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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

A. *Texts.* It would be idle to estimate how many of the hundreds of so-called *Hachimonjiya-bon* were actually written by Kiseki. Fortunately, the worst bibliographical confusion surrounds those of least literary value. Kiseki's finest works (including all his *katagi-mono*) have been clearly identified and satisfactorily reprinted. These modern type-set editions, without which his books would be legible only to specialists, may be found in the *Teikoku bunko* 帝國文庫 (50 vols., Tōkyō, 1897-1904), Vols. 27, 28; the new *Teikoku bunko* (29 vols., Tōkyō, 1928-1930), Vol. 8; the *Yūhōdō bunko* 有朋堂文庫 (Series 2, 60 vols., Tōkyō, 1926-1927), Vol. 53; the *Nihon meicho zenshū* 日本名著全集 (Series 1, 31 vols., Tōkyō, 1926-1929), Vol. 9; the *Kindai Nihon bungaku taikei* 近代日本文學大系 (25 vols., Tōkyō, 1928-1929), Vol. 5; and here and there in other less important collections. Only one of his works has been annotated (but that one thoroughly, by FUJII Otoo 藤井乙男): *Keisei kintanki*, in the *Hyōshaku Edo bungaku sōsho* 評釋江戶文學叢書 (11 vols., Tōkyō, 1935-1938), Vol. 2, pp. 46-57, 525-749.

B. *Secondary works.* Perhaps the most trustworthy account of Kiseki and the Hachimonjiya is the one which FUJII gives in his introduction (pp. 90-113) to Vol. 2 of the *Hyōshaku Edo bungaku sōsho*. Among those in the other collections mentioned above, the one by YAMAGUCHI Gō 山口剛 in the *Nihon meicho zenshū* (Vol. 9, pp. 58-87, 92-103) seems most interesting. Far more detail, much of it consisting of bibliographical information, may be found in MIZUTANI Futō 水谷不倒 *Shinsen retsudentai shōsetsushi* 新撰列傳體小說史 (Tōkyō, 1929), pp. 321-400. MIZUTANI draws heavily on the pioneering work of FUJIOKA Sakutarō 藤岡作太郎, whose *Kindai shōsetsushi* 近代小說史 (Tōkyō, 1917) reflects late Tokugawa critical tastes in giving the Hachimonjiya "adaptations" disproportionate attention (30 pp., or almost half). FUJIOKA's book, in turn, shows its debt to the original *Retsudentai shōsetsushi* which appeared in 1897. Both MIZUTANI and FUJIOKA did much to sift and utilize the disappointingly scarce, fragmentary Tokugawa source materials. A fresher, more critical examination of Kiseki's fiction is to be found in SUZUKI Toshiya 鈴木敏也, *Kinsei Nihon shōsetsushi* 近世日本小說史 (Tōkyō, 1920), pp. 236-332. Besides these histories of the Tokugawa novel, there is another which, though it contains nothing new, has the merit of being a clear, convenient survey: SUZUKI Nobuyuki 鈴木暢幸, *Edo jidai shōsetsushi* 江戶時代小說史 (Tōkyō, 1932). A short but stimulating discussion of Kiseki's literary attitudes is to be found in a book on Tokugawa popular culture and its social background: ABE Jirō 阿部次郎, *Tokugawa jidai no geijutsu to shakai* 德川時代の藝術と社會 (Tōkyō, 1931), pp. 475-489.

In the general study of Tokugawa fiction, reference must also be made to the work of FUJIMURA Saku 藤村作—particularly his *Kamigata bungaku to Edo bungaku* 上方文學と江戶文學 (revised ed., Tōkyō, 1933)—and to the wealth of short studies by such scholars as EBARA Taizō 穎原退藏, NOMA Kōshin 野間光辰, and SHIGETOMO Ki 重毅, besides those already mentioned. Many of these articles have been reissued in book form, but most remain accessible only in periodicals or *kōza* 講座.

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE BOOK KNOWN AS *THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS* *

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I. The text in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*

The encyclopedic *Yung-lo ta-tien* was compiled in Nanking between 1403 and 1408. In 1421 it was moved to Peking together with the contents of the Imperial Library (*Wên-yüan-ko* 文淵閣). A duplicate copy of the bulky work was made in the years 1562-1567. War, fire, and careless handling have always been enemies of literary treasures. By 1773, when the *Yung-lo ta-tien* was extensively used for the restitution of lost books embedded in it, there was found only an incomplete set of the duplicate copy in Peking, shelved in the College of Literature (*Han-lin-yüan* 翰林院) to which it had been removed from the Office of Imperial

* Bibliographical abbreviations (exclusive of those already given in the list on the inside of the back cover of this Journal):

CCTCYCCL = Ho Ch'iu-t'ao 何秋濤 (1824-1862), Li Wên-t'ien 李文田 (1834-1895), Shên Tsêng-chih 沈曾植 (1850-1922), and NAKA Michiyo 那珂通世 1851-1908), *Chiao-chêng tsêng-chu Yüan ch'in-chêng-lu* 校正增注元親征錄 (*Naka Michiyo isho* 那珂通世遺書, Tōkyō, 1915).

CKJ = NAKA Michiyo, *Chingisu kan jitsuroku* 成吉思汗實錄 (*Tōkyō*, 1907).

CKJZ = NAKA Michiyo (1851-1908), *Chingisu kan jitsuroku zokuhen* 續編 (*Naka Michiyo isho*, Tōkyō, 1915).

ECCP = Arthur W. HUMMEL (editor), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, 1943).

KLPPTSKKK = *Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan kuan-k'an* 國立北平圖書館館刊

MNT = Erich HAENISCH, *Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an* (Leipzig, 1937).

MWESC = T'u Chi 屠寄, *Mêng-wu-êrh shih-chi* 蒙兀兒史記 (160—13 *chüan, circa* 1914; 1934).

MWYCPS = Mêng-wên *Yüan ch'ao pi-shih* 蒙文元朝秘史 (10 + 2 *chüan*; (YEH Tê-hui 葉德輝 edition, 1908).

OMGH = SHIRATORI Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉 (1865-1942), *Onyaku mōbun genchō hishi* 音譯蒙文元朝秘史 (10 *chüan* + *Zokuhen* [cited in this paper as C, Continuation] 2 *chüan*; Tōkyō, 1942).

Historiography (*Huang-shih-ch'êng* 皇史宬) about forty years previously.[1]

[1] For the history of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, see Li Chêng-fên 李正奮, "*Yung-lo ta-tien* k'ao 永樂大典考," *T'u-shu-kuan hsüeh chi-k'an* 圖書館學季刊 1(1926). 215-223, and the extracts of source material in Sun Chuang 孫壯, "*Yung-lo ta-tien* k'ao," *PPPHTSKYK* 2(1929).191-213; Yüan T'ung-li 袁同禮, "Kuan yü *Yung-lo ta-tien* chih wên-hsien 關於永樂大典之文獻," *KLPPTSKKK* 7(1933).13-29. The date of the completion of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* has been varyingly given as 1407 or 1408. Emperor Ming Ch'êng-tsu's 明成祖 preface to the *Yung-lo ta-tien* is printed with the *Yung-lo ta-tien mu-lu* 目錄 (60 *chüan; Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu*) where it is said: 成于六年之冬 "Completed in the winter of our sixth year [1408]." The text appears also in *Ming shih-lu* 明實錄, *ts'ê* 42, T'ai-tsung 太宗 54.3b-4b, under the 5th year of Yung-lo, the 11th moon, the 2nd cyclical date [14 December 1407], where it reads: 成于五年之冬 "Completed in the winter of our fifth year [1407]." The compilation presented to the court on 14 December 1407 consisted of 22,211 *chüan*. The preface mentions 22,937 *chüan*. It is obvious that some seven hundred odd *chüan* were added in 1408. The compilers of the *Shih-lu* had merely inserted the preface retrospectively. They did not hesitate to alter the text and thus falsify the chronology!

SKCSTM 137.7a-b states erroneously that two duplicate copies were made of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* in 1562-1567 and that the first of the duplicate copies was at first put in the Peking Imperial Library and later—after the collapse of the Ming Dynasty—removed to the College of Literature. Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃孫 (1844-1919), "*Yung-lo ta-tien* k'ao" (quoted in *PPPHTSKYK* 2[1929].211-213), rectifies the error about the identity of the copy in the College of Literature, but repeats the error about the existence of three copies in all, and commits the further error of stating that the first of the two duplicate copies was not lost until the destruction by fire of the Palace of Celestial Purity (Ch'ien-ch'ing-kung 乾清宮) in 1797. I believe that Li Chêng-fên, *op. cit.*, has amply demonstrated that in 1562-1567 only one duplicate copy, not two copies, had been made.

Emperor Ch'ing Kao-tsung 清高宗 (1711-1799, reigning 1736-1795) (quoted in *PPPHTSKYK* 2[1929].200) stated that he did not know when the *Yung-lo ta-tien* was moved to the College of Literature. Ch'üan Tsu-wang 全祖望 (1705-1755), *Chi-ch'i-t'ing chi wai-pien* 鮚埼亭集外編 (50 *chüan*, 1776; *SPTK*) 17.11a, states, however, that when the compilation of the *Shêng-tsu jên-huang-ti shih-lu* 聖祖仁皇帝實錄 was completed there was occasion to rearrange the bookshelves in the Office of Imperial Historiography and that the *Yung-lo ta-tien* discovered on those shelves was removed to the College of Literature. In *Ch'ing shih-lu, ts'ê* 71, is printed the memorial accompanying the presentation of the *Shêng-tsu jên-huang-ti shih-lu*. It is dated 17 January 1732.

[2] *SKCSTM, loc. cit.* Miao Ch'üan-sun, *loc. cit.*, was in error by making it appear that 2422 *chüan* were already missing in 1736, when Fang Pao 方苞 was appointed to the vice-directorship of the Bureau for the Compilation of Commentaries on the *Chou li, I li*, and *Li chi* (Su Tun-yüan 蘇惇元, *Fang Wang-hsi hsien-shêng nien-p'u* 方望溪先生年譜 [1851; *SPTK*] 28a). Ch'üan Tsu-wang, *op. cit.*, 17.12b, says only "about two thousand."

[3] *Yung-lo ta-tien mu-lu* 14.22a-b. Yüan T'ung-li published in *KLPPTSKKK* 6 (1932).93-133 the "*Yung-lo ta-tien ts'un-mu* 存目." The manuscript bears the Han-lin-yüan seal. The missing *chüan* noted total 2384. Since the manuscript was worn after "*chüan* 22,179," it is permissible to conjecture that among the remaining 698

PPPHTSKYK = *Pei-p'ing Pei-hai t'u-shu-kuan yüeh-k'an* 北平北海圖書館月刊.
SKCSTM = *Ssŭ-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* 四庫全書總目 (Shanghai: Ta-tung shu-chü 大東書局 edition of 1930).
SPPY = *Ssŭ-pu pei-yao* 四部備要.
SPTK = *Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊.
SWCCL = Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 (editor and commentator), *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* 聖武親征錄 (*Mêng-ku shih-liao ssŭ-chung* 蒙古史料四種, 1926).
TSCSS = Yeh Ch'ang-chih 葉昌熾, *Ts'ang-shu chi-shih shih* 藏書紀事詩 (7 *chüan*, 1910).
YCPSC = Li Wên-t'ien 李文田 (1834-1895), *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih chu* 元朝秘史注 (15 *chüan*; 1896).
YCPS(CP) = The Commercial Press (Shanghai) photolithographic edition of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, 1936.
YCPS(FP) = Fragments of the Ming 明 printed *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. See n. 39.
YCPS(P-P) = The handwritten copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, collated by Pao T'ing-po 鮑廷博, later owned by Palladius. A photographic copy of this was presented by Paul Pelliot to the Peiping National Library in 1933.
YPS = *Yüan pi-shih* 元秘史 (15 *chüan*, edited by Chang Mu 張穆, published in the *Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu* 連筠⊙*叢書, 1848).
YPSIYYTK = Ch'ên Yüan 陳垣, *Yüan pi-shih i-yin yung-tzŭ k'ao* 元秘史譯音用字考 (Peiping, 1934).
YPSLCPC = Kao Pao-ch'üan 高寶銓, *Yüan pi-shih Li-chu pu-chêng* 元秘史李注補正 (15 *chüan*, 1902).
YPSPC = Shên Tsêng-chih 沈曾植 (1850-1922), *Yüan pi-shih pu-chu* 元秘史補註 (15 *chüan*; Peiping, 1945).
YPSSCTMK = Shih Shih-chieh 施世杰, *Yüan pi-shih shan ch'uan ti-ming k'ao* 元秘史山川地名考 (12 *chüan*, 1897).
YPSTLKC = Ting Ch'ien 丁謙, *Yüan pi-shih ti-li k'ao-chêng* 元秘史地理考證 (15 *chüan*, 1901; *Chê-chiang t'u-shu-kuan ts'ung-shu* 浙江圖書館叢書).
YS = *Yüan shih* 元史 (*Po-na-pên* 百衲本 edition).
YSIWCP = Hung Chün 洪鈞 (1840-1893), *Yüan-shih i-wên chêng-pu* 元史譯文證補 (30—10 *chüan*; 1897).

* For this character cf. *K'ang-hsi tzŭ-tien* (Commercial Press edition, 1938), p. 995, 15th entry (= 118.11.40).

Of the 60 + 22877 *chüan* in the colossal compilation, some 2422 *chüan* were said to be missing.[2] The *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* occupied *chüan* 5179-5193 and, fortunately, was not involved in the loss as indicated by the various *lacunae* in the inventory.[3] Though

the official scholars appointed for the task claimed to have extracted from the compilation some 385 works, totaling 4946 *chüan*,[4] they had neither copied out the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* nor given it a separate entry in the catalogue of the *Ssŭ-k'u ch'üan-shu*, an enormous project—conducted mainly between 1773 and 1782—of recopying worthy books for the Imperial Library.[5]

Were they ignorant of the existence of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*? No. *A Chronological Study of Political Precedents During the Yüan Dynasty, Yüan-ch'ao tien-ku pien-nien k'ao* 元朝典故編年考, 10 *chüan*, by Sun Ch'êng-tsê 孫承澤, 1592-1676, was copied for the new imperial collection. The catalogue [6] says of Sun's book:

> The ninth *chüan* consists of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. . . . There is a short prefatory statement which says: "From Yüan times have come down the *Pi-shih* in 10 *chüan* and the *Hsü-pi-shih* 續秘史 in 2 *chüan*, the former recording the events of the first rise [of the Mongols] on the sandy deserts, the latter recording their descent upon Yen-ching and the events leading to their destruction of the Chin 金 empire—apparently written by the Mongols themselves. This book has been kept in the imperial palace and does not circulate outside. By chance I saw it in the home of a friend; so I copy it here, toward the close of my book, because it will make up for some of the omissions in the histories."
>
> We examine what he has quoted and find that it has all been conveyed in the *Yung-lo ta-tien* under the character *yüan* 元 according to rhyme. We compare the one with the other; they are identical. We suspect that it was originally a non-circulating book of Yüan times. Perhaps someone connected with the compilation [of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*] made and brought out a duplicate copy; hence it came to circulate outside [of the palace], and Sun Ch'êng-tsê was able to see it.
>
> What is written therein deals, on the whole, with petty items of no importance, and, moreover, is sometimes unbelievable. It seems, as is usually the case, that words in transmission become gradually farfetched and unworthy of complete reliance. But after all, it is an old text of the Yüan period, comparatively unknown to the world. Apart from the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, it appears only in this book. Since it differs to some extent from the standard history, we may well keep it with a view to its possible usefulness for research.[7]

It is thus evident that the official editors of the *Ssŭ-k'u ch'üan-shu*, indeed, knew of the existence of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* and considered it to be of some value. Since what was considered worthy of preservation was incorporated into Sun's work, which they had already copied, they probably considered it unnecessary to repeat the service Sun had already performed.

During the opening years of the nineteenth century, the celebrated Juan Yüan 阮元, 1764-1849, was serving in Hangchow as the governor of Chekiang. There he rediscovered a number of literary treasures which he deemed worthy of inclusion in the imperial collection. A facsimile copy of an old manuscript copy of the *Yüan[-ch'ao] pi-shih* in 15 *chüan* with interlinear translation of the Mongolian [in Chinese transcription] was one of these.[8] But it was never presented to the court. The reason given by one of Juan's friends is that the language of the book was, at the last moment, considered too crude and uncouth.[9] The real reason might have been the discovery that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 15 *chüan* was already in the *Yung-lo ta-tien* and that the editors of the *Ssŭ-k'u ch'üan-shu* had already dealt with the book in ways deemed adequate by Juan.

The provenance of Juan's copy is, however, obscure. The division of the book into 15 *chüan* would warrant the suspicion that it had descended from the text included in the *Yung-lo ta-*

(22877—22179) *chüan*, there might have been indications of missing *chüan*, totaling 38, to make up the total of missing *chüan*, 2422. On p. 101, *chüan* 5170-5205, 20 *pên* 本, were intact.

[4] *SKCSTM* 137.7b. Sun P'ing-i 孫馮翼, *Ssŭ-k'u ch'üan-shu chi Yung-lo ta-tien mu* 四庫全書輯永樂大典目 (1801; *Liao-hai ts'ung-shu* 遼海叢書) lists the titles copied for the imperial collection, 388; those merely noted in the catalogue, 128. The total number is thus 516. Chao Wan-li 趙萬里, "*Yung-lo ta-tien* nei chi-ch'u chih i-shu mu 內輯出之佚書目," *PPPHTSKYK* 2(1929).253-297, lists the titles that have been extracted under official and private auspices. The total number is 561. Hao Ch'ing-po 郝慶柏, *Yung-lo ta-tien shu-mu k'ao* (4 *chüan*, 1922; *Liao-hai ts'ung-shu*) represents an effort to amalgamate the various lists of titles, extracted or otherwise, without, however, statistical summaries. Since all of these lists of extracted works contain titles that had not been republished, it is rather strange that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* is never included.

[5] *SKCSTM*, Edicts, 1b, Memorial, 3a.

[6] *SKCSTM* 81.8a.

[7] A printed edition of this work of Sun is in the *Lo-shu shan-fang ts'ung shu* 螺樹山房叢書. I have, at present, no access to it, and am, therefore, unable to verify the accuracy of the text of Sun's remark quoted by *SKCSTM*.

[8] Juan Yüan, *Ssŭ-k'u wei-shou shu-mu t'i-yao* (1822; *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pên ts'ung-shu*), pp. 50-51.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 79, note by Yen Chieh 嚴杰 (1763-1845).

tien. Prior to this time, CH'IEN Ta-hsin 錢大昕, 1728-1804, already had in his possession a manuscript copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 15 *chüan*, which was said by one of CH'IEN's younger contemporaries, KU Kuang-ch'i 顧廣圻, 1776-1835, to have been a copy from the *Yung-lo ta-tien*.[10] CH'IEN wrote a long and learned colophon on the text,[11] but there is no mention of when and how he had come to have the book. He must have had the book, however, some time before 1781, when he appended a last note to his *Critical Notes on Twenty-Two Histories, Erh-shih-êrh-shih k'ao-i* 二十二史考異, the last part of which dealt with *Yüan shih* 元史 and quoted the *Yüan pi-shih* frequently.[12] He was in Peking as a member of the College of Literature during 1772-1773. Thus it was quite possible for him to copy or to have someone copy for him the 15 *chüan* of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* from the *Yung-lo ta-tien*.

One of CH'IEN's friends was the famous bibliophile PAO T'ing-po 鮑廷博, 1728-1814, who had personally completed in 1805 the collation of a copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 15 *chüan*, which was later known to have been in the possession of HAN T'ai-hua 韓泰華 in 1847 and to have been bought by Palladius [KAFAROV] in 1872. A photographic copy of this—then in the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.—was presented by Paul PELLIOT to the National Library of Peiping in 1933. We are indebted to Professor CH'ÊN Yüan for reporting on his findings concerning this PAO copy.[13]

[10] KU Kuang-ch'i's colophon in his own handwriting, dated the 7th moon (24 August-22 September 1805), is photographically printed with the *SPTK* III edition (1936) of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 10 + 2 *chüan*, copied under KU's supervision in 1805.

[11] The text of CH'IEN's colophon is in his *Ch'ien-yen-t'ang wên-chi* 潛研堂文集 (50 *chüan*, 1806; *SPTK*) 28.20a-22a. CH'Ü Jung 瞿鏞, *Tieh-ch'in t'ung-chien lou ts'ang shu mu* 鐵琴銅劍樓藏書目 (24 *chüan*, 1867-1898) 9.24a-b records the possession of a manuscript copy of *Yüan pi-shih* in 15 *chüan*, said to have come from the CH'IEN family of Chia-ting 嘉定. If the claim is correct, the book might, indeed, have been a recopy of CH'IEN's copy made by or for one of CH'IEN's numerous learned relatives. Had the book really borne indications of having been used by the great CH'IEN Ta-hsin himself,—the catalogue would certainly have dwelt upon them at length.

[12] CH'IEN Ta-hsin, *Erh-shih-êrh-shih k'ao-i* (100 *chüan*; *Ch'ien-yen-t'ang ch'üan-shu*) 100.14a. *Chüan* 86-100 deal with the *Yüan shih*.

[13] *YPSIYYTK* 6a-b.

Among other things, CH'ÊN says: "This copy is what PAO T'ing-po copied out of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*." This is, however, extremely doubtful, for it would be difficult to imagine how PAO, a private individual and an unsuccessful candidate at the provincial examinations in Hangchow,[14] could have had access to the literary treasures in the College of Literature in Peking. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it would be easier to imagine that PAO's *Yung-lo ta-tien* text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* had, perhaps, come through the medium of CH'IEN Ta-hsin's copy. Moreover, since PAO was one of the two men who assisted JUAN Yüan in the selection of rare and neglected books,[15] one is tempted to conjecture that even JUAN's copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 15 *chüan* might bear a direct or indirect relation to CH'IEN's copy.

In 1805 KU Kuang-ch'i remarked on the manuscript of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 10 + 2 *chüan*, copied under his supervision:

> The *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* is carried in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*. The text which is in the family of Mr. CH'IEN Ta-hsin came therefrom. From beginning to end there are 15 *chüan*. Later, Mr. CH'IEN heard that Mr. CHIN Tê-yü 金德輿 of T'ung-hsiang 桐鄉 possessed an incomplete copy of the original printed edition with different *chüan* divisions. He asked Mr. CHIN to list these for him, and relying on this information, he made the entry in his *Bibliography of Yüan Writings* (*Yüan-shih i-wên chi* 元史藝文志).
>
> The incomplete copy was once brought to Soochow by Mr. CHIN, and I was the first one to see it. It was a hurried occasion, and I was not able to make a copy. Later, I was not able to find out where the book had since gone, and I had somewhat a sense of regret on its account.
>
> Last year, when I was teaching pupils in Lu-chou 廬州, under the employment of Prefect CHANG Hsiang-yün 張祥雲, I found that he had in his collection an old facsimile copy of the original printed edition, complete and perfect throughout the whole bulk.
>
> This year, after I had come to Yang-chou 揚州, I took the opportunity to urge Mr. CHANG Tun-jên 張敦仁 to borrow the book and to have the present facsimile copy made from it. Mr. CHANG commanded me to ascertain the accuracy of the recopying, and, as a result, I have found the difference between this text and Mr. CH'IEN's to be more than the single fact that this is the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 10 *chüan* and the *Continuation* in 2 *chüan*. Take the two lines under the title at the beginning of the book. The first line

[14] For the life of PAO T'ing-po, see *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-chêng ch'u-pien* 國朝耆獻類徵初編 (484 *chüan*; 1884-1890) 441.32a-36a; *TSCSS* 5.38a-40a.

[15] *Ssŭ-k'u wei-shou shu-mu t'i-yao*, Preface.

reads *Mang-huo-lun niu-ch'a* [*Mongγol-un Ni'uča*]; the second, *t'o-ch'a-an* [*to*[*b*]*ča'an*]. These must represent the official title and the name of the author. Such are lacking in Mr. CH'IEN's copy, and the omission should be remedied accordingly. Other readings as well as the arrangement of lines and paragraphs are again frequently better in this copy. This may indeed be termed a good text. . . .

CH'IEN's *Bibliography of Yüan Writings*, completed in 1800, has, indeed: "*Yuan pi-shih*, 10 *chüan*; *Continuation*, 2 [十, misprint for 二] *chüan*. No author indicated. These record the rise of T'ai-tsu [Činggis] and the conquest of Chin by T'ai-tsung [Ögödei]. Both with interlinear translation of the Mongolian [in Chinese transcription]. I suspect they were the so-called *T'o-pi-ch'ih-yen* [*Tobčiyan*]." [16] It would seem that CH'IEN must have seen CHIN's

[16] CH'IEN Ta-hsin, *Yüan-shih i-wên chih* (4 *chüan*; *Ch'ien-yen-t'ang ch'üan-shu*) 2.14a. It may be interesting to observe that as early as 1800 or earlier CH'IEN had thought of the *Yüan*[*-ch'ao*]*pi-shih* as 脫必赤顏 *Tobičyan*. His copy in 15 *chüan* does not have the two lines mentioned by KU. It is possible, however, that before he made the entry in the *Yüan-shih i-wên chih*, he had learned about these lines from CHIN Tê-yü's or someone else's copy or copies of the 10 + 2-*chüan Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* and had begun to think of *t'o-ch'a-an* 脫察安 as a corruption of *t'o-pi-ch'ih-yen*. On the other hand, he might have concluded from the nature of the Chinese title and the contents of the book that it was *The Tobčiyan* mentioned in the *Yüan shih*, as LI Wên-t'ien did in 1891 in LI's handwritten note on LI's copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* (see *YPSIYYTK*, Illustration 2). And yet, LI's explanation of the two lines, in his *YCPSC* 1.1a. was still like that of KU Kuang-ch'i in 1805. Paul PELLIOT, "Le titre mongol du *Yuan tch'ao pi che*," *TP* 14(1913).131-132, narrated the failure of KU and LI to understand the two lines, mentioned the silence of Palladius and other Russian writers on the matter, and proceeded to reconstruct the two lines into "*Mongγolun-niγuča tobčiyan*, qui signifient *Histoire secrète des Mongols*," stating, moreover, that the word *tobčiyan* though unattested, is found in a Uighur-Chinese vocabulary [華夷譯語, cf. PELLIOT, *TP* 38(1948).275] at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where the Chinese equivalent is given as 史 *shih*, "history." It should be noted, however, that NAKA Michiyo (1851-1908), *CKJ*, "Joron 序論," p. 1, had already made 忙豁侖紐察脫[卜]察安 = "Mongholun Niucha Tobchaan" = 蒙古の秘史. SHÊN Tsêng-chih (1850-1922), posthumous publication, *YPSPC* 1.1a, and WANG Kuo-wei (1877-1927), "Mêng-wên *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* pa 蒙文元朝秘史跋," *Kuan-t'ang pieh-chi* 觀堂別集 (*Wang chung-ch'io kung i-shu* 王忠慤公遺書), 4a-5b, written in 1925, both came to a similar conclusion; but they were rather late. Professor Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362." *HJAS* 12(1949).128, n. 231, brings forth the first attestation of the Mongolian word *tobčiyan* in the Uighur script. Professor N. POPPE, "Stand und Aufgabe der Mongolistik," *ZDMG* 100(1950).71, is inclined to the view that 脫察安 might be a transcription of *to'oca'an* which could have come from *toγocaγan* (Zählen, Zählung, Aufzählung, Schätzung).

incomplete copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* or received the requisite information therefrom before the date of the completion of his *Bibliography of Yüan Writings*. It could not, however, have been very long before 1800. There is a hitherto unnoticed passage in the *Excerpts from the Diary of Mr. Ch'ien Ta-hsin* (*Chu-ting hsien-shêng jih-chi ch'ao* 竹汀先生日記抄):

Received a letter from WANG Lung-chuang 汪龍莊 [WANG Hui-tsu 輝祖, 1730-1807], accompanying the return of *Yüan pi-shih*, 4 volumes. He says that he once borrowed from the *Pao-shih Chih-pu-tsu-chai* 鮑氏知不足齋 [the library of PAO T'ing-po] a printed copy which was mutilated at the beginning and the end, and which divided the *chüan* differently from this one.[17]

Though this passage is undated, and the excerpts are not arranged according to chronological sequence, the approximate time may still be surmised. Since CH'IEN sounds as if he had never before heard of a *chüan* division of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* other than 15, this entry in his diary must be dated before 1800. Since WANG Hui-tsu did not retire to Hsiao-shan 蕭山 until 1793, and was not, until 1797, sufficiently well to resume work on such projects as *Different Persons under the Same Names in the Twenty-four Histories* (*Erh-shih-ssŭ-shih t'ung-hsing-ming lu* 二

Professor CLEAVES personally informs me that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* has, with few exceptions, a mechanically consistent system of transcribing Mongolian sounds with Chinese characters. *Tobčiyan* alternates with **tobčayan* (= *tobča'an*). *Tobča'an* would be transcribed, according to the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* system, 脫卜察安 (卜 in a smaller character placed halfway toward the right). *To'oča'an* would be transcribed 脫斡察安. It seems to me that, aside from the fact that *tobčiyan* (= 脫卜 [or 必, or 不] 赤顏) is well attested in Yüan literature as "history" or "historical record," it would, indeed, be easier for a little 卜 than for a big 斡 to drop off at the hand of a copyist.

At this juncture, I take the opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor CLEAVES for the many forms of assistance generously given me, such as calling my attention to obscure references, lending me rare literature from his own collection, allowing me to consult him frequently on Mongolian, of which I am only beginning to learn a few words from him, and occasionally on Persian, of which I know not a word. But for his assistance and encouragement, this paper would never have been written. I am, however, entirely responsible for the conclusions and hypotheses set forth herein, as well as for the inaccuracies in statement and errors in judgment that may in course of time require correction.

[17] HO Yüan-hsi 何元錫, *Chu-ting hsien-shêng jih-chi ch'ao* (3 *chüan*, 1805; *Chiao-ching shan-fang ts'ung-shu* 校經山房叢書) 1.34b.

十四史同姓名錄) and *Yüan History Confirmed and Refuted by Itself* (*Yüan-shih pên-chêng* 元史本證), projects which were of interest to CH'IEN and for which CH'IEN wrote prefaces,[18] it would seem that their correspondence relating to *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* must have taken place in the closing years of the eighteenth century.

The interesting thing here is the fact that PAO T'ing-po had then an incomplete copy of the printed *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. Since he was an intimate friend of CHIN Tê-yü, 1750-1800,[19] one is tempted to think that CHIN's printed copy and PAO's printed copy were one and the same, and that the information CH'IEN received for his *Bibliography of Yüan Writings* might, after all, have been from PAO. It would be natural also to assume that, after having made a copy of CH'IEN's 15-*chüan* text, PAO proceeded in the early weeks of 1805 to fill in the gaps with the readings he found in his own printed copy.[20] It is hardly necessary to imagine, as does Professor CH'ÊN Yüan, that PAO borrowed CHANG Hsiang-yün's facsimile copy before KU Kuang-ch'i prevailed upon CHANG Tun-jên to borrow the book later in the year. If we examine closely the photographic reproduction of the first page of the PAO collated copy,[21] we find in the first line under the title, in the five characters 忙豁侖紐察, that 忙 is written later or by a different hand, and that 紐 is miswritten as 紐. This would tend to confirm the report that PAO's own printed copy had suffered some damage at the begining. CHANG Hsiang-yün's facsimile copy was intact according to KU.

The fact that PAO had to fill in the gaps in his 15-*chüan* copy would seem to indicate that the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text had apparent *lacunae*, when compared with the printed text. CHANG Mu, 1805-1849, had, in the autumn of 1821, personally copied out of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*[22] the sectional summaries of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. Before giving the text to be printed in the *Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu*, he, too, had to collate it in 1847 with the PAO collated text then in the possession of HAN T'ai-hua.[23] Did he find some *lacunae* even in the sectional summaries? It is to be regretted that neither he nor PAO before him took pains to denote the specific textual variations between what was from the *Yung-lo ta-tien* and what was otherwise. Since the Boxer War in 1900 and the destruction of the College of Literature by fire, only a few hundred volumes of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* are now left, scattered in different parts of the world, and *chüan* 5179-5193 have never been reported as recovered.[24] It would be difficult to attempt a thoroughgoing comparison of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text and the early Ming printed text to arrive at a completely satisfactory conclusion about the relation between the two.[25]

Perhaps there may still be available in some of the old libraries some early recopies of such copies as CH'IEN Ta-hsin's, that had

[18] WANG Hui-tsu, *Ping-t'a mêng-hêng yü-lu* 病榻夢痕餘錄 (1886, *Wang Lung-chuang hsien-shêng i-shu* 汪龍莊先生遺書) 6a. Cf. CH'ÊN Jang 陳讓, "WANG Hui-tsu nien-p'u," *Fu-jên hsüeh-chih* 輔仁學誌 I, ii(1929).45-60. *Erh-shih-ssŭ-shih t'ung-hsing-ming lu* was never published. CH'IEN Ta-hsin's preface is in *Ch'ien-yen-t'ang wên-chi* 24.27a-28a. *Yüan-shih pên-chêng* (50 *chüan*; *Shao-hsing hsien-chêng i-shu* 紹興先正遺書, 1891), CH'IEN's preface is dated 1802.

[19] See *TSCSS* 5.51b. CHIN died while he was drinking with PAO.

[20] Two notations (quoted in *YPSIYYTK* 6a) under the dates 14 February and 11 March 1805 both use the expression 從刻本補寫訖.

[21] *YPSIYYTK*, Illustration 3.

[22] Cf. CHANG Mu, *Yin-chai wên-chi* 月齋文集 (8 *chüan*; *Shan-yu ts'ung-shu* 山右叢書) 3.20b, which has the text of his colophon to the copy he made. He also said that the 15 *chüan* were contained in 8 *ts'ê*. In his opinion, the text was continuous, constituting one bulky book; the *chüan* division was arbitrarily made by the editors of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*. LI Wên-t'ien (*YCPSC* 1.1a) commits the error of saying that the *Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu* text came from CH'IEN Ta-hsin's copy of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text. This error was inherited by NAKA Michiyo, *op. cit.*, p. 52, and HATTORI Shirō 服部四郎, *Genchō hishi no mōkogo wo arawasu kanji no kenkyū* 元朝秘史の蒙古語を表はす漢字の研究 (Tōkyō, 1941), p. 3.

[23] See CHANG's colophon (dated 13 July 1848), *YPS* 15.3a; cf. *YPSIYYTK* 6a.

[24] YÜAN T'ung-li, "*Yung-lo ta-tien* hsien-ts'un chüan-mu piao," *KLPPTSKKK* VIII, i(1933).103-140. IWAI Hirosato 岩井大慧 "Enshi *eiraku taiten* genson kammoku hyō hosei 袁氏永樂大典現存卷目表補正," *Ikeuchi hakase kanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* 池內博士還曆紀念東洋史論叢 (Tōkyō, 1940), pp. 108-160. IMAHORI Seiji 今堀誠二, "*Eiraku taiten* genson kammoku tsuiho 追補," *Shigaku Kenkyū* 12(1940), No. 3. I have, at present, no access to the last-named paper.

[25] Comparing the PAO collated text with the fragments of the Ming printed edition, Professor CH'ÊN Yüan (*YPSIYYTK* 7b-8b) gives a list of instances wherein both have the same wrong readings, and a list of those wherein the PAO text is better. From the former he concludes that the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text was derived from the printed text. From the latter, he concludes that the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text must have had the benefit of some editorial correction. But how are we to be certain that the editorial correction was not by CH'IEN Ta-hsin, or PAO T'ing-po, or someone else?

not been collated with the 10 + 2-*chüan* text.[26] If so, the reconstruction of the text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in the *Yung-lo ta-tien* may be an interesting project for some enterprising scholar.

II. The Ming printed text.

What is known as "Ku chiao pên 顧校本" may, perhaps, be rendered as the "Ku certified copy," because Ku performed no collation; and what he did was merely to check the recopied text against the original facsimile copy, which he had considered perfect. His certification consists of his handwritten colophon, the impression of one of his seals, with the inscription "Personally checked (or collated or proofread) by Ku Kuang-ch'i (*Ku Chien-p'in shou chiao* 顧澗蘋手校)" and, at the end of each *chüan*, the notation in his own handwriting of the number of leaves in that *chüan* and the date of his having finished checking that *chüan*.

The copy belonged, of course, to his host and employer, Chang

[26] In a previous note, I have already mentioned a Chia-ting Ch'ien family copy in the catalogue of the *Tieh-ch'in t'ung-chien lou*. Ting Ping 丁丙 (1832-1899), *Shan-pên shu-shih ts'ang-shu chih* 善本書室藏書志 (40 + 1 *chüan*; Hangchow, 1908) 7.22b records a manuscript copy of *Yüan pi-shih* 15 *chüan*, formerly belonging to Wang Tsung-yen 王宗炎, 1755-1826. Ch'ên Chêng-chih 陳徵芝 (*chin-shih* 1802) and Ch'ên Shu-shuo 陳樹杓 (fl. 1866), *Tai-ching-t'ang shu-mu* 帶經堂書目 (4 *chüan*; *circa* 1911) 2.12a records another manuscript copy, made by Chang Jung-ching 張蓉鏡 (fl. 1824; cf. *TSCSS* 5.68b-70a). Lu Hsin-yüan 陸心源, *Pi-sung-lou ts'ang-shu chih* 皕宋樓藏書志 (120 + 4 *chüan*; 1882) 23.14a-17a has another copy said to have once been in the possession of Lao Kê 勞格 (1820-1866) and wrongly described as a facsimile copy of a Yüan printed edition. The copy noted in *Seikadō bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku* 靜嘉堂文庫漢籍分類目錄 (Tōkyō, 1930), p. 241, might be a recopy from it. Chang Chin-wu 張金吾, *Ai-jih ching-lu ts'ang-shu chih* 愛日精廬藏書志 (36 + 4 *chüan*; 1826) 11.4a-5b records another copy, without stating its provenance. There are doubtless others in other libraries.

It may be noted that Chang Mu (*Yin-chai wên-chi* 3.20b) mentions that Ch'êng T'ung-wên 程同文 (d. 1823) had also made a copy directly from the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, which Ch'êng used copiously in composing his *Yüan-shih hsi-pei ti-li k'ao* 元史西北地理考, the manuscript of which was, however, lost.

Shimada Kan 島田翰, *Fang yü lu* 訪餘錄 (1905; Peking, 1927) 19b reports having seen the manuscript of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih shu chêng* 元朝秘史疏證 by the bibliophile Huang P'ei-lieh 黃丕烈 (1763-1825). This is curious, for Huang was not known to be a scholar in this field. On general principles, I am, on the whole, skeptical of Shimada's reports of bibliographical rarities. Cf. my prolegomena to *A Concordance to the Poems of Tu Fu* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement 14, 3 volumes, 1940) 1. xl, n. 201.

Tun-jên, 1754-1834, whose seal was impressed upon it. Later the book passed through the hands of several other owners—whose seals are also on the book—and then became the possession of the Manchu scholar Shêng-yü 盛昱, 1850-1900.[27] It is said that while in Shêng-yü's possession the book was recopied by both Li Wên-t'ien, 1834-1895, and Wên T'ing-shih 文廷式, 1856-1904.[28] Li's *Commentary on the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih chu* 注) was, however, on Chang Mu's 15-*chüan* collated text, with sectional summaries only,[29] and he hardly made use of the 12 + 2-*chüan* text with the Mongolian in Chinese transcription and with interlinear translation.[30] The Commentary was published in 1896, the year after Li's death; on the top margin are printed a number of Wên's comments, some of which are on items only found in the Chinese-transcribed Mongolian text.

Wên, moreover, had another recopy made of his own copy, which he presented as a gift in 1902 to Naitō Torajirō 內藤虎次郎 in Ōsaka, Japan, who promptly had another recopy made available to Naka Michiyo in Tōkyō.[31] In 1907 there was pub-

[27] On the photolithographic edition published by the Shanghai Commercial Press in *SPTK* III, I fail to note any seal impress of Shêng-yü. There is, however, one impression so faint and obliterated as to be utterly illegible. Could that be it? Cf. Fu Tsêng-hsiang 傅增湘, *Ts'ang-yüan ch'ün-shu t'i-chi* 藏園羣書題記 3(1933). 153-154.

[28] Naitō Torajirō 內藤虎次郎, *Kenki shōroku* 研幾小錄 (*Kyōto*, 1928), p. 160. Li's copy must have been made before the summer of 1891. There is one of his dated notations on its first page; see *YPSIYYTK*, Illustration 2. Naka (*CKJ*, Joron, p. 25) says that the copies of Wên and Li were made in 1885.

[29] Cf. *supra*, n. 22, on Li's error about the provenance of *YPS*.

[30] Naitō Torajirō (1866-1934), *Shina shigakushi* 支那史學史 (Tōkyō, 1949), p. 535, is very likely right in stating that Li had, perhaps, already written the larger part of his commentary before seeing the 10 + 2 *chüan* text.

[31] *CKJ*, p. 26, says that Wên's gift to Naitō was made at the end of 1901. *OMGH* = Shiratori Kurakichi (1865-1942), *Onyaku mōbun genchō hishi* (Tōkyō, 1942), Preface, states that the gift was made somewhere between 1901 and 1902. The English translation of the preface makes it that the gift was for Naitō and Naka jointly.

Wên's letter to Naitō, accompanying the book, and his note written on the cover of the book were both dated 10 January 1902. In the note, Wên made the error of stating that Shêng-yü's copy had previously belonged to Ch'ien Ta-hsin and then Chang Mu, and that after he had borrowed the book in the winter of 1885 and he and Li Wên-t'ien had each made a recopy, there were only three copies in

lished NAKA's *Chingisu kan jitsuroku,* which is a Japanese translation of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* on the basis of both the sectional summaries and the Chinese-transcribed Mongolian text. The work contains many notes quoting relevant Chinese and foreign source material as well as some of the research discussions on pertinent topics.

In the meantime, WÊN T'ing-shih's own copy of the 10+2-*chüan Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* had gone, according to Professor CH'ÊN Yüan, into the possession of YEH Tê-hui, 1864-1927,[32] who proceeded to publish it in 1908 in a wood-block edition, under the title Mêng-wên *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* or *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in Mongolian.[33] Thus for the first time the KU certified text, with allowable errors by copyists and printers, became easily accessible to scholars interested in the study of early Mongolian or the early period of Mongolian history. The growing interest in these fields during the subsequent years justified the republication in 1936, by the photolithographic process, of the original KU certified text

the world. That he did not know the real history of the book and that the KU Kuang-ch'i colophon was without KU's name compel one to conclude that the copy lent him by Shêng-yü was not the original KU certified copy, but a copy thereof—without the seals of previous owners and without KU's name on the colophon. Thus in 1888, there should have been at least four copies of the book, not three. In the note, WÊN expresses the hope that both NAITŌ and NAKA would make helpful discoveries from their study of the book. Cf. NAITŌ Torajirō, *Mokuto shodan* 目睹書譚 (Tōkyō, 1948), pp. 187, 188, 190; Plate [3].

[32] *YPSIYYTK*, p. 4a; Illustration 1. In YEH's *Hsi-yüan tu-shu chih* 自郎園讀書志 (16 *chüan*; 1928) 3.29a-30a there is an account of the book, dated 17 January 1907. It is full of erroneous statements. The book also appears in the catalogue of YEH's library, *Kuan-ku-t'ang shu-mu* 觀古堂書目 (4 *chüan*, 1925) 2.17a.

[33] YEH's preface to *MWYCPS* is dated 9th moon (7 October-5 November), 1907. Like his reading account written in January, this preface also makes the assertion that 忙豁侖紐察脫察安 represents the name and official title of the author and that the *Yung-lo ta-tien* did not have the Mongolian text transcribed with Chinese characters. The most amazing thing is that, while in the reading account YEH said that the KU Kuang-ch'i colophon attached to the copy had been copied out of KU's *Sŭ-shih-chai wên-chih* 思適齋文集 [18 *chüan*; *Ch'un-hui-t'ang ts'ung-shu* 春暉堂叢書; 14.17a-b], here in his own printed edition a note is appended to that colophon: "No author was indicated for this colophon." And does this mean that, when the copyist made the recopy from the copy in Shêng-yü's possession, he had neglected to copy down KU's signature and the indications of time and place after the colophon? See note 31.

by the Commercial Press in Shanghai, which then had the manuscript copy in its possession.[34]

Six years later, in 1942, there was published in Japan, by the Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫, the *Onyaku mōbun genchō hishi* of SHIRATORI Kurakichi, which represents a reprinting, by movable type, of the YEH Tê-hui edition with corrections—partially indicated with parentheses—and with the retranscription of Mongolian words in Latin letters.[35] That all these three printed editions—woodcut, photolithographic, and movable type—follow the same pagination and alignment is a happy convenience for textual comparison.

So far, we have dealt with KU's certified text, which through such processes of reprinting may be said to be reasonably assured of immortality. What has become of CHANG Hsiang-yün's copy, of which KU's certified copy claims to be a faithful recopy? If not lost, it may yet turn up sometime in the future. A more important question relates to the nature of the printed copy—or a hand copy thereof—of which the CHANG Hsiang-yün copy was a facsimile. Obviously, it could not have been the incomplete printed copy that belonged to CHIN Tê-yü or PAO T'ing-po, or both successively. CHANG's facsimile copy was said to be perfect and already old—in 1805. And that imperfect printed copy, in Chekiang in the early years of the nineteenth century, has never been heard of again!

[34] This photolithographic edition of the Commercial Press I shall designate as *YCPS(CP)*. At the end is a long colophon by CHANG Yüan-chi 張元濟, in which there is given a list of the textual deviations in *MWYCPS* when compared with *YCPS(CP)*. In *MNT* [which represents Professor HAENISCH's reconstruction of the *MWYCPS* Mongolian text with Latin letters] 128-138 is given a list of textual variations among *MWYCPS*, *YCPS(CP)*, the PAO-Palladius copy which hereafter I shall designate as *YCPS(P-P)*, and the fragments of the Ming printed edition which hereafter I shall designate as *YCPS(FP)*. HATTORI, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-21, declares this list to be not sufficiently satisfactory, and proceeds to tabulate his findings in the *MWYCPS*, *YCPS(CP)* and three texts in Japan (all of which are descended directly or indirectly from WÊN T'ing-shih's copy). It seems, however, that for purposes of the reconstruction of the Mongolian text or the study of the textual origin of the Chinese transcription and translation, only an accurate and exhaustive tabulation of the variants between *YCPS(CP)* and *YCPS(P-P)* is needed.

[35] This work of SHIRATORI was not proofread by himself and came off the press after his death.

To the bibliophile YANG Fu-chi 楊復吉, in 1787, the *Yüan pi-shih lüeh* 略 of WAN Kuang-t'ai 萬光泰 was, indeed, a literary curiosity. He saw a manuscript copy of it in PAO T'ing-po's library, made a recopy of it, and thought it worthy of publication.[36] To us, the book would appear to be of no value, for it consists only of casual selections—literarily polished and not chronologically arranged—from the sectional summaries of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. But WAN's preface is interesting:

> *Yüan pi-shih* 10 *chüan*, *Continuation* 2 *chüan*. No author's name. . . . The text has one line of Mongolian and then one line of translation. After each section, there is a summary translation connecting the [individually translated] words. For each line, there should originally have been the Mongolian script. Now it is not preserved. A few items from this book are used in the compilation of the *Yüan shih*. But there is a good deal of difference between the two books. In 1382, Huo-yüan-chieh 火原潔 and Ma-sha-i-hei 馬薩赤 (should be 沙亦) 黑, a rector (*shih-chiang* 侍講) and a compiler (*pien-hsiu* 編修) of the College of Literature were ordered to compile the *Sino-foreign Vocabulary* (*Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語). They relied very much on this book for consultation in order to decide on the manipulation of words and the approximation of sounds. The text, however, is not elegant or smooth and it tends to dwell on trivial things. After deleting the unbelievable, I compile this *Yüan pi-shih lüeh* in 2 *chüan*. . . . 6 June 1748, at Tientsin in the Small Flower-Watering Pavilion (*Hsiao-chiao-hua-t'ing* 小澆花亭) of the CH'A family.

The time was forty-three years before KU Kuang-ch'i saw a facsimile copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. The CH'A family of Tientsin was then, of course, the family of CH'A Wei-jên 查爲仁, 1694-1749, and CH'A Li 查禮, 1715-1783, and others, a family celebrated for wealth, hospitality, literary distinction and official prominence, a family that had lived in Peking and was already well-known at the close of the Ming dynasty.[37] It was just the type of family to have in its collection such a book as this, which SUN Ch'êng-tsê had already declared to be exceedingly rare. And could the copy used by SUN—to copy out the sectional summaries—be the same copy that was then or later in the CH'A family? Could one of the many scholars entertained or employed

[36] It was later published in *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu* 昭代叢書, 1833-1844. YANG's dated colophon is at the end of the book.

[37] For the CH'A family, see FANG Chao-ying, "CHA Li," *ECCP*, pp. 19-21.

by the CH'A family have made a facsimile copy of the book, that would account for CHANG Hsiang-yün's copy later in Lu-chou? These are conjectures, still lacking literary substantiation.

As already pointed out by CHANG Yüan-chi 張元濟 in his colophon to the Commercial Press photolithographic edition, a *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, in 12 *chüan*, was registered in the library catalogue of HUANG Yü-chi 黃虞稷, 1629-1691, *Ch'ien-ch'ing-t'ang shu-mu* 千頃堂書目 (32 *chüan*; *Shih-yüan ts'ung-shu* 適園叢書) 4.6a. This library was in Nanking, and if the book was a printed copy, one might conjecture that in the course of a century it had reached the bibliophile PAO T'ing-po in a worn state. But this is rather hazardous guessing.[38]

The attempt to trace an original printed copy arises mainly from the hope that it may help to give the answers to two questions: Was there not a preface which would tell when and how the transcription and the translations were made? Was CHANG Hsiang-yün's copy really a facsimile copy that could be relied upon as if it were the printed edition?

Fortunately, the second question can be answered. In 1933, in the old storage building known as *Nei-ko ta-k'u* 內閣大庫 in the Peking Palace, 41 leaves[39] of the printed edition were discovered, together with a few leaves of a printed edition of the *Hua-i i-yü*, which was thought to have been printed in the twenty-second year of the Hung-wu 洪武 period, namely 1389, as judged from the dated preface and some of the dated contents in the *Han-fên-lou pi-chi* 涵芬樓秘笈 photolithographic reproduction of an old printed copy. Since the rediscovered fragments of the two books show a striking resemblance in format and typography and among the names of the block-makers registered at the

[38] Despite the arguments of CHANG Chün-hêng 張鈞衡 in his colophon (1913) to HUANG's catalogue, HUANG really did not have all of the books registered therein. *Yung-lo ta-tien*, 22211 *chüan*, appears on 15.7a. It is unbelievable that he could have had that in his library.

[39] *YPSIYYTK* 7a-b says 45 leaves. CHANG Yüan-chi's colophon to *YCPS(CP)* says 41 leaves. The 41 leaves included in *YCPS(CP)* are as follows (the printed fragments have running page numbers as well as those by *chüan*): 3.9-11 (109-111), 3.13-16 (113-116), 3.46-48 (146-148), 4.45-49 (195-199), 7.29-36 (335-342), 8.21-29 (377-385), 8.32-40 (388-396).

center of the leaf, two are the same for both the *Hua-i i-yü* and the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, it was thought that the latter must also have been printed during the Hung-wu period, namely between 1368 and 1398.[40] The 41 leaves of the printed edition have been photographed and included in the Commercial Press photolithographic reproduction of the Ku certified copy.[41] The arrangement of words in the line and that of lines on the page are practically the same. The structure of the characters and the style of calligraphy are again not very dissimilar. Thus it may be concluded that the Chang Hsiang-yün copy must have been indeed a good facsimile copy of the so-called "Hung-wu" printed edition, and that the Ku certified copy must have been a good facsimile copy of the Chang Hsiang-yün copy.[42] In other words, the Ku certified copy may be regarded as so reliable that all textual errors therein must be attributed also to the printed edition, most of which is now lost.

As regards the first question, we have only certain circumstantial clues to some answers, partly conclusive and partly still conjectural. Li Wên-t'ien had already observed in 1891 that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, being a secret history of the Yüan, protected from circulation and unauthorized reading, could hardly have been translated so long as the Mongols were ruling China.[43]

[40] *YPSIYYTK* 7a-b, Illustrations 4, 5. The differences between the *Hua-i i-yü* reproduced in the *Han-fên-lou pi-chi* and the printed fragments discovered in 1933 are: a) The borders of the former are double-lined, while those of the latter are single-lined. b) The latter has the names of the wood-block-cutting workmen at the central margin, while the former has none. Professor Ch'ÊN believes that the signed blocks constitute the earliest edition—namely, that of 1389—and the copy reproduced in the *Han-fên-lou pi-chi* represents a later edition.

[41] It is to be regretted that because the editors substituted the fragments for the original leaves of the Ku certified copy, the latter are thus not available for purposes of comparison. Instead of comparing identical pages, we can only compare consecutive pages.

[42] The differences between the printed and copied pages are all in the center of the block (*pan-hsin* 板心). The printed edition has: a) a centering black bar (*hei-k'ou* 黑口); b) running page numbers, regardless of *chüan*; and c) the signature of the block-maker. The Ku certified copy has none of these.

[43] Li's handwritten note on his copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. See *YPSIYYTK*, Illustration 2. He quotes *Yüan shih* 35.14b, under the date 30 May 1331, when Chinese official scholars requested the use of *The Tobčiyan* to enable them to incorporate the history of T'ai-tsu [= Činggis Qan] into the *Ching-shih ta-tien* 經世大典 and were refused on the ground that "*The Tobčiyan* is a matter of secrecy and proscription, not allowed to be circulated among, or copied by, outsiders 脫卜赤顏事關秘禁非可令外人傳寫."

Later, in his published commentary, Li observed that the peculiar use in the sectional summaries of the word *fei* 廢 "to abolish" in the sense of *chu* 誅 "to kill, to execute," savors of the taboo of the early years of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), when, because the name of the imperial family was Chu 朱, homophonous with 誅, *fei* was used as a substitute for the latter.[44] Moreover, the use of the term *Pei-p'ing* 北平 would mean that the translation was done between 1368 and 1404—in other words, after Ta-tu 大都 had fallen as a capital of the Yüan and before Peking had risen as a capital of the Ming.[45] Without citing other arguments, we may consider these to be sufficient for setting certain chronological limits for both the sectional and the interlinear translations—the latter also uses the terms *fei* and *Pei-p'ing*.

Some scholars of the late Ming and early Ch'ing[46] who had something to say about the Mongolian-Chinese vocabulary, *Hua-i*

[44] *YCPSC* 4.25b. Cf. P'an Ch'êng-chang 潘檉章, d. 1663, *Kuo shih k'ao i* 國史考異 (6 *chüan*; *Kung-shun-t'ang ts'ung-shu* 功順堂叢書) 2.20b; *Kao huang-ti yü-chih wên-chi* 高皇帝御製文集 (20 *chüan*; Yün-nan edition, 1529) 7.28a-29a. The *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* is not consistent in the use of "fei." Kanai Yasuzō 金井保三, "Genchō hishi kanyaku no jidai 元朝秘史漢譯の時代," *TG* 1(1911).7 points out two passages where *chu* 誅 is used. Cf. *OMGII* 4.49a, 5.21b. Such inconsistency means, however, only that the translation might have been done at different times or that there might have been more than one translator. As a matter of fact, there are plenty of examples of the official use of *chu* during 1368-1398. The taboo was more social than legal. The official dictionary, *Hung-wu chêng-yün* 洪武正韻, promulgated in 1375, has "*chu* 誅, to kill, to execute," in *chüan* 2, rhyme 4, *yü* 魚.

[45] *YCPSC* 13.13a-14a. Li was somewhat puzzled over the term "Prince of Pei-p'ing, Pei-p'ing-wang 北平王" in Yü Chi 虞集 (1272-1348), *Tao-yüan hsüeh-ku-lu* 道園學古錄 (50 *chüan*; *SPTK*) 23.7b-8a. Kanai, *loc. cit.*, p. 70 seizes upon this to argue that "Pei-p'ing" was used in Yüan times. It should be realized, however, that antiquated place names may be used in titles of investiture. "Pei-p'ing" here refers to the ancient Pei-p'ing-chün 郡, not Ta-tu of the Yüan.

[46] Chêng Hsiao 鄭曉, 1499-1566, *Wu-hsüeh-pien* 吾學編 (69 *chüan*; Ming edition) 67.1b; *Chin yen* 今言 (4 *chüan*, in *Chi-lu hui-pien* 紀錄彙編 144-147) 4.48a-b; Ku Yen-wu 顧炎武 (1613-1682), *Jih-chih-lu chih yü* 日知錄之餘 (4 *chüan*; 1910) 4.14b-15a. Ku probably quoted from *Ming shih-lu* directly. Chêng's quotation was probably indirect, for he has 馬懿赤黑 instead of 馬沙亦黑. Likewise, the quotation in Huang Kuang-shêng 黃光昇 (*chin-shih* 1535), *Chao-tai tien-tsê* 昭代典則 (28 *chüan*; 1600) 9.20b-21a.

i-yü, had already quoted a passage from the *Ming shih-lu*, the text of which is now easily accessible. Under the date 20 January 1582 it says:

> [The Emperor] ordered Huo-yüan-chieh, a rector of the College of Literature, and others to compile the *Hua-i i-yü*. His Majesty knew that the former Yüan dynasty never had a written language of its own and that in issuing summonses and dispatching orders it merely borrowed the Uighur script to make up Mongolian words for translating the languages of the world. [. . .] Now, consequently, he commanded Huo-yüan-chieh, together with Ma-sha-i-hei, a Compiler [of the College of Literature], and others to translate its words into Chinese. Everything in astronomy, geography, human affairs, categories of living things, food and raiment, utensils—none is left out of the compilation. [They], moreover, used the *Yüan pi-shih* for reference, joining or cutting the words [on the one hand] to approximate the sounds [on the other]. When it was finished, the Emperor decreed that it be printed and circulated. Henceforth, our official envoys going to or returning from the northern regions were all enabled to comprehend the [barbarian] mind.[47]

Discussing the provenance of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, WAN Kuang-t'ai, in 1748, quoted this passage indirectly.[48] He apparently felt that the passage justified the surmise that the transcribed and translated text was already in existence before the time of the compilation of the *Hua-i i-yü*. NAKA Michiyo's interpretation of the passage, however, was such as to enable him to conclude that the Mongolian text in Uighur script " was transcribed with Chinese characters and translated with Chinese vernacular terms by Rector Huo-yüan-chieh of the College of Literature and others, in 1382." [49]

In copying down the 1382 quotation, NAKA inadvertently omitted the two words *ts'an k'ao* 參考 " for reference." [50] This led KANAI Yasuzō 金井保三, in 1911, to challenge NAKA's conclusion on the time of the transcription and translation of the Mongolian text. KANAI's own reading of the passage is that the transcription and translation were done long before 1382, when they were consulted as a model for such work. KANAI's theory was that T'a-t'a T'ung-a 塔塔統阿, a learned Uighur contemporary of Činggis (d. 1227) and Ögödei (d. 1241), wrote the Mongolian text in the Uighur script, and that, later, the text was translated into Chinese, by command of the Emperor Jên-tsung (1312-1320), by the learned Ch'a-han 察罕 (Čaγan), who was known to have translated *The Tobčiyan* into such works as the *Shêng-wu k'ai-t'ien-chi* 聖武開天紀, the *Chi-nien tsuan-yao* 紀年纂要, and the *T'ai-tsung p'ing-chin shih-mo* 太宗平金始末.[51] Such positive identifications have not since been, and need not, indeed, be, taken seriously. As for NAKA's inadvertent *lapsus* in copying, it need involve neither a reflection on his intellectual honesty nor a blow to his chronological inference. As pointed out in the defense by INABA Iwakichi 稻葉岩吉,[52] even with the words *ts'an k'ao* in the passage quoted, NAKA could still have thought that it was the untranscribed and untranslated Mongolian text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* that was used for reference in 1382.

In 1925, WANG Kuo-wei read the passage in question, probably in a light similar to that of KANAI. He proceeded to demonstrate that the task of transcribing and translating the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was very likely performed in the second half of the year 1369. By the summer of that year the hurried compilation of the *Yüan shih* was all finished except for the last thirty-six years of the reign of Shun-ti, 1333-1368. With the veritable records (*shih lu*

[47] *Ming shih-lu* (500 *ts'ê*; Nanking, 1940) 20.141.3b-4a. Cf. the translation by Paul PELLIOT (1878-1945), on pages 230-231 of " Le Ḥōja et le Sayyid Ḥusain de l'Histoire des Ming," *TP* 38 (1948).81-292. The expression *niu ch'ieh ch'i tzŭ* 紐切其字 must have appeared difficult to comprehend. Hence in such quotations as those by CHÊNG Hsiao and HUANG Kuang-shêng (see previous note), it has become *i ch'ieh ch'i tzŭ* 以切其字. In SUN Yü-hsiu's 孫毓修 colophon to the *Hua-i i-yü* (*Han-fên-lou pi-chi*), it has become *hsi ch'ieh ch'i tzŭ* 細切其字. PELLIOT's rendering, " ils en analysèrent les éléments écrits," savors somewhat of the latter. The compilers of the *Shih-lu* seem to have taken the term from LIU San-wu's 劉三吾 preface to the *Hua-i i-yü*, where it says: " 其書一字數音反復紐切然後成文. In their writing, each word is made up of several letters; one has to join or cut them back and forth before a text is formed." They use the term, however, in a different context: 紐切其字以諧其聲音, where it is 字 " Chinese words," not " Uighur letters," which had to be joined or cut. In 脫卜赤顏, it is joining together four words, one of which, 卜 (*pu*), having the vocalic half cut off. The result would approximate the sound of *tobčiyan*. Thus it seems to be a good description of the process of transcribing Mongolian words with Chinese characters.

[48] Since he has 馬懿赤黑 instead of 馬沙亦黑, he probably took the quotation from some such source as a book of CHÊNG Hsiao or HUANG Kuang-shêng.

[49] *CKJ*, p. 1.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[51] KANAI, *loc. cit.*, pp. 68-69; " Genchō hishi kanyaku nendai hokō 元朝秘史漢譯年代補考," *TG* 1 (1911).429-430. Cf. *YS* 124.6a-7a; 137.1a-3b.

[52] " Genchō hishi kanyaku no nendai bengi 辨疑," *TG* 1 (1911).411.

實錄) of thirteen reigns at their elbow, the compilers were able to write down the history from T'ai-tsu to Wên-tsung (1206-1332), in 161 *chüan*, in about half a year. There were no veritable records for the last Mongolian emperor who had fled to Mongolia; the Ming official historiographers were helpless. An official commission was dispatched to Pei-p'ing, charged with the duty of finding the relevant historical material. If foreign languages were involved, the commissioners were to have them translated into Chinese. On 30 November 1369 the commission completed its task in eighty portfolios (*chih* 帙). These were transported to Nanking, and the compilers of the *Yüan shih* were able to finish 48 *chüan* for presentation before the following summer. WANG Kuo-wei believed that it was the commission that had the Mongolian *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* translated into Chinese. Though it was among the contents of the eighty portfolios, its own contents were not used for the *Yüan shih*, for the compilers considered the early parts of their compilation as finished and done with.[53]

By 1934, the chronological seesaw was to tip again the other way. Professor CH'ÊN Yüan's paper was to show that the transcription of the Mongolian *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* must have been made after rather than before the compilation of *Hua-i i-yü*. In transcribing Mongolian terms with Chinese characters, there is in the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* an almost consistent attempt to choose or even to fabricate those characters which would suggest the category of meaning of the Mongolian word. If it is a mountain or a river, the transcription contains a character with the "mountain" or "water" sign. For instance, 阿帇剌 [*a'ula*] "mountain," 騰汲思 [*T'enggis*] "The Tenggis." Similar devices are applied to other categories of nouns, verbs, etc. If a device is needed to bring forth a rather complex meaning, the transcriber might even string characters together in the form of a phrase. For instance, [*šili'un*] 君子 [*chün-tzŭ*, "a gentleman"] would be 識理溫 [*shih-li-wên*, "reasonable and warm"]; [*ničügün*] 赤裸 [*ch'ih-lo*, "stark naked"] would be 你出禿 [*ni ch'u k'un*, "you without pants"]. In the *Hua-i i-yü* one may occasionally find a transcription with some mnemonic aid; but it is the exception rather than the rule. The transcription in the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* represents, therefore, an advanced stage of the technique. It must have come about after the completion of the *Hua-i i-yü*, in other words, after 1389.[54]

[53] WANG Kuo-wei, "Mêng-wên *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* pa," 4a-5b. Cf. SUNG Lien 宋濂 (1310-1381), *Sung hsüeh-shih ch'üan-chi* 宋學士全集 (14 *ts'ê*; *SPTK*) 4.4.1a-2a; LI Chin-hua 李晉華, *Ming-tai ch'ih-chuan shu k'ao* 明代敕撰書考 (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement No. 5, 1932), pp. 3-4.

Two other changes in the transcription system were also discovered by Professor CH'ÊN. One of these concerns the perfective ending of verbs. In the *Hua-i i-yü*, they are 八 [*-ba*], 別 [*-be*], 伯 [*-bai*], and 巴 [*-ba*], in the order of frequency. With the exception of one 巴 and about half a dozen 別, all such endings become 罷 [*-ba*] in the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. 512 out of the 1,110 罷 have a note appended, indicating the original reading (286 伯, 223 別, 2 巴, 1 八); but there is not a single note for the eighty-six in *chüan* 1; and there are only three notes for the 115 in *chüan* 2. There are a few dozen cases where the notation seems to be promiscuous; for instance, fourteen cases of 來了 ["come," *irebe*] 亦舌列罷 and 〔教〕去了 ["sent," *ilebe*] 亦列罷 are provided with notes, half 原作伯 and half 原作別. CH'ÊN's tabulation of his findings is based on the YEH wood-block edition. He gives also a few cases of discrepancy in such notations when compared with the PAO-Palladius hand copy. CH'ÊN's conclusion is that the omissions of, and errors in, notation are attributable to copying scribes, that the deliberate substitution of 罷 for the earlier 八, 別, 伯, and 巴 was made because 罷 had the connotation of 了 (particle denoting completion), and that the rise of the number of notations after *chüan* 2 might be because the idea of such notations was an afterthought, after most of the first two *chüan* were already inscribed on blocks.[55]

Another change in the system relates to the transcription of *-'ul* with 丁溫, wherein the arbitrary use of the little character 丁 is clearly explained in the introduction to the *Hua-i i-yü*. Professor

[54] *YPSIYYTK* 16a-27b, 29a-b. *YCPSC* 6.12a has a printed comment at the top margin, where it was already observed that the transcriber of the *YCPS* added mountain or water signs to characters to denote a mountain or a stream. Professor CH'ÊN was, however, the first one to make a systematic study of the phenomenon and to draw chronological inferences from it.

[55] *YPSIYYTK* 10b, 16a.

CH'ÊN discovered that the same means had been employed in the earlier stage, but later abandoned in the process of transcribing the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. Indeed, in any of our current 10 + 2-*chüan* editions, no such little 丁 can be found. But there is a trace of two of them in the second sectional summary in both the 15-*chüan* extract edition in the *Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu* and the 15 *chüan* PAO T'ing-po collated copy. It is only a trace, because, in the former, the two little 丁 were corrupted to two little 下, and, in the latter, they became one 干 and one 下. Since the *Yung-lo ta-tien* has been lost, how can one verify that it was really a little 丁 that had been transformed to the meaningless 下 and 干 ?

Fortunately, Professor CH'ÊN had come into possession of a handwritten copy of the sectional summaries of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, which long ago was in the *Nei-ko ta-k'u* of the palace and which bears a notation at the end, " One copy, 2 *pên*, copied and received in the eighth moon [5 September-3 October], 1404." There he found the two perfect little 丁 that completely confirmed his theory! With this assurance, he probed the 10 + 2-*chüan* text once more and discovered that in the first two *chüan* there were many cases wherein the little 勒, supposed to follow 溫 and displace 丁, was either completely missing or somehow misplaced after characters other than 溫. This shows that there were, indeed, 丁, and that the task of the substitution of 勒 had not been well performed.[56]

The painstaking and brilliant study by Professor CH'ÊN, doubtless aided by the advice of some eminent Mongolist, may be summed up as having arrived at the following conclusions:

a) The *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was translated so long after the Mongolian text was written that some of the antiquated words had ceased to be comprehensible and had to be left untranslated in the interlinear translation.[57]

b) The notes to the transcription must have been made in the Ming period, because the use of *yüan* 原 in the sense of *yüan* 元 " originally " began only after the Yüan dynasty had been overthrown.[58]

[56] *Ibid.*, 28a-29a; Illustrations 3, 6. [57] *Ibid.*, 29b.
[58] *Ibid.*, 5a. Cf. SHÊN Tê-fu 沈德符, *Yeh huo pien* 野獲編 (32 *chüan*, 1606, II

c) The elaborate mnemonic devices in the transcription indicate an improvement in technique subsequent to the system employed in the *Hua-i i-yü*.[59]

d) Yet, the first printed edition must have been made either simultaneously with, or very shortly after, the first (1389) edition of the *Hua-i i-yü*; it would be safe, at any rate, to date it between the years 1389 and 1398.[60]

The evidences offered and the inferences drawn from them seem to be irrefutable. There the matter has rested for sixteen years now.

When one comes to re-examine the problems closely, one is, however, struck by a number of puzzling questions:

a) Since the notations of original readings would presuppose a previous manuscript where the relevant Mongolian suffixes read 伯, 別, 巴, or 八, instead of 罷, could that previous manuscript, like the *Hua-i i-yü*, also be scant in mnemonic devices?

b) If so, why is it that such a change of Chinese characters to accommodate the mnemonic device is never noted, as is the case of the substitution of 罷 for 伯, etc?

c) If there was a previous manuscript embodying a transcription system very similar to that of the *Hua-i i-yü*, it could, indeed, have been a manuscript done simultaneously with, or shortly after, the compilation of the *Hua-i i-yü*; but could it not have been done shortly before the compilation of the *Hua-i i-yü* or even have antedated it by ten to fifteen years?

d) Since the compilation of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* was not begun until 1403 and the printing of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was thought to have taken place sometime between 1389 and 1398, it was but natural to assume that the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was copied from the printed edition and to consider the better readings in the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text to have come about as a result of editorial correction. But there are also readings

Pu i 補遺 4 *chüan*, 1619; Canton, 1827) II, 1.18b-19a; KU Yen-wu (1613-1682), *Jih chih lu* (32 *chüan*; with *Chi shih* 集釋 by HUANG Ju-ch'êng 黃汝成, 1834; *SPPY* [= *Sstt-pu pei-yao*]) 32.13a.
[59] *YPSIYYTK* 29a-b. [60] *Ibid.*, 7a.

wrong in the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text but right in the printed edition;[61] would it not be easier to suppose that both the *Yung-lo ta-tien* and the printed text had come from a manuscript, both of them inheriting old errors and each inadvertently adding new ones of its own?

e) If there was already in existence a printed edition of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih,* which could be used for copying into the *Yung-lo ta-tien* in 1403-1408, why should one have taken the trouble to order a handwritten copy of the sectional summaries in 1404?

f) Why was it that in this 1404 copy, the sections were not separated, but were made to run continuously one after the other?[62]

With such questions, one is obliged to seek more evidence and to formulate new answers. As a result, one may need to imagine a new picture of the series of events relating to the transcription, translation, and printing of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih.*

In the interlinear translation, 中都 [*Jungdu*] was sometimes rendered as 大都 [*Ta-tu*] and sometimes as 北平 [*Pei-p'ing*].[63] *Pei-p'ing* poses no problem. *Ta-tu* will admit of two interpretations. One is that the interlinear translation was made before the end of the Yüan; this, however, is unlikely, for it not only was against the ruling to circulate *The Tobčiyan,* but it also was expressly against the law to help Chinese to learn Mongolian.[64] The other interpretation is that the Mongolian translator forced or induced to undertake the task of translation wanted to show that he still preferred the old name to the new—a mild expression of lingering loyalty to the overthrown regime that would not at all offend the

[61] Comparing *YCPS(P-P)* 1.1b (*YPSIYYTK,* Illustration 3), lines 9 and 10 with *YCPS(CP)* 1.2b, lines 3 and 4, we shall find that in 孛忽羅勒歹連牙勒必 [Boroldai Suyalbi], 連 is an error for 速, and that in 脫羅豁勒眞 [Toroγoljin], little 舌 and 中 have been inadvertently omitted from the left side of the second and third characters.

[62] Unfortunately, we have only *YPSIYYTK,* Illustration 6, for this observation. On that page, 2 paragraphs are merged into one.

[63] As Ta-tu: *OMGH* C1.2b2, 4a2, 6b1, 51a2. As Pei-p'ing: *OMGH* C1.13a5, 14b1, 4, 15a1, 5, 15b2, 3, 16a2, 16b2, C2.26a3.

[64] *YS* 39.8b. The date is 30 May 1337.

Chinese emperor. If such was the case, it would have been more likely to occur in the earlier rather than the later part of the process of inducing the Mongols to serve the Chinese court. The time may, indeed, have been, as WANG Kuo-wei thought, the second half of the year 1369. But one need not be so definite. Hsü Ta 徐達 [65] was credited with sending in 1368 from Pei-p'ing to Nanking the Yüan historical records including the veritable records of the 13 reigns. There is nothing against the supposition that he also sent documents in Mongolian or that these included the *Mongγol-un Ni'uča Tobča'an.*

It is not necessary to believe that this work was translated under the orders of the commission of 1369. The commission's main purpose was to search for historical material relating to the closing, not the opening, period of Mongolian history. Nor is it necessary to assume that the translated book must have arrived in Nanking too late for the compilers of the *Yüan shih* to use in connection with the stories of Činggis and Ögödei. Let us suppose that, while they were compiling these early portions of the *Yüan shih,* there was already available the Chinese translation of the *Mongγol-un Ni'uča Tobča'an* in whole or in part—translated by Mongolian and Uighur scholars, under apparently hospitable employment, but really close surveillance, ordered to prepare or translate Mongolian documents jointly, or, more likely, separately, in order to afford the Chinese supervisor some control over the reliability of such work. Let us also suppose that the compilers of the *Yüan shih* had, at an early stage, seen the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in the interlinear or the sectional translation, or both. May we be sure that they would have been inclined to use it? Not at all. They were official scholars interested in finishing the compilation quickly in order soon to go home or to receive rewards by way of promotion. They were not research students under the compulsion of scientific accuracy and completeness. And a hurried comparison of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* with the veritable records of the reigns of Činggis and Ögödei might have, indeed, given them the notion that the latter already included all that was

[65] *Ming shih* (Shanghai T'ung-wên shu-chü, photolithographic reproduction of the Palace edition, 1894) 96.1a, cf. 125.5b.

worth taking from the former. Since they could easily rearrange, cut, and condense the veritable records, why should they have troubled themselves with the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, some parts of which they might even have considered as unbelievable and unedifying? Even when HUANG Kuang-t'ai undertook in 1748 to make selective extracts from the book, he left out much of the myth, murder, and rape.

Broadly speaking, we may imagine that the translation of the *Mongγol-un Ni'uča Tobča'an* was begun early in the Hung-wu period (1368-1398). By the time when it was thought of in connection with the *Hua-i i-yü*, there might have existed already (A) at least one copy in the Uighur script, with the Chinese interlinear transcription, embodying a system of technique, not at all more advanced than that of the *Hua-i i-yü*, with interlinear translation containing variant renderings of identical terms; and (B) at least one copy of the free and summarized translation, containing differences in literary style, divergent renderings of identical terms, and variant transcriptions of the same personal names —indications that more than one translator worked on different parts. The variation in the transcription of personal names exists also in A, but frequently the corresponding sections in A and B do not agree on the choice of characters to transcribe the same name [66]—an indication that different translators worked on the interlinear and the free translations of the text of the same section.

When it was thought that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* might be used as a reference reader for authorized Chinese students in training as interpreters—to accompany military expeditions into Mongolia and to assist in receptions and interviews given to Mongolian envoys and fugitives—some improvement came to be considered. Thus arose the C text, interspersing the A and B texts, deleting the Mongolian script—for interpreters used their ears and mouths, not their hands—introducing the mnemonic devices in transcription, and changing the method for the transcription of *'ul*. Such innovations in technique must, as Professor CH'ÊN says,

[66] For instance: *OMGH* 9.1a-3b, Boroγul is 孛𧷜羅中忽勒 in the interlinear but 孛𧷜羅兀勒 in the summary translation. In 10.17b-20b, the transcriptions are just the other way around.

have come about after the completion of the *Hua-i i-yü*. And LIU San-wu's preface to the *Hua-i i-yü* said nothing about the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. Moreover, the whole system of innovation could hardly have come about very soon after 1389. The question of mnemonic aids was a concern of the Chinese student, not of the Mongolian teacher, who needed no such device to remember the meaning of the Mongolian word. It is possible that some of the students undertook the revision under the supervision of the masters. When the masters discovered that 罷 had displaced both 別 and 伯, they, perhaps, could not regard the substitution in the same light as the exchange of one homophonous character for another of more mnemonic helpfulness, for the pronunciation of *-be* as *-ba* would be a violation of vocalic harmony, a well-known feature of the Altaic languages. Since the text was already written on paper, a remedy in the form of inserted notations was thought to be permissible. Working backward from the end to the beginning, they mechanically restored the original 伯 and 別 in notes. Their work was neither thorough nor accurate, and before they finished, they had given it up, perhaps on the ground that the nature of the preceding vocalic or vocalics in the transcription would be sufficient to indicate whether or not the vowel in the last syllable should be fronted.[67]

When the *Yung-lo ta-tien* was in the process of compilation, the question whether the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* might be copied into the section under the rubric *Yüan* 元 would have to be decided on the merits of the book. A neat copy of B was made in mid-autumn, 1404, and submitted to the Compiling Board of the *Wên-hsien ta-ch'êng* (文獻大成 *Summa Literaria*, which was renamed *Yung-lo ta-tien* after completion). This copy, which we may call D, was in the *Nei-ko ta-k'u* for a long time, was in the library of LIU Yao-yün 劉燕雲 (1849-1917) for a short while, and was in 1933 in the possession of Professor CH'ÊN Yüan.

We may imagine that the compilers of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* not only thought well of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in the form of D, but

[67] It seems that in A, 伯 stood for both *-bai* or *-bei*. For instance: *OMGH* 6.18a5, 18b3 做了:孛勒罷(原作伯) and 起了:耨兀罷(原作伯) might be in A *bolbai* and *ne'übei* respectively.

also considered it desirable to have C—or a copy thereof—recopied into the encyclopedic compilation. Thus there came into existence (E) the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*.

We may conjecture that (F) the text of the printed edition also descended from C, and that the printing was done either simultaneously with the later stage of the compilation of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, or not long after it. If the printed fragments of the *Hua-i i-yü*, discovered in 1933, really belonged to the edition of 1389, there is, of course, some difficulty in the way of placing the printing of the first edition of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* as late as 1408 or later. The striking resemblance between the two sets of printed fragments, and the identity of at least two of the woodblock makers would hardly admit the lapse of two decades or more between the two pieces of work. But the dating of the *Hua-i i-yü* fragments needs to be revised. Professor CH'ÊN took the presence of the signatures of the workmen as the indication of the earliest edition. That is, however, not conclusive. A later facsimile edition—made by incising the blocks with the leaves of the earlier edition pasted on inversely—may have the names of the workmen added if the working conditions are such as to demand separate accounting of individual work. A better criterion in comparing such editions is to determine which represents more painstaking work and which less. The fact that the edition of the fragments has single-line borders while the borders of the edition represented in *Han-fên-lou pi-chi* are double-lined would be almost sufficient to reverse the verdict of Professor CH'ÊN on the question of priority regarding the two editions. If we compare closely Illustration 4, given by Professor CH'ÊN, with the corresponding page in the *Han-fên-lou pi-chi* edition, we shall find in the first line of the text the character 着, not very well represented indeed in the latter text, but not so badly defective as it is in the former. We cannot be certain that the latter does represent the first edition. But we can be certain that the former does not.

Both the *Hua-i i-yü* and the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* fragments might have belonged to a time considerably later than the Yung-lo period (1403-1424). For the time being, and in the absence of any contrary evidence, we may imagine that they both belonged

to a time somewhere between 1404 and 1418, and that for the *Hua-i i-yü* it was the second edition, for the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, the first.

In the list of book-blocks in the Palace Printing Bureau (*Nei-fu ching-ch'ang* 內府經廠), made by Eunuch LIU Jo-yü 劉若愚 near the end of the Ming dynasty, are "*Hua-i i-yü*, 1 *pên*, 88 leaves," and "*Tsêng-ting hua-i i-yü* 增定, *Enlarged Hua-i i-yü*, 11 *pên*, 1708 leaves."[68] The *Hua-i i-yü* in the *Han-fên-lou pi-chi* consists of 3 + 1 + 28 + 28 + 24 [= 84] leaves. This is 4 leaves short compared with the figure given by LIU. PELLIOT[69] thought that "88" might have been a misprint for "84," or that another preface of 4 leaves had dropped out of the surviving copy. It seems that another interpretation is also possible. The title leaf is certainly missing. The other three missing leaves may be another preface, or another letter to make the latter part of the book 28 + 27 leaves.

PELLIOT saw in the British Museum six Sino-foreign vocabularies which, he thought, belonged to the *Enlarged Hua-i i-yü*. He believed that the complete set should cover ten foreign languages, and he calculated from the specimens he had seen that 1100 leaves would be more than sufficient to embody the entire work. Then he thought that there might be some "suppliques" to account for the extra 608 leaves.[70] We may now mention another peculiarity in Eunuch LIU's inventory. Nowhere is the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* registered. Strange!—since the typography and format of the fragments strongly suggest the workmanship of the Palace Printing Bureau. Since the fragment of the printed *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* give both the serial number of the leaf in the *chüan* and its serial number in the book as a whole, we can easily calculate the total number of leaves in the complete book by adding up the last numbers of the 10 + 2 *chüan* in the Commercial Press reproduction of the KU certified copy. The total comes to 610. The possibility, then, is that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was a

[68] *Ming-tai nei-fu ching-ch'ang-pên shu-mu* 明代內府經廠本書目 (*T'ao-chi-shu-mu* 陶輯書目) 6b, 5a.

[69] PELLIOT, "Le Ḥōja . . . ," pp. 274-275. PELLIOT miscounted the leaves of the *Han-fên-lou pi-chi* edition as 85.

[70] PELLIOT, "Le Ḥōja . . . ," pp. 275-276.

part of the *Enlarged Hua-i i-yü*, a reference reader to follow the Sino-Mongolian vocabulary. Perhaps during the Yung-lo period, the *Enlarged Hua-i i-yü* had not yet reached the size mentioned by Liu Jo-yü two centuries later. But it might have at least consisted of the second edition of the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389 and the first printed edition of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*.

This first edition of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was in all probability without a preface. Since the consecutive numbering of the blocks is to facilitate storage and inventory, the prefatory leaves should ordinarily have been included. But the consecutive numbering on the surviving fragments would not allow this. Since it is not likely that such a bulky work was committed to printing without specifying the responsibility and credit of the work of transcription and translation, we are compelled to imagine that such acknowledgment was, perhaps, given in the general preface to the *Enlarged Hua-i i-yü*. Is there some trace of this preface? Yes.

Pelliot observed long ago that the passage relating to the *Hua-i i-yü* was placed retrospectively in the *Ming shih-lu* under the date of 20 January 1382.[71] This was probably the date of the order for the compilation. Had we not known that the compilation was not completed until late in 1389, we might have been easily misled by that passage to think that the *Hua-i i-yü* was already compiled and published in 1382. An important question is: Where did the official historiographers obtain the material for that passage? These men rarely put their own brains completely to work. The present passage bears clearly the marks of the clumsy and stupid use of "scissors." Certain wordings might have come from Liu San-wu's preface to the *Hua-i i-yü*. But Liu had said nothing about compiler Ma-sha-i-hei, nor anything about the book *Yüan pi-shih*. A possible hypothesis is that these compilers or revisers of the veritable records of Emperor Ming T'ai-tsu had merely taken the preface of the *Enlarged Hua-i i-yü*, cut, and condensed it in the passage they give.

If this conjecture is correct, it naturally follows that that preface might have been in existence before the completion of the veritable records of T'ai-tsu. These records, though their compilation was begun in 1399, were revised and rewritten, and did not reach their final completion until 1418.[72]

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

If the 41 leaves discovered in 1933 really came from the *Enlarged Hua-i i-yü* as we have imagined, dare we hope that in some of the still not thoroughly cleared recesses in the interiors of the *Nei-ko ta-k'u* or in some of the still unsorted piles of "rubbish" that were taken years ago out of the *Nei-ko ta-k'u*, there might yet be rediscovered that elusive preface and that it might have something more to tell us about the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* at the early period of the Ming dynasty?[73]

III. The Mongolian manuscript

Since Ch'ien Ta-hsin raised the question whether the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* might not be *The Tobčiyan* of Yüan times, scholars have gradually ferreted out of the *Yüan shih*, passages where *The Tobčiyan* is mentioned. Pelliot listed these references together in 1913.[74] They are 5 in number. In 1946, Professor Walter Fuchs cited the Chinese texts of these passages and gave his translations in German.[75] To add to this list, one may take a citation by Shên Tsêng-chih[76] of the text of a stele inscription by Hsü Yu-jên 許有壬, 1287-1364. It may be observed that all of these passages relate to the later period of the Yüan dynasty, not earlier than 1312. The term *tobčiyan* seems to be used in the sense of a series of historical compilations in Mongolian relating to the deeds of the emperors from Činggis downward. At least one of the series must have been a detailed life of Činggis and was

[72] For the history of the *T'ai-tsu shih-lu*, cf. Li Chin-hua, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27; Wu Han 吳晗, "Chi *Ming shih-lu* 記," *CYYY* 18 (1948).409.

[73] Hsü Chung-shu 徐中舒, "Nei-ko tang-an chih yu-lai chi ch'i chêng-li 內閣檔案之由來及其整理," *Ming Ch'ing shih-liao* 明清史料 1 (1930).1-14b; for the history of Nei-ko-ta-k'u, see A. K. Ch'iu, "Chinese historical documents of the Ch'ing dynasty," *Pacific Historical Review* 1 (1932).324-336; Fang Su-shêng 方甦生, *Ch'ing nei-ko k'u-ch'u chiu-tang chi-k'an* 清內閣庫貯舊檔輯刊 (Peiping, 1935, 6 *ts'ê*) 1.1a-65a.

[74] Paul Pelliot, "Le titre mongol du *Yuan tch'ao pi che*," *TP* 14 (1913).132.

[75] Walter Fuchs, "Analecta zur Mongolischen Uebersetzungsliteratur der Yuan-Zeit," *MS* 11 (1946).59-63.

[76] *YPSPC* 1.1a, cf. Hsü Yu-jên, *Kuei-t'ang hsiao-kao* 圭塘小稿 (11 *chüan*; *San-i-t'ang ts'ung-shu* 三怡堂叢書) 11.5a-8a.

understood to have contained the names of those who, with unswerving loyalty and meritorious service, had helped him in founding the Mongolian empire. But a new volume was added in 1332, relating only to certain deeds of the reigning emperor and his most powerful minister. The emperor even ordered certain insertions to be made in *The Tobčiyan*. *The Tobčiyan* seemed to be in the charge of specially appointed non-Chinese officials who guarded it zealously against the access of their Chinese colleagues. Evidently there was considerable curiosity about what these "secret" compilations might contain. Hence the emperor ordered a non-Chinese official scholar to translate *The Tobčiyan*—perhaps selectively—into several books in Chinese. None of these have survived to our day.

The information on *The Tobčiyan*, though meagre and not quite definite, is, nevertheless, sufficient to cast a doubt on the identification of *Mongγol-un ni'uča to[b]ča'an* as the Mongolian title of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. If *Mongγol-un ni'uča to[b]ča'an* was not the title of the book, how did it come to occupy the position of a title in the book, and what was the real title?

There is an interesting phenomenon in the opening lines of the text. The first line reads, when transcribed back into Mongolian with Latin letters, *Činggis Qahan-u huǰa'ur*; and the interlinear Chinese translation, when translated into English, is "The Origin of Činggis Qahan." The second line is *De'ere Tenggeri-eče jaγa'atu töregsen börte čino aǰu'u*, with the interlinear translation, "There was a bluish-gray wolf born with destiny from high heaven." The free sectional translation has for these two lines: "In the beginning, the ancestor of the Yüan dynasty was a bluish-gray wolf born from heaven." The Ku certified text and all texts that have descended from it preserve the alignment so that the space of more than half a line is left vacant after the first line. Naka was, perhaps, the first scholar to see the significance of this alignment. In his Japanese translation, he inserted a punctuation mark—corresponding to a full stop—after the first line, and arranged it as if it were a subtitle.[77]

In 1940, Ishihama Juntarō 石濱純太郎 declared: a) that *Činggis Qahan-u huǰa'ur* was the real title of the book in 10 *chüan*, b) that the *Continuation* in 2 *chüan* was added to it in 1240, and c) that the characterization "*Mongγol-un ni'uča tobčiyan*, a secret history of the Mongols" was put on it in the Chih-yüan 至元 period (1264-1294) under Qubilai, when there was considerable activity in official historiography.[78]

[77] *CKJ*, p. 1.

Taking up the first point, we may observe that, while the interlinear translation given for *huǰa'ur* is 根源 (*kên-yüan*, "origin"; literally: "root-source"), Professor Ishihama's rendering is 源流 (*genryū*, "history"; literally: "the source [and] the course [of a river]"). Recently, Professor Poppe, criticizing Professor Haenisch's inadequate translation of the opening lines of the Mongolian text, observed that the first line was grammatically independent of the second line and should be regarded as a divisional title translated as "*Die Herkunft Tschingis Khans*."[79] Thus, whether the first line is regarded as only an introductory phrase of the first sentence, or as a subtitle for the early part of the book, or as the title for the whole book depends on how far the Mongolian word *huǰa'ur* can be stretched to cover the time from the beginning downward, and how suitable the expression "*Mongγol-un ni'uča to[b]ča'an*" would be as a title for the whole book.

The book of 610 leaves may be said to cover principally the following topics:

a) The ancestry of Činggis (1.1a-41a).
b) His boyhood (1.41a-2.38b).
c) His marriage; conflict with the Merkid; help from Ong Qan and J̌amuγa (2.38b-3.32a).

[78] Ishihama Juntarō 石濱純太郎 "Genchō hishi kō 元朝秘史考," *Ryūkoku shidan* 龍谷史壇 15(1940).1-9. I am indebted to Professor Serge Elisséeff for lending me his own copy of a reprint of this paper which would otherwise have been inaccessible to me.

[79] N. Poppe in *ZDMG* 99(1950).276-277. Cf. Lawrence Krader in *JAOS* 70(1950).204, where, after quoting Poppe, he went on to say, "This solution was already adopted in the edition of the work made in 1942 by Shiratori Kurakichi." This attribution is not quite accurate, for had Shiratori wanted to make the first line independent of the second, he would certainly have begun the first word of the second, "degere," with a capital D.

d) His assumption of the title Činggis Qan; rupture with J̌amuγa; conquest and unification of neighboring tribes (3.32a-4.29b).

e) A. D. 1201-1203: His defeat of J̌amuγa; his annihilation of the Tatars; his rupture with, and destruction of Ong Qan (4.30a-7.8b).

f) 1204-1205: Conquest of the Naimad; subjugation of the Merkid; execution of J̌amuγa (7.9a-8.24a).

g) 1206: The establishing of the imperial standard; the appointment of officers; the organization of guards; the surrender of the Qarlu'ud; the pursuit of the Merkid and Naiman remnants; the adhesion of the Ui'ud (8.24a-10.14a).

h) 1207-?: The subjugation of the forest peoples and the Tumad; the apportionment of the subject peoples among the members of Činggis' family; the mischief of Teb Tenggeri (10.14a-45b).

i) 1211: Expedition against the Chin; expedition against the Qašin (C1. 1a-11a).

j) 1214: Expedition against the Chin; the choice of Ögödei as successor (C1-20a-36b).

k) 1219-1225: The Western Expedition (C1.36b-53a).

l) 1226-1227: Činggis' conquest of the Tang'ud; his death (C2.1a-13b).

m) The work of Ögödei (C2.14b-58b).

If the first line, *Činggis Qahan-u huǰa'ur*, is a title for a section of the book, it would do well for the first of the above divisions. But then, one would expect other sectional titles throughout the book. There is none. Nor would Professor ISHIHAMA's theory fit the above table perfectly. He had, indeed, seen the difficulty of stretching the word *huǰa'ur* far enough to include Ögödei. Hence he thought that only the *Continuation* in 2 *chüan* was written in 1240, and that the title *Činggis Qahan-u huǰa'ur* was to cover only the first 10 *chüan*, written sometime before 1240. But the story of Činggis occupies more than half of the text of the *Continuation*. Why was there nothing in Mongolian to indicate that it was a

separate compilation? Why was there no colophon at the end of *chüan* 10 to allow us to infer that the dated colophon at the close of the whole book concerns only the last two *chüan*?

In order to discuss adequately Professor ISHIHAMA's second and third points, we need to know as clearly as possible the history of historiography in the early part of the Yüan period. This involves a comparative study of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* (*An Account of the Victories of Our Imperial Expeditions*), the relevant portions of the *J̌āmi' al-Tawārīkh* (*Collection of Histories*) of the Persian historian, Rašīd al-Dīn (1247-1318), and the relevant chapters in the *Yüan shih*.

HUNG Chün, 1840-1893, was perhaps the first scholar to make a systematic attempt at this. Unfortunately, his commentaries on the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* and the *Ch'in-chêng lu* were, perhaps, never completed and the manuscripts were lost after his death. Fortunately, his *Yüan-shih i-wên chêng-pu* (*Yüan History Verified and Supplemented with Translated Texts*), though incomplete, was published in 1897. In his opening note, he says among other things:

> Finally, I obtained the book of the Russian [translator] BEREZIN,[80] who indeed followed Rašīd meticulously. . . . Rašīd himself said that he had personally seen the genealogical and historical records of the dynasty, upon which he relied for his compilation. Now I compare it with the *Yüan shih*, the *Ch'in-chêng lu*, and the *Yüan pi-shih*, and I find that it tallies especially well with the *Ch'in-chêng lu*. Thus I know that the *Ch'in-chêng lu* must have been a translation of *The Tobčiyan*, and that the latter, though a closely guarded imperial book, must have had duplicates for distribution among princes of the blood at the head of vassal states. Otherwise, with the difference between Chinese and a foreign language, with the distance between the East and the West, with no opportunity of consultation, how could the authors have agreed so well? Some of the forgotten events and strange tales given by Rašīd are attested in no other book except the *Pi-shih*. Again the names of persons, places, and tribes amply verify the accuracy of the Chinese transcription in the *Pi-shih*. And in some cases where the *Pi-shih* contradicts the [official] history of the Yüan, [Rašīd's work] can also be used to prove the error in narration and arrangement [on the part of the *Pi-shih*].[81]

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[80] I. N. BEREZIN, "*Sbornik letopiseĭ. Istoriya Mongolov sočinenie Rašid-Eddina*," *Trudy Vostočnago Otdeleniya Imperatorckago Russkago Arkheologičeskago Obščestva* 5 (1858, 1861), 13 (1868), 15 (1888).

[81] *YSIWCP* 1A.1a. Cf. examples where the *Pi-shih*, in HUNG's opinion, is wrong, 1A.4b, 5a.

It is quite clear that HUNG Chün did not regard the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* as *The Tobčiyan*, which, he believed, was better accounted for in the *Ch'in-chêng lu*, the work of Rašīd al-Dīn and the *Yüan shih*. NAKA Michiyo followed this with the theory [82] that the "*Mongholun Niucha Tobchiyan*," written originally in the time of Činggis, with the *Continuation* written in 1240, was later revised, and that this "*Revised Niucha Tobchiyan*," known simply as *The Tobčiyan*, was the same compilation as that known to Rašīd al-Dīn as the *Altan Debter* (*Golden Book*) and used by him as one of his principal sources of information. According to NAKA, this "*Revised Niucha Tobchiyan*" gave rise, on the one hand, to the *T'ai-tsu shih-lu* (大祖實錄 *Veritable Records of Činggis Qan*), completed in 1303, which, in turn, was responsible for the parts concerning Činggis in the *Yüan shih*, and, on the other hand, to the *Shêng-wu k'ai-t'ien chi* 聖武開天記, translated by Čayan sometime during 1312-1320, which was probably later renamed *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu*.

In 1925, WANG Kuo-wei was still of the opinion that the *Shêng-wu k'ai-t'ien chi* was a variant title of the extant *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu*. In the following year, he discovered in the book a note, "The present Imperial Son-in-law Ai Pu-hua 愛不花 [Ai Buqa] is a White Tatar." Since Ai Pu-hua [Ai Buqa] must have died before 1294, WANG realized that the book to which the note is attached could not be the *Shêng-wu k'ai-t'ien chi*, written in 1312-1320.[83] This means an important revision of the theory of NAKA. ISHIHAMA proposes to make further revisions. There was no such thing as the *Revised Ni'uča Tobčiyan* or the *Revised Pi-shih*. There were only efforts to compile the *shih-lu* ("veritable records") of the deceased emperors. In the *Yüan shih*, under the date of 11 January 1287, there is recorded the decision that the various *shih-lu* from Činggis down, in the process of compilation in the Bureau of Dynastic History, should be translated into Mongolian in the Uighur script and that the compilation should not be put into the final form until after the translation had been read to and approved by the Throne.[84] Under the date of 3

[82] *CKJ, Joron*, pp. 51-54.

[83] WANG Kuo-wei, "Mêng-wên *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* pa." *SWCCL*, Preface; cf. 66a.

[84] *YS* 14.11b.

March 1304, there is recorded the presentation to the Court of the *Condensed Veritable Records of Qubilai* written in gold (*chin shu* 金書), 1 volume, and the *Veritable Records of Qubilai* in Chinese characters (*Han tzŭ* 漢字), 80 volumes.[85] The volume written in gold must have been in Mongolian in the Uighur script.

Though these "veritable records" concerned Qubilai, it is rather tempting for one to conceive that a similar procedure might also have obtained in the cases of those concerning Činggis and Ögödei. If the Chinese historiographers had condensed their manuscript of the *shih-lu* of Činggis and Ögödei, would that not have been the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu*? If the Mongolian or Uighur historiographers had made a condensed translation of the *shih-lu*, would that not have been the *Altan Debter*, when approved and written in gold? ISHIHAMA would answer both questions in the affirmative. Since the *shih-lu* and the *Altan Debter* constituted the definitive history, there was no need to revise the *Činggis Qayan-u huja'ur*, which was marked and shelved as "*Mongyol-un Ni'uča Tobčiyan*."

ISHIHAMA's theory is more ingenious than probable. It is rather hazardous to equate the terms "written in gold" and "*Golden Book*." We know very little about Rašīd al-Dīn's *Altan Debter*. Did the parts of his book which agreed rather well with the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* really come from the *Altan Debter* or did they come from what QUATREMÈRE termed "des annales rédigées en langue mongole et dans lesquelles les principaux événements de l'histoire nationale, les traditions réelles ou fausses, se trouvaient relatés avec plus ou moins d'étendue"? [86]

A more serious consideration is that, in the historiography of Yüan times, there must have been a procedural difference between the compilations concerning the emperors from Qubilai downward and those relating to the rulers before him. It was he who instituted the historiographical organs after the Chinese

[85] *YS* 21.13a-b.

[86] Étienne Marc QUATREMÈRE, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse* (Paris, 1836), p. lxviii; cf. p. 74, n. 92, p. 75. Cf. W. BARTHOLD, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (Gibb Memorial, New Series, V, 1928), pp. 44-45; Paul PELLIOT in *TP* 27 (1930) 41, n. 3; K. JAHN, *Histoire universelle de Rašīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Abul-Khair*, I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951) 2.

pattern, which made the collection and preservation of records and their reduction to the *shih-lu* systematic and easy. It is thus possible to have the Mongolian version of the history of a reign issue from the Chinese version, the *shih-lu*. With the early rulers, especially Činggis, the situation was just the reverse. The Chinese version had to issue from the Mongolian. Hence what was done with the *Veritable Records of Qubilai* in Chinese would hardly apply in the case of the history concerning Činggis and Ögödei.

We would need to imagine a picture quite different from that drawn by Professor ISHIHAMA. It will simplify matters if a number of findings, inferences, and assumptions are first noted.

1. The *Yüan shih* was a hasty compilation. A board of eighteen official compilers started working on 9 March 1369. By 19 September, they had finished 159 *chüan*, the first two of which covered the annals of Činggis, Ögödei, and Güyüg.[87] They were able to accomplish so much in so short a time because they could rely principally on the *shih-lu* of thirteen reigns from Činggis down for the annals and the biographies, and on the *Ching-shih ta-tien* for the tables and the institutional treatises.[88] It was mainly the "scissors-and-paste" method of historiography. The compilers extracted from the *shih-lu* the biographical sketches and condensed the rest into the annals. Unless they were faced with special problems which required some research, it is doubtful that they consulted other books.

2. The *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* was accessible to them. In the annals of Činggis and Ögödei there are, indeed, numerous striking similarities to the *Ch'in-chêng lu*. We need not, however, interpret them, as did Ho Ch'iu-t'ao (1824-1862), NAKA Michiyo, and WANG Kuo-wei,[89] in terms of the compilers' heavy dependence on

[87] *YS*, "Memorial of Presentation 進史表," 2b; note by SUNG Lien, appended to the "Table of Contents," 28b.

[88] The *Ching-shih ta-tien* in 880 *chüan* was compiled in 1330-1331. Cf. ICHIMURA Sanjirō 市村瓚次郎 "Genchō no jitsuroku oyobi keisei daiten ni tsukite 元朝の實錄及び經世大典に就きて," YANAI Wataru 箭內亙 (1875-1926), *Mōkoshi kenkyū* 蒙古史研究 (Tōkyō, 1929), "Furoku 附錄."

[89] *CCTCYCCL* (= Ho Ch'iu-t'ao, LI Wên-t'ien, SHÊN Tsêng-chih, and NAKA Michiyo, *Chiao-chêng tsêng-chu Yüan ch'in-chêng-lu* (*Naka Michiyo isho*, Tōkyō, 1915), p. 50, cf. Preface, p. 5. *SWCCL*, Preface.

the *Ch'in-chêng lu*. There are also suggestive differences. Some of these resemble the accounts given by Rašīd al-Dīn and suggest items in the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* filtering down similar but not identical mediums.[90] Let us call these two mediums G and H—G as a source for K (= the parts concerning Činggis and Ögödei in the *Yüan shih*), and H as a source for J (= relevant parts in Rašīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*). G was, of course, the *T'ai-tsu shih-lu* (*Veritable Records of Činggis*) and the *T'ai-tsung shih-lu* (*Veritable Records of Ögödei*), the first two of the thirteen *shih-lu* of Yüan sent down from Pei-p'ing to Nanking in 1368, as well as the first two of the *Wu-ch'ao shih-lu* (五朝 *Veritable Records of Five Reigns*) which after a tortuous process of compilation and revision came to completion and presentation at court on 5 December 1303.[91]

3. In *Yüan shih*, it is recorded that on 8 March 1288:

> The *ssŭ-t'u*, Sarman, and others 司徒撒里蠻等 presented and read the veritable records of the Imperial ancestors 祖宗實錄. Said the Emperor [Qubilai], "The events of T'ai-tsung [Ögödei] were, indeed, so. Few of the items concerning Jui-tsung [Tului] required change. For Ting-tsung [Güyüg], [you] have, indeed, not had enough time. As for Hsien-tsung [Möngke], can you yourself not remember? You will still need to learn more from those who do."[92]

These veritable records were obviously first drafts in Mongolian, and some parts were still thought to require revision. On 2

[90] The *Ch'in-chêng-lu* begins with Činggis and says nothing about his ancestry. Cf. the story of Alan Γo'a's pregnancy during widowhood, *OMGH* 1.10a-13b, *YS* 1.1a, *YSIWCP* 1A.3b. In Jamuγa's words that the Naimad looked upon the Mongols as little lambs to be completely devoured, *SWCCL* 69a leaves out the lambs, and makes the sense obscure. Cf. *OMGH* 7.36b-37a, 41a; *YS* 1.14a: *YSIWCP* 1A.28a. In the long rebuke sent to Ong Qan, item 5, *SWCCL* 52b has a lacuna, when compared with *YS* 1.11a-b and *YSIWCP* 1A.24a-b. WANG Kuo-wei explains this by supposing that the text of *SWCCL* was more complete in 1369. This is possible, but I still believe that *YS* merely condensed the text in the *Shih lu* of Yüan. The rebuke to Ong Qan was followed by the rebuke to Altan and Qučar. Here *YS* 1.11b-12a and *SWCCL* 54a-b differ in the characters chosen to transcribe the two names, and in that *YS* supplies the indications of the family relationship (我祖忽都剌 should, however, read 我叔祖忽都剌 —a *lapsus* of either the Yüan *Shih-lu* copyist or Ming copyist or printer of the *YS*); *YS* could not, of course, have obtained this passage from *SWCCL*.

[91] *YS* 21.11a.

[92] *YS* 15.3a.

August and 25 December 1290, the presentation of the veritable records of Güyüg and Ögödei was recorded.[93] It is not clear whether these two records represented then the transitory stage or the final stage of compilation. Nor is it clear what stage the veritable records of Činggis had reached by this time. Since some thirteen years were to elapse between this and the final presentation of the *Wu-ch'ao shih-lu*, it may be correct to assume that during the whole reign of Qubilai (1260-1294) and the first part of the reign of Temür (1294-1307), few of the veritable records, if any at all, had reached the final definitive stage both in Mongolian and in Chinese.

4. For the Mongolian counterpart of G, we may give the designation F. It was a part of the Mongolian counterpart of the *Wu-ch'ao shih-lu* in Chinese. It might have been a part of what was known a decade later as *The Tobčiyan*. Now, under the date of 14 August 1304, the *Yüan shih* records an embassy from *Ghāzān* in Persia.[94] Ghāzān, however, had died on 17 May 1304.[95] But his brother and successor, Öljeitü, received on 19 September 1304 an envoy from Temür Qaγan.[96] It seems that the East and the West were then in communication. If a copy of *The Tobčiyan*, or a slightly different compilation based on it, was made for the Il Qan in Persia, it might, indeed, have been the *Altan Debter* or the annals in Mongolian upon which Rašīd al-Dīn drew for his compilation. This would account for the provenance of H. Rašīd, however, had other sources of information. It is said that he relied heavily on J̌uwaynī for the narration of the conquest of the Moslem lands by the Mongolians. He derived information from Pūlad čīng sāng (孛羅丞相), and even from Ghāzān himself. All such written and oral sources of information relating to the history of Činggis and Ögödei which he might have gathered outside of H—during the period from 1302, when Rašīd received the order for the compilation, to 1311 when his whole work was said to

[93] *YS* 16.7a-b, 11a-b.

[94] *YS* 21.16b. Cf. *YSIWCP* 11.4a-b, 12.1b.

[95] C. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* (La Haye, 1834-1835; 4 volumes) 4, p. 350.

[96] *Ibid.*, 4, p. 483.

have been completed[97]—we may designate as I. H and I and Rašīd al-Dīn's own astuteness or errors in choice and interpretation should account for J.

5. A very noticeable disagreement between J and K relates to the age of Činggis at death. That he died in the second half of the year 1227 is never in doubt; the disagreement, therefore, is on the date of his birth. K would yield the year 1162;[98] the compilers, as was usual in the case of Chinese official historiographers, gave no indication of how they came to know that Činggis was in his sixty-sixth year at death. J offers the date 1155. Rašīd al-Dīn tells at some length how the dating was determined. None except the Qa'an and his closest relatives and grandees knew that Činggis was fully 72 years of age at death and that Činggis' birth as well as his death occurred in a year of the pig. The pig years are 1227, 1215, 1203, 1191, 1179, 1167, 1155, and so on, diminishing by 12 each turn. From 1155 to 1227 there are exactly 72 years.[99] One thing is certain: Rašīd al-Dīn learned nothing about Činggis' birth year from H. Since it was not in H, it could hardly have been in F or G.

6. To leave dateless the birth of the founder of a dynasty is rather short of the usual standard of Chinese historiography. The redactors of G might have been obliged to leave it so, if their Mongolian masters considered the matter to be really in doubt and had thought it unnecessary to conform to the Chinese usage. The compilers of K, on the other hand, would have found it difficult to excuse themselves unless such a date were really undeterminable. It would have been one of the items on which they would be quite willing to conduct some research. We do not know whether they knew of the hearsay date, 1154, in the *Mêng-ta pei-lu* 蒙韃備錄.[100] They could hardly have failed to notice the

[97] Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-46. Cf. D'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. xxxv-xxxvi; Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 77, n. 95, p. 79; Shao Hsün-chêng 邵循正, "La-shih-tê-ting *Chi shih* Hu-pi-lieh han chi i shih 剌失德丁集史忽必烈汗紀譯釋," *CHHP* 14 (1947).106-107.

[98] *YS* 1.22b.

[99] *YSIWCP* 1A.9b-10a, 1B.24a.

[100] Chao Kung 趙珙, *Mêng-ta pei-lu* (1221; Wang Kuo-wei's annotated edition in *Mêng-ku shih-liao ssŭ-chung*) 2a.

date, 1162, in the *Ching-shih ta-tien*, which, though an official compilation, was rather late in the Yüan dynasty.[101] The *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu*—which we shall now designate as D—would have presented them with a puzzle in the form of two conflicting chronological entries. Under the year 1203, D says, "His Majesty was in his forty-second year." This would place Činggis' birth in 1162. Under the year 1226, D says, "At this time, His Majesty was already in his sixtieth year." This would put Činggis' birth in 1167.[102]

We can imagine how these official compilers of K might have made a choice after some simple computations. It was well known that Ögödei died in 1241 at the age of 55.[103] This would bring his birth to 1186. Ögödei had two elder brothers by the same mother, the first wife of Činggis, Börte. If the third boy was born in 1186, it would be rather too daring to assume that the eldest boy, Jöči, was born later than 1184. How old would the father, Činggis, be in 1184? If born in 1162, he would then be 22. If born in 1267, he would be a husband at 16 and a father at 17. This was not a biological impossibility; but the Ming compilers, perhaps, preferred the date 1162, so as to allow the young father, Činggis, a larger measure of manhood and the young mother, Börte, a less rapid succession of babies. And in their effort to reconcile the two conflicting entries in D, they might also have found it easier to imagine a textual corruption of 65 into 60 than to assume a scribal error of turning 37 into 42.[104]

[101] T'AO Tsung-i 陶宗儀, *Cho kêng lu* 輟耕錄 (30 *chüan*, 1366; *SPTK* III) 1.11a, obviously from the *Ching-shih ta-tien* (cf. *supra*, n. 88).

[102] *SWCCL* 65b, 97b.

[103] *SWCCL* 107a; cf. *Hei-ta shih-lüeh* 黑韃事略 (WANG Kuo-wei's annotated edition in *Mêng-ku shih-liao ssŭ-chung*) 24b. I suspect that Ögödei's death and age were clearly stated in the *Yüan shih-lu*.

[104] In *JA* 231 (1939).133-134, there is recorded a communication of Paul PELLIOT to the Sociètie Asiatique, Séance du 9 Décembre 1938, in which "M. Pelliot montre qu'un texte chinois des environs de 1340 suppose qu'à la Cour mongole on considérait alors que Gengis-Khan était né en 1167, et il confirme cette date par un passage d'un ouvrage qui dut être traduit du mongol en chinois aux environs de 1275. La date de 1167 est séparée de 1155 par un cycle duodénaire; l'erreur, dans un sens ou dans l'autre, s'expliquerait par le fait qu'en mongol on devait seulement couramment savoir que Gengis-Khan était né dans l'année du 'porc', ce qui vaut aussi bien pour 1155 que pour 1167. Mais la Cour de Chine pouvait avoir alors une tradition donnant la date véritable. En outre, la date de 1167 permet de mieux comprendre la première partie de la vie de Gengis-Khan qui offre autrement un 'trou' difficile à combler." I do not know whether PELLIOT had ever elsewhere elaborated this thesis. Cf. René GROUSSET, *Le Conquérant du Monde* (Paris, 1944), p. 54; "Introduction historique," to Michel CARSOW's French translation of B. VLADIMIRTSOV, *Gengis-Khan* (Paris, 1948), p. xix; Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362," *HJAS* 12 (1949).99. PELLIOT, however, gave two keys to the solution of the riddle. What he said of the opinion prevailing at the court about 1340 doubtlessly refers to an essay, "Chêng-t'ung pien 正統辨," "On the Right Succession of Dynasties," by YANG Wei-chên 楊維楨 (text in *Cho kêng lu* 3.2b-9b; cf. *YSIWCP* 1B.35a-36a; K'o Shao-min 柯劭忞 [1850-1933], *Hsin Yüan-shih k'ao-chêng* 新元史考證 [58 *chüan*; Peiping, 1935] 2.1b, 3.11a), in which YANG tried to convince the compilers of the Liao, Chin, and Sung histories—which were compiled in 1342-1345—that the Yüan dynasty should be regarded as the successor to the Sung dynasty. Aside from other considerations, YANG belabored astrology and mentioned a number of zodiacal identities, among these, the fact that the founders of both the Sung and the Yüan dynasties were born at the 24th of the sixty-year cycle. Činggis died in 1227, which was the 24th of the cycle. The preceeding 24th would be 1167.

It is not clear how YANG (1296-1370) came to know that Činggis was born in 1167. I suspect that his astrological chronology might have been directly or indirectly related to a garbled passage in the *Sung-chi san-ch'ao chêng-yao* 宋季三朝政要 (6 *chüan*, by an unidentified author, sometime between 1282 and 1294, published in 1312; *Ch'ên-han-lou ts'ung-shu* 宸翰樓叢書) 6.9a, where it is said that the founder of the Sung dynasty was born at the 24th cyclical [927] and that Činggis was born "also at the 12th cyclical [1155, 1215]." In 1873 LI Tz'ŭ-ming 李慈銘 suggested in his diary (*Yüeh-man-t'ang jih-chi* 越縵堂日記 [51 *ts'ê*, photolithographic edition, 1922] 18.19b) that instead of 太祖 [Činggis], the text should read 世祖 [Qubilai], who was indeed born in 1215. But the problem is not so simple as LI imagined, for the temple honorific title of Qubilai contains four characters more than that of Činggis. On the other hand, though farther on the text needs to be emended to introduce Qubilai—who was still reigning when the unknown author wrote—here only Činggis was meant; and the presence of the word "also 亦" would demand the emendation of 乙亥 [1155 or 1215] to 丁亥 [1167]. Was it thus that YANG's 1167 had arisen?

PELLIOT said that he had found the confirmation of this date, 1167, in a Chinese work translated from the Mongolian. I wonder if he did not mean the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu*—after WANG Kuo-wei's demonstration of its existence during the lifetime of Ai Pu-hua [Ai Buqa], PELLIOT might have dated it in the neighborhood of 1275. If so, I wonder how PELLIOT could have disposed of the other date, 1162, also to be inferred from *SWCCL*. One might be tempted indeed to prefer 1167 to 1162, for the former

7. But the chronological variants in D might have been more deliberate than accidental. It might very well have been because of such conflict, impossible of satisfactory solution, that the redactors of F and G or the ruling Qa'an decided to leave out all indications of Činggis' age at any given time. How did D come

to have the two conflicting chronological indications? Concerning the date and the nature of D itself, the editors of the *Ssŭ-k'u ch'üan-shu* thought that it was possibly composed in 1263 in response to the appeal of State Minister WANG O 王鶚 to collect the historical material relating to Činggis.[105] This opinion needs revision in several aspects. First, even a casual reading will reveal that the book was not an original composition but a translation.[106] Secondly, Nan-ching 南京 and Pien-liang 汴梁, both historical appellations of our modern K'ai-fêng, are used in the book.[107] Since Nan-ching was not renamed Pien-liang until 16 March 1288,[108] the book as a whole could not have been written before that date. Since WANG Kuo-wei has demonstrated that it was not likely to have been done later than 1294, we may tentatively date it in the last six years of Qubilai's reign, 1288-1294. Thirdly, the presence of Chung-tu instead of Ta-tu and of Tê-hsing-fu 德興府 instead of Fêng-shêng-chou 奉聖州 suggests that some of the

was also a year of the pig. But the reference to pig years constitutes a part of the hearsay evidence received by Rašīd al-Dīn. It might not have any more validity than the other part, which asserts that Činggis was fully 72 at the time of his death.

Addendum:—The present paper was written in February 1951. In May, Professor CLEAVES was so kind as to show me a copy of *Histoire des Campagnes de Gengis Khan, Cheng-wu ts'in-tcheng lou*, traduit et annoté par Paul PELLIOT et Louis HAMBIS, Tome 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951), which was lent him by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT. I regret to note that the translation covers only the early part of the *Ch'in-chêng lu* and PELLIOT's notes, though assuming Činggis' birth in 1167, refer the question of Činggis' dates only to his *JA* communication and his unpublished commentary on *Marco Polo*. M. HAMBIS' introduction contains discussions on the date of the *Ch'in-chêng lu* and the relation of the *Ch'in-chêng lu* to such other compilations as the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* and the *Yüan shih*. The conclusions seem to be inadequate mainly because of the failure to consider the *Wu-ch'ao shih-lu* in the chain of Yüan historiography.

[105] *SKCSTM* 52.7b; cf. *YS* 5.14a.

[106] Consider such variations in the transcription of proper names: 荅蘭版朱思 (*SWCCL* 6b) and 荅蘭班朱思 (12b), 按堉 (11b) and 按彈 (38a). The frequent notes to explain transcribed words, e.g., 乞列思 (18a), 察兀忽魯 (19b). Though the translator tried to affect a classical, Chinese literary style with such expressions as 下馬佯旋 (36a) and 佐若討. . . (43a), he had also such awkward expressions as 與先君按荅之故 (24a), 汝常懷臾肝者 (33b), 我之與王孤部親好者由此也 (66a), and 平金之事如此 (104b), which betray an original text in a foreign language.

[107] *SWCCL* 82b, 84b, 100a, 102b.

[108] *YS* 15.3a, 59.7b.

documents that furnished the information had originated before 1272, and some before 1266.[109] In other words, the original of which D was a translation was a composite of source material of various chronological provenance.

This original we may designate as C and conceive of it as one of the provisional attempts to reduce to an account of the early stages of the rise of the Mongols, the mass of material collected in response to the appeal of WANG O and the order of Qubilai. Such material very probably contained the *Činggis Qahan-u Huǰa'ur* (which we may designate as A), for many of the stories therein are reflected in D.[110] But besides A, the material must have contained other sources of information (which we may designate as B), for there are many items in D that are not found in A.[111] Working over A and B, the compilers of C would, of course, deliberately eliminate those items that might outrage the moral sense of the more civilized subjects of the empire[112] and suppress or falsify those that might reflect on the glory of the Mongolian power.[113]

Chronology is the most difficult aspect of the work of choosing and arranging the pieces of source material that have come from informants' memories of past events and traditions. Perhaps C was meant to represent only a provisional draft, subject to closer scrutiny and revision. If so, it would be but natural for it to contain many wrong chronological assignments of events.[114] The same event might tentatively be allowed to stand both before and after other occurrences, or under two specific dates. Thus

[109] *SWCCL* 78b, 80a; cf. *YS* 7.16a, 6.8b.

[110] For instance: the desertion of Tödö'en Girte, *OMGH* 2.3a-5a, *CCTCYCCL*, p. 3; the family quarrel at the feast in the forest by the Onan, *OMGH* 4.5b-11b, *CCTCYCCL*, pp. 13-15.

[111] For instance: the constituents of Činggis' 13 *güre'ed*, *SWCCL* 7b-12a (cf. *OMGH* 4.3b-5b); the details of how the news of J̌amuγa's inauguration and secret plans was communicated to Činggis, *SWCCL* 35a-37b (cf. *OMGH* 4.30a-32b).

[112] For instance: Činggis' murder of a half-brother, *OMGH* 2.7b-13a; Ögödei's murder of a loyal servant, *OMGH* C2.57b-58a.

[113] For instance: the capture of Börte by the Merkid, *OMGH* 2.43a-49b, cf. *CCTCYCCL*, p. 20; the defeat of Činggis by J̌amuγa, *OMGH* 4.3b-5b, cf. *SWCCL* 12b.

[114] Cf. the notes of the various commentators, especially in the latter portions of *CCTCYCCL*.

the coming of Butu to join Činggis appears both before and after the battle of Dalan-Baljud.[115] Even as important an event as the surrender of Chung-tu is recorded under both 1214 and 1215.[116] In the same light may be regarded the two conflicting testimonies on the age of Činggis. The compilers of C deliberately noted them down with a view to a later determination.

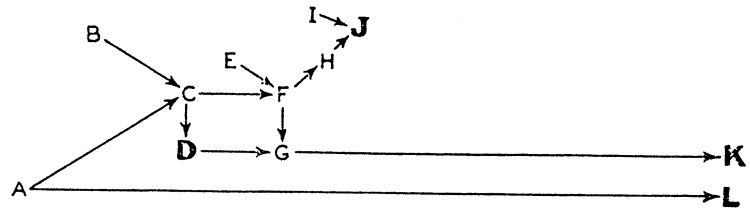
8. We may believe that C, or the Mongolian original of D, containing references later than 16 March 1288, was not included in Sarman's presentation and reading of the veritable records of Imperial ancestors on 8 March 1288. We may further believe that after C had been provisionally translated into D—let us say tentatively *circa* 1290—C must have been subjected to some further revision, before it assumed the shape of F in 1303. Such further revision would consist of additional material drawn from new sources of information, E. This would account for the many items which are not found in D, but which had filtered down through F and G to K.[117] The revisers would, of course, adjust some of the chronological assignments and eliminate the repetitions of the same events. E might have brought to the revisers more guessing testimonies on the year of Činggis' birth—perhaps even the hearsay 1155—and it was deemed wise to bury the unknowable in its own oblivion. Hence no indications of a birth date of Činggis in F, G, or H. When C was revised into F, D was of course a useless manuscript, brushed to one side. When F was translated into G, the translators, to economize somewhat the labor of casting expressions in elegant, literary Chinese, perhaps frequently consulted D. This would account for the frequent literary similarities between D and K.

[115] *SWCCL* 7a, 60b.

[116] *SWCCL* 84b, 88b. WANG Kuo-wei's theory that the later entry was an erroneous interpolation by a Ming scholar is hardly adequate. It would mean that the scholar was collating the *SWCCL* with *YS*. If he copied *YS* 1.18a-19a to fill up the gap in *SWCCL*, why did he leave out a number of interspersed items? Why did he fail to cut out the previous entry in *SWCCL*? Why did he fail to correct, as did Ho Ch'iu-t'ao later, so many errors in *SWCCL*, obvious by comparison with the readings in *YS*? I believe it better to regard the case as another one of repetition, like that of Butu, and to say, as WANG did concerning another error (92b), "the author ... had not yet come to setting the order right."

[117] For instance, *YS* 1.15a-16a, items under 1209 and 1210, cf. *CCTCYCCL* pp. 72-75.

If we now give the designation L to the text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, transcribed, translated, and printed during the period 1368-1418, we have all of the elements ready for a diagrammatic presentation of the historical relations among the four versions of the story of Činggis and Ögödei in four existing texts: the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu*, the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, and the *Yüan shih*. A more exhaustive study will, perhaps, reveal more turns and twists in their descent through time. For the time being, the following picture is, perhaps, sufficient to account for some of their comparative idiosyncracies in the inclusion, omission, and variation of factual statements.



A. *Činggis Qahan-u Huǰa'ur.*

B. Another body of source material for C.

C. Mongolian draft of the history of Činggis and Ögödei. *Circa* 1290.

D. Chinese translation of C, or *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu. Circa* 1290.

E. New body of source material for F.

F. First parts of Mongolian text of the history from Činggis to Möngke. 1303.

G. Chinese translation of F, or first two parts of *Wu-ch'ao shih-lu.* 1303.

H. ? "Des annales rédigées en langue mongole." ?1304.

I. Other source material, oral or written, for Rašīd al-Dīn.

J. Parts relating to Činggis and Ögödei in *J̌āmi' al-Tawārīkh.* 1311.

K. Annals of T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung in *Yüan shih.* 1368.

L. *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, transcribed, translated, and printed, 1368-1418.

The original Mongolian text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* is without doubt one of the earliest, if not the earliest, sources of information at the disposal of the early compilers of the Mongolian *Tobčiyan*. They had drawn upon it heavily. They had also suppressed, altered, or rearranged much of its contents. These manipulations on their part were not entirely for the sake of something other than truth. Some were for the sake of truth as they understood it. For instance, A gave Činggis two coronations as Qahan, one in 1206, and another an unspecified number of years before 1206.[118] The early compilers of *The Tobčiyan* omitted the first one as unlikely.[119] A made Muqali a prince (Kuo-wang國王) in 1206. The compilers of C, perhaps on some different evidence, moved the event to 1218. The redactors of F, for some other reason, moved it to 1217.[120] A gave a very melodramatic story of how Tului, aged four, was held under the armpit of a Tatar survivor who drew a dagger with his disengaged hand and how the child was at last saved by the servants.[121] But the story was unbelievable, for the annihilation of the Tatars took place in 1202, and Tului was at that time at least ten and very possibly older.[122] The early compilers of *The Tobčiyan* rightly omitted the tale.

One of the strongest points of the narrator of A is his amazing ability to tell very vivid, interesting, and moving stories. One

[118] *OMGH* 3.42b-44b, 8.24a-27a.

[119] Ting Ch'ien, "Yüan T'ai-tsu Ch'êng-chi-ssŭ han pien-nien ta-shih chi 元太祖成吉思汗編年大事記," appended to his *YPSTLKC*, 6b would give Činggis an early coronation as Qan in 1179. *MWESC* 2.8b would put the earlier coronation as Qahan in 1189, and even argue (2B.1a) for such an event. These scholars hardly appreciated the trouble which the early compilers of *The Tobčiyan* took with the original text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*.

[120] *OMGH* 8.24a, 27a; cf. *SWCCL* 90a, *YS* 1.18b.

[121] *OMGH* 9.11a-18b; cf. *YPSPC* 10.3b.

[122] According to *YS* 2.3a, 115.3b, Tului died in 1232. The text about his age then has a lacuna after 四 有. This means that he must have been at least in his 41st year. Since his elder brother, Ögödei (born in 1186) was then in the 47th year, Tului could not have been in more than his 46th year. Calculated from the former, he would have been born in 1192, and aged 10 in 1202. Calculated from the latter, he would have been born in 1187, and age 15 in 1202. His son Möngke was born in 1208 (*YS* 3.1a). If Tului was born in 1192, he would have been a father at 16. Hence, he was probably born earlier than 1192, but not earlier than 1187.

of his weakest points is chronology. Who was he and when was A written down?

Before taking up these two questions, we had better first dispose of the peculiar division of L into two separate parts and of the problem of the title or titles. Chang Mu had already said in 1821 that the contents of the *Yüan pi-shih* were continuous, and that the Mongolian original must have had only one book without arbitrary *chüan* divisions. Comparing D with L, we shall find that such items as Činggis' appreciation of Šigi Qutuqu's refusal of bribes and his ordering his two elder sons to obey Ögödei had their provenance from that part of A which corresponds to the second, separate part of L. Since D constitutes a continuous and undivided translation of C, largely a selection from A, we might infer that neither C nor A was divided into two separate books. The 10 + 2-*chüan* division in L must then be dated in the early years of Ming. Looking closely into the condensed list of topics provisionally tabulated above, we shall see the peculiar break in the chronological continuity between the *h* and *i* groups.

Now comparing *g*, *h*, *i*, and *j* of L with the entries in D within the time span of 1206-1214, we find that, apart from the fact that a number of topics have been omitted in the latter, the chronological assignments of the various expeditions are badly in conflict. Is the order in D the result of rearrangements by the compilers of C? This is possible. But it is also possible that the order in the original A was more in agreement with what we now have in D. This leads us to suspect that, when the manuscript of A reached the hands of the Ming transcribers and translators, some of the leaves carrying the *g* to *j* groups of topics had been disarranged. We suspect at least that the last three topics under *g* and the last two topics under *h* had exchanged places; and it is possible also that some dated topics on missing leaves were lost. If such disarrangement and loss had really taken place, Messrs. Huo-yüan-chieh and I-sha-ma-hei might have been puzzled with the wide chronological gaps, and might have thought it well to cut the book into two parts, thus indicating some breakage after the *h* group of topics.

So far as the author or narrator of A was concerned, he was,

perhaps, never conscious of such entities as book, chapter, and paragraph divisions. He was, perhaps, requested at the first interview to begin with what he knew of the origin of Činggis Qahan. He rambled on and on most entertainingly, through one interview after another, until the " stenographer " thought it timely to close the long narrative with a colophon: " Written down and finished during the stay of the Ordos . . . on the Köde'e Isle in the Kelüren in the seventh month of the Rat year, and during the Great Assembly."

Long before the narrative was terminated, it had ceased to concern the " Origin of Činggis Qahan." Since there was no other title in the manuscript, *Činggis Qahan-u Huǰa'ur* would have to stand for the whole composition. It is extremely doubtful that the original manuscript could have borne as a title " *Mongγol-un niǐuča tobča'an.*" We may even doubt whether, when the term " *The Tobčiyan* " was mentioned in the last fifty odd years of the Yüan dynasty, it ever really referred to this book. We have already mentioned Hsü Yu-jên's text of a stele inscription.[123] The stele was to be in honor of the memory of Chên-hai 鎮海, whose descendants wanted to have his glorious record open to the admiration of the world. They said that their ancestor was one of those who participated in the oath by the Baljuna black river and that his name and merits were recorded in the dynastic history known as *The Tobčiyan. The Tobčiyan* was, however, extremely secret (*chih pi* 至秘, or tightly closed except to the authorized). Hence the need of the publicity of a memorial tablet bearing the text by a famed writer.

We may take Chên-hai as a test case. His name should be in the so-called " Mongγol-un niǐuča tobča'an," if it was really *The Tobčiyan* or a part of *The Tobčiyan.* The *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* not only fails to record the name of Chên-hai anywhere, but also fails to give any mention to the oath by the Baljuna. Were Chên-hai's descendants lying? Not at all. Činggis and his few followers drank the muddy water of the Baljuna and swore never to forget one another. Both D and J of our diagram carry the story. Not only is the story given in K, but the biographical section of the *Yüan shih* also mentions the event in the biographical sketches of Chên-hai and a few others.[124] Thus we may be certain that both the Baljuna oath and Chên-hai were to be found in F. By *The Tobčiyan,* Hsü Yu-jên and the descendants of Chên-hai meant, therefore, only the Mongolian original of the *Wu-ch'ao shih-lu,* not the *Činggis Qahan-u Huǰa'ur.* The latter, after having served as part of the source material for the former, was, possibly, locked away, until the end of the Yüan dynasty.

[123] See *supra,* n. 76.

It was, perhaps, the Ming translators who regarded the astonishing manuscript as a secret document of the ruling house of the preceding period, and proceeded to give it the Chinese title *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih, The Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty,* and then, perhaps, in response to some inquiry, also created for it a Mongolian title in Chinese transcription: *Mongγol-un niǐuča tobča'an, The Secret History of the Mongols.* Since they had done so, they would cunningly render the first two lines as one sentence in their free translation. Little could they have foreseen how this little mischief on their part would exercise so many scholarly minds of the last century and a half! As for the ancient Mongolian author or narrator of the book, let us suppose that he was requested to tell " the secret history of the Mongols." How would he have reacted? He would probably have turned away without saying a word. What he was willing to tell and actually told, beginning with " The origin of Činggis Qahan," was, from his moral standards, nothing that the Mongols needed to be secretive about. Parts of his book were regarded as compromising exposure only by those Mongols who—what a pity!—had left Mongolia to rule over a civilization before which they had to pretend to be " better " than they were.

Guesses have been made about the identity of the author. Kanai thought it was T'a-t'a T'ung-a.[125] Professor Haenisch put forth the conjecture that it might have been Šigi Qutuqu.[126]

[124] *SWCCL* 59b, *YSIWCP* 1A.22a-b, *YS* 1.12a, 120.10a. Cf. *YS* 120.6a-b, 122.18a-b, 123.4b, 129.9b-10a, etc. Li Wên-t'ien (*YCPSC* 7.16b-18b) was, perhaps, the first one to criticize the omission of the Baljuna oath instance in the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih.* Naka Michiyo, *CKJZ,* p. 73, was the first to note the omission of Chên-hai in the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih.*

[125] See *supra,* n. 51.

[126] Erich Haenisch (tr.), *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* (Leipzig, 1941),

The first is unlikely, because T'a-t'a T'ung-a, coming into Činggis' service after the conquest of the Naimad, could hardly have known so intimately the early life of Činggis. The second is unlikely, because Šigi Qutuqu, being with Činggis on the campaign to the West,[127] would scarcely have written about the seven years of war and diplomacy in the far regions in such brief and dreary fashion, hardly comparable with the early sections of the book.

It seems futile to identify the author with a man who could write and was close to Činggis. It is likely that a man who could read and write, desirous of writing a book, would have kept notes and would have read records. It is not likely that he would be so weak in chronology. Perhaps, it may be better to conceive of the author only as a narrator, an old, unlettered man, long in the service of Činggis' family. He quoted no documents. He told very little about the details of war and diplomacy outside of the neighborhood of the tribal camping areas in Mongolia. He was very good in drawing vivid, intimate pictures of Činggis' family life: Börte's return from captivity to find and recognize her husband, Činggis, on the horse in the moonlight; [128] Yesügen's recommendation of her sister as another wife for Činggis; [129] Činggis' suspicion and Qulan's offer to prove her virginity; [130] Mother Hö'elün's silent dissatisfaction with the smallness of her lot; [131] Brother Odčigin's kneeling and weeping before Činggis in bed with Börte pulling up the quilt to cover her bare breast; [132] son Ča'adai's casting a reflection on his brother Jöči's paternity and his mother's chastity.[133]

To be able to tell such stories with amazing realism, the narrator must have been brought up in the intimacy of Činggis' family, a servant who grew up with the family, who witnessed many of the happenings, and who heard about many of the others from the lips of those personally involved. He was interested more in the life and experiences of the women and the children

p. xiv; Zweite verbesserte Auflage (Leipzig, 1948), p. iii. Cf. *OMGH* 8.27a-33a; *YCPSC* 9.12a; *CKJZ*, pp. 32-34.

[127] *OMGH* C1.36b-41a, C1.44a-48b.

[128] *OMGH* 3.15a-17a.

[129] *OMGH* 5.22a-24b.

[130] *OMGH* 7.45a-50a.

[131] *OMGH* 10.22a-25a.

[132] *OMGH* 10.33a-42b.

[133] *OMGH* C1.20a-28a.

of the master's family than in the conquest of empires. Perhaps, as the children grew up and went forth to be conquerors and rulers of distant lands, this old servant was left to enjoy his old age as an officer of the old *ordo*. In his leisure, he might have told many of his stories many times to many listeners before they were set down in writing. As he told and retold the stories, he would embroider into them material drawn from the oral traditions which he had learned in boyhood and youth. He would cast many of the dialogues in verse. Thus Alan Γo'a's use of five arrows to teach her children a lesson in family solidarity.[134] Thus Hö'elün's tirade of surpassing vehemence against her children's unbrotherliness.[135] The narrative of this nameless illiterate is an epic of surprising values. It required his long life and countless ages of nomadic antiquity behind him to compose his book, though the writing might have taken only a few days.

When was it written? We need not tarry over the theories of Ting Ch'ien,[136] Naka Michiyo, and Ishihama who, though they differ in the assignment of a figure to the Rat year of the colophon, agree in assuming that the colophon does not apply to the whole book. We agree with the majority of scholars in the belief that it does; our hypothesis about the original unity of the book tends to support it. The question, then, is: Which was that Rat year? Scholars had generally thought it to be 1240, because the book includes the death of Činggis which occurred in 1227 and deals with the reign of Ögödei, but makes no reference to Ögödei's death, which occurred in 1241. Since 1941, another assignment, however, has had to be taken into consideration. M. René Grousset announced two important observations relating to the date of the *Histoire secrète*. The closing paragraph reads very much like a posthumous appraisal of the life of Ögödei, though the words are put into his mouth. In one of Činggis' speeches, he

[134] *OMGH* 1.11b-12a; cf. *YCPSC* 1.19b-20a.

[135] *OMGH* 2.11a-13a; cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949) 512-515.

[136] Ting Ch'ien, "*Yüan pi-shih* tso-chê jên-ming k'ao 元秘史作者人名考," (appended to his *YPSTLKC*) contends that the author T'o-ch'a-an wrote the book in 1228, which was the Rat year of the colophon. In *YPSTLKC* 15.4a, he believes that the colophon, being preceded with some accounts of the reign of Ögödei, required some correction, but the author had forgotten to make it.

sounds as if he had foreseen the succession of the house of Tului to that of Ögödei in the ascension of Möngke in 1251. The Rat year of the colophon can hardly be the year 1240. Says M. GROUSSET, " Ne serait-elle pas de l'année de la souris suivante, soit 1252, époque où la maison de Toloui venait de renverser et de remplacer les Ogödäides? " [137]

PELLIOT was well impressed with this discovery, though he still held to the generally accepted assignment of 1240 as the Rat year of the colophon. The *Yüan shih* mentions a Grand Assembly neither in the summer of 1240 nor in the summer of 1252. If a Grand Assembly was actually held and the *Yüan shih* was silent about it, it could be more easily understood in the case of 1240 than in that of 1252, for the annalistic parts of the *Yüan shih* begin to be precise only after 1251.[138]

We agree with M. GROUSSET in seeing in those specified paragraphs hints of post-facto knowledge of events after the times of Ögödei and Güyüg. We feel, however, that the colophon might refer to a Rat year, a duodenary cycle still later than 1252.

There are a few puzzling geographical appellations in the so-called *Secret History*. Such a case as that of locating Mo-chou 莫州 [Mojiu] north of the Great Wall is exasperating.[139] Emendations of the text suggested by SHIH Shih-chieh 施世杰, TING Ch'ien, NAKA Michiyo, and T'U Chi do not explain how the error had arisen,[140] and are, therefore, unsatisfactory. Since the case does not involve chronology, we may leave it to some future researchers.

The case of Tung-ch'ang 東昌 [Dungčang] poses a chronological problem.[141] Commentator LI Wên-t'ien has already pointed out that the chronological context requires the name Po-chou 博州,

[137] René GROUSSET, *L'Empire Mongol* (Paris, 1941), pp. 230, 303; cf. also his " État actuel des études sur l'histoire gengiskhanide," *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* 12 (1941) .22, and " Introduction historique " to Michel CARSOW's French translation of B. VLADIMIRTSOV, *Gengis-Khan*, pp. v-vi. Cf. *OMGH* C1.28a-33b, C2.54b-58a.

[138] Paul PELLIOT, " Deux lacunes dans le texte mongol actuel de *L'Histoire secrète des mongols*," *Mélanges Asiatiques* 1 (= *JA* 232), 1940-1941, pp. 1-2, n. 1.

[139] *OMGH* C1.6b.

[140] *YPSSCTMK* 10.5b, *YPSTLKC* 13.2b-3a, *CKJ*, pp. 441-442, *MWESC* 3.14a.

[141] *OMGH* C1.2b, 4a.

which was not renamed Tung-ch'ang until 21 June 1276.[142] The corresponding places in the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu*, the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, the *Chin shih*, and the *Yüan shih* all have, however, the reading " Tung-ching 東京 [Dungging]." [143] We shall, then, accept the emendation of TING Ch'ien, T'U Chi, SHÊN Tsêng-chih, and WANG Kuo-wei,[144] and shall correct the three instances of Tung-ch'ang in the text to Tung-ching. We shall ignore the contrary opinion of KAO Pao-ch'üan and reject a different emendation, " Tung-shêng 東勝 [Dungšing]," suggested by NAKA Michiyo,[145] because the emendation of Tung-ching for Tung-ch'ang not only is in agreement with the history of the Chin, not only is supported by the texts which have descended more or less from the original *Činggis Qahan-u Huǰa'ur*, but also is such as to afford an easier explanation of how the original Mongolian came to be mistranscribed into Chinese. *Dungging* and *Dungčang*, though distinguishable, are not too dissimilar in the Uighur script; they would be especially hard to differentiate if the manuscript were damaged, and the writing faint. The Ming transcribers were not specialists in historical geography. Since Tung-ch'ang [= Dungčang] was a prominent geographical name of their time, they naturally thought it to be the place meant in the text.

The case of the occurrence of Hsüan-tê-fu 宣德府 [Söndiiwu] in two places in the text, where it should have been Hsüan-tê-chou 州 [Söndiijiu], cannot be disposed of so easily. Since the relevant places in the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* and the *Yüan shih* also read " Hsüan-tê-fu " [146] and since *-ǰiu* and *-wu* in the Uighur script are more distinguishable than *-ging* and *-čang*, we cannot explain away the incongruity by charging the Ming transcribers with the error of reading *Söndiiǰiu* as *Söndiiwu*.

[142] *YCPSC* 13.6a-b; cf. *YS* 9.10a, 58.21b.

[143] *SWCCL* 76b, *YSIWCP* 1B.3a, *Chin shih* (Po-na-pên edition) 13.5a, *YS* 1.16b.

[144] *YPSTLKC* 13.1a-b, *MWESC* 3.11b, *YPSPC* 13.1a, *SWCCL* 76b.

[145] *YPSLCPC* 13.2a, *CKJ*, pp. 437-438, *CCTCYCCL*, pp. 78-79.

[146] *OMGH* C1.1a, b. Cf. *SWCCL* 78b; *YS* 1.16b. It is curious, however, that Rašīd al-Dīn has, correctly, Hsüan-tê-chou (*YSIWCP* 1B.3b; cf. Berezin 15.19, translation, Syuen'-de-jžyui; 15.30, text, Sūn Tījīūī). If this has come from H, we would need to assume that, though F had corrected C, G under the influence of D had continued to use Hsüan-tê-fu. Another, perhaps a more likely possibility is that Rašīd got the better reading from I.

Hsüan-tê-chou of Chin times had officially become at first Hsüan-ning-fu 宣寧府 and then Shan-tung-lu 山東路 under the Mongols,[147] though it continued to be known popularly as Hsüan-tê-chou. There is a record which shows that the area was called Hsüan-tê-chou on 1 July 1260.[148] The *Yüan shih* records, under the date of 7 September 1263, that it was promoted to a higher status in geographical administration and was renamed Hsüan-tê-fu.[149] A document that refers to this area by the new name must, of course, be dated after 7 September 1263. The nearest Rat year after 1263 was 1264.

Would 1276 do? Not very well. In the first place, a man who knew Činggis' early years so well must have been very old by 1264. It would be hazardous to assume that he was still living in 1276. In the second place, a man who in 1276 referred to Hsüan-tê-chou as Hsüan-tê-fu would certainly have referred to Chung-tu [Jungdu] as Ta-tu [Daidu]. He did not.[150] Hence we may tentatively date the Rat year of the colophon as 1264.

There is a little bit of external evidence—circumstantial indeed—which may be cited in partial support of our hypothetical interpretation of the colophon. Reference has already been made above to WANG O's appeal in 1263 for the collection of historical data on Činggis.[151] WANG was himself a historian of no mean ability. It was largely due to his persuasion that Qubilai became earnestly interested in historiography.[152] Under the date of 9 September 1262, the *Yüan shih* records that WANG petitioned the emperor to have the history of the previous emperors copied and sent (*lu fu* 錄付) to the Bureau of Dynastic History.[153] Now, under the date of 25 May 1263, he appealed to the Throne to order the collection of historical data on Činggis. We may infer that, in the interval between 9 September 1262 and 25 May 1263, he was assured by the Mongols, including Qubilai, perhaps, that

[147] *YS* 58.6a-b. Cf. *Yüan shih pên chêng* 8.1b-2a.
[148] *Chan ch'ih* 站赤 1 (= *Yung-lo ta-tien* 19416) 10a.
[149] *YS* 5.16a.
[150] *OMGH* C1.2b, 4a, 6a, etc.; cf. *YS* 7.16a, 58.3a.
[151] Cf. *supra* n. 105.
[152] *YS* 160.6a-8a; cf. *SKCSTM* 51.6a-b.
[153] *YS* 5.7b.

there was no written history of Činggis in existence. Hence the urgency to collect such source material as was still available. It is interesting to note the expression which he used, and which we have freely rendered "to collect." He actually said "*yen fang* 延訪" which is literally "invite [and] inquire" and may be paraphrased as "invite those who know to tell." WANG was himself also interested in the history of the fallen Chin dynasty. To fill in some of the gaps, he would solicit information. In the *Chin shih* (completed in 1345, long after his death) there is recorded a list of those who offered information, and the number of items each told. Among the informants was a man, aged eighty-eight.[154]

The *Yüan shih* does not record any Grand Assembly in the seventh month (25 July-22 August) of 1264. This silence does not necessarily preclude the possibility of such a gathering of the princes of the blood. Between 27 March and 22 September, Qubilai was presumably in Shang-tu 上都.[155] This does not mean that he could not have gone out hunting or presided over an unrecorded conference. On 22 August, it was recorded that Ariγ Böge and Prince Ürüng Taš had returned and were forgiven.[156] This, of course, marked the end of the contest between the two brothers, Qubilai and Ariγ Böge. The *Yüan shih* gives little information about this contest, which had lasted five years. This is understandable, for Qubilai would naturally have wanted this family disgrace to be forgotten as much as possible. Rašīd al-Dīn, who probably derived his information about this from Pūlād, told some interesting details,[157] but unfortunately not enough of the events immediately before the "reunion." Nor was the place of the "reconciliation" specified.

Ariγ Böge had challenged Qubilai's claim to the title of Qaγan and Emperor, and declared that he himself had been duly elected to succeed their eldest brother, Möngke. Qubilai defeated him in war and brought about his surrender with diplomacy. We suspect that Prince Ürüng Taš, a son of Möngke, was one of the important

[154] *Chin shih* 13.8a-b.
[155] *YS* 5.18b, 22b.
[156] *YS* 5.20b.
[157] I use Professor SHAO Hsün-chêng's translation of Rašīd al-Dīn concerning Ariγ Böge in *CHHP* 14 (1947).78-111.

mediators. Ürüng Taš was a supporter of Ariγ Böge's claim. On 21 August 1264, he was one of the returning penitents.[158] Yet on 13 August, there were recorded some generous grants from the emperor to Prince Ürüng Taš. Where was Ürüng Taš then? Could he have been with Ariγ Böge and other princes, partisans, and mediators, all on Köde'e Isle in the Kelüren, in a "Grand Assembly" to decide that Ariγ Böge should "resign" in Qubilai's favor? In answer to Qubilai's question, "Which of us is right?" Ariγ Böge was quoted to have said, "I was right then; you are right now." Could he have meant that some new decision, jointly arrived at, had altered their relative positions? If there was such a "Grand Assembly" under Ariγ Böge, we would hardly expect it to be recorded in the *Yüan shih*.

We should like to imagine that in the coolness of the August evenings over the Kelüren, our hypothetical aged narrator was invited to recite some of his stories to the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Činggis. He might have told the story of how Tului, the father of Qubilai and Ariγ Böge, offered to appease the angry gods of the Chin empire, to drink the deadly potion in the hand of the shaman priest, and to die so that his abler and elder brother, Ögödei, might live and rule, to continue and expand the glories of Činggis.[159] How would that story have impressed Ariγ Böge? But what we have imagined of the persons involved, the date, and the occasion referred to in the colophon of the *Činggis Qahan-u Huǰa'ur*, is still only hypothetical. Perhaps we had better not imagine more until more is ascertained.

[158] *YS* 5.20a. My interpretation of the course of events differs from that of Shao Hsün-chêng, *loc. cit.*, p. 102.

[159] *OMGH* C2.20b-25b.

A CHANCELLERY PRACTICE OF THE MONGOLS IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

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At the end of an edict of Ögedei of 1235, N° XXI on page 307 of Ed. Chavannes' "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole (Seconde série)," [1] we find the words 後有囘囘字一行. These words are not rendered in Chavannes' translation on pages 308-309, but in note 1 on page 309 he remarked:

> Après la date, l'inscription indique qu'il y avait encore une ligne en caractères *houei-houei* 囘囘字; ce devait être une ligne en écriture de Phags pa lama.

This, to the best of my knowledge, constitutes the first attempt to explain these intriguing words. That the explanation was not convincing, however, is apparent from the remarks of Paul Pelliot on pages 188-190 of his article "Les plus anciens monuments de l'écriture arabe en Chine." [2] After citing the two lines of a Persian text in Arabic script which is found at the end of a Chinese inscription of 1307 in the temple of Yen-tzŭ 顏子 in Ch'ü-fu 曲阜, the native place of Confucius in the Shan-tung Province, he stated:

> C'est encore au Chan-tong, mais dans un temple taoïque dépendant de Wei-hien, que M. Chavannes a recueilli une autre inscription où il semble bien s'agir de quelque chose d'analogue. Cette inscription (n° xxi) reproduit un court édit daté de 1235; Ögödäi y prescrit de désigner des religieux taoïstes pour résider dans le temple taoïque qu'il vient de fonder à Karakorum. Sur la stèle, le texte de l'édit est suivi de ces mots: 後有囘囘字一行 «A la suite il y a une ligne en caractères *houei-houei*». M. Chavannes a supposé, là encore, qu'il s'agissait d'une ligne en écriture *'phags-pa*; je ne le crois pas. Que supposerait en effet cette hypothèse? On sait que l'écriture *'phags-pa* n'a été inventée qu'en 1269. Il faudrait donc admettre, de trois choses l'une: α.

[1] *TP* 9 (1908) 297-428 + 30 "planches."

[2] *JA* 2 (1913) 177-191.