

omens, required some kind of corrective action. Among the evil portents—droughts, fires, lightning, earthquakes, “darkness, rain, thunder, and hail,” sunspots and other unusual celestial phenomena—all were generally countered by a ritualistic response presumably based on cosmological theory. Similarly, famines (irrespective of their cause), locust plagues, and hailstorms were all classified as portents in the monograph on omens but, at least in those cases reported in the *Basic Annals*, were met by non-ritualistic measures, such as providing emergency food relief or remitting taxes. Floods were in a somewhat different category. In some cases at least, they could not be blamed on unusual weather but resulted from failure on the part of officials to maintain dikes in good condition. Floods as such were not treated as portents, therefore, but extremely heavy or prolonged rains might be. When droughts were reported, the emperor (and in at least one case, other members of his family) responded by personal self-denial, fasting, and sacrifice. On some occasions, he ordered the examination of defects in administration and in juridical proceedings. A period of “darkness, rain, thunder, and hail” and a period of frequent sunspots also occasioned reviews of governmental performance. Three times the inner city of the capital was struck by lightning. The first two times, T'ai-tsu responded with general amnesties for convicted criminals, which suggests that he may have understood the lightning bolts as a sign that some of his subjects may have been unjustly condemned or that his regime had become excessively severe. On the third occasion, T'ai-tsu decreed an end to the employment of conscript labor on the estates of the imperial princes. A series of unspecified celestial portents in 1376 inspired the emperor to solicit criticism of his own conduct. Although partial solar eclipses were reported with remarkable frequency, about one every two years, both in the *Veritable Records* and in the *Basic Annals*, they cannot have been taken very seriously as portents. In no case was any response indicated and elsewhere in the *Ming History* they were dealt with not in the monograph on omens but in the calendar monograph, along with generally predictable, and therefore normal, phenomena.

As against about thirty evil portents recorded (excluding solar eclipses), the *Basic Annals* mention only three auspicious ones. In 1369, a “sweet dew” was found to have appeared on pine-trees near the palace. This became the subject of a discussion among court officials (of which the historian Sung Lien has left an account).^{*} They recommended to T'ai-tsu that he report the happy event to his ancestors, but he declined to do so. He had no misgivings, however, about the gift of “auspicious wheat” in 1373 and he made an announcement in the Ancestral Temple. The third auspicious omen, a sudden clearing of the skies during the annual suburban sacrifice in 1387, was welcomed with an address by T'ai-tsu on sincerity in rulership.

The kind of cautious and respectful attitude assumed by the T'ai-tsu in the *Basic Annals* in relation to portents and natural disasters appears also in his handling of relations with the Yüan regime, its dynastic heirs and former officials. Before his entronement, he is shown to have dealt honorably with Yüan officials or noblemen who were killed or taken by his soldiers. Many of these, whose names sometimes indicate foreign origin, were given titles of nobility, honored posthumously or, if still living, induced to serve in the new regime. In his statements on the Yüan during these early years of his career, he is not represented as ever having denied the original legitimacy of the Yüan. In his 1356 speech on taking over the city of Nan-ching, he merely pointed to the chaos into which the empire had lately fallen under their rule. At the time of his elevation to the rank of prince in 1364, he spoke of the Yüan's troubles as “a mirror to our own imperfection.” Their failings were then to be regarded as those to which any state might succumb.

T'ai-tsu's formal relationship with Yüan is shown retrospectively by the *Basic Annals* as having undergone a change in 1370, three years after he first adopted his own reign title. From this time on, the imperial heirs of Yüan are referred to as the *Yüan chün* 元君 (“Yüan ruler”) or the *Yüan ssü-chün* 元嗣君 (“Yüan hereditary ruler”). In 1370, T'ai-tsu posthumously invested the last Yüan

^{*}Sung Lien 宋濂, *T'ien-chiang Kan-lu sung* 天降甘露頌, *Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi* 宋學士文集, ch. 1. Taipei, 1965.

emperor (the last according to official Chinese historiography), as Shun Ti 順帝, ("Compliant Emperor"). Since this ceremony was one properly performed by an heir of the person invested, in this case it implied both the (now terminated) legitimacy of the Yüan dynasty and the present legitimacy of the Ming. Shun Ti's own descendants were now disinherited of the Mandate of Heaven but might still enjoy the rule over their own people in a Chinese imperial order in which they were all obedient subjects. The nearly constant warfare between the Ming armies and the Mongols, which is often referred to in the *Basic Annals*, makes it sufficiently clear that the political realities did not conform to this pattern, however. An apparent contradiction in the treatment of T'ai-tsu's policy in the *Veritable Records* and the *Basic Annals* is that before 1370, both T'ai-tsu and the Yüan ruler are referred to as "emperor," thus unnecessarily confusing the issue of sovereignty.

Correct handling of relations with the preceding dynasty was only the beginning of the process of dynastic legitimation. It was still necessary to demonstrate by policy, law, and ceremony that the new regime was fully comparable to past dynasties in the imperial tradition and had what was then considered to be the correct ideological orientation. The strange origin of Ming in a messianic secret sect was, as we have already seen, a source of embarrassment to the compilers of the *Basic Annals* and it was all the more necessary to show the first emperor as a very paragon of orthodoxy and as the modest and respectful patron of scholars. Otherwise, the precedent of the Ming founding might well have undermined the status and governmental role of the scholars as a class. Not one reference direct or indirect to the ideology of the White Lotus Society can be found in the *Basic Annals* and the Society itself (which is only obliquely referred to in any case, in terms of a few of its leaders) drops out of the text altogether after 1367, the year of Han Lin-erh's death. This is in spite of the fact that for years afterwards T'ai-tsu was engaged in the suppression of rival segments of the Society. Not only is the messianic heresy totally expunged from the record, but Buddhism and Taoism, in any form, are barely acknowledged. On the positive side, much evidence of the emperor's orthodoxy is marshalled by the compilers. The *Basic Annals* tells us that (with a heroic disre-

gard for ideological consistency), T'ai-tsu formally presented himself in temples of Confucius in 1356 and 1360 while he was still an officer in the service of the White Lotus Society and using its reign-title. He continued his public service to Confucius when, as emperor, he conducted the traditional sacrifice of an ox to the First Teacher, bestowed honors on the heirs of the sage, and subsidized the cult centers at Confucius' birthplace in Ch'ü-fu and in the State Academy. He ordered that sacrifices to Confucius be conducted throughout the empire and he granted special privileges to the descendants of the disciple Yen Hui 顏回 and of Mencius 孟子.

Another way in which the emperor's relationship to imperial orthodoxy and tradition was expressed was in his approach to education. T'ai-tsu, in his own writings and in statements attributed to him, repeatedly acknowledged his Buddhist, and therefore unorthodox, beginnings in the local temple, and even as emperor, he admitted his lack of erudition. While his later interest in classical studies and his patronage of classical scholarship may have defined his mature attitude towards the tradition, however, it does not follow that he had accepted all of the values and mores and the elitist role of the literati. From what one finds in the *Basic Annals*, it would appear that he was fully persuaded of the value of the classical tradition as he understood it and that he believed in reducing that tradition to its essentials and making it available to the greatest possible number of people. (In this, he was carrying to its logical conclusion a trend toward public education that had begun in the Sung.) The rationalistic ethic that formed the core of the elite tradition made it possible for T'ai-tsu to adopt its principles without adopting its elitism.

T'ai-tsu began his own classical education in 1358 when he summoned thirteen scholars from Che-chiang to give him instruction in "classics and history." His interest in providing for the education of his subjects began almost as early and continued through his imperial reign. In areas where heavy fighting had taken place, the Yüan school system had been shattered. In 1359, T'ai-tsu established a prefectural school in Che-chiang and a year later formed an Office of Confucian Academies in his capital, un-

der the direction of Sung Lien. In 1365, in the course of developing his central administration, he established a State Academy, which was normally an imperial institution. The utopian dimensions of his plans for public education were revealed in an edict of 1375. At that time, in addition to existing local schools, at county level and above, he ordered the establishment of a school by every village association, which would have put at least a basic education within the reach of every peasant who had time to study. In 1380, moreover, he ordered local officials to provide daily rations for teachers and students in all the schools. That such a scheme could ever have been successfully carried out uniformly throughout the empire is hard to believe, but there is no reason to doubt that T'ai-tsu meant his order to be obeyed. Nearly all of T'ai-tsu's military officers were originally peasants like himself and he undertook to provide them with at least a smattering of classical learning. In 1370, he arranged for classes in "classics and history" to be held in the capital for the special benefit of military officers. In 1377, he admitted a number of sons and younger brothers of officers to the State Academy, where they might consort with students oriented toward careers in civil service. T'ai-tsu's ideas about the kind of education to be offered in the schools are represented in the *Basic Annals* as having been highly conservative. In his first year as emperor, he directed the public schools not to give instruction in "empty literary studies," and in a decree of 1381, he commended the Five Classics and the Four Books to the schools of North China. Sound classical training was not to be undermined by the pursuit of elegance and elite fashions.

As scholars in the classical tradition, the compilers of the *Veritable Records* and the *Basic Annals* also devoted a large share of their attention to the relations between T'ai-tsu and the literati of his own day. Here too, they could expect to find evidence of the "correct" orientation that brought the destined founder of the Ming to the throne. In this regard, the dominant image of T'ai-tsu in the *Basic Annals* is that of a ruler fully committed to the idea that the empire could not possibly have been governed without the help of a great civil administrative establishment and who was, therefore, profoundly respectful towards the men of learning who

alone could perform this function. A speech attributed to T'ai-tsu in 1368 even carried flattery of the scholars to the point of sycophancy as he tried to persuade them to enter his service. Although the civil service examination system was re-instituted in 1367, it was suspended from 1373-1382. Even after 1382, the main reliance in recruiting officials was on the alternative method of recommendation. Again and again, T'ai-tsu sent officials out in search of men of various ages and conditions who possessed sufficient skill and were of good character to occupy civil office. His frequent references to men of ability who were living in retirement bears out the impression given by the urgency of his appeals, that there were many qualified men who simply refused to answer the emperor's call. The *Basic Annals* carries out the theme of an emperor courting the scholars by reporting the gifts and dispensations to his civil officials by which he showed his solicitude for them and their families.)

One of the largest categories of data in the *Basic Annals* has to do with ceremonial (court, official, and popular) and, most particularly, sacrifice. Even more than his educational policy, T'ai-tsu's handling of this side of his imperial responsibility defined his relation to ideological orthodoxy and confirmed the legitimacy of his authority. T'ien Lan-fang, in his preface to T'ang Pin's drafts, observed that T'ai-tsu had taken an active part in the determination of ceremonial procedures and he regretted the impossibility of the compilers dealing with this topic at length within the narrow limits of the *Basic Annals*. Indeed, if one proceeds from the entries in the *Basic Annals* to the originals in the *Veritable Records*, one discovers that the latter source contains an immense amount of material on this subject. In the early years of his reign, T'ai-tsu organized official commissions to study records of ceremonial, with particular emphasis on those of T'ang. The work of the commissions was published in large compilations, several of which are noted in the text.

The ceremonial round of imperial duties was necessary, but not sufficient in itself, to establish right relations between T'ai-tsu and the cosmos. He made offerings to Heaven, Earth, Shang-ti (the principal deity of highest antiquity), and to the gods of soil and

grain. He offered sacrifice also to the spirits of the dead: to the mythical and historical rulers of past dynasties, to Confucius, to his own ancestors, to fallen comrades and deserving officials and even to some loyal servants of Yüan. He elevated his father to a high place among the cosmic powers when he made him the joint recipient of sacrifices to Earth and to Shang-ti. Important events, on occasion, were announced to the imperial ancestors in the Ancestral Temple. Tradition was served by reinstatement of the Great Archery Ceremony and the Community Wine-Drinking Ceremony. Court banquets were held on occasions when the emperor received the congratulations of his officials. Agricultural prosperity was furthered by performance of the plowing of the Imperial Field. The formal life of the imperial regime was orchestrated in sound and color by the careful determination of the correct ceremonial music and official dress. We are assured in the *Basic Annals* that beyond the care and scholarship that was invested in the ceremonial by his officials, T'ai-tsu brought to it the sincerity that was required to make it effective.

The *Basic Annals'* image of T'ai-tsu as a charismatically qualified hero is completed, mainly in the first chapter, by his sound generalship. Extended statements by T'ai-tsu are given us in which he expounds general principles of military strategy and the art of gaining the support of the civil population. In other statements, he offers shrewd analyses of his immediate strategic situation, demonstrates the inadequacy of the views offered by his officers (including his favorite foil, Ch'ang Yü-ch'un), and then makes known his own plans. The compilers single out for particular emphasis his skill in using his army politically. T'ai-tsu represented himself in addresses to his officials and to community leaders in newly-occupied places as caring only to deliver the people—his people—from fear and hunger and the hazards of unjust and rapacious officials. The political effectiveness of this approach depended entirely upon the ability of his officers to maintain discipline among the troops when a battle had been won and they were entering a fallen city. Looting and vandalism were to be punished without mercy. The *Basic Annals* convey the impression that T'ai-tsu was generally successful in this and that the inhabitants of places taken by his armies rejoiced in their liberation. In the

longer run, T'ai-tsu attempted to lighten the burdens of military requisitions by promoting food production in the army. (This was not a new practice, but it had presumably been neglected during the years of large-scale civil war.) In areas where the drain of military exactions had been particularly heavy, T'ai-tsu mollified the civil population by granting wholesale tax-remissions. By such means he sought to make his rule the preferred alternative among the masses of ordinary people.

The compilers of the *Basic Annals* generally observed their imperial subject from a respectful distance and in a definite ideological perspective. The effect was to present him as an actor performing a role that had been written for him. To the limited extent that they conveyed some idea of T'ai-tsu as an individual human being, they did so indirectly by supplying revealing incidents and speeches. The story of his difficulties with the other officers at Ho-chou in 1355 skillfully establishes certain character traits at the start of his career. Rather than fall back on the derived authority of his commission from Kuo Tzu-hsing, T'ai-tsu carefully led his rivals into a trap, shamed them, and made it psychologically impossible for them to continue their open defiance of the better man. Only after he had won his case did he ratify his command by producing the document. When the roles were reversed and T'ai-tsu defied superior authority, he won again. After Kuo Tzu-hsing died, T'ai-tsu arbitrarily elbowed aside his late chief's appointed heirs and took over his command. Here the charismatic hero used his hero's license to execute a coup against those who would stand in the way of the fulfillment of his destiny. In one of their rare direct commentaries, the compilers at this point explain why it was that T'ai-tsu, even while defying the will of his superiors, continued to use the reign-title of the White Lotus Society state. The explanation is not one that does him much credit; his motive was simply opportunistic and its inclusion here must again be understood as meaning that such behavior may be laudable in such a man, marked as he was, by destiny for a heroic role. His opportunism is once again apparent in his attempt to ingratiate himself with the Yüan general, Ch'a-han T'ieh-mu-erh, in 1361 because he was impressed by his strength. A necessary condition for the justification of such behavior apparently was that he

maintain his altruistic purposes and the favor of Heaven. We have already seen the role played in his career by respectfully noted portents. He was careful also to avoid even the suspicion that he might be anything other than the disinterested servant of Heaven and defender of the people. He was represented on several occasions as refusing gifts, denying himself personal luxuries and as retaining through his spectacular career the common touch of the simple peasant in whose guise he made his appearance in the world. Again and again, he prefaced his decrees and his addresses to his officials by reminding them of his peasant origin. His social background was and remained an important part of his self-image, with its implications of essential honesty, uprightness, and simplicity.

The *Basic Annals*' characterization of T'ai-tsu is least plausible in relation to his treatment of his old followers. The text furnishes copious, one might even say gratuitous, evidence of the reign of terror under which his officials, including some of his oldest and most trusted friends, must have lived during the great purge trials. It is not necessary to assume that references to frequent executions of old comrades were included only out of respect for their source in the *Veritable Records*. The founding of the Ming dynasty was, after all, the work of many hands. The martyrdom of many of the builders could not have gone unrecorded in the *Basic Annals* without a great injustice having been done to them. Moreover, it may have been their intention to get T'ai-tsu's tyrannical side into the record as a warning of the hazards of official service to the state. But is it possible to reconcile the terrible fact of the purges with the benign image of the *Basic Annals*' T'ai-tsu, the predestined world-emperor? The compilers will go only so far as to speak directly of his "severity" as one of his imperial traits. Did they then really believe that all the victims of the purges were guilty as charged? This seems highly unlikely. On the evidence of the text, one may only guess the compilers felt that they were confronted with a tragic necessity of such scale and on such a level as to defy comprehension.

We have been concerned so far with the person and career of Ming T'ai-tsu as these were interpreted for us by the compilers of

the *Basic Annals*. Something also needs to be said about the large cast of characters who were admitted to a share in the official record of the dynastic founding. On breaking down the cast of three hundred and twenty persons into several categories, one may be reminded of the K'ang-hsi Emperor's injunction to the historiographical commission not to slight military achievements at the expense of the civil. If the warning was needed, it achieved the intended effect; the military men dominate the scene:

Imperial Family	36
Own Military Officers	122
Own Civil Officials	62
Yüan Supporters	49
Rival Anti-Yüan Rebels	30
Aborigines of China	4
Foreigners Other Than Yüan	12
Others	5
	<hr/>
	320*

By place of origin (Ming province), the Chinese members of the cast may be divided:

	Military	Civil	Other Rebels	Chu Clan	Total
Nan-ching	72	17	5	36	130
Hu-kuang	5	3	6		14
Ho-nan	1	2			3
Kuang-tung	1	1			2
Shan-hsi	1	3			4
Che-chiang	1	9	2		12
Chiang-hsi	1	2			3
Pei-p'ing		1	2		3

*Past historical figures mentioned in the text, such as Confucians, are excluded from these tables.

Shan-tung	1				1
Fu-chien	1				1
Kuang-hsi			1		1
Not Known	40	22	14		76
	122	62	30	36	250

The preponderance of Nan-ching men is clear from the above table, even in the category of civil officials, which shows a somewhat wider distribution. The military men were nearly all from there. This is likely to be a reflection of T'ai-tsu's preference for men of his own region and for men who had served with him from the early days of his career as a rebel.

(If the persons mentioned in the text are divided by sex, it should surprise no one that men are in a large majority: 318:2, the two women being the emperor's mother and his principal wife.)

It would thus be possible to say without great violence to the facts that the *Annals* present the dynastic founding mainly as the achievement of Nan-ching military men, aided by a smaller number of civil officials most of whom were from Nan-ching and Che-chiang. The preponderance of the military side of the account is even greater than the above tables would suggest, when it is considered that if the numbers of civil and military officials are multiplied by the number of times they are mentioned in the text (that is, if one takes into account the relative prominence of civil and military officials in the text) we find that there are about five hundred references to military officials as against only about ninety references to the civil officials. There are sixty references to General Hsü Ta alone, as against only eleven for Li Shan-ch'ang, the most prominent civil official. The impression of a military bias in the account may well indicate a feeling on the part of the compilers that the virtue of the new dynasty was most clearly tested on the battlefield. The intense interest in military affairs on the part of the civil officials who compiled the *Veritable Records* and the *Basic Annals* is also reflected in the fact that the most extended and most stirring narrative in this generally laconic text is that of the battle of Po-

yang Lake.

Another measure of the prominence of individuals in the text is given in the practice of investing imperial favorites with titles of nobility. Apart from the imperial family, which shall be discussed separately, the most important category of titled nobility was that of the Meritorious Officials. These investitures were in the ranks of duke, marquis and earl (as well as a few titles of prince, awarded posthumously only) and were of two kinds, investitures of living persons (who might be the heirs of the person first honored if he had died before he could be invested) and posthumous investitures. In the first case, the investiture was normally hereditary and carried a stipend. In the latter case, the investiture was nonhereditary. Fifty-five persons holding investitures of the first type were mentioned in the *Basic Annals* and fourteen of the latter type. Another category of investiture was that of the "Marquis by Imperial Grace," of which there was but one case, that of Liu Chi-tsu. Of the sixty-nine Meritorious Officials, only six were civil, the rest military.

Consideration of T'ai-tsu's officials and their rewards brings us to the most conspicuous skeleton in his closet: the great bureaucratic purges of his imperial reign (especially those centering on Hu Wei-yung and Lan Yü), and the lesser episodes of suspected treason followed by execution that preceded his reign. Earlier, we had seen how the information culled from the *Veritable Records* had generally revealed and documented for T'ai-tsu the virtues appropriate to a dynastic founder. The compilers, however, appear to have had too high a regard for the truth (abetted perhaps by some negative feelings about their subject) to make the sordid aspects of his career simply disappear. We have already noted that the connection with the White Lotus Society was already indirectly acknowledged. Similarly, the great treason cases are also allowed to leave their traces in the record. For the military officers, the *Basic Annals* record the execution of fifteen and the banishment of one; and for the civil officials, the execution of eleven, banishment of two, suicide of one. Little or nothing in each case is said about the nature of the charges and the grounds for conviction, which presumably reflects a certain embarrassment about these

matters. The compilers of the *Veritable Records* said little, and the compilers of the *Basic Annals* say even less. The determination of the compilers to bring this dismal record to light, however, is attested to by the fact that two of the military men and no less than nine of the civil officials are mentioned in the text *only* in connection with their punishments.

The imperial family, with a few exceptions, is less prominent in the *Basic Annals* than the large numbers of individuals mentioned in the text would lead one to expect. Of T'ai-tsu's fifteen or more consorts, only one, Empress Ma, is even mentioned.* Most of the twenty-six sons are mentioned only perfunctorily (one, who died in infancy, is not named at all) although a few of the older ones are represented in roles of some importance. Chu Piao, who was appointed principal heir in 1364, was sent to the historian, Sung Lien, in 1360, at the tender age of five, to begin his classical studies and is shown generally with his father in the capital being trained for his future responsibilities as emperor. The careful preparation came to nought when Piao died at the age of thirty-seven in 1392, to be succeeded as heir apparent by his son, the future Chien-wen Emperor. Twenty-four of the sons were invested as princes (excluding Piao and a son of T'ai-tsu who died in infancy) and twenty-two of those invested lived long enough to be settled on their princely estates (*wang fu* 王府). Although T'ai-tsu lived to the age of seventy, he was outlived by nineteen of his sons. The most prominent of the sons, apart from the original heir, were the princes of Yen, Chin, Chou, Ch'in, and Ch'u, all of whom commanded troops in the field, usually on the northern frontiers. The *Basic Annals* make it clear that T'ai-tsu was greatly concerned to manage his family and household firmly and properly, but some evidence is offered in the text that all was not always well among the sons and sons-in-law. The prince of Ch'in was punished in 1391 and detained for about a year in the capital, and the prince of Chou was sent into exile in Yünnan for a time in 1389-1390. The prince of T'an, fearing that he had been implicated in the reopened Hu Wei-yung treason trials, burned himself to death in 1390 to avoid having to confront his father. In general, however,

*See MS 116. 3a-3b for list of consorts and their sons.

the fact that a great majority of the sons outlived their father compares favorably with the violent death in battle or by execution of great numbers of T'ai-tsu's old generals.

T'ai-tsu had sixteen daughters, none of whom is mentioned in the text. All but two of the daughters lived long enough to be married. Of these, eight were married to imperial favorites (or sons or nephews of favorites) who are mentioned in the text. The eldest daughter was married to Li Ch'i, son of First Senior Chief Councilor, Li Shan-ch'ang. Others were married to Mei Yin 梅殷, nephew of Mei Ssu-tsu; Ou-yang Lun; Lu Chia 陸賈, son of Lu Chung-heng; Chang Feng-hsiang 張鳳翔, son of Chang Lung; Fu Chung 傅忠, son of Fu Yu-te; Hu Kuan 胡觀, son of Hu Hai; and Kuo Chen 郭鎮, son of Kuo Ying. If the purpose of these marriages was to strengthen bonds of loyalty and mutual trust among the "old guard" of the rebellion, the attempt was not particularly successful. The *Basic Annals* records the executions of Li Shan-ch'ang (Li Ch'i was spared), Fu Yu-te, Ou-yang Lun, and Lu Chung-heng.

The "real" Ming T'ai-tsu is hardly to be found in the translation that follows. This is not to say that this is bad history; rather, it is not history as much as it is an ideological tract in the form of an account of governmental activities. When the *Veritable Records* were composed and edited, in or before the early fifteenth century, the Ming dynasty was not at all secure. The seeming anomaly of barbarian rule during the Yüan had been followed by the differently disturbing and violent regime of Chu Yüan-chang and his peasant soldiers. Moreover, the founder's death had soon led to the struggle between the Yung-lo and Chien-wen emperors for the throne. Under these circumstances, it is to be expected that the official account of the dynastic founding should be aimed squarely at the task of demonstrating in orthodox neo-Confucian terms the legitimacy of the new regime.

*A NOTE TO THE READER: The *Annals* were compiled from the point of view of Chu Yuan-chang. Events of which he could not have had direct knowledge were presented under the date on which he learned of the event or acted on that knowledge.