

Tsung-lê's Mission to the Western Regions in 1378—1382

By Kazuo Enoki

(Tokyo)

The *Ming-shih-lu* records under the twelfth month of the eleventh year of Hung-wu (December 9, 1378 to January 26, 1379) that in this month (the Emperor) sent the monk Tsung-lê^[1] and others to the Western Regions¹ and under the day of *i-mao* of the twelfth month of the fourteenth year of Hung-wu (December 29, 1381) that the monk Tsung-lê and others came back from the Western Regions, accompanied by ambassadors of the *Ê-li-ssü Chün-min yüan-shuai-fu*^[2] and *Pa-chê wan-hu-fu*^[3], who brought with them tribute (to the Emperor)². Tsung-lê (1318—1391) was one of the leading monks of the *Ch'an* sect. He enjoyed the profound respect of the Emperor Hung-wu who sent him to the Western Regions to collect Buddhist *sūtras* not available in China³. Some of his biographies record that he came back to China not in the fourteenth year of Hung-wu but in (the third month of) the

¹ *Ming-shih-lu*, ed. Academia Sinica, T'ai-tsu, c. 121, p. 4b (Bk. 5, p. 1966).

² *Ibid.*, T'ai-tsu, c. 140, p. 5a (Bk. 5, p. 2209).

³ As to the biography of Tsung-lê, see WÊN-CH'Û, *Tsêng-chi Hsü Ch'uan-têng-lu*^[4], c. 5 (*Dainihon Zoku Zôkyô*, I, 2, i, Vol. 15, Bk. 2); *Pu Hsü Kao sêng-chuan*^[5], c. 14 (quoted in the *Ming-jên chuan-chi tzü-liao so-yin*, Taipei: National Central Library, 1965, p. 280); HUAN-LUN, *Shih-shih chi-ku-lüeh hsü-chi*^[6], c. 2 (*Tripitaka Taishô*, Vol. 49, p. 937); T'UNG-WÊN, *Hsü Têng-ts'un-kao*^[7] (*Dainihon Zoku Zôkyô*, I, 2, i, Vol. 18, Bk. 1); T'UNG-JUNG, *Wu-têng-yen-t'ung*^[8], c. 22 (*Dainihon Zoku Zôkyô*, I, 2, i, Vol. 12, Bk. 5); Sôden Hain^[9] (*Dainihon Bukkyô Zensho*, 1st ed. II, p. 219). Apart from these Buddhist works, his biography is found in CH'ÛEN CH'ÛEN-I, *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*^[10], Pt. Jun 1, fol. 9b—10a; CHU I-tsun, *Ching-chih-chü shih-hua*^[11], c. 23, fol. 30a; and DO, *Ming-shih-tsung*, c. 90, fol. 4b—5a. In SUNG LIEN, *Sung Hsüeh-shih ch'üan-chi*^[12], c. 32, fol. 14b (ed. *Ssü-pu ts'ung-k'an*), there is an eulogy to the portrait of Tsung-lê. Some of the records disagree about the date of his death, and here I have followed the opinion of CH'ÛEN YÜAN, *Shih-shih I-nien-lu*^[13] (ed. 1964), p. 339. CH'ÛEN YÜAN quotes a *t'a-ming*^[14] or necrology inscribed on a *stûpa* established at Tsung-lê's tomb, which was written by SUNG LIEN (1310—1381). However, I can not understand how SUNG LIEN who died ten years earlier than Tsung-lê could write his necrology. Actually, this *t'a-ming* is nowhere to be found in any edition of SUNG LIEN's collected works. According to CH'ÛEN YÜAN, it is appended to the *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi*^[15], which must be an edition not available in Japan. To any edition available in Japan (see Note 6), no such *t'a-ming* is appended. I wonder if this *t'a-ming* was included, if it exists at all, in such a book as *Sung Lien hsüeh-shih wei-k'o-chi*^[16] (*P'ei-lin-t'ang shu-mu*, *Ch'i-pu*, fol. 21b). Tsung-lê's mission to the Western Regions is recorded in his biography in the *Tsêng-chi Hsü Ch'uan-têng-lu*, p. 431a, *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, fol. 9b and in Hsü I-k'uei's^[17] preface to the *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi*, ed. 1669, fol. 3b.

- [1] 宗泐 [2] 俄力思軍良元帥府 [3] 巴者萬戶府
[4] 文琦：增集續傳燈錄 [5] 補續高僧傳 [6] 幻輪：釋氏稽古略續集
[7] 通問：續燈存彙 [8] 通容：五燈嚴統 [9] 僧傳排韻
[10] 錢謙益：列朝詩集 [11] 朱彝尊：靜志居詩話
[12] 宋濂：宋學士全集 [13] 陳垣：釋氏疑年錄 [14] 塔銘
[15] 全室外集 [16] 宋濂學士未刻集 [17] 徐一夔

fifteenth year, that is to say, (April 22 to May 21 of) 1382⁴. It seems that this date is correct, because Tsung-lê writes about one of his friends who went with him to the Western Regions that they shared the hardships of travelling for five years⁵.

According to the *I-wên-chih of Ming-shih*, c. 99, Tsung-lê wrote two books: *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi* in ten *chüan* and *Hsi-yu-chi* [20] in one *chüan*⁶. As to the

⁴ *Tsêng-chi Hsü Ch'uan-têng-lu*, p. 431a. The *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, fol. 9b, also records that Tsung-lê came back from the Western Regions in the fifteenth year of Hung-wu.

⁵ In his poem entitled *Sung Fu Chang-lao* [18] or "Seeing off Fu Who is a Senior Member of Temple" (*Ch'üan-shih wai-chi*, Vol. B, 1, fol. 22b), he writes: "I travelled with him to the West for five years and I shared the hardships with him." In the preface to the *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi*, fol. 3b, Hsü I-k'uei writes to the effect that by the imperial order he went to the West and travelled tens of thousands of *li* in uninhabited regions and came back (to China) after five years. According to the *Ching-chih-chü shih-hua*, c. 23, fol. 20b, Tsung-lê was appointed *Yu-shan-shih* [19] in the fourth month of the fifteenth year of Hung-wu (May 5—31, 1382). So he must have come back to Nanking before that date.

⁶ *Ming-shih* (ed. Po-na-pên), p. 1061b. Also see the *Ch'ien-ch'ing-t'ang shu-mu* [21], c. 28, fol. 48a. In the *Wên-yüan-ko shu-mu* [22], c. 10, fol. 30b (ed. *Tu-hua-chai ts'ung-shu* [23]), two works of Tsung-lê are mentioned under the name of *Sêng Ch'üan-shih kao* [24], one set in one volume complete and *Lê Chi-t'an chi* [25], one set in one volume incomplete. *Chi-t'an* is the *tzu* of Tsung-lê, while *Ch'üan-shih* is his *hao*. The former must be identical with *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi* and the latter probably with *Hsi-yu-chi*. The *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi* is also named *Ch'üan-shih-chi*, as is seen from Hsü Po, *Ch'ung-pien Hung-yü-lou t'i-pa*, [26], fol. 43b, as well as from the so-called *Gozanban* edition of Japan published at the end of the fourteenth century. As to the *Gozanban* edition of *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi*, consisting of nine *chüan*, of which a copy is available at the Toyo Bunko (*Iwasaki Bunko Mokuroku*, pp. 14, 20), see Kazuma KAWASE, *Gozanban no Kenkyû* [27], I, Tokyo, 1970, pp. 195, 209, 404, II, Pl. 372. Besides this *Gozanban* edition, there are two other editions. One is printed in Japan in 1669, which is preserved at the Naikaku Bunko (see the *Kaitai Naikaku Bunko Kanseki Bunrui Mokuroku*, Tokyo, 1971, p. 345) and the other is a Chinese manuscript kept at the Seikadô Bunko (see the *Seikadô Bunko Kanseki Bunrui Mokuroku*, Tokyo, 1930, p. 714). The 1669 edition is the same as the *Gozanban* edition in content, both containing a preface written by Hsü I-k'uei, but the manuscript edition has got some lacunae in the text and, instead of Hsü I-k'uei's preface, a short biography of Tsung-lê is placed at the top. The biography is obviously taken from the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, fol. 9b—10a. Moreover, the manuscript edition is supplemented by nine poems which are described as having been taken from the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-hsüan*. Of these nine poems, seven are in the present edition of *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, fol. 21b—22b, while the rest can not be located in the same book. It seems, therefore, that the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-hsüan* is different from the present edition of *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*. Incidentally, the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi* is registered as *Ch'ien Mu-chai's* [28] (i. e. *Ch'ien Ch'ien-i's*) *Lieh-ch'ao shih* in CHIAO Hung, *Kuo-shih ching-chi-chih* [29], ed. *Ming-shih I-wên-chih lu-pien*, Peking: Commercial Press, 1959, p. 1284, but nothing is known about the relationship between the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi* and the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-hsüan*. The *Gozanban* edition is divided into nine *chüan*, while the 1669 edition consists of two volumes in four parts, *Shang* 1 and 2 and *Hsia* 1 and 2, pagination being consistent in each volume.

- [18] 送福長老 [19] 右善世 [20] 西游集 [21] 千頃堂書目
[22] 文淵閣書目 [23] 讀畫齋叢書 [24] 僧全室彙 [25] 泐季潭集
[26] 徐焞：重編紅雨樓題跋 [27] 川瀬一馬：五山版の研究
[28] 錢牧齋 [29] 焦竑：國史經籍志

latter, the following comment is made: "During the Hung-wu period, Tsung-lê was appointed *Yu-shan-shih*⁷ and went to the Western Regions to collect sūtras not available (in China). (This book) contains literary works written by him while travelling⁸." Unfortunately, the *Hsi-yu-chi* has been lost, but we can trace the itinerary of his journey in part on the basis of some of his poems in the *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi* which is extant⁹ and in the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, edited by Ch'ien Ch'ien-i. Ch'ien Ch'ien-i edited an anthology of Tsung-lê's poems on the basis of both the *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi* and *Hsi-yu-chi*, as is obvious from comparison of the content of the anthology with that of *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi*¹⁰.

So far as poems contained in the *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi* are concerned, it is known that Tsung-lê arrived at K'ai-fêng¹¹ (from the capital at that time, or what is now Nanking) by way of the Grand Canal¹² and proceeded to Hu-

⁷ The *Yu-shan-shih*, together with *Tso-shan-shih*, is the highest official of Sêng-lu-ssu^[30] which controlled Buddhist monks during the Ming. (These two were also called *Yu-chieh-shan-shih*^[31] and *Tso-chieh-shan-shih* respectively.) It was established on the day of *hsin-ssü* of the fourth month of the fifteenth year of Hung-wu (May 23, 1382), see the *Ming-shih-lu*, ed. Academia Sinica, T'ai-tsu, c. 144, pp. 1b—2a (Bk. 5, pp. 2262—2263). The *Shih-shih chi-ku-lüeh hsü-chi*, c. 2 (*Tripiṭaka Taishō*, Vol. 49, p. 931) dates its establishment as the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month of the fourteenth year of Hung-wu (July 24, 1381) and also the *Ching-chih-chü shih-hua*, c. 23, fol. 20b, is wrong when it dates the establishment of Sêng-lu-ssü as the sixth month of the fourteenth year of Hung-wu (July 1—29, 1381). It is the *Tsêng-chi Hsü Ch'uan-têng-lu*, c. 5 (*Dainihon Zoku Zōkyō*, I, 2, i, Vol. 15, Bk 2, p. 431a) that dates the establishment as the sixteenth year of Hung-wu (1383). However, I would like to follow the dating of the *Ming-shih-lu* and to consider, according to the *Ching-chih-chü shih-hua*, c. 23, fol. 20b (see Note 5), that Tsung-lê was appointed the *Yu-shan-shih* on the same date.

⁸ This explanation is chronologically wrong. It was after his coming back from the Western Regions that Tsung-lê was appointed *Yu-(chieh)-shan-shih*. As to the date of his appointment, the *Ching-chih-chü shih-hua*, c. 23, fol. 20b, states that it was in the fourth month of the fifteenth year of Hung-wu, which is the date of establishment of Sêng-lu-ssü, and the *Shih-shih chi-ku-lüeh hsü-chi*, c. 2 (*Tripiṭaka Taishō*, Vol. 49, p. 931c), dates it as the twenty-second day of the fourth month of the fifteenth year of Hung-wu (June 12, 1382).

⁹ As to the *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi*, see Note 6. I use the 1669 edition as the basis of my study, because it is the same in content as the *Gozanban* edition and it is more widely used than the latter.

¹⁰ Another anthology of Tsung-lê's poems is edited by Chu I-tsun in his *Ching-chih-chü shih-hua*, c. 23, fol. 20ff., as well as in his *Ming-shih-tsung*, c. 90, fol. 4b ff. But, as is noted below, the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi* contains a few poems which clarify Tsung-lê's visit to Tibet (dBus), Nepal and India.

¹¹ Cf. his poem entitled *Têng Hsiang-kuo-ssü lou*^[32] or "Ascending the Tower of the Hsiang-kuo-ssü Temple", *Ibid.*, *Hsia*, fol. 6b. The Hsiang-kuo-ssü is a famous Buddhist temple which existed in what is now K'ai-fêng, called Ta-liang^[33] in the poem.

¹² Cf. his poem *Sui-ti*^[34] or "The Bank of Sui (Canal)", *Ibid.*, *Hsia*, fol. 21a-b.

[30] 僧錄司 [31] 右街善世 [32] 登相國寺樓 [33] 大梁
[34] 隋堤

lao-kuan^[35] 13, Han-ku-kuan¹⁴, Shan-chou¹⁵, T'ung-kuan¹⁶, Ch'ang-an¹⁷, Fu-fêng¹⁸, and Fêng-hsiang¹⁹, and, travelling the river Lung²⁰, he went to the Ho-yüan region, the source of the Yellow River²¹. He must have stayed at Ho-chou and Nien-po or Hsi-ning as he wrote a poem named *Ho Huang man-hsing*^[44] 22 or "Amusing Impressions of the Region of Ho-chou and Huang-chou" on his way to the source of the Yellow River.

According to the poems contained in the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, fol. 22a, he passed the country of I-pa-li^[45] or Nepal²³, that is to say, Kathmandu, and went to north-eastern India where he climbed Ling-chiu-shan^[52] or Gr̥dhraakūṭa in the region of Patna²⁴ and Chi-tsu-shan^[54] or Kukkuṭapāda-giri

¹³ Cf. *Hu-lao-kuan*, *Ibid.*, Hsia, fol. 6a-b.

¹⁴ Cf. *Tsu-lung ko-hsing*^[36] or "The Song of Tsu-lung or Ch'in Shih-huang-ti", *Ibid.*, Shang, fol. 13b.

¹⁵ Cf. *Yeh su Shan-chou*^[37] or "Staying at Shan-chou over Night", *Ibid.*, Shang, fol. 40a.

¹⁶ Cf. *Tu T'ung-kuan*^[38] or "Passing T'ung-kuan", *Ibid.*, Hsia, fol. 28a.

¹⁷ Cf. *Ch'ang-an-lao*^[39] or "The Streets of Ch'ang-an", *Ibid.*, Shang, fol. 8a; *Ch'ang-an Shao-nien-hsing* or "Youngsters in Ch'ang-an", *Ibid.*, Shang, fol. 13b—14a; *Ch'ang-an hsüeh-chung* or "In the Snow of Ch'ang-an", *Ibid.*, Hsia, fol. 7a

¹⁸ Cf. (*Hsiao*) *Fa Fu-fêng*^[40] or "Starting from Fu-fêng (in the Early Morning)", *Ibid.*, Hsia, fol. 7a-b.

¹⁹ Cf. *Kuo Fêng-hsiang*^[41] or "Passing Fêng-hsiang", *Ibid.*, Hsia, fol. 10a.

²⁰ Cf. *Lung-f'ou-shui*^[42] or "The River from Mt. Lung", *Ibid.*, Shang, fol. 10b; *Tu Kuan Lung*^[43] or "Passing Mt. Kuan and Mt. Lung", *Ibid.*, Shang, fol. 49a.

²¹ Cf. *Wang Ho-yüan* or "Commanding a Distant View of the Source of the Yellow River", *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, fol. 22a-b; *Ming-shih-tsung*, c. 90, fol. 10b. However, it is not clear whether this poem was written on his way going or on his way back.

²² *Ch'üan-shih wai-chi*, Hsia, fol. 16b—17a. This may also be a work composed on his way back.

²³ The character *i* is pronounced as *i*, *gi*, *ji*, *ki*, *fi*, *ngi* in modern Chinese, see Section of Chinese Language and Literature, Department of Linguistics, University of Peking, *Hanyu Fangyin Zihui*^[46], Peking, 1962, p. 71, and *Ch'üan-kuo chu-yao fang-yen-ch'ü lang-yin tui-chao-piao*^[47], Peking, 1954, p. 99. As to the dialectical pronunciation of this character, also see B. KARLGRÉN, *Études sur la phonologie chinoise*, Leyden et Stockholm, 1915—1926, pp. 362, 725. In Chê-chiang Province from which Tsung-lê came out, the character is now pronounced *ngi*. In other records of Ming, Nepal is usually transcribed as Ni-pa-la^[48]. But, here Nepal is the only country to be identified with I-pa-li. The poem entitled *I-pa-li kuo-wang ch'ien-shih chih-kuan so wei-wên*^[49] or "The King of I-pa-li sent an Envoy to the House Where I stayed to inquire after My Health". In the poem it is said that the envoy wore a turban of woolen cloth (*lieh-pu*^[50]) and that his forehead was dotted with oil of sandalwood (*t'an-kaio*^[51]). Actually, there is no clue to clarify which part of the valley of Nepal this I-pa-li represents. Tentatively, I take it to be Kathmandu.

²⁴ In the poem entitled *Têng Ling-chiu-shan* or "Climbing Gr̥dhraakūṭa", it is written that the mountain commands a view of Wang-shê-ch'êng^[53] or Rājagṛha where the inhabitants were still (leading the) simple (life).

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|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|
| [35] 虎牢關 | [36] 祖龍歌行 | [37] 夜宿陝州 | [38] 度潼關 |
| [39] 長安道 | [40] (曉)發扶風 | [41] 過鳳翔 | [42] 隴頭水 |
| [43] 度關隴 | [44] 河湟謾興 | [45] 宜八里 | [46] 漢語方音字匯 |
| [47] 全國主要方言區方音對照表 | [48] 泥八剌 | [49] 宜八里國王遣使至館所慰問 | [50] 氈布 |
| [51] 檀膏 | [52] 靈鷲山 | [53] 王舍城 | [54] 雞足山 |

between Gaya and Bihar²⁵. Both of them are noted places of Buddhism. This means that, after passing the source region of the Yellow River, he turned to the south and crossed the country of Tibet. Under the circumstances, the so-called Western Regions to which Tsung-lê was sent means Tibet, Nepal and north-eastern India.

On his way back, it seems that he took the same route as he had in going. In the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, fol. 22a, there is a poem entitled *Chung-ch'un I-pa-li kuo tao-chung*^[55] or *On the Way to Nepal at Mid-Spring*, in which he says that he is on his way home²⁶. In the same book, another poem, entitled *On Returning to My Former Residence in the Country of Pieh-li-chia-chu*, tells us that he came to the place again, that he had stayed there already for three months, and that everything was the same as when he came there before²⁷. So, on his way going he had visited the country of Pieh-li-chia-chu, which I propose to identify with Birganj²⁸. There is also a poem entitled *Tao Ho-chou* or *Arrival at Ho-chou*²⁹, in which he says: "A few months have passed since I left Wu-ssü-kuo^[57] or the country of dBus (Central Tibet). In the (white) snow, I went by the side of the Black River and crossed the Yellow River which was frozen." This may also show that on his way going he passed dBus.

It is recorded that his party consisted of about thirty people³⁰, but the names of his companions are unknown except one and even that one is only known in abbreviated form³¹.

The *Ê-li-ssü Chün-ming yüan-shuai-lu*, whose ambassador came to the Ming court together with Tsung-lê, is the Field-marshal Government to control both military and civil men established in *Ê-li-ssü*, that is to say, mNä'-ris (-skor-gsum), in February, 1375³². As to *Pa-chê wan-hu-lu*, it must

²⁵ In the poem entitled *Ti Chi-tsu-shan* or "Arrival at Kukkuṭapāda-giri", it is written that there was standing a gigantic, shining *stūpa* which even the demons could not destroy though they defaced it badly with their axes. The demons here mean Mohammedans who invaded the place at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

²⁶ At the end of the poem the author writes that it is just at the time the traveller is returning to the East.

²⁷ *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, fol. 22a. The title of the poem is *Ch'ung tao Pieh-li-chia-chu chiu-kuan*^[56].

²⁸ Birganj lies about 46 miles to the south of the valley of Nepal. It is situated on the route which connects north-eastern India and the valley of Nepal, and until recently it has played an important role as the gate city from India to Kathmandu.

²⁹ *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, fol. 22b; also *Ming-shih-tsung*, c. 90, fol. 10b.

³⁰ As thirty people in the *Tsêng-chi Hsü ch'uan-têng-lu*, c. 5 (*Dainihon Zoku Zōkyō*, I, 2, i, Vol. 15, Bk. 2, p. 431a) and as thirty-odd in Tsung-lê's biography in the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, fol. 9b-10a, which is reproduced in the manuscript edition of *Ch'üan-shih-chi*, fol. 1a.

³¹ See Note 5.

³² *Ming-shih-lu*, ed. Academia Sinica, T'ai-tsu, c. 96, p. 1b (Bk. 4, p. 1650), under the day of *kêng-wu* of the first month of the eighth year of Hung-wu (February 19, 1375). Thirteen *wan-hu-lu* or *k'ri-skor* were established on the first day of the second month of the sixth year of Hung-wu (March 3, 1372) see the *Ming-shih-lu*, T'ai-tsu, c. 79, p. 1a (Bk. 4, p. 1437), and four more on the day of *jên-ch'ên* of the twelfth month of the seventh year of Hung-wu (January 11, 1375), see the *Ming-shih-lu*, T'ai-tsu, c. 95, p. 1a (Bk. 4, p. 1641). The description of the *Ming-i-t'ung-chih*, c. 89, under *Hsi-tan* which lists only five *wan-hu-lu* established in 1372 and 1375, is not accurate.

be an inverse of *Chê-pa* which is an abbreviation of *P'a-mu-chu-pa*^[58]. Actually, according to the *Ming-shih-lu*, the *P'a-mu-chu-pa wan-hu-fu* is a *wan-hu-fu* or *k'ri-skor* established at the same time as *Ê-li-ssü Chün-ming yüan-shuai-fu* and no *wan-hu-fu* named *Pa-chê* was set up before 1381 or 1382 when Tsung-lê came back to China. *P'a-mu-chu-pa* is a Chinese transcription of *P'ag-mo-gru-pa* which is a well known place in dBus³³.

Tsung-lê's mission resulted in a collection of such *sûtras* as *Chuang-yen*^[59], *Pao-wang*^[60], *Wên-shu*^[61] and others. However, it is not clear what kind of *sûtras* these abbreviated titles actually represent.

In 1370, the monk K'o-hsin^[62] and two other monks were sent to the Western Regions in order to urge Tibetans to pay tributes to the Ming (newly established in China) and they were ordered to draw a map of mountains and rivers which they passed³⁴. The objective of K'o-hsin's mission was purely political, while Tsung-lê's entirely cultural. Nevertheless, Tsung-lê was suspected to have arranged for Tibetans to rise up against the Ming government in conjunction with Hu Wei-yung³⁵ [63], Hu Wei-yung was said to have prepared to revolt against the Emperor Hung-wu, and he was executed in 1380. Many of Tsung-lê's friends were arrested and executed, but, because of the Emperor Hung-wu's respect for him, Tsung-lê himself was spared execution.

³³ *P'ag-mo-gru-pa* is famous for the monastery of gDan-sa-mt'il founded by 'Gro-mgon *P'ag-mo-gru-pa* in 1158. Later on, during the rule of the *P'ag-mo-gru-pa* dynasty over central Tibet in the 14th to 15th centuries, gDan-sa-mt'il became their religious capital, while sNe'u-gdoñ was their political capital, the *k'ri-k'añ* or the seat of *k'ri-dpon* (governor) of the *K'ri-skor P'ag-mo-gru-pa* having been set up at sNe'u-gdoñ. The establishment of *P'a-mu-chu-pa wan-hu-fu* under the Ming dynasty may well be dated back to 1372, see Note 32. In 1381/2 when Tsung-lê took with him their tributary ambassador to the Ming capital, the *k'ri-dpon* or governor of the *P'a-mu-chu-pa wan-hu-fu* was bSod-nams-grags-pa, the fourth sDe-srid or Regent of the *P'ag-mo-gru-pa* dynasty. For the *P'ag-mo-gru-pa*, see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1949, Vol. I, pp. 17—39, and for descriptions, see S. Ch. Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, London, 1904, pp. 298—299; G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and beyond*, Rome, 1956, pp. 127—129.

³⁴ *Ming-shih-lu*, ed. Academia Sinica, T'ai-tsu, c. 53, p. 2b (Bk. 3, p. 1036), under the day of *kuei-hai* of the sixth month of the third year of Hung-wu (July 8, 1370). K'o-hsin's biography is in the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, fol. 50a; *Ming-shih-tsung*, c. 90, fol. 21a-b; *Ch'ien-ch'ing-t'ang shu-mu*, c. 28, fol. 48b. He is the author of *Hsüeh-lu-kao*^[64] or, according to the *Ming-shih-tsung* and *Ch'ien-ch'ing-t'ang shu-mu*, *Hsüeh-lu nan-hsün-kao*^[64] in one *chüan*. The *Gozanban* edition of this work is available in Japan, see Kazuma KAWASE, *Gozanban no Kenkyû*, Tokyo, 1970, pp. 208, 476—477. A copy of the *Gozanban* edition is available at the Naikaku Bunko in Tokyo, but I can not have access to it because of temporary closure of this library. However, seeing that the book has got a preface of CHOU Po-ch'i^[65] of 1364 (KAWASE, *Ibid.*, p. 476), it is quite unlikely that it has anything to do with his Tibetan mission.

³⁵ *Ch'ing-chih-chü shih-hua*, c. 23, fol. 21b; *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Pt. Jun 1, fol. 9b; *Hsü Têng-ts'un-kao* (*Dainihon Zoku Zôkyô*, I, 2, i, Vol. 18, Bk. 1, fol. 72a); and *Ch'ien-ch'ing-t'ang shu-mu*, c. 28, fol. 48a.

[58] 怕木竹巴 [59] 莊嚴 [60] 寶王 [61] 文殊 [62] 克新
[63] 雪廬棗 [64] 南詢棗 [65] 周伯琦 [66] 胡惟庸

The mission of Fu An^[67] and Ch'en Ch'eng^{36 [68]} to Central Asia at the beginning of Ming is very well known, while no mention has ever been made by scholars about Tsung-lê who preceded the above two. This is the reason why I wrote this short article³⁷.

³⁶ Concerning Fu An's mission, a brief note is given by E. BRETSCHNEIDER, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, London, 1910, Vol. II, pp. 144—145, on the basis of the *Yeh-huo-pien, pu-i*^[60] (c. 4, fol. 46a-b). However, Fu went to the Western Regions six times, of which the description of the *Yeh-huo-pien* concerns the first one. As to Ch'en Ch'eng (and Li Ta)'s^[70] mission, besides BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, pp. 147—148, there are researches made by L. C. GOODRICH, *Ch'en Ch'eng*, in the *Ch'ing-chu Chiang Wei-fang Hsien-shêng Ch'i-shih Jung-ch'ing Lun-wên-chi*^[71], Taipei, 1968 pp. 426—420 (1—7); Hsiang Ta ("Hsi-yü hsiing-ch'êng-chi"^[72], *Yü-kung*, Vol. II, 3 and 4, 1934, pp. 31—41, 18—28); Kiichirô KANDA^[73] ("Min no Chin Sei no Shiseikiki ni tsuite", *Tôyô Gakuhô*, Vol. 16, 1927, pp. 351—372, which is later included in his *Tôyôgaku Zeirin*, Tokyo, 1948, pp. 23—56); Jun MATSUMURA ("Minshi Seikiden U-ten kô"^[74], *Tôyô Gakuhô*, Vol. 37, 1955, pp. 78—103); and Takayuki MITSUI^[75] ("Min no Chin Sei no Seishi ni tsuite", in the *Yamashita Sensei Kanreki Kinen Tôyôshi Ronbunshû*^[76], Tokyo, 1938, pp. 589—614. Cf. Shigekuni HAMAGUCHI's^[77] review in the *Rekishigaku Kenkyû*, Vol. 8, 1940, pp. 105—107). Before Fu An's mission, K'uan Ch'ê and his companions were sent to Hami, Beshbalik and Samarkand, and K'uan Ch'ê^[78] was detained at Beshbalik. The *Ming-shih-lu* records T'ai-tsu's edict to the king of Beshbalik commanding him to return K'uan Ch'ê to China, see the *Ming-shih-lu*, ed. Academia Sinica, T'ai-tsu, c. 249, p. 4a-b (Bk. 8, pp. 3611—3612), under the day of *ting-ch'ou* of the third month of the thirtieth year of Hung-wu. It is said that Dr. Morris ROSSAÏ's English translation of Ch'en Ch'eng's reports of his Central Asian mission will appear shortly, see L. C. GOODRICH's introduction to *A Persian Embassy to China, being an Extract from Zubdatu't Tawarikh of Hafiz Abru*, translated by K. M. Maitra, New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp, 1970, p. iii. I myself am preparing to publish an article on Fu An's mission on the basis of several Ming sources which were not utilized by BRETSCHNEIDER.

³⁷ According to the *Ming-shih-lu*, a group of Indian monks (Kumâraśri and others) left China for their native country on the day of *kuei-wei* of the ninth month of the fourteenth year Hung-wu (September 28, 1381) after their six years' stay in Wu-t'ai-shan, see the *Ming-shih-lu*, ed. Academia Sinica, T'ai-tsu, c. 139, p. 2a-b (Bk. 5, pp. 2187—2188). It is quite probable that Tsung-lê obtained some information about India from these people. Because of the loss of the *Hsi-yu-chi* in which Tsung-lê wrote in poem form of his various experiences in the Western Regions, we know nothing about what Tsung-lê actually did in the regions. Considering that he was suspected to have made some arrangement between Tibetans in Tibet and Hu Wei-yung (see Note 34), one of his missions to the Western Regions might have been to inspect the condition of Tibetans in Tibet.

- [67] 傅安 [68] 陳誠 [69] 野獲編補遺 [70] 李達
[71] 慶祝蔣慰堂先生七十榮慶論文集 [72] 向達：西域行程記
[73] 神田喜一郎 [74] 松村潤：明史西域傳于闐考 [75] 滿井隆行
[76] 山下先生還曆記念東洋史論文集 [77] 濱口重國 [78] 寬徹