

華西協合大學中國文化研究所集刊

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO POKOTILOV'S HISTORY OF THE EASTERN MONGOLS DURING THE MING DYNASTY

BY WOLFGANG FRANKE

Peiping

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ABBREVIATIONS

Books and Articles

- Aoyama* AOYAMA SADAŌ 青山定雄: *Shina rekidai chimei yōran* 支那歷代地名要覽. Ed. Toyō bunka gakuin 東洋文化學院, Tokyo 1933.
- Bretschneider* BRETSCHNEIDER: *Mediaeval Researches*. London 1910.
- FRANKE: *Geschichte* O. FRANKE: *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches* I-IV. Berlin-Leipzig 1930-1948.
- Fuchs:* W. FUCHS: *The "Mongol Atlas" of China by Chu Ssu-pen and the Kuang-yü-t'u*. Peiping, Fu Jen University, 1946.
- GILES, B. D. H. GILES: *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*. London-Shanghai 1898.
- Grousset* R. GROUSSET: *L'Empire des steppes*. Paris 1939.
- Heissig* W. HEISSIG: *Bolur Erike, "Eine Kette aus Berg- kristallen"*. Peiping, Fu-Jen University, 1946.
- Howorth* H. HOWORTH: *History of the Mongols*. Part I. London 1876. (Reprint Peiping 1936-38.)

- Ichimura** ICHIMUTA SANJIRO 市村瓚次郎: *Tōyō shūtō* 東洋史統 Vol. III, Tokyo 1943.
- Jesuiten-Atlas** W. FUCHS: *Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kanghsi-Zeit*. Peiping, Fu-Jen University, 1943.
- MOSTAERT: Ordosica** A. MOSTAERT: *Ordosica*. In: *Bulletin No. 9, Catholic University, Peking* 1934, p. 1-96.
- Prel. Notes** W. FRANKE: *Preliminary Notes on the Important Chinese Literary Sources for the History of the Ming Dynasty*. SS Monographs, Chengtu 1948, and BCS VII, 1948, p. 107-224.
- Sanang Setsen** I. J. SCHMIDT: *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chung-taidschi der Ordus*. St. Petersburg 1829.
- Serruys** H. SERRUYS: *Pei-lou fong-sou* 北虜風俗. *Les coutumes des esclaves septentrionaux de Siao Ta-heng*. MS X, 1945, p. 117-208.
- TRD** *Tōyō rekishi daijiten* 東洋歴史大辭典. Tokyo 1937-1939.
- WADA: Hokugen** WADA SEI 和田清: *Hokugen no teikei ni tsuite* 北元の帝系について in *Ichimura hakase koki kinen tōyō-shi ronsō* 市村博士古稀紀念東洋史論叢, Tokyo 1933, p. 1203-1214.
- WADA: Manshū I
resp. II** WADA SEI: *Minsho no Manshū keiryoku* 明初の滿洲經略 *Mansen chiri rekishi kenkyū hōkoku* 滿鮮地理歴史研究報告 XIV, Tokyo 1934, p. 177-298; XV, 1937, p. 71-292.
- WADA: Mindai** WADA SEI: *Mindai no Mōko to Manshū* 明代の蒙古と滿洲. *Tōyō chūseishi* 東洋中世史 vol. IV, Tokyo 1939, p. 445-510.
- WADA: Minsho** WADA SEI: *Minsho no Mōko keiryaku* 明初の蒙古經略. *Mansen chiri rekishi kenkyū hōkoku* XIII, 1932, p. 101-259.
- WADA: Sanei** WADA SEI: *Urianghai sanei no hongyo ni tsuite* 兀良哈三衛の本據について. SZ XL, 6, 1929, p. 659-710.
- WADA + Urianghai I
resp. II** WADA SEI: *Urianghai sanei ni kansuru kenkyū* 兀良哈三衛に関する研究. *Mansen chiri rekishi kenkyū hōkoku* XII, 1930, p. 137-311; XIII, 1932, p. 261-498.
- Yanai** YANAI, WATARI 箭内互: *Mōkoshi kenkyū* 蒙古史研究. Tokyo 1930.

Yü Ch'ien W. FRANKE: *Yü Ch'ien* 于謙. *Staatsmann und Kriegsminister*, 1398-1457. MS XI, 1946, p. 87-122.

Yunglo W. FRANKE: *Yunglo's Mongolei-Feldzüge. Sinologische Arbeiten III*, Peiping, Deutschland-Institut 1945, p. 1-54.

Periodicals

<i>AM</i>	<i>Asia Major</i>
<i>BCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of Chinese Studies</i> 中國文化研究彙刊
<i>CLHP</i>	金陵學報
<i>CYYY</i>	中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JNChBrRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
<i>MS</i>	<i>Monumenta Serica</i>
<i>MSOS</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen</i> , Berlin.
<i>SG</i>	<i>Shinagaku</i> 支那學
<i>SS</i>	<i>Studia Serica</i>
<i>SZ</i>	<i>Shigaku zasshi</i> 史學雜誌
<i>TP</i>	<i>T'oung Pao</i>
<i>TYGH</i>	<i>Tōyō gakuhō</i> 東洋學報
<i>YCHP</i>	燕京學報
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>

STUDIA SERICA

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Five years ago, at the instigation of Dr. Walter Fuchs and Dr. Walter Heissig, Dr. RUDOLF LÖWENTHAL translated POKOTILOV'S *History of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming Dynasty from 1368 to 1634* into English¹. But because POKOTILOV had written his work as early as half a century ago, and because he naturally could not consider the results of later investigations, it was suggested that the present writer should make some addenda to bring the work to the present stage of research. Thus it is the aim of these notes to rectify and supplement POKOTILOV'S statements only as far as later researches on the subject concerned have been published which can be used. For this reason, comparatively more has been added to the first part of the work, because several detailed studies on the early Ming period, especially by WADA SEI 和田清, are available, whereas not much has been published on the middle and late Ming period². Thus these notes are far from being complete. Further extensive researches considering all available sources will be necessary to supplement or to rewrite POKOTILOV'S work. Particularly is this the case, since POKOTILOV'S work was chiefly based upon the *Ming-shih*, the records of which are often rather confused, incorrect, and full of contradictions.

Mongol names quoted from other works (e.g. SCHMIDT: *Sanang Setsen*, or *Jesuiten-Atlas*) are mostly given in the romanization found in the respective work.

1. The original work by POKOTILOV appeared in St. Petersburg 1893 with the title *Istoriya vostotchnich Mongolov v period dinastii Ming*.

2. The most important contribution on the later period by WADA, *Naimōko shobūroku no higen* 內蒙古諸部族の起源, is not available in Peiping and thus could not be used by the present writer.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO CHAPTER I-XIV.

(The big numbers refer to pages, the small numbers to lines of the English translation of Pokotilov's work)

CHAPTER I

5,1. The posthumous name given Toyon-tëmür by the Ming was Shun-ti 順帝, by the Northern Yüan Hui-tsung 惠宗. He lived from 1320-1370 and reigned 1333-34 under the nien-hao Yüan-t'ung 元統, 1335-1340 as Chih-yüan 至元, and 1341-1368 as Chih-chêng 至正. Cf. GILES, *B.D.* 1953; *TRD* IV, 299/300.

5,8. The campaign northward had started already at the end of 1367 (not 1368), soon after the fall of P'ing-chiang 平江 (Su-chou) and the capture of Chang Shih-ch'êng 張士誠. Cf. *Ming-shih* 1, 14a-15a.

5,9. About Hsü Ta 徐達, 1332-1385, cf. GILES, *B.D.* 792; *TRD* IV, 422 and the translation of his biography from the *Ming-shih* by W. OTHMER: *Lebensgeschichte des Feldherrn Sü Da*, in *Jubil. Bd. O.A.G.* II, 305-327, Tokyo 1933.

5,11. The fall of Peking took place in the 8th month of Hungwu 1 (1368).—K'ai-p'ing 開平 is situated on the Shang-tu ho 上都河 in eastern Chahar, and corresponds to the Shang-tu 上都 of the Yüan dynasty, and to the Joo naiman sume of the *Jesuiten-Atlas* (7, No. 78). Cf. *TRD* I, 440; *Yanai* p. 631 and 678; IKEUCHI HIROSHI 池内宏: *Sensho no tōhokkei to Joshin to no kankei* 鮮初の東北境と女真との關係 2nd part, 1st paragraph in *Mansen chiri rekishi kenkyū hōkoku* 滿鮮地理歴史研究報告 5, 1918, p. 307; BUSHELL: *Notes on the old Mongolian Capital of Shangtu*, in *JNChBrRAS* VII, 1875, p. 329-358; LAWRENCE IMPEY: *Shangtu, the Summer Capital of Kublai Khan*, in *The Geogr. Rev.* XV, 1925, p. 593 ff.; Y. HARADA, 原田淑人, K. KOMAI 駒井和愛: *Shang-tu 上都. The Summer Capital of the Yüan Dynasty in Dolon Nor, Mongolia. Archaeologica Orientalis* Ser. B, Vol. II. Tokyo 1941; HEISSIG in *MS* IX, 1944, p. 135 n. 40; WADA: *Urianghai* I, 170-172; *Yunglo* p. 7 n. 22.

5,12. This campaign of Ch'ang Yü-ch'un 常遇春 was in the summer of the following year, 1369. The campaign is described in the *Shih-lu* 42, 2b-3a and the *Hsien-chêng-lu* 5, 89b-90a (biography of Li Wên-chung). The Chinese army advanced over Tsun-hua 遵化; Hsi-fêng-k'ou 喜峯口, Hui-chou 惠州 (合州 or Čayan-ch'êng 蔡罕城, south of P'ing-ch'üan hsien 平泉縣), Chin-ch'üan 錦川; Ta-ning 大寧 (Ta-ning lu 大寧路 of the Yüan dynasty; cf. *Yanai* p. 654-656; *TRD* V, 498. Modern Ta-ming ch'êng 大名城); Ta-hsing chou 大興州 (Kara hoton, near Luan-p'ing 灤平, west of Ch'êng-tê 成德; cf. *Jesuiten-Atlas* map 7 No. 196). WADA, *l.c.*

p. 172, supposes the Chin-ch'uan to be a branch (別流) of the Hsiao Ling-ho 小凌河, west of Chin-chou 錦州. According to *Aoyama* p. 137b, the Chin-ch'uan would be a tributary of the lower Luan-ho 灤河, in which case it could be on the route between Hui-chou and Ta-ning, whereas Chin-chou is much more eastward. The *Shih-lu* text 42, 3a has Ch'üan-ning 全寧 instead of Ta-ning 大寧, which is far away in the northern part of Jehol. According to WADA, it is probably a mistake for Ta-ning of the *Hsien-chêng-lu*. Cf. WADA; *Urianghai* I, 170-173.

About Ch'ang Yü-ch'un, 1330-1369, cf. GILES, *B.D.* 145, and *TRD* IV, 326. He died on the way back from K'ai-p'ing at Liu-ho-ch'uan 柳河川, north of Hsüan-hua 宣化, Li Wên-chung 李文忠 (1339-1384) becoming his successor.

5,16. Wang Pao-pao 王保保 was a Chinese from Shên-ch'iu 沈丘 in Honan. The Mongolian name Kōkō-temür 擴廓帖木兒 (*K'uo-k'uo t'ieh-mu-êrh*) was bestowed upon him by the emperor Shun-ti. He was the most brilliant general, who followed the Mongol emperor to the north. In his biographies (e.g. *Ming-shih* 124, 5a-b) the following anecdote is given: The Ming Emperor T'ai-tsu (Hungwu) once asked who was the most brilliant hero of the time. Some of his attendants mentioned Ch'ang Yü-ch'un; but the Emperor said: Though [Ch'ang] Yü-ch'un is a hero, I got him as official; [but] I could not make Wang Pao-pao my official. This man is the most outstanding hero." (*Ming-shih* 124, 5a-b) 遇春雖人傑，吾得而臣之；吾不能臣王保保。其人奇男子也。 According to the *Kuo-ch'u chün-hsiung shih-lieh* 國初羣雄事略 9, 24b-25a (ed. 適園叢書) (biogr. Kōkō-temür) by CH'EN CH'EN-I 錢謙益, this anecdote originated from the *Ch'ing-ch'i hsia-pi* 青溪暇筆 by YAO FU 姚福 (ed. 紀錄彙編 128, 6b; cf. *Prel. Notes* 77). Cf. WADA: *Kōkō-temür no shi ni tsuite* 擴廓帖木兒の死について, in *SZ* XLIV, 1933, p. 1571-79, and *TRD* II, 343/344.

5,24. The army of Hsü Ta advanced from T'ung-kuan 潼關 via Hsi-an, but Ch'ang Yü-ch'un did not take part in this campaign, as he had died in the autumn of 1369 (cf. note 5,12). The battle was fought in the 4th month Hungwu 3 (1370), north of Ting-hsi 定西 at Shên-êrh-yü 沈兒峪. Cf. *T'ai-tsu shih-lu* 51, 8b-9a and *Ming-shih* 125, 6b-7a (Biography of Hsü Ta, not of Ch'ang Yü-ch'un as POKOTILOV states on p. 6 n.8).

5,35. (n. 4). The lake P'u-yü-êrh-hai 捕魚兒海, better known as Dal-nor, Chinese Ta-li-p'o 達里泊, is situated in the middle of Eastern Chahar on the border of the province of Jehol. Cf. *TRD* V, 555. Ying-ch'ang 應昌 was at the southwestern shore of the Dal-nor. Some years later its name was changed to Ch'ing-p'ing-chên 清平鎮. Cf. IKEUCHI *l.c.* in *Mansen chiri rekishi kenkyū hōkoku* 5, 1918, p. 307; *TRD* I, 348; *Yunglo* p. 48 n. 188.

6.6. POKOTILOV'S statement that Wang Pao-pao's defeat was due to the treason of several officers cannot be verified. As already mentioned, Ch'ang Yü-ch'un had already died at that time and the quotation of his biography by POKOTILOV must be a misunderstanding.

6.9. About Fêng Shêng 馮勝, d. 1395, cf. TRD VII, 312.

6.11. According to the *Ta Ch'ing I-t'ung-chih* (ed. Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an) 548, 牧廠, 12a, Hsing-ho 興和 corresponds to the Mongolian Qara-balyasun, which is given in the *Jesuiten-Atlas* (7, 23) as Kara hoton. The place must not be mixed up with either the modern Hsing-ho-hsien, near the eastern frontier of Suiyüan, west of Kalgan, or with Qara-balyasun at the Orkhon river known by its famous inscription. Cf. *Yanai* p. 636-639; PELLIOI in *JA* CCXI, Oct./Dec. 1927, p. 275/276; *Yunglo* p. 5 n. 15.

6.13. The army of Li Wên-chung left Hsing-ho in the 2nd month of Hungwu 3 (1370) and passed by Yeh-hu-ling 野狐嶺 (cf. PELLIOI *loc. cit.* p. 274) on its way to the region of the Čayan-nor or Pai-hai-tzu 白海子 in the northeast of the Anggoli-nor halfway between this lake and the Shang-tu ho. In the vicinity of the Čayan-nor must have been the Lo-t'o shan 駱駝山, which was mentioned later, in 1410, in the *Pai-chêng-lu* 北征錄 by CHIN YU-TZU 金幼孜 when Emperor Yunglo passed there on his first Mongolian campaign (cf. infra note 28,18). Cf. *Shih-lu* 49, 8a; WADA: *Mînsho* p. 106-107; *Yanai* p. 752-768 Čayan-nor kô. 察罕腦兒考; *Yunglo* p. 19 n. 66.

6.15. The army reached K'ai-p'ing in the 5th month (*Shih-lu* 52, 5a); only a few days later Ying-ch'ang was taken. It may seem surprising that nearly three months were needed for the march from Hsing-ho to Ying-ch'ang. This was probably due to the necessary mopping-up operations against remnants of the Mongol armies in the border districts. Thus in the 2nd month, a part of the Chinese army under the command of Hua Yün-lung 華雲龍 (1332-1374), Liao Mei 廖美 and Sun Kung 孫恭 conquered Yün-chou 雲州, between Ch'ih-ch'êng 赤城 and Tu-shih-k'ou 獨石口, north of the Nan-k'ou pass (cf. 兩鎮三關通志 ch. 3; not available to me). In the meantime another part under Chin Ch'ao-hsing 金朝興 conquered Tung-shêng-chou 東勝州, outside of Shuo-p'ing 朔平 (Yu-yü 右玉 in N. Shansi) near Liang-ch'êng 涼城 (cf. *Shih-lu* 49, 7b), and a third part under Wang Hsing-tsu 汪興祖 conquered Wu-chou 武州 and Shuo-chou 朔州, both in NW. Shansi (cf. *Ming-shih chi-shih pên-mo* 10, p. 20). According to the *Shih-lu* 52, 5a-b, in the 5th month Chinese troops advanced as far Sai-pu-la-ch'uan 三不剌川, about 700 li northwest of K'ai-p'ing (cf. 口北三廳志 3, p. 133, ed. 滿蒙叢書) in the region of the Kur chagan omo 庫兒察罕鄂模 (*Jesuiten-Atlas* 7, 53) where the army and its commander, Sun Hsing-tsu 孫興祖 (1338-1380), were annihilated by the Mongols. Another unit went to the Lo-ma-ho 落馬河 (i.e. Berke bira 百兒格 or

伯爾克河, *Jesuiten-Atlas* 7, 253), where the commander Sun Hu 孫虎 died in the battle.—The conquest of Ying-ch'ang is described in the *Shih-lu* under Hungwu 3, 5th month 辛丑 13th and 癸卯 15th day, which are missing in chap. 52 of the printed edition.—Cf. WADA: *Minsho* p. 107-112.

6,16. Ayuṣiridara 愛猷識理達臘 or Biliktü-qan 必里克圖汗 reigned from 1371-1378 under the nien-hao Hsüan-kuang 宣光 of the so-called Northern Yüan Dynasty and was given the posthumous name Chao-tsung 昭宗. Cf. *Grousset* p. 580/1; *Howorth* I, 340-45; WADA: *Hokugen* p. 1203/04; WADA: *Urianghai* I, 207; *TRD* I, 56; KANDA KIICHIRO 神田喜一郎: *Gen no Shōsō no nengō* 元の昭宗の年號 in *SG* I, 10, 1921, p. 799-802.

7,2. According to WADA: *Urianghai* I, 174, and *Minsho* p. 112, Pei Ch'ing-chou 北慶州 is in the Barlin 巴林 district, northeast of Lin-hsi 林西 in northern Jehol.

7,9. Chiang Wên-ch'ing 江文清 surrendered himself with more than 6,900 men to Li Wên-chung on his way back from Ying-ch'ang in 1370; few days later Yang Ssu-tsu 楊思祖 also surrendered with more than 16,000 men. Cf. *Shih-lu* 52, 6b; WADA: *Urianghai* I, 174.

Cha-mu-ch'ih 札木赤, a member of the Mongol Imperial family, surrendered a few months later north of Ta-t'ung outside of the Great Wall, whereupon the ch'ien-hu-so 千戶所 Kuan-shan 官山 (west of P'ing-ti-ch'üan 平地泉 near Ma-kai-t'u 馬蓋圖; cf. *Yantai* p. 653/4) was established. In the following year, 1371, on the Kansu border Ho-chou-wei 河州衛 (in the region of Lin-hsia 臨夏, southwest of Lan-chou) was founded; and in southeastern Suiyüan, the Mongol commander Tu-lien (*Türäl)-temür 都連帖木兒 surrendered from the region of Tung-shêng-chou 東勝州 (cf. note 6,15); thus the five ch'ien-hu-so for the tribes Shih-pao-ch'ih 失寶赤, Wu-hua-ch'êng 五花城, Yen-chih 燕只, Wo-lu-hu-nu 斡魯忽奴, and Wêng-chi-la 瓮吉剌 were established; the former three belonging to the Ordos tribes in the northeastern part of the Yellow River bend, and the latter two living on the upper course of the Shira-muren in NW. Jehol. In 1369 K'ai-p'ing-wei was first established, and Tung-shêng-wei in 1371. In the meantime the former Mongolian commander of Liao-tung, Liu I 劉益, surrendered, and 1371 saw the area between Tu-shih-k'ou and Ch'ih-fêng 赤峯, especially around Ta-ning, pacified by Hua Yün-lung 華雲龍. Cf. WADA: *Minsho* p. 112-116, and *Urianghai* I, 174-176.

7,23. Most sources of the Ming Period, including the *Shih-lu* (73, 8b) merely mention the fact of Hsü Ta's unsuccessful campaign without any details. Only the *Yen-chou shih-liao* 寧州史料, 前集 19, 20b, gives a more detailed report: In the 2nd month the advance guard of Hsü Ta's army under the command of Lan Yü 藍玉 (d. 1393: cf. *TRD* VIII, 332-333)

had a successful engagement with some Mongols at a place called Yeh-ma-ch'uan 野馬川, probably halfway between Yen-men 雁門 and the Tula River; and in the 3rd month another near the river itself. Probably thereby Hsü Ta was encouraged to advance with the main body of his army as far as Ling-pei 嶺北, north of the Tula River. In the meantime Kōkō-temür's troops had joined the other Mongolian army under Ho Tsung-chê 賀宗哲, and were able to destroy the Chinese army at the beginning of the 5th month. Another part of Hsü Ta's army under the command of T'ang Ho 湯和 (1326-95; cf. *TRD* VI, 496/497) was defeated by the Mongols during the 7th month at T'uan-t'ou-shan 斷頭山 (cf. *Shih-lu* 75, 1b) near Hoton bula 哈敦不剌, two places mentioned several times during the early Ming period. According to WADA *l.c.*, and *Urianghai* II, 333/34, they must be situated in the region north of Kuei-sui 歸綏. Cf. WADA: *Minsho* p. 117-121.

7,26. About Fu Yu-tê 傅友德, d. 1394, cf. *TRD* VII, 430; about the campaign in the west cf. *Shih-lu* 74, 3a-b; WADA: *Minsho* p. 127-129.

7,27. Hsi Liang-chou 西涼州 corresponds to Liang-chou 涼州 or the modern Wu-wei-hsien 武威縣 in North Kansu, southeast of Yung-ch'ang 永昌. Cf. *TRD* VIII, 479.

8,5. I-chi-nai-lu 亦集乃路 corresponds to Hei-ch'êng 黑城 in the southeast of the Soho-nor at the lower Edsin-gol in NW. Ninghsia. Cf. PELLJOT in *TP* XXVII, 1930 p. 21. Kua-sha-chou 瓜沙州 corresponds to the modern An-hsi-hsien 安西縣 in western Kansu. Cf. *TRD* I, 498/99.—As a result of this campaign Kan-su-wei 甘肅衛 in the area of Kan-chou 甘州, and Chuang-lang-wei 莊浪衛 in the area of Yung-ch'ang were established. Cf. WADA: *Minsho* p. 129.

8,9. The advance is described in *Shih-lu* 74, 11a-b: The army of Li Wên-chung proceeded, approximately along the modern caravan-route Dolonor-Urga, as they passed K'ou-wên 口溫 and Qara-mangnai 哈刺莽來 on their way to the Lu-ch'ü (not chü)-ho or Kerulen. According to WADA *l.c.* p. 124, K'ou-wên corresponds to the Mongolian Gun tologoi omo 衮托羅海鄂模 mentioned on the *Jesuiten-Atlas* (7, 33), and is a small lake west of the Kur chagan omo 庫兒察罕鄂模 (*Jesuiten-Atlas* 7, 53). Qara-mangnai is the Kara mangnai habirgan of the Ch'ing period (cf. *Jesuiten-Atlas* p. 165 No. 832; *Yunglo* p. 8 n. 25). When in 1410 Yunglo on his expedition against the Mongols (cf. below) passed here, the remnants of mudwalls of granaries erected by the troops of Li Wên-chung were reported. Cf. *Yunglo* p. 33.

8,13. The lake Ch'êng 稻 is, according to WADA *l.c.* p. 124/25, north of Ho-lin 和林 between the rivers Tula and Orkhon near the Ügei-nor 烏格依泊.—The Chinese sustained very heavy losses during this battle;

several generals were killed. They were able to hold out, but not to repulse or to destroy the enemy. Cf. WADA: *Minsho* p. 125-127.

8,19. As seen above, only in the west the Mongols suffered a defeat.

9,1. The invasions of northern Shansi (including the southern parts of modern Chahar and Suiyüan) took place during the summer of 1373 (cf. *Shih-lu* 82, 8a; 83, 3a-b, 5b; 84, 1a). Although in the 8th month Chinese troops under the command of Ch'en Tê 陳德 and Kuo Tzu-hsing 郭子興 (also called Kuo Hsing 興; elder brother of Kuo Ying 英, 1337-1403; cf. *TRD* I, 460) advanced as far as Dal-nor (cf. *Shih-lu* 84, 5b, WADA: *Minsho* p. 130 and 238/39 n. 28). On account of the repeated Mongol invasions, 39,349 people from 8,238 families from northern Shansi had to be evacuated to Chung-li-fu 中立府, modern Fêng-yang-hsien 鳳陽縣 in Anhui. Cf. *Shih-lu* 85, 6b-7a, and WADA: *Minsho* p. 132 and 239 n. 29.

9,17. About the campaign of Li Wên-chung in the summer 1374 cf. *Shih-lu* 91, 2b, and WADA: *Urianghai* I, 176-177. About Ta-ning cf. above note 5, 12. Kao-chou 高州 was southeast of Ch'ih-fêng. Ta-shih-yai 大石崖, also written Huo-shih-yai 火石崖, according to WADA l.c. corresponds to Ch'ih-fêng 赤峯, whose Mongolian name is Ulan-hada 烏蘭哈達, meaning red rock, Chinese Ch'ih-shih-yai 赤石崖. But the map of Jehol in the *Jesuiten-Atlas* (7, 179) has only one place called Ulan-hada 五郎哈達, which is straight north of Ch'êng-tê and can not be identical with Ch'ih-fêng. The Shan-mao-shan 鞏帽山 is supposed by WADA to be north of Ch'ih-fêng in the area of Wu-tan-ch'êng 烏丹城.

10,5. WADA in an article *Kökö-temür no shi ni tsuite* 擴廓帖木兒の死について, in *SZ* XLIV, 12, 1933, pp. 1571-79, deals with the question of the date of Kökö-temür's death. The *T'ai-tsu shih-lu* 100, 7a, and the *Ming-shih* 2, 12b, mention his death under the 22nd of the 8th month Hungwu 8 (Sept. 17, 1375) and in his biography *Ming-shih* 124, 4b, it is reported that Kökö-temür died in Hungwu 8 at Qara-noqai 哈剌那海 near the Chin-shan 金山 (i.e. Altai 阿爾泰山, probably in the area of Kobdo) and that also his wife committed suicide after his death. In spite of that the Korean *Kao-li-shih* 高麗史 133, p. 688 (辛禡傳), mentions under the tenth month of the second year of Hsin Wu 辛禡 (i.e. Hungwu 9, 1376) a letter written by Kökö-temür to the king of Korea. The context of the letter shows that there can be no mistake concerning the year of its arrival at the court of Korea, and that it must have been written in the same year, 1376. There is no reason to believe the Chinese sources are incorrect, as on the one hand, the Mongols would not have spread a false rumour about the death of their most famous general, and on the other, the Chinese would not have betrayed themselves. Also the activity of the Mongols became much less after the autumn of 1375. Korea, which under the

predecessor of Hsin Wu, Kung-min wang 恭愍王, had been pro-Ming and anti-Yüan, changed its attitude under the new king. In a first letter sent to him after his ascension by the Mongol Khan, the powerful position of Kōkō-temür is stressed in order to strengthen the authority of the Mongols. Thus it seems quite possible that the Mongol government wishing to suppress the news of the death of its strongest general falsified the mentioned letter of Kōkō-temür with the intention to disprove eventual reports concerning his death.

The K'uo-k'uo-temür-tai-shih 闊闊帖木兒太師, though pronounced exactly in the same way, and mentioned in the *Kao-li-shih* in the following year (1377) and still later, and in the *T'ai-tsu shih-lu* 60, 8b (first month Hungwu 4), is not identical with our Kōkō-temür.

10,7. Ayusiridara died in the 4th month Hungwu 11 (1378).

10,16. The statement of the *Ming-shih*, taken over also by Grousset p. 581 is erroneous. As WADA (*Urianghai* I, 208-214 and *Hokugen* p. 1204) in accordance with *Sanang Setsen* (p. 139) shows, Tögüs-temür was the younger brother of Ayusiridara and not identical with Maidiribara 買的理八剌. He reigned from 1379-1388 with the nien-hao T'ien-yüan 天元. Cf. WADA l.c.; TRD VI, 512; Howorth I, 345-348; Grousset l.c.; KANDA KIICHIRO 神田喜一郎 in SG I, 10, 1921, p. 799-802.

10,22. Man-tzu 蠻子 and Ha-la-chang 哈剌章 are two different persons, the former fell in 1388 in the battle at the Buir-nor. Cf. POKOTILOV p. 13, and WADA: *Minsho* p. 140.

10,24. Already in the year before, 1379, Chinese troops under Ma Yün 馬雲 had again occupied Ta-ning. Cf. *Shih-lu* 125, 2a and 127, 5a; WADA: *Urianghai* I, 177-178.

10,25. About Mu Ying 沐英, 1345-1392, cf. GILES, *B.D.* 1560 and TRD VIII, 250.

10,30. As WADA: *Minsho* p. 133-135, points out, the supposition, that the Chinese army advanced as far as Ho-lin, based upon *Ming-shih* 327, 2b-3a, *Ming-shih chi-shih pên-mo* 10, p. 30, *Shih-lu* 245, 8a, and other sources, is erroneous. According to the much more probable reports in *Shih-lu* 130, 2a and 10a-b, *Ming-shih* 2, 16b, and in the biographies of Mu Ying in the *Hsien-chêng-lu* 5, 19b-20a, and *Ming-shih* 126, 18a, the army of Mu Ying crossed the Huang-ho from Ling-chou 靈州 (modern Ling-wu-hsien 靈武縣, opposite Ning-hsia) and from the Alashan 賀蘭山 to the region of Hei-ch'êng south of the Soho-nor (cf, note 8, 5).

10,31. In 1381 an army under Hsü Ta, T'ang Ho, and Fu Yu-tê advanced to the region north of the Northern Huang-ho 北黃河, or 潢河 (i.e. the Shira-muren, cf. TRD IV, 432), and another detachment under Mu Ying to Ch'üan-ning 全寧 at the confluence of the Kara-muren 黑河

(*Jesuiten-Atlas* 7, 212) and the Shira-muren (cf. *Yantai* p. 650/51). Cf. *Shih-lu* 137, 3a; *Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo* 10, p. 30; WADA: *Urianghai* I, 178-181. The text of the *Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo* (based upon the *Hsien-chêng-lu* 5, 20) states, that Mu Ying crossed the Lu-ch'ü-ho 驢駒河, which of course in this case cannot be the Kerulen. According to WADA *l.c.*, it may be a mistake for the Kao-êrh-ho 豪兒河, Ho-êrh-ho 和爾河, or Huo-lo-ho 霍勒河, south of the Taor.

11,3. During the last decade of the Yüan dynasty Naqaçu 納哈出 was already an important Mongol military commander in Manchuria. After the downfall of the Yüan, his center became the region of modern Huai-tê 懷德, north of the Eastern Liao River 東遼河. After the return of *Esen-buqa 也先不花 (not identical with those mentioned in *TRD* I, 281) in 1368, he became his successor as president of the Liao-tung provincial government (Liao-yang hsing-shêng 遼陽行省; cf. *Yantai* p. 781/82 and 937). Besides Kükö-ternür, he was one of the most powerful generals and the chief upholder of Mongol power in the East. Cf. WADA: *Manshū* I, 199-200, and *TRD* VII, 16.

11,6. Preparations for the campaign had begun already in the summer and autumn of 1385. The campaign against Naqaçu and its preparations are described in detail by WADA: *Manshū* I, 248-258, and *Sanci* p. 667-670.

11,12. K'uan-ho 寬河 is the modern K'uan-ch'êng 寬城 in southern Jehol outside Hsi-fêng-k'ou 喜峰口; Hui-chou 會州 corresponds to Čayan-ch'êng (cf. note 5, 12). The characters for Fu-yü must be written 富峪, as the *Ming-shih*, quoted by POKOTILOV, does; the place is situated north of P'ing-ch'üan-hsien 平泉縣. The new city of Ta-ning was about 80 Li southwest of the old Ta-ning (cf. note 5, 12) at Kara-hoton 喀喇河屯, or Hei-ch'êng 黑城, on the upper reaches of the Lao-ha River 老哈河 (cf. *Jesuiten-Atlas* 7, 259; *TRD* V, 497; WADA: *Urianghai* I, 182). Probably these were not "cities" but rather fortified places.—Later in the same year the Military Command at Ta-ning, Ta-ning tu-chih-hui shihssu 大寧都指揮使司 and the Middle 中, Right 右 and Left 左 Ta-ning-wei 大寧衛, together with three other Wei in the same region, were established with 21,780 troops stationed there. Cf. *Shih-lu* 185, 2a; WADA: *Urianghai* I, 182-183, and *Minsho* p. 137.

11,15. Ch'ing-chou or Pei Ch'ing-chou 北慶州 cf. note 7, 2.—The Chinese army advanced from Ch'ing-chou to the region of Chin-shan 金山, Naqaçu's stronghold north of the Eastern Liao River. Cf. *Shih-lu*, 182, 6b-7b; WADA: *Manshū* I, 251-252.

12,26. The name P'u-yü-erh-hai 捕魚兒海 is used for different lakes. Here it designates the Buir-nor in modern southwest Heilungkiang at the Outer Mongolian border. Cf. *TRD* VII, 342.

13,1. The place Po-yen-ching (not ch'ing) 百眼井 cannot be identified. "Shao 哨", mistaken by POKOTILOV for a part of the geographical name, belongs to the next phrase in the text of the *Ming-shih*, which he quotes.

13,16. The official title of Nieh-ch'ieh-lai 捏怯來 is Chih-yüan 知院, an abbreviation of Chih ch'u-mi-yüan shih 知樞密院事, President of the Privy Council, ch'u-mi-yüan, an institution first established during the T'ang dynasty. This Council was taken over by the Yüan from their predecessors and kept by the Mongols after their downfall in China. The title of the Vice-President was T'ung-chih (ch'u-mi)-yüan (shih) 同知(樞密)院(事), and of the First Secretary Ch'ien-(shu ch'u-mi)-yüan (shih) 僉(書樞密)院(事). Cf. *TRD* V, 54 and VI, 2; *Yanai* p. 785-789.—Shih-lieh-mên's 失烈門 title was ch'eng-hsiang 丞相, Vice-President of the State-Secretariat, chung-shu-shêng 中書省. The official immediately following the Vice-President was called p'ing-chang (chèng-shih) 平章(政事), First Secretary in the State-Secretariat. Cf. *Yanai* p. 771-774; *TRD* IV, 351 and VII, 484.

13,19. The description of this campaign given by POKOTILOV is a summary of the report of the *Ming-shih*, based upon the *Shih-lu*. Quite divergent is the report in the biography of Kuo Ying 郭英 (*Hsien-ch'eng-lu* 7, 4b-5a), which was taken over with only small alterations by CH'EN CHIEN 陳建 in his *Huang Ming T'ung-chi* 皇明通紀. Probably there were originally two different reports from different groups of the Chinese army. For comparison the report of the *Huang Ming T'ung-chi* 3, 44a-b, may be translated:

"In the 4th month Lan Yü etc. had advanced with their troops to the Khalkha River, when the advanced guard reported that they had ascertained the camp of the Mongols was not far away. [Lan] Yü etc. led the light cavalry gagged and the armour rolled up, and advancing in forced marches, appeared when they (i.e. the Mongols) were unawares, and immediately attacked the Mongol camp. The Mongol ruler Tögüs-temür being quite alarmed, took more than ten mounted soldiers, burst through the cordon, and escaped. When his general the t'ai-wei Man-tzu came for resistance, our troops strenuously attacked and captured him. They seized the baggage of two camps, gold treasures, and more than 40,000 horses, and captured more than 50,000 men of them. Then they pursued [the enemy] again to the Buir-nor and captured living the ssu-t'u Chiao-chiao, a Mongol general, the prince Shih-pu-la, and women of the inner palace etc. more than 40,000 people, 15,000 horses and camels, innumerable cattle and sheep, and baggage. The tu-tu Yü T'ung-yüan and Ho Fu again led troops and went to the Kerulen; they received the submission of the Vice-President of the State-Secretariat A-wan-mu etc., [captured] people, horses and camels counting also to tens of thousands. Then the army turned back." 四月藍玉等進兵至哈喇哈河, 前鋒探知虜營