

## Foreigners in the Metropolitan Police during the 15th Century

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In an earlier study of the Mongols in China during the last quarter of the 14th century, I have stated that many Imperial Guards comprised sizable numbers of Mongols, but that it was the Metropolitan Police, *Chin-i wei*<sup>[1]</sup> or Embroidered-Uniform Guard<sup>1</sup>, that continued in this "Mongol tradition" longer than any other Imperial Guard<sup>2</sup>. After further research I have now reached the conclusion that the presence of foreigners in the Metropolitan Police, mostly Mongols but with a good number of Central Asian Mohammedans and Jürčed from the Northeast, was due less to what I then vaguely called a "Mongol tradition" than to a deliberate policy of the Ming government. I would not go so far as to state that the Metropolitan Police of the 15th century was "packed" with non-Chinese. Yet from 1425 to 1479, the *Ming shih-lu* records 94 cases of foreigners being attached to the Metropolitan Police, either in Peking or Nanking. We must further consider that besides those 94 cases, during the same period, the *Shih-lu* records 333 cases of Mongols (including some Mohammedans) or Jürčed tribesmen moving into China proper and being assigned to some garrison town: the Jürčed usually in Liaotung, the Mongols mostly in Peking and surrounding areas, modern Hopei and Shantung. Out of these 333 cases, there are 120 cases of foreigners (mostly Mongols, rarely Jürčed) given permission to settle in Peking without further indication as to their military or other duties, although it is perfectly clear from numerous other parallel cases that the majority of foreigners who surrendered and moved into China were attached to military units.

Out of the 94 cases of foreigners assigned to the Metropolitan Police, in 67 cases the people involved are assigned to the Nanking Metropolitan Police; the rest are assigned to the Peking Metropolitan Police, or the *Chin-i wei* without further specification, which I assume to mean the Metropolitan Police in Peking.

<sup>1</sup> Charles O. HUCKER, "Governmental Organization of the Ming Dynasty," HJAS 21, 1958, 1—66. p. 60. See WANG Shih-chen [2] (1526—1590), *Chin-i wei* [3] in *Chi-lu hui-pien* ch. 195.

<sup>2</sup> H. SERRUYS, *The Mongols in China during the Hung-wu period* (1368—1398), vol. 11 of *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 1959, pp. 197—198, note 261.

We shall have to speak of "Mongols" and "Jürčed" only, because it is impossible to know whether the many Mohammedan names appearing in the *Shih-lu* passages referring to the Oyirad Mongols, indicate Central Asians in the service of the Oyirad, or Oyirad Mongols who had become Mohammedans, or Oyirad, who had adopted Mohammedan names. Consequently we shall classify those individuals bearing Mohammedan names together with the Mongols.

Here follows the chronological list of passages in the *Shih-lu* relating the assignment of one or more Mongols or Jürčed to the Metropolitan Police:

1425: 2 passages	1445: 1 passages	1456: 3 passages
1436: 2	1447: 2	1457: 6
1437: 2	1448: 8	1458: 7
1438: 5	1449: 3	1459: 4
1439: 1	1450: 2	1460: 2
1440: 3	1451: 3	1461: 1
1441: 1	1452: 14	1462: 1
1442: 1	1453: 4	1469: 1
1443: 2	1454: 6	1478: 1
1444: 2	1455: 4	94 passages

This list has been compiled after TAMURA Jitsuzō<sup>14)</sup>, *Mindai Mammō shiryō*, *Mōko hen* 2—5, and *Manshū hen* 1—3<sup>3</sup>. It should be noted that I have been unable to check Tamura's excerpts against the Nanking (1940) edition of the *Ming shih-lu*. Consequently I do not know whether he has left out any similar passages. It is not likely, however, that a few more cases would change the picture substantially. As we shall see later on, there exists other strong evidence that the number of foreigners in the Metropolitan Police was much higher than these 94 cases suggest.

These 94 passages concern mostly Mongols: only 20 passages refer to Jürčed tribesmen. It is difficult to determine what these 74 "Mongol" and the 20 "Jürčed" passages represent in terms of population. Many of the passages in question seem to refer to one person only; others refer to an undetermined number of persons, while mentioning only one by name. With regard to the Jürčed, one case mentions 34 individuals; four other

<sup>3</sup> The passages in question will be found on the following pages of TAMURA'S excerpts: 1425: *Mōko hen* (abbr. *Mok*) 2. 42, 74 (cf. p. 14); 1436: *Mok* 2. 404, 422; 1437: *Mok* 2. 492; 1438: *Manshū hen* (abbr. *Man*) 2. 49, 50; *Mok* 2. 514, 522, 546; 1439: *Mok* 2. 561; 1440: *Mok* 2. 610, 614; *Man* 2. 74; 1441: *Mok* 2. 638; 1442: *Man* 2. 121; 1443: *Mok* 3. 29, 50; 1444: *Mok* 3. 83, 90; 1445: *Mok* 3. 105—106, 169, 176; 1448: *Mok* 3. 178, 181, 184, 185, 192, 194, 196; 1449: *Mok* 3. 197, 206, 208; 1450: *Mok* 3. 355, 360, 370, 371, (373); *Man* 2. 262; 1452: *Mok* 3. 424, 428, 430—431, 435; *Man* 2. 274—290; 1453: *Mok* 3. 473, 475, 482; *Man* 2. 298; 1454: *Mok* 3. 495, 500, 501, 512; *Man* 2. 303 (304), 306; 1455: *Mok* 3. 517, 522; *Man* 2. 308, 309; 1456: *Mok* 3. 539, 549; *Man* 2. 312; 1457: *Mok* 3. 552, 568, 570, 575; *Man* 2. 320; 1458: *Mok* 3. 579, 580, 584, 603, 604, 605; 1459: *Mok* 3. 608, 609, 624—625; 1460: *Mok* 3. 626, 639; 1461: *Mok* 3. 646; 1462: *Mok* 3. 680; 1469: *Mok* 4. 144; 1478: *Mok* 4. 419.

14) 田村實造

passages speak of 12, 9, 4, and 2 persons respectively. With regard to the Mongols, there are ten cases involving 114, 70, 54, 40, 22, 10, 9, 8, 7, and 4 individuals respectively; there are three cases involving five; six cases involving 3; two cases involving six<sup>4</sup>; finally there are two cases of 23 individuals, but one of them is doubtful<sup>5</sup> as the individuals in question seem to be not 23 heads of families but the total number of people of this particular group including both men and women.

The more customary way to describe Mongol arrivals or surrenders is to relate that "so and so, in all so many men, leading their families, numbering so many individuals, both men and women, had arrived." But this standard expression is far from being the only one in use, and the texts do not always contain complete information. Very often nothing is said about families accompanying the newly surrendered men.

In four cases out of the 94 it is not immediately clear from the *Ming shih-lu* that incorporation into the Metropolitan Police is involved. Thus on January 13, 1425, is reported the grant of military ranks to five Oyirad who had recently surrendered. Ala-ud-Din is mentioned at the top of the list and he is also given the higher rank which leaves no doubt that he was the leader of the whole group. Apart from a list of presents given to them on this occasion no further information is furnished at this time. Later, in 1426, we read that Ala-ud-Din and others from the *Chin-i wei*, in all 23 men, received a grant of fields and grassland in the neighborhood of Peking<sup>6</sup>. Undoubtedly this is the same group already referred to in 1425, but now we find the additional information that the group did not consist of the five men mentioned by name, but of 23 men; further that they were under the jurisdiction (*tai-kuan*<sup>[5]</sup>) of the *Chin-i wei*. There is every reason to suppose that they had been incorporated into this organization in January 1425 when they were first granted their ranks, but the recorders failed to note it. The grant of fields and grasslands to these 23 men was intended of course to support their families although this is not expressly stated either.

A similar case occurred in 1425: first we are told that a group of 54 newly surrendered Oyirad under a certain Isü-buqa were granted houses and household equipment, oxen, sheep, and a monthly allowance of grain and fuel. Some time later Isü-buqa and his party are mentioned again: the Minister of Revenue requested that the Metropolitan Police issue their monthly allowance of grain<sup>7</sup>.

A third case which remains unclear unless we juxtapose several passages of the *Shih-lu* is that concerning a certain Pir-Muhammad in 1457. From 1451 on the name of this man appears at least a dozen times in the *Shih-lu*.

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<sup>4</sup> In one case it is not clear whether the names transcribed in Chinese characters are to be grouped into six or into seven namens: *Mok* 3, 552.

<sup>5</sup> *Mok* 3, 584.

<sup>6</sup> *Mok* 2, 14, 74.

<sup>7</sup> *Mok* 2, 42, 47.

always as an ambassador of the Oyirad rulers to the Ming court. Even as an ambassador he had been granted a high military rank by the Chinese, as was the custom then at the Ming court. But all of a sudden we read that the same Pir-Muhammad had gone on a diplomatic mission, not on behalf of the Oyirad to the Chinese imperial court, as we would expect, but to the "Northern" chieftain Po-lai for the Ming, and on his way back to China he brought with him over 70 relatives of his who were all sent to the *Chin-i wei* and given housing there<sup>8</sup>. This last detail makes it certain that Pir-Muhammad had gone over to the Ming and since his surrender had been in the Metropolitan Police. Shortly afterwards he was given the Chinese name Ma K'o-shun<sup>9</sup> and again a few days later eleven persons who had accompanied him on this embassy, were rewarded with promotions. It is interesting that the only one of those eleven mentioned by name bore a Mohammedan name like Pir-Muhammad himself<sup>9</sup>.

The fourth case to be mentioned concerns one "Tatar" name Sarta'ul whose surrender is recorded in 1436. On this occasion he was granted various presents and lodgings. Twenty-two years later, in 1458, his name appears once more in the *Shih-lu*. Here as an officer in the Metropolitan Police he reported to the government that five Oyirad who have just come over to China were his relatives and he asked permission for them to settle in Peking with him. This request was granted, and, if we compare it with the case of Pir-Muhammad, we may take it to mean that the five men were assigned to the Metropolitan Police<sup>10</sup>.

We have every reason to believe that in the four aforementioned cases the people involved were attached to the *Chin-i wei* immediately upon their surrender and arrival in China, although their new assignments were not noted down in the *Shih-lu*. In all the other cases, the records explicitly state that foreigners immediately upon their surrender were incorporated into the *Chin-i wei*.

In almost every case, when a Mongol (or a Jürčed, etc.) crossed into China and was attached to the Metropolitan Police, he was also given a military rank. The first thing to be noted in this connection is that some ranks given on these occasion are surprisingly high. For example we find such ranks as *tu-chih-hui*<sup>[7]</sup> (principal second grade: 2a), *chih-hui-shih*<sup>[8]</sup> (principal third grade: 3a), two ranks held by relatively important officers in the Ming army. Most of the time, however, the ranks granted were rather low, such as senior or junior chiliarch (grade: 5a), centurion, constable (*chen-lu*<sup>[9]</sup>, grade: 5b), or even the probationary *shih*<sup>[10]</sup> degree of these various lower ranks. As has been explained in the foregoing lines, Mongol envoys when visiting Peking were often granted similar military ranks; cases abound in the *Shih-lu*, and these ranks, too, are often surprisingly

<sup>8</sup> Mok 3. 568.

<sup>9</sup> Mok 3. 568, 572.

<sup>10</sup> Mok 2. 422; Mok 3. 581—582.

[6] 馬克順

[7] 都指揮

[8] 指揮使

[9] 鎮撫

[10] 試

high. Jürčed chieftains recognized by the Ming court as "Native chieftains", whose territories had been made "Protectorates,"<sup>11</sup> also held military ranks; so did their many underlings. Whenever a Mongol already holding a rank, no matter how high, or a Jürčed "Native chieftain" or one of his underlings expressed the desire to come over to China and was attached to the Metropolitan Police, he always kept his rank. For example, in 1451, two Mongol envoys with the ranks of junior chiliarch and constable, respectively, decided to remain in China, and kept their ranks when they were sent to Nanking<sup>12</sup>. In 1453, there arrived a Jürčed with the rank of *chih-hui-shih* (3a); he had just escaped from captivity in Mongolia, and crossed into China with his family. He kept his rank and as in the previous example was forwarded to Nanking<sup>13</sup>. Pir-Muhammad mentioned above was made a *chih-hui-shih* in January, 1439<sup>14</sup>, as an ambassador from the Oyrad, and on subsequent visits to the Chinese capital he was repeatedly promoted. Thus early in 1442<sup>15</sup>, he was granted the rank of *tu-chih-hui ch'ien-shih* (grade: 3a); in 1446, *tu-chih-hui l'ung-chih* (2b)<sup>16</sup>; early in 1448, *tu-chih-hui-shih* (2a), and only a few days later, *tu-tu ch'ien-shih* (2a)<sup>17</sup>; in 1450, after a semblance of peace had been restored between the Oyrad and China, he became a *tu-tu l'ung-chih* (1b)<sup>18</sup>; then in 1452, he was promoted from a right *tu-tu (l'ung-chih)* to the rank of a left *tu-tu ch'ien-shih*, as the text has it, but this is no doubt a copyist's error for *tu-tu l'ung-chih*<sup>19</sup>. At the time of Pir-Muhammad's definitive surrender to China his rank is indicated as left *tu-tu (l'ung-chih)* in the Posterior Army (*hou chün*), a rank which he retained<sup>20</sup>.

The case of Pir-Muhammad is a strong indication, if not a certain proof, that those ranks held by Jürčed and Mongols incorporated into the Metropolitan Police were merely honorary. We shall come back to this question.

If the records tell us that a good number of Mongols at the time of their surrender to China either were confirmed in ranks previously granted to

<sup>11</sup> See my paper "The Mongols of Kansu during the Ming," in *MCB* 10 (1955), esp. pp. 255—271.

<sup>12</sup> *Mok* 3. 371.

<sup>13</sup> *Man* 2. 298.

<sup>14</sup> *Mok* 2. 550.

<sup>15</sup> *Mok* 2. 668.

<sup>16</sup> *Mok* 3. 125.

<sup>17</sup> *Mok* 3. 178, 180.

<sup>18</sup> *Mok* 3. 355.

<sup>19</sup> *Mok* 3. 417. In fact the text reads *tso tu-tu tu-tu ch'ien-shih*. I believe that the second *tu-tu* must be read *l'ung-chih* and the two characters *ch'ien-shih* must be dropped. The terms *left* and *right* do not indicate a distinction in rank but only in precedence: *left* being superior to *right*. Those high ranks conferred upon foreign chieftains and their envoys could lead to embarrassing situations: for example in 1467, a certain Wu Chung (see below), himself of Jürčed descent and an officer in the Metropolitan Police, while holding the rank of "interim" *tu-chih-hui-shih* was sent on a diplomatic mission to various northeastern tribes. In order to give him the necessary prestige, however, his rank had to be changed to that of "interim" *tu-tu ch'ien-shih*, because some of the Jürčed chieftains held ranks higher than his.

<sup>20</sup> *Mok* 3. 568, 572.

them, or were specifically given new ones, in an even larger number of cases the records say no more than that these men were made *t'ou-mu*<sup>[11]</sup>. This term means "chieftain," "officer," or "leader" in general, and does not indicate any particular rank. What the concrete status of those many *t'ou mu* was is not immediately apparent. It certainly did not indicate any of the higher ranks, for in one case, out of a small number of "Northern Tatars" and "Qamil Tatars," some became *t'ou-mu*, while the rest were granted ranks no higher than constable<sup>21</sup>. The meaning of this *t'ou-mu* probably is to be sought in the Sino-Mongol vocabulary in the *Wu-pei-chih*<sup>22</sup>, where along with other names of military offices, *t'ou-mu* is also listed and translated into Mongol as *darqan*. In Mongol *darqan* is one who has been freed from taxation and corvée labor. It is a known fact that during the Ming, the military population was bound to furnish men to serve in the army but otherwise was not taxable. I believe that the term *t'ou-mu* = *darqan* precisely served to make clear to the Mongols joining the *Chin-i wei* that from now on they belonged to the military population and would not have to pay the regular taxes required from the civilian population. If this explanation is correct, *t'ou-mu* in this connection does not mean "chieftain, etc."

In many cases nothing at all is said about ranks or promotions being granted to newly surrendered Mongols, which does not necessarily mean that absolutely no recognition was given to them. Nothing was recorded.

Apart from the question of ranks, which as we have already suggested were mostly honorific, there is the problem of in what capacity the Mongols and Jürčed were incorporated into the Metropolitan Police. Our texts are formulated in various ways, but I believe that basically they all mean the same thing. Let us look at a few of the formulas employed. In some instances we read: "... was given (*shou*<sup>[12]</sup>) the rank of a centurion in the Nan-ching *Chin-i wei*<sup>23</sup>," or: "... was ordered to be (*ming wei*<sup>[13]</sup>) a junior chiliarch in the Nan-ching *Chin-i wei*<sup>24</sup>," In other passages we find such sentences as: "... were made *t'ou-mu* [or other specific titles] and all were settled (*an ch'a*<sup>[14]</sup>) in the Nan-ching *Chin-i wei*<sup>25</sup>," Another formula appearing very often is: "so and so expressed their desire to settle in the capital in order to distinguish themselves (in the Ming service); orders were issued to distinguish themselves (in the Ming service); orders were issued to put them under the jurisdiction (*li*<sup>[15]</sup>) of the *Chin-i wei*," or a little differently: "they were ordered to settle in Nan-ching under the

<sup>21</sup> Mok 3. 105—106.

<sup>22</sup> Mok 2. 610, 638, et passim.

<sup>23</sup> *Wu-pei-chih* 227.5a. The first part of this vocabulary (pp. 1—15) is taken from the *Teng-t'an pi-chiu*. In the many *Shih-lu* passages where we read that a Mongol chieftain sent a *t'ou-mu* to present the tribute to the emperor, *t'ou-mu* probably means *darqan*.

<sup>24</sup> Mok 3. 29, passim.

<sup>25</sup> Mok 3. 106, 420; Man 2. 275—280, passim.

jurisdiction of the *Chin-i wei*<sup>26</sup>. The formulas in fact are variously combined and very often contain other elements, more in particular expressions referring to salary and gifts. For example in the case of Isü-buqa mentioned above, the Ministry of Revenue requested that the *Chin-i wei* every month issue his salary and an allowance of grain<sup>27</sup>. Or we are told that "the *Chin-i wei* was to issue to them a salary (*chih feng* [16])<sup>28</sup>. In other cases the sentence may run as follows: "... were given ranks ... in the *Chin-i wei* with salary (*tai-feng* [17])<sup>29</sup>." The expression *tai-feng*, however, is a technical term to indicate such officers of a *wei* "commandery, garrison, or Guard" as received a salary without actually carrying out the duties normally connected with their ranks<sup>30</sup>, in other words that they held honorific ranks and salaries higher than their actual functions. Since all these expressions are continuously combined with each other and interchanged in various ways, I believe that the expression *chih-feng* "to pay a salary" which appears regularly in our texts is used with the same connotation.

Essentially the same expressions and formulas are used by the compilers of the *Shih-lu* when they relate that Jürčed tribesmen cross into Liaotung to offer their services and, as a result, are attached to any one of the regular garrisons of Liaotung<sup>31</sup>. We may mention in passing here that many Jürčed, apparently including a good number of Mongols, were settled in the two places called An-lo<sup>[19]</sup> chou and Tzu-tsai<sup>[20]</sup> chou. Those foreign residents are regularly referred to as "the Tatar officers with salary (*tai-feng*) of An-lo and Tzu-tsai"<sup>32</sup>.

Besides the many references to salary (*feng*), there are equally numerous passages telling us that the foreigners thus put under the Metropolitan

<sup>26</sup> Mok 2. 514, 561; Mok 3. 169, 181, 184, 196, 355, 370, 425, 431; Man 2. 49, 50, 262, 275, etc.

<sup>27</sup> Mok 2. 47.

<sup>28</sup> Mok 2. 492; Mok 3. 83, 90, 106, 206; Man 2. 274, passim.

<sup>29</sup> Mok 2. 378, 404, 495, 522; Man 2. 121, passim.

<sup>30</sup> *Ming-shih* 76. 19b "those who enter the army but do not carry out duties are *tai-feng*". Actual office was called *hsien-jen*<sup>[18]</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> There are examples of this in *Man* 2. 277 (1425), *Man* 3. 61, 131.

<sup>32</sup> For example in *Man* 2. 326, 522, 629. Tzu-tsai and An-lo (originally called K'uai-huo<sup>[21]</sup>) were two districts erected in K'ai-yüan<sup>[22]</sup> in 1408 (not 1409 as stated in the *Ming-shih* 41. 11a, 15a, Cf. *Man* 1. 227, 228) in order to settle such tribesmen as desired to move into the Chinese settled areas of Liaotung. Indeed the *Shih-lu* abounds in passages referring to "Tatars" living in An-lo and Tzu-tsai. In 1412, the two towns were rebuilt, or two new ones constructed (no names are indicated, however) outside the west gate of K'ai-yüan (I follow the reading of the Nanking edition of 1940 of the *Ming-shih-lu*, *Yung-lo shih-lu* 82. 8a which gives a better sense than TAMURA's text in *Man* 1. 261). The Jürčed (and Mongols?) living there enjoyed considerable liberty and sent regular tribute missions to Peking, not unlike other Jürčed in the Ming service in various garrisons of Liaotung. In the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, the Mongol *darqan* "free from taxation and corvée labor" is translated as *tzu-tsai*. I do not know whether this is the origin of the name of Tzu-tsai chou.

[16] 支俸

[17] 帶俸

[18] 見任

[19] 安樂

[20] 自在

[21] 快活

[22] 開原

Police were to receive a monthly allowance of two *shih* of grain (or rice?)<sup>33</sup>. Now two *shih* of grain was the amount allowed to plain soldiers serving in the Guards, probably including the lowest officers. In our texts, in a few cases where this allowance of grain is mentioned, no ranks are indicated; in all other cases mentioning the allowance, it is for Mongols or Jürčed who have just been made *t'ou-mu*, which is another proof that *t'ou-mu* in our *Shih-lu* passages does not mean "officer," or "chief" but "plain soldier, who does not have to pay taxes." (There is a case from 1508 where a junior chiliarch was granted an allowance of three *shih*).

Other numerous passages from the *Shih-lu* concerning foreigners either settled in Peking or incorporated into the *Chin-i wei* in particular, state that the persons in question were provided with housing, household implements, allowances in fuel, a variety of clothes and many other articles. Sometimes even oxen, sheep or horses are listed. Again slight variations in the formulations: sometimes only housing is mentioned, or only the monthly allowances in fuel and grain. The amount of the grants may have varied from period to period (or did copyists of one particular period prefer one formulation over another?) but one thing is sure that not only foreigners entering the *Chin-i wei* either in Peking or Nanking, but all non-Chinese crossing into China, received considerable material advantages.

In this connection we may mention the following imperial declarations regarding Mongols and Jürčed entering the Ming service. They are not the only statements of their kind from the early Ming period, but are representative of the policy of the court towards newly surrendered foreigners taking up residence within the empire. The entry for October 11, 1409<sup>34</sup>, in the *Yung-lo shih-lu* reads as follows: "The Tatars Quryan and others came with their family-dependents to submit; in a memorial they expressed their desire to live in the capital; they received grants in paper money, clothing, cotton cloth, gauze, fully equipped horses, oxen, sheep, grain, fuel, and lodgings with household implements for daily use. From now on all those who submitted and desired to settle in the capital were granted their requests and according to this precedent were granted rewards. As to the former Yüan officials, they were given offices (or ranks?) according to their ranks [held under the Yüan] with emoluments, but without actual responsibilities." This regulation, frequently repeated, was applied innumerable times. Thus when the Oyirad Isü-buqa (above) surrendered in 1425, the emperor in response to the Minister of Revenue's request that the Metropolitan Police pay his salary and a monthly allowance of grain, made the following declaration: "When caitiffs come over, how will they support themselves unless they can rely on a salary and an allowance of grain; issue them according to the precedents<sup>35</sup>." And again in 1427, the

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<sup>33</sup> This allowance in grain for members of the Imperial Guards is also mentioned in the *Ming-shih* 89. 12 a.

<sup>34</sup> *Yung-lo shih-lu* 66. 2 b.

<sup>35</sup> *Mok* 2. 47.

emperor expressed his views with additional explanation of the aims of the government: "The family-dependents of Mōngke-buqa, chieftain [. . . his rank] in the Mao-lien Commandery [in present-day northeastern Manchuria], who were then living in the Capital, in a memorial requested to be given a salary. The Emperor instructed the Minister of Revenue: 'We let his family-dependents stay in the Capital in order to win their affection; but if we give them nothing to support them, can we get their affection? Give them a salary according to the regulations applying to [foreign?] officials in the Capital'<sup>36</sup>."

Such measures may seem somewhat extravagant, but they actually are a continuation of the policy inaugurated immediately after the fall of the Yüan and the accession of the Míng, and imperial decisions along those lines are by no means rare. It is evident that the Míng emperors wanted to be extra generous towards foreigners, especially Mongols, who declared themselves ready to become their subjects.

But then had those Mongols and Jürčed supported and fed by the Metropolitan Police nothing to do, no duties to attend? Certainly not! Here however, we are no longer on very solid ground. In fact we find very little explicit evidence. I take it for granted that the new subjects became soldiers, or perhaps lower officers, with honorific ranks, income and privileges above their actual duties. It would be unthinkable that the government would feed so many people in the two capitals and in many other cities as well to spend their days in complete idleness. We shall see below that many Mongols and Jürčed in the Metropolitan Police rendered invaluable services to the Míng as ambassadors and interpreters. But first we must say a few words about the number of surrendered foreigners incorporated into the Metropolitan Police.

It may seem that for a period of 50 years, 94 cases, each involving but a few foreigners entered upon the registers of the *Chin-i wei*, are not of too great importance. What is of greater importance than the actual numbers known is the regularity with which foreigners were accepted into the *Chin-i wei*, and upon closer consideration what is rather surprising is the fact that so many apparently insignificant cases involving a few foreigners are mentioned at all in the *Shih-lu*. The use of foreigners in the Metropolitan Police was more than something accidental and totally irregular. We read for example that in 1457, 114 Mongols came over to the Míng and "according to the regulations" were ordered to proceed to the *Chin-i wei*<sup>37</sup>. We definitely gain the impression that it was a regular policy of the Míng to employ Mongols in the *Chin-i wei*, and it becomes almost certain that many more were employed than those we know of. As has already been stated, for the same 50-year period, there are 120 other passages in the *Shih-lu* relating that Mongols, and more rarely Jürčed, requested permission to reside in Peking, and were invariably admitted. It is quite probable, if not certain, that many of them either at the time of their

<sup>36</sup> *Man* 1. 381.

<sup>37</sup> *Mok* 3. 568.

surrender or later joined the *Chin-i wei* without the fact being noted in the governmental diaries. Passages relating the arrival of foreigners at the capital are formulated in practically the same words as those relating incorporation into the *Chin-i wei* specifically. The grants of clothes, housing, etc. are absolutely the same. We have also mentioned four cases in which first nothing is told but the fact of the arrival of Mongols, but later we accidentally discovered that the individuals in question had been ordered to join the *Chin-i wei*. There must have been scores of men whose requests to settle in Peking alone are recorded and who either then or later were incorporated into the Metropolitan Police.

As further proof that the fact of so many foreigners serving in the *Chin-i wei* was more than a passing trend but a regular policy, we may briefly mention a few examples from the early 16th century. At the end of 1505 the *Shih-lu* records that the son of a "Tatar officer" inherited his father's rank of *chih-hui-shih* in the Metropolitan Police<sup>38</sup>. In 1506 is recorded the death of a certain Yang Yü<sup>[23]</sup> with the rank of a *tu-tu ch'ien-shih*. He was a descendant of a "Northern caitiff" [i. e. a Mongol] who had surrendered to the Ming at an early stage. A brief biographical note fails to mention any connection with the *Chin-i wei*, but such a connection is definitely established in two other passages of the *Shih-lu*<sup>39</sup>. An entry from 1507 relates that one Huan-chi-erh<sup>[24]</sup>, the son of Batu-buqa, had come over at the age of 12, with another "Tatar soldier," during the Hung-chih (1488—1505) period: at that time he was assigned to the *Chin-i wei*, pending definite arrangements once he would have grown up. Now, at this time, he was made a centurion in the *Chin-i wei*<sup>40</sup>. Then we have the Mohammedan Yü Yung<sup>[26]</sup>, *tu-chih-hui t'ung-chih* involved in the Leopard-house (*pao tang*<sup>[27]</sup>) affair, and who was forced to resign early in 1508<sup>41</sup>. Finally we may mention the case of 21 "barbarians" who had fled back from captivity in Mongolia. In fact they were Chinese born in captivity; they had Mongol names and were known as Mongols. Their leader was made a junior chiliarch in the *Chin-i wei* with a monthly allowance of three *shih* of grain; another was made a *l'ou-mu* (= *darqan*) with an allowance of two *shih*<sup>42</sup>.

It is also of special significance that during the 15th century so many people serving as ambassadors and interpreters had affiliations with the

<sup>38</sup> *Cheng-te shih-lu* 7. 14 a.

<sup>39</sup> *Cheng-te shih-lu* 13. 1 b 2 a; *Mok* 5. 211 (summarized); *Man* 3. 156, 165.

<sup>40</sup> *Cheng-te shih-lu* 23. 6 b 7 a. I suspect that *huan* in the transcription is a mistake for *wo*<sup>[25]</sup>: *Odzir*.

<sup>41</sup> *op. cit.* 33. 7 b. Cf. *Ming-shih* 16. 2 b; 307. 17 b. Yü Yung is mentioned also in the *Chia-ching shih-lu* 1. 22 a; 2. 28 a; 3. 23 b. Knowledge of "barbarian music and Tatar language" seems to have been of some importance in the "Leopard House." Cf. *Cheng-te shih-lu* 141. 7 b.

<sup>42</sup> *Cheng-te shih-lu* 43. 5 a; *Mok* 5. 260—261. I have discussed this case in my article "Were the Ming against the Mongol's settling in North China?" *OE* 6, 1959, p. 153, and "Chinese in Southern Mongolia during the 16th century" in *MS* 18, 1959, pp. 73—75.

[23] 楊玉

[24] 澣即爾

[25] 斡

[26] 于永

[27] 豹房

*Chin-i wei*. As we shall see, the majority of these men, if not all, were Mongols and Jürčed. Yet hardly any are mentioned in the aforementioned 94 passages regarding the *Chin-i wei*.

We shall review here a number of individuals about whose surrender or arrival in China we know nothing or next to nothing, but who belonged to the *Chin-i wei*. Again the fact of their relationship to the *Chin-i wei* is revealed only incidentally. Their names may appear several times in the records without the slightest reference to the Metropolitan Police, until unexpectedly they are said to hold a rank in that Guard.

Relations with Mongolia became a more or less regular feature during the Yung-lo era, and became more frequent from 1435 on. But as the center of power in Mongolia began to shift from the Eastern Mongols to the Western, or Oyrad, it is to the latter that most Ming embassies were directed. Practically every Oyrad mission to China traveled both ways in the company of a Ming embassy to the Oyrad rulers. As Esen-tayisi's power steadily grew at the expense of the nominal qayan of Mongolia, Toytó-buqa, on more than one occasion the Ming had to send two embassies to the Oyrad at the same time: one with letters and presents for the qayan and his court, the other to Esen-tayisi and his entourage. Several envoys are explicitly said to be Mongols, and again the incidental way in which we learn of this fact strongly suggests that there was nothing strange at all in the fact that the Ming employed Mongols to travel to the Mongol princes. We should also keep in mind how often the Ming insisted upon appointing heads of diplomatic missions with a "sound knowledge of barbarians' conditions and languages," and as far as this was concerned it were of course the Mongols and the Jürčed in the Ming service who were best qualified for missions to their fellow countrymen. This makes it safe to assume that the majority, if not all, of those ambassadors entrusted by the Ming with missions to Mongolia were Mongols or men of Mongol ancestry (or Jürčed).

To be sure, the documents do not say that besides knowledge of language and customs, it was necessary for envoys to belong to the *Chin-i wei*, but it is a fact that the majority of envoys we know of who either went to Mongolia or dealt with Mongol (or Jürčed) missions in Peking had a rank in it.

If we do know that several of the envoys were Mongols, or at least on other occasions acted as interpreters, many persons whose origin remains unknown are so often associated with those Mongol envoys and interpreters, that it is at least suggested that they too belonged to the same group.

It would be out of place here to attempt an exhaustive survey of the Ming embassies in the middle of the 15th century. I intend to do that in another study. But a brief review of some of the persons involved in Sino-Mongol and Sino-Jürčed diplomatic relations is in order here to show the influence yielded by Mongols in the *Chin-i-wei*.

In 1424, one Hsü Ch'eng<sup>[28]</sup>, with the rank of *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* (4a) in the *Chin-i wei* was promoted to the rank of *chih-hui t'ung-chih* (3b), and

[28] 徐晟

one Ha-ti<sup>[29]</sup> (< Arabic Kâḏī), viceminister to the Left in the Court of State Ceremonial (*Hung-lu ssu*<sup>43</sup>) became a *chih-hui ch'ien-shih*, no doubt in the same *Chin-i wei*. The *Shih-lu* goes on to explain that Hsü was a Mongol ("Ta-ta," Tatar) whose original name is said to be Ch'i-shih-wu<sup>[30]</sup>, yet this is Chinese, and no real Mongol name is indicated. Ha-ti was a Mohammedan. Both had been employed as translators and as envoys to Northern and Western Mongolia as well as to the Southern barbarians. Both Hsü and Ha-ti are praised for their good services and experience<sup>44</sup>. I have found no traces of either one having been sent to the South, which is rather improbable, but there are evidences of Hsü Ch'eng having served as an envoy to the Mongol prince Aruḡtai in 1413, 1414, 1416, 1417, and 1420<sup>45</sup>. Never, except in 1424, is the fact mentioned that Hsü was a Mongol, and only in the passages of 1416 and 1426 are we told about his connections with the Metropolitan Police.

In the 1420ies and 1430ies there is another person holding a rank in the *Chin-i wei* who served several times as ambassador to Mongolia. His name is Chao Hui-lai-ti<sup>[31]</sup>. He is nowhere said to be a Mongol, but his name while a strange one for a Chinese is regular for foreigners in China of that period. In a passage from 1424 we read that the eunuch Pieh-li-ko (Belig, or Berke?), the *chih-hui* Chao Ching<sup>[32]</sup>, and the chiliarch Chang Ch'un<sup>[33]</sup> came back from an embassy to the Mongols and presented a tribute of horses<sup>46</sup>. Apart from the fact of the embassy itself and the indisputable Mongol name of the first envoy, the presentation of the tribute is a strong evidence that all three men were non-Chinese: Chinese never presented the tribute, but foreigners did, and I have discovered a number of cases of Mongols in the Chinese service who presented a tribute of horses upon their return from a mission to Mongolia.

Towards the end of the same year, Pieh-li-ko and Chao Hui-lai-ti were sent on a mission to Aruḡtai. Chao Ching must be the same person as Chao Hui-lai-ti. In an imperial letter to the military authorities in Ta-t'ung concerning the same mission only Chao is mentioned by name<sup>47</sup>. In 1432 and 1433, Chao went on two missions to the Mongols of the "Three-Uryngqad" T'ai-ning, Fu-yü, and Döen<sup>48</sup>. It is at the time of the 1433 mission that Chao is described as *chih-hui t'ung-chih* of the *Chin-i wei*.

In 1432, Chao was accompanied by a certain Ting Ch'üan<sup>[34]</sup>, a *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* in the *Chin-i wei*. He served on several other missions<sup>49</sup>. Whether he was a Mongol is nowhere indicated but it is at least very probable.

<sup>43</sup> HUCKER, *op. cit.*, HJAS 21, p. 34.

<sup>44</sup> Mok 2. 8.

<sup>45</sup> Mok 1. 423, 459, 474, 478, 491.

<sup>46</sup> Mok 2. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Mok 2. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Mok 2. 267, 281.

<sup>49</sup> Mok 1. 400—401; Mok 2. 312, 341.

[29] 哈的

[30] 七十五

[31] 趙回(灰)来的

[32] 趙敬

[33] 張春

[34] 丁全

In 1434, Ting Ch'üan on a mission to Fu-yü was accompanied by one Wang Hsi<sup>[35]</sup>, a *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* of the Metropolitan Police, who in turn served several times as envoy to the Mongols and the Jürčed tribes in present day Manchuria; 1431, 1434, 1435, and 1443<sup>50</sup>. Here again we know nothing directly of Wang's origin and background, but the duties he was entrusted with and the similarity with other persons who are better known to us strongly suggest that Wang Hsi was not a Chinese. We shall have to mention him again in the following pages.

One envoy whose Mongol origin cannot be doubted is Ts'ao Che-ch'ih T'ieh-mu-erh. The name leaves no doubt that he is a Mongol, although the first part of his name is difficult to read: Čeči(n)/Čeče(n)? — temür. I have noted six missions to Aruṭtai headed by him or in which he took part: 1428 (two missions), 1430, 1431 (two missions), 1432<sup>51</sup>. On the occasion of the second 1428 mission he is said to be a *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* "with salary" (*tai-feng*) in the *Chin-i wei*, meaning as we have seen that his rank was more an honorific than a real one. On this occasion, too, he was promoted to the rank of *chih-hui t'ung-chih* (3b). Afterwards he must have been promoted again, for we find his rank later indicated as *tu-chih-hui*, but *tu-chih-hui ch'ien-shih* (3a) seems to be the full reading.

The *Shih-lu* entry for December 29, 1442<sup>52</sup>, says that from 1436 to 1442, K'ang Neng<sup>[36]</sup> and Ch'en Yu<sup>[37]</sup> had served on six different embassies to the Oyirad. Ch'en Yu's name appears literally dozens of times in the *Shih-lu*. He came to occupy a high position in the military organization of the Ming. But besides the remark that he was "well acquainted with barbarian affairs"<sup>53</sup> and the fact that he served so often as envoy to Mongolia or as an interpreter between the Chinese and Mongol tribute missions, there is no direct indication in the *Shih-lu* regarding his foreign ancestry. In a short biographical note in the *Ming-shih*<sup>54</sup> he is said to be from the "Western kingdoms." This expression may seem to indicate some region in Central Asia or even further west, but it must not be taken in too narrow a sense. Ch'en Yu, whose Mongol name, if he ever had one, remains unknown, is a Mongol, perhaps on Oyirad from Western Mongolia which could be the region meant by the term "Hsi-yü." The *Ming-shih*, however, does not mention his affiliation with the Embroidered-uniform Guard. The first time (January, 1437) his name appears in the *Shih-lu*, when on account of his thorough familiarity with Mongol affairs he is considered as a likely replacement for the "Tatar officer" Ala-ud-Din, chiliarch in the Divine-strategy

<sup>50</sup> *Mok* 2. 233, 312, 341; *Mok* 3. 31; *Man* 2. 123, 137.

<sup>51</sup> *Mok* 2. 120, 150, 190, 226, 234, 250.

<sup>52</sup> *Mok* 3. 18.

<sup>53</sup> *Mok* 2. 437.

<sup>54</sup> *Ming-shih* 166. 9b—10b; 107. 24ab. See my forthcoming paper "Mongols ennobled during the early Ming" in *HJAS* 22.

(*shen ts'ei*<sup>[38]</sup>) Guard<sup>55</sup>, to go on a mission to northwestern Mongolia, Ch'en Yu was a chiliarch in the Right Courageous Cavalry (*hsiao ch'i*<sup>[39]</sup>) Guard<sup>56</sup>. We find that by the end of 1437 he was a *chih-hui l'ung-chih* in the same Guard.

The *Shih-lu* entry for December 2, 1438<sup>57</sup>, contains an interesting passage which I summarize as follows: "Qongγur, uncle of the Oyirad envoy Aduči, had come over to China at the very beginning of the Ming dynasty, and had repeatedly served in the capacity of an envoy to Mongolia. For these services Qongγur had been granted an hereditary rank, and when he died he was buried in (the neighborhood of?) Peking. When Aduči came to Peking during the Yung-lo era as an ambassador for the Oyirad, the emperor let him visit the grave. Now again on Aduči's request, the emperor gave permission to visit the grave and ordered Haji<sup>58</sup>, K'ang Neng, and Ch'en Yu, all with the rank of *chih-hui* in the *Chin-i wei*, to accompany him". Later, Ch'en's rank is given as *tu-chih-hui ch'ien-shih* (3a) "with salary" (*tai-feng*) in the *Chin-i wei*<sup>59</sup>, but most of the time he is referred to as *tu-chih-hui* for short. Ch'en Yu's last mission to the Oyirad seems to have taken place in 1442: Wang Cheng<sup>[40]</sup>, also a *tu-chih-hui* who had served as second envoy in 1439 accompanied him together with the two *chih-hui l'ung-chih* Li Ch'üan<sup>[41]</sup> and Chi To<sup>[42]</sup><sup>60</sup>.

K'ang Neng is first described as a *tu-chih-hui* in the Left *Chin-wu*<sup>[43]</sup> Guard, then as a *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* in the Metropolitan Police<sup>61</sup>. He led several embassies to the Oyirad, but I have found no direct indication concerning his being a foreigner. His services as an envoy and his long-time associations with Ch'en Yu and other Mongols are the only indirect indications to that effect,

About Li Ch'üan (above) very little is known, except that he was Ch'en Yu's assistant on several missions. Chi To is a little better known. His name appears for the first time on February 26, 1442<sup>62</sup>, when he was a *chih-hui l'ung-chih* and was just about to go on a mission with Ch'en Yu, Wang Cheng, and Li Ch'üan. He served as envoy to the "Three Uriyangqad" commanderies T'ai-ning, Fu-yü, and Döen (1443), to the commanderies of Sha-chou, Han-tung, and the Ch'ih-chin (= Čigil) Mongols in the northwest (together with one Qara-küčü) (1444); he was an interpreter and was

<sup>55</sup> The names of the Imperial Guards and the Capital Guards are listed in the *Ming-shih* 76. 6 ab.

<sup>56</sup> *Mok* 2. 437.

<sup>57</sup> *Mok* 2. 546.

<sup>58</sup> The Hajis are literally countless in the *Ming shih-lu*. The name is derived from the Ar. *hajj*: "pilgrimage to Mecca," and *hâjj*, *hâjji*: "one who has made the the pilgrimage to M."

<sup>59</sup> *Man* 2. 85; *Mok* 2. 653.

<sup>60</sup> *Mok* 2. 552—553; *Mok* 3. 1.

<sup>61</sup> *Mok* 2. 434, 437, 483—484, 546, 585, 620.

<sup>62</sup> *Mok* 3. 1.

[38] 神策

[39] 驍騎

[40] 王政

[41] 李全

[42] 季鐸

[43] 金吾

employed at the Hui-t'ung-kuan where foreign ambassadors were lodged while in Peking<sup>63</sup>. There is little doubt that he was a Mongol but in his case I have found no trace of any connection with the Embroidered-uniform Guard.

In 1426, a *chih-hui* Sun Kuan<sup>[44]</sup> and a chiliarch Yo Ch'ien<sup>[45]</sup> were sent on a mission to the Oyrad<sup>64</sup>. We do not know who this Sun Kuan is, except that he headed several other missions to Mongolia. His name, Kuan, seems to be an abridged form of "Kuan-yin" — Avalokiteçvara, or "Kuan-yin-pao" — "Protected by A.", both rather popular names among the Mongols of that period<sup>65</sup>. His companion Yo Ch'ien is mentioned several times in the *Shih-lu*: he was connected with the *Chin-i wei*, served on several missions, but I have found no direct indication that he was a Mongol although this is almost certain since on at least one occasion he is referred to as an interpreter.

In 1437, the chiliarch Chang Ala-ud-Din was ordered to accompany Yo Ch'ien on a mission to the Mongol prince Dorjibeg<sup>66</sup>. This Chang Ala-ud-Din cannot be the same person as the "Tatar officer" Ala-ud-Din, chiliarch in the Divine-strategy Guard, mentioned above in connection with Ch'en Yu: this Ala-ud-Din was then getting on in years and Ch'en Yu was to take his place as an envoy. We hear nothing more concerning Yo Ch'ien until 1449, when the Ming emperor, then a captive with the Oyrad armies, sent for the "interpreter Yo Ch'ien" to bring him various objects from Peking. From a *chih-hui t'ung-chih* in the *Chin-i wei* he was promoted to the rank of a *tu-chih-hui ch'ien-shih*<sup>67</sup>. He served several times as a go-between for the Chinese and the Oyrad camp. But when on October 27, 1449, the Oyrad army with the captive emperor in its midst threatened to besiege Peking, Yo Ch'ien, ordered to bring a letter from the captive emperor to the city, was killed by a Chinese soldier in front of the Chang-i Gate, later known as the Hsi-chih Gate<sup>68</sup>.

Early in 1445, in a letter to the Oyrad ruler Toytö-buqa, the emperor said that he sent envoys in the persons of the *chih-hui t'ung-chih* (3b) Ma Yün<sup>[48]</sup> and the *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* (4a) Chou Hung<sup>[49]</sup> to accompany the Oyrad ruler's embassy on its way back to Mongolia; at the same time, the emperor wrote a second letter to the de facto master of Mongolia, Esentayisi, in which he spoke of another mission sent to him under the

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<sup>63</sup> Mok 3. 31, 35, 37, 90, 239, 694, 696.

<sup>64</sup> Mok 2. 70.

<sup>65</sup> Another envoy to the Oyrad in 1442 was named Chang Kuan-pao<sup>[46]</sup>: Mok 3. 18, 26—27. Yang Ming (below), *Cheng-t'ung lin-jung lu* 7a, 7b, writes his surname Chang<sup>[47]</sup>. He was killed in 1449 together with Yo Ch'ien by the Ming troops.

<sup>66</sup> Mok 2. 471.

<sup>67</sup> Mok 3. 222, 230.

<sup>68</sup> Mok 3. 252.

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[44] 孫觀

[45] 岳謙

[46] 章官保

[47] 張

[48] 馬雲

[49] 周洪

leadership of the *chih-hui l'ung-chih* Ma Ch'ing<sup>[50]</sup> and the *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* Yen Sheng<sup>[51]</sup><sup>69</sup>. At least three of these four men are known as interpreters and two had connections with the Metropolitan Police; all served on several more missions to the Oyirad.

The two Mas, apparently no relatives, are referred to as "interpreters" and as "Tatar officers," Ma Ch'ing being a junior chiliarch in the Right Courageous Cavalry Guard, and Ma Yün a senior chiliarch in the Fu-chün<sup>[52]</sup> Guard<sup>70</sup>. The fact, however, that they are always referred to as envoys leaves no doubt that they are the same persons as those above, in spite of the difference in ranks indicated in the various texts. They may have been given higher ranks for the time when actually serving on a mission in order to give them greater prestige with the Mongols, who as we have seen, often held relatively high ranks themselves. In a passage from 1460, Ma Yün is referred to as a *tu-chih-hui ch'ien-shih* (3a) "with salary" (*tai-feng*) in the Metropolitan Police. But I have found no indication that Ma Ch'ing was affiliated with the *Chin-i wei*.

In 1450, Ma Yün, Ma Ch'ing, Chi To, Yo Ch'ien (who was dead), and one Wu Liang (see below) were accused of having been the cause of the Oyirad invasion of 1449 leading to the emperor's captivity. It was contended that in order to further their own selfish interests, they had taken advantage of their frequent trips to the Oyirad to make extravagant promises to the Oyirad rulers, especially to Esen-tayisi. The Ming could not but refuse to honor such promises, which, it was claimed, caused the war. Especially Wu Liang was blamed. Whatever the truth about those promises may have been, it is obvious that the causes of the conflict lay much deeper, and that the war was bound to break out for quite different reasons. The emperor ordered the Metropolitan Police to investigate the matter, but apparently there were no further consequences<sup>71</sup>.

Yen Sheng's name appears a number of times in the *Shih-lu* in connection with Mongol and Jürčed affairs. In 1461, when the importance was once more stressed of having men available who knew the Mongol language to serve as ambassadors, Yen Sheng was "lent" the rank of *tu-chih-hui-shih* (2a) and made first envoy, with a certain Tou Hsien<sup>[53]</sup> as his second, to go to Mongolia<sup>72</sup>; and upon their return from this mission, he is referred to as *tu-chih-hui-shih* "with salary" (*tai-feng*) in the *Chin-i wei*<sup>73</sup>. He is also repeatedly referred to as interpreter<sup>74</sup>, and later as "great interpreter"<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Mok 3. 101—102.

<sup>70</sup> Mok 3. 172, 319—320.

<sup>71</sup> Mok 3. 312, 319—320.

<sup>72</sup> Mok 3. 653.

<sup>73</sup> Mok 3. 661; also in 1467: Mok 4. 100.

<sup>74</sup> Mok 4. 84, 250; Man 2. 534 (for the Jürčed).

<sup>75</sup> Man 2. 578—581, 585; Mok 4. 523.

Early in 1448, the four *chih-hui* Ma Cheng<sup>[54]</sup>, Ho Yü<sup>[55]</sup>, Wang Hsi<sup>[56]</sup>, and Wu Liang<sup>[57]</sup> were made ambassadors to the Oyrad. Ma Yün, it seems, could have expected to be appointed to this mission, too, but on account of the many missions he had already served with, he was replaced by Ho Yü<sup>76</sup>. All the persons mentioned here served on one or more other missions abroad. Wang Hsi rose to be a *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* in the Metropolitan Police, and in 1509—1510 was active as a great-interpreter<sup>77</sup>. Wu Liang was a Jürčed and an officer in the Metropolitan Police. We shall have to say a few words about him later. Ma Cheng was a member of the Metropolitan Police, but whether he was a foreigner is none too clear. In 1448 he was the chief ambassador with the rank of *tu-chih-hui ch'ien-shih* (3a); Ho Yü was second envoy; they were to bring letters and a variety of presents, such as silks, garments, medicines, musical instruments, to Toγtö-buqa and other Oyrad princes, Ma served on another mission in 1449.

There is an indirect indication, however, that Ma Cheng was a Mongol. In 1450, during the captivity of the Cheng-t'ung emperor, a party of Oyrad had arrived to present a tribute of horses. Before reaching Peking the Oyrad embassy was forced to stop and two officials were dispatched from Peking to meet the Oyrad and "investigate" them. One of the two officials sent for this purpose was a vice-minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*T'ai-ch'ang-ssu*)<sup>78</sup> by the name of Hsü Pin<sup>[59]</sup>; the other one was Ma Cheng, now a *tu-chih-hui t'ung-chih* (2b) in the Metropolitan Police. This mission seems to imply that both Hsü and Ma knew the Mongol language, otherwise the investigation could have been done by regular officials when the Oyrad embassy crossed into China in the neighborhood of Ta-t'ung. Ma Cheng's capacity of interpreter is confirmed in a passage from 1457 where he is promoted from *tu-chih-hui-shih* "with salary" (*tai-feng*) in the Metropolitan Police to *tu-tu ch'ien-shih* (2a) in the Posterior Army, and one Ha Ming (see below), also of the Metropolitan Police, was made a *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* (4a). Both remained "with salary" and continued to serve as interpreters and envoys to the Oyrad<sup>79</sup>. Ha Ming, as we shall see in a moment, was a Mongol.

During the same year, Ma Cheng and others (all the names mentioned are Chinese) were ordered to accompany an Oyrad mission on its way

<sup>76</sup> Mok 3. 179. No doubt this is the mission in which Yang Ming (below) and his father also took part. YANG Ming, *Cheng-t'ung lin-jung lu*<sup>[58]</sup> la mentions only Wang Hsi whom he gives the rank of a *chih-hui-shih* in the left *Chin-wu* Guard. In the *Shih-lu* this embassy is recorded under the 12th month of the 13th year, actually already 1448, western style, while Yang dates it from the 2 month of the 14th year, probably because the embassy left only at that time.

<sup>77</sup> Mok 5. 265; Man 3. 211.

<sup>78</sup> HUCKER, *HJAS* 21, p. 34.

<sup>79</sup> Mok 3. 552.

[54] 馬政

[55] 賀玉

[56] 王喜

[57] 吳良

[58] 楊銘：正統臨戎錄

[59] 許彬

back to Mongolia<sup>80</sup>. Although it is not explicitly stated at this time, Ha Ming and Ma Cheng's son, Chien<sup>[60]</sup>, were also members of the party. In fact the party ran into trouble: Ma Chien and Ha Ming fled back to China but Ma Cheng and others were held captives for a while in Mongolia<sup>81</sup>.

At this point Ma Cheng disappears from the records, but his son Chien, also an officer in the Metropolitan Police, served in two embassies to the Jürčed in the Northeast: in 1461 and 1462<sup>82</sup>.

Certainly the most interesting person among those interpreters and ambassadors was one Ha Ming<sup>[61]</sup> already mentioned in the foregoing lines. He is most famous for his account of the emperor's captivity in Esen-tayisi's camp and his own experiences in the emperor's company<sup>83</sup>. He has a brief mention in the *Ming-shih*<sup>84</sup> where his office in the *Chin-i wei* and his many missions to Mongolia are referred to. According to the *Ming-shih*, he was given a Chinese name, Yang<sup>[62]</sup> Ming, after the emperor's release and his own return from captivity. For many years, however, the *Shih-lu* continues to speak of him as Ha Ming. In the *Cheng-t'ung lin-jung lu*, Yang Ming, alias Ha Ming, calls his father Yang Chih<sup>[63]</sup>, which immediately suggests that his original name was Ha-chih, Haji, the first syllable of which came to be used as a family name both for the father and the son. The second character in the son's name, Ming, is not of Mongol origin, but is purely Chinese. Ha Ming, then, is a combination of a foreign element (Ha) as surname and a Chinese element (Ming) as personal name. When both father and son were given their new surname Yang, the father's name Yang Chih was a similar hybrid combination of an authentic Chinese surname with part of his original name as personal name. Wang Shih-chen in his *Chin-i wei*<sup>85</sup> also mentions Ha Ming and the subsequent grant of a Chinese name. Wang tells us that this Chinese surname was given to him in recognition for the fact that he had followed the emperor into captivity to serve him as interpreter. I am not aware that the compilers of the *Shih-lu* ever mention Yang Ming, alias Ha Ming, in connection with the emperor's stay in Mongolia (at least judging from Tamura's excerpts). This is probably due to the fact that in spite of Yang's invaluable services to the captive emperor, he was at that time but a person of little importance; his father became a senior chiliarch during the emperor's

<sup>80</sup> Mok 3. 555.

<sup>81</sup> Mok 3. 557, 560, 563.

<sup>82</sup> Man 2. 369, 380, 382.

<sup>83</sup> *Cheng-t'ung lin-jung lu* in *Chi-lu hui-pien*, ch. 19. See W. FRANKE, *Preliminary Notes on the important Chinese literary sources for the History of the Ming Dynasty*, 1948, p. 36, N<sup>o</sup> 88. At the end of his relation Yang Ming notes his various promotions, the last one, in 1491, being that to the rank of *chih-hui-shih* to remain hereditary in his family. His narrative must have been written in 1491 or shortly thereafter.

<sup>84</sup> *Ming-shih* 167. 8b.

<sup>85</sup> *Chin-i chih*, *Chi-lu hui-pien* ch. 195. 6Sb.

captivity. Yang Ming, in the opening lines of his relation states his rank as *chih-hui-shih* in the *Chin-i wei*, but he was given that rank much later as he indicates himself at the very end of his work. In fact, he informs us that he was made a constable (*chen-tu*<sup>[61]</sup> : 5b) only in 1450. We may note here in passing that several of the persons mentioned in the foregoing pages are also referred to by Yang Ming as having visited the captive emperor and carried messages either to or from him: Yo Ch'ien<sup>[45]</sup>, Chi To<sup>[42]</sup>, Chang Kuan-pao<sup>[46]</sup>, Wu Liang<sup>[57]</sup>, and Wang Hsi<sup>[35]</sup>.

According to Yang Ming, he became *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* (4a) in the *Chin-i wei* in 1457<sup>86</sup>. This is confirmed by the *Shih-lu*<sup>87</sup>, where we find the additional information that he was an officer "with salary" (*tai-feng*) and that his promotion was granted because he was to act as interpreter and envoy to the Oyirad (together with Ma Cheng). This was the embassy which ran into trouble as has already been explained. Yang Ming was able to return with Ma Cheng's son, while Ma Cheng himself and 49 other members of the party were held for a short time by the Mongols. At this time, however, Ming embassies going to Mongolia became much rarer than they used to be before 1449, but Mongol missions continued to come to Peking. In 1471, and 1477, Yang Ming was ordered to meet such missions in Ta-t'ung as interpreter and to accompany them to the capital<sup>88</sup>. Yang is mentioned once more in 1472, together with Yen Sheng, one Ma Yü<sup>[64]</sup>, and a certain Wang Ying<sup>[65]</sup> (see below) as interpreters "proficient in barbarian script"<sup>89</sup>. In this latter passage Yang Ming is referred to as an "interim" (*shu*<sup>[66]</sup>) *chih-hui-shih*, and in later passages we find him with the same rank and the title "great interpreter"<sup>90</sup>. As far as I know, Yang Ming, Yen, Sheng, Wang Ying, Wang Hsi<sup>[66]</sup>, and one Liu Fu<sup>[67]</sup> are the only interpreters to be described as "great"<sup>91</sup>.

Mongols were called upon to serve not only in embassies going to Mongolia, but also to Jürčed tribes. In the same way, Jürčed, or men of Jürčed origin, in the Ming service were employed as envoys to the north-east, and occasionally to Mongolia as well. An example of a Jürčed serving as envoy to Mongolia is a certain Wu Liang<sup>[57]</sup>. His name is mentioned several times in the *Shih-lu*, but it is only at the time of his death, December 1, 1474<sup>92</sup>, that the compilers give us some information about his origin and background: his original name was Olje-temür (a Mongol name); his elder brother Kuan-t'ung "Slave of Avalokiteçvara", surrendered during the Hung-wu era and became a decurion in the Embroidered-uniform Guard; when this brother died, Wu Liang inherited his rank and gradually rose to

<sup>86</sup> *Cheng-t'ung lin-jung lu* 26 b.

<sup>87</sup> *Mok* 3. 552.

<sup>88</sup> *Mok* 4. 216, 399.

<sup>89</sup> *Mok* 4. 250.

<sup>90</sup> *Man* 2. 585; *Man* 3. 81; *Mok* 4. 523.

<sup>91</sup> *Man* 3. 211; *Mok* 5. 19.

<sup>92</sup> *Man* 2. 533.

be a *tu-tu t'ung-chih* (1b); later he was transferred to Nanking; in 1467, he resigned on account of old age and requested that his son Chien<sup>[60]</sup> may succeed him with the rank of *chih-hui-shih*; at the time of his death he was 99 years (sui) old. Wu Liang must have been born in 1376.

In 1442, Wu Liang was sent on a diplomatic mission to straighten out difficulties between the Koreans and Jürčed tribesmen<sup>93</sup>. In 1448, Wu Liang, Ma Cheng<sup>[54]</sup>, Ho Yü<sup>[55]</sup>, and Wang Hsi<sup>[56]</sup> were appointed as envoys to lead an embassy to visit the Oyirad princes<sup>94</sup>; but in 1449, Wu alone is mentioned as chief envoy with one second envoy to go to the Oyirad again<sup>95</sup>. Wu took part in yet another embassy to the Oyirad in 1457<sup>96</sup>.

Another Jürčed to serve as envoy and as interpreter was Wu Chung<sup>[60]</sup>. We meet him first in 1463, in connection with a mission to the Jürčed: he is called an interpreter and *tu-chih-hui*<sup>97</sup>. Thereafter he is repeatedly mentioned in connection with Jürčed affairs: in 1467, from interim (*shu*) *tu-chih-hui-shih* "with salary" (*tai-feng*) in the Embroidered-uniform Guard, he was made an interior *tu-tu ch'ien-shih*<sup>98</sup>. Later he was promoted again and he was often praised for his services. His death is recorded in the *Shih-lu* entry for December 4, 1470<sup>99</sup>, where a brief biographical note is devoted to him.

The Ming also incorporated descendants of Mongol ruling families into the *Chin-i wei* and occasionally availed themselves of their services in their relations with Mongolia. One example is the family of Aruytai. This man had caused considerable trouble to the Yung-lo emperor. After Aruytai's downfall first at the hands of the Ming, later of rival Mongol princes, his son Abujiyan(?) surrendered to the Chinese in 1434 and was made a Left *tu-tu* of the Central Army. When he died in 1435, his son Toytô-bolod became a *chih-hui-shih* "with salary" (*tai-feng*) in the Metropolitan Police. Toytô-bolod was given the Chinese name Ho Yung<sup>[70]</sup> and even rose to be a marquis. In 1471, he was called upon to contact Mongols who while eager to come over to the Ming, had remained somewhat suspicious of the Chinese. He died in February 1474, and both the *Shih-lu* and the *Ming-shih* give him a brief biographical notice<sup>100</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> *Man* 2. 112—113; also p. 136.

<sup>94</sup> *Mok* 3. 179.

<sup>95</sup> *Mok* 3. 199. YANG Ming, who with his father took part in both the 1448 and 1449 embassies, does not mention Wu Liang in connection with the 1448 appointments, but mentions him in 1449. According to the *Shih-lu*, in 1449, Wu was accompanied by a chiliarch named Chi Hsin<sup>[65]</sup> who is mentioned by Yang Ming later in his work: *Cheng-t'ung lin-jung-lu* 2b. Whereas in the *Shih-lu* the 1449 appointments are recorded in the 1st month, YANG Ming dates their mission from the 2nd month because the party must have left at that time.

<sup>96</sup> *Mok* 3. 554.

<sup>97</sup> *Man* 2. 391, 393.

<sup>98</sup> *Man* 2. 431, 432.

<sup>99</sup> *Man* 2. 505.

<sup>100</sup> *Mok* 2. 323, 333, 341, 378; *Mok* 4. 222, 346. Cf. *Ming-shih* 107. 28b 29a; 156. 13 ab. See my forthcoming paper in *HJAS* 22. CHENG Hsiao (1499—1566), *Chin yen*<sup>[70a]</sup> (*Chi-lu hui-pien* 145, 31 ab) lists a few of Ho Yung's descendants. See also below note 116.

[68] 紀信

[69] 武忠

[70] 和勇

[70a] 鄭曉：今言

A passage from 1453 relates a revealing incident at the Hui-t'ung-kuan<sup>[71]</sup> where foreign ambassadors were lodged and kept under surveillance. A number of chiliarchs and centurions from the Embroidered-uniform Guard, one of whom is mentioned by name, Ch'ien Shun<sup>[72]</sup>, reported having overheard Oyirad ambassadors talking to each other about soldiers posted at the gates of their compound: the Mongols were afraid that the soldiers had been put there with a view to falling upon them and killing the whole embassy<sup>101</sup>. This passage implies that Ch'ien Shun and his fellows from the *Chin-i wei* on duty at the Hui-t'ung-kuan understood Mongol. This further suggests that they were, or some of them were, Mongols themselves. As a matter of fact, Ch'ien Shun's duties were very similar to Yang Ming's who on different occasions was dispatched to Ta-t'ung to receive Mongol embassies and accompany them to Peking. And Chi To, another interpreter and officer in the *Chin-i wei*, performed similar services with regard to an embassy from the Döen Mongols lodged at the Hui-t'ung-kuan (1463—64)<sup>102</sup>. The same Chi To in 1465 was sent on a mission to the Mongols of Döen, T'ai-ning, and Fu-yü. Now this Chi To who is otherwise referred to as an interpreter, or great-interpreter, with a rank in the *Chin-i wei*, this time is described as a *tu-tu t'ung-chih* in the Posterior Army. And there is another *tu-tu t'ung-chih* in the Posterior Army, Ma Hsien<sup>[73]</sup> who was sent on a mission to T'ai-ning in 1459, and one year later is referred to as an interpreter and has duties to perform at the Hui-t'ung-kuan<sup>103</sup>. There is no doubt that he was a Mongol, or possibly a Jürčed, and it is possible that he was affiliated with the Embroidered-uniform Guard, although this is not clearly indicated.

In 1431, a certain *tu-chih-hui* Ch'ang Ying<sup>[74]</sup> was sent on a mission to Aruytai, and in 1434, took part in the negotiations leading to the surrender of Aruytai's son Abujiyan<sup>104</sup>. In 1448, he was entrusted with the task of bringing an end to the disorderly conduct of some Jürčed envoys at the Hui-t'ung-kuan<sup>105</sup>. When in 1453, an officer of the Embroidered-uniform Guard complained about the misbehavior of Oyirad envoys and stated that the soldiers posted at the gates of the Hui-t'ung-kuan were utterly unable to control them, the complaining officer requested that Ch'ang Ying speak to the envoys. This time he is called an interpreter with the rank of a *tu-tu ch'ien-shih*<sup>106</sup>. The following year Ch'ang Ying discussed with Oyirad envoys the release of Chinese prisoners held by them, and early in 1455 he reported on conditions in Mongolia<sup>107</sup>. These various activities leave little doubt that Ch'ang, in spite of his name, was a Mongol, employed as

<sup>101</sup> *Mok* 3. 462.

<sup>102</sup> *Mok* 3. 694, 696.

<sup>103</sup> *Mok* 3. 617, 621; *Man* 2. 359.

<sup>104</sup> *Mok* 2. 236, 323.

<sup>105</sup> *Man* 2. 226.

<sup>106</sup> *Mok* 3. 488.

<sup>107</sup> *Mok* 3. 495, 515.

[71] 會同館

[72] 錢順

[73] 馬顯

[74] 昌英

envoy, as interpreter, and whose services were needed at the Hui-t'ung-kuan. And since he was recommended by an officer of the *Chin-i wei* it is not impossible that he belonged to that organization himself.

While it would be fruitless to make this list of names any longer in order to show the importance of Mongols, and Jürčed, in the Metropolitan Police, to some readers it may seem unwarranted to make non-Chinese out of every man who in one way or another was connected with foreign embassies, or with foreign affairs in general. We should bear in mind that many Mongols and Jürčed in the Ming service go hidden under Chinese names. Without going into the problem of sinicization of foreigners in China, let us only note that the first step in this process seems to have been the adoption of Chinese names at least for intercourse with Chinese, so that if a Mongol, or Jürčed, acquired any influence at all, he is more likely to be remembered in the records under a Chinese name. We have met with several cases where the records in an entirely incidental way note the fact that the officers referred to in a particular text were foreigners, but more often than not we remain ignorant of their native names. In order to illustrate how many Mongols under the Ming will for ever remain unknown, we may review two grants of Chinese names. On November 28, 1427, we learn that Pa-t'ai (Badai) was given the Chinese name Chiang Hsin<sup>[75]</sup>, and Ha-ji, an officer in the Embroidered-uniform Guard, was named Li Ch'eng<sup>[76]</sup><sup>108</sup>. The entry for September 27, 1472, records Chinese names for eight persons several of whom are connected with the Metropolitan Police: K'ai-p'ing, a *tu-chih-hui ch'ien-shih* "with salary" (*tai-feng*) in the Left *Chin-wu* Guard, becomes Wang Ying<sup>[65]</sup>; Nu-erh, in the same *Chin-wu* Guard, Chang Yu<sup>[77]</sup>; Toytô-buqa, an officer in the Anterior Yen-shan Guard, Pai Ying<sup>[78]</sup>; Pai-han, of the Posterior Wu-ch'eng Guard, Ts'ui T'an<sup>[79]</sup>; A-t'ao-la, Ai-ya-ssu, Ali-derbis, and Pieh-chih (Begi?), all officers "with salary" (*tai-feng*) in the Embroidered-uniform Guard, receive the names of Pai Yü<sup>[80]</sup>, Chang Yung<sup>[81]</sup>, Ma Yü<sup>[64]</sup>, and Wang Yü<sup>[82]</sup>, respectively<sup>109</sup>. At least two of these persons are known from other passages of the *Shih-lu*: Wang Ying is twice referred to as an interpreter, and once as a "great" interpreter. In the second of these three passages Wang is called a centurion, which must have been his real rank, the higher rank being a honorific; in the third passage he is referred to as a *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* "with salary" (*tai-feng*) in the *Chin-i wei*, and "great interpreter"<sup>110</sup>. With regard to his original name "K'ai-p'ing," we may recall that names of cities such as Ta(i)-tu, Shang-tu, Ta-t'ung, etc. were frequently used as personal names. As a matter of fact, both Wang Ying and Ma Yü seem to have been known under those names before September, 1472. Indeed, at the beginning

<sup>108</sup> Mok 2. 115. On Chiang Hsin, al. Badai, see my paper in *HJAS* 22.

<sup>109</sup> Mok 4. 282.

<sup>110</sup> Man 2. 572, 580; Man 3. 35.

[75] 蔣信

[77] 張友

[79] 崔曇

[81] 張永

[76] 李誠

[78] 柏英

[80] 白瑜

[82] 王玉

of the year they are already mentioned together with Yen Sheng and Yang Ming as "well versed in barbarian script." This could mean that the "grant" of new names of September 27 was nothing but the confirmation and the official recognition of their recently adopted names. Passages relating grants of names are rare, so that we seldom learn how and when a particular foreigner acquired his Chinese name.

If our numerous quotations from the *Ming shih-lu* show that there were large numbers of foreigners employed in the *Chin-i wei*, it is not suggested that the Metropolitan Police was the only Guard to have foreigners in its service, or that ambassadors and interpreters were chosen from that guard only. The reader will have noticed how some persons in one place are referred to as officers in the Embroidered-uniform Guard, and in another place as belonging to another capital guard or to the Imperial Body Guard. K'ang Neng, Wang Yin, Wang Hsi, and others are first said to be officers in the *Chin-wu* Guard, then in the *Chin-i wei*; Ch'en Yu is likewise first referred to as a lower officer in the Right Courageous Cavalry Guard. What such switches exactly mean remains unclear. There is no need to go into this question now.

We have met one foreigner in the Divine-strategy Guard, and another in the *Fu-chün* Guard, and it may be worthwhile to review briefly other capital guards that numbered Mongols among their personnel.

The first one to come to mind is the so-called Anterior Forest-of-Feathers Guard (*Yü-lin*<sup>[83]</sup>): in 1404, a *chih-hui* named Shang Yu<sup>[84]</sup> and four other men were sent on a mission to the „Uriyangqad“ (T'ai-ning, Döen, Fu-yü)<sup>111</sup>. I am inclined to read his name Shang-tu<sup>[85]</sup>: the name of the Yüan Supreme Capital, very popular among the Mongols as a personal name, and transcribed with a wide variety of characters. We have already mentioned a certain Sun Kuan<sup>[44]</sup> who was ambassador, together with Yo Ch'ien, in 1426 and 1428; then alone in 1430 and 1431<sup>112</sup>. He was a member of the Anterior Forest-of-Feathers Guard. As has been noted, apart from his mission, his name *Kuan (-yin)*, too, is a strong indication that he was a Mongol.

A text from 1440 reads as follows: "The Tatar official Shih Chung<sup>[86]</sup>, *chih-hui* "with salary" in the Anterior Forest-of-Feathers Guard, was allowed a half salary. Chung had been sentenced to frontier-guard duty in Kuangsi, when pardoned and allowed to return, he was ordered to teach Tatar writing at the Ssu-i-kuan<sup>[87]</sup>. Chung, referring to precedents, had begged for his salary and allowance of grain [to be restored to him] in order to support himself. For this reason [half his] salary was restored to him<sup>113</sup>." In spite of his former conviction and exile, the Ming continued to avail themselves of Shih-Chung's services: in 1450, when the Oyrad were

<sup>111</sup> Mok 1. 288.

<sup>112</sup> Mok 2. 70, 126, 197, 212.

<sup>113</sup> Mok 2. 600. In my paper "Were the Ming . . ." in OE 6, pp. 156—157, discussing the same passage, I have written "Posterior" instead of "Anterior."

[83] 羽林

[84] 尚郁

[85] 上都

[86] 石忠

[87] 四夷館

about to release the captive Cheng-t'ung emperor, an embassy headed by several higher officials went to the Oyirad. Wang Hsi<sup>[85]</sup> whom we have mentioned in the foregoing pages was a member of this embassy. Both the departure and the return of this mission are recorded in the *Shih-lu*. But from a subsequent passage it appears that Shih Chung, too, was a member of that mission: his name appears later among those who were rewarded for having served in this embassy<sup>114</sup>. Shih Chung must have made a favorable impression on the Ming officials as well as on the Oyirad rulers, for when in 1451 it was rumored that the Oyirad qayan Toytò-buqa was about to invade the Jürčed territories, Shih was hastily dispatched to Liaotung in order to negotiate with Toytò-buqa, should he come<sup>115</sup>.

The Jürčed Wu Liang on one of his missions to the Oyirad was accompanied by one Hsi Hsin<sup>[88]</sup>, an officer in the *Chin-i wei*, and a certain Yeh Ch'un<sup>[89]</sup> who was an officer "with salary" in the Posterior Chung-i<sup>[90]</sup> Guard, and when Ma Chien, a Mongol in the *Chin-i wei* was sent on his mission to the Jürčed (1462: above), he was accompanied by a junior chiliarch "with salary" in the Anterior Chung-i Guard<sup>116</sup>. We don't know these persons well enough to say more about them.

In 1457 (above) Ma Cheng was accompanied by an officer of the Wu-ch'eng<sup>[91]</sup> Guard, but as in the case of the Chung-i Guard, his name is Chinese and nothing more is known about him. On the other hand, Pai-han who was given the Chinese name Ts'ui T'an<sup>[79]</sup>, was an officer in the Posterior Wu-ch'eng Guard<sup>117</sup>.

Finally we may mention that when eleven individuals from the Uriyang-qad territories surrendered in 1447, they were incorporated into the Right Prancing-horses Guard (T'eng-hsiang<sup>[92]</sup>)<sup>118</sup>.

As a matter of fact Mongols and Jürčed alike could be incorporated into any unit or office, whether military or non-military. We cannot list them all. If the Ming were ready to employ non-Chinese in their armies, in the Metropolitan Police, etc., and often entrusted them with important and delicate missions, it speaks of course for the farsightedness and the broad-mindedness of the Ming government. In my opinion, however, the policy of the Ming regarding their non-Chinese subjects implies something of yet

<sup>114</sup> Mok 3. 338—339, 365, 371.

<sup>115</sup> Man 2. 260.

<sup>116</sup> Mok 3. 554; Man 2. 382. Hsi Hsin was a Mohammedan. YEH Shen (1420—1474), *Shui-tung jih-chi chai-ch'ao*<sup>[90a]</sup> (*Chi-lu hui-pien* 138, 20 b) describes both Hsi Hsin and Ho Yung as Mohammedans and notes that they did not revere the Buddha and the gods. He further notes that some Mohammedans were found among the Mongols (Ta-ta = Tatars). Since however, Ho Yung belonged to an Asud family known as Christians under the Yüan, one may question the accuracy of Yeh's note. It is not impossible that the Chinese failed to make a distinction between Mohammedans and Christian *erkegüd*.

<sup>117</sup> Mok 3. 555; Mok 4. 282.

<sup>118</sup> Mok 3. 166.

[88] 喜信

[89] 葉春

[90] 忠義

[90a] 葉盛：水東日記摘抄

[91] 武成

[92] 騰騰

greater importance, namely that such Mongols as moved into China sincerely desired to become, and indeed became, loyal subjects. In other words, in spite of their Mongol background, in spite of the language they might continue to use at home, they wanted to become Chinese and considered themselves Chinese. Although some Chinese often showed their contempt for the barbarians ("smelly Tatars") and some officials now and then voiced their suspicion of them, the Ming rulers were thoroughly convinced that their new Mongol subjects intended to be loyal. Loyalty was a condition *sine qua non*, a prerequisite without which the Ming would never have been able to take advantage of the capabilities of their newly immigrated subjects, especially their knowledge of the language and their familiarity with conditions abroad.

It is apparent that there is a much heavier concentration of foreigners in the *Chin-i wei* than in any other imperial body guard or capital guard, and one may ask whether this is accidental or whether the Ming had a special purpose in mind when they incorporated so many foreigners into the Metropolitan Police. Was it because as foreigners they were not likely to get involved in local affairs? Another question intimately related to the first one, is that concerning the role the foreigners played in the history of the *Chin-i wei*. However interesting these questions are, I am not qualified to answer them. I must limit myself to stating them and drawing to them the attention of students of the Ming period.

Another question of interest to the historian of the Ming period, is whether the Ming followed a similar policy with regard to tribes from other sections of the borders of the empire. It is to be hoped that some specialist familiar with the history of those areas will provide an answer soon.