for first and second-class fields, while the rates for third-class and irrigated fields (i.e., rice fields) remained the same.

Regarding the commercial tax (shang-shui 商稅), it would appear from our text that the system whereby the government collected one-thirtieth from the merchants and which, according to YS 94, 21b, was

officially established in the seventh year of Chih-yüan (1270), had been enforced for the first time in 1236. Although the date given in YS 94, 21a, for the establishment of the commercial tax is the year chia-wu (1234), this tax may have well been exacted since 1230-1231, i.e., since the establishment of the tax bureaux; unfortunately, no details as to the rates imposed before 1236 are found in our sources. On the commercial tax during the Yüan dynasty cf. ESYD, 213-222, where, however, no mention is made of the passage relating to it in the Stele and the Biography.

As to the salt tax, the price of one ounce of silver per load of forty catties had already been established in the earlier tax reform of 1230-1231 (cf. YS 94, 8b-9a; ESYD, 167-168 and 175). For the quota system of tax collection cf. "Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 365-366.

For an interesting discussion on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's tax reforms of 1236, cf. also T. Abe, "Genjidai no Hōgin-sei no kōkyū", 261-267.

245. Cf. the expression 寇盜充斥 in the Tso chuan (Legge VIII, 560.7), which Legge (ibid., 564, Par.6) rendered as "robbers have become quite rife".

246. Lit., "the right robbers".
247. This drastic measure was taken in order to urge the local officials in the province to do their utmost in the fight against banditry in the areas under their control. This is also clear evidence of the frightful proportions that banditry had reached in the early stages of the Mongol rule in North China. For further evidence of this phenomenon cf. NP, App.5b.
248. Contrary to YWL 57, 835.1, there should be no punctuation after 官吏.
249. The text has ch'i nien 其年, i.e., "that year". This is probably a copist's mistake for chi-nien 暮 (or 期) 年, "a full year" (cf. the YCMCSL 5, 63, where the character 其 has been substituted by 周).
250. Yang-kao li 羊羔利, i.e., doubling its size, like a young lamb, in one year. The statement in our text regarding the exorbitant interest rate on loans for this period is confirmed by other contemporary sources, including the HTSL where (13b) we read: "As for their trade, from the Ta (i.e., Mongol) ruler to the pretended princes, imperial sons, princesses, etc., they all entrust money to the Hui-hui (Uiyurs). Sometimes they (the Uiyurs) make extensive profits

from it by lending it to the people. One ingot's principal (invested in a loan), by repeated doubling, yields 1024 ingots after ten years." In other words, the money-lenders "charged an interest of 100 per cent per annum and converted interest into principal every year, so that in ten years, the principal and compound interest would amount to 1024 times the original principal". (Yang, 97; cf. also YTSHCCCT, 145.) The money-lenders were usually Moslem Uiyurs, members of the famous "ortaq" corporations. On the activities of the "ortaq" in China cf. the articles by Weng Tu-chien, M. Murakami, T. Kobayashi and Sun K'e-kuan cited in the Bibliography. The preparation of an article on the activities of the "ortaq" in this period has been announced by Schurmann in ESYD, 13 n.2. On the "ortaq" cf. also ESYD, 4-5 and 214-215; Yang, 97.

251. As stated more explicitly in the Biography, 8a4 (see *infra*, n.254), these people were actually sold into slavery. They are included by Meng Ssu-ming in his sixth category of slaves for the Yüan dynasty, i.e., those who sold themselves voluntarily into slavery (tzu-mai 自賣). Cf. YTSHCCCT, 175 and n.1271, where other instances of this phenomenon are quoted from contemporary Chinese sources.

252. Ting 錠 = 錠, "ingot" or "shoe". 76,000 ingots = 380,000 ounces of silver. On the ting during the Mongol period cf. Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 372; Yang, 63 sqq.; HTSL, 12b-13a. See also *supra*, n.233.
253. I.e., irrespective of the length of the loan.
254. Cf. the Biography, 8a3-5: "Previously, many among the leading officials in the prefectures and commanderies had borrowed money from the merchants to pay off their debt with the government. The interest (on the loans) accumulated and doubled several times: it was called 'young lamb interest'. The point was reached when they had to turn their wives and sons to slavery; still, it was not enough to pay off the debt. Ch'u-ts'ai advised the Emperor to issue an order that when the interest equalled the principal it should not increase further (lit., 'it should stop'). This became a permanently fixed system. As for those people who were under obligation (with the merchants), their debt was paid off for them by the government."

Although this event is recorded in the Stele with the entries of the year ping-shen (1236), we know from YS 2, 7b, that the imperial edict authorizing the issue of 76,000 ingots from government funds to

pay off the debts contracted by the local officials and reducing, at the same time, the excessive rates of interest exacted by the Uiyur usurers, was promulgated in the twelfth month of the twelfth year of T'ai-tsung (15 December 1240-13 January 1241; this event is, in fact, placed s.a. 1240 in the NP, 23b). It was not, however, till 1267 that a special government office, the Wo-t'o tsung-kuan-fu 幹脫總管府 or General Administration of the Ortaq, was established to control the activities of the Uiyur businessmen. On this office cf. Yang, 97.

255. Shih-ch'en 侍臣 . On this expression cf. DKJ, 589.54.
256. 脫歡 = Toγōn (< Turkish Toγan, "Falcon"; on this etymology cf., however, HEO, 453-454 n.4), a very common name among the Mongols and one borne by several people mentioned in the YS (cf. SSTML 30, 293-294; cf. also YSPWL, 34a-b).

The identity of this personage is unknown. It would be tempting to identify him with Toγōn, son of the famous Boroqul, who succeeded to his father's office of chiliarch in 1217 and died later during the reign of Möngke (cf. YS 119, 2a, and YCWL 23, 10a; on Boroqul cf. HCG, 372-377). Unfortunately, nothing is known about Toγōn's activity under Ögödei and the



question will not, therefore, be settled till further evidence is discovered.

257. Lit., "held it and did not issue it".

258. Cf. the words addressed by Mencius to King Hui of Liang: 便嬖不足使令於前與 in Meng-tzu (Legge II, 145), which Legge rendered as: "Or because you have not enough of attendants and favourites to stand before you and receive your orders?"

259. In the Biography, 7b3-6, we read: "At that time, (the Emperor's) personal attendant T'o-huan memorialized that maidens (for the imperial harem) be selected throughout the empire and an edict was issued to this effect. Ch'u-ts'ai prevented it from being carried into effect. The Emperor was angry at it but Ch'u-ts'ai, stepping forward, said: 'So far twenty-eight "beautiful women" (i.e., imperial concubines) have been chosen, enough to provide fully for the requirements (of the harem). Now that a further selection is to be carried out, I, Your Servant, fearing that it would cause disturbance among the people, intended to make representations (to Your Majesty about the matter).' After considerable time the Emperor approved of his advice and the edict was revoked."

Naka (CKJ, 663-664) is of the opinion that this episode is related with that of Ögödei's appropriation of women belonging to the ulus of Temüge-otcigin, mentioned in § 281 of the SH and in YS 2, 6b, and an account of which is found in HM II, 98 (from Juwaynī). We know that in the SH, § 281 (YCPS, Sup.2, 56a-b), "Ögödei lists as his second fault that of having taken unlawful possession of girls from the ulus of "Uncle Otcigin", following the advice of a woman (nögü'e buru'u yosu ügei eme gü'ün-ü üge-tür oroju Otcigin-abaya-yin ulus-un ökid abcira'ulqu alji'as bolba-je). In Juwaynī, 235-236, we read the following: "Among the tribe of...⁶⁶ who was the commander of a thousand, a rumour sprang up that it had been decreed that the daughters of that tribe should be affianced to certain persons. Being frightened by this news they affianced most of their daughters to husbands within the tribe and some they actually delivered to them. Tidings hereof spread from mouth to mouth and reached the ear of the Emperor. He appointed a group of emirs to go thither and investigate the matter. When the truth of the report had been established, he gave orders that all the girls over seven years old should be gathered together and that all who had been given

that year to husbands taken back from them. Four thousand starlike maidens...were thus assembled.... And first he ordered those who were the daughters of the emirs to be separated from rest; and all who were present were commanded to have intercourse with them. And two moonlike damsels from amongst them expired. As for the remaining chaste ones, he had them drawn up in rows in front of the ordu, and such as were worthy thereof were dispatched to the harem, while some were given to the keepers of cheetahs and wild beasts and others to the various attendants at the Court, and others again were sent to the brothel and the hostel of the envoys to wait upon travellers...". (In note 66 on p.235 we read: "There is a blank in A and B. D. has 'the Oirat', which does not make sense in the context, though according to Rashid-ad-Din's version of the anecdote [Blochet, 84] the tribe in question were in fact the Oirat.)

On the basis of the above account we can understand the otherwise inexplicable notice in YS 2, 6b: "In the sixth month (of the ninth year of T'ai-tsung, i.e., 24 June-23 July 1237), the various tribes of the Left Wing spread a groundless rumour about a requisition of women. The Emperor was angry at it and, having

ordered to requisition them, made presents of them to his officers." Temüge-otcigin's ulus was situated at the extreme north-eastern point of the Mongol tribes and was thus comprised in the "Left Wing" (cf. HCG, 178). There is hardly any doubt, I think, that the statements in the SH, the YS and Juwaynī refer to one and the same event. Naka's suggestion that the episode recorded in the Biography may be also related, in spite of chronological discrepancies, to the facts just mentioned, and that the twenty-eight concubines in Ögödei's harem could be the women taken from Temüge's ulus raises, on the other hand, some objections. In my opinion, we are confronted here with two distinct events. Ögödei's appropriation of women belonging to his uncle's ulus was an affair in which only the Mongol tribes were involved; moreover, it was not only carried into effect but, according to Juwaynī, on quite a large scale. The requisition which caused the intervention of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was to take place also, if not exclusively, in China (see, for instance, the reference to Yen-ching in the Stele, which is missing in the Biography), and, ultimately, it was not carried out.

The recruitment of maidens for the Emperor's harem had, of course, a long tradition in China before the arrival of the Mongols (cf. KCTSCC 249, 48-53); at the beginning of the latter's domination it was, however, performed in accordance with the Mongol customary law and the women thus requisitioned fell under the category of slaves. Meng Ssu-ming classifies them in his fifth group, i.e., among the people arbitrarily seized and enslaved by the government (YTSHCCCT, 175 and n.1270). Describing the "remarkable power" held by the emperor of the Mongols over his subjects, John of Plano Carpini states: "Etiam si petit filiam virginem vel sororem, sine contradictione dant ei. Immo singulis annis aut intermissis aliquibus annis virgines colligit ex omnibus finibus Tartarorum, et si ipse vult sibi retinere aliquas retinet, alias dat suis hominibus, sicut videtur ei expedire" (SF I, 68). Later, during Qubilai's reign, in order to check the frequent abuses committed by the officials in charge of the selection, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's son Chu, who was then Left Prime Minister, proposed on 25 November 1282 that each year three maidens be selected in a large commandery and two in a small one as candidates for the imperial harem. The parents of the girls

who were eventually accepted should receive a generous grant from the government, while the rejected candidates should be sent back to their homes. The proposal was accepted (YS 12, 11a). The following year, in June, the Censor Ts'ui Yu 崔彧 (d. 1298) proposed to Qubilai to stop altogether the requisitions carried out in all the districts (*ibid.* 12, 19b). The proposal was enforced, but only temporarily.

That the early Mongol "requisitions" had left a deep mark on the memory of the Chinese population is clearly shown by an episode related in the CKL 9, 141-142, under the heading "A Wild Story" (謠言). This episode is particularly interesting as in some of its features is a replica of that told by Juwaynī. Tao Tsung-i relates how in the summer of 1277, a rumour spread through China that the court had decreed a requisition of young people of both sexes to be eventually distributed among the Mongols as slaves. It was also said that their parents would be compelled to escort them to the north. The rumour caused so much panic that a large number of boys and girls above 12-13 years of age were hastily married by their parents throughout the country. The panic lasted only ten days, long enough, however, to create serious

social complications. In the hurry little respect was paid to the conventional rules of marriage and many of the unions later caused great distress to all concerned, some of them actually ending tragically. (This episode is also recorded in YS 39, 8b, and in KSWs 1, 5a.) Cf. also "Yüan-shih hstüan hsiu-nü chih chih" 元時選秀女之制 ("The system of selecting 'accomplished women' [i.e., women for the imperial palace] in Yüan times"), in NESCC 30, 637-638.

260. In the Biography, 7b6-7, we read the following: "He (the Emperor) also wanted to collect the people's mares. Ch'u-ts'ai said: '(North China) is a country suitable for agriculture and sericulture, not for horse-breeding. If this is now carried out, it will no doubt harm the people in the future.' His advice was again adopted."

Rémusat, 78, misunderstanding the end of the corresponding passage in the YSLP (11, 4b) wrote: "Le décret ne laissa pas d'être rendu, malgré son opposition, au grand préjudice des habitants de l'empire."

It is well known that mares were very important in the Mongol economy not only for breeding purposes, but as a source of milk which, in its raw and fermented

state was, and still is, the favourite drink of the Mongols (on the fermented mare's milk or kumiss cf. the references given in HCSL, 117 n.50). For this purpose a large number of mares were owned by the emperor, his relatives and the nobles. William of Rubruck says in the Itinerarium: "Baatu habet xxx homines circa herbergiam suam ad unam dietam, quorum quilibet qualibet die servit ei de tali lacte centum equarum, hoc est qualibet die lac trium milium equarum, excepto alio lacte albo quod deferunt alii. Sicut enim in Siria rustici dant tertiam partem fructuum, ita oportet quod ipsi afferant ad curias dominorum suorum lac equarum tercie diei" (SF I, 179). According to Polo, the mares owned by Qubilai were more than ten thousand (Benedetto, 63; Yule I, 300). At Qaišan's inauguration (1307), the milk of seven hundred mares was consumed by the imperial relatives and the nobles in toasts to the new emperor (see supra, n.119). For further evidence of the Mongol's appreciation of mare's milk cf. also YS 100, 2a.

In this period, mares were supplied to the Emperor by his Mongol and other nomadic subjects in fulfilment of their fiscal obligations. John of Plano Carpini writes: "Imperator autem iumenta, ut habeat lac ex

eis ad annum, vel ad duos vel at tres sicut placuerit ei, tam duces quam alii pro redditu dare tenentur..." (SF I, 69).

From the Chinese sources we know that in 1233 "Ögödei issued an edict fixing the tax rates according to the size of the herd. The owner of up to a hundred heads of cattle, i.e., horses, oxen or sheep, was levied a female per year; the owner of up to ten mares or cows or ewes was also levied one (CSTT apud Wang Kuo-wei, HTSL 12a; KCWL 41, 67a. Cf. also the SH, 33 279-280, where, however, no figures are given for the mares; and Li Wen-t'ien's note in YCPSC 15, 342).

The levy based on the size of the herd was not imposed on the Northern Chinese people who were chiefly peasants and artisans (cf. ESYD, 66; "Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 317). During the war against Chin, the horses naturally constituted part of the war booty and the Mongol generals are known to have seized a large number of them (cf., e.g., YS 2, 5a, and YCMCSL 1, 6). Later, at various times, the Mongol government carried out extensive requisitions of horses throughout the country (YTSHCCCT, 152-153). It is possible that the planned requisition of mares

of 1236 was partly determined by a reduction in their number in Mongolia, owing to the imposing military campaigns in the Middle East and Europe, and the war against Sung, all of which had just begun. For a history of horse-management among the Mongols, cf. Yoshiwara Kimihei 吉原公平, Mōko basei-shi 蒙古馬政史, Tōkyō 1938.

261. San-chiao 三教⁴, i.e., Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. On this expression cf. DKJ, 12.419. My punctuation of this passage differs from that given in YWL 57, 835.6.
262. By "Taoists" 道 are meant here the members of the Taoist clergy.
263. I.e., they were issued with an official authorization to take up religious life. On the priest's ordination diplomas (tieh 牒 or tu-tieh 度牒), the origin of which is anterior to the T'ang dynasty, cf. TBD IV, 240-242; BDJ, 1289a-b; AEB, 49 and n.3.
264. I.e., the rules on admission into the priesthood. For the term shou-chiai 受戒 cf. BDJ, 981a-b; DCBT, 251b.
265. A statement to this effect is found in the HYL, 9a, where we read: "...nowadays the great majority of the men who retire from the world do it to evade levies and to make a living for a while without toil." For

a discussion of the term i 役 in this context cf. the Appendix, HYL, n.170.

266. In the Biography, 7b7-8a3, we read: "In the year ting-yu (1237), Ch'u-ts'ai memorialized as follows: 'To make utensils one must employ skilful artisans, to preserve what has been achieved (i.e., the empire), one must employ Confucian ministers (儒臣). The work of a Confucian minister, failing the lapse of several decades, cannot be easily accomplished.' The Emperor said: 'If it is really so, you may appoint such men.' Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'I request that they be examined in competition.' Thereupon, Liu Chung 劉中, Tax Commissioner (the text has 宣課使, undoubtedly an error for 課稅使 - I.R.) for Hsüan-te chou 宣德州, was ordered to hold examinations in each commandery, dividing them into three subjects: the meaning of the Classics (經義), elegies and rhymeprose (詞賦), and essays (論). Confucians who had been taken prisoners and enslaved were likewise allowed to take the examination. Those lords who, by concealing them, did not send them (to the examination) were executed. The scholars thus secured were in all four thousand and thirty, while one out of four escaped slavery." This section has already been translated by C. Gardner

in HJAS 2 (1937), 325. The expression ju-ch'en 儒臣 which occurs in the above text may also be rendered "scholar-official".

In the HYL, 12a, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai lists the setting up of official examinations among the measures that the court should enforce in order to bring about a period of Great Peace. The importance that Ch'u-ts'ai laid on the competitive examinations for the selection of the officials is shown by the fact that he memorialized to this effect in 1237, that is immediately after the census. Further details about his introduction of the examination system are found in other sections of the YS. The following is a translation of the relevant passages.

In YS 2, 6b (Annals of T'ai-tsung) we read: "In the eighth month (of the ninth year of T'ai-tsung, i.e., 22 August-20 September 1237), Chu-hu-nai 木虎乃 (*Juqunai) and Liu Chung 劉中 were ordered to hold examinations in the various districts. The successful Confucian candidates were appointed councillors (i-shih-kuan 議事官) in their native places. (In all) four thousand and thirty scholars (lit., 'individuals') were thus secured."

In YS 81, 1b (Monograph on the Examinations), we read: "At the beginning of the Yüan (dynasty), T'ai-tsung, having for the first time come into possession of (the whole of) North China, at once followed Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's advice to hold the examinations of the accomplished scholars (選士)."

In the same chapter of the YS it is further stated: "When T'ai-tsung had for the first time conquered (the whole of) North China, the Chief of the Secretarial Council, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, requested him to employ the accomplished scholars of the Confucian school. (The Emperor) acceded to it. In the eighth month in autumn of the ninth year (of T'ai-tsung), an edict was issued ordering that the Judge Chu-hu-tai 朱忽得 (*Juqudai) and the Chief Official of the tax-collection bureau of the Eastern Shan-hsi district, Liu Chung, should go through the various districts and hold examinations, dividing them into three subjects: essays, the meaning of the Classics and elegies, and rhymeprose, for which a three days schedule was set up. Those who mastered one subject exclusively, as well as those who were proficient in all of them, each were allowed (to participate); they passed, however, only if they did not miss the meaning of the text.

The successful candidates were exempted from taxes and corvée and were allowed to share in office with the chief officials of every locality. Thus were secured Yang Huan 楊吳 (英 is an error for 吳 - I.R.) and others - altogether several people - all famous scholars of that period. However, at the time in question it was perhaps considered that this was an inconvenient policy and (the examinations) were again suspended" (ibid., 2b-3a). We know from the spirit-way stele of Yang Huan (1186-1255), composed by Yuan Hao-wen, that when Liu Chung held the examinations in Tung-p'ing in 1238, Yang Huan came out first in the essays and in rhymeprose. Thereupon, Liu Chung appointed him as member of the Examining Commission and in this capacity he travelled to the north. There (in Qara-Qorum?), he met Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai who was apparently much impressed by him. Upon the latter's recommendation, Yang Huan was subsequently appointed chief official in the tax-collection bureau of the Ho-nan district, as well as Supervisory Prefect (lien-fang-shih 廉訪使). Cf. ISHSWC 23, 2b-3a, and YCMCSL 13, 212. On Yang Huan cf. also YS 153, 13a-14b, and WHC, no.2848.

The introduction of the official examinations is also recorded in the SWCCL, 86a, as follows: "In the year ting-yu (1237)...a search was made for Northern Chinese Confucian scholars, to be selected for appointment to posts in their native places."

The system of competitive examinations introduced in 1237 on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's suggestion was not only directed towards the creation of a Chinese bureaucracy vis-à-vis the Mongol and Central Asian officialdom or, as stated by Grousset (EM, 580), in order to rally the Chinese population to the Mongol dynasty, but also to redeem Chinese scholars who were under Mongol servitude. The rules set up for the examination were, in fact, designed in such a way as to enable the largest possible number of people to participate; at the same time, severe penalty - the text speaks of capital punishment - was decreed for all the owners of enslaved scholars who prevented them from attending. To what extent this decree was actually carried out is impossible to say; it is highly doubtful, however, that such an extreme measure was enforced on Mongol lords who had contravened it.

The examinations yielded four thousand and thirty successful candidates, about a thousand of which,

formerly slaves, "were sent back to their homes", i.e., gained their freedom. (Rémusat, 79, misunderstanding the corresponding passage in YSLP 11, 4b, translated: "Un quart de ceux qui avaient été réduits à la condition d'esclaves fut rendu à la liberté.") Regarding the employment of the successful candidates, the YS informs us that they were allowed to take part in the administration of their native places as "councillors". The term used in the text, i-shih-kuan 議事官, lit., "officials who deliberate on affairs", is a vague one. In the case of most of them, this simply meant that they were used in an advisory capacity on local administrative matters by their Mongol or Central Asian superiors, who held, of course, all the senior posts. Exceptionally a successful candidate, like Yang Huan, gained a high position; this, however, was only possible through personal recommendation; as it also was the case with other Chinese officials previously appointed as tax-collectors by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (see *supra*, n.132). The system of direct appointment was preferred by the Mongols to the traditional Chinese system of selective examinations, no doubt because, as pointed out by Wittfogel (HCSL, 462), they distrusted politically independent Chinese



leadership. The examination system introduced by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was soon abandoned: no examination was probably held after 1238. From then on till the advent of Qubilai, the Mongol administration reverted to the system of direct appointment. In 1267 the question of introducing competitive examinations was again discussed but without any result. Only in 1313 a newly formulated plan of examinations was approved by the government and finally carried into effect two years later (HWHTK, 3150-3153; HCSL, 462-463; T. Katsufugi, "Genchō shoki...", p.1-7 in particular; Ratchnevsky, XXV and n.4, XXVII; YTSHCCCT, 166-167; the passage relating to the examination system under the Mongols in Wu's article "Chinese Printing...", 520, needs revising). I have been unable to identify the Chu-hu-nai 术乃虎 ~ Chu-hu-tai 术虎解 of YS, 6b, and 81, 2b. On Liu Chung see *supra*, n.131.

According to our text, simultaneous with the setting up of government examinations for "Confucian" scholars, was the establishment of special examinations on the canonical texts for Buddhists and Taoists wishing to take the vows. This measure was chiefly directed at reducing the increasing number of people who entered the monasteries for reasons other than

religious ones. During the long struggle in North China between the Mongols and the Jurchen, the monasteries had become gradually populated with escaped prisoners, army deserters, displaced civilians and frightened peasants, all seeking shelter. Later, as the members of the Buddhist and Taoist monasteries enjoyed the fiscal privileges accorded to them by Cinggis Qan in 1223, many were those who took up a monastic life only in order to evade the onerous taxes and corvées imposed by the authorities. This is an old and well-known phenomenon in Chinese history, and one already discussed by other investigators (cf., e.g., EAB, 25 sqq.). To this we must add, for the period that concerns us, the neglect of formal religious training for monks, resulting from the general havoc created by the war. This fact is vouched for by some statements of renowned Buddhist masters of the time. In the FTLTTT 21, 703c, are recorded Wansung's words: "Since the revolution that brought about the National (i.e., Mongol) Dynasty, the monks have neglected the preacher's pulpit and very few of them can read", which are followed by Hai-yün's own admission that "the monks of nowadays pay little observance to the rules, do not study the ceremonial thoroughly and their bodies are far from the Way" (ibid.).

In spite of the personal prestige that various leaders of religious sects in North China enjoyed at the Mongol court, the irregularities of the monasteries could not pass unnoticed. Already before Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai expressed his criticism in the HYL, the misdeeds of members of the Buddhist and Taoist clergy who were "of no advantage to the state and harmful to the people" had been repeatedly exposed by high officials like Kuo Pao-yü 郭寶玉, a well-known Chinese in the service of the Mongols (cf. YS 149, 11b). In an edict of the eleventh month of the year chi-ch'ou (18 November-17 December 1229) Ögödei ordered: "Outside (the true) Buddhist and Taoist monks, all other people who pretend to have taken up a religious life must, according to the rules, comply with the fiscal obligations. Buddhist monks and Taoists who cultivate the land and engage in commerce, according to the rules are to pay the land and commercial taxes" (TCTK 29, 8b; cf. also I. Aritaka, "Gendai no sōryo to shakai", 536; Ratchnevsky, "Die mongolischen Grosskhane...", 491). As by 1229 Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was already in charge of the taxation program for North China, he was almost certainly the person responsible for drafting this edict.

More effective means to deal with the increasing number of irregular monks were subsequently decided upon at the time of the great census. Our sources, however, are not in full agreement in this regard. In the biography of Kuo Te-hai 郭德海 (Pao-yü's son) we read: "Previously (i.e., previous to the year kuei-ssu/1233), T'ai-tsung had issued an edict to the effect that the great dignitary Hu-tu-hu and others should examine Buddhist monks and nuns and Taoist priests in the empire. A thousand men versed in the canonical texts were carefully selected; those who had skill in crafts were put under the direction of minor interpreters, ho-chu 合住 (? possibly an error for ho-kan[-jen] 合干 [人], i.e., subordinate officials - I.R.) and others; as for the remainder, they were all turned into laymen. Furthermore, an edict was issued to the effect of establishing schools and granaries in the empire, to foster men of talent, to fix a list of subjects (for the examinations) and give appointments to those who were selected. All this was in compliance with Te-hai's requests" (YS 149, 13b-14a).

From Hai-yün's biography we learn, on the other hand, that in 1235 the Mongol court commissioned the

"Reader" (侍讀) Cha-hu-tu 扎忽篤 (*Jaqudu) to hold examinations on the canons for Buddhists and Taoists. This measure was opposed by Hai-yün, whose objection that the Buddhist monks should not be concerned with the knowledge of books but rather with the cultivation of virtue was reported to Šigi-Qutuqu. As a result, the examination was reduced to a mere formality, none of the candidates being failed and the admission into the monasteries continuing virtually as before (FILTTT 21, 703c-704a).

Finally, according to our text, the examination of candidates for priesthood was carried out for the first time in 1237, following previous recommendations by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Now, in Ögödei's edict of 1229 mentioned above, it is also stated that Buddhists and Taoists whose "asceticism is pure and elevated" should all be examined on the canons in order to receive the rules and be allowed to become monks (TCTK, loc. cit.). This important text shows that the examination for admission to the priesthood was decreed as early as 1229. However, it would appear from the Stele that it was not actually carried out then, possibly because of the strong opposition of the clergy. Later, at the time of the great census, an attempt was made

at enforcing the examination, this time for purposes of registration (Sigi-Qutuqu is in fact mentioned in both Kuo's biography and in that of Hai-yün). This attempt, which must have taken place in 1235 or 1236 (1235 is the year given in Hai-yün's biography, 1236 that found in Hai-yün's commemorative stele in the Ch'ing-shou Temple 慶壽寺 in Peking, cf. JHCWK 43, 16b), failed however to produce any of the desired results owing to Hai-yün's opposition and Sigi-Qutuqu's support of it, as we have seen above. In 1237, when the examination of the Confucian scholars proposed by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was set up, the question of the examination for monks was probably again discussed and a new attempt made to carry it out effectively. The selection of "a thousand men versed in the canonical texts" mentioned in Kuo's biography, might either refer to an early examination, as the date would indicate, or to one of the later attempts, as Sigi-Qutuqu's participation would suggest. Whatever the sequence of events was, the examinations for the clergy proved to be as short-lived and ineffective as that for the Confucian scholars. The question was not discussed again till the end of Qubilai's reign, when an edict was issued to the effect that only

persons versed in the canons were allowed to take up monastic life. It is doubtful, however, whether this condition alone ever constituted a serious obstacle for those wishing to enter a monastery (Ratchnevsky LXVIII; "Die mongolischen Grosskhane...", 501). In Kuo Te-hai's biography it is further stated that the examinations for the clergy were set up following his request. This only means that recommendations to the same effect had been made to Ögödei from more than one source (cf. HYS 64, 12a). On Hai-yün 海雲 (1203-1257) cf. H. Kunishita, "Gensho ni okeru...", 571-577, where the examination for the clergy is also discussed; on him cf. also Waley, 6-8; GCR V, 173-175.

267. Lit., "in order to ride them".

268. 館 = 館驛. See infra, n.271.

269. P'ai-cha 牌劄. P'ai 牌 or p'ai-tzu 牌子 were the well-known tablets of authority given by the Mongol government to envoys on official mission. The contemporary Mongol equivalent of p'ai-tzu, recently discovered by Cleaves, was gerege (cf. F.W. Cleaves, "Daruya and Gerege", 255-259). Cha 答 or cha-tzu 答子 were letters or written patents also given to government officials and envoys, authorizing them to exact, according to the circumstances, special

privileges and services, such as the requisition of relay-horses (p'u-ma cha-tzu 鋪馬劄子), etc. Cf. W. Yanai, "Genchō Haifu-kō", 889 sqq.; TP 5 (1904), 428 n.4; Olbricht, 64 n.145, and 87. On the p'ai-tzu cf. the essential biography in Cleaves, op. cit., 256-257. Cf. also the important article by W. Yanai cited above; Haneda I, 8-10 and 92-114; Yule I, 351-354 n.2; Poppe and Krueger, "The Mongolian Monuments...", 57 sqq.; Olbricht, 33 and 64 n.145.

270. Fen-li 分例. On this term cf. Olbricht, 72 n.160; Ratchnevsky, 285 n.1; ESYD, 85 n.34.

271. The YS is silent as to the measures taken by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in connection with the post-service. The Biography, 8a6, merely states that he arranged postal communications and made post-service warrants clear (布迺傳, 明驛券; see infra, n.278. On the expression 驛券 cf. Yanai, op. cit., 888). However, in the section dealing with the chan-ch'ih 站赤 (< mo. jamci, "postman"; on this term cf. Olbricht, 20 sqq.; MS 16, 1957, 147-148) in the YLTT, the text is given of an imperial edict, originally in the CSTT, issued on 13 September 1237 in reply to reports concerning various "disturbances" (馬騷擾) created by official envoys. On the basis of its date and contents, which

correspond to the information supplied by our text, I have little doubt that this edict was drafted by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and that in it we have a detailed description of the measures taken by him to which our text and the Biography allude. The complaints, as listed in the edict, were that the envoys stayed in the cities for reasons not connected with their duties; that they did not travel along the established post-routes and exacted service, claiming possession of warrants (牌符); that envoys on official business took with them a number of unauthorized people and private horses; that they refused the various kinds of meat supplied at the post-houses (these included pork, beef, horse and goat meat) and requested unusual ones, such as mutton, and when this was provided they complained about the quality; that many Moslem envoys refused to eat the meat of dead animals and demanded live sheep; that they refused to lodge at the post-houses (館驛) and wanted to spend the night in the houses of the local officials; that after the completion of their duty they were unwilling to leave pretending to be still on business; that they requisitioned post-horses for their personal attendants to which these were not entitled; that

they did not change horses when necessary and that, although they had the equipment for their "long-journey carriages" (長行車), when they reached a city they exacted new carriages and reins. The edict ordered that the official envoys sent by the court be issued with a writ bearing the imperial seal (御寶文字) and that their daily ration of food (分例), which they were to receive at the post-houses, be fixed as follows: one pint of rice, one pound of noodles, one pound of meat and one bottle of liquor. For their personal attendants, as well as for the envoys of the various ya-men in the "entrusted areas" (投下), and taxation officials, the ration was fixed at one pint of rice. They were not to be supplied with the above unless in possession of warrants. After the completion of their duty they could not change their post-horses on the claim that they were too lean; also, they were not to be supplied with a new carriage and equipment, unless necessary. They were not allowed to enter a city unless on public business. Finally, those envoys who made excessive demands in regard to the provisions for themselves and the post-horses, were to be judged and punished by the local authorities (EEDZG 19416, 8b-9a; the

above is a free and summarized version of the edict).

With regard to these measures, we must add that the use of government warrants by the official envoys and their daily ration of food and drink as specified in the edict were not introduced for the first time in 1237 by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Tablets of authority, carried by the envoys and officials were in use during Cinggis Qan's time and are already mentioned in the MTPL (14b-15a) and in the HYC (1,2b; cf. also the Appendix, HYL, n.171). These tablets, as suggested by T. Haneda ("Une tablette du décret sacré...", 90-91), were probably adopted by the Mongols following the Ch'i-tan rather than the Jurchen pattern; we cannot say, however, whether they were introduced to the Mongols by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai or some other Ch'i-tan official - of which there were many - in the conqueror's service (cf. also Haneda I, 135). The daily ration as given in the above edict was fixed for the first time, according to YS 101, 1b-2a, in the eleventh month of the first year of T'ai-tsung (18 November-17 December 1229), but the text does not state on whose advice. From 1229 to 1237 several edicts were issued concerning the implementation of rules

relating to the use of post-horses, warrants and the provisions for the couriers (cf. EEDZG 19416, 2b and 7a-8b). It is impossible to say, however, to what extent Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was responsible for their drafting, as other Mongol notables were then in official charge of the post-service (cf. Olbricht, 41). All that can be said from the evidence we possess is that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai exerted his authority in enforcing the observance of the existing post-service regulations in order to curb the power of the Mongol and Moslem envoys, whose frequent "disturbances" must have caused no little harm to the Chinese families in charge of the post stations, and also in order to assert the precedence of court, i.e., government, envoys over those of the "entrusted areas", i.e., of the apanages, and other officials. This is clear evidence of the government's effort to establish its authority over that of the apanage-holders (the "princes and imperial relatives" of our text).

The abuses of the official envoys will remain, nevertheless, a constant worry to the authorities throughout the Mongol dynasty, as one can infer from the articles of the Yüan code and from the YTC (cf. Ratchnevsky, 285 sqq.).

For a brief survey of the post-service in Cinggis Qan's and Ögödei's time cf. Olbricht, 40-42 (the "1225" on p.42 is a typographical error for "1252"); Haneda I, 11 sqq.; 118 sqq.

272. 信賞罰. Cf. the words 信賞必罰 in HSPC 8, 25a, which Dubs rendered as "[to make] rewards dependable and punishments certain" (HFH II, 265). 信賞 and 必罰 are among the "methods" (術) that the sovereign should employ which are discussed in Han-fei-tzu 9, 1a-2a (Liao, 281-283).
273. 正名分. On the "rectification of names" (正名) cf. HCP, 59-62 et passim. The expression ming-fen 名分, "names and duties", occurs in the NHCC 10, 25b (Kwang-3ze, 216).
274. Lit., "to examine who is inferior and who is superior (among the officials)", i.e., in order to classify them. On the expression k'ao tien-tsui 考殿最 cf. TF, 259 and n.2. On tien-tsui cf. also ESYD, 59 n.17.
275. 定物力. Wu-li 物力 (= 物力錢) was, in Chin times, the name given to the property tax imposed on the Chinese in addition to other levies - chiefly the land tax - to which they were subject. In CS 46, 1b, we read: "Besides the land tax (稅租), the number of their fields and gardens, houses and cottages,

carriages and horses, oxen and sheep, crops and the amount of their savings was calculated. The money levied (on this property) was called wu-li 物力." (This passage has already been translated, somewhat differently, by Schurmann in his article "Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 318.)

I am not certain whether Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had actually a scheme for the re-introduction of the property tax, which had disappeared after the fall of Chin, or whether Sung Tzu-ch'en by wu-li means simply the ch'ai-fa 差發. This is the interpretation found in the Biography, 8b5 (see *infra*, n.278), where the words 定物力 of the Stele have been replaced by 均科差, "to equalize the k'o-ch'ai", i.e., the assessment (by rates) of the ch'ai(-fa). This interpretation, adopted also by Shao Yüan-p'ing (*YSLP* 11, 5a), Wei Yüan (*YSHP* 25, 6a) and T'u Chi (*MWESC* 48, 6a), may well be the correct one. The property tax, being an institution peculiar to the vanquished Chin, was never imposed by the Mongols on the Chinese, although a faint remnant of it can be seen in the system of a graduated taxation (k'o-cheng 科徵) introduced by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in 1236 (for details cf. Schurmann, *op. cit.* 319, and *ESYD*, 75). We know, moreover, that

in this period the Mongol rulers did not yet exact from the Chinese their customary tributes and levies (ch'ai-fa) according to a definite and unified system. Schurmann writes: "In the year following this first great fiscal reform (i.e., that of 1236 - I.R.) there were attempts to set up a unified ch'ai-fa system which would once and for all do away with the system of arbitrary tributes and levies. Since the ch'ai-fa represented the principal source of revenue of the Mongolian nobility, the latter were constantly trying to exact as much as possible from the people under their control. The Mongols had difficulty in conceiving of an absolute limit on their revenues. When in need they decreed a new quota of revenue and had their officials and envoys go out and collect it. However, as the traditional Chinese bureaucracy grew stronger and as centralization proceeded, attempts were made to end the chaos by introducing a regular tax system. Thus the foundation for the centralizing fiscal reforms of the early part of Qubilai's reign was laid in the preceding years." ("Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 365.)

If Shao Yüan-p'ing is right, it still remains to be explained why Sung Tzu-chen used the old term

wu-li rather than the more appropriate k'o-ch'ai or ch'ai-fa.

276. See *infra*, n.278.

277. 定土貢 . The character 土 in YWL, 835.10, is a misprint for 土 . T'u-kung 土貢 was the traditional yearly tribute of local products sent to the imperial court from the provinces and from subject countries. A chronological survey of "local tributes" sent to the Mongol court in the Yüan dynasty is found in the HWHTK, 3051-3057.

278. In the Biography, 8b4-6, we read: "Ch'u-ts'ai consequently set forth ten plans dealing with contemporary affairs. They were: to make rewards and punishments dependable, to rectify names and duties, to grant (appropriate) emoluments, to appoint meritorious ministers to the office (they deserve), to investigate the merits (of the officials), to equalize the assessment (by rates) of taxes, to select artisans, to devote attention to agriculture and sericulture, to fix the local tributes and to regulate watercourse transportation. (These plans) being all closely linked with the requirements of the time, were carried into effect without exception." Further administrative measures of the year 1237 are mentioned in the



Biography, 8a6-7: "As to the unification of weights and measures, the issue of tallies and seals, the establishment of the paper-currency system, the setting up of the equalization (of prices) through transportation, the arrangement of postal communications, and the clarification of post-service warrants, he (i.e., Ch'u-ts'ai) put these various government affairs for the most part in order, and the people (of the empire) were somewhat relieved." With regard to the "issue of tallies and seals", some further details can be found in the YCMCSL 5, 64, where the following passage from Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's obituary by Chao Yen 趙衍 is quoted: "The senior officials of the various districts made their own tallies and seals and (on their strength) committed abuses without limit. His Excellency memorialized to the effect that the Secretarial Council, according to the rule, make the castings for both. Only following this, names (of rank) and insignia (i.e., the symbols of authority) were regarded with respect."

The chün-shu 均輸, or equalization of prices through transportation, was an ancient economic measure designed to save expenses on the transport of grain and other goods from the provinces to the

capital, and to stabilize at the same time the price of commodities in general use. Its origin goes back to the Former Han dynasty, but it may be even traced back earlier (cf. Swann, 40 et passim; Ch'ien Pao-tsung 錢寶琮, "Han chün-shu-fa k'ao" 漢均輸法考 ["A study of the chün-shu system of the Han"], WL 4, 1931). During the Sung dynasty it was one of the chief schemes of economic reform advocated by Wang An-shih 王安石 (1021-1086). For a detailed description of it cf. Williamson, 131-141.

As to the selection of artisans mentioned among Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's administrative plans, the following passage in the Biography, 7b2-3, is probably related to it: "At that time, the artisans in their work made a waste of government property, most of which went into private hands. Ch'u-ts'ai requested that an inquiry should be made into all such cases. This became a fixed system." We possess, however, no further details of these plans regarding which, moreover, the Stele and the Biography disagree as to the extent of their enforcement. On Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's role in connection with the paper-currency system and the post-service see *supra*, n.233 and 271.

279. 阿散阿迷失 (Hasan-Hamiš?). I have been unable to identify this personage. The name A-san (= Hasan) is attested once in the SH, § 182 (cf. YCPS 6, 44a, where it is transcribed 阿三), and several times in the YS (cf. SSTML 17, 153-154). In the NP, 22a, this name is incorrectly written A-san-mi-a-shih 阿散迷阿失, and in this form we also find it in Iwamura, 93. Iwamura, moreover, refers to him as a "court dignitary" (廷臣), although this designation does not appear in the Stele, which I believe is the only source that mentions him.
280. This event is missing in the Biography. On the other hand, we find in the Biography, 8a7-b4, the following episode, also belonging to the year 1237, which is not related in the Stele: "Two Taoist monks were striving for pre-eminence and had established their respective cliques. One of them falsely accused two men who belonged to his opponent's clique of being deserters and, in collusion with palace nobles and the interpreter (通事) Yang Wei-chung 楊惟忠, had them arrested and cruelly killed. Ch'u-ts'ai held an inquest and apprehended Wei-chung. The palace nobles on their part accused Ch'u-ts'ai of opposing the imperial orders. The Emperor was angered and had Ch'u-ts'ai put in bonds. Shortly afterwards, however,

he regretted it and ordered his release. Ch'u-ts'ai did not want to be untied. He said (to the Emperor): 'I have filled the position of Duke and Chief Minister, on whom depends the state administration. Previously Your Majesty gave orders that I should be put in bonds: I was then guilty and it was necessary to show clearly to the various officials that crime is not to be remitted. Now you release me: this means that I am not guilty. Surely, it is not right to change so lightheartedly, as if you were playing with a child. There are important affairs of state: how can they be dealt with (if you act like this)?' All the people (who were present) were aghast (lit., 'lost colour'). The Emperor said: 'Although We are the Emperor, are We without failings?' And at once, with kind words, consoled him."

Yang Wei-chung (correct orthography: 楊惟中) was a native of Hung-chou 弘州 (present Yang-yüan hsien 陽原縣, Chahar) who had begun his career under "Ögödei as interpreter. He was then sent by the emperor to Central Asia to carry out the census and after his return to China he took part in the war against Southern Sung, sharing in office with Nien-ho Chung-shan (see supra, n.150). After Yeh-lü Ch'u-

ts'ai's death in 1243 he directed for a while the affairs of the Secretarial Council (see *infra*, n.348). During the reigns of Güyük and Möngke he was transferred to other important posts. He died in 1259 at the age of fifty-five while holding the office of Peace Promotion Commissioner (hsüan-fu-shih 宣撫使) of several districts. Yang Wei-chung was a promoter of Confucian studies and the founder, with Yao Ch'u 姚樞, of the T'ai-chi College 太極書院 in Yen-ching, where well-known scholars of the time like Chao Fu 趙復 and Wang Ts'ui 王粹 were invited to lecture. On him cf. the biographies in YS 146, 13b-15a; YCMCSL 5, 67-68; YSLP 11, 9b-10a; YSHP 25, 8b-9b; YShu 45, 1a-2a; MWESC 61, 3b-4b; HYS 133, 8a-9b. The inscription on his spirit-way stele, composed by Ho Ching 郝經 (1223-1275), was the chief source for his biography in the YS. On this inscription and on Yang's tomb in Hung-chou cf. CFTC 173, 47b-48b. Three of his poems have been included in the YSHKC 乙, 4a-b. On him cf. also NESKI 97, 1560; YSPC 20, 1b-2b; T. Aoki, "Gensho...", 487-489.

Rémusat, 80, in translating the record of this event as given in the YSLP 11, 4b, has mistaken the characters 結中貴 in 1.12 for the name of one of the Taoist monks.

281. They were L^ü Chen 呂振 and Liu Tzu-chen 劉子振 who, upon Yeh-l^ü Ch'u-ts'ai's recommendation, had been commissioned to the tax bureau of the T'ai-yüan district in 1230-1231 (see supra, n.132). The Biography, however, refers to L^ü Chen as Transportation Commissioner (chuan-yün-shih 轉運使 ; see infra, n.284). During the Sung, Liao and Chin dynasties the Transportation Commissioners were fiscal intendants in the various administrative areas, whose duties varied at different times (cf. LTCKP 52, 1459 sqq.; Kracke, 51 and n.143). During the Chin dynasty they were in charge of taxation, currency, granaries, revenues and expenditures, weights and measures (CS 57, 14a). At the beginning of the Mongol administration in North China the Transportation Board (chuan-yün-ssu 轉運司) of Chin was abolished and its functions taken over by the tax-collection bureaux (cheng-shou k'o-shui-so 徵收課稅所) set up by Yeh-l^ü Ch'u-ts'ai (see supra, n.132). With the changes in the administrative system under Qubilai, the various functions of the tax bureaux of Ögödei were distributed among several offices depending on the provincial governments (hsing-sheng 行省). Transportation Commissioners were again established at the

head of newly created Transportation Boards, but their function was only limited to the control of the salt administration, which previously was also the concern of the Tax Commissioners (cf. ESYD, 166-192, particularly pp.170, 178 and 188 n.10; cf. also Ratchnevsky, 258 sqq.). As the office of Tax Commissioner disappeared early in the dynasty, the compilers of the YS replaced in the Biography the obsolete term designating it with the one they considered to be its later equivalent. Cf. also SHTC 11, 31a.

282. Tsang-tsui 臧罪. On the term tsang 臧 cf. Ratchnevsky, 56-57 n.5, 60.
283. The Three Major Relationships (san-kang 三綱) are the relations between lord and subject (君臣), father and son (父子), husband and wife (夫婦); the Five Constant Virtues (wu-ch'ang 五常) are: benevolence (仁), righteousness (義), propriety in demeanour (禮), wisdom (智) and good faith (信).
284. In the Biography, 8b7-9a2, we read: "The Transportation Commissioner for the T'ai-yüan district, Lü Chen 呂振, and the Deputy Commissioner Liu Tzu-chen 劉子振 were expiating their crime of corruption. The Emperor, reproaching Ch'u-ts'ai, said: 'You say that K'ung-

tzu's (i.e., Confucius') teachings should be practised and that the Confucianists are good people. How is it, then, that there are such fellows (among them)?' (Ch'u-ts'ai) replied: 'Rulers and fathers in teaching their subjects and sons indeed do not wish to lead them into unrighteousness. The Three Major Relationships and the Five Constant Virtues are the morals and institutions (名教) of the Sage. All those who have (the direction of) a state or family follow them, just as the sun and the moon in heaven (follow their immutable course). How can a doctrine, which has been practised for ten thousand generations, be abolished only by our dynasty for the fault of a single individual?' The Emperor was then appeased."

In his translation of the corresponding section in the YSLP 11, 5a, Rémusat, failing to realize that the character 振 in 1.7 is part of Liu Tzu-chen's personal name, wrote (p.82): "L'intendant en chef des revenus publics en Chine était un nommé Liu-tchin; son adjoint ou lieutenant était Lieou-tseu. Le premier disparut avec la caisse."

285. I.e., to exempt the people of the affected areas from taxation. See *infra*, n.286.

286. There is no mention of this event in the Biography, which in the YS 2, 7a, is recorded as follows: "In the eighth month in autumn (of the tenth year of T'ai-tsung, i.e., 10 September-9 October 1238), Ch'en Shih-k'o 陳時可, Kao Ch'ing-min 高慶民 and others stated that various districts (were suffering from) drought and locusts. An edict was then issued exempting (the population of the districts) from this year's land tax, suspending further the collection of those (taxes) which were overdue and postponing the settlement of such matters to a prosperous year." On Ch'en Shih-k'o see supra, n.130. As for Kao Ch'ing-min, we know that he was a friend of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (cf. the poem "Seeing off Kao Ch'ing-min of Yen-ching" 送燕京高慶民行, in WC 14, 15b), but we have no information regarding his official position.
287. In the Monograph on the Army in the YS reference is made to a memorial to the throne of the eighth month of the thirteenth year of T'ai-tsung (7 September-6 October 1241), in which it is stated: "The population of the various districts originally registered by Hu-tu-hu 忽都虎 (i.e., Šigi-Qutuqu) and others was 1,004,656 households; with the exclusion of

households that had fled, it was 723,910 households" (YS 98, 4a). Thus, according to this account, the households that had fled after the census of 1235-1236 numbered 280,746. Although these figures are at variance with those found in the Stele and in other sections of the YS (see *supra*, n.213), it is clear from the above statement that a large number of households had in fact fled, in order no doubt to escape taxation and possibly, also, because of the natural calamities mentioned in the preceding section. Furthermore, since the Monograph on the Army gives a definite figure for the population exclusive of the households that had fled, we may also infer that such households were removed from the population records. It would then appear that, although Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had memorialized to the effect of removing 350,000 households from the records, only 280,746 were actually removed. As to the discrepancy between the various population figures found in the YS, the HWHTK, 2887a, says: "If we look at this (i.e., the statement in the Monograph on the Army), (it appears that the figure) recorded in the Annals (i.e., 1,100,000 households) is the actual number (of households) at the time of the census, while that contained in the

Geographical Monograph (i.e., 873,781 households) is the actual number minus the households that had fled; as to the statement in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's biography (here the Stele is meant - I.R.), that the households registered by Hu-t'u-k'e 呼圖克 (i.e., Šigi-Qutuqu) numbered 1,040,000, it differs but slightly from (that in) the Monograph on the Army. Evidently, each (of these figures) was stated on the basis of what was known at that particular time."

288. 劉忽篤馬. In the YCMCSL 5, 64, this personage is called Hu-t'u-k'e-cha-mu 呼圖克扎木. I could not find any references to either of them.
289. P'u-mai 撲買. On this term see *infra*, n.295.
290. 涉獵發丁 = Šarīfu 'd-Dīn شرف الدين, a name meaning in Arabic "Noble of the Faith" (I owe this information to Schurmann, ESYD, 90 and 165 n.24). The same name, belonging, however, to a different person, occurs in YS 94, 4a, in the transcription She-li-fu-ting 舍里甫丁. I have been unable to identify the Šarīfu 'd-Dīn of our text. Iwamura, 94, has failed to recognize in the characters 涉獵發丁 a proper name.
291. 劉庭玉. I cannot identify this personage.
292. I.e., they defraud the people and deceive the government.

293. 興一利不如除一害, i.e., it is preferable to remove something harmful than to start something advantageous. Compare these words with the expression 興利去害, "to raise the advantageous and remove the harmful", in SC 97, 7a. On this expression cf. also F.W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362...", 47 n.58.
294. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai refers to the following episode from the biography of Pan Ch'ao 班超 (32-102 A.D.), which I am quoting in Chavannes' translation: "Auparavant, quand (Pan) Tch'ao avait été rappelé, le wou-ki hiao-wei Jen Chang avait été nommé Protecteur general; au moment de la transmission des pouvoirs, (Jen) Chang dit à (Pan) Tch'ao: 'Votre seigneurie a résidé pendant plus de trente années dans les pays étrangers; ma chétive personne reçoit avec humilité votre succession; mais la charge est lourde et ma perspicacité est superficielle; vous devez avoir des instructions à me donner'. (Pan) Tch'ao lui répondit: 'Je suis vieux et j'ai perdu ma clairvoyance; on vous a déjà confié à plusieurs reprises des postes élevés; comment moi, (Pan) Tch'ao, aurais-je pu atteindre si haut? Cependant, comme je ne puis faire autrement (que de céder à vos instances), je désire vous proposer

humblement un avis: les officiers qui sont en-dehors de la barrière ne sont pas naturellement des fils pieux et des petits-fils obéissants; tous ont été deportés pour quelque faute et chargés de remplir un poste dans les colonies militaires de la frontière; d'autre part les barbares ont des sentiments d'oiseaux et de bêtes sauvages; il est difficile d'entretenir leurs bonnes dispositions et aisé de les détruire. Maintenant, vous avez un caractère austère et rigoureux; or, quand une rivière est limpide, elle n'a pas de grands poissons; un gouvernement trop minutieux n'obtient pas la sympathie de ses inférieurs; il vous faut être coulant et accommodant; soyez indulgent pour les petites fautes et bornez-vous à tenir la main aux principes généraux'. Après que (Pan) Tch'ao fut parti, (Jen) Chang dit en particulier à ses familiers: 'Je pensais que le seigneur Pan possédait quelques recettes merveilleuses; mais ce qu'il m'a dit est fort ordinaire'. Quand (Jen) Chang se fut rendu à son poste, au bout de quelques années les contrées d'Occident se révoltèrent. (Jen Chang) fut rappelé pour avoir commis des fautes qui étaient précisément celles contre lesquelles (Pan) Tch'ao l'avait mis en garde." (E. Chavannes, "Trois Généraux

Chinois...", 243-245; for the Chinese text of the above cf. HHSCC 47 [77 of the Pal. Ed.], 11a-b.)

295. In the Biography, 9a2-7, we read: "Some wealthy individuals, such as Liu Hu-tu-ma 劉忽篤馬, Sheli-h-fa-ting 涉獵法丁, Liu T'ing-yü 劉廷玉, and others bid (for the privilege of) farming the taxes of the realm for 1,400,000 ounces of silver. Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'These rapacious fellows deceive superiors and oppress inferiors, causing great harm.' He memorialized (requesting) the abolition of this. He used to say: 'Better to remove one harm than to raise one gain; better to avoid a disturbance than to start a business. Jen Shang 任尚 thought that Pan Ch'ao's words were nothing but commonplaces; after a thousand years, however, a definite opinion has naturally come about. Those who will later bear the consequences (lit., "the blame"), will realize that my words were true.'" The section of the Stele from l.5 on p.19a to l.1 on p.19b has been translated by Schurmann in ESYD, 90.

The total sum of the tax farmers' bids mentioned in the Stele does not agree with the figure given in the Biography (1,800,000 ounces of silver versus 1,400,000), nor with that found in the YSLP 11, 5a

(1,000,000 ounces). However, as Shao Yüan-p'ing quotes the passage in question from the Biography, the latter figure must be an error for 1,400,000. This error, which was later rectified in the YSHP 25, 6a, as well as in YShu 43, 3b (T'u Chi follows the Stele while K'o Shao-min does not mention any figure), unfortunately found its way into Rémusat, 82. The "200,000" ounces of silver (銀 = 十萬兩) in Iwamura, 94-95, are a lapsus for "250,000". The event in question cannot be accurately dated owing to the fact that in the Stele the events of the years 1238-1240 are all placed s.a. wu-hsü (1238). Wang Kuo-wei (NP, 22b) has placed it s.a. 1238, while in the HTCTC, 4617, it is found s.a. 1239.

An interesting note (2) by Professor Yang Lien-sheng on tax farming in China is found in HJAS 13 (1950), 174-175. It says: "Tax farming can be traced back at least to the fifth century. In 486, Prince Ching-ling 竟陵王, i.e. Hsiao Tzu-liang 蕭子良 (460-494) said in a memorial, 'Moreover, from ancient times the important post of superintendent of markets 司市 has been considered difficult to fill. Recently appointment to this office has been made not on

the basis of talent, but merely by listing a large sum (of taxes to be collected) and permitting people to bid for the post. An incumbent will increase his estimate (of collections) seeking to hold on to the post, while a candidate will augment the tax (quota) in his bid to replace the former 前人增稅求俠, 後人加稅請代 (Nan-Ch'i shu 40.6b). For more instances of bidding for similar posts see Nan-Ch'i shu 46.9 and Liang shu 10.3a-b. From Sung times on, the term for bidding by a tax farmer is mai-p'u 買撲 or p'u-mai 撲買. Under the Yüan dynasty, in spite of strong objections from the wise statesman Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材, certain taxes were raised from 1,100,000 taels of silver in 1238 to double this sum as a result of bids from tax farmers (Yüan shih 146.9a). In the Ch'ing-shih kao 清史稿 129.18b-19a we find the term p'u-hu 撲戶 for tax farmers, in which the character p'u 撲 is either a misprint or a variation of p'u 撲. The term chiu p'ai-hu 酒拍戶 is found in the I-chien chih 夷堅志 (Han-fen-lou 涵芬樓 ed.), pu 補 7.3a. It refers to a tax farmer in wine, which was under government monopoly in Sung times (see Sung hui-yao kao 宋會要稿, ts'e 130, 'shih-huo' 食貨 19.1a-19a). P'ai 拍 is a variant form

of p'u 撲 in p'u-mai which appears in the same passage. The text refers to the early years of the Ch'un-hsi 淳熙 period (1174-1189). For related meaning of the character p'u, see notes 50 and 53 below.

Nankai Social and Economic Quarterly 8.4 (1936). 824-825 contains a useful article by C.M. Chang 張純明, 'Tax farming in North China, a case study of the system of auctioned revenue collection made in Ching-hai Hsien, Hopei Province'. Mr. Chang is, however, incorrect in saying 'References to tax farming do not go beyond the Manchu dynasty' (p.826)."

To the above information we may add that the term p'u-mai 撲買, according to the Ta-hst'eh yen-i pu 大學衍義補 of Ch'iu Chün 丘濬 (1418-1495), was used for the first time in 970. The passage in question from the Ta-hst'eh..., as quoted in the YSLP 11, 5a, reads: "The term p'u-mai originated in the third year of (the period) K'ai-pao 開寶 of Sung (i.e., 970). Its meaning was to make a general estimate of the revenue to be collected, to let (a person) provide this sum and hand it over to the government, and then allow him to take his profit from the people." On tax farming in China in Yüan times cf. ESYD, 89-91; M. Murakami, "Genchō ni okeru...",

162-163; Sun K'e-k'uan, "Wo-t'o ch'ien...", 279-280.

On tax farming in Central Asia and Western Asia under the Mongol rule cf. Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices...", 368 sqq.; Spuler, 309-314.

296. "Ögödei's predilection for wine is well-known and a reference to it is also found in the SH. In § 281 (YCPS, Sup.2, 56a) "Ögödei, listing his defects after his accomplishments, is made to admit that his first fault was that of having given himself to drunkenness (the text says: bor darasun-a ilaydayu minu buru'u bolba, "I had the fault of letting myself be vanquished by the grape-wine"). This passage from the SH is of particular interest as it shows that "Ögödei was apparently addicted to grape-wine rather than to kumiss, the Mongols' favourite alcoholic drink. (On the grape-wine see supra, n.171.)

We know that "Ögödei was already a heavy drinker during Cinggis Qan's lifetime. Rashīd ad-Dīn relates how the latter often reproached him, without success, for his vice. Čayatai's efforts to make him reduce his daily consumption of wine also were of no avail (for details cf. Blochet, 51, and HM II, 85-86). After the destruction of Chin, "Ögödei gradually withdrew from active participation in state affairs and

devoted more and more of his time to drinking and feasting. According to Juwaynī, 549-550, the emperor justified his inebriety by saying that it was a means of forgetting the sorrow he felt for the premature death of his younger brother Tolui. Whatever the cause, Ögödei continued carousing, deaf to the remonstrances that came from various sides, till his excesses finally killed him in 1241 (see *supra*, n.150 and *infra*, n.322). In connection with Ögödei's inebriety, we should mention that among the portraits of Mongol emperors discussed by the Reverend A. Mostaert in his article "A propos de quelques portraits d'empereurs mongols", there is also a portrait of Ögödei (p.149). Mostaert, commenting on this interesting portrait, which he believes to be authentic, writes: "...le portrait de l'empereur Ögödei (Iuen t'ai-tsong 1229-1241) fils et successeur de Cinggis est surtout remarquable par son expression réaliste, c'est bien là la figure ignoble qu'a dû avoir l'ivrogne incorrigible que le liu tch'ou ts'ai a réprimandé si souvent sans résultat..." (*ibid.*, 147).

This section of the Stele is quoted in the CKL 2, 39, under the heading "Earnest Remonstrance" (切諫). For other examples of Mongol emperors and princes addicted to spirits cf. EM, 294 and n.1, 305.

297. Not "un anneau de fer" as stated in HM II, 86.
298. Lit., "man's five viscera". The "five viscera" (wu-tsang 五臟) are the heart, liver, spleen, lungs and kidneys. Cf. TH, 子集, 149d.
299. In the Biography, 9a7-10, we read: "The Emperor had always been fond of liquor and daily caroused with the great dignitaries. Ch'u-ts'ai often remonstrated but (the Emperor) would not listen to him. Then (Ch'u-ts'ai), holding the metal mouth of a wine-vat, stepped forward and said to him: 'Wine (lit., "yeast and malt") can corrode matter; if iron (is corroded) to such an extent, how much more would the viscera!' The Emperor realized (the truth of these words) and said to his courtiers: 'Your feeling of love for the ruler and concern for the state cannot be compared with that of Wu-t'u Sa-ho-li (Urtu Saqal, i.e., of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai).' He rewarded him with (presents of) gold and silk, and ordered his personal attendants to present him (i.e., the Emperor) with no more than three cups of liquor a day." On Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's Mongolian nickname Urtu Saqal see supra, n.73. This event has been placed by Wang Kuo-wei (NP, 23a) s.a. i-hai (1239); it may have taken place, however, in 1238 (see supra, n.295).

Although Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai used to remonstrate with Ögödei about his excessive drinking we know that he himself far from disdained wine. He frequently mentions it in his poems (see the Appendix, HYL, n.96), and the following amusing story related in the Biography, 9b6-10, shows that he also allowed himself to indulge in it at times: "Once Ch'u-ts'ai was feasting with (the Mongol) princes and, having become intoxicated, went to lie inside a carriage. The Emperor, while looking at the plain, noticed him. He went straight to his camp, got up into the carriage and shook him with the hand. Ch'u-ts'ai, who was soundly asleep, did not wake up, but just showed anger at being disturbed. Suddenly he opened his eyes to see (who was disturbing him), and only then realized that the Emperor had come. He got up in fright and apologized. The Emperor said to him: 'So you take liquor and get intoxicated alone, rather than (lit., "and do not") enjoy yourself together with Us!' And he went away laughing. Ch'u-ts'ai, without reaching for his cap and sash, rode quickly to the imperial camp. Then the Emperor gave a banquet in his honour, which ended with the greatest merriment."

300. Lit., "succeeded in getting in, taking advantage of the crack" 得以乘間而入 (間 = 隙). For an early occurrence of the expression ch'eng-chien 乘間 cf. HSPC 69, 12a.
301. Cf. Stele, 13a, and supra, n.132. 10,000 ingots were equivalent to 500,000 ounces of silver.
302. The Biography, 9b2 (see infra, n.310) quotes this amount in ounces.
303. 安天台. I have been unable to identify this personage. The An-t'ien-t'ai 安天台 of Iwamura, 96, must be a typographical error.
304. 以求進用. Schurmann (ESYD, 90) rendered these words "in order to seek promotion and appointment".
305. On Chen-hai see supra, n.149. Dissention between Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Chen-hai already existed before these events. In the HTSL, 8b, Hsü T'ing, discussing the chancellery practices of the Mongols, wrote the following: "Moreover, before the date at the end (of a document), Chen-hai personally writes Hui-hui (Uiyur) script reading: 'Transmit to such-and-such a person.' This is probably a special precaution against Ch'u-ts'ai. That is why one must make an attestation with Hui-hui script. If it does not have this, then it does not constitute a document. One probably

wishes to cause it to pass through (the hands of) Chen-hai. (Thus) it also would afford a counter-check." (Translation by Cleaves, "A Chancellery Practice of the Mongols...", 503.) The above passage shows that in 1235-1236, that is at the time of Hsü T'ing's mission, there were rumours circulating in North China about a conflict between the two leaders of the Secretarial Council. Furthermore, as pointed out by Wang Kuo-wei (NP, 23a), one may also see an allusion to Chen-hai in the following passage from the preface to one of Yeh-lü Chu's poems: "Formerly, my Venerable Father was in the Secretarial Council (臺省 = 中書省). He was eventually hindered by incompetent officials and was not allowed to act in his own way most of the time" (拜書尊大人領省甕山原瑩域寢園之壁, SCTYC 6, 19b). See also *infra*, n.308.

306. 奧都刺合蠻, i.e., 'Abd ar-Rahmān, a Moslem merchant (a "merchant from the Western Region", as stated in the YS 2, 7a) who, after having been introduced at the Mongol court with the help of Ant'ien-ho and Chen-hai, rapidly gained the imperial favour. He is mentioned in both Chinese and Persian sources. (In the YS his name is also transcribed

Ao-tu-la 奧都剌 and Ao-lu-ho-man 奧魯合蠻 ; cf. *ibid.* 153, 2a, and 157, 4b). In 1239 he obtained the privilege of farming the taxes in North China, as related in our text and in the YS (see *infra*, n.307 and 310), and at the beginning of 1240 he was given the direction of all the tax bureaux of the realm (YS 2, 7a). After the death of Ögödei, for which, according to the YS he was partly responsible (see *infra*, n.322), 'Abd ar-Rahmān, through the recommendation of Fatima, a powerful lady in the service of Ögödei's widow Töregene, succeeded in 1243 to be appointed to the direction of the Mongol administration in North China in place of Mahmūd Yalawāch (cf. Juwaynī, 243; *Stele*, 21a, and *infra*, n.316). Although there is no mention of his death in the Chinese sources, we know from Rashīd ad-Dīn that 'Abd ar-Rahmān was executed by order of Güyük during the "purges" following his election in 1246 (cf. Blochet, 248, where, however, no date is given, and HM II, 206). Rémusat, 83, incorrectly refers to 'Abd ar-Rahmān as "Un ministre d'Ogodaï, turc et musulman". On 'Abd ar-Rahmān cf. also EM, 304 and n.1; 305; Blochet, "Deux résidents mongols...", 259 and n.1 and 2.

307. According to our text and to the Biography (see *infra*, n. 310) the annual tax quota fixed by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in 1230 was 10,000 ingots (= 500,000 ounces) of silver; this was gradually raised after 1234 and by 1238 it was 22,000 ingots (= 1,100,000 ounces). As a result of 'Abd ar-Rahmān's bid, the quota was raised to 44,000 ingots (= 2,200,000 ounces), that is to double the sum previously exacted. According to YS 2, 7a, the new quota was enforced in the twelfth month of the eleventh year of T'ai-tsung (27 December 1239-25 January 1240). Although the year given in the Biography for the initial increase in the annual quota is the chia-wu year (1234), we know from an entry by P'eng Ta-ya in the HTSL, 11a, that the quota had already been raised to 20,000 ingots (= 1,000,000 ounces) during his sojourn in North China, that is some time in 1233. It follows then, that from 1233 to 1239 the quota was increased only by 2,000 ingots (= 100,000 ounces). This fact has already been pointed out by Wang Kuo-wei in his commentary to the relevant section of the HTSL (*ibid.*, 12b-13a). In his famous memorial to the throne, Liu Ping-chung later condemned 'Abd ar-Rahmān's action, as a result of which, he stated using the Lun-yü expression, "the people did not know how to move hand or foot" (YS 157, 4b).

308. This statement is quite indicative of the decline of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's prestige at the Mongol court and confirms Chu's words quoted above (see *supra*, n.305).
309. Lit., "will tread in the footsteps".
310. 政出多門, i.e., it did not proceed from the Emperor any longer. The locus classicus of this expression (where, however, it occurs without the character 出) is the Tso chuan (Legge VII, 393.16).

In the Biography, 9a10-9b6, we read the following: "The tax rate had been fixed from the year keng-yin (1230). After Ho-nan had been conquered in the year chia-wu (1234), there was an annual increase. By the year wu-hsü (1238), the tax (rate) in silver had been raised to 1,100,000 ounces. A certain translator (named) An-t'ien-ho 安天合, who through flattery had put himself in the service of Chen-hai, first introduced (at court) Ao-tu-la-ho-man 奧都剌合蠻, who bid (for the privilege of) farming the taxes (of the realm). (The rate) was then increased further to 2,200,000 ounces. Ch'u-ts'ai argued and remonstrated with the utmost vigour (against this measure), until both his voice and countenance grew harsh and he wept as he spoke. The Emperor said to him: 'Are you going to have a fight (with Us)?'

Further, he said: 'Are you going to shed tears for the people?' Meanwhile, however, he had it (i.e., the proposal) enforced on a tentative basis. Ch'u-ts'ai, having insufficient power to prevent it, sighed: 'The people's misery will start from this.'" The passage from 1.7 on p.19b to 1.2 on p.20a of the Stele has been translated by Schurmann in ESYD, 90. For the dating of the events related in this section see *supra*, n.307.

311. Cheng-se 正色. On this expression cf. the Shu ching (Legge IV, 572 and n.).
312. Of this section only Ögödei's well-known words to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai have been incorporated in the Biography (see *supra*, n.310).
313. The expression lu-tz'u 祿賜 occurs in HSPC 24B, 21a. For a translation of the relevant passage in this text cf. Swann, 323, where the expression lu-tz'u is rendered "official emoluments and bestowments from the Throne".
314. I.e., to strengthen his own position (本) by extending the power of his clan (枝葉) in conferring offices to its members. This metaphor is ultimately derived from the Tso chuan (Legge VII, 246.4; translation, *ibid.*, 248, Par.4).

315. I.e., Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai would be unable to unlawfully exert his influence in helping them to escape punishment.
316. 狡兔三窟, i.e., crafty and provident. What Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai means is that he is not a man who would bestow favours on others, such as giving appointments to his relatives, with a view to obtaining their help and protection in time of difficulty. This well-known simile is from the CKT 11, 2a (cf. also Williams, 92).

In the Biography, 9b10-10a3, we read: "Ch'u-ts'ai had been in charge of the state (administration) for a long time. However, he distributed the emoluments that he had gained among his kin, but never gave them offices in secret. The Military Commander (行省) Liu Min 劉敏 casually spoke to him about this. Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'As a duty of kindness towards relatives, one should give them assistance only in gold and silk. If, by employing them in the administration they should contravene the laws, I would be unable to follow my personal (feelings of) affection.'"

Liu Min (1201-1259; T. Yu-kung 有功 and Te-jou 德柔) has a biography in YS 153, 1a-2b. It contains, however, several errors which have been rectified by T'u Chi in his biography of Liu Min in MWESC 61,



2b-3b. Other biographies of this personage are found in the HYS 133, 6a-7b; YSLP 26, 3a-4a; YSHP 26, 3b-4b; YShu 37, 8a-9b. The text of the spirit-way stele for Liu Min's family tomb (大丞相劉氏先塋神道碑) composed by Yüan Hao-wen is found in the YSHSWC 28, 1a-5b. Liu Min's biography in the YS is partly based on this source.

Liu Min was a native of Ch'ing-lu 青魯 near Hstüan-te 宣德 (modern Hstüan-hua hsien 宣化縣, Chahar). In 1212, when still a child, he was taken prisoner by the invading army of Cinggis Qan. He was brought up at the Mongol camp where he was once noticed by Cinggis, who took a liking to him and nicknamed him "Ücügen, "Little One". In 1219 he took part in the campaign against the Shāh Muhammad of Khwārazm and remained in Central Asia till 1223. Upon his return to China in that year he was appointed by Cinggis Qan Pacification Commissioner (an-fu-shih 安撫使) plenipotentiary and, at the same time, was put in charge of tax-collection, water-transportation and salt-pans, as well as of Taoist, Buddhist and astronomical affairs in the Yen-ching district. On this occasion he was granted as mark of authority, the Jade Seal and the Golden Tiger Tally. Li Chih-ch'ang mentions him in

the HYC 2, 13b and 14a (Waley, 133 and 134) as the author, with Shih-mo Hsien-te-pu (on whom see supra, n.108) of various letters to Ch'ang-ch'un, requesting the Taoist Master to take up residence in the Ta T'ien-ch'ang Temple 大天長觀 in Yen-ching (in the HYC 2, 13b, Li Chih-ch'ang refers to Liu Min as "His Excellency the hst'uan-ch'ai plenipotentiary Liu" 宣差便宜劉公. Now, according to the CYIY, 57a, hst'uan-ch'ai is the Chinese equivalent for daru'aci, or civil governor. Judging from this title and from the various offices that he was concurrently holding, Liu Min must have been almost as powerful in Yen-ching as Hsien-te-pu).

In 1228 Liu Min helped Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Tacār to repress banditry in Yen-ching (see supra, n.108), and his biography in the YS gives him the credit for the execution of the ringleaders and the banishment of other powerful people involved in the robberies.

Like Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, Liu Min took an active part in promoting the training of Chinese for official posts by establishing schools and colleges, and inviting famous scholars to lecture in them.

In 1235 he went to Qara-Qorum to set up the Palace Gates Bureau (kung-wei-chü-ssu 宮闈局司) of the

Wan-an Palace then under construction, and to organize post-relay services to facilitate the collection of levies. He was present at the inauguration of the Palace in February-March 1236. According to his spirit-way stele, he was also responsible for other important works in the Mongol capital, including the construction of the city wall (ISHSWC 28, 2a). In GCR V, 164, Franke has therefore quite appropriately called him "Der eigentliche Erbauer von Karakorum".

In 1241 Ögödei appointed him Military Commander (行省, i.e., 行尚書省) of Yen-ching, that is to the post previously held by Shih-mo Hsien-te-pu and, subsequently, by Hsien-te-pu's brother Hu-tu-hua (see *supra*, n.108). Shortly afterwards, the former Governor General of Transoxania, Mahmūd Yalawāch was recalled from Central Asia to share in office with Liu Min (the date given in YS 2, 7b, for Yalawāch's appointment is the tenth month of the thirteenth year of T'ai-tsu, i.e., 5 November-3 December 1241). Together they directed the Mongol administration in North China till 1243, when Töregene replaced Yalawāch with 'Abd ar-Rahmān. This change, however, did not affect Liu Min's position. After Güyüg's election in 1246 and the execution of 'Abd ar-Rahmān, Yalawāch

was reinstated to his former office and Liu Min's partnership with him continued till 1254, when the former retired on account of illness, leaving his office to his son Shih-heng 世亨. A few years later, in 1259, Liu Min died in Yen-ching at the age of fifty-nine.

In WC 14, 17b-18a, there is a poem to Liu Min entitled "Te-jou once promised to have a saddle with jewelled reins made for me. This was some years ago. I have written this poem to speed him up." 德柔嘗許作鞍玉轡且數年矣作詩以督之 (the date of the poem is uncertain; cf. NP, 20b). Waley, 134 n.2, states with reference to Liu Min that "he became Governor of Hst'uan-tē". Hst'uan-tē must be a mistake for Yen-ching.

In connection with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's income, we must mention that although no reference is made in the Stele or in the Biography to specific apanages or other grants conferred on him by Cinggis Qan or "Ögödei, we know from the YS that he and his descendants were accorded the right of collecting the revenues of a number of households in Yen-ching, later Ta-tu, and other localities. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's name, in the form I-la chung-shu Wu-t'u Sa-han-li (on which see

supra, n.73), is in fact among those of the Mongol and "alien" (色目) Meritorious Ministers (勲臣) enjoying such privileges who are listed in YS, 95. From the short notice attached to it, we learn that at the time of the 1252 census the households belonging to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's hereditary apanage were 870. In 1319 they were only 449. The tax paid by them on this last date amount to 117 catties (斤) of silk yarn per year (ibid., 29a).

317. I.e., Töregene, Ögödei's principal wife. She was a Naiman, and the former wife of Qudu, son of Toqto'a-beki of the Odoyit-Merkit tribe. In 1204 or 1205 she was given by Cinggis Qan as wife to Ögödei and, upon the latter's death in December 1241, she became Regent of the Empire. She held the regency till Güyük's election on 24 August 1246 and apparently died some time between October 1246 and the spring of 1248. On her cf. Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté", 193-195.
318. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai probably refers to the severe drought and locusts that afflicted North China in the autumn of 1238 and to the calamities in Shan-tung in the autumn of the following year (cf. YS 2, 7a, and supra, n.286).

319. The following is the story to which Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai alludes. Duke Ching 景 of Sung 宋 (V century B.C.) was ill. His astronomer-astrologer Ssu-ma Tzu-wei 司馬子韋 informed him that the planet Mars (Yung-huo 熒惑) was stationary in the Hsin 心 constellation, which corresponded to the state of Sung. Duke Ching was grieved at the news, for it meant an impending calamity. Tzu-wei explained that the Duke could avoid the calamity by directing it against his ministers, but Duke Ching refused, saying that his ministers were his legs and arms. Tzu-wei then proposed to direct it towards the people. Ching objected that the ruler must take care of the people. Finally, Tzu-wei suggested to let it fall on the harvest. Ching again refused, stating that without the harvest the people would be reduced to the utmost extremity. Tzu-wei praised the Duke and stated that as Heaven listens to what is said below and as the Duke had spoken virtuously three times, the planet Mars would undoubtedly change its position. In effect, Mars receded three constellations.

The above story is related in SC 38, 15b-16a (MH IV, 245-246), as well as in numerous other texts. For a comparative study of the various versions cf. LSCCHC, 161 sqq.

320. In the Biography, 10a3-8, we read: "On the third day of the second month of the year hsing-ch'ou (16 March 1241), the Emperor fell seriously ill and the physicians stated that his pulse had already ceased (to beat). The Empress did not know what to do. She summoned Ch'u-ts'ai and asked him (for advice). He replied: 'At present (the court) gives employment to the wrong people; they sell offices and justice and many are the innocents who have been imprisoned (by them). When the ancients made a virtuous pronouncement, (the planet) Yung-huo (Mars) receded (into another) constellation (and so they avoided calamity). Therefore, I request you to grant an amnesty to (all) the prisoners in the realm.' The Empress wished to carry it out immediately, but Ch'u-ts'ai said, however, that it could not be done without the Sovereign's order. Shortly afterwards, the Emperor revived a little and the petition requesting the amnesty was presented to him. Having already lost the power of speech, the Emperor gave his consent with the head. That night the physicians felt that his pulse came again to life. It was just the time when the text of the amnesty was publicly announced. The following day (the Emperor) had regained his health."

Further details as to the locality where Ögödei was caught by the illness (probably a stroke) are found in the Annals of T'ai-tsung in the YS: "In the second month in spring of the year hsing-ch'ou, while hunting at the lake(s) of Chieh-chieh-ch'a-ha 揭揭察哈, the Emperor became ill. An edict was issued granting an amnesty to (all) the prisoners in the realm. The Emperor regained his health" (YS 2, 7b). The Chieh-chieh-ch'a-ha mentioned above is undoubtedly the Chia-chien Ch'a-han (Gegen Cayan) tien 堅茶寒殿 or "Bright and White Palace" built by order of Ögödei in 1237 in the city of Sao-lin 掃隣 (Sa'urin), seventy odd li north of Qara-Qorum (cf. YS 2, 6b, and 58, 38b; translations of the relevant passages are found in HJAS 15, 1952, 25 and 27 n.32). Rashīd ad-Dīn mentions a place, called "Kerchāghan", at one day's journey from Qara-Qorum, where Ögödei had a palace built and where he used to go hunting, being rich in wild life (Blochet, 49; HM II, 84). This must be the same locality to which the YS refers. Further details about it are given by Juwaynī, who, however, calls this palace Qarshi-Suri (Qarshi = palace; Suri = Sa'urin?). According to him, Ögödei, after having spent the first month of spring in Qara-Qorum (see

supra, n.233), spent the rest of it at the Qarshi-Suri. In front of the palace "there were pools of water (which they call köl), wherein many water fowls used to gather. And he (Ögödei - I.R.) would watch the hunting of these birds and afterwards would give himself up to the joys of drinking and spread the carpet of bounty, which was never rolled up." (Juwaynī, 237-238.) I believe that the "lake(s) of Chieh-chieh-ch'a-ha" where Ögödei was hunting at the beginning of spring 1241 were the lakes (köl = "lake" in Turkish) in front of Ögödei's palace mentioned by Juwaynī, rather than the Cayan-nör, as stated by T'u Chi (MWESC 4, 12b).

321. Lit., "having inferred it by means of the T'ai-i art". The "T'ai-i art" 太乙數 was one of the "divinatory arts" (shu-shu 術數; on this term see supra, n.47). A school that practised this particular system of divination is mentioned for the first time by Ssu-ma Ch'ien in the SC 127, 7b. Cf. also Needham III, 140.
322. In the Biography, 10a8-10, we read: "On the fourth day of the eleventh month in winter (7 December 1241), the Emperor was about to go hunting. Ch'u-ts'ai having taken the omens according to the T'ai-i art, repeatedly advised him against it. The whole entourage

said, however: 'Without riding and shooting arrows, there will be no means to enjoy ourselves.' On the fifth day of the hunt the Emperor died at his travelling residence."

"Ögödei's death is related in the YS 2, 7b-8a, as follows: "On the day ting-hai of the eleventh month (of the thirteenth year of T'ai-tsung, i.e., 7 December 1241), (the Emperor) went on a great hunt. On the day keng-yin (10 December), he returned to the Wo-t'ieh-ku-hu-lan 鈇鐵鐙胡蘭 (Öteğü-Qulan, i.e., 'Old Wild Horse') Mountain. Ao-tu-la-ho-man offered him liquor and the Emperor drank merrily all through the night. On the day hsing-mao (11 December) the Emperor died in his travelling palace."

The date of Ögödei's death given by the YS and the SWCCL, 86b (11 December 1241) is confirmed by Juwaynī, 200. The place of his death, which is again mentioned in the YS 3, 4a, transcribed, however, as Yüeh-t'ieh-ku-hu-lan 月帖古忽蘭, is recorded in the SWCCL, 86b, as Yüeh-t'e-ko-hu-lan 月忒哥忽蘭, and in the CKL 1, 21, simply as the Hu-lan (Qulan) Mountain 胡蘭山. Its original Mongolian form is found in the AT, 146 (Bawden's reading "Öteğü Qulan" should be amended to "Öteğü Qulan"). The early identification

of "Öteǵu-Qulan with Köde'e-aral, adopted also by T'u Chi (MWESC 4, 15b) and Wang Kuo-wei (SWCCL, 49a-b and 86b) seems to me unwarranted. I have been, however, unable to locate this place.

The section in the Stele, 20b4-21a1, beginning with the words 辛丑春二月 ... and ending with the words 臘五日而崩, is copied almost verbatim from the obituary for Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai composed by Chao Yen (cf. YCMCSL 5, 65).

323. According to YS 2, 8b (Annals of Ting-tsung 定宗) and 3, 2a (Annals of Hsien-tsung 憲宗), "Ögödei had expressed the will that his grandson Shih-lieh-men 失烈門 (Siremtūn) should succeed him. Juwaynī, contrary to what is stated by Grousset (EM, 303), does not make any reference to "Ögödei's will to this effect, but only says that, at the quriltai which elected Güyüg in the summer of 1246, some of the leading princes "were of the opinion that Siremtūn, when he came of age, might be a suitable person to charge with the affairs of the Kingdom" (Juwaynī, 251). Juwaynī's non-committal attitude in regard to Siremtūn's right to the throne is quite understandable in view of his allegiance to the house of Möngke.

On Širemtūn cf. Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté", 198 and n.3; 203 and n.4. Cf. also F.W. Cleaves, "Names and Terms...", 426-427 (Širemtūn, however, was not, as Cleaves states on p.426, the "son of Güyüg by Oyul Qaimis").

324. Although our text says that 'Abd ar-Rahmān took hold of the "court (i.e., government) administration" (朝政), we know from Juwaynī and from the biography of Liu Min that he was in actual fact appointed to the direction of the Mongol administration in North China in place of Mahmūd Yalawāch (see supra, n.306 and 316).
325. See supra, n.317.
326. I.e., she gave him "carte blanche". The expression kung-chih 空紙 occurs in the PS 55, 6b (biography of Tu Pi 杜弼).
327. The corresponding passage in the Biography adds the words 事遂止, "the matter was then stopped" (see infra, n.333), which are not found in the Stele. It would appear, according to the YS, that Töregene, upon Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's remonstrances that the court should entrust 'Abd ar-Rahmān with full discretionary power, decided to subject his plans to the imperial sanction. These additional words in the Biography

are quite important, as they elucidate the next passage in the Stele.

328. Ling-shih 令史. The ling-shih (rendered as "secretarial workers" in the HCSL, 484) were, during the Yüan dynasty, clerks employed in the chancelleries of the county (hsien 縣) administration (cf. Ratchnevsky, 73 n.1). The ling-shih of our text was the scribe in the Secretarial Council charged with the writing of official documents. We know that all matters of public interest had, by express order of Ögödei, to be referred to the Secretarial Council which was entrusted with the drawing up of the memorials to the throne (cf. the Stele, 14a, and *supra*, n.168). It would appear from the Stele that some complaint arose concerning the scribe not performing his duty in connection with 'Abd ar-Rahmān's recommendations, thus preventing them from reaching the empress. As Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was at the head of the Secretarial Council, and knowing, moreover, his attitude towards 'Abd ar-Rahmān, I have hardly any doubt that he was responsible for the obstruction. Although Töregene was probably well aware of this fact, she put the blame on the scribe to save the minister's face. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's reaction seems to confirm this. On the term ling-shih see also *supra*, n.162.

329. For the expression tsou-chun 奏準(=奏准) cf. Giles, 1166, no.11,813.
330. Lit., "(your) old servant".
331. This is, of course, an exaggerated figure. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had been serving the Mongol rulers for twenty-five years.
332. Lit., "without guilt".
333. In the Biography, 10b7-11a5, we read: "The Empress consigned to Ao-tu-la-ho-man the imperial seal and blank paper, which she made him fill in himself (with decrees) to be carried out. Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'The empire is the late Emperor's empire and the court has its laws. If (Her Majesty) now intends to throw these into confusion, I shall not venture to accept Her orders.' The matter was then stopped. Further, a decree was issued stating that whenever Ao-tu-la-ho-man made recommendations (on government affairs), should the scribe fail to write them down he would have his hand cut off. Ch'u-ts'ai said: 'The late Emperor fully entrusted me with the state laws and formalities; why should the scribe be involved? If the affair conforms to right principles, it should be naturally carried out; if it is not proper to carry it out, even at the risk of life (I would not carry

it out), let alone of having the hand cut off!' The Empress was not pleased with Ch'u-ts'ai's endless arguing. Ch'u-ts'ai then shouted: 'I served T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung for over thirty years and never failed (in my duties) towards the state. Even Her August Majesty cannot kill me without cause!' Although the Empress was vexed at him, she treated him with great respect and deference in consideration of his long and distinguished service during the previous reigns."

The above narrative is preceded by the following account: "The August Empress, lady née Nai-ma-chen 乃馬真, assumed the regency. She placed her esteem and confidence in wicked individuals and the government affairs fell into great confusion. Ao-tula-ho-man obtained, through bribery, the control over them and the entire court supported him out of fear. Ch'u-ts'ai openly censured him, saying what others did not dare to say, so that everybody was afraid for him. In the fifth month in summer of the year kuei-mao (20 May-18 June 1243), (the planet) Yung-ho (Mars) invaded the Fang 房 (constellation). Ch'u-ts'ai stated in a memorial that there would be alarm and commotion but that, in the end, there would be no

trouble. Shortly afterwards, the court had to use armed forces as disturbances suddenly occurred. Thereupon, the Empress gave orders that a selected (group of) devoted men be armed, and was on the very point of moving westwards in order to avoid them (i.e., the disturbances), when Ch'u-ts'ai came forward and said: 'The court is the foundation (lit., "the trunk and root") of the empire; once the foundation is shaken the empire will be thrown into confusion. I have observed the Heavenly Courses: there will certainly be no calamities.' A few days later peace was restored." (Ibid., 10a10-10b7.)

The episode about the planet Mars "invading" the Fang constellation (= Scorpio $\beta, \delta, \pi, \epsilon$) and the disturbances that followed are not mentioned in the Stele. According to Hung Chün (YSIWCP 2, 117-118), the "disturbances", no details of which are given in the Biography, refer to Temüge-otcigin's attempt to seize the throne during Töregene's regency, as related in the Persian sources (cf. HM II, 194-195). Hung Chün (loc. cit.) points out that Töregene's resolution to flee westwards was determined by the fact that Temüge-otcigin was advancing towards Qara-Qorum from the east. As we know from Rashīd ad-Dīn, Temüge-

otcigin's apanage was situated north-east of the Mongol tribes, at the border of Manchuria (cf. HCG, 178). Hung Chün's explanation has been adopted by T'u Chi (MWESC 5, 2a and 48, 7b), K'o Shao-min (HYS 4, 15b) and Wang Kuo-wei (NP, 24a). In the Stele, 21a1-2, it is stated that Töregene questioned Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai about the successor to the throne in the year kuei-mao, i.e., in 1243. This passage (ending with the words 杜稷幸甚), was taken by Sung Tzu-chen from Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's tomb inscription composed by Li Wei, as is clearly shown from the original quoted in YCMCSL 5, 66. The date given by Li Wei is, however, the spring of the year jen-yin (1242). As "Ögödei died in December 1241, it is more likely that his widow had a consultation with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai regarding the succession a few months after his death, than over a year later. I, therefore, consider Li Wei's date to be the correct one.

334. In the Biography, 11a5, it is stated: "In the fifth month in summer of the year chia-ch'en (7 June-6 July 1244), he (Ch'u-ts'ai) died in office at the age of fifty-five." In the YS 2, 8a, it is also stated that he died in the fifth month of the year chia-ch'en. This date disagrees with that found in the Stele.

According to this source, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai died on the fourteenth day of the fifth month of the year kuei-mao (the text says "of that year", "that" referring to the year of the last entries), i.e., on 2 June 1243. Ch'en Yüan, in his article "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai chih sheng tsu nien", 1469, reaches the conclusion that the YS is wrong and that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai died, as stated in the Stele, in the year kuei-mao. His argument is as follows: Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was born in 1189 (see supra, n.46) and died at the age of fifty-five. The year of his death must therefore be 1243. From the "Poem in thirty rhymes written for the son Chu" we learn that Chu was fifteen years old in the year i-wei, i.e., in 1235 (WC 12, 17b), which means that he was born in 1221. Now, in Chu's biography in the YS 146, 11b-12b, it is stated that after Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's death he succeeded to the direction of the Secretarial Council and that his age at the time was twenty-three (ibid., 11b). As he was born in 1221, he was twenty-three in 1243. Ch'en explains that the compilers of the YS determined Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's year of death on the basis of the year of his birth given in the Stele, which, as we know, is wrong. Since, according to

the Stele, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was born in the first year of Ming-chang (1190) and died at fifty-five, they concluded that the year of his death was the year chia-ch'en (1244). Besides the Stele, the correct year of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's death is given in the YCMCSL 5, 57. Ch'en's argument seems to prove beyond doubt that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai died in 1243 and not in 1244. However, in the NP, 24b, Wang Kuo-wei, on the evidence contained in two separate sources (evidence which has been ignored by Ch'en Yüan), stated that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai died "on the fourteenth day of the fifth month in the summer of the year chia-ch'en", i.e., on 20 June 1244. Wang's two sources are: a) Stele A, where (8b9 sqq.) it is said that, in the eighth month in autumn of the year kuei-mao (17 August-15 September 1243), an envoy from Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai brought Yüan Hao-wen a message containing instructions with regard to the spirit-way stele for Lü (see supra, n.37). This shows, according to Wang, that in the eighth month of that year Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had not yet fallen ill; b) the HFCLSC, where (1, 10a) the title of Ma Ke's 麻革 "Elegy in memory of His Excellency Yeh-lü, Great Prime Minister of the Secretarial Council" (中

書大丞相耶律公挽詞) is followed by a note in small print giving the date 甲辰五月十四日, "fourteenth day of the fifth month of the year chia-ch'en", which, concludes Wang, shows that the YS is correct and the Stele is in error.

Regarding a), Wang's argument is of course debatable. The "envoy" sent by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is undoubtedly his own son Chu who, as we know, left Qaraqorum at the end of spring to bury his mother, lady née Su, in China (see *infra*, n.345). The fact that Chu arrived in Yen-ching with the funeral convoy only in August should not surprise us, considering the long distance that he had to cover (in 1218 it took Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai almost a hundred days to cover the same distance, cf. HYL, 1a-b). He might have also suffered some delay while en route. We know that just at that time there was a certain commotion in Mongolia owing to Temüge-otcigin's attempt to seize the throne (see *supra*, n.333).

Regarding the date in Ma Ke's elegy, however, the only explanation I can give is that it was added later by Fang Ch'i (that is, when he published the HFCLSC, ab. 1301), who determined it on the basis of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's birth date given in the Stele,

thus making the same mistake that the compilers of the YS were to make seventy years later. Gaubil, 102, says that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai died "a la 3^e Lune de l'an 1243"; "la 3^e Lune" must be a mistake for "la 5^e Lune", as no Chinese source gives the third month for this event (cf. YSLP 1, 15b and 11, 6a). This mistake has passed into Mailla IX, 240, Cordier II, 253 and, more recently, into EM, 304 n.2.

The Stele gives no particulars with regard to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's death, except that it was caused by illness. However, according to the contemporary Yüan scholar Ho Ching 郝經 (1223-1275), Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai died of a broken heart, brought to his grave by the intrigues and slanders of a few unscrupulous individuals who had insinuated themselves into court (cf. YCMCSL 5, 66; Ho's statement to this effect is quoted by Su T'ien-chüeh from the Ho Wen-chung chi 郝文忠集, which is not available to me at present). This could well be true, for we know from our sources that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had met with considerable opposition at the Mongol court already during Ögödei's lifetime on the part of 'Abd ar-Rahmān and his clique.

335. Lit., "the market and music".

336. 和林 (Qorum), i.e., Qara-Qorum. On this early capital of the Mongol emperors cf. provisionally HJAS 15 (1952), 24-26 (containing several important references); GCR V, 161-164; MR I, 122-123 n.304, II, 162 n.902; EM, 289 and 538-539; EI II, 740 (article "Karakorum" by Barthold). Cf. also the material on Qara-Qorum collected from the Chinese sources by Naka in his CKJ, 606-620. A collection of inscriptions on stone in Qara-Qorum by Li Wen-t'ien, entitled Ho-lin chin-shih lu 和林金石詩 (1 chüan), was published in 1897 in the fourth series of the LCKTS. In the same series was also published the Ho-lin chin-shih shih 和林金石詩, a collection in one chüan of erudite poems on Qara-Qorum by Li Wen-t'ien, to which is appended a short "Study of Ho-lin" 和林考 by Huang Mou-ts'ai 黃楸栽. The Ho-lin chin-shih lu was annotated and reprinted by Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 (1866-1940) in the first series of his Liao-chü tsa-chu 遼居雜著 (1929). See also supra, n.233.
337. 壺山, the present Wan-shou shan 萬壽山 of the Western Hills 西山, north-west of Peking. Its name was changed to Wan-shou shan ("Hill of the Myriad Ages") by Ch'ien-lung in 1751. Cf. CCCHITC 2, 1a. For a description of this locality cf. JHCWK, 84. Cf. also Arlington, 284, and Bredon, 248 sqq.

338. 玉泉, i.e., the Yü-ch'üan shan 玉泉山 ("Jade Fountain Hill"). On this famous spot cf. JHCWK, 85; Madrolle, 53; Bredon, 259-264. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's house appears to have been situated between this hill and the nearby Hsiang-shan 香山 or Incense Hill. In one of his poems Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai says: "Thirty years ago I sojourned in Yung-an and leaned against the baluster of the Feng-hsiao-lou" 三十年前旅永安, 鳳簫樓上倚闌干, adding in a note: "(Feng-hsiao-lou) is the name of the building where my late uncle formerly lived" 先叔故居之樓名(寄妹夫人, WC 10, 17a). We also know that when Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai left for Mongolia in April 1218, he started his journey from Yung-an (HYL, 1a). Yung-an is another name for Hsiang-shan, thus called from the great Yung-an Temple 永安寺 which had been built there during the Chin dynasty (on this temple, later re-named the Hsiang-shan Temple 香山寺, cf. JHCWK 86, 15b sqq.; CKYT 6, 1937, 4, 147-148; AM 3, 1953, 30). The building of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's "late uncle" was the house which formerly belonged to Chen 震, the son of Te-yüan (on whom see supra, n.35), which later passed to Lü and subsequently to Ch'u-ts'ai. That this house must have been in the proximity of the Jade Fountain

can also be inferred from the fact that one of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's styles was Yü-ch'üan 玉泉 (cf. Ch'en Yüan, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai fu tzu...", 1007).

From a poem by Yeh-lü Chu we learn that his father's tomb on, or rather at the foot of, Weng-shan was one she 舍 (= 30 li) north-west (the text says 北面, which must be an error for 西北) of Yen-tu 燕都 (Peking), and five li east of the Yü-ch'üan shan. The shrine or temple attached to it was situated to the right of the Hao-t'ien-wang-chi Dhyāna Temple 昊天圍極禪寺, and the death chamber was at the end of an underground passage, a hundred steps long, north-east of the shrine (拜書...壁, SCTYC 6, 19b; NP, 25a).

In JHCWK 100, 2a-5b, and in CFTC 165, 6b sqq., we find several important notices on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's tomb, which are of great help in tracing its history. They have been collected from several sources, some of which are not available to me at present. From one of these sources (YHP 28, 10b-11a; see supra, n.69), it would appear that the grave was plundered some time towards the end of the Ming dynasty. According to the Ti-ching ching-wu lüeh 帝京景物略 by Liu T'ung 劉侗 and Yu I-cheng 于奕正, the shrine with the ruined statue of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and the

tomb-stone, also in precarious conditions, still existed in 1627. As we learn from an earlier Ming sources, the P'ao-weng chia-ts'ang chi 匏翁家藏集 by Wu K'uan 吳寬 (1435-1504), the shrine east of the tomb contained originally the marble statues of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and his wife. The statesman was represented sitting gravely, with his beard and moustache reaching down to his knees. (On Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's beard cf. supra, n.73.)

The ruins of the tomb could still be seen in the second quarter of the XVIII century (cf. Gaubil, 103 n., where, however, "Sud-Ouest" is a mistake for "Nord-Ouest"). At the time of the construction of the Ch'ing-i yüan 清漪園 in 1750-1751, Ch'ien-lung had the tomb restored and a new shrine built, with a commemorative tablet and a poem, carved in stone, written by the emperor himself. The inscription on the tablet was composed by Wang Yu-kuo 汪由敦 (1692-1758; T. Shih-ming 師茗, chin-shih of 1724. On him cf. WHC, n^o 5965). The text, which is found in JHCWK 100, 4b-5a, and in CFTC 165, 12a-b, is purely eulogistic and I have, therefore, omitted to translate it.

The new tomb must have suffered considerably during and after the (partial) destruction of the Ch'ing-i

yüan by the British and French forces in 1860, since Bretschneider, who has left a short account of it in his MR I, 10-11, was not able to locate it. When the I-ho yüan 頤和園 was reconstructed in the years 1886-1891 from the old Ch'ing-i yüan, the Empress Dowager had the tomb, which formerly faced on West Lake 西湖, moved a little south of the main gate of the new summer palace, where it is still found (NP, 25a; Malone, 117). Its exact location is marked (n^o 23) on the map facing p.102 in Fabre's Pékin. A photographic reproduction of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's image erected by Ch'ien-lung is found in Malone, 118. Bretschneider's suggestion, based on a statement contained "in a description of Liao tung of the Ming time" that Ch'u-ts'ai was buried at the cemetery of his ancestors near the I-wu-lü Mountain and that "there may have been at the Weng shan only a temple and a monument to his memory" (MR I, 10), is, of course, to be rejected.

339. 漆水國夫人. On this title see *supra*, n.45.
340. See *infra*, n.345.
341. 梁氏. She was Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's first wife. When Ch'u-ts'ai left for Mongolia and Central Asia in 1218, his wife together with his mother, lady née Yang, went to live near Tung-p'ing in Shan-tung, where the

Yeh-lü had an estate (see *supra*, n.147). Later, they moved to Sung-shan 嵩山 in north-western Ho-nan and from there to Fang-ch'eng 方城, south of Sung-shan. Other members of the family were also with them, such as Ch'u-ts'ai's two nieces Liao-chen 了真 and Shu-ch'ing 淑卿, the daughters of his second elder brother Shan-ts'ai. Lady née Liang died in Fang-ch'eng during the last phase of the war between the Mongols and the Jurchen, followed shortly by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's mother, whose death, according to Wang Kuo-wei, occurred between 1232 and 1234. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was thus unable to see them again. His two nieces were subsequently ransomed by him from among the war prisoners. (These facts have been gathered by Wang Kuo-wei from poems written in this period by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Cf. NP, 15a.)

342. 方城, the present Fang-ch'eng hsien 方城縣 in Ho-nan.
343. 鉉. See *infra*, n.344.
344. 監開平倉. K'ai-p'ing fu 開平府, the present Tolun hsien 多倫縣 in Chahar, was established for the first time under Qubilai in 1260. In 1264 it received the honorific appellation of Shang-tu 上都 or Upper Capital and became the emperor's summer residence.

On it cf. YS 58, 5b-6a; HJAS 13 (1950), 54 n.181; *ibid.* 20 (1957), 443 n.55. As K'ai-p'ing was established in 1260, Hsüan must have died some time after this date and before 1267, which is the year of composition of the Stele (Wang Kuo-wei in NP, 25a, gives, I believe erroneously, 1268 instead of 1267. Cf. *infra*, n.366).

345. 蘇氏, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's second wife. She died shortly before him, in the spring of 1243. Chu, on his father's instructions, took her coffin to China and buried her in the tomb on Weng-shan (cf. Chu's poem entitled "Parting from my Venerable Father, the director of the Council, after having received his instructions to leave for the South for the funeral of my late mother, the State Lady" 護先妣國夫人喪南行奉別尊大人領省, in SCTYC 6, 19a; from an allusion in the poem it appears that when Chu left it was the end of spring. Cf. NP, 25a). On Chu's request, Yüan Hao-wen composed the funeral address, the text of which is found in the ISHSWC 40, 8a-b. The address, entitled "Funeral address for the State Lady, late mother of the Chief of the Secretarial Council Yeh-lü 中令耶律公祭先妣國夫人文", was delivered, according to the date found at the

beginning of it (癸卯歲八月乙巳朔五日己酉), on 21 August 1243. As remarked by Wang Kuo-wei (NP, 25a), the above title must have been added later by Yüan Hao-wen, for it refers to Chu already as the Chief of the Secretarial Council.

At the same time, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had also instructed Chu to bury his two brothers Pien-ts'ai and Shan-ts'ai in Lü's family tomb at Hung-cheng hsien, and to commission Yüan Hao-wen with the composition of their tomb inscriptions as well as of the text for Lü's spirit-way stele (NP, 25a-b). The request for the tomb inscriptions was, of course, formally made to Yüan by Yeh-lü Yung and Yeh-lü Chün, the respective sons of Pien-ts'ai and Shan-ts'ai (see *supra*, n.147).

346. 公弼. Wei-chou 威州 is the present Ching-hsing hsien 井陘縣 in Ho-pei. For the office of Prefect (tz'u-shih 刺史) during the Chin dynasty cf. CS 57, 12a.
347. I.e., the immortal Su Shih 蘇軾 (1036-1101).
348. 鑄 (T. Ch'eng-chung 成仲), was born in Mongolia or Central Asia in 1221. He spent his youth in Qara-Qorum (cf. the note to the poem 縉雲五湖別叢書事 in SCTYC 3, 21a) and, according to his biography in

YS, succeeded his father to the direction of the Secretarial Council upon his death in 1243. This fact is, however, in conflict with a statement contained in the spirit-way stele of Yang Wei-chung (see *supra*, n.280) to the effect that upon Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's termination of office, Yang was appointed Chief of the Secretarial Council to direct the Council's affairs 耶律楚材罷,遂以公為中書令領省事 (CFTC 173, 47b; YCMCSL 5, 67, omits the last three characters, while Yang's biography in YS 146, 13a-15a, records his appointment without any reference to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Cf. *ibid.*, 14a). In his stele it is further stated that when Töregene held the regency after the death of Ögödei, Yang was entrusted with the responsibility for the entire realm 太宗崩, 太后稱制, 公以一相負任天下. These statements can hardly be reconciled with what is said in the Stele and in Chu's biography, namely, that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai died in office and that his son succeeded him to the direction of the Secretarial Council. T'u Chi, in a note in MWESC 61, 4a, has rejected as exaggerations the statements contained in Yang's stele; T. Aoki, in his article "Gensho Gyōshō-kō", 487-489, claims on the other hand that Yang was

appointed Chief of the Secretarial Council (中書令), while Chu only held a high position in it. His argument is based on the fact that the YS states with regard to Chu that "after Ch'u-ts'ai's death he succeeded him to the direction of the Secretarial Council affairs" 楚材薨嗣領中書省事, but does not actually say that he became the Chief of the Secretarial Council. I am of the opinion that Chu inherited his father's office of chung-shu-ling, as shown by the title chung-ling 中令 (= 中書令) used for Chu by Yüan Hao-wen (see *supra*, n.345). However, owing to Chu's lack of experience in administrative matters (he was then only twenty-two years old in Western reckoning), the Council's affairs were probably handled at the time by Yang Wei-chung. If so, Yang was de facto Chief of the Secretarial Council, although de jure this post had automatically passed from Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai to Chu upon the former's death, Chu being the youngest son of the deceased (cf. NP, 25a).

On Chu's activity during the reign of Güyük and Möngke very little is known. He memorialized the throne recommending the implementation of eighty-one administrative measures, details of which are not

given in our sources, and in 1258 he took part in the Ssu-ch'uan expedition against the Southern Sung led by Möngke. As chief of the emperor's body-guard he distinguished himself for ingenious plans of conquering enemy cities. When Möngke died in August 1259, Chu with the heavy baggage of the army was proceeding northwards to Shen-hsi. He promptly joined Qubilai who, in the following year, after having been elected emperor in K'ai-p'ing, sent him to Qonduqai, the Mongol general supporting Ariq-Büge, in order to win him to his side. The mission failed and Chu quickly returned to Qubilai, leaving in his haste several members of his family behind. These were immediately arrested by Qonduqai and their subsequent adventures are related in the long biography of Chu's son Hsi-liang 希亮 in the YS (see *infra*, n.352). Qubilai, very pleased with Chu's loyalty, bestowed upon him many favours. In 1261 he appointed him Left Prime Minister (tso-ch'eng-hsiang 左丞相) in the new Secretarial Council, a post that he held three times in the course of his long career. He was at the same time appointed Supervisor of the Liao and Chin Histories (chien-hsiu Liao Chin shih 監修遼金史). His other offices included that of Provincial

Commander of Shan-tung (hsing-sheng Shan-tung) 行省山東) in 1264 or 1265, and Supervisor of National History (chien-hsiu kuo-shih 監修國史) in 1276.

Chu died in 1285 at the age of sixty-five. In 1330 Wen-tsung 文宗 (Tuy-Temür; r. 1328-1332) conferred on him several posthumous honours, including the title of I-ning-wang 懿寧王 (on which see infra, n.409), and canonized him Wen-chung 文忠.

Among the reforms that Chu recommended to Qubilai, we have already mentioned that of 1282 relating to the selection of maidens for the imperial harem (see supra, n.259). Chu was also responsible for the discovery of the famous stele of Kül-Tegin near Qaraqorum, and thereby proved that the character 勒 of the term 特勒 which occurs many times in the HTS and in the CTS should have been written 勒 (cf. SCTYC 2, 5a; MKYMC 7, 2b-3a; TP 2, 1891, 229-233; MS 3, 1938, 256. The Chinese text of the stele is found, with a valuable commentary, in the Ho-lin chin-shih lu 和林金石錄, Lo ed., 1a-12a).

Chu's biography is found in the YS 146, 11b-12b, immediately following his father's. For other biographies cf. YSLP 11, 6b-7a; YSHP 25, 7b-8a; YShu 43, 4b-5b; HYS 127, 10a-11a; MWESC 48, 8a-b. Additional

information on Chu can be obtained from the biography of Hsi-liang. Chu's collected poetical works, the Shuang-ch'i tsui-yin chi 雙溪醉隱集(SCTYC) has come down to us incomplete. At the time of the compilation of the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu 四庫全書(1773-1782), all that could be found of Chu's works in the YLTT was collected and edited in six ch'üan (for further details cf. SKCSTMTY, 3489-3490, and WSWCL 18, 1053b-1055a). His other work, the Shuang-ch'i tsui-yin yüeh-fu 雙溪醉隱樂府 in eleven ts'e 冊 is unfortunately lost. The SCTYC has been reprinted in the sixth series of the LHTS with a valuable commentary by Li Wen-t'ien. This edition contains, however, a number of typographical errors. An index of the place names found in the SCTYC is listed among the unpublished works of the late Professor Yanai in MSK, Introd. 9.

From Chu's extant poems it appears that he had strong Taoist leanings, in opposition to his father who, as we know, was an ardent Buddhist. The difference of religious convictions between father and son was the subject of Ch'en Yüan's important article "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai fu tzu hsin-yang chih i-ch'ü" 耶律楚村父子信仰之異趣 ("The Belief of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and his Son"), which was published in the

YCHP 6 (1929), 1007-1013. In it, Ch'en has put forth the interesting theory that Chu, on account of his predilection for Taoism, may have been responsible for the destruction of the blocks of the HYL (cf. the Appendix, Introduction to the HYL; cf. also GCR V, 159). Moreover, some of Chu's poems hint at certain attempts on his part to bring about a reconciliation between Buddhist and Taoist leaders, a question which deserves further investigation, as it may throw some new light on the relations between the two religious groups in this period (cf. Ch'en Yüan, op. cit., 1011-1012).

The following poems were written by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai for his son Chu: 愛子金柱索詩, WC 4, 8a-b; 吾山吟, *ibid.* 11, 12b-13a; 為子鑄作詩三十韻, *ibid.* 12, 17b-18b; 子鑄生朝潤之以詩為壽因寄其韻以遺之, *ibid.* 14, 12a-13a. On Chu cf. also Iwamura's study in MZ, 17-24.

349. Chung-shu tso-ch'eng-hsiang 中書左丞相. For the organization of the chung-shu-sheng during the reign of Qubilai cf. YS 85, 2b-8a (Ratchnevsky, 118-126); MSK, 771-773. On Chu's appointment to the office of tso-ch'eng-hsiang or Left Prime Minister see *supra*, n.348.



350. 希徵.

351. 希勅.

352. 希亮 (T. Ming-fu 明甫), born in Qara-Qorum in 1247, is the most famous of Chu's sons. He is known to the West through Bretschneider's partial translation in MR I, 157-163, of his biography in the YS 180, 1a-5a, and Giles' notice on him in the CBD, 930, n^o 2447. Other biographies of Hsi-liang are found in the YSLP 11, 7a-8b; YSHP 25, 8a; YShu 43, 5b-7a; HYS 127, 11a-13a; MWESC 48, 8b-10b. A study on him by Iwamura is found in MZ, 27-37. Hsi-liang received his early education in Yen-ching under the tutorship of the chin-shih Chao Yen 趙衍. In 1258 he left Yen-ching to join his father who was then campaigning with Möngke in Ssu-ch'uan. In 1260 he and his mother were taken prisoners by the Mongol general Qonduqai in Kan-su, at the time of the struggle for power between Qubilai and Ariq-Büge (see supra, n.348). His subsequent vicissitudes took him to Central Asia and he was able to return to China only in 1263 (cf. Bretschneider, loc. cit.).

In 1279, Hsi-liang was appointed President of the Ministry of Rites (li-pu shang-shu 禮部尚書) but was shortly afterwards transferred to the post of President of the Ministry of Personnel (li-pu shang-shu 吏部尚書). He retired from public life in 1282 on account of ill health.

In 1309 Qaišan made him Academician for the Transmission of Directives (Han-lin hst'eh-shih ch'eng-chih 翰林學士承旨), a post which was subsequently changed to that of Academician for the Transmission of Directives in Charge of Imperial Edicts and Redactor of National History (Han-lin hst'eh-shih ch'eng-chih chih-chih-kao chien hsiu kuo-shih 翰林學士承旨知制誥兼修國史).

Hsi-liang died in 1327. He was posthumously enfeoffed Duke of the Ch'i-shui Commandery 漆水郡公 (see supra, n.45) and was canonized Chung-chia 忠嘉. He was a keen scholar till the end of his life. His collected works, published in thirty ch'uan under the title of Su-hst'uan chi 懋軒集, included an account of his experiences in Central Asia, a summary of which is found in his biography in the YS. The Su-hst'uan chi is now unfortunately lost.

353. 希寬.

354. 希素.

355. 希周.

356. 希光.

357. 希逸. From Chu's biography (YS 146, 12a) we learn that he held the office of Commissioner for Relief (hst'uan-wei-shih 宣慰使) of the Huai-tung (Circuit)

淮東(道). On this office, which was 2b in rank, cf. YS 91, 4b-5a, and YTC 7, 4a.

358. The first element of the ming 名 of Chu's last three sons is Hsi 希, which is common to all Chu's sons; the second element is missing in the Stele owing to lacunae in the text. In Chu's biography in the YS the name of the sixth son is given as Hsi-ku 希固 (ibid. 146, 12a). In the spirit-way stele of An Ts'ang 安藏 by Ch'eng Wen-hai 程文海(秦國文靖公神道碑, HLC 9, 5a-8a) it is stated that one of An Ts'ang's daughters was married to Yeh-lü Hsi-t'u 耶律希圖, Deputy Commissioner for Relief of the Ching Hu-pei Circuit (荆湖北道宣慰副使), son of the Left Prime Minister of the Secretarial Council Chu 鑄(ibid., 7b). This fact was discovered by Wang Kuo-wei, who thereby concluded that one of the three missing names is that of Hsi-t'u (NP, 25a). Either the Hsi-ku mentioned in Chu's biography has escaped Wang's attention or he must have considered it an error for Hsi-t'u. I see no reason, however, for not taking Hsi-ku and Hsi-t'u as two distinct names. If so, only one of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's grandsons remains to be identified.

359. Lit., "he returned kindness left and right". For the expression ch'ou-ta 酬答 cf. Couvreur, 677.
360. In the Biography, 11a5-8, we read: "In the fifth month in summer of the year chia-ch'en, he (i.e., Ch'u-ts'ai) died in office at the age of fifty-five. The August Empress was grieved and gave his family a very generous grant towards funeral expenses. Later, somebody slandered Ch'u-ts'ai saying that he had held the office of minister for a long time and that half the revenues of the realm had gone into his own house. The Empress ordered the personal attendant Ma-li-cha 麻里扎 to inspect it thoroughly. (He found) only ten odd lutes and guitars (琴阮) and several thousand scrolls of ancient and modern pictures, calligraphy and inscriptions from bronze (vessels) and stone (tablets)." My translation of the last portion of the above passage differs from that of Rémusat, who wrote (p.86): "...et tout ce qu'on trouva dans ses trésors, ce furent une dizaine de luths dont il aimait jouer, plusieurs livres anciens et modernes, des peintures, quelques morceaux de jaspe, et un millier de volumes qu'il avait composés sur différentes matières." The whole passage is missing in Iwamura. I have been unable to identify Ma-li-cha.

Concerning Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's love for the lute, we read in the preface to one of his poems: "When I was young I liked Buddhism, for that was my natural inclination. When I reached manhood, I had read superficially many Buddhist texts and, although I got little out of them, I boasted much. Also, I was addicted to the lute and consequently searched into the ancient scores and played, all by myself, several tens of songs (曲). They seemed all right but were not. Later, I went to see the lute master Mi Ta-yung 弭大用 and, discarding altogether my former knowledge, I changed to a new conception (of playing)" (琴道喻五十韻以免忘憂進道, WC 12, 2a). While studying the lute under Mi Ta-yung's guidance, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai cultivated the friendship of another famous musician of the time called Miao Hsiu-shih 苗秀實 (T. Yen-shih 彦實, H. Hsi-yen lao-jen 棲巖老人; d. 1233), whom he used to consult whenever he had a new piece to play. Miao, who was employed in the Board of Imperial Archives (秘書監), was transferred to Pien when the Chin court moved there from Chung-tu in 1214. In the winter of 1232-1233, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai obtained his release from the besieged capital. Miao left the city but died shortly

afterwards in Fan-yang 范陽 (40 li south of Ting-hsing hsien 定興縣, Ho-pei), on his way to the north. His son, Lan 蘭, himself a good lutist, took his father's musical productions, altogether more than forty songs, to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai who, in September 1233, made copies of them "to be handed down to the expert musicians and accomplished gentlemen of later generations" (苗彥實琴譜序, WC 8, 13a-b). Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai remained in touch with Miao Lan, with whom he exchanged verses and played the lute, and whose skill in this art he praised in a poem written in the winter of 1234-1235 (cf. 和琴士苗蘭韻, WC 4, 16a4; 冬夜彈琴... 蘭, *ibid.* 11, 7a-8b). Miao Lan was subsequently appointed Great Music Director (ta-yüeh-ling 大樂令). From a passage in the YS 68, 1b, we learn that in 1239 he was sent by K'ung Yüan-ts'u (see *supra*, n.195) to Tung-p'ing for the purpose of having ten lutes made by skilful craftsmen. For other poems by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai on the lute theme cf. WC 3, 5a-b; 10, 7b-8a and 9a-b; 11, 7a-13a and 17a; 12, 4a and 5a. Cf. also NP, 15b-16a.

361. I am not certain of what is exactly meant by tsa-suan 雜算 or "sundry mathematics". This term might

possibly refer to various methods of computation for practical daily use. On nei-suan 內算 or "esoteric mathematics" very little is known, except that it was connected with divination and fate calculation. According to the contemporary Sung mathematician Ch'in Chiu-shao 秦九韶, there were at the time (1247) more than thirty schools of esoteric mathematics (SCCC, Pref.1). Cf. also Needham III, 141.

362. Besides Mongolian, of which he must have had a good knowledge, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai also knew the Ch'i-tan language. He was, as pointed out by Wang Kuo-wei (NP, App.2b), one of the very last persons to know it. He learned it during his stay in Central Asia from a Chinese named Li Shih-ch'ang 李世昌 (hon. title: chün-wang 郡王), who had been Executive Minister (執政), i.e., assistant to the Chief of the Secretarial Council, under Emperor Chih-lu-ku 直魯古 (r. 1178-1211), the last ruler of the Hsi-Liao (cf. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's note appended to his poem 贈李郡王 筆, WC 2, 13b). Within a year, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai became so proficient in the Ch'i-tan language to translate a Ch'i-tan poem into Chinese. In his preface to the translation of the poem, entitled in Chinese "Tsui-i ko" 醉義歌 ("The Song of Drunkenness")

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, as Wittfogel puts it, "stressed the profundity of the original which he compared to the writings of the Sung poets, Su Shih 蘇軾 and Huang T'ing-chien 黃庭堅" (HCSL, 244; WC 8, 3a). It is out of question, however, that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai may have received some earlier instruction on this language from his father, as suggested by Wittfogel (HCSL, 253), for he was only three years old when his father died. He may, on the other hand, have benefited from his knowledge of Mongolian, owing to the close affinity between this language and Ch'itan.

363. See supra, n.86.
364. I.e., Yeh-lü Chu. Qubilai had appointed him Left Prime Minister in 1261 (see supra, n.348). The character 令 in YWL 57, 838.3, is a misprint for 今.
365. 趙衍. He is mentioned in YS 180, 1a, as Yeh-lü Hsi-liang's teacher in Yen-ching in the years 1255-1258. The text of the obituary (行狀) which he composed for Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is lost; only a few lines have been preserved in quotation in the YCMCSL 5, 64 and 65 (see supra, n.278 and 322). One of his poems has been included in the YSCS 3, 21-22.

366. 銘. Technically speaking, the ming 銘 or "epitaph" is only the poem at the end of the funerary inscription summing up, in verse, the preceding text in prose. Here Sung Tzu-chen actually means the whole text of the Stele. On the ming see *infra*, n.373.

According to this passage, Chu entrusted Sung Tzu-chen with the writing of the Stele seven years after his father's burial. As Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was buried in the second year of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1261), the Stele must have been composed by Sung in the fourth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1267). If we believe Su T'ien-ch'ieh, Sung was already dead by then. In the biography of Sung Tzu-chen in the YCMCSL 10, 163-166, Su states in fact that he died in the third year of Chih-yüan (*ibid.*, 163). Su is wrong, no doubt owing to the ambiguity of his chief source, the tomb inscription of Sung Tzu-chen by Li Ch'ang 李昉 (1203-1289), where it is stated that Sung retired from office in the eleventh month of the third year of Chih-yüan (28 November-27 December 1266). Although from the context it appears that his death occurred shortly afterwards, no specific date for it is actually given (*ibid.*, 166). On the basis of our text it is now ascertained that Sung was still alive in the

fourth year of Chih-yüan. However, in view of the above, I do not think that he still lived in the fifth year of Chih-yüan (1268), as it has been assumed by Wang Kuo-wei (cf. NP, 25a4, and *supra*, n.344). Wang apparently did not count the second year of Chung-t'ung as the first of the seven years and consequently obtained for the seventh year the fifth year of Chih-yüan.

367. Sung Tzu-chen refers to the period of lawlessness and utter confusion (the regulating principles of Heaven, Earth and Man being all upset, as he says) during the Mongol conquest of North China.
368. I.e., the Southern Sung and the Mongol governments respectively. When Sung Tzu-chen wrote this, Qubilai was busy organizing the final attack against Sung.
369. For the expression ch'u-ju 出入 cf. DKJ, 1811.302.
370. Miao-t'ang 廟堂 is the imperial ancestral temple and, by extension, the court. On the expression 於廟堂之上 cf. DKJ, 9489.65.
371. The source of the phrase 翼翼乎其難哉 is Han Yü's famous letter to Li I (答李翊書) in HCLCC 16, 10b-12a. For the relevant passage cf. *ibid.*, 11a.
372. I.e., expressing great zeal and resolution through the powerful movement of the arms. The expression fen-mi 奮袂 occurs in the HNCC 13, 18a.

373. The ming 銘 or "epitaph", which normally closes a funerary inscription, fulfils a purely formal function and is of little interest to the historian, as it has already been pointed out by other investigators (cf. TP 31, 1935, 276 n.3, and HJAS 12, 1949, 59 n.206). This ming consists of eighty-four verses, with four characters to a verse.
374. Cf. the words 自古帝王之興曷嘗不建輔弼之臣所與共成天功者乎? in the HSPC 16, 1a. For the expression ti-wang 帝王, i.e., a 五帝三王 "Five Emperors and Three Kings" sort of ruler, cf. HJAS 19 (1956), 249 n.548.
375. I.e., the business of government. This phrase is from the Shih ching (Legge V, 25).
376. A-heng 阿衡, better known as I Yin 伊尹, was the chief minister of T'ang 湯 of Shang 商. He helped his master to ascend the throne and acquired fame for the wisdom of his counsels. On him cf. the Shu ching (Legge III, 191-192 n.); CBD, 352, no.913. Cf. also the Shih ching (Legge VI, 643), and MH I, 177-180 et passim.
377. Shang-fu 尚父 was the title of Lü Shang 呂尚, the minister of King Wu 武 of Chou 周, also known as T'ai-kung 太公 or T'ai-kung-wang 太公王. On him cf.

MH I, 222 n.4 et passim; CBD, 135-136 and 708-709, nos. 343 and 1862. Cf. also the Shih ching (Legge VI, 436).

378. On the expression feng-yün 風雲, lit., "wind and clouds", cf. TH, 戊集, 265d-266a.
379. On the expression chu-po 竹帛, lit., "bamboo and silk", cf. TH, 未集, 1c.
380. Auras or emanations 氣, often referred to in the Chinese sources as "cloud-like emanations" 雲氣, constituted an important class of symbolic phenomena or "manifestations" 徵 (for a comprehensive description of these phenomena cf. the KCTSCC 42, 1a-33b). The red aura was, inter alia, a sign of the coming of a new ruler. The direction in which this so-called "emperor's aura" 天子氣 (characterized by being red inside and yellow outside) appeared, indicated the direction whence the ruler would arise (cf. SShu 21, 6b). Now, we know from the Annals of Shih-tsung 世宗 (Qubilai) in the YS that "in the night of the hsingwei day of the first month in spring of the second year (of the period Chung-t'ung, i.e., 9 February 1261), a red aura (was seen) in the north-east. According to the people (i.e., the witnesses), it was as big as a mat" (ibid. 4, 12b).

The dragon flying in the sky also traditionally symbolized the ruler (cf., e.g., the I ching; Wilhelm II, 7). The "northern wilds" correspond to the "northern region" 朔方 (see supra, n.4), i.e., to the country of origin of the Mongols. The meaning of these two verses is that Heaven, with an auspicious sign, has announced the advent of a ruler from the north, in other words the establishment of the new (Mongol) dynasty.

381. I.e., it swiftly conquered the empire, removing all opposition.
382. The expression mi-feng 彌縫, "to close up and mend", occurs in the Tso chuan (Legge VII, 197.8 and VIII, 582.4).
383. The character 或 in YWL 57, 838.9, is a misprint for 克.
384. The term ling-kung 令公 is an honorific designation for the Chief of the Secretarial Council. Cf. TH, 子集, 188b.
385. The reference is to the offices of the Three Dukes 三公 (太師, 太傅 and 太保) who, according to the Shu ching, were appointed in order to "discourse of the principles of reason, and adjust the States; harmonizing also and regulating the operations of

Heaven and Earth" (Legge IV, 527). Two of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's ancestors held, as we know, the office of Grand Preceptor 太師 (see infra, n.386).

386. I.e., Ho-lu 合魯 and Hu-tu 胡篤. Cf. the Stele, 1a5, and supra, n.32 and 33.
387. See supra, n.44.
388. For the expression t'ang-t'ang 堂堂 cf. the Lun-yü (Legge I, 344).
389. Cf. the Stele, 16b9, and supra, n.233.
390. The sun and moon indicate here the glory of the emperor and his ministers. For the expression ch'ung-ming 重明 cf. TH, 酉集, 282a.
391. Cf. the Stele, 9b5, and supra, n.6.
392. For the expression 旋乾轉坤, "to turn over (lit., 'round') Heaven and Earth", i.e., to effect a complete transformation of the empire, cf. DKJ, 13656.80.
393. For the expression k'ai-p'i 開闢 cf. TY, 1553e.
394. This is an allusion to the Shu ching (Legge III, 23), the relevant passage of which, in Legge's translation, reads as follows: "The emperor (i.e., Yao - I.R.) said: 'Who will search out for me a man equal to the exigency of my affairs?'"
395. Cf. the Shu ching (Legge III, 79-80).

396. By ti-fen 帝墳 are meant the San-fen 三墳 and the Wu-tien 五典, i.e., the earliest Chinese records, which contained the great doctrines of the Three Augusts 三皇 and the Five Emperors 五帝. Cf. DKJ, 8865.181 and 12.1586; Legge III, Prolegomena, 14-15.
397. I.e., they engaged in reckless fighting. These two verses are inspired by the words 其民困於飢寒而吏不恤, 故使陛下赤子, 盜弄陛下之兵於潢池中耳. which are found in the biography of Kung Sui 龔遂 (HSPC 89, 11a-b).
398. I.e., he brought warfare to an end and checked violence. The expression 圖豹檻虎 is ultimately derived from Huai-nan-tzu (HNCC 9, 3b).
399. For the expression 草間求活 cf. DKJ, 30945.48.
400. I.e., the pillars of the state. For the expression ts'ui-tung 榱棟 cf. DKJ, 15276.7.
401. I.e., he made a thorough search, all over the empire (四方), for people of uncommon excellence. On the simile of the unicorn and the phoenix cf. TH, 亥集, 113b.
402. Hsiao Ho 蕭何 (d. 193 B.C.), the famous Chancellor of Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of Han, is remembered among other things for having saved from destruction the statutes, population records, charts and other

official documents of the Ch'in 秦 administration kept in the capital Hsien-yang 咸陽 (in the territory of Kuan-chung 關中), when the city fell in 207 B.C. Cf. the SC 53, 1b, and HSPC 1A, 20a (for the translation of the relevant section in the latter source cf. HFH I, 57-58). Cf. also CBD, 279-280, no.702.

It would appear from these and the following two verses that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai acted in the same way as Hsiao Ho, presumably when the Chin capital, Pien, surrendered in 1233. Sung Tzu-ch'en's source for the line 蕭何關中 was probably the biography of Fang Hsüan-ling 房玄齡 in the CTS (cf. *ibid.* 66, 3b). On Fang Hsüan-ling see *infra*, n.404.

403. The meaning of these two verses is that, thanks to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, the central administration (i.e., the Secretarial Council) obtained the statutes and laws which enabled it to discuss and judge the various cases. Thus legality could be again restored. On the term t'ai-ko 臺閣 cf. TF, 185 n.2.
404. Fang Hsüan-ling 房玄齡 (578-648) was the trusted adviser of Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 of T'ang. He has passed to history as a very competent and, at the same time, humane statesman (see his last memorial to the throne advising against the war with Korea),

this is why Sung Tzu-chen compares Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai to him. His political activity covered the Chen-kuan 貞觀 period (627-649) almost entirely, hence the reference to it. On Fang Hsüan-ling cf. the biographies in CTS 66, 1a-6b, and HTS 96, 1a-4a; CBD, 221, no.553. Cf. also FitzGerald, *passim*.

405. In other words, he would share in the common grief.
406. I.e., Chu. The text has yüan-tzu 元子, i.e., the eldest son of the legal wife. In actual fact, Chu was the only son that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had from his second wife, lady née Su.
407. Lit., "in the repository of covenants" (盟府). The whole phrase is taken from the Tso chuan (Legge VII, 143.14; 145, Par.9).
408. Lit., "at the end as at the beginning".
409. Here ends the Stele. The Biography, 11a8-10, closes its narrative with a mention of the posthumous honours conferred on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai by Wen-tsung: "In the first year of (the period) Chih-shun 至順 (1330), he (i.e., Ch'u-ts'ai) was posthumously granted (the title of) Meritorious Minister Who Regulated the State, Deliberated on the Laws, Displayed Brightly and with Reverence (the Powers of Heaven and Earth) and Assisted (the Imperial) Good Fortune, Grand Preceptor

and Eminent Pillar of State. He was posthumously enfeoffed Kuang-ning-wang 廣寧王 and was canonized Wen-cheng 文正. His sons (were called) Hsüan 鉉 and Chu 鑄." For the title of Grand Preceptor 太師 cf. YS 85, 2a. For the title of Eminent Pillar of State 上柱國, which was the first granted for meritorious service, cf. *ibid.* 91, 16b. Both these titles were 1a in official rank.

In the MWESC 48, 8a, T'u Chi has devoted a note to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's posthumous enfeoffment as Kuang-ning-wang or Prince of Kuang-ning (Kuan-ning 廣寧 is the present Pei-chen hsien 北鎮縣 in Liaoning). In it, he points out that this was the nobiliary appellation of Ja'udu, the grandson of Belgütei (on whom see *supra*, n.107) and that, consequently, it would have been improper to confer it on a meritorious minister belonging to a different family. T'u Chi's source was the table in YS 108, 3b, which informs us that Ja'udu was made Kuang-ning-wang in 1262. Later, the principality of Kuang-ning passed on to Cerik-Temür, a grandson of Kū'tūn-Buqa, himself the second son of Belgütei. In 1330 it was conferred on Cerik-Temür's son *Alqunca (*ibid.*; cf. also YS 34, 14a, and Hambis, Le Chapitre CVIII....,

104-105). It would thus appear that the compilers of the YS made a mistake. According to T'u Chi (loc. cit.), Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was posthumously enfeoffed I-ning-wang 懿寧王, like his son Chu (cf. YS 146, 12a, and *supra*, n.348), the enfeoffment of both being purely honorific. T'u Chi adds that the name I-ning refers to I-chou 懿州 (near the present Hei-shan hsien 黑山縣 in Liao-ning) and Kuang-ning, the area of these two localities being the original territory of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's forefathers. On I-chou cf. Gibert, 353; on Kuang-ning cf. *ibid.*, 520-522.

APPENDIX:

THE HSI-YU LU

INTRODUCTION

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai wrote the HYL shortly after his return to Yen-ching (Peking) from Central Asia in the winter of 1227. The date of its completion, which is found at the end of the work, is "the ch'ing-ming 清明 day of the year wu-tzu", i.e., 6 April 1228. For some reason, the publication of the HYL was delayed till the following year. We know that in 1228 Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was actively engaged in the suppression of banditry in Yen-ching and this may have well been the cause of the delay. In the preface to the HYL, dated "the first day of the first month of the year chi-ch'ou" (27 January 1229), Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai informs us that he is about to publish the work; this probably saw the light shortly afterwards.¹ A point of importance is that the publication of the HYL was carried out privately by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in Yen-ching. This is explicitly stated by the author in a short postscript in smaller characters.²

Before the end of the XIII century, the HYL was already a rare book. A considerable portion of the polemical part of this work, about a thousand words, was included by Hsiang-mai 祥邁 in the PWL (1291).³ A few years later

Sheng Ju-tzu 盛如梓 made an abstract of the geographical section of the HYL and included it in the first chapter of the SCLHTT on the grounds that, at the time (about 1295), the HYL was a book "which one seldom sees".⁴ In his article "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai fu tzu...", Ch'en Yüan has put forward the suggestion that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's son, Chu, may have been responsible for the disappearance of the HYL. While his father was an ardent Buddhist, Chu had on the contrary strong Taoist leanings; it is therefore possible that in order to prevent the further publication of the HYL, a work so hostile to the Taoists, he destroyed the printing blocks after the father's death. As the HYL had been published privately by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, the blocks were presumably kept in the family.⁵ Ch'en may indeed be right. Furthermore, I think that only a limited number of copies of the HYL were probably printed by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, chiefly for circulation among his friends, and that this could also account for it having become a rarity. However, in chapter 11 of the CSL by Pao Heng 包衡 we find a 47-word quotation from the HYL,⁶ which includes words not to be found in Sheng Ju-tzu's abridged text, but which appear in the complete HYL found in Japan (see below). Ch'en Yüan (loc. cit.) has therefore concluded that this book still existed in China at the beginning of the XVII century. By comparing

Pao Heng's quotation with the original, we note on the other hand that the two texts are not altogether identical, and we can infer that either Pao used a defective copy of the HYL or he obtained his quotation from some other source unknown to us. Contrary to Professor Fang Hao's 方豪 statement, there is no evidence of the existence of the original text of the HYL in China during the Ch'ing dynasty.⁷

Towards the end of last century, Li Wen-t'ien 李文田 edited Sheng Ju-tzu's text of the HYL, to which he appended a useful commentary, under the title of Hsi-yu lu chu 西遊錄注 (see HYLC in the Bibliography). One supplement to the HYLC, by Fan Shou-chin 范壽金,⁸ was published in 1903 under the title Yüan Yeh-lü Wen-cheng Kung Hsi-yu lu lüeh chu pu 元耶律文正公西遊錄略注補 colophon dated 1897; see HYLLCP in the Bibliography); another supplement, the Hsi-yu lu chin-shih 西遊錄今釋, written by Chang Hsiang-wen 張相文 in 1919, appeared in the first series of the NYTK (1929-1935). To the above commentaries we must add a purely geographical one by Ting Ch'ien 丁謙, entitled Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai Hsi-yu lu ti-li k'ao-cheng 耶律楚材西遊錄地理考證, published in the second series of the CCTSKTS (1915).

In the spring of 1927 Professor Kanda Ki-ichirō 神田喜一郎, at present the Director of the Kyōto National

Museum, found a MS copy (henceforth quoted as KT MS) of the complete HYL in the Imperial Household Library (Kunaishō Toshoryō 宮内省圖書寮) in Tōkyō. Urged by Wang Kuo-⁹wei, to whom he had immediately sent a copy of the KT MS, Kanda published the HYL, at his own expense, in June of the same year.¹⁰ A month later the complete HYL was edited in China by Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 on the basis of the Kanda¹¹ edition.

To the text of the HYL Kanda appended a colophon from which we have obtained the following information regarding the history of the KT MS.

This MS was one of the texts presented to the Imperial Household Library by the Koga 古賀 family; judging by the calligraphy, Kanda believes it to be the hand of Koga Dōan¹² 洞庵 (1783-1847). The MS has a colophon composed by a certain Teng Lin 鄧林, about whom nothing is known, dated 1824. According to Kanda, the KT MS appears to be a copy, made by Koga Dōan, of a MS originally in Teng Lin's possession. From the latter's colophon, we learn that Teng saw a HYL in the "Founder's Pagoda of Enichi" (慧日祖塔) and had a copy made of it. Now, by Enichi is meant the Tōfuku-ji 東福寺, the famous Rinzai temple south-east of Kyōto, which was destroyed by fire in 1881.¹³ The Pagoda of the Founder was the Fumon-in 普門院, attached to the

temple, which contained the valuable temple library. A catalogue of this library, compiled in 1353 by the monk Daidō¹⁴ 大道, lists in fact a HYL. As a large number of texts in the Fumon-in were brought to Japan from China by Ben-en¹⁵ 辯圓, the founder and first abbot of the Tōfuku-ji, it seems probable that the HYL was also among these. The HYL of the Fumon-in was lost in the fire which destroyed the temple last century. The fate of the copy made by Teng Lin in 1824 is unknown.

Shortly after the discovery of the KT MS, another MS copy (henceforth quoted as NB MS) of the HYL was found, also by Kanda, in the Cabinet Library (Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫)¹⁶ in Tōkyō. The NB MS is, like the KS MS, a copy of Teng Lin's MS,¹⁷ but it is not by the hand of Koga Dōan. It contains several lacunae, a fact indicating that Teng Lin's MS must have suffered some damage after Koga Dōan saw it (there are no lacunae in the KT MS), and from which we can deduce that the NB MS is of a later date than the KT MS. The history of the various MS copies of the HYL deserves, however, a thorough investigation which I cannot unfortunately carry out at present.

The complete HYL has been utilized by a number of¹⁸ Chinese and Japanese scholars in their investigations, but so far it has not been made the object of a special

study. I think that Wang Kuo-wei, had he lived longer, would have prepared an annotated edition of this work, as he had done in the case of the HYC and apparently intended¹⁹ to do for the PSC, HSC and other medieval travelogues.

The only work on the HYL in a Western language is Bretschneider's translation in MR I, 13-24, of the text collated by Sheng Ju-tzu. However, as Pelliot has already pointed out, this translation contains several mistakes²⁰ and is, moreover, incomplete. Bretschneider's notes are, on the other hand, very important and I have often referred to them in the commentary to my own translation of the HYL.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. By summer Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was again in Mongolia, in preparation for the great quriltai that elected Ögödei in September. The HYL must have therefore been published during the first half of 1229.
2. HYL, 12a9.
3. The passages quoted from the HYL are mostly found in PWC 3, 766b-c and 4, 773c-774a.
4. SCLHTT 1, 3a-5a. Sheng's text (764 characters) is about one seventh of the whole HYL (5298 characters).
5. Ch'en Yüan, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai fu tzu...", 1010.
6. Cf. CSL 11, 5b. Pao's quotation consists of three distinct passages from the geographical section of the HYL (2b1 and 8, 3a9-b1).
7. Fang (CHCTS III, 57) says that in the HHYTK, Li Kuang-t'ing 李光庭 (1812-1880) has quoted the HYL from a text other than Sheng's, and therefore concludes that towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty there still existed in China either an original edition or an early copy of the HYL. I have checked the passages from the HYL quoted in the HHYTK: they all come from Sheng's

text except one (ibid. 6, 7a3), which is from the PWL 3, 766b.

8. The "Fan Chin-shou" in Hummel, 495 and 1000 is a mistake.
9. Wang Kuo-wei used this copy shortly before his death for his commentary to the HYC on which he was working at the time. Cf. ibid. 1, 2a-b, 12b et passim.
10. Owing to the limited edition, this book is now unobtainable in Japan.
11. The Lo edition is nothing but a copy of the Kanda edition and the printing errors which are found in the latter (HYL 2b9, 7b2 and 8a7) have also unfortunately been retained.
12. On this personage cf. DNJJ II, 1002a, and JBE, 656.
13. On this temple cf. Papinot, 656 and BDJ, 1269c.
14. On Daidō (Ichi-i 一以; d.1370) cf. NBJJ, 9b-10a. On his catalogue of the Fumon-in library (普門院經論章疏語錄儒書等目錄) cf. Kanda, "Yaritsu Sozai...", 576.
15. On Ben-en (Shō-ichi Kokushi 聖一國師; 1202-1280) cf. NBJJ, 1037a-1040a and JBE, 100. Ben-en was in China from 1235 to 1241. In TP 26 (1929), 172 n.1, Pelliot wrote: "...on a retrouvé récemment dans la bibliothèque imperiale de Tōkyō une copie manuscrite

du texte complet (du Si yeou lou - I.R.), rapportée de Chine par un Japonais en 1236." Pelliot must have misunderstood Kanda's colophon to the HYL which says (1a4-5): 國師以四條天皇嘉禎二年 (= 1236) 入宋. 二年 is of course a lapsus for 元年 (1235).

16. Cf. Kanda, "Yaritsu Sozai...", 576.
17. Both the KT MS and the NB MS reproduce at the end Teng Lin's colophon. In the NB MS there is also a reproduction of the seal of the Fumon-in (on the last page of the text as well as on the last page of the MS), which is not found in the KT MS. Furthermore, in the NB MS the copyist has placed on the side of the dates found in the HYL the corresponding Japanese dates. Both MSS are punctuated and proper names are marked by vertical lines.
18. To the works of Wang Kuo-wei and Ch'en Yüan mentioned above, we must add Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's biography by Iwamura (where, however, only the geographical section of the HYL has been utilized), and Yoneyama Gorō's article "Yaritsu Sozai...", which I have been unable to procure.
19. Cf. Pelliot, TP 26 (1929), 163.
20. Cf. *ibid.*, 172 n.1.



¹
PREFACE TO THE HSI-YU LU

(1a) When in the past superior men travelled beyond² the great mountain ranges in the south or the Yang Pass in the west, however strong and determined, they could not help feeling sad and discouraged. When, by Imperial Decree,³ I undertook a trip of several tens of thousands of li to the west, it was by virtue of my training in the vast ex-⁴pense of the Law, and not of other methods, that I remained steady and unperturbed. Therefore, I wrote the Pien-hsieh⁵ lun⁶ to upbraid the "husk-pests", as a modest return for Buddha's favours.

In the year wu-tzu (1228) I came to the capital, riding⁷ by stages. The townsfolk questioned me about affairs in the Foreign Regions. Worried by the annoyance of replying (so often), I wrote the Hsi-yu lu and thereby expressed my opinions. In it, I have been rather concerned with the distinction between orthodoxy and heresy in the teachings of⁸ the Three Sages. Some people have criticized my love for making distinctions. My reply to them is: "The Lu-yü⁹ says:¹⁰ 'What is necessary is to rectify names', and it also says:¹¹ 'Have no depraved thoughts'." This means that to discriminate between right and wrong should not be neglected.

Now, the theories professed by YANG CHU, MO TI and T' IEN¹² represent the heresy in Confucianism.

In the Western Region the followers of the "Ninety-six¹³ Classes", and, in this country, those of P'I-LU,¹⁴ of the "Husks-and-Gourds",¹⁵ of the White Lotus¹⁶ and (those who¹⁷ attend) the incense festivals (1b) represent the heresy in Buddhism.

The Ch'üan-chen, Ta-tao, Hun-yüan, and T'ai-i¹⁸ - doctrines that preach the heterodox Way - represent the heresy in Taoism.

As to practices such as alchemy, (Taoist) gymnastics,¹⁹ and the use of the pill of immortality,²⁰ these are all corruptions of the "techniques"²¹ and have nothing to do with the true Way of PO-YANG.²¹ That they were forbidden in olden times is clearly stated in the fixed statutes. However, the tolerance and benevolence advocated while the State was in the making, resulted in a growth of falsehood, and the stage has not yet been reached of distinguishing what is correct.

In the past, the burning of the books and the burying²² alive of the Confucian scholars by Ying Ch'in,²² and the repudiation of Buddhism and Taoism by HAN of T'ang²³ represent the wrong way of discriminating. MENG-TZU's repudiation of YANG and MO,²⁴ and my rejection of the "Husks"²⁵ and of CH'IU²⁶ represent the correct way of discriminating.

I am about to publish it, and, even if the Three Sages were to return to life, I am certain that they would not alter these words.

Preface written by CHAN-JAN CHÜ²⁸-SHIH, I-LA CH'U-TS'AI CHIN-CH'ING of Ch'i-shui, on the first day of the first month of the year chi-ch'ou (27 January 1229).

HSI-YU LU or THE RECORD OF A JOURNEY TO THE WEST

(1a) In the spring of the year wu-yin, on the sixteenth day of the third month (12 April 1218), CHAN-JAN CHÜ-SHIH²⁹ was summoned to Court by Imperial Decree. In the Emperor's suite he made a journey to the West.

When the Heavenly Troops³⁰ had returned home,³¹ in the winter of the year ting-hai (1227) he received an order from the Emperor to search for literary texts,³² and came to Yen by post-riders. He had just shaken off (the dust) and changed (his clothes), when a guest came to visit him, who forthright asked: "As regards your journey to the West, I wonder how many thousands of li it was and whether I can hear its events."

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "I started from Yung-an,³³ crossed the Chü-yung (Pass),³⁴ passed through Wu-ch'uan³⁵ and, proceeding from the west of Yün-chung,³⁶ reached the northern (chain) of the T'ien-shan,³⁷ crossed the Ta-ch'i and the Sha-mo³⁸ and before the lapse of a hundred days I arrived at (1b) the Imperial Camp.³⁹

There mountains and streams were interwoven and the vegetation was thick and green. Carriages and tents were as numerous as clouds, officers and soldiers as numerous as raindrops. Horses and oxen covered the fields and the

weapons brightened the sky. Dwelling faced dwelling and camp followed camp in endless succession. Of past splendours, none could rival this.

Next year, the Heavenly Troops attacked the West in full force.⁴⁰ The road passed through the Chin-shan.⁴¹ At that time it was just the height of summer, but snowflakes were flying over the mountain peaks and the mass of ice was a thousand feet thick.⁴² The Emperor ordered the road to be cut through the ice so that the army could pass. The springs on the Chin-shan must be in the thousands, pine-trees and junipers⁴³ (seem to) touch the sky and grass and flowers blanket the valleys. Looking from the mountain tops, peaks vie in beauty and turbulent streams in swiftness: truly an impressive sight.⁴⁴

To the west of the Chin-shan all the rivers run west-wards⁴⁵ and flow into a western lake.⁴⁶ Ah, are they not the natural boundary between east and west?

In the southern corner of the Chin-shan there is a Hui-hu (Uiyur) city called Pieh-shih-pa,⁴⁷ where there is a T'ang stele (showing that this) is the then called Han-hai Commandery.⁴⁸ The Han-hai (desert)⁴⁹ is several hundred li north-west of the city. In the desert there is a hill the top of which consists entirely of feathers shed by birds.⁵⁰

Two hundred odd li west to the city (of Pieh-shih-pa),
⁵¹ there is Lun-t'ai hsien, where a T'ang stele is extant.

Five hundred li south of the city (of Pieh-shih-pa),
⁵² there is Ho-chou, ⁵³ the Kao-ch'ang of the T'ang, also called
⁵⁴ I-chou.

Three or four thousand li west of Kao-ch'ang, there is
⁵⁵ the city of Wu-tuan, ⁵⁶ that is the kingdom of Yü-t'ien of
the T'ang. There are two rivers in which black and white jade
⁵⁷ is found.

(2a) More than a thousand li beyond the Han-hai Com-
⁵⁸ mandery is the city of Pu-la. ⁵⁹ Four or five towns are
subject to it.

South of Pu-la is the Yin-shan, ⁶⁰ (which extend) from
east to west a thousand li and from north to south two hundred
li. On the top of these mountains is a round lake, about
⁶¹ seventy or eighty li in circumference. Past the round lake,
⁶² descending southwards, apple trees are everywhere. They
grow so thickly that their shade is not penetrated by sun-
beams.

After leaving the Yin-shan comes the city of A-li-ma. ⁶³
⁶⁴ The western people call apple "a-li-ma", and, as in the sub-
urban area apple orchards are everywhere, (the city) has been
⁶⁵ named after them. Eight or nine cities and towns are sub-
⁶⁶ ject to it. Grapes and pears abound. The five grains are
sown, just as in North China.

West (of A-li-ma) is a large river called I-lieh. To
 the west of the river there is a city called Hu-ssu Wo-lu-to,
 which was the capital of the Hsi-Liao. Several tens of
 towns are subject to it.

Several hundred li further west (of Hu-ssu Wo-lu-to) is
 the city of T'a-la-ssu and, four hundred li or so to the
 south-west are the cities of K'u-chan, Pa-p'u, K'o-san
 and Pa-lan. K'u-chan abounds in pomegranates. They are as
 big as two folded hands, and are sweet with a touch of sour-
 ness. Pressing four or five of them one obtains a large cup-
 ful of juice: an excellent thing when one is thirsty.

On the edge of the city of Pa-lan almond orchards are
 everywhere, hence the name (of the city). The blossoms of
 the almond-tree resemble the apricot's but they are a little
 paler. The leaves are like peach (leaves), only they are
 somewhat smaller. It blossoms each winter but the fruit
 ripens in the middle of summer. In shape (the fruit) is si-
 milar to that of the flat-peach. The pulp is not edible:
 one takes out only its (2b) kernel. As to the water-melons
 of the city of Pa-p'u, the large ones are about fifty chin
 (in weight each) and the long ones can be carried only two
 (at a time). They have a pleasantly sweet and refreshing
 taste.

At five hundred li north-west of K'u-chan is the city of
 O-ta-la. The cities subject to it are more than ten. The

chief of this city⁸² once killed several official envoys of
 the Great Court⁸³ and more than a hundred merchants, taking
 possession of all their goods. This was the sole cause of⁸⁴
 the punitive expedition against the West.

Over a thousand li west of O-ta-la is a great city called⁸⁵
 Hsin-ssu-kan. "Hsin-ssu-kan" is what the western people
 call "fat" and, since the land is rich and fertile, they have⁸⁶
 given it this name. The Hsi-Liao called this city Ho-chung⁸⁷
 fu, because it lies along rivers. Hsin-ssu-kan is very
 wealthy and flourishing. Gold and copper coins without hole⁸⁸
 or rim are used there, and all commodities are weighed on
 a scale. The surroundings abound in gardens and woods (on
 an area of) several tens of li. All houses have a garden
 and these are always in exquisite taste. All those water-
 falls and running fountains, square ponds and round pools,
 cypresses and willows side by side, peach and plum trees in⁸⁹
 unbroken succession, are the most magnificent sight ever!
 A melon can be as big as a horse's head and so long that it⁹⁰
 can hold a fox. They have all the eight cereals, except⁹¹
 glutinous millet, glutinous rice⁹² and soya bean.⁹³ As in
 the height of summer it does not rain, they lead off the river⁹⁴
 (water) for irrigation. In general, they reap one chung⁹⁵
 per two mou. They make wine from grapes, which tastes like⁹⁶
 Chung-shan and Chiu-yün (wine). There are plenty of

mulberry-trees, but few are fit for the breeding of silk-
worms.⁹⁷ Therefore, silk-cocoons are extremely difficult

(to produce)⁹⁸ and everybody wears cotton. (3a) The natives
consider white clothes to be of an auspicious colour and
black ones as mourning garments, thus they all wear white.⁹⁹

Six or seven hundred li west of Hsin-ssu-kan is the city
of P'u-hua.¹⁰⁰ There, local products are still more plenti-
ful and one sees more cities and towns. Hsin-ssu-kan was
the capital of the So-li-t'an¹⁰¹ of the Mou-su-lu-man¹⁰² com-
munity and the cities of P'u-hua, K'u-chan and O-ta-la were
all subject to it.¹⁰³

To the west of P'u-hua is a great river called A-mou,¹⁰⁴
slightly less in depth and width than the Huang-ho. In the
west it flows into a great lake.¹⁰⁵ West of this river is
the city of Wu-li-chien,¹⁰⁶ where the So-li-t'an's mother
lived.¹⁰⁷ As to its wealth, it is even more flourishing
than P'u-hua. Further west, near the great river, is the
city of Pan,¹⁰⁸ which is very rich and prosperous and, west
of it, the city of T'uan,¹⁰⁹ which is also magnificent. In
this city lacquer wares abound: they all bear Ch'ang-an trade-
marks.

From here going westwards,¹¹⁰ one arrives directly at
the cities of black Yin-tu.¹¹¹ The people of this country
also possess a script, which in form and sound is different

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from that of the Land of Buddha. In this country Buddhist images are very numerous and its inhabitants do not slaughter cattle and sheep but only drink their milk. It is a custom that, if the husband dies first, he and his wife are cremated together. If one questions (the natives) about the Land of Buddha they, on the other hand, point towards the south-eastern corner (of their country). From it we can infer that this country is not exactly in northern Yin-tu, but it is a border-land nation¹¹³ of the northern frontier of Yin-tu.¹¹⁴

Snow is unknown to the natives. They reap two crops of wheat a year. If one puts tin wares into the sand in the height of summer they melt instantly. When horse (3b) manure falls on the ground, (the heat) makes it boil. Moonlight hits men like the summer sunbeams in China. At night, people often avoid the heat (by lying) out of the moonlight. South of this country is a great river,¹¹⁵ as broad as the Huang-ho and colder than ice and snow. Its swirling course is violent and precipitous. From here on, it proceeds slightly to the west, then it flows straight southwards, then somewhat eastwards and, by way of conjecture, it must discharge into the Southern Sea.¹¹⁶

This region abounds in sugar-cane, which is as widespread as millet (is in China). The natives squeeze it and collect its juice, which is fermented into wine or boiled to make sugar.¹¹⁷

To the north-west of black Yin-tu is the country of
¹¹⁸
 K'o-fu-ch'a. Remarkably enough (the territory) for several
 thousand li is completely level, with no longer any mounds
 or hillock. There are no cities or towns; the people possess
 many sheep and horses and make a fermented drink from honey,
¹¹⁹
 not dissimilar in taste to the Chinese one. In this
 country the days are long and the nights short: in just (the
¹²⁰
 time necessary) to cook a sheep's spleen the sun has risen
¹²¹
 again. (These facts) tally exactly with the facts on the
 country of the Ku-li-kan recorded in the T'ang History, only
 the name of the country is not the same. The pronunciation
 of the word has, of course, become corrupted in such a long
¹²²
 time.

Hsin-ssu-kan is some twenty thousand li far from China
 and this is also the distance between Hsin-ssu-kan and Yin-
 tu and between Yin-tu and the kingdom of K'o-fu-ch'a. Even
 though (the road) is all twists and turns, yet (these
 countries) are (really) far away. I do not know, however,
 how many tens of thousands of li this is (if reckoned in a
¹²³
 straight line).

In the year in which Jupiter ¹²⁴ was in T'un-t'an ¹²⁵
 (1224), (4a) the Heavenly Troops returned triumphantly home. ¹²⁶

Because of the Hsi-Hsia's breach of faith, in the second
 month in spring of the year ping-hstü (28 February-29 March

1226), the Six Armies¹²⁷ advanced in succession against it¹²⁸ and subjugated it at one blow.¹²⁹ The evil ruler was killed and the people pacified. Sha-chou and Kua-chou were established by the Han (dynasty); Su-chou is the same as Shan-shan, Kan-chou the same as Chang-i, and Ling-chou the same as Ling-wu (of old).¹³⁰

Ah, these are far away places¹³¹ to which people do not go and this is a strange story indeed. Such is, however, the general outline of what I saw when I made my journey to the West."

The guest replied: "Now I have been informed about the events of your journey to the West, but I have heard that 'One's position affects one's spirit, (just as) the nurture affects the body'.¹³² Thus, there have been men in the past¹³³ whose spirits soared when they climbed the T'ai-shan and gazed on the Ts'ang-hai,¹³⁴ as well as timid fellows whose spirits fell when they experienced hardship and sorrow.

Now, you have travelled several tens of thousands of li in the West, you have climbed the Chin-shan and gazed at the Han-hai, you have crossed the K'un-lun¹³⁵ and reached the end of the Farthest West. Would this not elevate one's spirits? But to follow the army and cross the Gobi,¹³⁶ the distress of going to war and the suffering of exposure, would this not lower one's spirits? Surely, of these two one (was the case with you). Will you please say which?"

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "A person of strong character makes up his mind in a most determined fashion, (so that) it is as firm as a mountain. How can he change his behaviour according to circumstances and be irresolute when meeting with obstacles? Whether my spirits are high or low, (4b) I do not know."¹³⁷

The guest said: "You and I have been firm friends for years. You know me better than anybody else and so do I know you. In your youth you studied Confucianism. Later on you became fond of Buddhism. You always said that if the empire is ruled according to the principles of Our Master (Confucius), and the individual mind according to the teachings of Our Buddha, the empire would reach the maximum of efficiency."¹³⁸ These solemn words are still in my ears, as clear as the stars and the sun. However, when in the past His Excellency CH'IU¹³⁹ made his journey to the north, you helped him in his achievements, without bothering at all to consult the teachings of Our Master or the principles of Our Buddha. Were your spirits not lowered then?"

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "As I see it, at the time of the foundation of our State, when government affairs were very numerous and there was war in the Western Region, so that one had no time to cultivate polite studies and to exalt virtue, the teachings of the Three Sages would have all been

of (particular) advantage to society. When I read the two books on the Way and its Virtue,¹⁴⁰ my admiration was deeply roused. I wanted to make Our Lord tread in the footsteps of the ancient worthies, this is the reason why I supported (His Excellency CH'IU); also, I wished to make him an advocate of Confucianism and Buddhism. It is not that I lost spirit and forgot the fundamentals."

The guest said: "Could you let me know what brought about His Excellency CH'IU's presentation (at Court)?"

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "Formerly, someone by surname LIU and¹⁴¹ by personal name WEN was presented (at Court) on account of his medical skill. He said that His Excellency CH'IU was three hundred years old and that he possessed the secret art of preserving health and prolonging life. (5a) Then LIU having addressed a memorial to the Emperor recommending him, an Imperial Decree was issued summoning (him to Court).¹⁴² Upon his arrival at Te-hsing,¹⁴³ His Excellency CH'IU sent a message to the Emperor which said: 'I am decrepit and wizened, and I really fear that I shall not get half way (to the Imperial Camp). I would like to stop for a while in Te-hsing.'¹⁴⁴ When this message was received, the Emperor, seeing that His Excellency CH'IU was intimidated by the journey to the north, ordered me to draft a Mandate, replying¹⁴⁵ to him with kind words that He wished for his speedy arrival.

When he arrived at the Imperial Camp,¹⁴⁶ His Excellency CH'IU made repeated obeisances and showed deep respect. Later, he was introduced to the (Emperor's) presence and, by (5b) His Majesty's Order, was authorized to reside temporarily in the city of Hsin-ssu-kan.¹⁴⁷ This is how His Excellency CH'IU's introduction (at Court) was brought about."

The guest said: "Is it possible to learn about the mutual relations between you and His Excellency CH'IU?"

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "When His Excellency CH'IU arrived in the Western Region, I received him according to the proper rules of hospitality. Shortly afterwards, His Excellency CH'IU, addressing me casually, said: 'For a long time I have heard that you are a follower of the Buddhist faith. Now, Buddhism and Taoism have hitherto fought and hated each other, and I really feared that you and I would not get on together. I did not expect that you would treat me in such a friendly way: you must be a person well-versed in Taoism!' I replied to him: 'The doctrines of the Three Sages have been practised in China for a very long time and the respective standing of their schools has, of course, been firmly determined since the Han and T'ang (dynasties): is it then up to an ordinary man to impose his own judgement?'¹⁴⁸ Afterwards, some of his disciples hinted that I should receive a Taoist name from him. I replied to them saying: 'In my youth I practised

Confucianism, when I grew older I embraced Buddhism. Why should I "descend from lofty trees to enter into dark valleys"?¹⁴⁹ They then dropped their proposals. I had been away from Yen a long time, however the close friends I had (in the Western Region) were few. For this reason alone, His Excellency CH'IU and I wrote 'alternate lines' and 'poems to the rhymes',¹⁵⁰ burnt incense and made tea, made trips to remote gardens¹⁵¹ in spring and, at night, chatted in my study. This is what we used to do. Later we often corresponded, as people cannot be apathetic. (6a) I treated him politely, because it is not fitting for a man to be impolite."

The guest said: "May I hear about the text of the discourses on Taoism that His Excellency CH'IU delivered to the Throne?"

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "In the tenth month in winter of the year jen-wu (5 November-4 December 1222), the Emperor summoned His Excellency CH'IU in order to question him concerning the way to prolong life."¹⁵² His replies were but commonplace. He touched upon things such as 'refining the vital principle'¹⁵³ and mentioned stories such as that of LIN LING-SU¹⁵⁴ who, in his dreams, guided HUI-TSUNG of Sung to the Empyrean Palace.¹⁵⁵ These were the heights of His Excellency CH'IU's preaching of Taoism."

The guest said: "You and His Excellency CH'IU were in contact for a long time: did you hear him say anything strange?"

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "His Excellency CH'IU once spoke of¹⁵⁶ the trances and ecstasies of his master WANG 'the Madman' as if they were the ultimate thing. He also quoted his elder brother-in-faith, His Excellency MA,¹⁵⁷ as having often said: 'Many times, with the help of the Saints and the Sages, my true-nature has wandered in strange regions', and also:¹⁵⁸ 'The members of the Ch'an sect dislike the dream-state. I wonder whether it is because, lacking blissfulness and strength, though they like dreams, they are not capable of achieving them.' These are the profound discourses of that sect. When well-informed people heard of them they never¹⁵⁹ failed to be convulsed with laughter."

The guest said: "I once read in the preface to the¹⁶⁰ P'an-ch'i chi that His Excellency CH'IU memorized several¹⁶¹ thousand sentences daily. Is this really a fact?"

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "Of his extraordinary memory I have no¹⁶² knowledge. Once, he borrowed from me the Po-fang wen-ts'ui of the Sung (dynasty), then one day he addressed me and said: 'I have a few expressions that (6b) I would like to discuss with you. The more profound the writings of the ancients are, the harder it is to understand them. In the Po-fang,

the "Eulogy on Kuan-yin" written by HUANG LU-CHIH,¹⁶³ says:
 "The whole body is an eye that does not see itself. If you¹⁶⁴
 want to know yourself, keep on pulling the donkey's ears."
 What kind of words are these?' I kept silent and did not
 reply, but in private I told people: 'SHAN's words¹⁶⁵ are
 quite clear and the Buddhist monks know their source. He¹⁶⁶
 has not yet taken a glance at the outline of the First
 Patriarch's Doctrine,¹⁶⁷ let alone its depths!' Thereafter,
 in his presence I behaved politely, but in my mind I thought
 little of him."

The guest said: "Was there anything you approved of in
 His Excellency CH'IU?"

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "At the beginning of our discussions -
 at the time when we exchanged verses - I rather approved (of
 him) superficially. As our acquaintance deepened and I got
 to know him thoroughly, I disapproved of His Excellency CH'IU
 on ten points:

When he was first presented to the Throne, (the Emperor)
 asked him his age. He falsely stated that he did not know it.
 How can a man of intelligence ignore his age? This is the
 first one.

He replied to the Emperor with the story of HUI-TSUNG's
 dream-journey to the Emyrean. This is the second one.

He personally stated that trances and ecstasies are the cardinal principles of his sect. This (7a) is the third one.

He also said that the Saints and the Sages help the true-nature to wander in strange regions; and he loved his own dream-state. This is the fourth one.

He did not know the meaning of LU-CHIH's Eulogy. This is the fifth one.

In the dark valleys of the Farthest West, whether it is a Buddhist monk or a man who cultivates his virtue,¹⁶⁸ they are all exempted from taxes and corvée. When His Excellency CH'IU left for Yen,¹⁶⁹ he requested (the Emperor) to exempt from levies only the Taoists and made no mention of the Buddhist monks. Although the Emperor sanctioned the exemption from levies, he still ordered that there should be no further ordinations after the Imperial Decree had been issued.¹⁷⁰ But he (i.e., His Excellency CH'IU), arbitrarily contravening His Majesty's order, ordained a large number of his followers. This is the sixth one.

Further, he presented a memorial to the Throne requesting the tally and seal (authorizing him) to issue at his own discretion Master's titles and temple-denominations.¹⁷¹ Such things as had never before happened, he would do them. This is the seventh one.

As the Taoist followers had to travel by post-riders, he asked to be supplied with a tablet-tally.¹⁷² Then, a certain

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Taoist WANG, carrying this tablet, and with an escort of several tens of men, rode fast to the various prefectures in order to take general control of the Buddhist monks and nuns. His Excellency CH'IU, moreover, wished to pursue and get hold of the Venerable (Master) HSUAN of Hai-shan, and wantonly brought about destruction. 174 This is the eighth one.

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In T'ien-ch'eng he spoiled the Temple of the Master (i.e., Confucius), (7b) changing it into a Taoist temple, 176 and had Buddhist images destroyed, cultivated lands seized, and Buddhist temples converted into Taoist ones, 177 (all) in great number. Then he sent a letter to TS'UNG-LO CHÜ-SHIH 178 about the destruction of images and the seizing of temples in Ching-chou 179 in order to cover up his wrong-doings. This is something that Heaven and Earth cannot tolerate. This is the ninth one.

On the occasion of his death, he met his end in the privy. His disciples, however, embellished the truth, making up the story that it was whilst praying (that he had passed away). 180 This is the tenth one."

The guest said: "I have heard some passers-by criticize you. Their opinion is the following: 'To conceal one's resentment and yet appear friendly towards a man is something of which Confucius was ashamed. 181 How could you approve (of His Excellency CH'IU) outwardly while disapproving of

him in your mind? The superior man helps others to achieve
 their good, not their evil.¹⁸² Why did you at first help
 him (in his achievements), and then hate (him)? As to
 friends, the attitude of the superior man does not change,
 whether they are living or dead.¹⁸³ How could you praise
 him when living and denounce him when dead?' Have you any-
 thing to say on this?"

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "I felt friendship for His Excellency
 CH'IU as a person, but I had no sympathy for his ideas. I
 accepted his poetry, not his principles. At the time of his
 interview with the Emperor, I found it difficult to criti-
 cize him. As our faiths were different, had I attacked him
 it would have created a dispute. This is why I disapproved
 of him in my mind and laughed at him in privacy.

His Excellency CH'IU said at first that as the teach-
 ings of the Three Sages are the same, one cannot make dis-
 tinctions. He himself said: 'Military and government affairs
 are not what I am good at', 'A virtuous mind makes man (8a)
 abstain from desire',¹⁸⁴ and 'What I most earnestly wish is
 to revive the neglected teachings of the Three Sages'.¹⁸⁵
 On hearing this, how could I not help him? Later he ate his
 words, and leaning to his own sect, destroyed images and
 seized lands, converted Buddhist temples into Taoist ones and
 transformed the Hsüan-sheng Temple¹⁸⁶ into a Taoist monastery,

with the intention to drive out (the other) two faiths. Though it is said: 'The superior man hides (other people's) evil and displays (their) goodness',¹⁸⁷ this is not something I can hide. When I saw those things, how could I refrain from hating him? (At first) he wished to save the world from the perils of the age through morality. I personally heard him say it. As he was not dead yet, how could I but praise him while still living? After we separated he conducted several wanton acts such as those in question. I always wanted to condemn his evil-doings frankly to his face, but, prevented by my official duties, I could not arrange to meet him. Now by (Imperial) order I have come (to Yen), but he had already died. What can I do but denounce him after his death?"

The guest said: "I heard some passers-by say that His Excellency CH'IU had compassion for sinfulness and blessedness¹⁸⁸ and that the exemption of Taoists from levies (to the exclusion of the Buddhist monks) was not his idea but the work of his disciples."

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "Once, more than four hundred youths,¹⁸⁹ (chosen) from the gentry¹⁹⁰ of Ho-chung, were moved to the city of Ta-la-ssu¹⁹¹ to establish a military colony.¹⁹² By order of the Court, I was empowered with their supervision. When I returned to (8b) the Imperial Camp, I heard

people say that as His Excellency CH'IU was about to leave - the parting audience with the Emperor being concluded - he sent a messenger (to the Emperor) with a petition saying: 'I only beg you to exempt from levies the people who renounce the world to cultivate their virtue.' On that occasion, as the person in charge of the Imperial Patents had gone elsewhere,¹⁹³ the Taoists were allowed to themselves fill in the Imperial Rescript. Thereupon, they only wrote down the words: 'The Taoists are exempted from levies.' At that time, everybody said that since he had spoken of 'people who renounce the world to cultivate their virtue', both Buddhists and Taoists must have been included.¹⁹⁴ Only a few years later was it known that they had put down the Taoists alone, without mentioning the Buddhists. Hence everybody condemned His Excellency CH'IU's partiality.

Now, the words you have heard undoubtedly come from partisans of His Excellency CH'IU, who only use these to make excuses for him. If he really had compassion for sinfulness and blessedness and did not mean to exempt the Taoists (alone) from levies, why did not he seal up and return the Imperial Rescript on that very day? Had he done so, he would have earned greater glory! Such words which only gloss over his evil-doings are not worth believing."

The guest said: "I heard passers-by say that such things as the seizing of the Buddhist temples and the destruction

of Buddhist images, were all perpetrated in secret by (His Excellency CH'IU's) entourage and that His Excellency CH'IU had actually no knowledge of them."

CHÜ-SHIH replied: (9a) "I have heard (on the other hand) that on his way back His Excellency CH'IU stayed at the Wen-¹⁹⁵chang Temple in T'ien-ch'eng. The stone-tablet (showing ¹⁹⁶that this formerly was) a county school is still there. Assuming that His Excellency CH'IU had been unaware of these facts, why did he not denounce the Taoists who had it converted into a Taoist temple? Moreover, last year he sent a personal letter to TS'UNG-LO CHÜ-SHIH in which he said: 'Recently, some Buddhist temples in Ching-chou were given to the Taoists to live in by the villagers. Now that they have erected Taoist statues, the former Buddhist monks have denounced them to the official authorities under false charges in order to restore (the previous state of affairs). Should there be a repetition of similar incidents in future, I request you to discipline them.' I saw and obtained this letter, and, as it happened, I had it carved on stone to be forever transmitted to later generations, so that clear-¹⁹⁷sighted people can judge the right and wrong of it."

The guest said: "I have heard passers-by say that, as to the question of asking (the Emperor) for the tablet-tally, it also was not CH'IU's idea."



CHÜ-SHIH replied: "If it had not been CH'IU's idea, the Taoist WANG should have sent back the tablet-tally under seal upon his return (to Yen). Had he asked for it in order to use post-riders, he should have carried it only when he was (travelling as) an official envoy. I heard a report that the Taoist WANG, carrying the tablet and riding fast with an escort of several tens of men, acted outrageously in various prefectures. How can you know that it was not CH'IU's idea?"

The guest said: "I have heard passers-by say that, nowadays, the great majority of the men who retire from the world do it to evade levies and to make a living for a while without toil.¹⁹⁸ If they cut their hair, that makes it difficult for them to return to laity. This is why those who become Buddhist monks are few, while those who become Taoists¹⁹⁹ are many. Since the war, most of the Buddhist temples and monasteries have been damaged. Had the Taoists not (9b) occupied them, they would have been either taken over by influential people, or pulled to pieces to make firewood. What would have been the advantage in that?"

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "Intelligent people would certainly not have done such a thing. Had someone done it, no doubt it could only have been ignorant and uncivilized people, and why should you be alarmed? Since styled monks²⁰⁰ have, on

the contrary, acted like paltry men, renaming temples and destroying images, this is why (I condemn them in the same way as) the superior man condemns the virtuous one (for not being virtuous enough). These fellows ²⁰¹ lived at first in temples in which there were no images, then they spoiled monasteries which had images. At this early stage they only seized religious dwellings on the mountains and in the forests; but they were, of course, ardently longing for the monasteries in the city and in the suburbs. From afar they approach closer, from the lesser to the greater. They covet the ambition to possess everything: their plans are not so simple.

Let us suppose that there is an old grave and a man, liking the magnificence of the mountains and the beauty of the woods (around it), says: 'If I do not open this grave, someone else will open it later. I will take out the bones, throw them into a ditch and (use it to) bury my parents.' How would you call this, speaking in terms of human feelings? The ancients admired those who 'in the sixth month wore sheep-furs and did not pick up money lost (by others)'. ²⁰² How can a person who has become a Taoist bear (the shame) of seizing things forcibly? At the beginning they used the pretext that they were repairing the temples and preserving the holy images. After having occupied (the temples) for

some time, they gradually destroyed the venerable images and then changed the names on the superscriptions, with the intention of wiping out Buddhism. As to their 'repairing and preserving the temples', if they had not removed the names and destroyed the images, one could have truly (10a) said that they had raised the fallen and repaired the ruined. But, if they change the names and alter the images, is this a means to raise them (i.e., the Buddhist temples) or to do away with them?

Had they wanted to propagate their own faith widely, they should have selected a locality, formed connections and built Taoist temples. Would not this have reflected credit on Taoism? A great man who steals another man's lodging or who does damage to another man's ancestry (by taking his grave), and passes them off (i.e., lodging and grave) as his own achievement, in what way is he different from a burglar or a thief? It is what one calls 'to accomplish a thing
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at the expense of others' - how can one not feel ashamed of it?

As for the case of destruction by war, it recurs throughout the ages. From the Han through the T'ang, coming down to the Liao and Sung (dynasties), in times of transition there have been wars one after the other, but never such things happened as to change Buddhist temples into Taoist

ones. Is it that he (i.e., His Excellency CH'IU) dared to do all this because he held the Court in contempt? In the past, LIN LING-SU, relying on his prodigies and artful powers, was employed by Sung: he may be called an arch-criminal. Still, he did not dare to rename Buddhist temples as Taoist temples and to change Buddhist images into Taoist ones. Now, these fellows by far exceed LIN LING-SU in their doings. Is not (this the reason why) the gods, in their great anger, have shortened CH'IU's long age?"²⁰⁴

The guest said: "I have heard that 'He who often considers (things) easy, will often find them hard',²⁰⁵ and also that 'the superior man in the transaction of affairs takes good counsel regarding his first steps'.²⁰⁶ How could you have been so careless in choosing your friends and, in the transaction of your affairs, how could you have been so incautious when planning your first steps? At present, these fellows spoil ancestral temples (10b) to rebuild them into (Taoist) monasteries and the 'society of the white robes'²⁰⁷ may spread over the whole empire, all because you gave them the opportunity at the beginning. Is it not difficult to stop them (now)? Will not (all this) create harm in the end?"

CHÜ-SHIH replied: "I was wrong, I was wrong! However, I have heard that things which are quickly made, quickly

perish, and what is achieved late, ends well. Formerly, more than two thousand years ago, Buddhism came from the West: for successive generations it was accepted and practised, and shown great respect. Eminent Buddhist monks and outstanding men have appeared time after time and countless are those who became National Teachers.²⁰⁸ In recent times, the monk YÜAN-T'UNG,²⁰⁹ who was a National Teacher during three reigns, never converted Taoist temples into Buddhist ones. For this reason, the doctrine of Buddha and of the Patriarchs is deeply and firmly rooted: indeed, it cannot be eradicated. If the Buddhists, when in power, were to seize Taoist temples, and the Taoists, when in power, were to destroy Buddhist temples, then the wind of quarrels would blow forever. Now, these fellows seize other people's dwellings and destroy Buddha's images; the idlers who join them are as (numerous as those who) go to the market and, whether good or bad, all are accepted. Thus, the Taoist temples will destroy themselves without being attacked! The (Taoist) hermits do not take part in the struggle for existence: yet, people tend to be intolerant of them. How far less, then, can the world tolerate their arbitrary use of the (Imperial) Tally and Seal to restrict the power of the official authorities, and to rob the people (who are subject to) these?

I have also heard that 'he who likes to be first is bound to meet his match'.²¹⁰ All that is needed is that the

teachings of the Three Sages stand firmly in the world like
 the three legs of a tripod,²¹¹ without oppressing and robbing
 each other, but all living peacefully. (11a) But now that
 the Taoists have seized Buddhist temples and destroyed their
 images, there are, indeed, some (spiritual) descendants of
 the Buddha who are smug in their stupidity and too timid to
 struggle. If, however, there were some daring people who
 would not grudge their lives to protect and support the Law
 of the Buddha, some of them could firmly strive for it with
 the official authorities, while others could plead for it at
 Court. Their (i.e., the Taoists') crimes cannot go unpunished
 no matter into what precedent or law one may look. As to
 these laws, they are the rules of good government of Yin and
 Chou, the fine principles of Han and Wei, the old writings
 of Sui and T'ang and the statutes left by Liao and Sung: not
 the laws of one generation but, truly, of ten thousand gene-
 rations. Constantly, from generation to generation, princes
 and kings have all used them as their standard - like the
 compass and the T-square (are used) by a master carpenter -
 and no one could abrogate them. All the various codes have
 severe punishments for destroying (religious) images, and
 the articles of the Imperial Edicts contain explicit ordi-
 nances prohibiting heresy. What is the point of your
 gibberish?"

He had not yet finished speaking when the guest, suddenly angry, said: "Still, which is better: 'to bend the flue and to remove the fuel' (to prevent a fire), or 'to scorch the head and to smash the forehead' (to extinguish it)?²¹²

It is your fault if it has not been possible to recognize wickedness before it became manifest and to remove evil when it had not yet sprouted.²¹³ How can you embellish your mistakes and gloss over your wrong-doings? You²¹⁴ said that you supported His Excellency CH'IU only because you wished him to be an advocate of Confucianism and Buddhism. Now, the destruction of the Temple of Confucius and the suppression of Śākya(muni)'s images surely do harm to Confucianism and Buddhism. You also said that, (11b) at the beginning of the foundation of our State, government affairs being very numerous, there was not the time to cultivate polite studies and to exalt virtue. What words are these, what words are these? Anciently, when TZU-LU²¹⁵ asked about government, Confucius said that 'if it cannot be helped, one should forgo military equipment and food. From old death has been the lot of all men, but a people without faith cannot stand.'²¹⁶

From this we know that good principles are the essence of good government. Though I am a man of mediocre talents I have undeservedly gained trust and have been placed in an important position.²¹⁷ We should in the first place assist the

Court in carrying out culture and instruction, and put good principles into practice, so that public morals²¹⁸ and benevolent rule may excel those in the past. Afterwards, any good policy can be carried out. You believe, however, that, as the people (of the empire) are not yet pacified, one must still wait for (a period of) Small Tranquillity²¹⁹ before putting culture and instruction into practice. I say that this is very wrong indeed! The people are very difficult to rule because they are quick in doing evil and slow in following what is good. Even if we waste no time in guiding them with good principles, I still fear that they might not reform their evils. How much more is this to be feared if we delay and wait for the necessary conditions? Therefore, we should hasten to change their hearts by means of the Mighty Benevolent One's²²⁰ warning, by the law of cause and effect, against killing, deceiving, stealing and licentiousness; to rectify their deeds with LAO(-TZU)'s Natural Way of kindness and frugality; to reform their lives by means of Our Master's (i.e., Confucius') teachings based on the duties of prince acting as prince, minister as minister, father as father and son as son.²²¹ If the doctrines of the Three Sages are practised in the world (in harmony) as the weight and beam (of the steelyard), the people's yielding to reform would be like grass bending to the wind or water flowing downwards.

Then one should submit plans to (12a) the Court, requesting it to establish rules and regulations, to deliberate upon rites and music, to erect ancestral temples, to build palaces and houses, to found schools, to set up examinations, to seek out withdrawn scholars, to search for the old statesmen of the previous dynasty, to advance the wise and the good, to seek upright men, to encourage agriculture and sericulture, to suppress indolence, to reduce punishments, to cut down taxation, to honour dignity and integrity, to castigate licence, to dismiss superfluous officials, to expel oppressive officers, to esteem filial love and fraternal devotion, and to relieve poverty and distress. If so, then, to point at (a period of) Great Peace would be as easy as turning (something) in the palm.²²² You rejected this and did not act; calm and self-satisfied, you have put your hands in the sleeves and waited for (a period of) Small Tranquillity. It is just like wanting to cross the Chiang or the Huai²²³ and yet discard boat and oar, or wishing to relieve hunger and cold and yet throw away grains and silk. I have never heard that such a thing is possible."

The guest then, shaking his sleeve (in anger) rose and left, walking off with his staff. He withdrew (from public life), and was not seen (again).

For several days CHÜ-SHIH was confused as if he had lost something, then he recorded the words of the dialogue in a document, to serve as precepts to be engraved on the bathtub. ²²⁴

Written by CHAN-JAN CHÜ-SHIH, CH'U-TS'AI CHIN-CH'ING of Ch'i-shui, on the ch'ing-ming day of the year wu-tzu (6 April 1228).

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END OF THE HSI-YU LU

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE

HSI-YU LU

1. The text of this preface is also found in WC 8, 16b-17b.
2. 陽關, south-west of the modern Tun-huang hsien 敦煌縣 in Kan-su.
3. During the Sung and Yüan dynasties 1 li 里 = .55296 kilometer = .3456 mile (CKTLHS, 66 and 95). Cf., however, MR I, 15-16 n.10.
4. Lit., "the immense ocean of the Law" 汪洋法海. The expression fa-hai 法海 is already indicative of the magnitude of the Dharma (cf. BDJ, 1591b). What Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai means is that the strength to face the vicissitudes of his long journey to Central Asia came only from his Buddhist training. See *infra*, n.137.
5. 辨邪論 or "Essay on the confutation of heresy". Of this work, now lost, we still have the preface, written by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in Qarā-Khoja (Qoco) 高昌城 in December 1225, which is found in WC 8, 17b-19a. The work is also listed by Ch'ien Ta-hsin in PYSIWC, 8421a. Pelliot mentioned it in his article "L'édition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-wei", but not knowing the existence of its preface, he suggested that by Pien-hsieh lun is meant perhaps Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's criticism of

Ch'ang-ch'un on ten points which is found in the HYL (TP 26, 175 n.2). The Pien-hsieh lun was an attack against the followers of the Dhūta sect (in Chinese T'ou-t'o chiao 頭陀教), whom Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai regarded as Buddhist heretics. In his works, he usually refers to them disparagingly as "the husk-pests" (k'ang-nieh 糠蟹; I borrowed the rendering of this expression from Waley, 26), or "the husks-and-gourds" (k'ang-p'iao 糠瓢). Cf., e.g., HYL Pref., 1a4 and 1a9; WC 8, 18a, 18b, 19b, 20a, 20b and *ibid.*, 13, 6a sqq. These epithets, as well as the Dhūta sect, have not yet been properly investigated. Pelliot had apparently collected much information on the subject (see his statement in TP 21, 351 n.1), but never published it. On this sect cf. provisionally his remarks in BEFEO 3 (1903), 315-316; *ibid.* 4 (1904), 438; TP 28 (1931), 417; and the edict of Ch'eng-tsung (Temür; r. 1295-1307) of the fifth month of the second year of the period Ta-te 大德 (10 June-9 July 1298), which is found in YTC 33, 13a-b.

6. See *supra*, n.5.

7. I.e., availing himself of the post service. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai returned to Yen-ching in the winter of 1227, after more than nine years' absence from China. Cf. the inscription in memory of the Ch'an master Yüan-t'ung

圖通 (d.1222), in which he says: "In winter of the year ting-hai (1227), having received the Emperor's order to search for literary texts, I came to the capital riding by stages." (WC 8, 25a.) In the following year he was again sent to Yen-ching, this time to suppress the local banditry (cf. the Stele, 12a and *ibid.*, n.107 and 108). Although Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai states in the preface to the HYL that he went to Yen-ching in 1228, he is obviously referring to his first trip there at the end of 1227. Cf. also HYL, 1a6-7.

8. I.e., Confucius, Buddha and Lao-tzu.
9. I.e., the Lun-yü 論語.
10. Lun-yü (Legge I, 263).
11. *Ibid.* (Legge I, 146).
12. On these philosophers cf. HCP I, 76-105; 133-143 and 153-159.
13. I.e., the traditional ninety-six classes of non-Buddhists or heretics (their six founders and each of them with fifteen schools of disciples). On them cf. BDJ, 435b-c; DCBT, 16a.
14. Short for P'i-lu-she-na 毗盧舍那, i.e., Vairocana. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai refers no doubt to the followers of the Chen-yen ("True-word") sect 真言宗, the founding of which is traditionally attributed to Vairocana. On this sect cf. BDJ, 869-870 and DCBT, 333a-b.

15. See *supra*, n.5.
16. The Kanda ed. (1a9) has Po-lien 白蓮 following the KT MS. However, even on a superficial examination, it is evident that the character lien 蓮 in the KT MS. is a later substitution by an unknown hand of another character, some strokes of which are still barely visible. The substituted character, as we can see from the preface to the HYL in the WC (8, 17a), and from the NB MS., is ching 經. Thus, the original text of the HYL actually contained Po-ching 白經. Po-ching, however, is unquestionably an error for Po-lien, and this explains the substitution. On the White Lotus sect cf. Pelliot, "La secte du Lotus Blanc..." and the Japanese studies quoted by Professor Demiéville in Oriente Poliano, 232 n.79.
17. I.e., the gathering of people for worship (burning of incense) at various Buddhist temples and sacred places on certain fixed dates. For the expression hsiang-hui 香會 cf. KYTT, 2422b and Palladius I, 592a. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, being a follower of the Ch'an school, naturally regarded these popular forms of religious devotion as a corruption of Buddhism.
18. On the Ch'üan-chen 全真, Ta-tao 大道 and T'ai-i^{太一} sects cf. Professor Ch'en Yüan's important study "Nan-Sung

ch'u..."; the articles by Sun K'e-k'uan 孫克寬 in TLTC 8 (1954), 309-313; *ibid.* 14 (1957), 172-179; Waley, 13-26; Ten Broek and Yin Tung, "A Taoist Inscription...", 60-64 and 69-70. Cf. also the works by G. Yoshioka and S. Nogami mentioned in Oriente Poliano, 229 n.11 and 236. Practically nothing is known about the Hun-yüan 混元 sect, which was forbidden during the reign of emperor Chang-tsung 章宗 of Chin (r. 1190-1208). Cf. CCTCYL 1, 4b.

19. For a comprehensive list of references to Western literature on Chinese alchemy cf. the Bibliography in Welch, 196-198. On Taoist "gymnastics" 導引 cf. Maspero's study "Les procédés...", 413 sqq. On this subject cf. also Welch, 96-97, 106, 108 et passim.
20. By "techniques" (fang-chi 方技) are meant certain special "arts", such as astrology, divination, physiognomy and medicine. Cf. Ch'en P'an, "Chan-kuo...", 10; TY, 680d.
21. I.e., of Lao-tzu. Po-yang is Lao-tzu's courtesy name.
22. I.e., the state of Ch'in 秦, the reference, of course, being to Ch'in Shih-huang-ti.
23. I.e., by Han Yü 韓愈 (768-824). On Han Yü's attitude towards Buddhism cf. Grube, 303-308; HCP II, 411-412.

24. I.e., Yang Chu and Mo Ti. For Mencius' criticism of these two philosophers cf. HCP I, 125 sqq.
25. K'ang 糠 for k'ang-nieh 糠蟹. See supra, n.5.
26. I.e., Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 丘處機; alias Ch'ang-ch'un 長春.
27. I.e., the HYL.
28. Cf. the Stele, n.45.
29. Cf. the Stele, n.67.
30. I.e., Cinggis Qan's army. Cf. the HYC I, 37a (Waley, 89 and n.2).
31. I.e., after the campaign against the Khwārazm-shāh Muhammad. While Cinggis Qan and his army returned to Mongolia in 1224-1225 (cf. HYL, 4a1 and Turkestan, 456) Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai did not leave Central Asia till the beginning of 1226. Cf. NP, 6b.
32. See supra, n.7.
33. Cf. the Stele, n.338.
34. 居庸關, north-west of Peking.
35. 武川, the modern Wu-ch'uan hsien 武川縣 in Sui-yüan.
36. 雲中, the modern Ta-t'ung hsien 大同縣 in northern Shan-hsi.
37. 天山, by which is actually meant the Yin-shan 陰山, the boundary range between China and the Mongolian plateau. As remarked by Bretschneider, the two names of Yin-shan and T'ien-shan are sometimes used interchangeably by Chinese authors (MR I, 13 n.4 and 65 n.152).

38. 大石漠 ("Great Stony Desert") and 沙漠 ("Sandy Desert"). Together they are used to designate the Gobi. On these two names, which are descriptive of two portions of the Mongolian desert, cf. MR I, 47 n.112.
39. The Imperial Camp to which Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai refers must have been Cinggis Qan's ordos in the Sāri Steppe (the Sa'ari-ke'er of the SH, 128, 161 et passim) on the upper course of the Kertülen, between this river and the Tūla (cf. YYL, 2a, and HYLCS, 2a-b). This site has been further localised by Pelliot in the area of the two lakes Qala'utu-nōr and Gūn-nōr, west of the great bend of the Kertülen (HCG, 27. On the Sa'ari-ke'er cf. also *ibid.*, 260 and 389; MR I, 157-158 n.417).

After leaving Wu-ch'uan, probably some time in May, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai travelled northward across the Gobi and reached the Kertülen (see his "Four stanzas, passing the Lü-chü [=Kertülen] River" 過闊局河四首 in WC 5, 11a-12a). He must have then followed the river upstream, arriving finally at the camp towards the end of July.

40. On Cinggis Qan's campaign against Khwārazm cf. Turkestan, 393 sqq. As remarked by T'u Chi (MWESC 3, 20a), Cinggis must have left his ordos in the Sāri Steppe in the fourth month of 1219 (i.e., end of May-beginning of June),

because we know that by the fifth month he had already encamped on the river Eder. Cf. HYC 1, 3b (Waley, 49).

41. 金山, the Altai range. For a discussion of the name Chin-shan and the route followed by Cinggis Qan in crossing the Altai, cf. MR I, 13-14 n.5. On the mountain passes that might have been used by the Mongol army cf. also Martin, 236. Owing to the large size of the army, I am inclined to agree with Martin that Cinggis did probably avail himself of more than one road.
42. Cf. Li Chih-ch'ang's remarks in the HYC 2, 10a (Waley, 124): "These mountains (i.e., the Altai) get a great deal of rain and hail. Even in the fifth and sixth months the snow is often ten feet deep."
43. Our text has kuei 檜, which is the Chinese name for the Juniperus chinensis. However, as remarked by Bretschneider, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai probably saw larch trees (MR I, 14 n.6). Li Chih-ch'ang, also impressed by the size of the conifers on the Altai, writes in the HYC 2, 10a: "Far up into the northern side of the (Chin-)shan, the pine-trees are all about a hundred feet high." (Waley 124 and n.4; cf. also Pelliot's remarks in TP 28, 426.)

44. Cf. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's poem "Passing the Chin-shan - using someone else's rhymes" 過金山用人韻 in WC 1, 6a-b, which says:

Snow whelms upon the mountain-peaks
In chill September.

Like a sheep's guts the narrow mountain road (lit.,
"the woodcutter's track")
Winding and turning.

Thousands of cliffs vying in beauty
Purify my (lit., "man's") thoughts.

Myriads of streams vying in swiftness
Strengthen my spirits.

In the heart of the mountains the clouds open up
And the mist has a glossy hue.

On the pine-covered summit the wind rises
And sharp is the sound of rain.

I came away with my bag of poems
Full of sun and wind.

Now I think of the mountains
Now I look at the poems.

This poem was written a few years later in Central Asia, to the rhymes of a poem by Ch'ang-ch'un which is found in HYC 1, 28b. Cf. NP, 4a and *ibid.*, App. 3b. On the same theme are also Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's three semi-stanzas in WC 7, 8b (過金山和人韻三絕), written to the rhymes of Ch'ang-ch'un's poem in HYC 1, 24b.

45. Cf. the line 金山前田畔水西流 in the second of the three semi-stanzas mentioned above.

46. I.e., the Zaisan lake (Zaisan-nōr).
47. 別石把 = Bīshbālig, near the modern Kitai (Kuchengtse) in Dzungaria. On this city cf. the important article "Bīshbalik" by Barthold in the EI I, 728-730 and also Pelliot's remarks in TP 28 (1931), 140. Ch'ang-ch'un and his party arrived in Bīshbālig on 15 September 1221 and stayed there till the nineteenth. Li Chih-ch'ang has left us a brief account of the place and the reception they met. He also mentions extant stones with inscriptions dating from the T'ang (HYC 1, 27a-28a; Waley, 80-82).
48. On the Han-hai Commandery 瀚海軍 of the T'ang cf. DTKO, 91-93.
49. This is the north-western part of the Mongolian desert. For a discussion of the name Han-hai as applied to the Gobi cf. MR I, 15 n.9.
50. My translation of this passage is different to that of Bretschneider in MR I, 15-16, which reads: "There is a sea (lake) with an island in it, on which a great number of birds use to mew." The expression 海中 in our text must refer to the (Han-)hai under discussion, not to a sea or lake. Thus, the character 嶼 here means "hill" or "hillock" ("monticule" in Couvreur, 258). Cf. KHTT, s.v. 嶼: 平地小山在水為島在陸為山嶼.

51. 輪臺縣 . On this old Chinese outpost which during the T'ang dynasty was situated east of modern Urumchi, cf. DTKO 12, 68 n., 114, 272; TP (1931), 140. Lun-t'ai is also mentioned in HYC 1, 28a. Cf. Wang Kuo-wei's note (ibid.), and Waley, 82 and n.2.
52. 和州, the Kao-ch'ang 高昌 of Sui and T'ang (modern Qarā-Khoja [Qoco], near Turfan). Cf. MR I, 16 n.13. On Ho-chou (~ 火州) cf. also ibid., II, 186-188 and Wang Kuo-wei's note in HYC 1, 26b.
53. 高昌, on which cf. DTKO, 101-110, and supra, n.52.
54. As already pointed out by Bretschneider (MR I, 16 n.13) and Li Wen-t'ien (HYLC, 6b), the I-chou 伊州 of T'ang (i.e., the I-wu-lu 伊吾廬 of the Han) corresponds to the modern Hami and not to Kao-ch'ang or Qarā-Khoja. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, as it also appears from a note in one of his poems (WC 12, 7b), erroneously identified I-chou with Hsi-chou 西州, which as we know was another name for Kao-ch'ang (DTKO, 107).
55. 五端, the modern Khotan. On this city cf. Barthold's article in EI II, 969-970. See also infra, n.56.
56. For the Yü-t'ien Kingdom 于闐國 of T'ang cf. DTKO, 125-128; MR II, 246 sqq.; Haneda I, 507-515.
57. Lit., "which produce black and white jade". Here the Qarā-qash and Yurung-qash rivers are probably meant

(HYLCS, 4b-5a). The area of Khotan has been for centuries an important jade-producing centre and in T'ang times the trade in jade from Khotan to China was at its height (cf. Jade, 24 and 203). For an earlier reference to a jade producing river in Khotan, cf. DTKO, 125. Cf. also the extensive note in HYLLCP, 19a-20b.

58. 不刺 = Pūlad, in the Borotalā valley. On this city cf. MR II, 41-42.
59. Lit., "three or five".
60. By Yin-shan 陰山 is here meant the T'ien-shan 天山 (see supra, n.37), and in particular the Talki Iren chain north of Kulja. Cf. MR I, 17 n.17, and HYC I, 22a. For Yeh-lā Ch'u-ts'ai's poetical recollections of the journey across these mountains see his verses ("Passing the Yin-shan - to someone else's rhymes" 過陰山和人韻 and "Using the previous rhymes again" 再用前韻 in WC 2, 4a-6a), written later in Central Asia, to the rhymes of poems by Ch'ang-ch'un (HYC I, 31a-b; 28a; 26a; 39a; 31a).
61. The Sairam lake (Sairam-nör), 50 miles north of Kulja. Describing the Sairam, Li Chih-ch'ang says that it was "about two hundred li in circumference" (HYC I, 29a; Waley, 84). On this lake cf. MR I, 69 n.167.

62. On the apple trees of the T'ien-shan mountains cf. MR I, 17 n.18.
63. 阿里馬 = Almāliq, north-west of the modern Kulja. The party of Taoists headed by Ch'ang-ch'un arrived in Almāliq on 14 October 1221. From Li Chih-ch'ang we learn that there was a Mongol civil governor (daruyaci), together with the native (Moslem) ruler. Cf. HYC 1, 29b-30a (Waley, 85 and n.3). On Almāliq cf. also MR II, 33-39 and Barthold's article in the EI II, 1113 (s.v. "Kuldja").
64. "Alma" means "apple" in Turkish (MW, 7). In Mongolian apple is called "alima" (Kow., 77b). This word occurs, for the first time I believe, in CYIY, 57b, in the same transcription a-li-ma 阿里馬 of the HYL and the HYC 1, 30a. However, it is erroneously glossed in Chinese as li 梨 "pear".
65. Li Chih-ch'ang's explanation is not as accurate: "The natives call fruit 'a-li-ma' and it is from the abundance of its fruits that the city derives its name." (Transl. Waley, 85-86; HYC 1, 30a.)
66. P'u-t'ao 蒲桃 = p'u-t'ao 葡萄 (PTKM 33, 54).
67. 亦列 = Ili.
68. 虎司窩魯朵 = Ghuz-ordo (Balāsāghūn), on the Chu river. On this city, the former capital of the Hsi-Liao

or Qarā-Khitāy, cf. KTCL 14, 3b-6b (see, however, Pelliot's remarks in TP 26, 124-125); HYC 1, 34a sqq; the important note in GCR V, 114-115; HCSL, 654-655 n.38; MR I, 18 n.22, and Barthold's article "Balāsāghūn" in EI I, 614-615.

69. On the Hsi-Liao 西遼 or Qarā-Khitāy cf. HCSL, 619-674.
70. 塔刺思 = Talas, the modern Dzhambul (Aulie-Ata) in Kazakhstan. On Talas cf. MR I, 18-19 n.23.
71. 苦盞 = Khojend, on the Syr-Darya. Cf. MR I, 19 n.24; II, 54-55.
72. 八普, possibly Bāb (~Pāp), on the Syr-Darya, between Namangan and Khojend. Cf. MR II, 53.
73. 可傘 = Kāsān, between Samarqand and Balāsāghūn. Cf. Turkestan, 164 sqq.; MR I, 19 n.24; II, 52-53; HCSL, 666 and n.147.
74. 芭攬, identified with Kand-i Bādān ("Almond Town"), the present Kan-i Badam in Ferghāna (MR I, 20 n.24). As pa-lan in Chinese means "almond", Bretschneider has stated (loc cit. and ibid., 80 n.204) that these two characters transcribe the word "bādān" which is the Persian name for almond. Laufer (Sino-Iranica, 408) has, on the other hand, suggested a derivation from a "Fu-lin word of the type palam or param (perhaps *faram, fram, or even *spram)". For a discussion on the almond



and its Chinese names, cf. *ibid.*, 405-409. See also *infra*, n.78.

75. Cf. MR I, 20 n.25, and Laufer's fundamental article on the pomegranate in Sino-Iranica, 276-287. For another reference to the pomegranate juice in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's works see WC 12, 13b.
76. See *supra*, n.74.
77. Pien-t'ao 扁桃, the Prunus Amygdalus.
78. Cf. the HYC 1, 41b: "In the first month in spring of the year jen-wu (13 February-14 March 1222), the almond trees 杷欖 began to bloom. They are like small peach trees. In the autumn the fruit is picked and eaten. It tastes like walnuts." (Waley, 96.)
79. 1 chin (pound or catty) = .5968 kilogram = 1.3129 pounds.
80. For other references to the large water-melons of Central Asia cf. PSC, 8a (MR I, 31); HYC 1, 29a (Waley, 83). Cf. also Laufer's article in Sino-Iranica, 438-445. Bretschneider's translation of this passage (MR I, 20) is incorrect, being based on Sheng Ju-tzu's text, which has 長耳僅負 = 枚 instead of 長者僅負 = 枚 (cf. HYLC, 10b).
81. 訛打刺 = Otrār (Utrār), on the right bank of the Syr-Darya. On this city cf. MR I, 20-21 n.27 et passim; II, 56-58; EI III, 1014.

82. I.e., the governor of Otrār, Īnālchik. On him cf. Turkestan, 398 and 412.
83. I.e., the Mongol court.
84. Cf. the accounts of the Otrār incident by Rashīd ad-Dīn (SL 1/2, 187-189) and Juwaynī (77-81), and the discussion by Barthold in Turkestan, 397 sqq. As correctly remarked by Bretschneider (MR I, 21 n.27), Yeh-ltū Ch'u-ts'ai's statement about the cause of the war with the Khwārazm-shāh agrees perfectly with the Persian authors.
85. 尋思干, Samarqand. In the WC the name of this city occurs in the three forms 尋思干 (4, 3b), Hsin-ssu-kan 尋斯干 (8, 15a) and Hsin-ssu-ch'ien 尋罵虔 (12, 8a). All these forms are transliterations of the Turkish name Sāmiz-kānt ("Fat City"), which is "an alternate form due to Turkic popular etymology for the older Iranian word Samarqand" (HCSL, 661 n.52). Cf. also "Sāmizkānd = Samarqand 1, 288, 11, III, 111, 5" in MW, 248, and Pelliot's note in TP 27 (1930), 196. On Samarqand cf. the article "Samarkand" in the EI IV, 129-131; Turkestan, 83-92; MR I, 21 n.29 et passim; II, 58-60 et passim.
86. See supra, n.85. In a note to his poem "Cherishing thoughts of the past - hundred rhymes sent to Chang

Min-chih" 懷古一百韻寄張敏之, Yeh-lŭ Ch'u-ts'ai says: "Hsin-ssu-ch'ien 尋罽度 (= Sāmiz-kānt, i.e., Samarqand) is the name of a city in the Western Region; the Western people say 'hsin-ssu' (=sāmiz) for 'fat' and 'ch'ien' (=kānt) for 'city'. (This city) is generally called 'Fat City'." (WC 12, 8a.)

87. Ho-chung fu 河中府 means in fact "The administration between the rivers". By rivers are meant the Zarafshān and the channels (ariqs) diverted from it. Cf. Turkes-tan, 89 and MR I, 77 n.197. In MR I, 88 n.221, Bretschneider quotes Palladius as having reported that Yeh-lŭ Ch'u-ts'ai, in one of his poems, says that the Hsi-Liao called Samarqand Ho-chung fu. Palladius is correct. The poem in question, entitled "Recording some events of my journey to the West - using (the previous) rhymes again" 再用韻紀西遊事, is found in WC 4, 3b-4a. The relevant passage is a note inserted in the first verse. Ho-chung (fu) is, moreover, the usual name for Samarqand used by Yeh-lŭ Ch'u-ts'ai in his poetical works (cf., e.g., *ibid.* 2, 7a; 4, 3b; 5, 5a). For other references to the Ho-chung fu of the Qarā-Khitāy cf. HCSL, 665-666.
88. In one of his poems Yeh-lŭ Ch'u-ts'ai says: "These eyeless coins how am I to string?" (I have used Waley's

happy rendering of this line. Cf. Waley, 107 n.2), adding in a note that the gold and copper coins in Samarqand have no hole or rim (WC 6, 5a). For other references to these coins cf. WC 12, 13b; HYC 2, 2a (Waley, 107); HSC, 9a (MR I, 128).

89. Cf. WC 12, 8a, 13b, and *infra*, n.151. Li Chih-ch'ang also admired the beautiful gardens and woods around Samarqand but, at the same time, noticed the absence of birds (HYC 1, 42; Waley, 97). As observed by Grousset (EM, 508), it is strange that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, who witnessed the conquest of Transoxania, should describe the wealth and beauty of its cities and make no allusions to the destructions caused by the Mongol army. He may be right stating that: "peut-être y a-t-il là plus qu'un parti-pris de taire les résultats néfastes de la conquête nomade: une sorte de pudeur de l'homme d'Etat devant ces destructions et comme une protestation philosophique et silencieuse". (Cf. also his remarks on p.509.) It is also possible, however, that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was not moved by the fate of the people and cities of Central Asia, as much as he was by that of his countrymen.
90. On the melons of Samarqand cf. HYC 2, 1b (Waley, 106). Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai mentions them repeatedly in his poems

(WC 4, 4a et passim). In two of them (*ibid.* 6, 3b and 12, 13b) he also compares them in size with a horse's head and, in the latter reference, with the length of the fox. I am not certain whether Bretschneider is correct in translating the term kua 瓜 as "water melons" (MR I, 21). Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai makes a clear distinction between "melons" 瓜 and "water-melons" 西瓜 in WC 12, 13b and 14a, where he describes them separately, and in the HYL the water-melons are also called 西瓜. Cf. *ibid.*, 2bl, and *supra*, n.80.

91. Shu 黍, the glutinous variety of Panicum miliaceum. Cf. MR I, 21 n.30, and Sino Iranica, 565.
92. No 糯, the glutinous variety of Oryza sativa. Cf. TH, 未集, 48a.
93. Ta-tou 大豆, Soja hispida. Cf. BS, 385-386.
94. I.e., they use irrigation channels. These are the well-known ariqs ("ariq" 沟 and 渠). On the ariqs of Samarqand cf. Turkestan, 88-89. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai mentions them again in WC 12, 13b, and Li Chih-ch'ang gives a description of them in HYC 1, 40a (Waley, 92-93). Cf. also HYC 1, 27a, 31a, 36b; 2, 9a (Waley, 80, 86, 88, 122), and HSC, 9a (MR I, 129).
95. 1 chung 鍾 = 4 pecks (斗) = 37,952 litres; 1 mou 畝 = 5,655 ares. These are Western equivalents of measures

of the Yüan dynasty. However, I am unable to say whether they correspond exactly with those mentioned in our text.

96. I.e., very strong and inebriating. For the expression Chung-shan wine 中山酒, cf. DKJ, 73.355. For Chiu-yün 九酒, cf. ibid., 167.28-29. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was very fond of the wine produced in Transoxania and there are frequent references to it in his poems. Cf. for instance the one entitled "Recording some events of my journey to the West - using (the previous) rhymes again" 再用韻紀西遊事 in WC 4, 3b-4a, which says:

The trees and flowers of Samarqand
Blanket the hills in spring.

Thoroughly enjoying the wind from the East,
I take off the jewelled saddle (and let my horse
graze).

My late season melons can last me
Far into the winter.

The autumn fruit I stored up
Will last to the end of spring.

Since I savour almonds of my own
I do not have to haggle over their price.

Since I ferment grapes of my own
I do not pay the tax (on wine).

I often feel that, though incapable,
I am still quite fortunate:

I had to stay behind in distant regions
But my meals there were excellent.



- For references to grape-wine in the accounts of XIII century Chinese travellers, cf. HYC I, 26a-b, 36b, 40b et passim (Waley, 81, 88, 94 et passim); PSC, 8a (MR I, 31); HSC, 9a (MR I, 127). For an extensive treatment of the subject, cf. Sino-Iranica, 220-245, and the works quoted in the Stele, n.171. Cf. also HCSL, 661 n.54.
97. As remarked by Bretschneider (MR I, 21 n.31), Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai saw the Morus nigra native of Transoxania, which is not fit for the silkworm to feed on. However, mulberry trees resembling those of China (Morus alba or bombysis) were noticed by Wu-ku-sun Chung-tuan 吾古孫仲端 (PSC, 8a; MR I, 31). On the Morus alba, which spread from China to India, Iran and Europe cf. Sino-Iranica, 582. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai stresses again the scarcity of silkworms and mulberry trees in Central Asia in WC 12, 13b. Cf. also HCSL, 157 n.
98. Ch'ü-shun 屈昫. On cotton and the various names given to it by the Chinese cf. the important note in HCSL, 155-158, and Sino-Iranica, 491-492 n.4.
99. Cf. WC 11, 18b; 12, 13b; HYC 2, 1b-2a; PSC, 8a (MR I, 31).
100. 蒲華 = Bukhārā. On this city cf. the article "Bukhārā" by Barthold in EI I, 776-783; Turkestan, 100-112 et passim; MR II, 61-63 and 271-273.

101. 梭里檀 = Sultān. On this title cf. EI IV, 543-545.
The same transcription is found in Stele, 11a7.
102. 謀連魯蠻 = Musulman. On the transcriptions of
"Musulman" in Chinese cf. HJAS 14 (1951), 506 n.44.
103. Bretschneider misunderstood this passage and translated it as follows: "West of Sun-sz'-kan (Samarkand) six to seven hundred li is the city of P'u hua. It abounds in every kind of products, and it is richer than Samarkand. There is the residence of the so-li-t'an of the Mou-su-lu-man (Mussulman) people. The cities of K'u-djan (Khodjend) and O-ta-la (Otrar), and others, all depended on P'u hua." (MR I, 22.) As regards Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's statement, we know that after 1212 Samarqand had in fact practically become the capital of the Khwārazm-shāh Muhammad (Gurgānj, the official capital, being under his mother's rule) and that he had built there a palace. Cf. Turkestan, 366. Barthold (ibid.) says that Muhammad "began the construction of a 'lofty edifice', probably a palace" in Samarqand. This "lofty edifice" was the Khwārazm-shāh's "new palace" of which Li Chih-ch'ang speaks, and which after the conquest of the city by the Mongols, had for some time become the residence of I-la (Yeh-lü) A-hai, the governor appointed by Cinggis Qan. Cf. HYC 1, 40a (Waley, 93).

104. 阿謀, the Amu(-Darya).
105. It is possible that when Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai wrote this account (1228), the Amu-Darya had already diverted its course on the left to the Sārī-Kamish and found its way to the Caspian Sea through the channel of the Uzboi (cf. EI I, 341). I think, however, that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai here means the lake Aral, as the description of places in the HYL seems to refer, in general, to conditions prior to the Mongol invasion.
106. 五里提, the Persian Gurgānj, renamed by the Mongols "Ürgenc. The old city was situated near the modern Kunya-Urgenc. Cf. Barthold's notice in EI II, 183-184, and *ibid.* I, 341. Cf. also Turkestan, 433 sqq.
107. Turkān-Khātun, the mother of Muḥammad Khwārazm-shāh, resided in Gurgānj, whose rich province was under her rule. On her cf. Turkestan, 349 et passim.
108. 班 = Balkh. For this identification cf. MR I, 93 n.241 and HYC 2, 3b. On Balkh cf. EI I, 622-623. The position of the city given by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is however incorrect, Balkh being actually south of the Amu. The character 西 must be a mistake for 南.
109. 博, probably the same place mentioned in the HYC 2, 3b, as T'uan-pa-la 團八刺. This has been identified by Bretschneider (MR I, 93 n.240) with the fortress

Kerduan which "according to Rashid, offered resistance to the Mongols for a whole month (D'Ohsson, i.294)." The relevant passage in the HM reads as follows: "La forteresse de Kerdouan l'arrêta (i.e., Cinggis Qan - I.R.) un mois par sa résistance; mais elle fut détruite avec tous ceux qu'elle renfermait." D'Ohsson (ibid., 296 n.1) quotes as his sources for these and subsequent events the Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-gushāy and the Jāmi'at-Tāwārīkh. The name which D'Ohsson read as "Kerdouan" (كردوس) occurs in one of the MSS. of the Ta'rīkh-i... and not, as stated by Bretschneider, in Rashīd ad-Dīn's work. In other MSS. of the Ta'rīkh-i... we find variant readings (cf. Turkestan, 443 n.4), and the one accepted by Barthold (ibid.) and Boyle (Juwaynī, 132) is Gurziwān (گوزیان) (Guzarwān), which is that given in the printed edition. Barthold suggests that this place was probably the fortress of Rang in Gurziwān. In view of the above, Bretschneider's identification of T'uan-pa-la with Kerduan must be taken with great reserve.

110. Again a mistake for 南 "southwards".
111. 印度, India. Cf. the Stele, n.97. The epithet "black" undoubtedly refers to the dark skin of the natives. Cf. the PSC, 7b: "There are the Hui-ho of Yin-tu, black in colour and good natured."

112. 佛國 = 佛土 Skr. Buddhakṣetra, i.e., the land of Buddha's birth, India. Cf. BDJ 1554c; DCBT, 226b. By the script of the Land of Buddha Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai means the Devanāgarī script. In Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's time, north India was ruled by the Moslem Slave Kings of Delhi, whose language and writing were Persian. However, although Persian enjoyed the prestige of being the court language, the common language of the country continued to be Hindī. Cf. EI IV, 1024a.
113. Lit., "a border-land people".
114. See *infra*, n.117.
115. The Indus.
116. I.e., the Arabian Sea.
117. On the basis of Sheng's abridged text of the HYL, Ting Ch'ien stated that the region described by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai must be Kashmir (YYL, 7b). Chang Hsiangwen, on the other hand, held the opinion that it was Persia and Arabia (HYLCS, 10b). Bretschneider rendered the passage in HYLC, 15a: "Farther on, direct west (mistake for south), one reaches the city of the black Yin-du", stating in a note that it is difficult to say which city of Hindustān is meant, as "Ch'u-ts'ai's accounts of the countries known to him only by hearsay are very confused". (MR I, 23 and n.39.) Now, from

the fuller description of the complete text, we are able to say that the region called by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai "black Yin-tu (India)" is, in all probability, the region of Peshāwar. Its position north of the Indus and on the northern frontier of India, the absence of snow (the statement that snow is unknown to the natives is, I think, incorrect), the extreme summer heat, the wheat and sugar-cane, Hindu religious practices, etc., all indicate this region. One point deserves attention. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai says that the natives, when questioned about the Land of the Buddha, point towards the south-eastern corner of their country. This is perfectly correct, as the local people would no doubt consider as the Land of the Buddha the provinces where Buddha was born, lived and preached, and which, in relation to them, are in fact to the south-east. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, however, regarded the Land of the Buddha as India proper, hence the confusion which led him to believe that the region in question is not exactly in northern India.

118. 可弗义, i.e., Qipchāq. The territory described by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai as the country of K'o-fu-ch'a is undoubtedly the Qipchāq steppe north of the Caspian Sea. K'o-fu-ch'a, as remarked by Pelliot (JA 15 [1920],

149 n.1), is the Chinese transcription of the name {yfsā} (=Qipchāq), which appears for the first time in this form (in -f-) in the IX century. The transcription K'o-fu-ch'a not only appears in the PWL (3, 766b), obviously taken from the HYL (cf. Pelliot, loc. cit.), but it is also found in YS 149, 12a (biography of Kuo Pao-yü). It also occurs in the FTLTTT 22, 719a.

Apparently, V. Minorsky contested Bretschneider's identification of K'o-fu-ch'a with Qipchāq in a note to his translation of the Hudud al-'Ālam (Gibb Memorial Series, 1937). Unfortunately, I could not obtain this work and am therefore unable to express any opinion.

On the Qipchāq, beside the essential biography in ES, 241 n.2, cf. HTAC, 88-91; Turkestan, 45 et passim; HCG, 96 sqq.

119. This is mead (cf. MR I, 23-24 n.41). A very common beverage in Western Asia and Russia, mead has never been a popular drink in China, where it was used chiefly for curative purposes. On the preparation of Chinese mead (蜜酒) cf. the KCTSCC 698, 8b1.

120. Yang-p'i 羊脾. The HYLC, 17a, has yang-po 羊膊 "mutton chop". In the account of the Ku-li-kan in the HTS, which Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had in mind when he wrote this



passage (see *infra*, n.121), we find yang-chia 羊胛, i.e., the top part of the sheep's back.

121. In the account of the Ku-li-kan 骨利幹 in HTS 217B, 9b, we read: "The Ku-li-kan tribe resides to the north of the Han-hai...further north crossing the (Han-)hai, the days are long and the nights short. If one cooks a sheep's back at sunset by the time it is done it is already clear in the east." The expression yang-chia-shu 羊胛熟 has later come to indicate a short duration of time. Cf. TH, 未集, 135d.
122. As already remarked by Bretschneider, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's identification of the territory of the Qipchāq with that of the Ku-li-kan (Quriqan or Qoriqan; on this tribe cf. DTKO, 87-88 n.3, 91, 98 n.2), is wrong. The Quriqan (Qoriqan), of whom very little is known, apparently lived in the Central Siberian Plateau. Cf. *ibid.*, 98 n.2, and MR I, 24 n42. For a possible identification of the Quriqan (Qoriqan) of the T'ang with the Quri (Qori) of Rashīd ad-Dīn (SL 1/1, *passim*), and with the Qoruqan (Qoryan) of the Mongol period cf. HCG, 63-64, 71. Bretschneider's translation of yang-chia 羊胛 with "a sheep's liver" (*ibid.*) is incorrect.
123. Here ends the text of the incomplete HYL. Bretschneider has omitted to translate this last paragraph.

124. This is not the real Jupiter, but the invisible "counter-Jupiter" which the Chinese imagined to move in the opposite direction to the real planet. On this theory cf. Needham III, 402.
125. 泥灘, a name for the cyclic years which have 申 in them (Giles, 1206a). On the phrase 歲在泥灘 and the determination of the cycle, cf. L. de Saussure, TP 15 (1914), 678 sqq.
126. Cinggis Qan was back at his ordos in Mongolia in 1225, probably in the spring. Cf. MWESC 3, 29b; Turkestan, 456.
127. I.e., the imperial army. Cf. TH, 子集, 338c.
128. On Cinggis Qan's campaign against Hsi-Hsia cf. GCR IV, 279 sqq.; V, 151 sqq.; EM, 268-277; Martin, 283-308.
129. Lit., "the solitary fellow". For the expression tu-fu 獨夫 cf. the Shu ching (Legge IV, 296).
130. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai enumerates here some of the principal cities in Kan-su and Ning-hsia conquered by the Mongols and seen by him during the Hsi-Hsia campaign in 1226-1227. Cf. the Stele, n.102.
131. Lit., "the sky limits and the sea corners" 天涯海角. For this expression cf. DKJ, 5833.284.
132. Meng-tzu (Legge II, 470). Legge rendered this: "One's position alters the air, just as the nurture affects the body."

133. 泰山, the sacred mountain in Shan-tung.
134. 滄海, same as Po-hai 渤海, the modern Gulf of Chihli. On Ts'ang-hai cf. DKJ, 18007.5.
135. 崑崙, the Kunlun range of our maps.
136. 沙磧, see supra, n.38.
137. In Wan-sung's preface to the WC, we read (2a): "He (i.e., Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai) even accompanied the Emperor in the expedition against the West. For over sixty thousand li, he passed through hardship and the distress of going to war, but his spirits were not lowered in the slightest. He crossed the K'un-lun and gazed at the Han-hai, but his spirits did not soar. A guest asked him for the reason, and he said that it was due to the strength (gained from) his training in the vast expanse of the Law."
138. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai expressed this view more than once in his writings. Cf., e.g., WC 8, 19b and 13, 22a sqq.
139. I.e., Ch'ang-ch'un.
140. I.e., the Tao Te ching.
141. Liu Wen 劉溫, also known as Liu Chung-lu 劉仲祿 (Chung-lu was his courtesy name). On him cf. Waley, 38-39; HYC 1, 2a-b; TP 26 (1929), 173. Demiéville (Oriente Poliano, 198) refers to him as "un médecin taoïste". I am not certain whether Liu Wen was a Taoist or not, as this does not appear from our texts.

142. The decree summoning Ch'ang-ch'un is a letter in classical Chinese, probably drafted by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, the text of which has been preserved in the CKL (10, 151), as well as on two stelae which are found in the Chung-yüeh Temple 中嶽廟 near Teng-feng hsien 登封縣, in Ho-nan, and in the Wan-shou Palace 萬壽宮 in Chou-chih hsien 整屋縣, Shen-hsi. The letter, dated 14 June 1219, was taken personally to Ch'ang-ch'un by Liu Wen. For details cf. the HYC 1, 2a sqq. (Waley, 48 sqq.). Bretschneider translated it from the CKL in MR I, 37-39, and Chavannes from the stele of the Chung-yüeh Temple in TP 9 (1908), 299-302. The text of the stele in the Wan-shou Palace is found in YTPHPCL, 115. It differs slightly from that of the CKL.
143. 德興, the modern Cho-lu hsien 涿鹿縣 in Chahar. Ch'ang-ch'un arrived in Te-hsing in June 1220. Cf. HYC 1, 8a (Waley, 56).
144. This is the essence of Ch'ang-ch'un's letter to Cinggis Qan. This letter was actually written by Ch'ang-ch'un when he was still in Yen-ching, in the month of April, as we can see from its date at the end ("third month of the year of the dragon", i.e., April 1220), and also from the HYC 1, 6b (Waley, 54-55). The complete text

of the letter, preserved in the CKL (10, 152), has been translated by Bretschneider in MR I, 40-41. A translation by Chavannes of the text engraved on the stele in the Hung-fu Palace 洪福宮 near Teng-feng hsien (see supra, n.142) is found in TP 9 (1908), 303-305.

145. The text of this document, a letter similar in style to the preceding ones, is found in the HYC, App. 1a. It was first translated by Palladius in the "Works of the Pekin Ecclesiastical Mission" IV (1866), 374-375, and later by Chavannes in TP 9 (1908), 305-308, from the stele in the Chung-yüeh Temple (see supra, n.142). No date is given in the HYC text; the stelae in the Chung-yüeh Temple and in the Wan-shou Palace (the latter's text is published in YTPHPCL, 116), only give the day ("the fourteenth"). Chavannes (op. cit., 305 and n.2), followed by Waley, 158, stated that this letter must be dated the tenth month on the basis of references to it contained in the HYC. From the HYC (1, 12a; Waley, 59-60) it appears, however, that the letter was received by Ch'ang-ch'un in the tenth month (November); thus the "fourteenth day" cannot possibly refer to this month.

146. On 17 May 1222 (cf. HYC 1, 45b; Waley, 100). As shown by Iwamura (cf. his article "Tōrikan-kō"), Cinggis Qan's encampment was at that time near the present Qunduz in NE Afghanistan.
147. Ch'ang-ch'un returned to Samarqand on 15 June 1222. Cf. HYC 1, 46b-47a (Waley, 103-104).
148. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, in answer to Ch'ang-ch'un, points out that it is not up to them to decide which of their respective faiths is superior, as the position of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism has already been determined in the previous dynasties. According to the traditional ranking of the Three Faiths, Buddhism stands higher than Taoism and not the opposite, as Ch'ang-ch'un's remark would imply.
149. This quotation is from Meng-tzu (Legge II, 255).
150. In Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's collected works there are forty-five pieces written "to the rhymes" of poems by Ch'ang-ch'un. They are listed in NP, App. 3b. Ch'ang-ch'un's name, however, does not appear in any of them: instead we find the two characters ho jen 和人 "to the rhymes of someone else", or the name of a different person, such as Wang Chün-yü 王君玉. (cf. WC 2, 7a-8b; 5, 7b-8b). The substitution has been purposely made by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai who, though displeased later with

Ch'ang-ch'un, did not feel like destroying the poems altogether. Cf. Ch'en Yüan, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai fu tzu...", 1009. This fact was not discovered, as Waley (28 n.1) stated, by Wang Kuo-wei but by Li Wen-t'ien. Cf. Li's colophon in WCa, 107.

151. These are the famous gardens of Samarqand (see supra, n.89). They are often mentioned in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's poems to the rhymes of poems by Ch'ang-ch'un. Cf. WC 5, 6b, 7b-10a. From these poems, as well as from the HYC 1, 42, it appears that the gardens usually visited by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Ch'ang-ch'un were west of the city.
152. According to the HYC, Cinggis Qan set 24 June (1222) as the day on which he would question Ch'ang-ch'un on the Way. Shortly afterwards he was compelled to postpone the meeting to 5 November (HYC 1, 46a; Waley, 102). The meeting or rather the meetings, took place earlier than the appointed date: Ch'ang-ch'un delivered his first sermon on 21 October, when the emperor was on his way back to the north, somewhere between the Amu-Darya and Samarqand. A second sermon was delivered on the twenty-fifth and a third one on the twenty-ninth, after which Cinggis Qan, pleased with what he had heard from the Master, "gave his attendants (左右) the

order to make a record of it and, furthermore, to write it down in Chinese characters, that it might be preserved from oblivion". Later, during the rest of the journey that Ch'ang-ch'un made with Cinggis Qan, i.e., till the middle of April 1223, "he constantly expounded to the Emperor on the operations of the Way". (HYC 2, 5a-5b; Waley, 112-113.) One of these discourses or sermons, which is particularly interesting as it embodies the gist of Ch'ang-ch'un's philosophy, is the one preached on 20 November 1222, which has been handed down to us under the title of Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui lu 玄風慶會錄. It is the more interesting as this is the only one we possess, no record being extant of the sermons previously delivered by the Taoist Master.

The HFCHL was published in 1232, which is the date of its anonymous preface, and it was later included in the TT. It is also listed in Ch'ien Ta-hsin's bibliographical table of the Yüan dynasty (PYSIWC, 8422a). Its preface, unfortunately, does not provide us with any detailed information as to the history of the document, except that the emperor ordered his personal attendant (近侍) to make a record of Ch'ang-ch'un's words and keep it in the archives; ten years later it was decided to publish it so that the whole empire could be informed about it.

The "personal attendant" who, by imperial command, took down Ch'ang-ch'un's discourse was Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, as we learn from the second line of the HFCHL. From the following lines we also learn that on the sixteenth day of the tenth month in winter of the year jen-wu (20 November 1222, not the nineteenth as stated by Waley) Cinggis Qan was hunting south of the Snowy Mountains (see below) in the Western Region, and that, on the evening of this day, Ch'ang-ch'un was invited to speak at the imperial camp "on the way to prolong life" (HFCHL, 1a). After this short introduction comes the text of the sermon, a summary of which is given in Waley, 21-25. (By Snowy Mountains 雪山 Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai means, I think, the mountain range bordering the Zarafshan, north-east of Samarqand. Ch'ang-ch'un and his party crossed these mountains at the end of November 1221 on their way to Samarqand. Li Chih-ch'ang describes them in the HYC 1, 39a, as "great snowy mountains" 大雪山. We know that in November 1222, Cinggis Qan's encampment was at twenty li east of Samarqand. Cf. HYC 2, 6a and Waley, 114).

As there is no trace of recorded sermons previous to the one in the HFCHL, and as it is only to this that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai refers in the HYL, I am inclined to

believe that Cinggis Qan's order to write down Ch'ang-ch'un's words also in Chinese was put into effect for the first time on 20 November 1222. I also believe, judging from the contents of the sermon and from the fact that it is not mentioned in the HYC, that this was nothing but a repetition and a summing-up of the ideas that Ch'ang-ch'un had already expressed in his three previous sermons. I have no doubt that the theme of "how to prolong life", in which Cinggis Qan was chiefly concerned, was one of the first (if not the first) with which Ch'ang-ch'un had to deal. Also, the account on Taoist cosmogony, Ch'ang-ch'un's personal history and the sketch of Taoist history that we find in the sermon, would have all been subjects treated at the beginning of the Master's exposition of the Way, and not, for the first time, as late as 20 November.

153. Cf. HFCHL, 5a sqq.

154. 林靈素, a famous Taoist mystic and magician who found favour with emperor Hui-tsung 徽宗 of Sung (r. 1101-1125). His biography is in SS 462, 12b-14a. On him cf. also CBD, no.1257 and Wieger II, 1611-1612.

155. Shen-hsiao kung 神霄宮. Shen-hsiao is the highest of the "Nine Heavens" 九霄. The original story told by Ch'ang-ch'un to Cinggis Qan is the following:

"Formerly, as the August Emperor of Sung (i.e., Hui-tsung) was essentially a virtuous man, the Holy Immortal Lin Ling-su took him on a supernatural journey. Having ascended to Heaven, as he entered a Palace which bore the name of Empyrean, the Emperor became insensible to hunger, thirst, cold or heat, and wandered about at leisure, happy and free from worries. He wanted to stay longer in it and had no desire to go back among men, but Lin Ling-su urged him saying: 'Your Majesty, Heaven has decreed that mankind should be ruled by the Son of Heaven. Your task is not yet completed: how can you remain here?' Thus, the Emperor returned among the mortals." (HFCHL, 6a.)

156. Wang Hai-feng 王害風. His real name was Wang Che 王嘉 (H. Chung-yang 重陽; d.1170), the founder of the Ch'üan-chen sect. On him cf. Waley, 13-15; PWL 3, 766a; CCTCYL 1, 10a-27a; Ch'en Yüan, "Nan-Sung...", 11 sqq.; Sun K'e-k'uan, "Ch'üan-chen...", 309 sqq.
157. I.e., Ma Yu 馬鈺 (H. Tan-yang 丹陽; d.1183). He was Wang Che's senior disciple. On him cf. the PWL 3, 766a-b; CCTCYL 1, 27a-32b.
158. I.e., the state of ecstasy and visions cherished by the Taoist mystics.

159. In Waley, 28, we read: "On November 19th (an error for 20th; see supra, n.152 - I.R.) of the same year Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, as part of his secretarial duties, was obliged to write down, and, no doubt, to put into final literary form, one of the Master's discourses. To this work he prefixed, as he was bound to do, a short note (five lines) describing the circumstances under which the discourse was delivered. There is nothing in these lines to indicate either partiality or hostility to Ch'ang-ch'un's doctrines. The Pien Wei Lu says that on that occasion Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was asked whether he would care to compose a verse-eulogy summarizing Ch'ang-ch'un's speech: 'The Secretary (Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai) maintained a scornful silence; but those who were in the know were convulsed with amusement at such an idea'." Here Waley, who could not consult the HYL (cf. Waley, 27 n.1), has been led astray by the PWL. The PWL gives only an extract of the HYL and often the passages which are quoted can be fully understood only if one knows the original text. The passage in the PWL which misled Waley should be read as follows: "Moreover, he (i.e., Ch'ang-ch'un) asked Chan-jan chü-shih about the meaning of the Eulogy on Kuan-yin. The Chief of the Secretarial Council (i.e., Yeh-lü Ch'u-

ts'ai) maintained a scornful silence; but when well-informed people heard about it, they were all convulsed with laughter." (PWL 3, 766b.) If we compare this quotation with the original, we see that the former is really made up of two distinct passages. The phrase about the well-informed people etc. ends, in the HYL, Yeh-lt̄ Ch'u-ts'ai's reply to the guest's questions about Ch'ang-ch'un's strange utterances, while the previous phrase, dealing with the "Eulogy on Kuan-yin", is taken from Yeh-lt̄ Ch'u-ts'ai's reply to the next question put by his guest. Thus, there is no question of Yeh-lt̄ Ch'u-ts'ai writing a verse-eulogy summarizing Ch'ang-ch'un's speech. This passage has also misled Wang Kuo-wei, who wrote the NP before seeing the complete HYL. After quoting the title of Yeh-lt̄ Ch'u-ts'ai's poem "In praise of the image of Kuan-yin in Li Tsun-ying's collection" 贊李俊英所藏觀音像 (WC 2, 14b), Wang adds in a note that this is probably the "Eulogy on Kuan-yin" mentioned in the PWL (NP, 21a).

160. 磻溪集, a collection of poems by Ch'ang-ch'un in six chüan, the first preface of which is dated 1186. This work has been preserved in the TT (友上, ts'e 797).

161. This statement is found in I-la Lin's 移刺霖 preface to the PCC, dated 1206. The text (*ibid.*, Pref.4a) says literally: "three thousand sentences daily". This is, of course, not only indicative of strong memory but of a vast knowledge. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's guest wishes to know whether Ch'ang-ch'un was a well-read man.
162. 播芳文粹. I have failed to find any reference to this anthology elsewhere.
163. 黃魯直, i.e., Huang T'ing-chien 黃庭堅 (1045-1105). On this great scholar of the Sung dynasty cf. SS 444, 1a-2b; WHC, no.2155; CBD, no.873.
164. In YCHHSWC 14, 15b-17a, there is a "Eulogy on Kuan-shih-yin in six stanzas" 觀世音贊六首, which however, does not contain these words. They must come from a eulogy not included in the YCHHSWC and which, to the best of my knowledge, is now lost. The allusion in the eulogy is clearly to case 89 of the PYL. The following is a translation of the case itself: "Yün-yen 雲巖 asked Tao-wu 道吾: 'Why does the Bodhisattva of Great Compassion (i.e., Kuan-yin) have so many hands and eyes?' (Tao-)wu replied: 'It is like a man who, with his hand behind him, gropes for the pillow in the middle of the night.' (Yün-)yen said: 'I

understand.' (Tao-)wu said: 'What is it that you understand?' (Yün-)yen replied: 'That the entire body is (made of) hands and eyes.' (Tao-)wu said: 'This statement of yours is indeed a fine statement, but only eight tenths to the point.' (Yün-)yen said: 'What would you, my senior brother-monk, say?' (Tao-)wu replied: 'That the whole body is (made of) hands and eyes.'" (PYL 9, 213c.) On Yün-yen and Tao-wu cf. CTL 14, 314-315 and Suzuki II, 219 n.1. The Kuan-yin referred to in the above case is the "Kuan-yin with a thousand arms and a thousand eyes" 千手千眼觀音 (Sahasrabhujasahasranetra), on which cf. BDJ, 1041a-b, and DCBT, 81b-82a. For the continuation of this note see the Addenda.

165. 山語, i.e., (Ts'ao-)shan's (曹)山 words quoted above (n.164).
166. Lit., "peeped through the fence". For another occurrence of the expression 窺...之藩籬 cf. DKJ, 32346.77(2).
167. I.e., Bodhidharma's doctrine, in other words Ch'an Buddhism. For the expression tsu-tao 祖道 cf. BDJ, 1087c and 1085b-c (s.v. 祖師). Cf. also WMK, 297c (Dumoulin, 49).
168. I.e., any other kind of ascetic.

169. On 12 April 1223. Cf. HYC 2, 8a (Waley, 119). Barthold (Turkestan, 456), following Bretschneider (MR I, 97), erroneously gives 11 April as the day of Ch'ang-ch'un's departure.
170. For the text of the decree cf. HYC, App. 1b, and YTPHPCL, 1. Chavannes' translation of it is found in TP 5 (1904), 368-371. The original document bore the imperial seal (as it appears from the two characters 御寶 at the end of the text and from the HYC 2, 7b), which, as it was customary, was placed on the date. In this case the seal must have covered the day, as the date we have is incomplete ("Third month of the year of the sheep kuei-wei" 癸未羊兒年三月). Cf. TP 5, 368 n.3.

The following is the account of the circumstances leading to the granting of this decree as related in the HYC: "On the seventh day of the third month (9 April), (the Master) again took leave. The Emperor offered him as a present oxen, horses and other things, but the Master refused them all saying that he only required the post-riders. The Emperor asked A-li-hsien the interpreter: 'How many are the Holy Immortal's disciples in China?' (A-li-hsien) replied: 'They are very many. At the time the Holy Immortal was coming

(from China), when we were at the Lung-yang Temple in Te-hsing, I saw the government officials who were pressing for the "ch'ai-fa" (tax).' The Emperor directed that all his disciples should be exempted from it, and conferred an edict (to this effect), sealing it with the imperial seal." (HYC 2, 7b) Thus, the decree must have been issued between April 9 and 12. The following is the translation of it by Chavannes:

"L'Empereur Tchinghiz. Edit. Il est dit ceci aux fonctionnaires de tous lieux: Dans tous les édifices religieux et habitations où on pratique la conduite (conforme aux enseignements de la religion) et qui dépendent du solitaire divin K'ieou, sont des hommes qui passent les jours à réciter les textes des livres saints et à invoquer le Ciel; ce sont des gens qui demandent pour l'Empereur une longévité de dix mille fois dix mille années. C'est pourquoi, toutes les réquisitions ou les taxes grandes ou petites, j'interdis qu'on les leur applique. Puisque ceux qui dépendent du Solitaire divin K'ieou sont des gens qui sont sortis du monde, leurs édifices religieux et habitations en tous lieux, j'ordonne qu'on les exempte des réquisitions et des taxes. En-dehors (de ces gens-là) les hommes qui se prétendraient faussement sortis du monde



et qui par cette vaine raison s'arrogeraient indûment (le droit d'être exemptés des) réquisitions, on les dénoncera aux magistrats qui les puniront. Ceux qui président aux décisions judiciaires, quand ils auront reçu (ces instructions) ainsi conçues, ne devront ni s'en écarter, ni commettre des fautes. Ce certificat ainsi délivré doit parvenir à destination afin qu'on en fasse usage. Qu'on le remette aux disciples du Solitaire divin K'ieou pour qu'ils l'aient en leur possession. - Ce certificat fera que les hommes qui dépendent du solitaire divin K'ieou, qui sont des gens sortis du monde, et qui avec austérité dirigent les temples, soient entièrement affranchis des réquisitions et des taxes. Qu'on se conforme à cela. -

Année kouei-wei (1223), du mouton, troisième mois (sceau imperial) jour."

The type of fiscal obligations from which Ch'ang-ch'un and his followers were exempted by Cinggis Qan deserves some comment. In the HYC (see above) it is stated that they were to be exempted from the ch'ai-fa 差發, i.e., from all those obligations, tributes and levies, that the Mongol rulers exacted from their Chinese subjects. The text of the decree quoted above confirms the HYC. In it we find in fact the order that

Ch'ang-ch'un's clergy should not be subject to the ch'ai-fa or any other tax, great or small. This statement is repeated several times throughout the decree. Now, turning to the HYL, we note that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai uses the terms ch'ai-i 差役 or simply i 役 when referring to these obligations. The usual meaning of i 役 is, of course, "corvée", and in the compound ch'ai-i, which Schurmann translated as "rendering of service", it often occurs in the administrative literature of the Yüan. Cf. HJAS 14 (1951), 293 sqq. On the other hand, the ch'ai-i and i (no doubt short for ch'ai-i) of our text cannot but refer to the same obligations mentioned in the HYC and in the decree of 1223, as it also appears from another passage of the HYL (8b3-4). Thus, both these terms are here used as synonyms of ch'ai-fa and I have consequently translated them by "levies". For another example of this usage cf. the CCNP of 1271, where (19a) the Taoist Li Tao-ch'ien refers also to the obligations from which Ch'ang-ch'un was exempted as ch'ai-i.

171. We do not possess the text of the memorial in which, according to the HYL, Ch'ang-ch'un requested the emperor to grant him the authority ("the tally and seal") to issue Master's titles and to name (or rename)

temples. Already as early as October 1223 Ch'ang-ch'un had been entrusted by Cinggis Qan with "the general direction of all the clergy in the empire" (cf. the decree that Cinggis remitted verbally to Ch'ang-ch'un through his envoy A-li-hsien, dated 19 October 1223, which is included in the HYC, App. 1b-2a. Chavannes gave a translation of it in TP 5, 372). Later, when Ch'ang-ch'un was back in Yen-ching, Cinggis Qan urged him twice to establish himself wherever he would prefer to live. The Military Commander of Yen-ching, Shih-mo Hsien-te-pu (on whom see the Stele, n.108), after having asked him to take up the direction of the T'ien-ch'ang Temple 天長觀, offered him part of the grounds of the former palace of the Chin emperors to erect a Taoist monastery there. (The full text of a letter from Hsien-te-pu, which is dated August-September 1226, presenting to Ch'ang-ch'un part of the gardens of the imperial palace, is also found in the HYC, App. 3a). The emperor was kept informed, and on 10 June 1227 Wang Chih-ming 王志明, one of Ch'ang-ch'un's disciples, returned from Kan-su, where Cinggis Qan was at that time engaged in the campaign against the Hsi-Hsia, with orders from the emperor to the effect that "the Island of the Immortals 仙島 in the Northern Palace

should become the Wan-an Palace 萬安宮, and that the T'ien-ch'ang Temple should be called the Ch'ang-ch'un Palace 長春宮. By Imperial Order, all the good people who had renounced the world (to take up monastic life) in the empire should be subject (to Ch'ang-ch'un). Moreover, he was granted the Golden Tiger Tablet. All the affairs of the Taoist community were to be under the Holy Immortal's control". (HYC 2, 13b, 14a, 14b, 15a, 19a-b.) This is the last communication that Cinggis Qan sent to Ch'ang-ch'un and, in the second part, it is nothing but a confirmation of the decree of 19 October 1223. On 8 August 1227, a few days before his death, Ch'ang-ch'un is reported to have said to his disciples: "Tan-yang once prophesised to me, saying: 'After my death our religion will see a great triumph. All parts of the world, far and near on every side, will become homes of the Tao. You shall witness this. Our temples will be re-named by Imperial Command, and you yourself will preside over a huge monastery. Moreover a messenger will come bearing a tally and laying upon you the charge of all religious matters. That will be the moment at which the fame of your good works will be at its height; and it will be also the moment of your Return to Rest.' Now, all

Tan-yang's words are fulfilled, like the joining of a severed tally. And indeed I have no cause for anxiety, with such excellent followers of our Faith ready here and elsewhere to take control." (Transl. Waley, 148; HYC 2, 20a.) Thus, in the case of the "Island of the Immortals" (i.e., the Ch'iung-hua-tao 瓊花島) and of the T'ien-ch'ang Temple, the renaming appears to have been authorized by the emperor. At the same time we know from the PWL 3, 766c sqq., that extensive renaming of Buddhist temples taken over by Taoists was going on in the northern provinces: most of these cases were no doubt abuses of power that the Taoists perpetrated on the strength of Cinggis Qan's edicts, which gave Ch'ang-ch'un the supreme authority not only over the Taoist church, but over all those in the empire who had taken up religious life, Buddhists included. In these exploits the Taoists apparently made extensive use of the tablet-tally, i.e., of the tablet of authority given by Cinggis Qan to Ch'ang-ch'un's envoy Wang Chih-ming in 1227 for the use of the official post-service.

172. I.e., the Golden Tiger Tablet 金虎牌 given by Cinggis Qan to Wang Chih-ming. See *supra*, n.171. On these tablets cf. the Stele, n.269.

173. In the PWL 3, 766c, his full name is given as Wang Po-p'ing 王伯平. This, however, must be a mistake for Wang Chih-ming. On Wang Chih-ming cf. Ch'en Yüan, "Nan-Sung...", 15-16.
174. In the PWL 3, 766c, we read: "His Excellency Ch'iu went in person to Chi-chou 荊州 (modern Chi-hsien 荊縣 in Ho-pei) where he displayed the special Imperial Edict, with the intent to pursue and get hold of the monk Pen-wu Hst'uan 本無玄 of Kan-ch'üan 甘泉, hoping that he would submit himself. At the end he did not succeed." We know from the HYC 2, 16b, that in the first month of the year ping-hst'ü (30 January-17 February 1226), the Taoist community of the P'an-shan 盤山 (mountain) asked Ch'ang-ch'un to perform the Service of the Yellow Book for three days and nights. As the P'an-shan is 25 li north-west of Chi-hsien, it is most probably to this trip that the PWL refers. At Chung-p'an 中盤, on the P'an-shan, there was formerly a Buddhist temple, the Fa-hsing ssu 法興寺, which was partly destroyed by the Mongol army in 1215-1216. A few monks remained there headed by Abbot Chen 振, a spiritual heir of the Venerable Master Pen-wu 本無 of Hai-shan 海山 (modern Lu-lung hsien 盧龍縣 in Ho-pei). Later, a group of Taoists belonging to the

Ch'üan-chen sect took possession of the temple, destroyed the Buddhist images, and renamed it the Hsi-yün Temple 棲雲觀. Cf. PWL 3, 770a, and Wang Kuo-wei's note in HYC 2, 16b-17b. It is not clear what Ch'ang-ch'un actually did when he was in Chi-chou, but it would appear from our sources that he made an unsuccessful attempt to force the Ch'an Master Hsüan of Hai-shan (Kan-ch'üan in the PWL; Pen-wu is his Buddhist style) under his authority on the strength of the decrees issued by Cinggis Qan. The "destruction" of which Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai speaks must refer to the demolition of some of the temple buildings (in the process of re-adaptation) and the obliteration of the Buddhist images at the former Fa-hsing Temple in Chung-p'an (cf. PWL 3, 770a).

175. 天城, the modern T'ien-chen hsien 天鎮縣 in Shan-hsi.
176. It was renamed, as we learn from the PWL 3, 766c, the T'ien-ch'eng Temple 天城觀.
177. A list of these temples is given in the PWL 3, 766c sqq.
178. 從樂居士. I have not identified this personage, of whom Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai gives only the style. On Ch'ang-ch'un's letter to Ts'ung-lo chü-shih see below.

179. 景州, the modern Ching-hsien 景縣 in Ho-pei.
180. In the PWL 3, 766c-767a, we read: "Later, when he was suffering from dysentery, he had his bed set up in the privy. After a week there, his disciples (wanted) him to change place but he refused to move. Although very weary and exhausted (by the illness), he confounded them saying: 'What real difference is there between a privy and a bed-room?' And in the privy he finally died two days later. His disciples, however, lying to the outsiders, told them that the Master was praying (when he passed away). His Excellency Ch'iu's chronicler (i.e., Li Chih-ch'ang), said (日 = 曰) that he (His Excellency Ch'iu) went up to the Pao-kuang Hall 葆光堂 and was transformed (化), and that a strange perfume filled the room. Everybody knew of these facts, but they (the Taoists) still gave a false account of them. As to the other facts which were not so publicly known (like the above one), usually they were all (falsified) in the same way. This is why the people of those days composed the following epigram (lit., "saying") on him:

'His body is but a bunch of dried bones:
 In one morning Everlasting Spring has turned into
 Autumn!
 In the midst of urine and covered with excrement
 he died in the lavatory:
 One Taoist current has become a double current!'

This is an excellent proof (that these facts were true)." In the first couplet the pun is on Ch'iu's style Ch'ang-ch'un, which literally means "Everlasting Spring"; in the second couplet it is on the expression tao-liu 道流, lit., "the current of Tao", meaning somebody who is in the current of Tao, i.e., a Taoist, but which is applied here to both Ch'ang-ch'un and to the effects of his illness. This epigram has been translated by Chavannes in TP 5 (1904), 373, and by Demiéville in Oriente Poliano, 201. For Li Chih-ch'ang's account of Ch'ang-ch'un's illness and death cf. the HYC 2, 20a-b (Waley, 148-149).

181. Cf. the Lun-yü (Legge I, 182).
182. Cf. *ibid.* (Legge I, 258).
183. This should also be a quotation, but if so I have not been able to locate it.
184. These two are quotations from Ch'ang-ch'un's letter to Cinggis Qan of April 1220. Cf. CKL 10, 152, and TP 9 (1908), 304. In his letter to Ch'ang-ch'un of 14 June 1219, Cinggis Qan had explained that what he expected from the Taoist Master was "to look after the people and the current affairs", i.e., to act as his adviser, and to obtain from him the secret of long life (CKL 10, 151; TP 9, 302). In his reply of April 1220,

Ch'ang-ch'un made clear that to advise on government matters was not within his competence, and that "a virtuous mind makes man abstain from desire". Ch'ang-ch'un had obviously been very annoyed when, some time before, he had discovered that he was supposed to travel in the same convoy with the girls requisitioned for the Qan's harem (HYC 1, 6b), and the point he raises about the virtuous mind etc., is his veiled criticism of the emperor's lust. He hoped that by dispelling the illusions as to what the emperor would actually get from him (i.e., no political but only moral advice), he would be exonerated from undertaking the long journey to Central Asia. His hopes were not fulfilled, but we know that in his sermons to Cinggis Qan Ch'ang-ch'un later expounded, most emphatically, on the theme of chastity. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai quotes these passages to show that at the beginning Ch'ang-ch'un introduced himself as a supporter of moral principles, at the same time free from sectarian ties.

185. For the expression 弛而復張 "to re-draw a relaxed (bow)" cf. DKJ, 9724.18.
186. 宣聖廟, i.e., the Temple of Confucius.
187. Cf. the Chou I 2, 4b.
188. I.e., he was a compassionate and generous man. For the expression tsui-fu 罪福 cf. BDJ, 673c.

189. Hao-min 豪民. On the term hao 豪 meaning rich land-owner, cf. BWTZ, 79 n.205.
190. 河中 = Ho-chung fu 河中府, i.e., Samarqand. See *supra*, n.87.
191. Talas. See *supra*, n.70.
192. On the military colonies during the Yüan cf. Biot, "Mémoire sur les colonies militaires...", 553-565, and LTTTK II, 391-511. Cf. also ESYD, 29, and MZ, 131 sqq.
193. It is not clear from the context whether this person was Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai himself who, as he had informed us, was away at the time or somebody else. We know that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had for quite some time already been in charge of drafting official documents in Chinese (cf. the Stele, n.162).
194. The edict in question (see *supra*, n.170) exempted from taxation and compulsory labour all the people who had taken up monastic life and who were subject to Ch'ang-ch'un. Not only is there no mention in it of Buddhist clergy and of the followers of other faiths, but one sentence in the edict is conceived in such terms as to give the Taoists of Ch'ang-ch'un the monopoly of such privileges. The edict (in Chavannes' translation) says: "En-dehors (de ces gens-là) (i.e., the monks subject to Ch'ang-ch'un - I.R.), les hommes qui

se prétendraient faussement sortis du monde et qui pour cette vaine raison s'arrogeraient indûment (le droit d'être exemptés des) réquisitions, on les dénoncera aux magistrats qui les puniront." (TP 5, 368, lines 5-6 of the Chinese text; transl. p.370.) On the strength of this sentence the Taoists could easily denounce their enemies (as they actually did) to the official authorities.

Moreover, as pointed out by Demiéville (Oriente Poliano, 200), the presence in the edict of the term ch'u-chia 出家, lit., "(those who) have left home", which is basically a term applied to Buddhist monks, opened the way to a double interpretation of which the Taoists soon took advantage in order to gain control over the Buddhist clergy.

195. This is the already mentioned Confucian temple that the Taoists had converted into a Taoist temple (cf. HYL, 7a9-b1 and supra n.176). Ch'ang-ch'un passed through T'ien-ch'eng on his way to Hsüan-te 宣德 (modern Hsüan-hua hsien 宣化縣 in Chahar) from Yün-chung some time between 28 August and 8 September 1223. Cf. HYC 2, 12b; the name of this town (T'ien-ch'eng) has been inadvertently omitted in Waley, 131.

196. A county-school would only be established in a Confucian temple.
197. Beside the mentions in the HYL, I have not found any other reference to this letter.
198. Cf. the Stele, n.266.
199. Only Buddhist monks were required to shave their heads.
200. The candidates for priesthood received a religious style from their spiritual master at the end of their period of instruction. A "styled monk" is therefore supposed to be a cultivated and superior person, one who is not expected to act like ignorant and paltry men.
201. I.e., the members of the Ch'üan-chen sect.
202. I.e., people who, although poor, maintained their dignity and honesty. The source of this allusion is the story of P'i-ch'iu Kung 披裘公 ("Sir Fur-clad"), a poor man - probably a hermit - from the state of Wu 吳 who possessed only a fur, which he wore all the year round, but who would not pick up some money lying on the road. The story is found in the KSC I, 20. Cf. also the biography of Chen Fa-ch'ung 甄法榮 in NS 70, 10a-b.
203. This is a quotation from SC 76, 4a.
204. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is being ironical. Ch'ang-ch'un, as we have seen above, was reputedly an adept in the

art of long life. His actual age when he died was eighty.

205. TTC, 63 (下, 13b).

206. Chou I 1, 11b-12a (Yi King, 274, VI).

207. 白衣之會. The sense of this expression in the present context escapes me. I wonder whether it could refer to the gatherings (會) of the common people (白衣) for worship at the Taoist temples.

208. Kuo-shih 國師. They were eminent Buddhist masters who acted as religious advisers to the emperor. On this title cf. Pelliot's article "Les 國師 Kuo-che ou 'maîtres du royaume' dans le bouddhisme chinois" in TP 12 (1911), 671-676.

209. 圓通(國師), the Ch'an Master of the Sheng-an Temple 聖安寺 in Yen-ching (floruit 1157). On him cf. WC 8, 24a, and JHCWK 155, 12a.

210. KTCY 3, 3b.

211. 鼎峙 = ting-chih 鼎峙. For this expression cf. HJAS 19 (1956), 289 n.125.

212. For these two allusions cf. AL II, 427 and 542-543.

213. 萌 is an error for 萌.

214. 予 is an error for 子.

215. 子路, a mistake for Tzu-kung 子貢.

216. Lun-yü (Legge I, 254).

217. I think that by making this apparently inappropriate statement, the "guest" wishes perhaps to emphasize the fact that he is an authoritative person and therefore entitled to criticise and give advice as he is doing.
218. Liu-feng 流風, lit., "(the fine) customs handed down (from the former rulers)". Cf. the expression 流風善政 in Meng-tzu (Legge II, 182).
219. Hsiao-k'ang 小康, i.e., a period of relative order and peace. In the Li Chi, this period, in which the rules of propriety are observed in the empire ultimately for selfish purposes, is contrasted to that of Great Union (ta-t'ung 大同), i.e., a period of perfect simplicity and unselfishness. Hence the name of Small Tranquillity given to the former. Cf. the Li Chi 7, 1a-2a (Li Ki I, 366-367).
220. Neng-jen 能仁, i.e., Śākyamuni.
221. Cf. the Lun-yü (Legge I, 256).
222. This sentence is rather awkward. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai must have had in mind the two well-known expressions chih-ch'ang 指掌 "to point at the hand", metaphorically for something easy to look at (cf. the Lun-yü, Legge I, 159), and yün-ch'ang 運掌 "to turn (something) in the palm", also denoting a thing easily done (cf. Meng-tzu,

Legge II, 143 et passim). This would explain the otherwise puzzling 指 before 大平. The meaning of the sentence is that, given the afore-mentioned conditions, a period of true and perfect peace (大平 versus 小康) would be easily brought about.

223. I.e., the Yang-tzu chiang 揚子江 and the Huai-ho 淮河.

224. Cf. Legge I, 361 n.



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ABBREVIATIONS

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BEFEO = Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient

BMFEA = Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities

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CAJ = Central Asiatic Journal

CKWHYCHK = Bulletin of Chinese Studies 中國文化研究彙刊

CKYT = Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese
Architecture 中國營造學社彙刊

CYYY = Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology
(Academia Sinica)

中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊

HJAS = Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies

JA = Journal Asiatique

JNCBRAS = Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal
Asiatic Society

KAG = Kita-Aziya gakuho 北亞細亞學報

KHLT = Kuo-hsüeh lun-ts'ung 國學論叢

MM = Mammō 滿蒙

MSCKH = Man-Sen chiri kenkyū hōtoku 滿鮮地理研究報告

MSOS = Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen

NMA = Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques

RBS = Revue Bibliographique de Sinologie 1 (1955).

RG = Rokujō-gakuho 六條學報

RO = Rocznik Orientalistyczny

ROC = Revue de l'Orient Chrétien

SA = Studia Altaica

SG = Shina-gaku 支那學

SZ = Shigaku zasshi 史學雜誌

TB = Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko

TG = Tōhō-gakuho 東方學報

THG = Tōhō-gaku 東方學

TK = Tōyōshi-kenkyū 東洋史研究

TLTC = Ta-lu tsa-chih 大陸雜誌

TP = T'oung Pao

TYG = Tōyō-gakuhō 東洋學報

WL = Wen-li 文理

YCHP = Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies 燕京學報

TEXT OF THE

HSI-YU LU

西遊錄序

古君子南逾大嶺西出陽關雖壯夫志士不無銷黯予奉

詔西行數萬里確乎不動心者無他術焉蓋汪洋法海涵養之効也故述
辨邪論以斥糠粃少答

佛恩戊子馳傳來京里人問異域事慮煩應對遂著西遊錄以見予志其
間頗涉

三聖人教正邪之辨有譏予之好辨者予應之曰魯語有云必也正名乎
又云思無邪是正邪之辨不可廢也夫楊朱墨翟田駢許行之術
孔氏之邪也西域九十六種此方毗盧糠瓢白蓮香會之徒

釋氏之邪也全真大道混元太一主張左道之術老氏之邪也至於黃白金丹導引服餌之屬是皆方技之異端亦非

伯陽之正道疇昔禁斷明著常典第以國家創業崇尙寬仁是致僞妄滋彰未及辨正耳古者嬴秦燔經坑儒唐之韓氏排斥

釋老辨之邪也孟子闢楊墨予之黜糠丘辨之正也予將刊行之雖

三聖人復生必不易此說矣己丑元日湛然居士漆水移刺

楚才晉卿叙

西遊錄

湛然居士 從源著

戊寅之春三月既望

詔徵湛然居士

扈從西遊迨

天兵旋旆丁亥之冬奉

詔搜索經籍馳驛來燕旣已拂更有客惠然而來率爾而問曰居士之西遊也不知其幾千里邪西遊之事可得聞乎居士曰予始發永安過居唐歷武川出雲中之右抵天山之北涉大磧逾沙漠未浹十旬已達

西遊錄

行在山川相繆鬱乎蒼蒼車張如雲將士如雨馬牛被野兵甲赫天煙火相望連營萬里千古之盛未嘗有也越明年天兵大舉西伐道過金山時方盛夏山峰飛雪積冰千尺許

上命斲冰爲道以度師金山之泉無慮千百松檜參天花草彌谷從山巔望之群峰競秀亂壑爭流真雄觀也自金山而西水皆西流入於西海噫天之限東西者乎金山之南隅有回鶻城名曰別石把有唐碑所謂瀚海軍者也瀚海去城西北數百里海中有嶼嶼上皆禽鳥所落羽毛也城之西二百餘里有輪臺縣唐碑在焉城之南五百里有和州唐之高昌也亦名伊州高昌之西三四千里有五端城卽唐之于闐國也出烏白玉之二

河在焉旣過瀚海軍千餘里有不刺城附庸之邑三五不刺之南有陰山東西千里南北二百里其山之頂有圓池周圍七八十里許旣過圓池南下皆林檎木樹陰翳翳不露日色旣出陰山有阿里馬城西人目林檎曰阿里馬附郭皆林檎園囿由此名焉附庸城邑八九多蒲桃梨果播種五穀一如中原又西有大河曰亦列河之西有城曰虎司窩魯朶卽西遼之都也附庸城邑數十又西數百里有塔刺思城又西南四百餘里有苦蓋城八普城可傘城芭欖城苦蓋多石榴其大如拱甘而差酸凡三五枚絞汁得孟許渴中之尤物也芭欖城邊皆芭欖園故以名焉芭欖花如杏而微淡葉如桃而差小每冬季而華夏盛而實狀類匾桃肉不堪食唯取其

核八普城西瓜大者五十斤許長者僅負二枚其味甘涼可愛又苦蓋之西北五百里有訛打刺城附庸城十數此城渠酋嘗殺

大朝使命數人賈人百數盡有其財貨西伐之意始由此耳訛打刺之西千里餘有大城曰尋思干尋思干者西人云肥也以地土肥饒故名之西遼名是城曰河中府以瀕河故也尋思干甚富庶用金銅錢無孔郭百物皆以權平之環郭數十里皆園林也家必有園園必成趣率飛渠走泉方池圓沼柏柳相接桃李連延亦一時之勝槩也瓜大者如馬首許長可以容狐八穀中無黍糯大豆餘皆有之盛夏無雨引河以激率二畝收鍾許釀以蒲桃味如中山九醞頗有桑鮮能蠶者故絲蠶絕難絲皆服屈昫土

人以白衣爲吉色以青衣爲喪服故皆衣白尋思干之西六七百里有蒲華城土產更饒城邑稍多尋思干乃謀速魯蠻種落梭里檀所都者也蒲華苦澁訛打刺城皆隸焉蒲華之西有大河名曰阿謀深廣稍劣黃河西入於大海是河之西有五哩犍城梭里檀之母后所居者也富庶又盛於蒲華又西瀕大河有斑城者頗富盛又西有搏城者亦壯麗城中多漆器皆長安題識自此而西直抵黑色印度城其國人亦有文字與佛國字體聲音不同國中佛像甚多國人不屠牛羊但飲其乳風俗夫先亡者其室家同荼毗之詢詰佛國反指東南隅按之以理此國非正北印度乃印度北鄙之邊民也土人不識雪歲二穫麥盛夏置錫器於沙中尋卽鎔鑠焉

西遊錄

冀墮地爲之沸溢月光射人如中原之夏日遇夜人輒避暑於月之陰此國之南有大河闊如黃河冷於冰雪湍流猛峻從此微西而來注於正南稍東而去以意測之必注入南海也又土多甘蔗廣如禾黍土人絞取其液釀之爲酒熬之成糖黑色印度之西北有可弗义國數千里皆平川無復丘垤吁可怪也不立城邑民多羊馬以蜜爲釀味與中原不殊此國晝長夜促羊脾適熟日已復出矣正符唐史所載骨利幹國事但國名不同耳豈非歲遠時久語音訛舛邪尋思干去中原幾二萬里印度國去尋思干又等可弗义國去印度國亦等雖縈迂曲折不爲不遠矣不知其幾萬里也歲在涪灘



天兵振旅以西夏失信背盟丙戌之春二月

六師迭進一鼓而下之獨夫就戮萬姓懷安沙州瓜州漢所置也肅州卽鄯善也甘州卽張掖也靈州卽靈武也噫天涯海角人所不到亦一段奇事予之西遊也所見大略如此答曰子之西遊之事已聞命矣僕聞之居移氣養移體故古人有登泰山觀滄海以自大其志者亦有怯夫懦士涉險難罹憂患而自沮其志者今子西行數萬里昇金山瞰瀚海逾崑崙窮西極豈無有自大其志者歟從軍旅涉沙磧行役所困暴露所苦豈無有自沮其志者歟二者必有一於是子請言之居士曰大丈夫立志已決若山嶽之不可移也安能隨時而俯仰觸物而低昂哉予之志自大自沮者

不知也客曰僕與君定友積有年矣知僕者莫如君知子者莫如我君幼而學儒晚而喜佛常謂以吾夫子之道治天下以吾佛之教治一心天下之能事畢矣盟猶在耳皎如星日昔丘公之北行也子贊成之獨吾夫子之教吾佛之道置而不問子豈非自沮其志乎居士曰余以爲

國朝開創之際庶政方殷而又用兵西域未暇修文崇善

三聖人教皆有益於世者嘗讀道德二篇深有起予之嘆欲致

吾君高踏羲皇之跡此所以贊成之意也亦將使爲儒佛之先容耳非志沮而忘本也客曰丘公進見之所由然可得聞歟居士曰昔劉姓而溫名者以醫術進渠謂丘公行年三百有保養長生之秘術乃

奏舉之

詔下徵至德興丘公

上表云形容枯槁切恐中途不達願且於德興盤桓表旣

上

朝廷以丘公憚於北行

命僕草

詔溫言答之欲其速致也旣至

行在丘公數拜致敬然后入

見奉

西湖錄

詔且令尋思干城居此丘公

進見之所由也客曰君與丘公相待之事可得聞歟居士曰丘公之達西域也僕以賓主禮待之居無幾丘公從容謂予曰久聞湛然遵崇釋教夫釋道二教素相攻嫉政恐湛然不相契合豈意厚待如此真通方之士也僕應之曰三聖人教行於中國歲遠日深矣其教門施設尊卑之分漢唐以來固有定論豈待庸人俗士強爲其高下乎厥後彼之門人有諷予奉道名於丘公者僕應之曰予幼而習儒老而奉釋安有降於喬木入於幽谷者乎其議遂寢予久去燕然知音者鮮特與丘公聯句和詩焚香煮茗春遊遂圃夜話寒齋此其常也爾後時復書簡往來者人不能無情也待

以禮貌者人而無禮非所宜爲也客曰丘公

進奏談道之語可得聞歟居士曰壬午之冬十月

上召丘公以問長生之道所對皆平平之語言及精神氣之事又舉林靈素夢中絜宋徽宗遊神霄宮等語此丘公傳道之極致也客曰丘公與子遊者久亦有異聞乎居士曰丘公嘗舉渠師王害風出神入夢爲畢竟事又舉渠之法兄馬公常云屢蒙聖賢提將真性遨遊異域又云禪家惡夢境豈知福力薄弱者好夢不能致也此爲彼宗之深談也識者聞之未嘗不絕倒也客曰予嘗讀磻溪集序有云丘公日記數千言果有是事不居士曰彼之強記予不知也嘗假宋播芳文粹於予一日謂僕曰有一二語

欲與湛然商榷夫古人之文章愈深則人愈難知耳播芳中黃魯直所著
觀音贊有云通身是眼不見自己欲識自己頻掣驢耳此何等語邪予默
而不答予私謂人曰山語脫白衲僧已知落處渠未窺祖道之藩籬况其
堂奧乎予自此面待而心輕之客曰君與丘公亦有所許可乎居士曰論
談之初酬詠之際稍嘗面許交遊既深窮其底蘊予不許丘公之事凡有
十焉初

進見

詔詢其甲子僞云不知安有明哲之士不知甲子者乎此其一也對

上以徽宗夢遊神霄之事此其二也自謂出神入夢爲彼宗之極理此其

三也又云聖賢提真性遨遊異域自愛夢境此其四也不識魯直贊意此其五也西窮昧谷梵僧或修善之士皆免賦役丘公之燕獨請蠲道人差役言不及僧

上雖許免役仍令

詔出之後不得再度渠輒違

詔廣度徒衆此其六也又

進表乞符印自出師號私給觀額古昔未有之事輒欲施行此其七也又道徒以馳驛故告給牌符王道入者騶從數十人懸牌馳騁於諸州欲通管僧尼丘公又欲追攝海山玄老妄加毀斥此其八也又天城毀夫子廟

爲道觀及毀圻佛像奪種田圃改寺院爲庵觀者甚多以景州毀像奪寺
之事致書於從樂居士潤過飾非天地所不容此其九也又順世之際據
廁而終其徒飾辭以爲祈福此其十也客曰予聞諸行路之人有議子者
以爲匿怨而友其人孔子耻之君胡爲面許而心非也君子成人之美不
成人之惡何先贊而後嫉也君子之於友也當死生待之如一何譽之於
生前毀之於死後也子亦有所說乎居士曰予與丘公友其身也不友其
心也許其詩也非許其理也

奏對之際難見瑕玼以彼我之教異若攻之則成是非故心非而竊笑之
丘公初謂三聖教同安有分別自云軍國之事非己所能道德之心令人

戒欲三聖人教弛而復張固僕之願也予聞此安得不贊之乎邇後食言
 偏黨毀像奪田改寺爲觀改宣聖廟爲道庵有擯斥二教之志雖曰君子
 掩惡揚善此非予所能掩也予見此安得不嫉之乎彼欲以道德匡時救
 世予親聞之渠猶未死安得不譽之於生前乎間闊以來爲茲不軌數事
 常欲面折其非職守所拘不獲一見今被

命而來渠已弃世安得不毀之於死後乎客曰予聞諸行路之人云丘公
 惜罪福者也蠲免道人替役本非丘公意乃其徒所爲耳居士曰昔徙河
 中之豪民子弟四百餘人屯田於塔刺思城奉

朝命委予權統之予旣還



行在聞之於輿人云丘公將行

朝辭畢遣人

奏告云但修善出家人乞免差役時典誥命者他適令道人自填

詔旨遂止書道士免役之語當時咸謂既云修善出家人僧道舉在是矣後數年方知止書道人不及僧也由是衆皆議丘之不公也今子所聞之語必出自黨於丘公者以此爲之辭耳若果惜罪福不欲免道人役當日胡不封還

詔旨若然則愈爲光矣此飾非之語耳何足信邪客曰予聞諸行路之人云其剽奪寺院毀撤佛像之事皆左右蒙蔽所致丘公實不知也居士曰

若丘公果不知此事予聞丘公之歸也嘗宿於天城之文成觀縣學碑石猶在何爲不責改觀之道人也又去歲致手書於從樂居士云近有景州佛寺村民施與道士居止今已建立道像舊僧構會有司欲爲改正今後再有似此事請爲約束予見收此書會將勒石永垂後世庶使明眼人鑑其是非耳客曰予聞諸行路之人云其乞牌符事亦非丘意居士曰若果非丘意王道人旣歸宜將牌符封還若果爲馳驛事而請遇遣使時卽當懸帶傳聞王道人懸牌躍馬騶從數十人橫行諸州中又安知非丘之意乎客曰予聞諸行路之人云今之出家人率多避役苟食者若削髮則難於歸俗故爲僧者少入道者多兵火以來精舍寺場率爲摧壞若道士不

居占亦爲勢家所有或撤毀以爲薪又何益焉居士曰聰明特達之士必不爲此脫有爲此者必愚人鄙士耳又何怪焉旣號出家士反爲小人之事改寺毀像所以君子責備賢者也此曹始居無像之院後毀有像之寺初奪山林之精舍豈無冀覩城郭之伽藍乎從遠至近從少至多深存奄有之志亦所圖不淺矣設有故墳宿塚人愛其山崗之雄麗林麓之秀茂乃曰此塚我不發則後亦有人發我將出其骸骨弃諸溝壑而瘞我之父母焉較之於人情以謂如何耳古人美六月衣羊裘而不拾遺金者旣爲道人忍作豪奪之事乎此曾首以修葺寺舍救護聖像爲辭居旣久漸毀尊像尋改額名有磨滅佛教之意其修護寺舍爲不廢其名不毀其像眞

謂舉墜修廢也若或革名改像所以興之者所以廢之乎果欲弘揚本教
固當選地結緣創建宮觀不爲道門之光乎大丈夫竊人之宇舍毀人之
祖宗以爲己能何異鼠竊狗盜邪所謂因人成事者也豈不羞哉兵火之
事代代有之自漢歷唐降及遼宋代謝之際干戈繼作未嘗有改寺爲觀
之事渠蔑視

朝廷而敢爲此乎昔林靈素託神怪詐力見用於宋可謂元惡大憝矣尙
未敢革寺名爲觀名改佛像爲道像今則此曹所爲過林靈素遠矣豈非
神明震怒而促丘之壽乎客曰予聞之多易者必多難又聞之君子作事
謀始君之擇交何其易也君之作事何謀始之不愼也今則此曹毀撤廟

貌改建精藍白衣之會殆遍天下皆君啓之也禦之不亦難乎無乃爲害於終乎居士曰吾過矣吾過矣雖然僕聞之夫物速成則疾亡晚就則善終昔佛教西來迄今二千餘載歷代奉行罔不致敬高僧奇士比比而出焉爲國師者不可勝數近世圓通和尚爲三朝國師皆未嘗有改道觀爲佛寺者是以佛祖之道根深蒂固確乎其不可拔也若釋得志以奪道觀道得權而毀佛寺則鬪競之風無日而息矣今此曹攘人之居毀佛之像遊手之人歸者如市不分臧否一槩收之觀不攻而自敗耳夫林泉之士不與物競人且不容况自專符印抑有司之權奪有司之民豈能見容於世乎僕又聞之好勝者必遇其敵三聖人之教鼎峙於世不相凌奪各安

攸居斯可矣今奪寺毀像佛之子孫養拙守愚懦於鬭爭者固有之矣脫有豪邁者不惜身命護持佛法或固爭之於有司或堅請之乎於

朝廷稽古考例其罪無所逃矣夫三尺法皆殷周之淳政漢魏之徽猷隋唐之舊書遼宋之遺典非一代之法也寔萬代之法也時君世主皆則而用之猶大匠之規矩然莫或可廢也雜律有毀像之嚴刑敕條載禁邪之明誡夫豈待公子之喋喋也語未已客勃然而怒曰且曲突徙薪與焦頭爛額者孰愈弗能辨姦於未兆消禍於未萌者君之過也何得文過飾非歟予謂贊成丘公者欲爲儒佛之先容耳今毀宣聖之廟撤釋迦之像得非爲害於儒佛乎子又謂

國朝開創之始庶政方殷未暇修文崇善是何言歟是何言歟昔子路問政孔子謂不得已而去兵去食自古皆有死民無信不立是知善道爲政之要耳予雖中材謬蒙見知位居要地首贊

朝廷行文教施善道使流風仁政高跨前古然後無施不可矣子意以爲生民未艾且俟小康始行文教予謂大不然甚哉生民之難治也速於爲惡緩於從善急導之以善道猶恐不悛其惡何況遷延而有所需者乎速以能仁不殺不欺不盜不淫因果之誠化其心以老氏慈儉自然之道化其跡以吾夫子君君臣臣父父子子之名教化其身使三聖人之道若權衡然行之於世則民之歸化將若草之靡風水之走下矣然後上策於

朝廷請定制度議禮樂立

宗廟建宮室創學校設科舉拔隱逸訪遺老舉賢良求方正勸農桑抑遊
惰省刑罰薄賦斂尙名節斥縱橫去冗員黜酷吏崇孝悌賑困窮若然則
指大平若運掌之易也君捨此而不爲恬然自適袖手而待小康亦何異
思濟江淮而棄舟楫將救飢寒而捐穀帛者乎予不知其可也客乃拂袖
而興策筇而行隱而不出居士恍然若有所失者數日尋以問答之辭錄
諸簡冊以爲銘盤之誠云

戊子清明日湛然居士漆水 楚才晉卿題

燕京中書侍郎宅刊行

宮內省圖書寮所藏鈔本耶律文正西遊錄一冊爲古賀氏獻書之一相其筆蹟殆古賀侗庵所手錄末有文政甲申鄧林跋蓋侗庵從鄧林本後鈔也鄧林未知何人云得此書於慧日祖塔命鈔手錄副按慧日祖塔卽斥洛東東福寺普門院開祖爲聖一國師國師以四條天皇嘉禎二年入宋時當蒙古太宗七年則國師於耶律文正實爲並世當時所齋歸有西遊錄

文和二年普門院僧大道編其藏書日中有西遊錄據上村閑堂所言普門院藏書多係聖一國師將來則西遊錄亦爲其所齋歸確可信據

鄧林所見當卽其本明治

已後普門之藏散落殆盡西遊錄亦已不可縱跡惟有此圖書寮本猶存面目可謂至幸已此本尾有燕京中書侍郎宅刊行一行王徵君靜安因謂文正此書作于己丑卽太宗元年其拜中書令在太宗三年則當刊於

其後年但所記官銜不與實符蓋當時宰相專主蒙古名其漢名則隨意呼之而已然序中有將刊行之之語又疑刊于己丑或其年文正爲宰相之副黑韃事略載宰相四人首按只斛次文正三年文正以賦稅功升首相故親征錄執事之人各執名位兀都撒罕中書令云云蓋是年始定宰相名位非是年並置之徵君此說極精但據序中之語則刊于己丑猶可信矣此書自來藏書家皆未箸錄迄于近世海內外學者好治遼金元三史兼講西北地理其徵求史料窮搜博討不遺餘力順德李若農撫拾此書崖略於盛如梓庶齋老學叢談卽爲之注俄人卜喇惕施乃迭兒亦譯成英文由是此書始重於世而至其足本竟未之睹聞也大正己未余在

大學桑原博士課以卜氏譯本當時始讀文正湛然居士集頗怪其所載
 西遊錄序於孔老釋氏三教之辨詳哉其言之而今本西遊錄莫一及焉
 又檢至元辨疑錄亦引西遊錄數條其文掇擊丘長春頗極醜詆而今皆
 不存豈盛氏勇於芟夷遂致如此抑其所見自屬別本疑不能決去春奉
 命校書秘閣始得此本於金匱宿昔疑蘊頓得冰釋喜不自禁別錄一本
 報諸王徵君徵君時致力于西北地理之學詫爲天下孤本勸余刊行且
 書所見見眎余亦不忍獨秘諸篋衍卽捐俸排印以永流傳嗚呼此書沈
 薶不顯數百年而得余而再傳豈亦有數存乎其間與昭和二年五月平

安神田信暢

A D D E N D A

Note 164 to the Translation of the HYL to continue as follows:

To illustrate this case, Yüan-wu 圓悟 quotes in his commentary the following dialogue between the famous Ts'ao-tung master Ts'ao-shan 曹山 (840-901) and a monk: "Ts'ao-shan asked the monk: 'How is it that (the Dharmakāya) in response to (the needs of different) beings manifests itself and takes form in the same way as the moon (when reflected) in water?' The monk said: 'It is like a donkey looking into a well.' (Ts'ao-)shan said: 'Your statement is a fine statement but only eight tenths to the point.' The monk said: 'What would you say then?' (Ts'ao-)shan replied: 'It is like a well looking at a donkey'." (PWL 9, 214a.) Ts'ao-shan was referring to the following verses: 佛真法身，猶如虛空，應物現形，如水中月 from a gāthā in the Chin-kuang-ming ching 金光明經 (Suvarṇaprabhāsa[uttamarāja]sūtra), TSD 16 (no.663), 344b.