CHANG TE-HUI AND HIS JOURNEY TO QARAQORUM

AT THE SUMMONS OF QUBILAI QAN

by

Richard Marton Sontag

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
In the Graduate College
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1978
STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

[Signature]
C. H. Hedtke
(Acting Director)
Associate Professor of Oriental Studies

May 4, 1978
Date
PREFACE

The study of the Chinese language and culture is a very difficult task which is totally impossible without the efforts of an enlightened faculty. I would, in particular, like to thank Dr. Stephen H. West, my thesis director, language professor and good friend, for his constant enthusiasm and devotion to this project. Drs. Jing-shen Tao and Charles Hedtke were on my orals committee and made many useful suggestions concerning this project. I would also like to thank Heather Murphy for typing the final copy. All my love to my wife, Connie, for drawing the map and for providing the inspiration, support, and understanding necessary for me to complete this project.

I have used the modern Wade-Giles system of romanization as found in Robert Henry Mathews', Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary (Harvard University Press, 1963) for the romanization of Chinese characters. The romanization of Mongol names follows the Yuan-shih (Kuo-fang ed., Taipei, 1967). The citations are in accord with the Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies Style Sheet.

There were several places along Chang Te-hui's route, in Mongolia, that I was unable to locate. For continuity, I have included them in the map and have marked them with an asterisk(*) denoting that these are approximate positions only.
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ABSTRACT

As the Mongols conquered China, they realized that their traditional means for governing the steppe were inadequate when applied to the highly sophisticated Chinese state. The Mongols recognized that in order for them to solve this problem it was necessary to adopt traditional Chinese governmental forms. To achieve this, the Mongols not only employed local Chinese administrators, but also sent for people who were noted for their expertise in government to instruct them in Chinese bureaucratic traditions. In this way Ch'ang-ch'ung came to Cinggis Qan, Yeh-li Ch'u-ts'ai to Ögedei and Chang Te-hui to Qubilai.

The role of these travelers and the records of their journeys enjoy a unique role within the framework of primary source materials. Unlike other historical documents, such as the dynastic histories, they are contemporary accounts of events and places that have been actually witnessed by the travelers. As such, they provide a rare blend of personal insight with historical objectivity and are invaluable tools in furthering the search for a greater understanding of specific periods in history.
CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Temujin united the tribes of Mongolia and was elected Qan (i.e., Cinggis Qan) at the quriltai, or assembly of Mongol princes and nobles, of 1206. He then decided to attack North China, and by 1209 had forced the Hsi-Hsia King, Li An-ch'uan (r. 1206-1211) into vassalage.

In 1211 Cinggis began his attack against the Chin. The Ongut's, a Turkic Nestorian tribe who were entrusted with the defense of the northern frontier (Shansi province) by the Chin, allied themselves with Cinggis, providing him with easy entry into Chin territory. Throughout 1212, the Mongols destroyed the Chin defenses along the Great Wall and in the frontier regions of northern Shansi and Hopei. Then in 1213, Cinggis divided his army into three groups. The Center was led by Cinggis and his youngest son Tului; the Left was commanded by his brother Joci-Qasur; and the Right was commanded by his sons Joci, Chagatai, and Ögödei. These three forces marched through Shansi, Hopei, and Shantung, coming together at Yen-ching (modern Peking) in

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1214. The Mongols, still inexperienced and unprepared for siege warfare, failed to take the capital at Yen-ching, and Cinggis accepted the peace proposal made by the Chin emperor Hsüan-tsung (r. 1213-1223) and began the return to Mongolia.

After the Mongols had left, Hsüan-tsung, considering Yen-ching unsafe, moved the capital to Pien-liang (modern Kaifeng). Cinggis, hearing about the retreat across the Yellow River, considered the move a breach of the peace agreement and returned to lay siege to Yen-ching, and when the governor of Yen-ching committed suicide in 1215, the city fell.

At this time Cinggis shifted his major campaigns westward, but before he left he placed the generals Muqali and Sumuqa in command of the armies in China, and they continued the war against the Chin with considerable success. After Muqali's death in 1223 the war in China bogged down, allowing the Chin to recapture some of their territory and to rebuild their defenses. The army in China was now commanded by Muqali's son, Bôl.

Cinggis returned to Mongolia in 1225. In 1226 he used the refusal of the Hsi-Hsia King to send troops for the western campaign as a pretext to renew the attack against them. By 1227 the Hsi-Hsia capital, Ning-hsia, was besieged. It was at this time, while in summer retreat, that Cinggis died. Shortly afterward, Ning-hsia fell and the Mongols became the masters of that territory. The subjugation of the Chin empire now fell into the hands of Cinggis' successor, his third son, Ogodei.
Ogodei was elected Great Qan at the quriltai of 1229. In 1230 he began the final thrust against the Chin. In 1232 Ogodei divided his forces, sending his brother Tului around the flanks of the Chin army so he could attack from the south. Ogodei, meanwhile, pressed the attack from the north. Pien-liang, the Chin capital, was besieged by the Mongol general Subotei. By this time, the Mongols were using catapults, naptha, and such other siege implements as towers, to attack fortified cities. The Chin emperor fled the city and Kaifeng, after offering stiff resistance, fell in 1233. The Sung government saw an opportunity to rid themselves of the Chin and sent troops to aid the Mongols. The Chin emperor, finding himself trapped in his last fortified city, committed suicide as the Mongols began their final siege. His death signaled the end of the Chin dynasty and the beginning of the Mongol reign over North China.

During the war against the Chin, the Mongols had to solve the problem of organizing and administering the local population in the conquered territories. The Mongols' method of dealing with this situation was to employ defectors, especially government officials and leaders of local militia. The safety and well-being of the population was the responsibility of these men, who were often in control of whole counties or larger commanderies. Since the Mongols had established the

2. For a vivid account of the fall of Pien-liang, see Liu Ch'i, Kuei-ch'ien-chih (Chih-pu-tsu-chai-ts'ung-shu, Taipei, 1968) chüan 11.
practice of slaughtering all who resisted them, these leaders had usually voluntarily surrendered in order to save the lives of the people under them.  

The defectors were usually retained in their previous positions by the Mongols, who recognized that they already had authority and the respect of the people. For this reason, these defectors were effective intermediaries between the Mongols and the local population, and therefore greatly facilitated the process of exacting men and goods needed for the Mongol campaigns. As viewed by the Mongols and their advisors, the retention of these men in positions of authority was a means to insure the continuation of local stability.

When Cinggis withdrew from North China after the fall of Yen-ching and shifted his campaign westward, he took with him a large contingent of his army, thereby severely reducing the number of Mongol officers and troops left to continue the war against the Chin. This, in turn, led to an even greater reliance, on the part of Cinggis' generals remaining in North China, on the defectors. These events resulted in the defectors taking a larger role in the administration of the subjugated areas. They relied on the Mongols where military affairs

3. The reasons for surrendering were: 1) they saw that the fall of the Chin was imminent; 2) they seized upon this situation to rebel against their traditional enemy (this refers to the Khitan); and 3) they defected in order to be with their relatives already in the hands of the Mongols. See de Rachewiltz, "Personnel and Personalities," 106-107.

4. This has led de Rachewiltz to doubt whether the Mongols could have held the conquered territory in North China without the aid of these defectors. Ibid, 118-119.
were concerned, but were permitted to manage the administrative affairs of their districts without any interference.

This same situation had occurred in the Mongol steppe during the rise of Cinggis Qan. The leaders of different clans and tribes, who of their own volition had shifted their loyalty to Cinggis, were allowed to retain hegemony over their own people and possessions. They were given titles and seals of authority, and their positions were hereditary. The Chinese defectors, having given their allegiance without resistance to the Mongols, were accorded the same privileges as were their steppe counterparts. They were awarded the same titles and seals, and, in fact, became so entrenched in their positions that they were often able to pass on their titles and land holdings to their sons.

After the demise of the Chin, these Chinese overlords, or myriarchs (wan-hu), viewed themselves as the protectors of Chinese culture, and, as such, staffed their administrations with Chinese officials and patronized uprooted scholars.

One such man was Shih T'ien-tse. Shih defected to the Mongols in 1213. When Ögodei resumed the war against the Chin, he divided the Chinese army into three groups, the left, right and center. Shih was appointed to the command of the center army and was given the rank of myriarch. Shih emerged as one of the most powerful Chinese overlords.

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5. His biography is found in the Yuan shih (Po-na, ed.), 155:10a-18a. Hereafter the Yuan shih will be cited as YS.

and, in fact, became so powerful and influential that he became one of the two Chinese to hold the post of prime minister during the Yuan dynasty. Shih's position and patronage of Chinese officials and literati figures prominently in Chang Te-hui's life, for it was in the headquarters of Shih T'ien-tse, after the fall of Pien-liang, that Chang Te-hui was first employed.

CHAPTER 2

BIOGRAPHY OF CHANG TE-HUI

Chang Te-hui's style is Yao-ch'ing. He was born in 1194 in Chiao-ch'eng in Chi-ning (southwest T'ai-yuan, Shansi province). Despite having failed his chin-shih examinations he was, through the route of hereditary privilege, assigned to the post of a minor official in the Censorate. After the fall of Pien-liang (Kaifeng), Chang crossed north of the Yellow River and was living in Ch'eng-an County when the myriarch Shih T'ien-tse, who was headquartered at Chen-ting (modern Hopei, between Han-tan and Ta-ming), appointed him to a position in the Finance Office. Because of his success as an administrator, he was summoned to the court of the heir-apparent, Qubilai, in 1247. When he returned in 1248, he was placed in charge of the Chen-ting school. Qubilai ascended the throne in 1260 and appointed Chang Pacification Commissioner of the northern circuit of Honan, and subsequently, Han-lin.

8. I am following the biography of Chang Te-hui that is found in Su T'ien-ch'ueh, Kuo-chao ming-ch'en shih-lüeh (Taipei, 1969), 10.7a-11b. A brief examination of Chang's biography in the YS and K'o Shao-min's Hsin Yuan shih (Jen-shou-pen erh-shih-wu-shih, Taipei, 1956) showed these to be either lacking in material or taken from Su's work.
Academician. In 1261 he was appointed to Participator in the Deliberations of the Affairs of the Secretariat, and later to Pacification Commissioner of Tung-p'ing Circuit (a county in the northwestern corner of Shantung). Chang was again appointed Participator in the Deliberations of the Affairs of the Secretariat in 1266, and in 1268 he was selected to be a Censor in Waiting. After serving in this post, he resigned from service and went into retirement. Chang died in 1274 at the age of eighty.

From this overview of Chang Te-hui's titles and offices, it is clear that his rise to prominence was associated with the Mongol conquest, and that he had a relatively unimportant role in the Chin bureaucracy. It is also quite probably that at this time he was unknown to the prominent literati that he was to associate with and patronize in his later life. These assumptions are borne out by the fact that he is not mentioned in any contemporary records, such as the Kuei-ch'ien-chih. It is therefore necessary to examine the events in his life that led him from historical anonymity to the court of Qubilai Qan.

While Chang was serving in the capacity of a minor official in the Chin Censorate, he judged a murder trial that reveals his sense of justice and human insight. The case was that of a chief who had murdered a fortune teller. The officials in charge of tracking down the culprit were led to believe that a monk, who was living with a woman, committed the crime. The monk, afraid of being flogged, confessed to the deed. When asked why he had killed the fortune teller, he replied, "In the past I had discussed my illicit plans with him, therefore I killed him to stop up his mouth." The monk was incarcerated while
awaiting the final disposition of the case. Te-hui, suspecting that the monk had been falsely accused, continued the search for the real killer, who was later apprehended. Te-hui's talent in executing his office earned him the respect of higher officials who recommended him for promotion.

After Te-hui crossed north of the Yellow River in 1233, it was also his talent that brought him to the attention of Shih T'ien-tse, who gave him a position in his headquarters. In 1235, Te-hui accompanied Shih T'ien-tse on the southern campaign against the Sung. Shih relied on him heavily for his ability in planning strategy. From this campaign, several incidents have survived that demonstrate Te-hui's concern for human life as well as his growing influence in Shih T'ien-tse's military headquarters.

At this time many soldiers were fleeing from their duties and those who were caught were killed as a warning to the rest. Te-hui spoke out against this punishment and this led to the practice of sending deserters out to quarter in and defend border cities instead of putting them to death.

After the fall of Kuang-chou (southern Honan), the farmers and citizens of Pi-shan joined together to resist the invading Mongols. Chang knew that it was futile for these people to resist, and that many, on both sides, would lose their lives needlessly. He suggested that the attack be postponed until after he had made an effort to discuss the situation with the farmers and citizens. The discussions resulted in the people of Pi-shan surrendering and, therefore, many lives were saved.
Upon returning north, Te-hui, in addition to his position in the Finance Office, was appointed a director of the affairs of Chen-ting district. In this position he reveals his compassion for the common people. Because of the southern campaign, the people of Chen-ting were physically drained and were not able to perform their corvée duties. The local officials, following the example of the merchants, gave usurious loans to the people in order to bolster their tribute levies. This loan was called yang-kao-li, and had a 100% yearly interest rate, so each year the amount owed doubled. At the end of the year, the officials came to collect the money owed to them and found that many of the people were unable to pay. Te-hui discussed this affair with Shih T'ien-tse and they requested that the court put an end to this type of loan. As a result of the request, it was decided that the people would have to pay back only the principal and one year's interest. Te-hui also made sure that the rich were the first to pay taxes so that the taxes of the poor, whenever possible, could be reduced. As a result of these actions, Te-hui was promoted to Participator in the Deliberations of Chen-ting-fu and, in this position, he brought many benefits to the people and his fame spread even to the imperial court. It is at this time that Chang Te-hui, probably at the recommendation of Shih T'ien-tse, was called to Qubilai's encampment.

As the Mongols conquered territory in North China, they would send captured people of value, such as artisans and scholar-officials, to areas that were securely under their jurisdiction. After a period of time, those literati who refused to serve the Mongols (because of
Confucian ethical principles such as not serving two rulers) began to roam about the countryside. In this way, many literati found their way to districts under the administration of the myriarchs, who, as noted above, considering themselves the protectors and perpetuators of Chinese culture, would give them moral and financial support.

Chang Te-hui's position as an official in the headquarters of the myriarch Shih T'ien-tse gave him ample opportunity to associate with, and patronize, these disaffected scholars. In fact, he comes down to us as one of the "Three Worthies of Dragon Mountain" 龍山三老, the other two being Yuan Hao-wen and Li Chih. He became a good friend of Yuan Hao-wen and compiled the first edition of Yuan's works from a manuscript left by Yen Chung-chieh 廖忠傑. He also wrote an epilogue to Yuan's Collection of the Central Plain 中州集, dated fifteenth day of fourth moon (May 18) of 1250, and it is clear that he was instrumental in having the Collection published.

According to Chang Te-hui's biography, he made a second trip to Qaraqorum, this time accompanied by Yuan Hao-wen. In a memorial, they requested that Qubilai become the grand patriarch of Confucianism.

9. See the footnotes on page 39 for the biographical information of these men.

10. Yen is the son of the myriarch Yen Shih 廖希 . For information on this compilation see Suzuki Shioji, Gen Komon (Kanshi Tai-kei, Tokyo, 1965), p. 67.


12. For more information see Ling T'ing-k'an "Yüan I-shan hsien-sheng nien-p'u" in Chiu Chin-jen ch'i, Wu Ch'ing-hsi, ed. (Taipei, 1967), pp. 1048-1049. Ling is of the opinion that it was not Yuan Hao-wen who accompanied Chang Te-hui.
and that the Confucian households be exempt from tax levies. Both
requests were accepted by the king.

On the basis of this account, it becomes obvious that Chang
Te-hui's rise to royal recognition had its roots in the fall of the
Chin, for it is only after 1233 that his talents in government are
given a chance to grow and mature. It can be seen, therefore, that from
his rather inauspicious beginnings (he failed the palace examinations
four times, probably due to the corrupt nature of the examinations
during the last period of the Chin), Chang Te-hui rose to become not
only an official of power and influence, but also an associate of the
most prominent literati of his time; in all, a capable man to give
counsel to Qubilai Qan.
CHAPTER 3

TEXTUAL ACCOUNT

The original text of this travel diary is found in the eighth chüan of the *Pleasant Talks in the Jade Hall*, located in the one-hundredth chüan of *The Complete Works of the Master of Autumn Rivulets*, the collected works of the noted Yuan dynasty literatus, Wang Yün (1227-1304). The diary was first entitled simply, "A Record of a Journey", and the author was noted as the "Participator in Deliberation, Chang Yao-ch'ing." At one time during the Ming dynasty, the title was changed to "A Record of a Journey to the Border Cairns", but this title appears inappropriate since the journey went far beyond the then known borders of China. Later,

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15. Preserved in Mo-li Shan-jen (ca. 1900), Ku-chin yu-chí ts'ung-shu. (1914 lithographic ed.). This work was not available for my use. See Yao Ts'ung-wu, "Chang Te-hui 'Ling-pei Chi-hsing' tsu-pen chiao-chú" [hereafter LPCH], Wen-shih-che hsueh-pao, 11 (1962). 2.
'North of the Pass' was added to the title by Li Wen-t'ien 李文田 (1834-1895)\(^{16}\), and the diary became known as, "A Record of a Journey North of the Pass 塞北紀行." For example, it is called this in both the Collectanea of the Hut of Gradual Learning 漱學廬叢書 and the Collectanea of the Border Lands in Our Imperial Dynasty 皇朝藩屬興地叢書.\(^{17}\) The title seems vague when compared to the contents of the travel diary itself.

Yao Ts'ung-wu 姚從吾, in his recension of the text, felt that the title should be "A Record of a Journey to Qaraqorum 和林紀行," but discounts this choice on the premise that the fame of Qaraqorum was widespread only in the Yuan, and therefore the title would be a bit grandiose.\(^{19}\)

Yao's recension arose from his interest in the exchanges between Qubilai and the Chinese scholars during the Mongols' first sovereignty over the Central Plain. The work was part of a general reevaluation.

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17. Hu Hsiang-hung, Chien-hsueh-lu ts'ung-shu. This work was not available for my use. See LPCH 2.


19. LPCH 2.
of available textual materials. With the aid of Sechin Jagchid, he
collated the various editions of the travel diary and compiled one
extensive commentary that drew heavily on twentieth century research.
Yao's variorum edition is based on recensions of the text recorded in
the Complete Works of the Master of Autumn Rivulets and the Documents
on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Commandery and State in the
Empire 天下郡國利病書 20 He found that that which
is recorded in the Pleasant Talks in the Jade Hall in the Collectanea
of the Ink Sea and Gold Pot 墨海金壌叢書 21 and Collectanea
of the Shou-shan Ko Library 守山閣叢書 22 are incomplete. He
also disregarded the citations of the travel diary in the second
section of Literature and Arts in chuan thirteen of the Record of
the Three Departments. North of the Pass 北三省志 23 and
in the Miscellaneous section in chuan six of the Gazetteer of
Ch'eng-te-fu 承德府志 24 which were riddled with scribal errors
and corruptions. Yao did adopt the title used in these two records,
which they changed to "A Record of a Journey Beyond the Northern
Ranges 越北紀行." The title change was very appropriate since

(SPTK ed.) 34.38a-42b.

21. Chang Hai-p'eng (1755-1816), Mo-hai chin-hu ts'ung-shu
(Shanghai, 1921). This work was not available for my use. See LPCH 2.

22. Ch'ien Hsi-tso (d.1844), Shou-shan Ko ts'ung-shu (Shanghai,
1922). This work was not available for my use. See LPCH 2.

23. Huang K'o-jun (ca.1750), K'ou-pei san-t'ing chih (compiled
in 1758), 13.13b-17a. This work was not available for my use. See LPCH 2.

24. Ch'eng-te-fu chih (compiled in 1829). This work was not
available for my use. See LPCH 2.
the places that Chang Te-hui traveled to during that year are listed in the "Treatise on Geography 地理志" in the Yuan History under "The Traveling Secretariat for the Area North of the Ranges 蒙北行中書省."\(^{25}\) The entry includes the primary circuit of Qaraqorum.

Besides Yao Ts'ung-wu's variorum edition, the only other annotated edition is Ting Ch'ien's 丁謙 (1843-1919) Investigation and Verification of the Geography in A Record of a Journey by the Participant in Deliberations Chang Yao-ch'ing 元張參議 順鄉 總行地理考議，found in the Collectanea of the Chekiang Library 浙江圖書館叢書.\(^{26}\)

For this translation I have used Yao Ts'ung-wu's variorum text "A Complete Collated and Footnoted Text of Chang Te-hui's 'Record of a Journey Beyond the Northern Ranges' 張德輝 偏北 總行 記 ‘為遊’\(^{25}\). This work is based on the original manuscript copy of the Ssu-k'ü t'i yao \(SKTY\) \(SKTY\) \(SKTY\) collaborated with Ku Yen-wu's 倪炎武 manuscript edition of Documents on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Commandery and State in the Empire, and the citations from Pleasant Talks in the Jade Hall found in the Collectanea in the Shou-shan ko Library and Collectanea of the Ink Sea and Gold Pot. Yao divides the original text into thirteen short chapters. Chapters eight, ten, and twelve have been taken from 俊 ten of the


Biographical Sketches of Famous Ministers in the Reigning Dynasty ⁷ and Chang Te-hui's biography in the Yüan History.²⁸

Yao rightly reasons that the addition of these three chapters fits with the context and rounds out the diary. It is quite possible that these sections were extracted from the text at one time, and I have followed Yao in my translation by incorporating them, but, in keeping with their source, have changed the narrator's voice from first to third person.


²⁸. YS, 163.9b-13b.
CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

The Mongol period (1206-1368) produced a rich store of travel diaries, both in European and Chinese literature. Through the eyes of papal envoys and missionaries, such as John of Pian di Carpine and William of Rubruck, Europe learned of Mongolian society and customs. The great traveler Marco Polo told of the cultural, technological and economic wonders of China. These travel diaries render detailed descriptions of the hardships encountered on the journey, the military skill and religious beliefs of the Mongols, descriptions of the great Qans (Friar John was present at the enthronement of Güyük), and much geographical and ethnographical data. 29

In contrast to these lively accounts, the Chinese travelers treat their journeys as matters-of-fact. Their narratives only make general references to such things as the harshness of the climate, the rough terrain and the difficulties encountered on the journey. A journey of a thousand li is dispensed with in a single paragraph.

Even though these records are not imbued with the vivid descriptions of the European journals, they do relate factual, first-hand information about the people, customs, and places observed by the traveler.

Li Chih-ch'ang, in his Record of a Journey to the West, describes his journey with the Taoist Patriarch Ch'ang-ch'ün from China to Afghanistan. The journey was undertaken at the request of Cinggis Qan, who wanted to learn of government and prolonging life from Ch'ang-ch'ün, the leader of the Ch'üan-chen sect of Taoism. This travel diary is of singular importance as a primary source for geographical and cultural information as well as "a source for early Mongol history, enabling us as it does to fix with absolute certainty the otherwise obscure and much disputed dates of Chingiz Khan's movements during his Western campaign."31

Before Ch'ang-ch'ün left Cinggis' encampment, he secured certain privileges, including tax-exemption, for the Ch'üan-chen sect. Upon his return to China, the Taoists used these privileges to take over the


31. Ibid., viii.
Buddhist clergy and temples. This prompted Yeh-lŭ Ch'u-ts'ai to write his Record of a Journey to the West.\(^{32}\)

Yeh-lŭ Ch'u-ts'ai's travel diary differs from the other accounts discussed in that it was written after he returned to China for the purpose of condemning the actions of Ch'ang-ch'un and the Ch'uan-chen sect. This record consists of two parts, both in the form of an imaginary dialogue between Yeh-lŭ Ch'u-ts'ai and a "Guest." The first part is a brief geographical account which by no means rivals that of Li Chih-ch'ang. The second part, the main body of the text, systematically attacks Ch'ang-ch'un and the beliefs of the Ch'uan-chen sect.

Chang Te-hui began his journey in 1247 at the request of the heir apparent Qubilai, and traveled with Qubilai's entourage for approximately one year. Chang's diary is the most complete account available of Qubilai's encampment and the life that surrounded it.

The first portion of the diary consists of geographical information as it records the route that Chang Te-hui followed from Chen-yang to Qaraqorum. The first part of this journey, to the Ming-ch'ang border, can be used as verification of the information in Li Chih-ch'ang's Record of a Journey to the West, as they both followed the same route. Chang Te-hui notes the Mongol practice of dividing the land among the imperial clan and their relatives. He also mentions seeing nomads and their yurts and carts moving from place to place to

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pasture their animals, a sure sign that he was leaving China and the customs of the Central Plain behind him. Chang briefly describes the places that he sees, such as a sleeping hall with a curved roof, the borders of the desert, and a stone cairn.

Chang Te-hui briefly speaks of the Mongol's traveling habits and customs. He says that the Mongols moved to a high, cool place in summer, and in winter they traveled to a place that was warm where firewood and water were readily available. Their moving from place to place was, therefore, to avoid the extremes in the steppe climate and to ensure water and pasture for their stock. Chang notes that in winter all clothes were made of animal hides and that the food staple was mutton, for there was little grain and rice. The ninth day of the fourth month and the ninth day of the ninth month were, according to Chang, the only days that the Mongols held important ritual sacrifices. He also noted that all the supplies he needed were provided by the Mongols in plenitude.

The travel diary also includes a record of the conversations that Chang had with Qubilai. The records have been written in the third person point of view, as a result of their adaptation into historical works and their later recovery into the main narrative.

Chang advises Qubilai to embrace Confucianism and, when Qubilai asks him if the Confucians were to blame for the collapse of the Chin, Chang replies that since the Chin did not consult the Confucians on matters of state and warfare, they cannot be held responsible for the downfall of the Chin. Chang tells Qubilai that he should use skilled men in his administration and recommends more than twenty men for this
purpose. At this juncture we learn that Qubilai is semi-literate in Chinese, for he is able to read several characters in the names of the recommended men. Chang also argues with Qubilai that the people were led to poverty because they were overtaxed and were constantly at the mercy of rapacious clerks and yamen underlings. This, Chang says, is a greater harm than that caused by the unruliness of the army. To remedy these situations, Chang suggests the employment of clan members who are noted for their abilities in these areas, thus providing evidence of these Mongol's fame as administrators.

The travel diary of Chang Te-hui is important not only as a geographical account and as a source for the customs and habits of the Mongols on the steppe, but also for its insights into the concerns of Qubilai at this early stage in his career.

The nomadic Mongols, having defeated the Chin, found that their traditional methods for administering the steppe invited disorder among the sedentary population of North China. To remedy this situation, the Mongols consulted, and employed, Confucian scholars who had practical skills in the arts of government. These advisers, concerned with preserving the Confucian tradition, demonstrated that it was more feasible, both politically and economically, to adopt Chinese institutional forms.

33. For more information on whether the Mongols could read Chinese see Herbert Franke, "Could the Mongol Emperors Read and Write Chinese," Asia Major new series, 3, 28-41 (1952).
The first advocate for reform was the sinicized Khitan statesman, Yeh-lu Ch'u-ts'ai, who, under the aegis of Ögödei (r. 1229-1241), began to reinstitute traditional Chinese administration in North China. Unfortunately, the death of Ögödei overturned these efforts and the government of North China reverted to the harsh, traditional Mongol rule of the steppes.

Even in his youth, Qubilai had a great interest in the problems of managing North China. To gain a better understanding of these problems, he summoned people who were noted for their knowledge and skill in administrative techniques to advise him. Due to these advisers, Qubilai became convinced that in order to stabilize and consolidate Mongol rule in China, it was necessary to adopt traditional Confucian patterns of government. The most notable of these advisers was the Buddhist-Taoist statesman Liu Ping-chung, who was in the service of Qubilai from 1242 until his retirement in 1268. When Qubilai ascended the throne in 1260, he began a reform program that, under the design of Liu Ping-chung, reorganized the administration of North China along traditional Chinese lines.


Although it cannot be said that Qubilai accepted Confucian values, it can be said that the counsels of such men as Chang Te-hui (who was the first Chinese scholar to be summoned by Qubilai) and Liu Ping-chung, resulted in Qubilai, at least for practical reasons, reinstituting the traditional Chinese bureaucratic system in China.
CHAPTER 5

ANNOTATED TRANSALATION OF CHANG TE-HUI'S
"A RECORD OF A JOURNEY BEYOND THE NORTHERN RANGES"

From Chen-yang, The Beginning of the Journey

In the first quarter of the sixth month, in the summer of the year ting-wei (1247), I attended to an imperial summons to go north. I set out from Chen-yang, stayed for two nights and then passed Chung-shan. At this time there was an accumulation of dark clouds but it did not rain. In a little while the sky cleared and I gazed westward to the jagged peak of Heng-shan (that which is called 'one of the sacred peaks') that stood out prominently from the other peaks like a green arch. The rest of the peaks could all be counted one after the other. Thereupon I turned to my companions and said,

36. I am following Yao Ts'ung-wu's LPCH for the location of place names. All major locations are indicated on the map found in Appendix A.

37. Great Luxuriant Mountain is another name for Heng-shan, which is the Northern Mountain of the Five Sacred Mountains of China. During the Northern Sung (960-1127), Heng-shan was lost to the Khitan and was replaced, as the Northern Mountain, by Hsuan-yueh ("Dark Peak") in Shansi. The Ming and Ch'ing followed this practice but, in sacrificial ceremonies and by popular custom, Heng-shan was still regarded as the true Northern Mountain. LPCH 6 n. In chuan fourteen of Ku Tsu-yu's (1631-1692) Tu-shih fang-yu chi-yao, 3 vols., (Peking, 1955), I, 624, it says, "another name for Great Luxuriant Mountain is Sacred Pointed Rock." The Sacred Peak in the text is probably a reference to Sacred Pointed Rock. LPCH 6 n.
"Our group takes this journey -- is it possible we will come back soon? This was indeed the 'good fortune of T'ai-chih 退之 at Heng-shan "侍山.""

38. This is an allusion to the poem, "Visiting a Temple on Heng Peak; afterwards I spend the night in a Buddhist temple on the peak and write this on the gate tower," by Han Yu (768-824), whose style name is T'ui-chih. In the poem he writes:

I have just come, meeting with
The season of autumn rains,
The Yin Spirit made it dark and dismal,
There was no clear wind.
Deep in my heart I prayed silently,
And it seemed there was a response-
Of course it is because there is one honest and upright,
That it can feel and comprehend.
In an instant it was swept clear,
A host of peaks came out,
Looking up I saw them thrusting forward
To prop up the blue sky.

(Translation by Stephen Owen, The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yu (New Haven, 1975), pp. 97-98.) Su Shih (1036-1101), in the Sung, in his stele for Han Wen-kung's temple, said, "The concentrated sincerity of the noble could open the clouds of Heng-shan, but could not turn back the suspicions of Hsien-tsung." The meaning of the allusion is that as Chang Te-hui begins his journey north, past the Northern Mountain, and Han Yu is on his journey of exile south, past the Southern Mountain, their futures are uncertain, just as there are dark clouds covering the two Heng Mountains. As they gaze at the mountains, the clouds disappear exposing the peaks, and they both enjoy a moment of rare natural beauty in spite of their personal uncertainty. The poem "found in Han Yu, ÇChu Wen-kung chiao/ Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng chi, annotated by Chu Hsi (SPTK ed.) 3.37b-38a. Su Shih's comments are found in Su Shih, "Ch'ao-chou Han Wen-kung miao-pei" in Tung-p'o hou-chi found in Tung-p'o ch'i-chi (Ssu-pu pei-yao / afterwards SPPY J, Shanghai, 1927-1936) 15.6a.
From Chung-shan to the O'hu Range

The next day we went out of the fortified pass and passed the Hsü River Bridge. I gazed westward to Lang-shan 琅山. The thick forest stood like swords and halberds and the halcyon green was so luxuriant it could be ladled up with a spoon. In a while we arrived at Chuo-chün 洲郡 through Liang-men 安門 and Ting-hsing 定興. I gazed eastward to the temple of the First Lord of Shu 當先生廟 in Lou-sang 楓桑. We went past Liang-hsiang 良鄉, crossed over the Lu-kou Bridge 露溝 and arrived in Yen 燕.

39. The Shu chih says, "The First Lord's surname was Liu 劉 and his personal name was Pei 彭. He was a native of Chuo County in Chuo Commandery 漢縣. When he was young, he and his mother peddled sandals and wove mats for a living. On the fence at the south-eastern corner of their house grew a mulberry tree. It was more than five Chinese feet high and when looked at from a distance it appeared to be an umbrella shaped like a cart canopy. The passers-by all marveled at this unusual tree. Some said that this house would produce a man of high position. When the First Lord was young, he was sitting beneath the tree with several youths in his clan and he jokingly said, 'I will inevitably mount this winged parasol!' A reference to the Imperial carriage. His uncle, Tzu Ching 子貢, said, 'You should not talk foolishly. You will destroy our family! ' Found in Ch'en Shou (233-297), San-kuo chih (SPPY ed.) 2.1a. Later, people desiring to preserve the memory of the First Lord built a temple at the site of this affair. The first commemorative stone was erected in 897. According to Wang T'ing-yün's (1151-1202) "Chung-hsiu Han Chao-leih-ti miao-pei-chi" (dated 1198), found in Chin Wen Tsui (Taipei, 1967) 36.2: "The temple is ten li southwest of Ch'ou-chou, and there is a stone in the distant courtyard which is a record of reconstruction by the Magistrate Lou, dated fourth year of the Kan-ning era of T'ang (898). There have been the ancestral sacrifices of blood and food here for a long time."
We resided there for ten days and then left. To the north we went past Shuang-t'a Fort 双塔堡, Hsin-tien Hostel 新店驛, entered the Southern Mouth 南口, and crossed through Chu-yung Pass 展唐關. We went out of the pass through Northern Mouth 北口, and then traveling westward, we went past the Elm Forest Hostel 榆林驛, the Lei Family Inn 雷家店, and arrived at Huai-lai County 廬來縣.

East of the county there is a bridge, its middle planked horizontally with timbers but the rest above and below, is all of stone. West of the bridge the inhabitants are clustered in settlements, and the outer perimeter of the county disappears in rank growth.

To the west, as we went past the south side of Cock Crow Mountain 鳥鳴山, there was a lodging house called P'ing-yü 平與. On the mountain there had been built a residence for monks. We followed the west side of the mountain northward, and went upstream following the Sang-ch'ien River 桑乾河. Lying across the river there is a stone bridge, and westward from the bridge is Te-hsing-fu 德興府路. To the north we went past a residence that is called Ting-fang 定防, and crossing the river at Stone Ladder 石梯子 we arrived at Hsuan-te Chou 宣德州.

Again traveling northwest, we crossed through the Sha-ling-tzu Mouth 沙嶺子口 and arrived at the Hsuan-p'ing County Hostel 宣平縣驛. We went out through the Te-sheng Mouth 得勝口 and arrived at the O-hu Range.

40. The residence for monks is a reference to the Monastery of Eternal Peace 永寧寺. It is said to have been built in 1024. LPCH 9n.
The Sand Dunes North of Po-1o

Beneath the mountain range there is a hostel called Po-1o. From this point northward, all the hostels are apportioned to and run by the various Mongol clans, each taking the name of the master of the clan.

Going up from the range, we then traveled northeast and began seeing yurts and yurt carts that simply followed the available water and grass to pasture their stock. No longer were there any customs of the Central Plain.

We subsequently went past Fu-chou, finding only desolate walls. To the north we entered Ch'ang-chou, where the inhabitants numbered only a hundred. In its center are official residences that were constructed by the state's regent.

There is also a storehouse that belongs to the Salt Office.

41. P'eng Ta-ya, in the book Hei-ta Shih-lueh (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, Shanghai, 1935), p. 7, says that the various Tartar chief- tains were permitted to determine for themselves the distance between stations in their own territory. Hsu T'ing's supplement, on page eight, says that all of the land was divided among the Imperial clan and their relatives. Their people sent forth oxen, horses, carts, weapons, slaves, mutton and kumiss for tax levies. The head of each territory was responsible for the fulfillment of the tax quotas of the stations within their own area. The biography of Bosqar, YS, 118.5b, says that in 1214 Cinggis issued the order that Bosqar (who was a successful commander in the Mongol army) and his younger brothers Huo Hu and Ts'e, and the rest were to be given agricultural land as fiefs. This practice, followed from the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, was called "Dividing the Territory.

42. Chung-yuan is a historical synecdoche for China.

43. This would be Muqali's second, grandson Sugumca. Sugumca succeeded to the position of State Regent in 1239 and died during the reign of Hsien-tsung (1251-1259). LPCH 11 n.
East of the chou there is Salt Lake 宮. Its circumference is approximately one hundred  lí 里. The natives call it Dog Marsh 狗沼 because of their similarity of form.

We traveled north of the chou for more than one hundred lí where there is a half-hidden ancient fortification that stretches across mountain and valley. South of the fortification there is a small deserted city. We asked a resident about it, and he said that this is a fort barrier that had been built by the previous dynasty, and that there are now only frontier guards living in the city.  

From the fort barrier we traveled four stops and began to enter the sand dunes. Wherever the dunes on the border reached, there

44. Li Chih-ch'ang's (1193-1278) Ch'ang-ch'un-chen-jen hsi yu chi (SPPY ed.) 1.5a-5b, says, "Northward from Fu-chou there are no rivers. There are many holes dug in the sand in order to draw water. Also there are no large mountains. After riding on horseback for five days we went out of the Ming-ch'ang border." According to Wang Kuo-wei (1877-1927), in his Kuan-t'ang chi-lin (Shanghai, 1973), 734, this is a fort barrier that was built in the Ming-ch'ang reign period of Chin Chang-tsung (1190-1195). In the same book (p. 713) Wang describes two means of border defense used by the Chin. One is the walled fort that was built in an area of vital defense in order to house frontier guards. These forts had to be built in an area where water and grass were available. Since they were placed at irregular intervals, they were subject to encirclement and siege. The other is a barrier that was constructed in order to impede the Northern cavalry. The barrier could not be encircled but it took a great amount of labor to construct. Also, since the northern borderlands were mostly desert, the barriers would fill with drifting sand and had to be constantly reclaimed. During the reign of Chang-tsung (1190-1209) the border conflicts became more intense and this barrier was completed in 1198. It was nearly 3,000 lí in length.
was neither a shard of rock nor an inch of loam. When we were still at a distance and gazed at them, they were like high mounds and large hummocks. But once we arrived, we saw that they were piles of sand. Elms and willows are the only trees that have adapted. And they all are crooked, scattered and grow in clumps. The water here is completely brackish.

In all, we passed through six stops before going out of the dunes.

Fish Marsh and the Princess' Summer Palace

Traveling northwest one more stop, we passed Fish Marsh. There are two marshes with a circumference of more than a hundred li, with a land road running between them north to south.

The Princess' Summer Palace lies on the eastern bank of the marsh. The outer wall of the palace is more than ten Chinese feet high and has a square circumference of approximately two li. A sleeping hall has been built in the center, flanked by two buildings. Its roof beam is curved like the shell of a turtle, and the sides are lined by two corridors. In front stands a watch tower which, when ascended, sharpens the power of the eye.

45. This is the Princess Yesu Buqa 喜度赤花. She is the daughter of Jui-tsung 觀宗 (the temple name of Tului 拓裏). This would make her Cinggis' granddaughter and Qubilai's sister. See LPCH 14 n.
East of the palace citizens and craftsmen live scattered about in more or less of a settlement. In the center of the settlement there is a building which has a stele that is called Receiving Radiance.

Traveling four stops northwest from the marsh, there are the decaying remains of a great wall. I gazed at it and it stretched away without end. This is an outer fortification that had also been built by the previous dynasty.

From the outer fortification, we traveled fifteen stops and arrived at a river that is approximately one-third of ten times the depth and width of the Hu-t'o 涯涔. In northern language it is called the Kerulen 羣陵速 and in Chinese it is called the Lü-chü (or Donkey Foal) River.

46. Father Gerbillon Fágò was the earliest European traveler to record Fish Marsh. He went past the marsh in 1689 on a trip from Peking to Nerchinsk. He recorded the name of the marsh as Taal-nor 坡乃 - 崤乃 and said that it was fifteen miles in circumference. He also said that one-half mile from the marsh there was a marble stele, in Chinese, that dated from the Yuan dynasty. See LPCH 14 n.

47. This wall was constructed during the Ta-ting reign period of Chin Shih-tsung (1161-1189).
Its banks are lined with many clumps of willows and its waters flow eastward rapid and roiling. An inhabitant said, "In it are fish that are approximately three or four feet long. From spring and summer up to autumn you may try to catch them but none can be caught. In winter they can be caught by cutting a hole in the ice."48

The inhabitants near to the river are mixed barbarian and Chinese and there are a few buildings that are all covered with earth. The inhabitants also know a little of the skills of planting but plant only hemp and wheat.

North of the river there is a large mountain that is called Qara-ula. In Chinese it is called Black Mountain. When I gazed at it from one stop away it had a dense and dark color like that of a thick forest. But when I grew near and looked at it, it was deep grey stone. Ethers of cloudy haze constantly enshroud its top.

48. In the third ch'üan of the first volume of his work Yen-fan-lü (this work was not available for my use), Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang (1123-1195) describes the method that the Khitan used for catching the buffalo fish . He says that they did not fish with bait but used hooks for gigging the fish. The Khitan first cut one hole in the ice that went through to the water. They would then cut three more holes around the first. These three holes did not penetrate all the way to the water, but left a thin layer of ice that could be seen through. They watched for fish through the three holes, and were ready with their gigs when the fish came to the surface to breathe. Yao Ts'ung-wu says that this method of catching fish in the winter was also used by the Mongols. LPCH 15 n.
From Black Mountain to Qaraqorum

From the south side of Black Mountain we traveled nine stops southwest when we again came upon a river. The river is one-third again the depth and width of the Kerulen. The largeness of the fish are like those in the Kerulen and the methods for catching them are also the same. Where its water first flowed westward it was so deep and swift we were unable to cross. In northern language it is called the Gun-Tula, which is Rabbit in Chinese.

Following the river westward, we traveled one stop to where there is an old city wall that had been built by the Khitan. The wall is about three square and it backed up to the mountain facing the water. From here the water flowed northward.

From the old city wall, we traveled three stops northwest and passed Biligtü which is the land where, for a long time, the makers of bows had been raised.

Again traveling one stop, we passed the Great Swamp Marsh which has a circumference of roughly sixty or seventy li and has water that is extremely clear and limpid. In northern language it is called Güjege-nor. Westward, from the southern side of the marsh, the road divides and enters Qaraqorum. Both of the roads are separated by more than one hundred li. Due west of the marsh
there is a small, old city wall that had also been built by the Khitan. From the city wall in all directions, the land is very flat and open for about a hundred li, and beyond it is all mountains. The north side of the mountains are mostly pine forest, and sunny-green clumps of willows line the water. Through the center runs Qaraqorum Stream 和林川. The inhabitants are mostly engaged in ploughing and sowing and they all lead water to irrigate the fields. Occasionally there are vegetable gardens. At this time, it is the last ten days of the first month of autumn and the grains are all withered. We asked a farmer about this who said that there had already been three frosts.

The T'a-mi River and Stone Cairn and Qubilai's Summer Retreat

Traveling northwest from the stream for one stop, we passed Horse Head Mountain 马头山. A resident said, "On top of the mountain there is a large horse's head and, because of this, it was so named." From the north side of Horse Head Mountain, we turned and again traveled southwest. We passed Ula'an Cikin 忍耐·赤斤 (a mountain name because it is shaped like a red ear) 49 which, indeed, is the place that was bestowed on the dependents (pu-ch'u 譲臣), citizens, craftsmen, and various artisans. It has a river, called the T'a-mi River, that funnels into it.

49. Ula'an Cikin in Mongol means Red Ear.
To the northeast, we again passed through one stop and went by a stone cairn. The stone cairn is at the side of the post road and is approximately five feet high with a lower circumference of more than forty steps. It is square with sharp corners and is especially imposing as it stands on flat ground. Its shape is very novel and eminent and when gazed at from a distance it is like a large Chinese cairn, hence its name. Traveling southwest from the cairn for three stops, we passed a river called the Tangut\[\text{Chinese}\] . It is called this because it originates from the land of the Hsi-hsia\[\text{Chinese}\] . Its water also flows to the northeast, and west of the river there is a towering range of peaks. The stones of the peaks are all iron-like. The north side of the peaks are mostly pine forest and on their southern side is the tent palace; this is the summer retreat.

After the Mid-Autumn Festival\[\text{Chinese}\] we began to travel. Eastward along the post road we passed the stone cairn, coming northeast to Ula'an Cikin, where we meandered into sloped hills. From this point we traveled and stopped; our traveling never exceeding one day's journey and our stopping never exceeding two nights. The places that we passed were nameless mountains and large streams and I was unable to record them in entirety.
Questions and Answers in the Royal Court: I--
A Discussion of Whether or Not the Chin Dynasty
Was Lost Because of Their Trust and
Employment of Confucian Scholars

Then it came that they met. The King leisurely asked, saying, "Confucius has been dead now for a long time. Now where does his spirit exist?" /Te-hui/ replied, saying, "The Sage ends and begins with heaven and earth. There is no place that one can go where he does not exist. If Your Majesty can implement the Way of the Sage then [Your Majesty] will become a Sage, for the spirit indeed resides within this tent palace."

Again /the King/ inquired, "There are those who say 'The Liao was destroyed because of Buddhism and the Chin was lost because of Confucianism.' Is this true?" /Te-hui/ replied, saying, "As to the affairs of the Liao, I am not completely knowledgeable, but as to the last years of the Chin, I have personally witnessed it. Among the Councilors of State, (50) although there were employed one or two Confucian.

50. These offices were those in the Department of Ministries. The office of Presiding Minister of the Department of Ministries, rank 1a, was not filled on a permanent basis. The Chief Councilors of State, also called the Upper Four Offices, were the Left and Right grand councilors, rank 1b, and the two Executives of the Secretariat-Chancellery, rank 1b. The Administrators of State, also called the Lower Four Offices, were the Left and Right executive assistants of the Department of Ministries, rank 2a, and the two Assistant...
ministers, all the remainder were military officials or those with hereditary titles. When it came to discussing the great affairs of the state, or of warfare, again Confucian ministers were not permitted to take part in the discussion or to be heard. Among the miscellaneous posts within and without the court, those to which Confucians were advanced were one of thirty, and they did no more than review official documents, listen to litigations, or administer to financial affairs!

As for the existence or demise of the state, the Jurchen themselves are those who must bear the blame. How can the Confucians be blamed!"

The King was pleased. Thereupon he inquired of Te-hui, saying, "The laws and regulations of our progenitors and ancestors are all here and yet very many of them are not put into practice. What can be done about this?" The Master pointed to a silver washbowl in front of His Majesty and made an analogy, saying, "The main point in beginning an enterprise is like creating this utensil. Carefully select the finest silver and skilled workmen to measure and complete it, then it can be given to later generations and handed down without end. Now Your Majesty should seek those who are conscientious and sincere to take charge, and then forever make them of treasured use. If this is not done your treasure will not only be chipped and broken, but perhaps there will be one who will steal it away!" The King thought for a long time and then said, "This is truly something my mind will not forget!"

Executives of the Secretariat-Chancellery, rank 2b. These ministers were collectively called the Councilors of State. See Yuan Hao-wen, I-shan wen-chi (SPTK ed.) 16.1b.
Also the King inquired of Chinese men of talent and Te-hui thereupon recommended Wei Fan, Yuan Yu, Li Chih and more than twenty others. The King crooked his finger to count them and every now and then there were those whose names he was able to speak.

The King also inquired, "The farmers also work. How is it that they do not have enough clothes and food?" Te-hui replied, saying, "Agriculture and sericulture are the roots of the world and the place

51. See the biography of Wei Ch'u, YS, 164.17b-20a.

52. Yuan Hao-wen (1190-1257). His biography is found in the Chin Shih (Po-na ed.) 126.11b-13a. Yuan Hao-wen's style name is Yu-chih. Since the text refers to him only as Yuan Yu, several opinions have appeared that try to account for the difference. In brief, there are three main arguments. (1) The missing character is simply a scribal error due to the carelessness of the copyist. (2) After Yuan Hao-wen crossed north of the Yellow River and was held in detainment by the Mongols, he changed his name to Yuan Yu. (3) Yuan Yu is not Yuan Hao-wen but someone else. The first two theories, though based on different assumptions, both conclude that Yuan Yu is Yuan Hao-wen. The third, however, is of consequence since it asserts that Yuan Yu is another person. Yao Ts'ung-wu discounts this theory on the basis that Su T'ien-chüeh (this segment of the travel diary is copied from Su's Biographical Sketches of Famous Ministers in the Reigning Dynasty. See Textual Account, footnote #27, page 17) was a historian of the Yuan dynasty, and was extremely meticulous in recording affairs. He was also from the same small village (Luan-ch'eng) as was Li Chih. Su was well versed in the affairs of the Three Elders of Feng-lung-shan, the who he refers to, more than once, as Yuan Hao-wen, Chang Te-hui, and Li Chih. Therefore, Yao concludes, the Yuan Yu recorded in the YS biographies of Chang Te-hui, Li Chih, and Kao Ming, on the basis of common sense, is actually Yuan Hao-wen. LPCH 36-37 n.

53. Li Chih (1192-1279). His biography is found in the YS, 160.9b-11b.
from which clothing and food come. The men plough, the women weave, and to the end of the year they toil diligently. Then they select those articles that are refined and beautiful and send them to the officials. Those articles that are left behind are course and ugly, but they take them to raise their families. And yet the lower officials who should be close to the people rapaciously collect even these remnants and so exhaust them. This being so, there are rarely, among the people, those who do not freeze or starve!"

The Seasonal Sacrifice and the Chih-sun Feast. 54

At the arrival of Double Nine Day, the King led those beneath his banner to a meeting at the Great Pointed Tent where he gave a libation of white mare's milk so as to cultivate the seasonal sacrifices. The miscellaneous utensils used in the sacrifices are all made of birch wood. The Mongols do not use gold or silver as ornamentation as they value the substance of birch (i.e., the simplicity of it).

54. For details of the Chih-sun Feast see Yanai Wataru, "Mōko no'chia-ma-yen' to 'chih-sun-yen'", in Shiratori hakusei kanreki kinen Tōyoshi ronsō (Collected Essays in Commemoration of Professor Shiratori's Sixty-first Birthday) 1925. This work was not available for my use.

55. In a letter to Professor Stephen West (Oriental Studies Department, University of Arizona), Professor Sechin Jagchid (History Department, Brigham Young University) says, "Your question regarding the problem of ta-ya-chang or ordo is very difficult to answer because a large yurt like that has no definite size. As for my personal experience, I saw one in the West Sunid Banner of Shilin-ghol League, Inner
In the middle ten days of the tenth month, we just arrived in a broad mountain valley to avoid the cold of winter. The forests and trees are very lush and the water is all frozen. The men strive in the amassing of firewood and the storing up of water as a way of defending against the cold. Clothes must necessarily be made of animal hides. As for food, mutton is as constant as grain and rice are rare.

On the day before New Year, they often moved their tents and changed locations to make a place for celebrating the New Year. On this day, a place was arranged in front of a tent for a great feast. From the King on down, all wore pure white fur coats. Three days later, we directly went to the Great Pointed Tent to deliver our congratulations; this was ritual.

On the fifteenth day of the first month we again traveled southwest. In the middle ten days of the second month we arrived at Ula'an Cikin. Then traveling eastward we reached Horse Head Mountain and stopped in order to hunt with falcons along spring waters.

Mongolia, big enough to contain 120 persons, and I saw another in the West Ujümuchin Banner of the same league large enough for 500 persons. They all had white felt coverings with large red lacquered wooden support columns and beams. In summertime, conferences or banquets were usually carried out in a large tent or chachir which was large enough to seat 200 persons."


In the spring of the year wu-shen (1248), Te-hui poured a libation and delivered sacrificial meat to the King. The King said, "Wherein resides the principle of providing sacrificial food to a Confucian temple?" Te-hui replied, saying, "Confucius is the teacher of ten thousand generations of Kings. Those who possess a state venerate him. Therefore they make imposing the external appearance of his temple and refine the sequential sacrifices (i.e., to accord with the proper time). Now, whether he is venerated or not is neither benefit nor harm to K'ung, the Sage. But, one can see on the basis of this sacrifice what the heart of the current ruler is like toward the veneration of the Confucian Way." The King said, "From this day on, this ritual will not be abandoned."

The King also inquired, saying, "Now, of those who are in charge of the army and those who are stewards of the people, which one does the greatest harm?" Te-hui replied, saying, "Those who are in charge of the army have troops that are without discipline. They allow their troops to cause terrorism. That which they obtain does not compensate

56. This is a Chinese sacrifice to 'former sages' and 'former rulers.' See LPCH 25-26 n.
for that which they lose, so their crimes indeed are severe. As for those who are in charge of the people, they collect baskets of grains on the basis of a head count, and thereby poison the world and cause the people of their remote ancestors to be as if they were treading on water and fire. This is a harm that is even greater." The King was silent for a long time and then he said, "What can be done about this?" Te-hui said, "There is nothing better than selecting those steadfast men of the clan, such as Kö'un Buga, and cause them to be in charge of the army, and selecting those with meritorious

57. Kö'un Buga is the second son of Belgutei, who is the youngest brother, by a concubine, of Cinggis Qan. He does not have a biography in the YS, but some facts about him can be found in other selections: 1) The YS, 107:5b, lists him as one of three sons of Belgutei. 2) Ibid., 117.2a. Kö'un Buga commanded an army in Honan and had repeated successes. 3) Ibid., 115.2b-3a. In the autumn of 1232, Kö'un Buga and some other generals, along with 10,000 cavalry troops, were sent by Ögedei to meet Tului (Jui-tsung), who was being pursued by the Chin commander Ha Ta and 150,000 cavalry and infantry troops. It was snowing and raining and the Chin troops were so cold many were not able to fight. Tului attacked them at San-feng-shan and defeated them. 4) Ibid., 155.12b-13a. In 1237, Kö'un Buga surrounded and captured Kuang-chou. He then went to Fu-chou but the men of Fu were afraid and asked to surrender. Next, he attacked Shou-ch'un. Being victorious, he headed south, usually conquering those he faced. 5) Ibid., 2.5a. In 1235, "Kö'un Buga captured Ho T'ai-wei of the Sung." Kö'un Buga's merits in military exploits were well-known and he was very successful in the battles between the Chin and Yuan at San-feng-shan, and also the military campaigns in Honan and Hupei.
service, such as Quduqu, 58 and cause them to manage the people's government. Then the world will all receive their benefits."

Sacrifice of the Fourth Month and That Which is Seen of the General Conditions of Qubilai's Changing Tent/Camps for Winter and Summer

On the ninth day of the fourth month, the King led those beneath his banner to another meeting at the Great Peaked Tent and poured a libation of white mare's milk. The miscellaneous utensils were also like those used for the Double Nine Ceremony. Every year, they sacrificed only twice: on the Double Nine and the Ninth Day of the Fourth

58. Quduqu was a sworn younger brother of Cinggis Qan. He held the position of close minister and was venerated as a Yuan-lao, an elder minister of state. He also obtained the confidence of Ogodei. In 1234, after the fall of the Chin, North China was in great confusion. Ogodei appointed Quduqu Official in Charge of Deciding Affairs in the Central Plain of China, and, together with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, he determined the tax system for China. They began to replace the fiefs of the nobles with the traditional provincial systems of taxation and administration. LPCH 26-27 n.
Month. On the remainder of their festival days they did not do this sacrifice.

From this day we began to return. We went southwest again, along the post road toward the place we avoided the summer heat. On the whole, meeting summer, they go to a place that is high and cold, but at the arrival of winter, they hasten to a sunny and warm place where firewood and water are easily obtained in order to avoid the cold.

Passing here in our travels, we marched one day and rested the next, following the water and grass to make it convenient for pasturing the animals.

This is that what the climate and land make most suitable, and is the general outline of their customs and habits.

59. These sacrifices were performed by the Mongol Qans. The purpose of these ancient rituals was to honor Heaven. The YS, 72.3a, says, "The Yuan rose from the Northern Desert. For generations they had the ritual of honoring Heaven. Their clothes and caps tended toward the native substance, and their sacrificial utensils tended toward the pure. The emperor and empress themselves performed the ceremony, and members of the royal clan assisted in the sacrifices. Their intentions were profound, ancient and far-reaching; to requite the basis and return to the original. This came from their natures and no one had to exert themselves to do it." In LPCH 27 n., Sechin Jagchid is quoted as saying that the Mongols no longer hold these ceremonies.
The Announcement to Return and
The Second Recommendation of Men of Talent

In the summer of that year 1248, Te-hui announced that he was about to return. He also recommended Po Wen-chu, Cheng Hsien-chih, etc. Po was a famous scholar and high official during the Chin, his highest position being that of Staff Supervisor of the Council on Military Affairs. He was a good friend of Yuan Hao-wen, who raised his son in Wen-chu's absence. After Po crossed north of the Yellow River, he lived in the headquarters of Shih T'ien-tse, where he met Chang Te-hui. During the reign of Chin Ai-tsung (1224-1234), Po was a Participator in the Deliberations of Military Affairs, a position of some importance.

60. Here I am reading chu for yu. His biography is found in the Chin Shih (Po-na ed.) 114.1a-12b. Po was a famous scholar and high official during the Chin, his highest position being that of Staff Supervisor of the Council on Military Affairs. He was a good friend of Yuan Hao-wen, who raised his son in Wen-chu's absence. After Po crossed north of the Yellow River, he lived in the headquarters of Shih T'ien-tse, where he met Chang Te-hui. During the reign of Chin Ai-tsung (1224-1234), Po was a Participator in the Deliberations of Military Affairs, a position of some importance.

61. Unidentified.

62. Chao Yuan-te was a Chin Censor. There is a poem to him in Yuan Hao-wen's I-shan wen-chi, 10.20b-21a, entitled, "The Seventieth Birthday of the Elder Brother of the Censor Chao Yuan-te." There are no details of his life available.

63. He is also called Li Chin-chih. See I-shan wen-chi, 12.11a, "Two Poems at Li Chin-chih's Remote Pavilion." There are no details of his life available.

64. Kao was one of fifty-four scholars recommended to Yeh-lu Ch'u-ts'ai by Yuan Hao-wen. See Yao Ts'ung-wu's article, "The Historical Significance of the Letter to Yeh-lu Ch'u-ts'ai in the year Kuei-ssu, from Yuan Hao-wen, and an Examination of the Actions of the Fifty-four Men (Recommended) in the Letter." Wen-shih-che hsueh-pao, 19 (1970) 225-275. Kao's biography is found in the YS, 160.8a-9b. When Hsu-lieh-wu (Qubilai's maternal uncle) was about to go on the western campaign, Kao laid out more than twenty strategic plans for him, many of
for service. As he retired from the audience, he stated to the King that he should venerate the elderly and virtuous, employ the primary elders, select men of talent, observe the feelings of the common people, honor hearing both sides of an argument, be near to gentlemen, be honest in meting out rewards and punishments, be frugal in expenditures, and to take as his model and be warned by the former Kings.

The Master was in the Northern Court for a full year. At each interview he was invited to discuss the general points of the Sage's Way and Power, the methods of cultivating the self and administering the state, and the reasons for good government and chaotic government in ancient and modern times. Te-hui was precise, clear, to the point, and straightforward. There was much that opened the King's perception. Because of this he was called by his style and given a seat of honor. The ritual of bestowal of the seat was exceptionally great.

which he considered good. When Qubilai ascended the throne, Kao was made a Han-lin Academician, and with the establishment of the Censorate in 1268, he was made a Censor in Waiting. He died in 1274 at the age of sixty-six.

65. Li P'an, a minor official; has only a few notices in texts.

66. Unidentified.
A General Record of Impressions of the Northern Travels

From the beginning of the journey until I returned, I traveled with those of the royal court for a general period of ten months. At every meeting and private interview, I was inevitably treated with ritual. When it came to the supplies of my tent, quilt and mattress, clothing, food and drink, medicine and tonic, there was not one thing that they did not bring forward. From this, I was able to know the sincerity of the King's interest and consideration.

I consider myself to be old, frail and untalented. How is it that I could obtain this type of treatment? I seek the source in the intentions of the King, which issue forth from "being fond of good and forgetting one's power." By establishing the Way of our Master, the King represses his own desires in order to bring about the steadfast scholars of the world. How is it that Te-hui is sufficient

67. This quotation is from the Mencius 7a.8, "As for the steadfast Kings of antiquity, they were fond of good and of forgetting their power." Chu Hsi, ed. and annotator, Meng-tzu (Ssu-shu chi-chu, Hong Kong, 1964), p. 189. Yao says that after the middle of the thirteenth century, Qubilai was referred to as a steadfast King. LPCH 30 n.
to be considered one of these /scholars/? Later, it is inevitable
that those with the steadfastness of Wei will come here.68

Therefore, I have recorded the season of my journey from
beginning to end and have consequently prepared and chronicled it.

On the fifteenth day of the sixth month, in the summer of the
year wu-shen, Chang Te-hui of T'ai-yuan has carefully inscribed

68. This is an allusion to a passage in the Shih Chi (Po-na ed.)
34.5b. King Chao of Yen desired to attract scholars to aid
him with government affairs. His teacher, Kuo Wei, advised
that the King should treat him with the respect due a steadfast
man. In this way, once other more steadfast men heard of the King's
forbearance of Kuo Wei, "... they would not consider a journey of
1,000 li too far to travel in order to serve the King." By means of
this allusion, Chang Te-hui is saying that Qubilai's treatment of one
so unworthy as he himself, will surely attract far more eminent men:
a conceited humility.
APPENDIX A

CHANG TE-HUI'S TRAVELING ROUTE FROM CHEN-YANG TO QARAQORUM

Legend

Present Boundaries
Rivers
Great Wall
Ming-ch'ang Border Wall
Sand Dunes
Chang Te-hui's Journey

Denotes Approximate Position *

0 50 100 150 200 250

Distance in Kilometers
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