

華西協合大學中國文化研究所集刊

STUDIA SERICA



# STUDIA SERICA

VI

CHENGDU

1947

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The data contained in this note are the only ones available to the translator under present conditions of limited facilities. \*

DMITRI POKOTILOV has been attached to the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at St. Petersburg (1887), before he was sent to join the Russian Legation at Peking. In 1893 he was recalled to the Asiatic Department and, during the same year, he was nominated as Chief of the Chancery of General Affairs in the Ministry of Finance. He was appointed Director of the Russo-Chinese Bank at Peking in 1898. Later on he became a member of the directing council of this bank in St. Petersburg and, finally, was appointed as Russian Minister to China. In this position he died on March 7, 1903, at Peking. POKOTILOV narrated his trip to the Wu-t'ai-shan (1889), which was published in St. Petersburg in 1893 and has been translated into German by W. A. UNKRIG under the title *Der Wu Tai Schan und seine Klöster* in *Sinica-Sonderausgabe* 1935, pp. 38-89. His intention to devote himself entirely to scientific studies, did not materialize.

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\* Taken from an obituary published by HENRI CORDIER in the *T'oung Pao*, Serie II, Vol. IX (1903), p. 266.

# **STUDIA SERICA**

**JOURNAL OF THE CHINESE CULTURAL STUDIES RESEARCH INSTITUTE**

**Editor: WEN YU**

**Associate Editors:**

**WOLFGANG FRANKE HAN JU-LIN CHUNGSHEE H. LIU T. L. WOO**

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**VOLUME VI**

**1947**

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# HISTORY OF THE EASTERN MONGOLS DURING THE MING DYNASTY FROM 1368 TO 1634

by D. POKOTILOV

*Translated from the Russian*

by RUDOLF LOWENTHAL

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## FOREWORD

The attention of those who are interested in the study of the Mongol history has mainly been directed to its more brilliant phases. The destiny of the eastern Mongols that would be of particular interest to the sinologues has likewise been treated in its principal parts only. The whole history of the conquest of Chinghis and the rule of his successors until the downfall of the Yüan dynasty belong to the periods thus treated. Later events also attracted the attention of specialists; for instance, the struggle for independence of the Oirats against the Manchus. In addition, the events preceding that movement and immediately following it have likewise been studied. Finally, from the sources that have already been proved we can trace a sufficiently accurate picture of the contemporary distribution and settlement of the Mongolian aimaks and of their administrative organization under the present dynasty. On the other hand, the history of the eastern Mongols is shrouded in almost impenetrable darkness from the end of the 14th century until the beginning of the 17th century; i.e. over a period of more than 250 years.

As a matter of fact, being interested in that period, we naturally turn first of all to the two Mongolian documents in our possession, namely the chronicles by SSANANG SSKISEN<sup>1</sup> and by ALTAN TORGHU<sup>2</sup>, but what is contained in them?—To the enumeration of the names of the Mongol princes, who rapidly succeed one another, some legendary tales are devoted. Their historical significances, obtained through the direct study of the Mongolian sources, is often difficult to grasp and sometimes quite impossible. The supply of the Mongolian literature is doubtlessly not exhausted by the two above-mentioned documents, but no matter how many new chronicles or tales are discovered, they all will be marked by their episodic and legendary character.

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(1) *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*, verfasst von SSANANG SSKISEN Chungtaidachi der. Ordus, aus dem Mongolischen neübersetzt und mit Originaltexten nebst Anmerkungen, Erläuterungen und Citaten aus andern unedirten Originalwerken hregg. von I.J. SCHMIDT, St.-Petersburg, 1829.

(2) ALTAN-TORGHI. *Mongolakala letopis, perevedennaja lamoin Galsan-Gomboevm, napechatannaia ve VI-chasti Trudov Vostochnovo Otdeleniia I. Archeologicheskago Obshchestva*. Spb. 1858.—Mongolian chronicle, translated by the Lama Galsan-Gomboiev, printed in the sixth part of the Works of the Eastern Section of the Institute of the Archaeological Society.

A connection of all such legends, in order to form a reasonably complete picture of the historical events at the time of the Ming dynasty, is only possible by a thorough study of all the available data on the subject contained in the Chinese sources. They alone can give us a solid historical foundation and a number of reliable facts to which the Mongolian tales serve simply as an eloquent illustration.

The attention of some scholars was already turned to the information on the Mongols contained in Chinese literature. I do not as yet speak here of Father HYACINTH and TIMKOVSKY, but name here the famous contemporary scholar, Dr. BREUSCHNEIDER *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (London, Trübner and Co., 1888) and the investigations of V.M. USPENSKY about the history of Koko-nor.<sup>3</sup> Here also belongs the information about the Mongols taken from Chinese sources in the histories of DE MAILLA<sup>4</sup> and DELAMARQUE.<sup>5</sup> Finally, we find a summary of everything that was printed in European literature until 1876 on the history of the Mongols in the *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th century* by the industrious and extremely conscientious compiler HOWORTH. All these works pursue, however, their special aims. Hence, the character of everything treated in them concerning the Mongols and their history during the Ming dynasty is necessarily fragmentary and incomplete.

I therefore consider it my task to fill this gap. In addition I endeavoured to use all the data furnished in Chinese literature.

My principal and fundamental source was the chronicle of the Ming dynasty — the *Ming-shih* 明史 representing an historical encyclopedia for the whole Chinese East during that period. This gigantic work, the compilation of which was begun soon after the Manchus seized power, was issued several times. I used the edition that was revised in 1739.

The chapters of the *Ming-shih* which were completely translated by me deal especially with the Mongols and the Oirats, but also furnish historical data relative to small principalities formed west of Kansu 甘肅 province and on the slopes of the T'ien-shan 天山. Their fate was closely linked up with the history of the Mongols for the period under examination. The information communicated in these sections was supplemented by me from the annual chronicles of the lives

(3) *Strana, Koko-nor ili Tsing-hai s priručníkem kratkoj istorii Oiratov i Mongolov, po iznaniu poslednix iz Kitaja, v svozi s istoričeskoj Koko-nora (prelmushchestvenno po kitajskim istočnikam)*. Spb. 1880 g. — The Koko-nor or Chinghai region supplemented by a short history of the Oirats and Mongols after their final expulsion from China, together with a history of Kokonor (mainly from Chinese sources).

(4) *Histoire generale de la Chine ou annales de cet empire trad. du T'oung-Kien-Kang-mou*. Paris, 1779.

(5) *Histoire de la dynastie des Ming*. Paris, 1868.

of various emperors (*Pen-chi* 本紀) and from the biographies of outstanding statesmen and generals (*Lieh-chuan* 列傳). I translated not less than eighty such biographies. Those who are familiar with the methods of Chinese historical writings and how scattered is the information on one and the same topic, will understand that only by such comprehensive study of the material could I arrive at a somewhat accurate presentation of the period interesting me. 5

I supplemented the information given in the *Pen-chi* and *Lieh-chuan* of the *Ming-shih* by extracts from the *Wu-pien tien-tse* 五邊典則 or the "Regulations of the five border districts" published under the Ming emperor Wan-li 萬曆 (1573-1620). This work includes the most detailed facts concerning the administration of the border districts under the Ming dynasty. Here are collected in chronological order the measures of the central authorities concerning the border regions as well as the reports of the governors to Peking stating their views in respect to the situation of the border affairs. 10

A general defect to be met with in all historical works compiled from Chinese sources is the carelessness on the part of the authors to determine accurately geographical points which are mentioned in the Chinese texts. Owing to that defect the reader has no possibility to orientate himself. This vagueness applies often not only to separate points, but even to whole districts. 15

As far as possible I wanted to prepare a lucid presentation of the localities, where the events interesting me took place. Above all, I endeavoured to become acquainted in detail with the whole northern regions of China bordering on Mongolia. Simultaneously my attention was directed to the division of their administration during the Ming dynasty. The most complete and detailed information on this subject I succeeded in culling from the work *Chiu-pien yü-t'u* 九邊輿圖 or "Description of the countries in the nine border regions." This work was first compiled contemporaneously to the Yüan 元 dynasty in 1320. Under the Ming emperor Chia-ching 嘉靖 (1522-1567) it was supplemented with contemporary material and in this extended form it was issued in 1739. This work of many centuries, which was several times revised and supplemented, treats minutely of the administrative division of northern China under the Ming dynasty. The remarks in it that were made in the Ming edition merit special interest. From them we can judge as to the opinions of the contemporaries about the state of the border affairs under the circumstances at that time. 20 25 30

For the determination of separate geographical points I used the historiogeographical dictionary *Li-tai ti-li-chih yü-pien chin-shih* 歷代地理志韻編今釋, published in 1836. In this work we find a valuable summary of the nomenclature of one and the same locality under the various dynasties. This most useful dictionary gives us the possibility of localizing the ancient, destroyed cities, their strength and position. Finally, for historical and geographical reference, I continuously consulted the *Meng-ku yü-mu-chi* 蒙古游牧記, that most exhaust- 35 40



tive Chinese encyclopedia about the contemporary knowledge of the Mongols. Frequently we also had to consult large official geographies of the Yüan, Ming, and Manchu dynasties.

5 Generally I made an effort of utilizing to the utmost all the available sources without neglecting even the most insignificant information as long as it could shed some light on the course of the historical events. In spite of that, as the readers will see, there remain still quite a few gaps and obscure points. These  
10 it will be possible to supplement only after the discovery and study of new folkloristic Mongolian documents of historical and literary nature. In the latter we will doubtlessly detect quite a few data which will enable us to judge of the inner intellectual life of the Mongolian people during the Ming dynasty.

D. Pokotilov.

St. Petersburg, October 1, 1898.

## 1. THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR HUNG-WU 洪武 (1368-1399)

The end of the reign of the last emperor of the Yüan 元 dynasty Togon-Temur is described in detail in the Chinese<sup>1</sup> as well as in the Mongol<sup>2</sup> annals.

The People's Movement to dethrone the hated Mongols started in China and gained momentum enough in 1368 to spread throughout the southern and central provinces of the empire. One of the ablest leaders of the rebellion was Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋. With due solemnity he declared himself emperor, named his dynasty "Ming" 明 and styled the years of his government "Hung-wu", i. e. "Great War". He brooked no delay in his plans and already at the end of 1368 marched his army from Nanking northwards. His general, Hsü Ta 徐達, in command of the Ming troops rushed to Peking and Togon-Temur was forced to his summer residence at K'ai-p'ing 開平.<sup>3</sup> But the Chinese troops, under the command of Ch'ang Yü-ch'ün 常遇春, pressed on a few months later and he sought refuge still farther north in the city of Ying-ch'ang 應昌.<sup>4</sup> He would have fared still worse if not for a division within the Chinese forces. Togon-Temur was loath to give up Peking and made plans to recover it from the Mings. He entrusted the task of retaking his lost capital to his general Wang Pao-pao 王保保,<sup>5</sup> who had, until then, been engaged in defending the northwestern provinces of China. General Wang mustered all available troops and threw himself eastwards in support of his sovereign. Meantime the Chinese prepared to launch an attack against the territory he had deserted. Hsü Ta and Ch'ang Yü-ch'ün moved westward and passed victoriously through the provinces of Shansi 山西 and Shensi 陝西. General Wang, on learning this, turned about in attempt to stop the Chinese armies. He caught up with them in Kansu 甘肅 Province, near Lanchow 蘭州 in the locality of Ting-hai 定西.<sup>6</sup> The Ming troops, on the advice of Ch'ang Yü-ch'ün, suddenly

(1) Cf. MAILLAI, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, vol. IX, pp. 652 ff.

(2) Cf. SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, pp. 122 ff. ALTAN-TORIGIL, pp. 48 ff. (Mongol text).

(3) K'ai-p'ing is situated in the prefecture of Henan-hua-fu 宣化府, a distance of a hundred li from the present district-city of Ch'ih-ch'eng-hsien 赤城縣. *Li-tai ti-l-chih*.

(4) Ying-ch'ang-lu (the designation "lu" 路 corresponds to the present "fu" prefecture) was one of the 29 lu into which the province of Chung-shu-sheng 中書省 was divided under the Yuan dynasty. The administrative centre of this province was lying west of the present headquarters of the Keshikten-aimak on the shore of Lake K'u-yü erh-hai 湖魚兒海. *Li-tai ti-l-chih*.

(5) The same is known by the name of K'uang-k'o t'ieh-mä-shu.

(6) The district-city of Ting-hai-chow lies in Kansu province in the prefecture of Kung-ch'ang 鞏昌 in the An-ling 安定 district. *Li-tai ti-l-chih*.

swooped down on the enemy camp.<sup>7</sup> A terrible massacre ensued and some 40,000 Mongols were captured. Wang Pao-pao, at the moment of the unexpected attack, was busy writing reports and barely had time to escape in the company of eighteen horsemen.<sup>8</sup> He turned north, crossed the Huang-ho on a stump and took refuge in Ho-ning 和寧.<sup>9</sup> His defeat was due in no small degree to the treason of several of his officers who joined up with the Chinese.<sup>10</sup>

The Chinese troops pressed on towards the northwest and, for a long time, gave him no rest, although, as we saw earlier, Togon-Temur himself had established headquarters at Ying-ch'ang. Generals Li Wen-chung 李文忠 and Feng Sheng 馮勝 were sent against him and rushed forth from the pass of Chü-yung kuan 居庸關. General Li soon reached the prefecture of Hsing-ho lu 興和路<sup>11</sup>, where he engaged and severely routed the Mongols in a bloody battle near the mountain of Lo-t'o shan 駱駝山.<sup>12</sup>

The Chinese troops pursued their course with a vengeance and marched rapidly to Ying-ch'ang. *En route* Li Wen-chung was informed that Togon-Temur had died and that his son, Ai-yu-shih-li-ta-la 愛欲識理達臘,<sup>13</sup> had succeeded with a small detachment in escaping to Ho-ning and that Togon's grandson, Mai-ti-li-pa-la 買的理八剌,<sup>14</sup> his wives, many high officials, and an enormous booty had been

(7) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-t'an*, 327, 1.

(8) *Ming-shih*, biogr. Wang Pao-pao, 124, 3.

(9) *Ming-shih*, biogr. Wang Pao-pao, 124, 3. For a detailed account of Ho-ning or Karakorum see the *Medieval Researches* by Dr. KRATZSCHNEIDER, vol. 1, p. 122, note no. 804 and vol. II, p. 162, note no. 922. — I must point out here the omission of some details by Dr. KRATZSCHNEIDER. According to the information contained in the dictionary *Li-tai ti-li-chih* the city of Ho-ning was situated in Khalkha between the rivers Orkhon and Taimur. In the geography, *Yuan ti-li-chih*, we read as follows: "When Chinghis-khan created in 1226 the administrative division into prefectures situated north of the Huang-ho, a capital was projected in that place. Ogotai-khan first built the city of Ho-lin 和林 and constructed a palace inside of it. Two years later another palace was erected, at a distance of 70 li to the north. But yet in 1236 a third pleasure-pavilion was constructed 30 li from Ho-ning.

(10) *Ming-shih*, biogr. Ch'ang Yu-ch'un, 126, 14.

(11) Hsing-ho lu was one of the prefectures within the jurisdiction of Chung-shu-sheng (province). Its administrative centre was situated 20 li southwest of the present headquarters of the yellow-striped Chahar-banner. *Li-tai ti-li-chih*.

(12) The mountain of Lo-t'o-shan (grass) lies 60 li to the southeast of the yellow-striped Chahar-banner according to the *Ta-Ch'ing ti-t'ung-chih*.

(13) SSANANG-SKITSSEN calls him Shilitku-khan.

(14) Both names, Ai-yu-shih-li-ta-la as well as Mai-ti-li-pa-la, are ostensibly derived from the Sanskrit. Presumably they were given by the lamas to the children of the ruler. The first one, SOHMIDU, established in the form of Ajushri-Dara (cf. SOHMIDU, *op. cit.*, p. 403, fn. 2), and the second one SOHOTI identified in the *Journal of the Berlin Academy* (for 1849, p. 504); translated as "son of Moidari."

captured.<sup>15</sup> Li Wen-chung followed the retreating Mongols to Pei-ch'ing-chou 北慶州 (?). Then, realizing that his rear guard was too insecure, he felt it necessary to return.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile general Wang Pao-pao<sup>17</sup> retreated on the other side of the Yellow River and joined forces with Ai-yu-shih-li-ta-la. Wang, as faithful retainer of his old master's son, did not abandon him in his misfortune, in spite of tempting bribes offered by emperor Hung-wu, who invited him seven times to join his side.<sup>18</sup> Many other Mongol officers behaved differently and sold themselves out to the Chinese; the *Ming-shih* mentions two: Chiang Wen-ch'ing 汪文清 and Shih Tu-erh 失篤兒.<sup>19</sup>

After all these brilliant victories attained by the Chinese there followed a year of calm which Ai-yu-shih-li-ta-la and his comrades put to good use. They extremely quickly recovered from their defeats and succeeded in assembling from various points quite a large army. Hung-wu learned of this and decided in the spring of 1372 to despatch three corps with the instruction to deal the decisive blow to the power of the Mongols. These were simultaneously ready to attack them in the very heart of their domain. Hsü Ta was appointed commander-in-chief of the Chinese forces; Li Wen-chung and Feng Sheng were given him as aides-de-camp. The army proceeded in three columns along different routes, Hsü Ta taking the middle one.<sup>20</sup> Emerging from the pass of Yen-men 雁門<sup>21</sup> he turned straight towards Ho-ning.<sup>22</sup> On the border of Ling-pei 嶺北<sup>23</sup> the column of Hsü Ta engaged Wang Pao-pao's troops in battle and suffered a crushing defeat, leaving several thousand killed on the battlefield.<sup>24</sup> Hsü Ta, however, did prevent a further Mongol offensive.<sup>25</sup> The campaign of the western corps under the command of Feng Sheng was more successful. When he approached Lanchou, his vanguard, led by Fu Yu-teh 傅友德, engaged the enemy near two small towns: at Hsi-liang 西涼 (?), against the Mongol commander Shih La-han 失剌罕 and at Yung-ch'ang 永昌 against To-erh-chih-pa 朵兒只巴. In both cases the Chinese

(15) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-tan*, 327, 1.

(16) *Ming-shih*, biogr. Li Wen-chung, 126, 4.

(17) *Ming-shih*, biogr. Wang Pao-pao, 124, 4.

(18) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-tan*, 327, 1.

(19) *Ibid.*

(20) *Ibid.*

(21) The Yen-men pass lies in Shansi province near Tai-chou 代州.

(22) *Ming-shih*, section *Fan-chi*, 2, 9.

(23) The name of Ling-pei was given to Ho-ning-lu prefecture in 1320. - Cf. Dr. BRET-SCHNICKER, *Med. Res.*, vol. II, p. 162, note no. 902.

(24) *Ming-shih*, biogr. Wang Pao-pao, 124, 4.

(25) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-tan*, 327, 1.

gained decisive victories and seized rich booty, consisting mainly of cattle.<sup>26</sup> Thereupon the vanguard joined the main force and in concerted action delivered a crushing blow to the Mongols commanded by Fu-hua 不花. More than 8000 Mongol families were captured. The Chinese proceeded to the localities of I-chi-nai-lu 亦集乃路<sup>27</sup> and Kua-sha-chou 瓜沙州. Repeated skirmishes with the Mongols took place *en route*. Finally, the third, eastern column, led by Li Wen-chung, had been sent towards the north and passing through Chü-yang kuan marched to Ho-ning. The Mongols were retreating and the Chinese army crossed the Lu-chü ho 臘胸河 (River).<sup>28</sup> From there they proceeded to the rivers Tu-la 土刺 (Tola) and A-lu-hun 阿魯渾 (Orkhon).<sup>29</sup> Near the latter ensued a battle in which the Mongols offered such desperate resistance that they fought hand-to-hand.<sup>30</sup> But regardless of their courage they suffered a complete reverse and the Chinese army pursued them far beyond the Orkhon to Lake Ch'eng 稱 (?) and captured there almost 1800 families which they sent immediately to the capital.<sup>31</sup> The return march of the Chinese was, however, very unsuccessful. They lost their way in the desert and suffered terribly from lack of water. After wandering around for a long time the horses began to paw the sand and found water. Only due to this fact were they saved from perishing.<sup>32</sup> Notwithstanding the rather heavy defeat they sustained in their native steppes, the Mongols immediately undertook a number of raids on the Chinese border provinces. — In 1373 they launched several such attacks in northern Shansi province in the region of Ta-t'ung-fu 大同府 and Ning-wu-fu 甯武府. In addition also the places of Pao-teh-chou 保德州, Ho-ch'ü-hsien 河曲縣, and Po-teng 白登<sup>33</sup> suffered thereby, as also the districts of Wü-chou 武州 and So-chou 朔州.<sup>34</sup> But the Chinese armies

(26) *Ming-shih*, biogr. Fu Yu-teh, 129, 8.

(27) About the prefecture of I-chi-nai-lu we read as follows in the 15th chapt. of the *Meng-ku yü-mü-chi*: "Under the Yuan dynasty, in the 28th year of the reign of Chih-yuan 至元 (1286), the prefecture of I-chi-nai-lu was established 1600 li northeast of Kan-chou. Regarding its administration it belonged to Kansu province. North from Su-chou leads a road which was important for its passenger traffic under the Yuan dynasty. It probably connected Su-chou with I-chi-nai-lu and further through the desert with Ho-ning." For interesting information about I-chi-nai-lu (Etzina) cf. Dr. BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 169, note no. 428 and vol. II, p. 177, note no. 937.

(28) The Lu-chü ho is identical with the Keralen; cf. Dr. BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 49, note no. 116 and p. 54, note no. 127.

(29) *Ming-shih*, section Ta-tan, 327, 2.

(30) *Ming-shih*, biogr. Li Wen-chung, 126, 5.

(31) *Ming-shih*, section Ta-tan, 327, 2.

(32) *Ming-shih*, biogr. Li Wen-chung, 126, 5.

(33) The locality of Po-teng lies in Shansi province, 25 li west of the district of Yang-kao hsien 陽高縣. *Li-tai ti-li-chih*.

(34) All these places are marked down on the contemporary Chinese maps.

soon threw them back. The Mongols operated by far more successfully in the east from the direction of Liao-tung 遼東. Here their invasions were so persistent that the emperor Hung-wu was compelled to give up the two districts of Fu-ning 撫寧 and Jui-chou 瑞州,<sup>36</sup> and the local inhabitants who wanted to remain under the protection of the Peking government were offered to evacuate to the interior provinces.<sup>37</sup> Such a measure can serve as a doubtless proof for the fact that the northern coast of the gulf of Pechihli was under Mongol control. They even succeeded in consolidating themselves on the northwestern side of Peking. The Chinese wished to rid themselves of such a close hostile neighbourhood. In 1374 they therefore undertook a series of expeditions.<sup>38</sup> General Lan Yü 藍玉 led against Hsüan-hua-fu, near the place of Po-chiu-ch'üan 白酒泉 (?) and then captured Hsing-ho. Li Wen-chung commanding another corps advanced in a more northerly direction and invaded the prefecture of Ta-ning 大寧<sup>39</sup> which was in complete control of the Mongols. Here he captured Kao-chou 高州<sup>40</sup> and Ta-shih-yai 大石崖 (?). Several relatives of the khan, among them To-to-shih-li 朵朵失里, and others<sup>41</sup> were killed. The Chinese troops pursued the fleeing Mongols to Shan-mao shan 薊帽山 and seized rich booty.<sup>42</sup>

In spite of his military achievements, emperor Hung-wu strove as far as possible to settle peacefully the misunderstandings which had arisen between himself and the Mongols. In the same year, 1374, he decided to use his trump card, namely to send back the Mongol khan's son, Mai-ti-li-pa-la, whom he held prisoner since 1371, providing him also with an admonitory letter to his father.<sup>43</sup> The calculation of Hung-wu was justified. After the release of Mai-ti-li-pa-la from captivity the Mongols for some time almost completely discontinued their ravaging invasions, except for an insignificant raid apparently carried out by the Mongol general Po-yen 伯顏<sup>44</sup> Temur on the prefecture of Yen-an 延安 in Shensi province.<sup>45</sup> The fact of this single raid by an individual commander, while universal

(36) Jui-chou district lies in the present Mukden province in the prefecture of Chün-chou 錦州, 180 li southwest of Ning-yuan-chou 寧遠州. *Li-tai ti-li-chih*.

(37) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-tan*, 327, 2.

(38) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-tan*, 327, 2.

(39) Ta-ning-lu prefecture occupied the northeastern part of Chih-li 直隸 province. The city of Ta-ning itself was lying northeast of Ch'eng-teh-fu 承德府. *Li-tai ti-li-chih*.

(40) Kao-chou was one of the districts under the jurisdiction of Ta-ning-lu prefecture.

(41) *Ming-shih*, section *Le-chi*, 2, 11.

(42) *Ming-shih*, biogr. Li Wen-chung, 126, 5.

(43) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-tan*, 327, 2.

(44) For brevity's sake we shall henceforth spell this name Temur not in its full and cumbersome Chinese transcription T'ieh-mu-erh 帖木兒.

(45) *Ming-shih*, biogr. T'ang Ho, 126, 14.

peace reigned at the border, indicates the beginning decentralization of power among the Mongols. The attack on Yen-an was apparently made without the knowledge of Ai-yu-shih-li-ta-la (Bhliktu-khan) then residing high up in the north at Karakorum. One of the reasons for the peaceful attitude prevailing at that time among the Mongols was ostensibly the death (1373) of Wang Pao-pao,<sup>45</sup> their leading and most efficient general. The Mongol ruler, Ai-yu-shih-li-ta-la, did not long survive his faithful retainer, in 1378 he expired. The emperor Hung-wu hastened to utilize this opportunity of showing new courtesies to the Mongols. He composed a panegyric in honour of the deceased and sent a solemn embassy with posthumous sacrificial offerings to the deceased Mongol prince. Simultaneously he proposed to the prince's heir to live in peace with China and to refrain from renewing attacks. The *Ming-shih* historian names T'o-ku-szu 脫古思 Temur as successor to Ai-yu-shih-li-ta-la. According to the years of his reign, he would correspond to Usachal-khan of SSANANG-SHETSSEN<sup>46</sup> and ALTAN-TUBCHI.<sup>47</sup> The last annal calls him the younger brother of Bhliktu-khan; though in the *Ming-shih* he is called the son of Ai-yu-shih-li-ta-la.<sup>48</sup>

T'o-ku-szu-Temur, however, gave little attention to the flattery of the Chinese and showed no desire to adhere to the peaceful policy which his father had followed during the last years of his reign. His first action after his accession to the throne was to concentrate a large army near Ying-ch'ang and Ho-ning (Karakorum). He entrusted the command of the Mongol hordes to Man-tzu-ha-la-chang 蠻子哈剌摩, wan-che-pu-hua 完者不花, Nai-erh-pu-hua 乃兒不花, and Ai-tsu 愛足. Choosing a favourable moment they attacked the Chinese border provinces. In 1380 the Chinese concentrated their forces and decided to offer energetic resistance to their unruly neighbours. Mu Ying 沐英 was appointed commander-in-chief and was ordered to engage the Mongol army which was being formed at Ho-ning (Karakorum). Mu Ying moved his army from Ling-chou 靈州<sup>49</sup> across the Huang-ho, near that city, and advanced northwest to I-chi-nai-lu.<sup>50</sup> He then turned north through Ho-lan shan 賀蘭山<sup>51</sup> and marched directly on Ho-ning. Here he gained a decisive victory over the Mongols capturing their generals T'o-huo-ch'ih 脫火赤, Ai-tsu, and wan-che-pu-hua.<sup>52</sup>

(45) *Ming-shih*, section I *en-chi*, 2, 12.

(46) Cf. SCHMIDT, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 and 403.

(47) Cf. ALTAN TUBCHI, p. 54 (Mongol text).

(48) From the text of the ukase promulgated in 1408 by emperor Yung-lo 永樂 it is apparent that the Chinese at least considered their prisoner T'o-ku-szu-Temur and Mai-ti-li-pa-la as one and the same person.

(49) Ling-chou lies in the prefecture of Ning-hsia fu 甯夏府; cf. the map by MATUSOVSKI.

(50) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-tan*, 327, 2.

(51) *Ming-shih*, biogr. Mu Ying, 126, 8.

(52) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-tan*, 327, 2-3.

While the Chinese generals heavily defeated the Mongols in the northwest, the latter hurriedly consolidated their position in the east. General Na-ha-ch'u 納哈出 maintained himself in southeastern Mongolia and what is now part of southern Manchuria, according to the *Ming-shih*, apparently as independent regional governor. From here he repeatedly campaigned against Liao-tung. The Chinese raised in 1387 a special army for the suppression of these raids. The high command was conferred upon Feng Sheng, who immediately started for the campaign<sup>53</sup> with his assistants Fu Yu-teh and Lan Yü. The Chinese then employed a new tactic. They did not merely confine themselves to taking the offensive against the enemy, but organized a permanent consolidation of their power north and northeast of Peking. Here Feng Sheng built four cities: K'uan-ho 寬河, Hui-chou 會州, Ta-ning, and Fu-yü 福餘.<sup>54</sup> Having thus established himself and secured his rear communications, Feng Sheng pushed on. The vanguard of his army, under the command of Lan Yü, soon reached Ch'ing-chou 慶州,<sup>55</sup> near where the Mongols were encamped. Lan Yü hoped to gain his objective by peaceful means. He therefore sent Nai-la-wu 乃剌吾, a Mongol warlord, whom he held as prisoner, to Na-ha-ch'u and obligated him to remind his kin about the many favours the Chinese emperor had bestowed upon him, and thus to win their loyalty. The Mongol commander, influenced by the persuasion of Nai-la-wu, lost confidence in his own power and considering it hopeless to resist the Chinese, despatched an emissary with presents to the camp of Lan Yü. But at the same time, he instructed his emissary to reconnoitre about the conditions of Lan Yü's army. This emissary was courteously received by Lan Yü and on his return reported to his commander about the superior strength of the Chinese forces, whereupon Na-ha-ch'u sighed deeply and exclaimed: "Heaven does not want me to possess these people." Forth-with he mounted his horse and with a retinue of several hundred horsemen appeared at the camp of Lan Yü in order to declare his submission.<sup>56</sup> The Chinese general was extremely pleased with his guest and held a feast in his honour. In the course of it he extended his kindness to the point that he even suggested the exchange of garments with Na-ha-ch'u. Meantime the Mongol commander began to regret his hasty submission and in a whisper expressed to members of his retinue his intention of fleeing. But Ch'ang Mao 常茂, the son-in-law of Feng Sheng, who was sitting close by, overheard this and hit Na-ha-ch'u over the back.

(53) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-tan*, 327, 3.

(54) *Ming-shih*, section *Fen-chi*, 3, 5.

(55) The city of Ch'ing-chou was situated 130 li north-west of the present headquarters of the Barin-aimak. *Il-tai ti-lt-chih*.

(56) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-tan*, 327, 3.



The latter fell down; he was bound and taken to the camp of the commander in-chief. The latter accorded him courteous treatment, but kept him under strict detention.<sup>57</sup>

A large part of the Mongols, some 200,000 men, surrendered to the Chinese, when they learned of the capture of their leader, but 40,000 men fled in various directions. Enormous booty was seized in a bloodless victory.<sup>58</sup>

This enthusiastic narration of the brilliant victory gained without bloodshed by the Ming army is, however, much exaggerated. This passage is interesting only because it sheds light on the new tactics adopted by the Mongols. They recognized the superiority of the comparatively well disciplined and trained Chinese troops. Therefore, when meeting them in open battle, they hurriedly declared their submission. This, however, did not prevent them in the least from conducting raids against the victory-intoxicated enemy when the first opportunity presented itself. Thus it happened again this time. Scarcely had the Chinese army started on its march back, when the Mongols drove a spearhead into the rearguard and cut off a detachment of 3000 men. P'u Ying 僕英, its commander, cut his throat in despair, when he realized the unavoidable ruin.<sup>59</sup> Feng Sheng returned to the capital and presented the captured booty to the imperial court. The booty had shrunk considerably *en route*. Out of the countless number of cattle and horses only 290 horses reached Peking. This was largely due to the foraging activities of the fugitive Mongol detachments. However the emperor was extremely satisfied with the results of the campaign and treated the prisoners most graciously. On Na-ha-ca'u he conferred, among other courtesies, the title of Hsi-lsi hou 海西侯.<sup>60</sup>

Despite the Chinese victories, which were more on paper than in fact, the allegedly defeated Mongols rallied round the banner of T'o-ku-su-temur, whose headquarters were by Lake P'u-yü-erh-hai.<sup>61</sup> Meantime the position of Feng Sheng was undermined at the Peking court. He was accused of irregularities and replaced by his former subordinate officer Lan Yü. Forthwith Lan Yü marched with an army of 150,000 to Ch'ing-chou. There he cast about for detailed information on the position of the Khan's headquarters. In rapid marches he approached the camp on by-ways. He reached the place of Po-yen-ca'ing-shao

(57) *Ming-shih*, biogr. Feng Sheng, 129, 4.

(58) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-tan*, 327, 3.

(59) *Ming-shih*, section *I-en-chi*, 8, 6.

(60) *Ming-shih*, section *Ta-tan*, 327, 3. The name of Hsi-lsi is doubtlessly the designation of a place and it must belong to one of the districts of Liao-tung or to the area lying in the present southeastern Manchuria. Unfortunately I was unable to trace this place more accurately.

(61) Concerning this lake cf. Dr. BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 48, note no. 114.