

The Memorial for Presenting the *Yüan shih*

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS

A short piece of official prose by Sung Lien 宋濂 entitled "Chin Yüan-shih piao 進元史表," or "Memorial for Presenting the *Yüan shih*," is found in his collected works, *Sung Hsüeh-shih wen-chi* 宋學士文集.<sup>1</sup> However, as it appears at the beginning of the *Yüan shih* 元史<sup>2</sup> itself, it purports to be a product of the pen of Li Shan-ch'ang 李善長<sup>3</sup> and differs in several particulars from the text by Sung Lien. It is, therefore, obvious that the draft by Sung Lien was utilized by Li Shan-ch'ang for presenting the history of Mongolian rule in China to the Hung-wu 洪武<sup>4</sup> emperor. The differences in the two texts are not only stylistic in nature, but, in some cases, political. Here I translate in full the final version of the memorial, and in the footnotes I introduce variant passages of Sung Lien's version based on my translation of it prepared beforehand. In this manner integral translations of both versions are presented in this paper. That which is found in the *Yüan shih*, nonetheless, is the official version and can be presumed to reflect the thinking of the editor-in-chief of the *Yüan shih*. It is dated "the eleventh day of the eighth moon of the second year of Hung-wu," that is September 12, 1369.<sup>5</sup>

I cannot terminate these remarks without an acknowledgment of my indebtedness to my beloved *hsien-shih* 先師, Hung Yeh 洪業,<sup>6</sup> for the opportunity he accorded me to discuss with him some of the historical and philological problems with which the two versions are beset and to whose memory I dedicate this little article.

<sup>1</sup>SPTK edn., ch. 1 (*ts'ei* 1), pp. 1098-11113. For the term "piao" see James R. Hightower, "The *Wen hsüan* and Genre Theory," in *Studies in Chinese Literature*, ed. John L. Bishop, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies 26 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1965), pp. 142-63, p. 525, n. 62. For Sung Lien, see n. 114, below.

<sup>2</sup>Po-na edn. For the *Yüan shih*, see E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (London: Trübner, 1910) 1, pp. 180-91; Paul Ratchnevsky, *Une Cade des Yuan* (Paris: Leroux, 1937), pp. v-vi; and William Hung, "The Transmission of the Book Known as the Secret History of the Mongols," *HJAS* 14 (1951), pp. 433-92 (p. 472).

<sup>3</sup>See n. 7, below.

<sup>4</sup>The *nieu-hao* 年號 ("reign title") of the first Ming emperor, r. 1368-1398.

<sup>5</sup>*Yüan shih* 1 (*ts'ei* 1), 318.

<sup>6</sup>1893-1980.

## TRANSLATION OF CHINESE TEXT

[Your] servant Li Shan-ch'ang 李善長,<sup>7</sup> *yin-ch'ing yung-lu tai-fu* 銀青榮祿大夫,<sup>8</sup> *shang-chu-kuo* 上柱國,<sup>9</sup> *lu-chün-kuo-chung-shih* 錄軍國重事,<sup>10</sup> *chung-shu tso-ch'eng-hsiang* 中書左丞相,<sup>11</sup> and concurrently *t'ai-tzu shao-shih* 太子少師,<sup>12</sup> *Hsüan-kuo kung* 宣國公,<sup>13</sup> and others [beg to] say:<sup>14</sup>

We submit that,<sup>15</sup> when one records a whole dynasty in a book,<sup>16</sup> in the method of historiography, he follows [that transmitted from the times of] [Ssu-ma] Ch'ien [司馬] 遷<sup>17</sup> and [Pan] Ku [班] 固.<sup>18</sup> When he examines the accomplishments<sup>19</sup> of former kings, [he perceives that] the [rising] House of Chou 周家<sup>20</sup> took lessons from<sup>21</sup> the [fallen] Hsia 夏<sup>22</sup> and Yin 殷.<sup>23</sup> It

<sup>7</sup> 1314–July 6, 1390. For his biography see the *Ming shih* 明史 127/15 (*ts'ê* 3). 114–7110. Cf. also Romeyn Taylor, "Li Shan-ch'ang," in L. Carrington Goodrich, ed., *Chaoying Fang*, associate ed., *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368–1644* 明代名人傳, The Ming Biographical History Project of the Association for Asian Studies (New York: Columbia U.P., 1976; hereafter *DMB*) 1, A–L, pp. 850a–54b.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the *Ming shih* 127/15 (*ts'ê* 36). 2v4–5. See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1983), p. 581, no. 7980.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the *Ming shih* 127/15 (*ts'ê* 36). 2v5. See Taylor, *DMB* 1, p. 850a–b. See further Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, p. 407, no. 4490.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the *Ming shih* 127/15 (*ts'ê* 36). 2v5–6. Not in Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the *Ming shih* 127/15 (*ts'ê* 36). 312. See Taylor, *DMB* 1, p. 850a. See also Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, pp. 194, no. 1619 and 322, no. 6951.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the *Ming shih* 127/15 (*ts'ê* 36). 2v4. See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, p. 485, no. 6253.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the *Ming shih* 127/15 (*ts'ê* 36). 219–10. See also Taylor, *DMB* 1, p. 850a. Not in Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*.

<sup>14</sup> Here 言 (*yen*) alone is the same as 乞言 (*ch'i-yen*).

<sup>15</sup> The words 伏以 (*fu i*) literally signify: "we crouch with [the fact that]."

<sup>16</sup> Lit., "and thereby makes a book."

<sup>17</sup> See Stephen Durrant, "Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (c. 145–c. 85 B.C.)," in William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed. and comp., et al., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 1986), pp. 720b–23b. See also Edouard Chavannes, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien traduits et annotés* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1895) 1, pp. xxiii–xlvi ("Seconde partie: Vie de Se-ma Ts'ien"), and xlvi–lxi ("Troisième partie: De la part que prirent Se-ma Pan et Se-ma Ts'ien à la rédaction des Mémoires Historiques").

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Kenneth Ho and Timoteus Pokora, "Pan Ku 班固 (*tsu*, Meng-chien 孟堅, 32–92)," in Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, pp. 645a–47a.

<sup>19</sup> Lit., "the examples of success."

<sup>20</sup> For the Chou see Chêng Tê-k'ün, *Archaeology in China* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons; U. of Toronto P., 1963) 3, pp. xxiv–xxvii + Map I ("Western Chou (1111–771)"), xxvii–xxix + Map III ("Eastern Chou: Chan-kuo (480–222)"). See also A. C. Moule, *The Rulers of China 221 B.C.–A.D. 1949, Chronological Tables comp. A. C. Moule with an Introductory Section on the Earlier Rulers c. 2100–249 B.C. by W. Perceval Yetts* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957), pp. xvii–xxiii. See further Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, pp. 6–7: "1122(?)–256 B.C."

<sup>21</sup> Lit., "had a mirror from."

<sup>22</sup> See Chêng Tê-k'ün, *Archaeology* (1960) 2, pp. xxi–xxii and xxv. See also Yetts in Moule, *The Rulers of China*, p. xiii.

<sup>23</sup> The text in the *Sung Hsiieh-shih wen-chi* 宋學士文集 (SPTK edn.; hereafter *SHSWC*) has 陰 *yin* (10v10), an obvious clerical error for 殷 (*Yin*). As for Yin, 1523–1028 B.C., see Chêng, *Archaeology* 2, pp. xix, xxv, and xxviii. See also Yetts in Moule, *The Rulers of China*, pp. xiv–xvi.

would seem that,<sup>24</sup> relying on the success or failure<sup>25</sup> of times gone by, we should use<sup>26</sup> [them] to make patterns and warnings for the future.

The Yüan 元氏,<sup>27</sup> as a nation, took root in the Desert in order to create a House.<sup>28</sup> They devoted themselves to<sup>29</sup> warfare and<sup>30</sup> struggled for supremacy. [Their] annexation of the [diverse] tribes [went on] for ten generations. In pursuit of seasonal pastures they made [their] livelihood.<sup>31</sup> They assumed leadership in one corner [of the world].

Coming to the time of Ch'eng-chi-ssu 成吉思 (Činggis) they assembled<sup>32</sup> on [the banks of] the Wo-nan (Onan) River 斡難河.<sup>34</sup> [It was] then [that] they esteemed positions and titles and began<sup>35</sup> to formulate orders<sup>36</sup> and regulations.

After they had taken the Nai-man 乃蠻人<sup>37</sup> (Naiman) nearby, then they attacked the Hui-ho 回紇<sup>38</sup> (Uiyu[r]) afar. They crossed the Huang-ho

<sup>24</sup> In other words, "This means that."

<sup>25</sup> Lit., "decline or rise."

<sup>26</sup> The text in the *SHSWC* has 堪 (*K'an*) ("to be able") (10v10). It is really better euphony to have the *p'ing-sheng* 平聲. In the pattern 蓋因 (= 以) ... 用作 ..., the first word is *tse sheng* 仄聲, the second is *p'ing-sheng*, the third is *tse-sheng*, and the fourth is *tse-sheng*. The first word, of course, does not count in the pattern. It may, therefore, be either *p'ing-sheng* or *tse-sheng*. The odd-numbered words are not as important as the even numbered.

<sup>27</sup> Lit., "Yüan clan," 1271–1368. For the problem of dating the dynasty see Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu," *HJAS* 12.1–2 (June 1949), p. 38, n. 6. Cf. also Moule, *The Rulers of China*, pp. 102–05. See further Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, pp. 58–69.

<sup>28</sup> Lit., "The Yüan Clan's having a state took root [in] the Desert and thereby created a House." The meaning is that Mongols as a nation had their homeland in the Desert.

<sup>29</sup> The text in the *SHSWC* has 用 (*yung*) (10v11) which is, in effect, a little more precise than 使 (*shih*).

<sup>30</sup> The text in the *SHSWC* has 以 (*i*) (10v11) instead of 而 (*erh*), a minor variant.

<sup>31</sup> Lit., "Following water and grass they made food." For this location *chu shui ts'ao*, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338 in Memory of Jigüntei," *HJAS* 14.1–2 (June 1951), pp. 1–104 + Pl. I–XXXII (pp. 76–77, n. 28).

<sup>32</sup> Whose personal name was Temüjin and whose *miao-hao* 廟號 or "temple name" was T'ai-tsu Huang-ti 太祖皇帝. See, e.g., Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu," p. 43, n. 26 and Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1346," *HJAS* 15.1–2 (June 1952), p. 35, n. 3.

<sup>33</sup> The text in the *SHSWC* has 大會 ("grandly assembled") (10v10) instead of 聚會.

<sup>34</sup> For this river see Paul Pelliot and Louis Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan, Cheng-wou ts'ün-icheng lou* (Leiden: Brill, 1951) 1, pp. 181–82, n. 7.

<sup>35</sup> The text in the *SHSWC* has 始 (*shih*) ... 漸定 (*chien-ting*) ... (10v13) instead of 方 (*fang*) ... 始定 (*shih-ting*) ...

<sup>36</sup> To avoid the use of 詔 (*chao*) the author uses 教 (*chiao*) which is a grade lower and is used of orders of an empress.

<sup>37</sup> See Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan*, pp. 215–21. See also William Hung, "Three of Ch'ien Ta-hsin's Poems on Yüan History," *HJAS* 19.1–2 (June 1956), p. 31, n. 6.

<sup>38</sup> See James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouighours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties d'après les documents chinois* (Paris: Presses Univ. de Fr., 1955), p. 61.

黃河<sup>39</sup> to trample upon the Hsi-Hsia 西夏<sup>40</sup> and they passed through the Chü-yung [-kuan] 居庸 [關]<sup>41</sup> to espy<sup>42</sup> the Chung-yüan 中原.<sup>43</sup>

When T'ai-tsung 太宗<sup>44</sup> succeeded,<sup>45</sup> the Chin-yüan 金源<sup>46</sup> became a waste.

When Shih-tsu 世祖<sup>47</sup> inherited,<sup>48</sup> [tv] the record<sup>49</sup> of the Sung 宋<sup>50</sup> subsequently ended. He established *ching* 經 ("principles") and set forth *chi* 紀 ("regulations")<sup>51</sup> and used Hsia 夏<sup>52</sup> to reform the I 夷.<sup>53</sup> He displayed<sup>54</sup> a pattern<sup>55</sup> of permanence<sup>56</sup> [for the future] and achieved the foundation of [Imperial] unity.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>39</sup> I.e., Yellow River. See Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* 1, p. 185.

<sup>40</sup> See Bretschneider *Mediaeval Researches* 1, p. 184. See also Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan*, p. 249, n. 9. See further Moule, *The Rulers of China*, pp. 79-83.

<sup>41</sup> See, e.g., Murata Jirō 村田治郎, ed., *Kyōyō-kan 居庸關 Chü-yung kuan, The Buddhist Arch of the Fourteenth Century A.D. at the Pass of the Great Wall Northwest of Peking, Volume I, Text* (Kyoto: Faculty of Engineering, Kyoto University [Kyōto Daigaku Kōgakubu 京都大学工学部], 1957), pp. xii + 359 + "Charts and Rubbings." Cf. esp. pp. 327-30 ("Historical Outline of Chü-yung kuan").

<sup>42</sup> The author uses this word (瞰), because he did not want to say that Chuang-yüan fell to them. (瞰 = [1] 看, [2] 窺, and [3] 睨, i.e., [1] "to look," [2] "to look with covetous eyes," and [3] "to look with angry eyes.")

<sup>43</sup> See Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋徹次, comp., *Dai Kan-Wa jiten 大漢和辭典* 1, p. 296a-b/p. 296a-b: "Ima no Kananshō to Santōshō to no seibu, Kahokushō, Sanseshō no nambu, Sanseshō no tōbu ga inishie no iwayuru Chūgen no chi, ..." ["The Western part of both the present Ho-nan sheng and Shan-tung sheng, the southern part of Ho-pei sheng and Shan-hsi sheng, the eastern part of Shen-hsi sheng (constitute) the territory which was called Chung-yüan in antiquity, ..."]

<sup>44</sup> I.e., Ögedei (~Ögödei), b. 1186, d. December 11, 1241. See Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1346," pp. 1-123 + Plates I-XII (p. 37, n. 8).

<sup>45</sup> Lit., "continued it."

<sup>46</sup> Lit., "Gold Source." Cf. Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 11, pp. 457d/11999d-458a/12000a, no. 365: "Kinkoku no besshō 金國の別称 ["Another name for the Chin nation"]. For the Chin (1115-1234) see Moule, *The Rulers of China*, pp. 99-101. See also Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, pp. 55-57.

<sup>47</sup> Whose personal name was Qubilai and whose *miao-hao* was Shih-tsu Huang-ti 世祖皇帝. See Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The 'Fifteen "Palace Poems"' by K'o Chiu-ssu," *HJAS* 20.3-4 (Dec. 1957), p. 433, n. 19.

<sup>48</sup> Lit., "received it" (as one catches a ball with two hands). 繼 means "to continue" with no gap between; 承 means "to inherit" with a gap between.

<sup>49</sup> I.e., Imperial history.

<sup>50</sup> 960-1127 (Northern); 1127-1279 (Southern). See Moule, *The Rulers of China*, pp. 84-90. Cf. also Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, pp. 40-52.

<sup>51</sup> I.e., he established systematic institutions (law, calendar, ceremonies, etc.). For another example of 立經陳紀 (*li ching ch'en chi*) see 國朝文類 9 (*ts'e* 3). 2v5. See also *Yüan shih* 4 (*ts'e* 2). 8v4-5.

<sup>52</sup> I.e., China. Cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Historicity of the Baijuna Covenant," *HJAS* 18.3-4 (Dec. 1955), p. 415, n. 360.

<sup>53</sup> I.e., Barbarians. In other words, Qubilai adapted Chinese usage to the Barbarian life.

<sup>54</sup> I.e., spread.

<sup>55</sup> Or "plan" or "rule."

<sup>56</sup> Lit., "vast distance."

<sup>57</sup> I.e., unity of empire by using the Chinese system! (This is also an obvious hint to the Ming.)

When it came to such rulers as Ch'eng[-tsung] 成 [宗],<sup>58</sup> they were known to be<sup>59</sup> sovereigns who desired to govern [well]. They remembered the observance of the ancestral precepts and [ever] thought of this bequeathing of guidance for [their] descendants.

From this [time] down,<sup>60</sup> [the times] also<sup>61</sup> were rather good.<sup>62</sup>

Let the words "Worry not!"<sup>63</sup> and "Doubt not!"<sup>64</sup> [but] once<sup>65</sup> set the tune in the T'ien-li 天曆<sup>66</sup> period, and the disaster of "Separating and Splitting"<sup>67</sup> and "Dispersing and Stamping"<sup>68</sup> gradually came to the Chih-cheng 至正<sup>69</sup> court.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Whose personal name was Temür and *miao-hao* was Ch'eng-tsong Huang-ti 成宗皇帝. See Louis Hambis, *Le Chapitre civil du Yuan che, T'oung pao, Supplément au Vol. XXXVIII* (Leiden: Brill, 1945), pp. 129-30, n. 4. See also Moule, *The Rulers of China*, p. 103.

<sup>59</sup> Lit., "appeared 見 (*hsien*) to be called."

<sup>60</sup> The text in the *SHSWC* has 已降 (*i-chiang*) (1113) instead of 以降 (*i-chiang*).

<sup>61</sup> The text in the *SHSWC* has 聿 (*yü*) ("thereupon") (1123) instead of 亦 (*i*) ("also").

<sup>62</sup> Lit., "high and level," i.e., there were no outstanding catastrophes.

<sup>63</sup> Lit., "[The hexagram] *feng* 豐 [means] *heng* 亨 ('prosperous')." *Feng* is hexagram number 35. In the *Chou I* 周易 (SPPY edn.) 6 (*ts'e* 2). 1r3, we read: 豐亨。王假之。勿憂。宜日中。James Legge, *The Yi King, in The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism*, pt. 2, *The Sacred Books of the Orient* 16, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), translated this (pp. 183-84): "Fang intimates progress and development. When a king has reached the point (which the name denotes) [184] there is no occasion to be anxious (through fear of a change). Let him be as the sun at noon." Hence we see that, by the words 豐亨 "[The hexagram] *feng* 豐 [means] *heng* 亨 ('prosperous')." Li Shan-ch'ang really meant 勿憂 ("Worry not!")

<sup>64</sup> Lit., "[The hexagram] *yü* 豫 [means] *ta* 大 ('grand')." *Yü* is hexagram number 16. In the *Chou I* 2 (*ts'e* 1). 7r5, we read: 九四由豫大有得。勿疑朋盍簪。Legge, *The Yi King* (pp. 91-92) translated this: "4. The fourth line, undivided, shows him from whom the harmony and satisfaction come. Great [92] is the success which he obtains. Let him not allow suspicions to enter his mind, and thus friends will gather around him." Hence we see that, by the words 豫大 "[The hexagram] *yü* 豫 [means] *ta* 大 ('grand')." Li Shan-ch'ang really meant 勿疑 ("Doubt not!")

<sup>65</sup> The text in the *SHSWC* has 鼓 (*ku*) ("to drum up") (1113) instead of 壹 (*i*).

<sup>66</sup> 1328-1330. A *miao-hao* 年號 of the Wen-tsong 文宗 emperor (1328-1332). See Louis Ligeti, "Les Noms mongols de Wen-tsong des Yuan," *TP* 27 (1930), pp. 57-61.

<sup>67</sup> Lit., "[The hexagram] *li* 離 [means] *hsi* 析 ('splitting')." *Li* is hexagram number 30. Cf. the *Chou I* 3 (*ts'e* 1). 11r7. In the entry on *li* (1117-1218) there is no compound 離析. [In 1216 we find 析首 which Legge (*The Yi King*, p. 122) rendered: "he breaks (only) the chiefs (of the rebels)."] Since Sung Lien did not find what he wanted in the *Chou I*, using his literary license, he made his own gloss on the hexagram *li* by borrowing the expression 離析 from the *Lun-yü* 論語 wherein we read (James Legge, *The Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean*, in *The Chinese Classics* 1, 2nd rev. edn. [Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1893], pt. 1, p. 309, sect. 12) 邦分崩離析而不能守也 "In his own territory there are divisions and downfalls, leaving and separations, and with your help, he cannot preserve it." This technique is called 假對 (*chia-tui*) "borrowed antithesis."

<sup>68</sup> Lit., "[The hexagram] *huan* 渙 is *pen* 奔 ('stampeding')." *Huan* is hexagram number 59. In the *Chou I* 6 (*ts'e* 2). 6r3, we read: 九二渙奔其機。悔亡。Legge (*The Yi King*, p. 195) rendered this: "The second line, undivided, shows its subject, amid the dispersion, hurrying to his contrivance (for security). All occasion for repentance will disappear."

<sup>69</sup> 1341-1368.

<sup>70</sup> The gist of these two lines is, then, that once they began to enjoy life in a carefree manner, catastrophe inevitably followed.

They only indulged in petty pleasures and gradually forgot distant concerns.<sup>71</sup> The powerful and wicked deceived<sup>72</sup> abroad.<sup>73</sup> The favorites and intimates<sup>74</sup> deluded<sup>75</sup> them within.<sup>76</sup> The discipline<sup>77</sup> of the Chou 周<sup>78</sup> was suddenly brought<sup>79</sup> to deterioration.<sup>80</sup> The laws<sup>81</sup> of the Han 漢<sup>82</sup> truly<sup>83</sup> were thereby<sup>84</sup> in [a state of] looseness.<sup>85</sup>

Through this numerous ringleaders arose in warfare<sup>86</sup> and the Chiu-yü 九域<sup>87</sup> fell apart.<sup>88</sup> Wind and waves boiled in vain in the dark deep,<sup>89</sup> [for] the seas and the mountains<sup>90</sup> finally submitted to the True Lord.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>71</sup> I.e., concerns both geographically and chronologically distant as, e.g., the frontier regions of the empire and the future moral qualities of their grandsons. These words are not found in the text in the *SHSWC*.

<sup>72</sup> Lit., "veiled [the head] and concealed [the body of the emperor]."

<sup>73</sup> I.e., outside the Palace.

<sup>74</sup> I.e., catamites.

<sup>75</sup> Lit., "served poison and made them dubious [about things]."

<sup>76</sup> I.e., in the Palace. The order of this and the preceding sentence is inverted in the text of the *SHSWC*. The inversion is better, because normally one proceeds from 中 (*chung*) to 外 (*wai*).

<sup>77</sup> Lit., "the controlling rope of a net."

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 2, p. 2022d/940d, no. 481.

<sup>79</sup> The text in the *SHSWC* has 見 (*hsien*) (1115) instead of 遠 (*chü*).

<sup>80</sup> Lit., "slackness." The figure is that of the rope that is allowed to go slack.

<sup>81</sup> Lit., "net."

<sup>82</sup> 202 B.C.—9 A.D. and 25 A.D.—220 A.D. See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, pp. 11—16.

<sup>83</sup> The text in the *SHSWC* has 祇 (*chih*) ("only") (1115) instead of 實 (*shih*) ("truly"). As a matter of fact, 祇 is better, because 實 reads as if it were merely thrown in for the balance.

<sup>84</sup> 因 = 以/用 "thereby." This is *p'ing-sheng* to even up 致 (*chih*) which is *ts'ê-sheng*.

<sup>85</sup> The figure is that of a net which is allowed to slump from its previous state of tautness. The meaning is that the laws became unenforceable and criminals were allowed to slip through. The order of this and the preceding sentence is inverted in the text of the *SHSWC*.

At this juncture, the text in the *SHSWC* has two sentences that do not appear here. They read as follows: 風憲皆無不捕之貓。將士盡成反噬之犬。 "In the censorate, in every case, there were no cats at all which did not catch [mice]. The officers and men all became dogs which bit in return [for kindness]."

If these two sentences were in the original draft, they were probably cut out by Li Shan-ch'ang. It is easier to explain their exclusion than their inclusion. Sung Lien, being a literary man, was not experienced in government affairs, whereas Li Shan-ch'ang, who was less literary and more experienced in government affairs, would not like such an allusion.

Sung Lien meant that in the civil government nobody was doing his job and that in the military service everyone became a rebel. Since some of these people were still serving under the Ming, Li Shan-ch'ang would hesitate to incur their displeasure.

<sup>86</sup> Lit., "pursued [one another] with their horns" (as male animals with horns).

<sup>87</sup> I.e., Nine Regions. It is a synonym for China. See Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 1, p. 357c/357, no. 15: "Kushū (301) no (1) ni onaji. 九州 (301) の (1) に同じ。" ["Same as (1) (301) of the Kushū.] For the latter see pp. 369d—370b/369d—370b, no. 301.

<sup>88</sup> Lit., "split as a [dry] melon" (long after the harvest).

<sup>89</sup> I.e., "But the storm raged in vain over the dark sea." = "All the fury was for nothing." The words 重溟 literally mean "heavy deep" — heavy because the atmosphere during the storm is "heavy," hence "dark." (N.B. 重 is *ts'ê* and 溟 is *p'ing*.)

<sup>90</sup> I.e., the whole world.

<sup>91</sup> I.e., Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋 (October 21, 1328—June 24, 1398). See Teng Ssu-yü in *DMB* 1, pp. 381b—392a.

[Your] servant Shan-ch'ang and others, being sincerely fearful and being sincerely afraid and knocking [their] heads and knocking [their] heads<sup>92</sup> respectfully submit that:

Your Majesty, holding [2r] Heaven and receiving the mandate<sup>93</sup> to save the world and to secure the people, has founded the great map of ten thousand ages<sup>94</sup> and has continued the rightful succession of the "hundred kings."<sup>95</sup>

[Our] Ta Ming 大明<sup>96</sup> [Dynasty] being come forth, the fire of the embers has faded away<sup>97</sup> and, throughout the land, it produced glory.<sup>98</sup>

A sudden clap of thunder having sounded, the multitude of murmurs has been silenced<sup>99</sup> and [only] grand music will henceforth be broadcast.

And so<sup>100</sup> [Your Majesty], thinking about the causes of the rise and fall [of the Yüan], then,<sup>101</sup> extended [to it] the benevolence<sup>102</sup> of [Your] sympathetic graciousness.<sup>103</sup>

Although the multitude<sup>104</sup> has said that, reality having perished, the name perishes in its suite,<sup>105</sup> [Your Majesty] alone says (i.e., feels) that, although a nation (i.e., dynasty) may be extinguished, [its] history ought not to be extinguished.

[Your Majesty] has specially decreed that the scholars left behind [from the Yüan] should wish to seek out fairness of judgment and that, as for the language<sup>106</sup> [of the history], they should not bring [it] unto difficulties and depth<sup>107</sup> and that, as for the narration,<sup>108</sup> they should make an effort to cause

<sup>92</sup> This is merely a conventional formula. The text in the *SHSWC* has only 中謝 ("in between [the expression of] thanks") (1117) instead of 臣... 首.

<sup>93</sup> For the words 奉天承運 cf. the *Tz'u-kai* 辭海, 3rd edn., 1940, *ch'ou chi* 丑集 no. 287a.

<sup>94</sup> I.e., "an everlasting empire." <sup>95</sup> I.e., "the many sovereigns."

<sup>96</sup> 1368—1644. See Moule, *The Rulers of China*, pp. 106—09. See also Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, pp. 70—82.

<sup>97</sup> This is an allusion to the passage in the *Chuang tzu* 莊子 for which see *Nan-hua chen-ching* 南華真經 1 (*ts'ê* 1), 9v4—5, which reads: 日月出矣而燭火不息其於光也。不亦勞乎。 James Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*, vol. 39—40 in *The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. F. Müller (1891; rpt. London: Oxford U.P., 1927), p. 169, translated it as follows: "When the sun and moon have come forth, if the torches have not been put out, would it not be difficult for them to give light?"

<sup>98</sup> I.e., gave glory to all the imperial subjects. 率土 (*shuai-t'u*) means "the whole sweep of the land."

<sup>99</sup> The *SHSWC* text has 微 (1119) instead of 銷. <sup>100</sup> 載 (*tsai*) = 乃 (*nai*).

<sup>101</sup> The *SHSWC* text has 即 (*chi*) (1110) for 乃 (*nai*). "I would prefer *nai*." (William Hung, December 23, 1952.)

<sup>102</sup> I.e., generosity.

<sup>103</sup> Lit., "the benevolence (i.e., generosity) of [Your] loyalty and liberality."

<sup>104</sup> The word 僉 (*ch'ien*) = 衆 (*chung*).

<sup>105</sup> Cf. *Chuang tzu* 1 (*ts'ê* 1), 10v1—2: 名者實之實也。Legge (*The Texts of Taoism*, p. 170) rendered this: "But the name is but the guest of the reality; . . ."

<sup>106</sup> The *SHSWC* text has 文詞 (1111) instead of 辭. This is about the same.

<sup>107</sup> I.e., they should make it easy. <sup>108</sup> Lit., "traces of events."

it to be in brightness and whiteness.<sup>109</sup> If good and evil are clearly set in view, it is to be expected that in the morals [to be drawn therefrom] there will be [something] helpful to the people.<sup>110</sup>

This, in every respect, is the sincerity of the "Heavenly remarks."<sup>111</sup> It amply<sup>112</sup> manifests the magnificence of the "Sage intentions."<sup>113</sup>

At this [Your Majesty] commanded that [Your] servant Sung Lien 宋廉,<sup>114</sup> *Han-lin hsüeh-shih* 翰林學士,<sup>115</sup> and [Your] servant Wang I 王禕,<sup>116</sup> [*Han-lin*] *tai-chih* [翰林] 待制,<sup>117</sup> jointly edit<sup>118</sup> [the history] and that [Your] servant Wang K'o-k'uan 汪克寬,<sup>119</sup> [Your] servant Hu Han 胡翰,<sup>120</sup> [Your] servant Sung Hsi 宋禧,<sup>121</sup> [Your] servant T'ao 陶 [2v] K'ai 凱,<sup>122</sup> [Your] servant Ch'en Chi 陳基,<sup>123</sup> [Your] servant Chao Hsün 趙燠,<sup>124</sup> [Your]

<sup>109</sup> I.e., they should make it clear.

<sup>110</sup> I.e., the readers.

<sup>111</sup> I.e., the readers.

<sup>112</sup> The *SHSWC* text has 愈 (*yü*) (111r3) instead of 足 (*tsu*). The word *yü* ("especially") is stronger than *tsu* ("adequately").

<sup>113</sup> I.e., "Your Majesty's intentions."

<sup>114</sup> November 4, 1310–June 12, 1381. For his biography see the *Ming shih* 28 (15'e 36), 8v7–13r8. See also F. W. Mote, "Sung Lien," *DMB* 2, pp. 1225b–31a and Bradford Langley, "Sung Lien 宋廉 (1310–1381)" in Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, pp. 735a–36b.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. *Ming Shih* 128 (15'e 36), 9v5. See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, p. 222, no. 2142.

<sup>116</sup> January 24, 1323–February 5, 1374. According to the *Hsin-hsiu K'ang-hsi tsu-tien* 新修康熙字典, 1981, p. 1722b, the character 禕 should be read *I* as a personal name (人名). However, it is the reading *Wei* that we find in A. H. Davis, "Wang Wei," *DMB* 2, pp. 1444b–47a and K'uan Sun, "Yü Chi and Southern Taoism during the Yüan Period," in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1981), p. 212–53 (p. 242).

<sup>117</sup> Cf. the *Ming shih*. See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, p. 475, no. 6129.

<sup>118</sup> Lit., "jointly respectfully hew (i.e., set right in thought) and cut (i.e., set right in words)."

<sup>119</sup> February 13, 1304–December 7, 1372. See John D. Langlois, Jr., "Wang K'o-k'uan," *DMB* 2, pp. 1385b–87b.

<sup>120</sup> 1307–1381. See Wang Te-i 王德毅, Li Jung-ts'un 李榮村, F'an Po-ch'eng 潘柏澄, comps., *Yüan-jen chuan-chi tsu-liao so-yin* 元人傳記資料索引 (*Index to Biographical Materials of Yuan Figures*) (Taipei: Hsin-wen feng ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1979–1982) 1, pp. 582–83. See also John D. Langlois, Jr., "Political Thought in Chin-hua under Mongol Rule," *China under Mongol Rule*, pp. 137–85 (p. 142). For his biography see *Ming shih* 185/173 (15'e 77), 4r1–4v2.

<sup>121</sup> See *Ming shih* 288/173 (15'e 77), 11r3, 11v7, and 11v7–9.

<sup>122</sup> See T. W. Weng, in *DMB* 1, p. 803b: "T'ao K'ai 陶凱 (T. 中立, cj 1347)." See also *Ming shih* 285/173 (15'e 77), 11r3.

<sup>123</sup> See *Ming shih* 285/173 (15'e 77), 11r3 and 11v9–12r8.

<sup>124</sup> See *Ming shih* 285/173 (15'e 77), 10v10–11v7. For citations from the relevant portions of this biography, namely 10v2 (續) ... 11v2 (編修) and 11v6 (始) ... 11v7 (篇) see Yang Chia-lo 楊家駱, "Hsin-chiao pen Yüan-shih ping fu pien erh chung shih-yü 新校本元史并附編二種家駱," [*Remarks on a Newly Collated Edition of the Yüan shih as Well as Two Appendices*], in *Hsin chiao pen Yüan shih ping fu pien erh-chung* 新校本元史并附編二種 [*Newly Collated Edition of the Yüan shih as Well as Two Appendices*] (Taipei: Ting-wen-shu-chü 鼎文書局, 1977) 1. See also "Yüan shih pu hui-k'ao 元史部彙考," I–1, in *Ku-chin tsu-shu chi-ch'eng* 古今圖書集成, *ching-chi tien* 經籍典 sect. (Taipei: Ting-wen-shu-chü, 1977), ch. 396, pp. 3919b–22c, for additional biographical data.

servant Tseng Lu 曾魯,<sup>125</sup> [Your] servant Chao Fang 趙訪,<sup>126</sup> [Your] servant Chang Wen-hai 張文海,<sup>127</sup> [Your] servant Hsü Tsun-sheng 徐尊生,<sup>128</sup> [Your] servant Huang Hu 黃篋,<sup>129</sup> [Your] servant Fu Shu 傅恕,<sup>130</sup> [Your] servant Wang Ch'i 王錡,<sup>131</sup> [Your] servant Fu Chu 傅著,<sup>132</sup> [Your] servant Hsieh Hui 謝徽,<sup>133</sup> and [Your] servant Kao Ch'i 高啓,<sup>134</sup> [all] *ju-shih* 儒士,<sup>135</sup> should attend to the compilation of its various divisions.<sup>136</sup>

From T'ai-tsu 太祖<sup>137</sup> above<sup>138</sup> to Ning-tsung 寧宗<sup>139</sup> below, basing ourselves on the texts of the *Shih-san-ch'ao shih-lu* 十三朝實錄,<sup>140</sup> we achieved a roughly finished history in a hundred-odd *chüan* 卷.<sup>141</sup>

As for [events of the times] after Yüan-t'ung 元統,<sup>142</sup> then, since their records were non<sup>143</sup>-existent, we had already dispatched messengers and<sup>144</sup>

<sup>125</sup> See John D. Langlois, Jr., *DMB* 2, p. 1386b: "Tseng Lu 曾魯 (T. 得之, 1319–72)." See also *Ming shih* 285/173 (15'e 77), 11r3.

<sup>126</sup> March 29, 1319–November 29, 1369. See John D. Langlois, Jr., "Chao Fang," *DMB* 1, pp. 125b–28a. See also *Ming shih* 285/173 (15'e 77), 11r4.

<sup>127</sup> See *Ming shih* 285/173 (15'e 77), 11r4. <sup>128</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, and 12r8–12v7. <sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 11r4. <sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, and 12v7–9. <sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> 1336–1374. See F. W. Mote, "Kao Ch'i," *DMB* 1, pp. 696a–99b. See also Frederick W. Mote, "A Fourteenth Century Poet: Kao Ch'i," in *Confucian Personalities*, ed. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, Stanford Studies in the Civilization of Eastern Asia (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1962), pp. 235–61; F. W. Mote, *The Poet Kao Ch'i 1336–1374* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1962), p. 261; and Daniel Bryant, "Kao Ch'i 高啓 (1336–1374), Ch'i-ti 季迪, hao, Ch'ing-ch'ü-tzu 青邱子, (1336–1374)," in Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, pp. 735a–36b. See also *Ming shih* 285/173 (15'e 77), 11r3–4.

<sup>135</sup> See Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 1, p. 951d, no. 46.

<sup>136</sup> Lit., "[in] separate categories compile and collect."

<sup>137</sup> I.e., Činggis Qan. See n. 32 above. <sup>138</sup> The *SHSWC* has 故上 ... (11v3).

<sup>139</sup> Whose personal name was Irinjbal and Chinese *miao-hao*, Ning-tsung Huang-ti 寧宗皇帝. Cf. Hambis, *Le Chapitre curi du Yuan che*, p. 140, n. 2.

<sup>140</sup> I.e., *The Veritable Records of Thirteen Reigns*. These were the reigns from that of Činggis Qan to that of Toyön Temür Qayan. Cf., e.g., Hung, "The Transmission," p. 472.

<sup>141</sup> The words 據十三朝實錄之文成百餘卷粗究之史 constitute a radical revision of the text in the *SHSWC* (11v3–6), which reads: 靡不網羅嚴加搜采。恐玩時而揚日。每繼咎以焚膏。故於五六月之間成此十一朝之史。況往際神訖之已甚而它書參考之無憑。雖竭勤難逃疎漏。"We have cast our net everywhere (lit., "there is no [place where we have] not cast [our] net") to search for and gather [the source material] with discrimination. Fearing that we have dillydallied (lit., "played with time"), we have made up for lost time (lit., "have exhausted the days") — 楊 seems to be an error for 竭). Frequently we have prolonged the daylight (咎 [chü] is certainly an error for 咎 [kuei]) by means of burning oil. (Cf. Mathews, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, no. 1866 [p. 273a].) Therefore within five or six moons, we completed this history of eleven reigns. Moreover, [there was] already an excess of errors in past records and [there was] unreliability [in the case] of reference in other books. Although we have made every effort (lit., "exhausted loyalty and diligence"), it has been hard to avoid looseness and omissions."

This may have been cut out, because, on the one hand, Li Shan-ch'ang knew that they really had not cast their net everywhere and, on the other, he knew that the remarks about the errors in past records and the unreliability of other books for reference as well as the mention of their own diligence was really just boasting. He was an astute politician. He probably felt that if all of this was as Sung Lien said, it would be better to let the Emperor say it. [It would appear that 十一朝 is here an error (? a misprint) for 十三朝.]

<sup>142</sup> 1333–1335. <sup>143</sup> The *SHSWC* has 無 (11v6). <sup>144</sup> The *SHSWC* has 以 (11v6).

[thus] collaterally sought [others]. Waiting until we had made a supplementary compilation, we then sent it up<sup>146</sup> [to the throne]. We are ashamed of the limitations of our<sup>146</sup> ability. We have not measured up to the *san-ch'ang* 三長<sup>147</sup> and also, because of the incompleteness of the narration, indeed, there is not an inch of helpfulness.<sup>148</sup>

[Your] servant Shan-ch'ang<sup>149</sup> unworthily manages the great axle-tree<sup>150</sup> and fortunately has seen the book [as] completed. When [there is something which] we believe, we transmit the belief; when [there is something which] we doubt, we transmit the doubt.<sup>151</sup> [In so doing] we have barely been able, in compiling, to grope about for years and months. [If there was something] to write, then we wrote; [if there was something] to delete, then we deleted. We [do not] dare say that we praise and blame in [the presence of] the *Ch'un-ch'iu* 春秋.<sup>152</sup>

When [this] goes up to soil the nine-to-eleven glance<sup>153</sup> [of Your Majesty], we expect that it will serve as a mirror for [3r] a "thousand autumns."<sup>154</sup>

As for the *Yüan shih* which we have compiled,<sup>155</sup> [there are] 37<sup>156</sup> *chüan* of *pen-chi* 本紀,<sup>157</sup> 53 *chüan* of *chih* 志,<sup>158</sup> 6 *chüan* of *piao* 表,<sup>159</sup> 63<sup>160</sup> *chüan* of [*lieh*-] *chuan* [列] 傳,<sup>161</sup> 2 *chüan* of *mu-lu* 目錄,<sup>162</sup> a grand total of 161 *chüan*,<sup>163</sup>

<sup>146</sup> The *SHSWC* has 上進 (11v7). "The character 送 is probably an error for 進. They are very easy to confuse in rapid writing. It is probably a printer's error." (William Hung, December 26, 1952.)

<sup>147</sup> The use of 其 is interesting.

<sup>148</sup> There are "three excellencies" of Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾: (1) 史才 "historical talent," (2) 史學 "historical scholarship," (3) 史識 "historical judgment." Cf. also Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 1, p. 166a/166a, no. 1273.

<sup>149</sup> I.e., for the reader.

<sup>150</sup> The *SHSWC* has 某 ("blank") (11v8).

<sup>151</sup> I.e., "unworthy though I am, I am in charge."

<sup>152</sup> I.e., there is nothing which we have added on our own.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. James Legge, *The Ch'un T's'ew, with The T'so Chuen*, in *The Chinese Classics* 5 (London: Trübner, 1872) pt. 1, pp. i-x + 147 + 410; and 5, pt. 2, pp. 411-933.

<sup>154</sup> The *SHSWC* has 覽 (11v10).

<sup>155</sup> Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 2, pp. 524a-b/1606 a-b: "(1) *chi tose. sennen. sensai*." "(1) 1,000 years. thousand years. thousand years."

<sup>156</sup> The *SHSWC* has 撰 for 撰 (11v10).

<sup>157</sup> The *SHSWC* 1 (15'e 1), 11v14-12v8, has 三十八. (This is an outright error. 三十七 is correct. Cf. the *Yüan-shih mu-lu hou-chi* 元史目錄後記 [12r4].)

<sup>158</sup> I.e., Annals. See Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* 1, pp. 185-88.

<sup>159</sup> I.e., Monographs. See *ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> I.e., Tables. See *ibid.*, p. 188.

<sup>161</sup> The *SHSWC* has 六十二 (11v11). (This is another outright error. 六十三 is correct. Cf. the *Yüan shih mu-lu hou-chi* [12r5].)

<sup>162</sup> I.e., Biographies. See Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* 1, pp. 188-91.

<sup>163</sup> I.e., Table of Contents.

<sup>164</sup> The words 一百六十一卷 do not appear in the *SHSWC* (11v11).

1,360,000-odd characters<sup>164</sup> in all.<sup>165</sup> We have carefully copied [it]<sup>166</sup> into 120 15'e 册.<sup>167</sup> Following [this] memorial it will advance upward and thereby come to [Your Majesty's] attention.

[Your] servant Shan-ch'ang,<sup>168</sup> in his humble emotion, is without means of bearing the extreme of awe and trepidation.

[Your] servant Shan-ch'ang<sup>169</sup> and others, being sincerely fearful and being sincerely afraid and knocking [their] heads and knocking [their] heads,<sup>170</sup> have respectfully spoken.<sup>171</sup>

On the eleventh day of the eighth moon of the second year of Hung-wu 洪武<sup>172</sup> [Your] servant Li Shan-ch'ang, *yin-ch'ing yung-lu tai-fu, shang-chu-kuo, lu-chün-kuo-chung-shih, chung-shu tso-ch'eng-hsiang*, and concurrently *Pai-tzu shao-shih, Hsüan-kuo kung* sent up [this] memorial.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*DMB* Dictionary of Ming Biography

*SHSWC* 宋學士文集

<sup>164</sup> The *SHSWC* has 一百三十萬六千五百餘字.

<sup>165</sup> The *SHSWC* does not have the character 凡.

<sup>166</sup> The *SHSWC* does not have 裝潢 (11v12). <sup>167</sup> The *SHSWC* has 策 (15'e) (11v12).

<sup>168</sup> The *SHSWC* has 某 (*mou*) ("blank") (11v13).

<sup>169</sup> The *SHSWC* has 某 ("blank") (11v13).

<sup>170</sup> In the *SHSWC* we have only 中謝 ("in between [the expression of] thanks") (11v14) instead of 等...首.

<sup>171</sup> In the *SHSWC* the text terminates at this point. <sup>172</sup> I.e., September 12, 1369.