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Marriage as Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty

by

George Qingzhi Zhao

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

Graduate Department of East Asian Studies

University of Toronto

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Abstract

Marriage as Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty

George Qingzhi Zhao

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of East Asian Studies

University of Toronto

(2001)

This dissertation is a study of the Mongolian royal marriages from the World Empire (1206-1279) to the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), focusing on the various aspects of the marriage strategies of the Mongol royal family and the political implications of these marriages. It also attempts to solve, by exploring the marriage partners of the Mongol royal family, the enigma of how and why an imperial marriage was arranged and determined, and to further reveal the relationship between the Mongol royal family and its marriage partners.

This dissertation consists of eight chapters. Chapter One reviews the Mongolian marital tradition and probes the characteristics of the Mongolian royal marriages. Chapter Two discusses the Marriage Strategies and the political implication of the Mongolian royal marriages. Chapter Three analyzes the social position of Mongolian women and the political involvement of Mongolian empresses. Chapter Four to Chapter Eight describe the various marriage relationships between the Chinggisid clan and its marriage partners. The Onggirat tribe, the Ikires tribe, the Oirat tribe, the Korean royal family, the Öngüt tribe, and the Uighur Idug-qut's Clan have been

selected for examination.

Based on the exploration, description, and discussion in the proceeding chapters, the dissertation concludes that the Mongolian imperial marriages during the 13th and 14th centuries were politically and militarily significant. The great ambitions of the Chinggisid clan for a maximum geographical expansion of the Mongol empire necessitated marriage strategies for an effective control of the realm. The effect of the political marriages of the Mongol royal family was largely justified by its successive domination over the allied tribes and states during the early period of the Mongol empire. The halo once placed on the strategy of Mongol royal marriage faded along with the decline of the Mongol empire.

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Explanatory Notes

1. In this study the terms “Mongolian” and “royal” are used for general description, and specifically refer to the time period before 1279, the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty; “Mongol” and “imperial” refers to the time period of the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368).

2. “Koryō” is used for description of interstate relations; “Korean” is used for general description.

3. In general, offices and official titles in this thesis follow Charles O. Hucker’s *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* and *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol Yuan Period (1200-1300)*, edited by Igor de Rachewitz, Hok-Lam Chan, Hsiao Ch’i-Ch’ing and Peter W. Geier.

4. For the transliteration of Oriental names and terms I adopt the following standard systems: Pinyin for Chinese, McCune-Reischauer for Korean, and Hepburn for Japanese. The Royal Asiatic Society system has been used for the transliteration of Persian. Certain general accepted terms and names employed in English have been retained.

Antoine Mostaert’s scheme for the transliteration of Mongolian, as modified by Francis W. Cleaves, has been used except for the following deviations:

č is replaced by ch,

š is replaced by sh

γ is replaced by gh

q is replaced by kh

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Introduction

1. THEME OF STUDY

This dissertation is a study of Mongolian royal marriages from the World Empire (1206-1279) to the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), focusing on the various aspects of marriage strategies of the Mongol royal family and the political implications of Mongol royal marriage. This thesis also attempts to solve, by examining the marriage partners of the Mongol royal family, the enigma of how and why an imperial marriage was arranged and determined, and to reveal further the relationships between the Mongol royal family and its marriage partners.

My interest in the subject matter stemmed from my curiosity about the nature of the Yuan period in Chinese history. This period was unique for on the one hand, China was reunified after more than a century of division; but on the other hand, for the first time, the whole territory of China fell under the rule of an alien people, which had long been viewed by the Han people as ‘barbarian’. This broke the historical tradition that the Han people had ruled most of the territory known as the “Middle Kingdom” for fourteen centuries since the Qin 秦 dynasty first unified China in 221 B.C. For the first time since then a minority nationality had become the ruling nationality and controlled state power. The Han nationality was reduced to the status of a ruled people. The Yuan period is regarded in official historiography (*zhengshi* 正史) as a legitimate Chinese dynasty, yet in fact the Mongol population in China barely exceeded one-tenth of the Song dynasty’s population it conquered.

Four sets of inquiries have been conceptualized and will be determined. The first is concerned with the marriage institutions of the Mongol elite in terms of “sinicization”. Since the Mongols

entered and dominated the state power of China, did their marriage customs change to or adapt to the Chinese culture? If so, to what extent had they evolved? If not, why not?

The second group of questions focuses specifically upon royal marriages. How did the imperial clan choose its marriage partners? What were the criteria and considerations when determining a marriage? Who were the empresses? Who were the imperial sons-in-law? From where did they originate?

The third group of questions is associated with the characteristics of Mongol royal marriages in comparative terms. In comparison with the royal marriages of such “alien dynasties” as Liao, Jin, Xixia, and typical Chinese dynasties such as Tang and Song, what were the distinguishing features of Mongol royal marriages?

The fourth group of questions are concerned with the role of imperial women, including the empresses and the princesses within Mongol Yuan political structures. Were they active or inactive in the politics of the Mongol Empire and the Yuan dynasty? If they were “active”, then, what motivated them to be involved in politics and what influenced their decision to play political roles?

This study attempts to solve the above-mentioned problems.

2. SCOPE AND LIMITS

Scholars of the Yuan dynasty are always confronted with the problem of determining the scope and limit of their studies with regard to the span of the Mongol Yuan dynasty. Thus, when we study marriage strategies of the Mongolian royal house within the political and cultural contexts, one issue has to be determined before proceeding any further. What is the starting point? Was it from Chinggis Khan or from Khubilai Khan?

Strictly speaking, the Yuan dynasty was founded by Khubilai Khan (r. 1260-1294). In 1260 he ascended the throne of the Mongol Empire without the election of the Mongol noble conference *Khuriltai*. In 1264 he moved his capital to Dadu from Karakorum. In 1271 he started to use “Yuan 元”¹ as his dynastic name. In 1279 he finally conquered the Southern Song and united China. Although all these years are pivotal, the generally recognized starting point of the Yuan dynasty is 1279. Yet, traditionally, Chinese scholars of Yuan history have treated 1206 when Chinggis Khan became the Mongol khan as the beginning of their historical accounts.² In view of the historical continuity of the Mongol royal marital tradition, it is desirable to start from Chinggis Khan to describe the Mongolian royal marriages, or at least to treat this period as a necessary historical background. In this study, I will treat Chinggis Khan as the starting point of the Mongolian royal marriage tradition.

3. PREVIOUS STUDIES OF IMPERIAL MARRIAGE IN THE MONGOL YUAN

Yuan studies have been relatively neglected by scholars both in China and abroad, because of the relatively short span of the Mongol dynasty, Chinese distaste for nomadic rule, and the demanding linguistic requirements for sources in Mongolian and the languages of the Islamic world. Thus, studies are scarce of marriage and the family in Yuan China in Western literature compared with other periods in Chinese history, such as those of the Tang, Song, and Qing periods. It is probably for this reason that the Yuan period has often been omitted by scholars in their discussions of women’s marriage and life in China. Given the recent progress of women’s history in

¹ Yuan 元 derives from the principle of *qianyuan* 乾元 (“the original creative force”) in the *Book of Changes*. For a detailed explanation of this dynastic title see John Langlois, Introduction to *China under Mongol Rule*, (ed.) John D Langlois, Jr. Princeton University Press, (1981): 3-7.

² For example, the *Yuanshi* 元史 started records of annals, biographies, and tables all from Chinggis Khan. Almost all later works in Yuan history follow this tradition.

the larger historical profession, it seems reasonable to ask how much research has to be done on women and the family in the Yuan period in order to signify general history of Yuan society or culture.

Early Western observers were naturally surprised by the unusual features of Mongol marriage customs, since they stood in sharp contrast to those of the Chinese as well as to their own. These features include levirate marriage and the unusually important roles of women in the family and clan. Modern Western scholars are therefore inclined to describe and compare the differences in marriage institutions and customs between Mongols and Chinese as their principal analytic tool.

Among scholars of the Yuan period, Morris Rossabi, Herbert Franke, John Langlois, Jennifer Homgren, and John Dardess, among others, have conducted studies specifically on women, marriage and family of the Yuan period. Rossabi has written the best biography of Khubilai Khan, whose life and career spanned the rise and decline of the Mongol empire.³ To write this book, he consulted not only Chinese sources, but also Middle Eastern and European sources, including Persian, Arab, Armenian, Syriac, and Italian. He has produced excellent bibliographies which contain five hundred and sixty-four sources in Western languages and one hundred and nineteen sources in Oriental languages. Among the latter, twenty-three are primary sources. These numbers show the extent of the author's research. Among his studies focused on elite women in the Mongol empire are "Khubilai Khan and The Women in His Family",⁴ and "Kuan Tao-sheng: Woman Artist in Yuan China".⁵ The former offers detailed descriptions of the lives of several renowned Mongolian women, including Hö'elun 訶阿倫, (wife of Yesugei and mother of Chinggis Khan),

³ Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

⁴ Morris Rossabi, "Khubilai Khan and The Women in His Family", in *Studia Sino-Mongolica*, Festschrift. For Herbert Franke ed. by Wolfgang Bauer. Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden, (1979): 153-80.

⁵ Morris Rossabi, "Kuan Tao-sheng: Woman Artist in Yuan China", in *Bulletin of Sung Yuan Studies*, 21 (November 21, 1989): 67-84.

Sorghaghtani-Beki 唆魯忽帖尼別吉 (senior wife of Tolui and mother of Khubilai), and Chabui 察必 (Empress of Khubilai Khan).

Herbert Franke has produced various studies regarding Mongol rule in China, cultural interactions under Mongol rule, historiography in Yuan times, and typical figures in the Yuan dynasty. His recently published book, *China under Mongol Rule*,⁶ collects thirteen previously published articles. One of them, “Women under the Dynasties of Conquest”, deals with women’s lives under the Liao (907-1125), Jin (1115-1234), Xi Xia (11th cent. -1227) and Yuan (1279-1368).

John Langlois’ edited book, *China under Mongol Rule*,⁷ collects the articles of the most prominent Yuan scholars: Hok-lam Chan, John Langlois, Herbert Franke, Morris Rossabi, et al., whose essays range over a number of issues, including institutions, thought, foreigners in China, and art and literature. In the introduction to this volume Langlois raises some important issues in Yuan studies such as the legitimacy of Mongol rule in China, the characteristics of Mongol rule, the legal system of the Yuan period, and sinicization. Langlois’s paper in this collection, “Political thought in Chin-hua under Mongol Rule”, investigates the development of one part of Chinese culture under Mongol rule. The author suggests that Mongol rule in China went through various transformations. By the time Khubilai Khan conquered South China in the 1270s, Mongol rule had already been altered by the encounter with Chinese civilization. In its new form, Mongol rule was not simply an occupation by nomads aimed at seizure of booty from the sedentary people of China. It had become a hybrid form of government, partly bureaucratic, and partly colonial and military. It focused on seizing booty, and on developing wealth and income in the ruled territories. However, it never compromised on the principle of Mongol superiority.⁸

⁶ Herbert Franke, *China under Mongol Rule*, Variorum, 1994.

⁷ John Langlois, ed., *China under Mongol Rule*, Princeton University Press, 1981.

⁸ See specially pages 138-40.

John Dardess concentrated on assimilation. His monograph *Conquerors and Confucians: Aspects of Political Change in Late Yuan China* highlights the influences of Chinese culture on the Mongol rulers in the Yuan dynasty.⁹ He argues that by the late Yuan period, the conquerors had become Confucian adherents themselves. As a privileged ruling caste, the Mongols and their non-Chinese (*semu*) allies became Confucianized to a high degree. But they were scarcely on that account absorbed or swallowed by the Chinese majority, since Confucianism, through its insistence upon the principles of ancestral loyalty and filial piety, tended to preserve rather than level ethnic and national distinctions. This book shows that a violent Confucian political debate took place in the late Yuan period. The high point of this debate occurred from 1340 to 1355, when reformist and conservative Confucian administrations succeeded each other at roughly five-year intervals. Each had a completely different idea of the proper aims and conduct of political life. Dardess also explored the comments of Taizu, the founder of the Ming dynasty (Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋) on the Yuan.¹⁰ It seemed to Taizu that the history of the Yuan presented a series of conflicting images of grandeur and decadence, and of legitimacy and outrage. Dardess points out that Taizu's remarks about the Yuan were not offered as models of dispassionate inquiry. They were advanced to underscore various policy positions taken by the early Ming state, which is probably one reason why his views are so often inconsistent.

Thereby, Yuan imperial marriage has attracted adequate scholarly attention and has been studied in a fragmentary fashion as a result of current availability of materials in Mongol history and Yuan history. However, there still remain no thorough studies on Yuan royal marriage. Available studies in this area concentrate only upon the most well-known emperors and empresses.

⁹ John W. Dardess, *Conquerors and Confucians: Aspects of Political Change in Late Yuan China*, Columbia University Press, 1973.

¹⁰ John W. Dardess, "Ming T'ai-tsu on the Yuan: An Autocrat's Assessment of the Mongol Dynasty", *The Bulletin of Sung and Yuan Studies*, 14 (November 14, 1978): 6-10.

Very little attention has been devoted to the marriages of other emperors, imperial consorts, princes and princesses. Also, in depth studies have not been made on the families from which empresses and other consorts were selected, and the types of families chosen to provide husbands for princesses.

Jennifer Holmgren is the first scholar to attempt to theoretically explain various phenomena in the imperial marriages of the Yuan and the Mongol marital traditions. Her analyses and arguments are generally enlightening and convincing because of her thorough studies on the imperial marriage in both native Chinese and non-Han states. Her arguments should have been more cogent and convincing if she had provided more concrete facts to support them. One of her essays, "Imperial Marriage in the Native Chinese and Non-Han State, Han to Ming",¹¹ demonstrates the variety and political ingenuity of marriage systems designed by the leaders of conquest dynasties. Three states, the Tuoba 拓跋 (A.D. 399-534), the Qidan. 契丹 (Khitan) Liao 遼 dynasty (A. D. 916-1122), and the Mongol empire (A. D. 1200-1368), are selected for investigation. The author concludes that imperial marriage policy under conquest dynasties consisted of a judicious mix of elements derived from both the steppes and the Chinese traditions. Holmgren also attempts to explain marriage and inheritance practices, with references to the levirate of early Mongol and Yuan societies in terms of the bride-price theory.¹² She believes that early Mongol society was characterized by the bride-price factor, a transaction in which marriage wealth passed from the groom's family to that of the bride. Holmgren's evidence about the bride-price in Mongol society is mainly discovered in the writings of Rubruck and Carpini, two independent observers of Mongol culture in the early part of the thirteen-century.

¹¹ Jennifer Holmgren, "Imperial Marriage in the Native Chinese and Non-Han State, Han to Ming", in *Marriage and Inequality in China*, edited by Rubie. Watson, Patricia Buckley Ebrey, University of California Press, (1991): 58-96.

However, this bride-price theory can hardly be confirmed by *The Secret History*. For example, in Tiemujin, in the later Chinggis Khan's first marriage, this was not the case. The betrothal gift his father presented to Borte's father Dei Sechen was only a horse. While a gift Borte brought to her parents-in-law, a valuable black marten garment, helped Tiemujin establish a close relationship with Ong Khan, the chief of the powerful Kereit tribe in the Mongol steppes.¹³ When discussing a marriage between his younger sister Tiemulun 帖木倫 and Botu 孛術, Chinggis remarks, "To decide a marriage only based on the amount of wealth is almost like merchant's conduct."¹⁴ Holmgren has obviously realized this exception, therefore she adds that it does not follow from that the bride's family in early Mongol society gave little or nothing at the time of marriage. Yet she argues that the value of property given by woman's family was overshadowed by costs borne by the groom and his family.

Holmgren poses some hypotheses regarding the marriage customs in early Mongol society, the social position of Chinggis Khan's father, as well as other topics, to fit the facts into the theory she employs. However, some of the hypotheses are dubious. For example, to support her bride-price theory she tried various means to prove that Chinggis Khan's father Yesügei was from a lower ranking family.

First of all, Holmgren claims that, in Mongol society, it was customary for the father to escort the daughter to the husband's camp as a sign that the marriage agreement had been fulfilled. The example she gave is Ambaqa, an early leader of the Tayichi'ut-Kiyat confederation, who, according to the *Secret History*, was seized by the Tartar Juyin people on the way to hand over his daughter to

¹² Jennifer Holmgren, "Observations on Marriage and Inheritance Practices in Early Mongol and Yuan Society, with Particular Reference to the Levirate", in *Journal of Asian History*, vol. 20, (1986): 127-192.

¹³ Zhaqi Siqin (Sechin Jagchid), *Menggu mishi xinyi bing zhushi*, 蒙古秘史新译並注释, Lianjing Chuban Youxian Gongsi, (1979): 101, 115,

¹⁴ *Yuanshi* 元史, 118:3921. See the Biography of Botu.

her husband, and was escorted to the Jin for execution.¹⁵ On the other hand, according to Riasanovsky, the live in son-in-law phenomenon occurred amongst the poor and was restricted to the pre-marriage state.¹⁶ Based on these, Holmgren raises hypotheses regarding the position of Chinggis' father Yesügei in his tribe and the marriage of Chinggis to Borte. An argument she poses is as following: "If, in Mongol society, it was customary for father to escort daughter to the husband's camp upon completion of the marriage contract, and if the live-in son-in-law phenomenon was a strategy used by the poor as a substitute for bride-price, then a question of fundamental importance arises about the status of Chinggis Khan's family in the Tayichi'ut-Kiyat confederation to which he belonged. It is often assumed that Chinggis' father, Yesügei, held a position of importance, if not the leadership itself, of that confederation. Yet apart from the fact that Yesügei is given as nephew of a former leader, the *Secret History* provides no solid grounds for such an assumption."¹⁷

This assumption is questionable. First of all, it seems not a well-established custom in Mongol society for a father to escort his daughter to his son-in-law's camp. We have not discovered any evidence indicating that this was an obligatory step in Mongol marital customs. It has never been mentioned as one of the Mongol marital customs in any of the books introducing Mongol social customs. Therefore it was probably only an individual phenomenon. As for the fact that Ambaqa Khan was captured by the Tartar people and sent to the Jin court, Rashid Al-din provided a detailed but different record: he went to the Tartar tribe to propose marriage for himself rather than to escort his daughter to her husband's.¹⁸

¹⁵ *The Secret History*, ch. 1: 10.

¹⁶ Riasanovsky, Valentin A. *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*. Reprint. Bloomington: Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, (1965):239. quoted in Jennifer Holmgren, "Observation on Marriage", *Journal of Asian History* 20 (1986): 132.

¹⁷ Jennifer Holmgren, "Observation on Marriage", *Journal of Asian History* 20(1986): 132.

¹⁸ *Rashiduuddin Fazlullah, Jami'u't-Tawarikh, Compendium of Chronicles, a history of the Mongols*, trans. by W. M. Thackston, Harvard University, Part two, (1998): 129-30. "Hambaqai Qa'an, the grandson of

With regard to the marriage contract between Chinggis and Borte and the attitude of Dei Sechen towards their union, we find two opposite records. Rashid al-Din's work tells us that when Temujin grew up, he went to Dei Sechen's home to claim his betrothed wife, but Dei-Sechen objected. It was only through the help of Borte's brother that the two were finally united.¹⁹ Rashid did not mention why Dei Sechen objected to this marriage. But Holmgren maintains that it was because Chinggis never completed his period of service as a live-in son-in-law with Borte's family and strictly speaking was not entitled to marry Borte.²⁰ However, on the contrary, *The Secret History* tells us that Dei-Sechen was very happy when Temujin went to his home to claim Borte. "When Dei Sechen, seeing Temujin and rejoicing exceedingly, spake, having said, 'knowing that they Tayichi'ud brethren are jealous, being very troubled, [I] had lost hope. And now [I] have hardly seen thee,' having united Börte Üjin [with him], he accompanied [her]"²¹

Holmgren argues that it is unlikely that a man of wealth and good standing in his community would set out virtually alone to seek a wife for his son as Yesügei had done; it is even more unlikely that he would have left that son with the father of the bride. Because such is the behavior of a poor man unable to meet normal bride-price requirements.²² However, it seems not a problem for a nobleman to travel alone to seek a wife for his son in ancient Mongol society. Ambaqa, as honorable as a Khan, had to personally go to the Tartar tribe to seek a wife, or, as being recorded otherwise, escorted his daughter to her husband, without enough guards.

Charaqa Lingqum, the son of [Sorqaduqtu China], who was then the ruler of the Tayichi'ut tribe, went to the Tartar tribes in order to choose one of their daughters for himself. They were offended, saying, "How can he ask for our daughters like this?" and seized him and several of his liege men. Since they were followers of and obedient to the Altan Khan, they sent him there, and the Altan Khan ordered, as was their custom, that he be nailed to a wooden donkey until he died."

¹⁹ *Rashiduuddin Fazlullah, Jami'u't-Tawarikh, Compendium of Chronicles, a history of the Mongols*, trans. by W. M. Thackston, Harvard University, Part one, (1998): 85: "Genghis Khan asked for her (Borte) as a very young man, but her father objected strongly. Since Elchi Noyan had a friendship with Genghis Khan, he endeavored to give him his sister."

²⁰ Jennifer Holmgren, "Observation on Marriage ...", *Journal of Asian History* 20 (1986): 133.

²¹ *The Secret History*, ch. 2:32.

²² Jennifer Holmgren, "Observations on Marriage ...", *Journal of Asian History* 20 (1986): 132-33.

Holmgren suggests that the bride-price system assured that ordinary Mongols rarely had more than one wife and that levirate was undoubtedly a wide-spread institution amongst the middle and lower ranks of the society where it was a means of protecting the economic and social integrity of the family.²³ Based on these assumptions, she argues that the status of Yesügei, must have been lowly, because he had only two wives, at least one of whom was captured rather than purchased or inherited.²⁴ Moreover, she believes that the fate of Yesügei's wives after his death is also indicative of lowly status. Because Yesügei's widows were not taken in marriage by his brother or any other relative.²⁵ According to her assumption, "if Yesügei was leader of his Kiyat branch of the clan or chief of the Tayichi'-ut-Kiyat confederation, his wives would probably have been taken in marriage by his successor to legitimize the transfer of power. At the very least, had they commanded a reasonable portion of property, they would have remained in the clan as single heads of independent nuclear units. The treatment meted out to the family suggests not so much a political coup by the Tayichi'ut to take control of the Kiyat, but rather that Yesügei and his immediate relatives had neither wealth nor position and that for this reason his kin were unable or unwilling to look after this widow and children. With this in mind, we must interpret that passage in the Secret History which describes the defection of Yesügei's people to the Tayichi'ut as referring not the Kiyat as a whole but merely to the few prisoners of war Yesügei had taken. Alternatively, the passage may be pure fiction designed to embellish the hardships suffered by the young Chinggis after his father's death."

In the same article Holmgren states that it was mandatory for a widow to stay in her husband's clan in Mongol society, and it was particularly crucial in the middle and lower ranks of the society where widows were less able to survive on their own, and where, if left to their own devices, they

²³ Jennifer Holmgren, "Observations on Marriage....", *Journal of Asian History* 20 (1986): 134.

²⁴ Jennifer Holmgren, "Observations on Marriage....", *Journal of Asian History* 20 (1986): 134.

might contract second marriage to outsiders.²⁶ So, if Yesügei was actually in a lowly position, then his widow should have been taken by one of his relatives since it was obligatory. Since she was not taken by any of Yesügei's relatives, then Yesügei might not belong to the lower rank class. However, Holmgren suddenly changes her evaluating criteria from bride-price theory to political theory, and states that if Yesügei was leader of his Kiyat branch of the clan or chief of the Tayichi'-ut-Kiyat confederation, his wives would probably have been taken in marriage by his successor to legitimize the transfer of power. Following this logic, since Yesügei's widow was not taken by his relatives in both cases, Yesügei's social status is actually uncertain.

It is without question that Chinggis's father Yesügei was born in an aristocratic family. Yesügei's grandfather Khabul (合不勒) and elder uncle Khutula (忽圖剌) were both Mongol Khans.²⁷ Yesügei was titled Ba'atur 巴阿秃儿 (warrior). He was a powerful Mongol nobleman. But it does not necessarily mean that he was very wealthy. In nomadic societies, the wealth was signified by horses, cattles and sheep. After the death of Yesügei, his widows and sons were abandoned by his people. The only property they possessed then were nine horses. The number of cattle and sheep is unclear. They were certainly not wealthy, that is why they had led an extremely hard life. We may assume that their wealth must have not been limited to only nine horses when Yesügei was alive. *The Secret History* tells us that When the Tayichi'ut people left Hö'elun and her children in the camp and moved away, an old man named Charaqa (察剌合) tried to stop them, but a man named Tödö'en Girte 脱朵延-吉儿帖 said: "The deep water hath dried up. The bright stone is broken to piece!"²⁸ which implied that their leader, Yesügei, has died, and they had nothing to care. Tödö'en Girte even stabbed and wounded Charaqa. When Temujin went to see Charaqa, the

²⁵ Jennifer Holmgren, "Observations on Marriage...", *Journal of Asian History* 20 (1986): 134.

²⁶ J. Holmgren "Observations on Marriage...". *Journal of Asian History*, 20 (1986): 153. In the same article (p. 134-5) Holmgren attempts to prove that Yesügei was of lowly social status instead of a tribal chieftain in Mongol society.

old man said: "When, taking [with them] the people which had been assembled by thy good father and the people of us all, they were taking journey, as I was admonishing [them], it was so done [unto me]." When Hō'elun learned this, she immediately took the big army banner, and jumped on her horse, and pursued those who had deserted her. She was able to force half of her people to return. But soon they too slipped away and left Hō'elun behind with her children.²⁹ According to a footnote of SechinJaqchid (札奇斯欽) in *Menggu mishi xinyi bing zhushi* 蒙古秘史新譯並注釋, the big army banner was called "toghla ju-togh".³⁰ It signified the patron saint of the whole clan in early Mongol society; therefore, Hō'elun tried to use it to persuade her betrayed subjects. This story clearly indicates the social position Yesügei had held in Mongol society. In fact, Yesügei had a noble title, and was brave in war, so he must have plundered a lot of people and cattle from other tribes in wars. It was highly probable that the Tayi'chi-ut people had taken away not only his people, but also a huge part of his property when they abandoned his family.

It is difficult to decide whether Yesügei was the tribal chief of Tayichi'ut, although he has been given this title in many studies.³¹ *The Secret History* records that after Ambaqa Khan was captured by the Tartar people and was killed by the Jin emperor, his people of Mongol-Tayichi'ut held an emergency assembly at the Onon River 斡難河 and elected Khutula as their new Khan.³² Khutula launched thirteen attacks upon the Tartars to revenge Ambaqa. Yesügei was one of the major commanders in these battles. D'Ohsson's *Historie des Mongols* states: "When Ambaqa died, his

²⁷ See *The Secret History*, ch. 1:10-11.

²⁸ *The Secret History*, ch. 2: 20.

²⁹ Zhaqi Siqin, *Menggu Mishi Xin Yi Bing Zhushi*, pp. 74-75.

³⁰ It was also called "Ejen sulde". According to the footnote in Henry Serruys's "Two Remarkable Women in Mongolia" (*Asia Major*, vol. XIX/part2, pp. 191-245), the flag, sulde, was the seat of the protector or ruler. The flag was not only a religious object, it was also a symbol of the ruler's power. See also Serruy's paper "Mongol Prayer to the Sprit of Cinggis-qan's Flage", in L. Ligeti (ed.) *Mongolian Studies*, pp. 527-35.

³¹ See for example, Ebrey, Patricia Buckley, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*, (1996): 169, which states that Yisugei was a tribal chieftain.

³² Zhaqi Siqin (Jagchid Sechin), *Monggu Mishi Xinyi Bing Zhushi*, (1979): 54.

clansmen tried to revenge him. His son Khada'an-Taisi 合丹太師 and Khabul Khan's son Khubilai (Coubilai) Khan 忽必來汗 (i.e. Khutula), Khabul Khan's grandsons and Chinggis Khan's father Yesügei Bartur, tried to jointly attack on Jurchen. Khubilai was the bravest amongst his brothers, and therefore he succeeded Khabul as Khan."³³ In *The Secret History of Mongols*, Yesügei was called Bartur, not Khan. However, according to the records in *Yuanshi* it seems that Yesügei had succeeded the Khanate of the Mongol-Tayichi'ut: "After Gebulü Khan 葛不律寒 (i.e. Khabul Khan), his son Bartan 八哩丹 succeeded to him; after Bartan died, his son Yesügei succeeded to him."³⁴ It is somewhat unclear here if Yesügei had succeeded to the throne. He might have only inherited his father's noble title (Ba'atur) and property. According to the *Secret History*, Yesügei's father Bartan was the only one who had the title Ba'atur among his seven brothers. Yesügei also was the only one who held the title "Bartur" among his four brothers.³⁵ In any case, it seems no doubt that Yesügei held an important position of Mongol nobleman, probably a chieftain of one of the sub-tribes in the Mongol confederation.

Holmgren further extends her assumption that Dei Sechen of the Onggirat tribe must also have been in a lower social status in order to match her theory. "If we assumes that Yisugei's status was a lowly one, a question then arises about Dei-sechen's motives in agreeing to the match, for at that time, his Onggirat tribe was one of the most powerful groups in north-eastern Mongolia." "On the more practical side, it must be recognized that there is no evidence that Dei-Sechen held a place of importance in the Onggirat at the time of marriage."³⁶ According to the investigation of Bailadugeqi 白拉都格其, many sub-tribes had derived from the Onggirat tribe up to the twelfth century. Dei

³³ D'Ohsson, Constantin d', baron, *Historie des Mongols Duosang Meggu shi* 多桑蒙古史, (1964): 39.

³⁴ *Yuanshi, chuan* 1, p. 3.

³⁵ Sechin Jagchid (Zhaqi Siqin), *Monggu mishi xinyi bing zhushi*, (1979): 40-43.

³⁶ J. Holmgren, "Observations on Marriage", *Journal of Asian History* 20 (1986): 134.

Sechen was the chieftain of the Bosqur tribe, a sub-tribe of Onggirat tribe.³⁷ Therefore there should be no doubt that Dei Sechen had held a place of importance in the Onggirat tribe. When the leaders of the eleven tribes assembled at Alqui Spring, plotting to attack Chinggis Khan and Ong Khan it was Dei Sechen who sent a messenger to Chinggis Khan to warn him of the impending attacks. *The Secret History* tells us that the leaders of the Onggirat tribe, Dergeg, Emel, Alqui, and others participated the assembly.³⁸ Dei Sechen might have been one of them.

With regard to levirate marriage in ancient Mongol society, Rossabi's study indicates that the wives of Mongol Khans and nobles were exceptions to levirate marriage. Rossabi found that several renowned women, though relatively young when they were widowed, never remarried, instead they reared their children and managed households on their own.³⁹ The two famous women he gives as examples are Chinggis Khan's mother Hö'elun and Khubilai Khan's mother Sorghagaghtani-Beki. However, although Hö'elun was not taken by one of her husband's relatives, she was later remarried to Menglik Ecige, the old servant of Yesügei, the father of the famous shaman, Kokochü, of the Qongqotad clan by the arrangement of Chinggis Khan. "He (Menglik Echige) was always with Genghis Khan, in good times and bad. Genghis Khan gave him his mother, Ö'älün Ekä."⁴⁰ When Rashid compared Sorghagaghtani-Beki with Hö'elun, he commented,

And just as, when Chinggis Khan was left an orphan by his father, his mother, Hö'elun Eke, trained him and all the army, sometimes even going into battle herself and equipping and maintaining them until Chinggis Khan became independent and absolute, and attained to the degree of world-sovereignty, and accomplished great things thanks to his mother's endeavors, so too Sorghagaghtani-Beki followed the same path in the training of her children. It is said, however, that in one respect she was more long-suffering than the mother of Chinggis Khan and won the palm from her for constancy. After a time Chingiz-Khan

³⁷ Bailadugeqi 白拉都格其, "Hongjilabu yu Dexuechan" (Onggirat Tribe and Dei-sechen), in *Menggu Shi Lunwen Xuanji*. (1983): 255-70.

³⁸ *The Secret History*, ch. 4: 68.

³⁹ Morris Rossabi, "Khubilai Khan and the Women in His Family" in *Studia Sino-Mongolica: Festschrift für Herbert Franke, Franz Steiner*, ed. by Wolfgang Bauer. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, (1979): 154.

⁴⁰ Rashiduuddin Fazlullah, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh, Compendium of Chronicles, a history of the Mongols*, trans. by W. M. Thackston, Harvard University, Part two, (1998): 89.

gathered from a cryptic remark of his mother that she wanted a husband and he gave her in marriage to Menglik Echige.⁴¹

Sorghaghtani-Beki was Khubilai's mother, the senior wife of Tolui. *Yuanshi* only has a very brief biography of her without any accounts of her activities. Fortunately, Rashid Al-din offered a lengthy description about her.⁴² She was portrayed as being "extremely intelligent and able and towered above all the women in the world".⁴³ When Tolui died, Ögödei proposed that Sorghaghtani marry his son Güyük. This marital union, as pointed out by Rossabi, had important political considerations. "This marital union would have linked the two main princely families in East Asia and would probably have ensured an orderly succession to the position of Great Khan rather than disputes or even wars between the sons of Ögödei and the sons of Tolui."⁴⁴ However, Sorghaghtani refused this offer and her refusal was accepted. According to Holmgren, this was done presumably because it would have been unseemly to force the senior widow of an influential man into marriage with one who already had an established set of wives of his own.⁴⁵

A further explanation provided by Holmgren is that after the establishment of the World Empire, the institution of direct succession from father to son began to emerge and develop. With a regularized system of succession, there was no need for the levirate as a political strategy to legitimize the position of the incoming ruler. In addition, that the office of Khan went to a son of the senior wife meant that a more rigid ranking system for wives and sons had to be instituted within the imperial family, and the more rigid the ranking, the greater the difficulty in incorporating the widow into a new family. Thus, Holmgren states, even when the son of the senior wife did not for

⁴¹ See *The Successors*, 4:168-9.

⁴² Rashid Al-din, *The Successors*, 4:168-171.

⁴³ Rashid Al-din, *The Successors*, 4:168.

⁴⁴ Morris Rossabi, "Khubilai Khan and the Women in His Family", W. Bauer (ed.), *Studia Sino-Mongolica*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, (1979): 160.

⁴⁵ J. Holmgren "Observations on Marriage ...". *Journal of Asian History*, 20 (1986): 162-63.

some reason inherit the political authority of his father, levirate union between the widow and her husband's successor was unlikely to occur.⁴⁶

In "Imperial Marriage in the Native Chinese and Non-Han State, Han to Ming", Holmgren contrasts Han Chinese marriage patterns with those of several non-Han states whose native marriage systems allowed polygamy, the levirate, the marriage of distant agnates and generally fell more on the side of bride-wealth than dowry societies. She finds that the imperial families of these states developed several different marriage systems: the Tuoba of the Northern Wei denying any power to the mothers of emperors, the Qidan of the Liao marrying exclusively with one consort clan, and the Mongols of the Yuan marrying with the rulers of allied tribes, preventing their women from gaining control of the throne by allowing succession only to adult sons.⁴⁷

In her analyses, Holmgren also underlines the importance of the imperial marriage of the Mongol Yuan as an exception to the traditional Mongolian marriage system. She suggests that the bride-price system only applied to other levels of the Mongol society, but not to the imperial house. In contrast to bride-price systems operating at other levels of Mongol society, the imperial princess was furnished with a lavish dowry symbolic of her continuing membership in the ruling house.⁴⁸

Holmgren divides the wives of Chinggis Khan and his sons and grandsons into two different groups. The first consists of women (wives and daughters) taken from defeated enemies such as Naiman, Tartar, Tangut, Jurchen and Uduyut-merkit. Marriage ties with most of these groups was a once-only phenomenon. The second group was composed of women (daughters) taken, by way of formal agreement, from allied tribes such as the Onggirat and Ikires.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ J. Holmgren, "Observations on Marriage ...". *Journal of Asian History*, 20 (1986): 162-63.

⁴⁷ J. Holmgren: "Imperial Marriage ...". *Marriage and Inequality in China*, (1991): 58-96.

⁴⁸ J. Holmgren: "Imperial Marriage ..." (1991): 85-6.

⁴⁹ J. Holmgren "Observations on Marriage ...". *Journal of Asian History*, 20 (1986): 145.

During the World Empire and the Yuan, the Onggirat clan was the most celebrated of those who maintained a very stable marriage relationship with the Mongol royal family. In 1237 Ögödei Khan declared, “The girls born of the Onggirat tribe should become the empresses (of Mongol rulers) for generations; the boys born in the Onggirat should marry princesses (of the Mongols) for generations. This should never be ceased.”⁵⁰ This statement may be viewed as evidence for the existence of a two-clan preferential system of marriage in early Mongol society. However, Holmgren suggests that this decree did not necessarily imply that the members of the Mongol ruling clan would henceforth only take Onggirat women as their senior or principal wives, since during both the World Empire and the Yuan dynasty, marriage ties of the ruling clan were spread over a large number of groups.⁵¹

According to the results of a survey carried out by Holmgren on the background of women who married into important branches of the ruling house from Chinggis Khan’s time to the end of the Yuan, sixty-nine women could be clearly identified as coming from over twenty different tribal groups or subordinate states. The Onggirat made up about 33% of these women. When the figures are broken down, the number of Onggirat wives declines to about 20% for the pre-Yuan era and climbs to about 50% for the Yuan, while the number of other groups decreases to about half what it was in the earlier period.⁵²

Holmgren claims that Onggirat men who married daughters of Yuan rulers or other important members of the royal clan rarely had their own daughters selected as principal wives for the ruling house. Thus Onggirat empresses were not daughters of Chinggisid princesses. Rather, they came from lines which had had no previous marriage ties with the throne and no close association with the highest ranks of the Onggirat leadership. Thus, while Yuan princesses married into and were

⁵⁰ YS 118: 2915. See the biography of Dei-Sechen.

⁵¹ J. Holmgren, “Observations on Marriage...”. (1986): 138.

able to greatly influence, even control, the Onggirat leadership, influential Onggirat leaders were unable to manipulate marriage ties with the royal house to further their own political ambitions for the control of the throne. Holmgren believes that there was a deliberate attempt to maximize the spread of marriage ties to avoid the development of close or exclusive relations with the Onggirat, which might work to the disadvantage of the imperial family.⁵³ Holmgren assumes that the official rhetoric stemmed from a desire to appease or compliment the Onggirat tribesmen for, with the rise of Bosqur during Chinggis Khan's day, there had been a major revolution in the leadership of that confederation. Ögödei's declaration may also have been a warning to other tribal leaders that they could expect no great politically advantageous ties with the imperial house.

4. SOURCES

The Mongol empire of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was the largest contiguous land empire in human history. In its heyday, it stretched from Korea to Hungary, including most of Asia, as well as a large part of Eastern Europe. It lasted for well over a century, and parts of it survived for very much longer. For this reason, the study of the Mongol Empire is relatively difficult. One major problem confronted by historians derives from the linguistic requirements. The sources available to the historian are in Mongolian, Chinese, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Japanese, Korean, Armenian, Georgian, Latin, and other languages. Obviously, it is an unrealistic task for a historian to read all of these languages in the original.

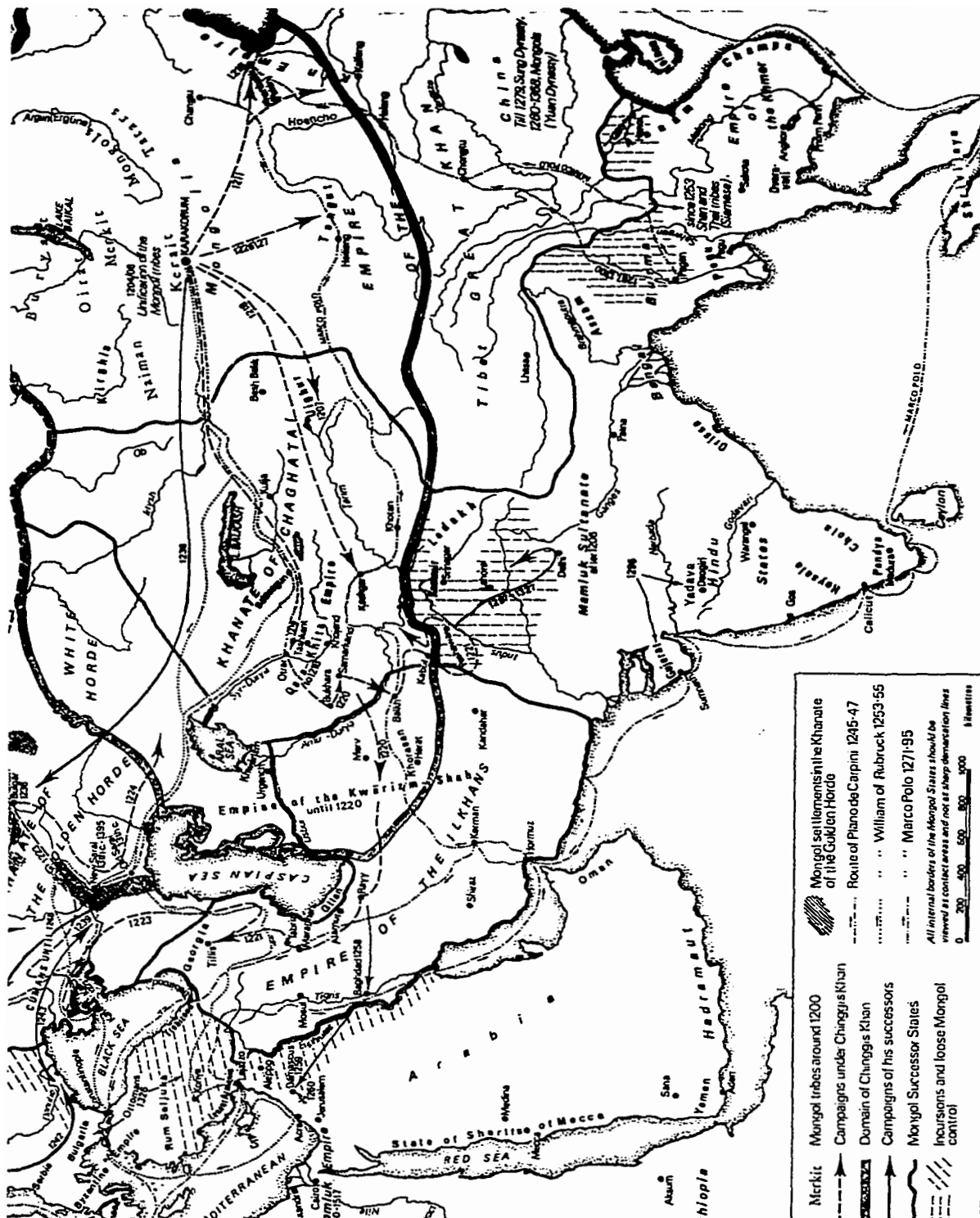
Historians have attempted to provide several solutions to this problem. One of them has been termed by David Morgan as *haute vulgarization*. Here, individual historians do not necessarily make much serious effort to master the target languages; instead, they produce syntheses based on

⁵² J. Holmgren, "Observations ... ", 41 (1986): 138.

secondary sources, such as those works by specialists on China, Mongolia, the Islamic world, or Europe. The historian of the Mongol Empire is basically required to select his work of Asia, west or east, and to base it on the sources of the two major languages—Persian or Chinese. There is no escape from the necessity of relying on translation.⁵⁴

⁵³ J. Holmgren, "Observations ... ", (1986): 139.

⁵⁴ David Morgan, *The Mongols*, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts, (1990): 6.



The Mongol Empire of the 13th century⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Urgunge Onon (trans.), *The History and the Life of Chinggis Khan (The Secret History of the Mongols)*. E. J. Brill Leiden, The Netherlands, 1990.

Although it is desirable to have some knowledge of the Mongolian language to study Mongol history, the Mongolian language did not exist in written form before the time of Chinggis Khan. The earliest form of written Mongolian made use of a script borrowed from the Uighur Turks. In addition, the Mongol conquerors were not familiar with the concept of historical recording until they received influences from sinicized non-Chinese peoples and Chinese.⁵⁶ The only three important Mongolian sources are *Menggu mishi* 蒙古秘史 (*The Secret History of the Mongols*), *Menggu huangjinshi* (the *Altan Tobci*) 蒙古黃金史, and *Menggu yuanliu* 蒙古源流 (*The Origin and Development of the Mongols*), of which the most important and extensively explored was the *Menggu mishi*, of which several translations are available, including four in English.⁵⁷ However, no manuscript of the original Mongolian version of the text has yet been located, and the source of the present text is in a Chinese manuscript form. Moreover, there is great controversy with regard to the date of completion of this book. The suggested dates range from 1228 to 1276. The majority of the scholars in Yuan and Mongolian studies since the late Qing dynasty, including Qian Daxin 錢大昕, Tu Ji 屠寄, Paul Pelliot, Boris Vladimirtsov, and Naka Michiyo 那珂通世, believe that it was composed in 1240. However, more careful examination of the historical background and social and political contexts has led some scholars, such as Igo, De Rachewiltz and Zhen Jin 甄金, along with many Japanese scholars, to believe that it was composed in 1228 (in July of the year of the

⁵⁶ Hok-Lam Chan: *Chinese Official Historiography at the Yuan Court: The Composition of the Liao, Chin, and Sung Histories*, in *China under Mongols Rule*, ed. By John D. Langlois, Princeton University Press, (1981): 58.

⁵⁷ Francis Woodman Cleaves (tr.), *The Secret History of the Mongols* (1982), published for the Harvard-Yenching Institute by Harvard University Press. Urgunge Onon (tr.), *The History and the Life of Chinggis Khan (The Secret History of the Mongols)*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1990. Paul Kahn (tr.), *The Secret History of the Mongols: The Origin of Chingis Khan* (1998) which is in poetical language based primarily on the English translation by E. W. Cleaves, published by Cheng & Tsui Company in Boston. I. De Rachewiltz, "The Secret History of the Mongols", *Papers in Far Eastern History* (1971-1978). For a complete record of works on *Yuanchao mishi* in Eastern and Western languages, see Harayama Akira 原山煌, "Yuanchao mishi youguan wenxian mulu" 元朝秘史有關文獻目錄, trans. Yu Dajun 余大鈞, in *Menggushi yanjiu cankao ziliao* 蒙古史研究參考資料, 21 (April 1982): 1-36.

Rat), at the *Kurletai* election of Ögödei as the Great Mongol Khan, and this book might have been supplemented in the later reigns.⁵⁸

The title of the *Secret History of the Mongols* reveals that it was not for public readers, and thus it was never published or translated into Chinese or any other languages in the Yuan dynasty. It records the course of events of almost five hundred years and more than twenty generations, from the mythical origins of the Chinggisid house in legendary times until the latter part of the reign of Chinggis Khan's first successor, Ögödei, who died in 1241. A major part of this book deals with the events which occurred during the life of Chinggis Khan. In the later reigns of the Yuan dynasty. Some Chinese scholars suggested that this book be supplemented with new materials; their suggestion was declined because of the special nature of this book.⁵⁹

The particular nature of this book determines that it might not intend to provide false information, or to hide any facts, or to polish anything, for it had recorded both the positive and negative facts in the Mongol history. For example, it recorded the incident in which Chinggis murdered one of his half-brothers; it also recorded the fact that Chinggis' wife, Borte, was captured by the Merkit people and married to one of the tribesmen. Although she was rescued later by Chinggis, she gave birth to Jochi and it was highly probable that he had the blood of Merkit. There are three Chinese versions of this book, all in Uighur Mongolian script, using the phonetic value of the characters irrespective of their meaning to represent the Mongolian sounds. Because it is the only substantial surviving Mongol work about the foundation of the Mongol Empire, it is of great importance. Most historians this century have used it as their main source for the study of the life and career of Chinggis Khan.

⁵⁸ See, Igor. De Rachewiltz, "Some remarks on the dating of the Secret History of the Mongols", *Monumenta Serica*, 24 (1965): 185-206. Zhen Jin 甄金, "Menggu mishi bianzuan shixu pouxi" 《蒙古秘史》編纂時序剖析, *Neimenggu shida xuebao*, 4 (1989): 51-61.

⁵⁹ See the biography of Yu Ji 虞集, in *Yuanshi*, *Zhonghua Shuju*, juan 181: 4179.

One of the major differences between European and Chinese historiography in the past, as pointed out by many historians, was the predominance of official historiography in China. The standard dynastic histories focus on the institutional and administrative aspects of persons and events to such a degree that they report what was only known to the metropolitan bureaucracies. The picture of the past as given by these sources is, as pointed out by Herbert Franke, only one-sided.⁶⁰

The major Chinese source is the official dynastic history, the *Yuanshi* 元史, compiled by Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-81) et al., between 1369-70. It is complete in two hundred and ten *juan*, which covers the year 1206-1369. Chinese administrative practice required that year-by-year records should be reserved relating to everything of the government. By compiling the official history of the fallen rulers they would symbolically formally declare that the new dynasty had decisively replaced the old one. The *Yuanshi* was compiled hastily by the Ming government of China after the end of the Yuan dynasty in 1368 in less than one year; this was faster than any other Standard History. It is incomplete and inaccurate in many aspects, especially the “*Liezhuan*” 列傳. In addition, many careless mistakes are to be found. Therefore, since its completion, the *Yuanshi* has been criticized severely. It has been deemed to be the least satisfactory of all the official dynastic histories of China. However, no matter how unsatisfactory it may appear, the *Yuanshi* nonetheless, preserves valuable source materials. In the words of Endymion Wilkinson, “the fact that it is unpolished is a blessing in disguise in that many documents are preserved in their original or near-original state.”⁶¹ Yet, by only using the *Yuanshi* we still can only gain a semi-complete picture of the Mongol Empire. Like other Chinese sources of the period, it shows almost no interest in any part of the

⁶⁰ Herbert Franke, “Some Aspects of Chinese Private Historiography in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries”, *Historians of China and Japan*, ed. W. G. Beasley, E. G. Pulleyblank, London, Oxford University Press, (1961): 115.

world other than China itself and its immediate neighbors, such as Korea, Japan, and Burma. There are no sections on the other Mongol khanates. Therefore, Chinese sources, though certainly the basis for the study of the most important part of the Mongol Empire, are of limited use for the history of the empire as a whole.⁶²

The shortcomings of the official history may sometimes be remedied by the so-called "*yeshi*" 野史 (unofficial histories). The *biji* 筆記 or "notebooks", for example, is a unique genre in Chinese historiography. It provides important information ignored or omitted by official histories. Lin Yutang 林語堂 gave an excellent characterization of the *biji*:

Memoirs or notebooks are the laziest form of literature, requiring no organization of material, and therefore the most popular literary occupation of Chinese scholars. Such notebooks vary from serious and sometimes highly important records of historical events and documents, written to supplement official histories, to the most disorderly jumble of tales of ghosts, fox spirits, and reincarnations, all these sometimes co-existing in the same volume. In general, the notebooks come well under the general classification of 'scholarly gossip'. The purpose of the authors was in most cases the desire to supply materials for learned and witty conversations, an aim which was often expressed in the prefaces to such works. But often the authors hoped to supplement the official histories by writing down their own experiences and information. Another purpose was to illustrate traditional ethics by giving examples of behavior both laudable and blamable. Finally there was a motive which usually accompanied the other motives, namely, entertainment. It is clear that their details on cultural history have particularly high value. It is equally clear that, written by and for scholars, they also reflect the ideology of the literati class with all their traditional concepts.⁶³

Because of the colorful and disordered nature of *biji*, it is often necessary for historians to be discriminatory and to make efforts to reorganize the contents of the subject matters. Of the twenty-

⁶¹ Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History, A Manual* 中國歷史手冊, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, 46. Harvard University Press, (1998): 836.

⁶² Herbert Franke, "Some Aspects of Chinese Private Historiography in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", *Historians of China and Japan*, ed. W. G. Beasley, E. G. Pulleyblank, London, Oxford University Press, (1961): 115.

⁶³ *The Gay Genius* (London, 1948): 352. Quoted in Herbert Franke, "Some Aspects of Chinese Private Historiography in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", In *Historians of China and Japan*, ed. W. G. Beasley, E. G. Pulleyblank, London, Oxford University Press, (1961): 116.

nine extant *biji* from the Yuan dynasty, the most extensively quoted from include *Chuo geng lu* 輟耕錄 and *Yuanshi yeting ji* 元氏掖庭記 by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* 長春真人西遊記 by Li Zhichang 李志常, and *Gengshen waishi* 庚申外史 by Quan Heng 權衡. *Chuo geng lu* faithfully recorded various matters in the Yuan society, from the imperial palace to the common people, including palace court activities, and its secrets, social events, and customs. *Yuan Shi Yeting Ji*, on the other hand, focuses on the Yuan palace and records such details as the buildings, foods and drinks, clothing, imperial titles, and celebrations. They are indispensable for this study.

Persia, according to John Andrew Boyle, did not have a tradition of official historiography as China did, but during the Mongol rule it did produce its own variety of “official” history. The most important works of the chronicles dealing with the years after Chinggis Khan’s invasion were written by Juvaini, Rashid al-Din, and Wassaf. All of them were high-ranking government servants. Juvaini was appointed by Hülegü as the governor of all the territories that had been directly held by the Caliphs, i.e. Baghdad itself, Arab Iraq or Lower Mesopotamia and Khuzistan in 1259. He continued to administer this great province for more than twenty years.⁶⁴ And the most authoritative of them was Rashid al-Din who for twenty years was the chief minister of the Il-khanate, the Mongol kingdom in Persia and Iraq. Therefore, it is unquestionable that all three historians had access to good sources of information, and that they understood their sources and writings. But the problem is, as pointed out by David Morgan, that most of these histories, even if they were not in all cases precisely official production, were written for royal patrons and reflect to a greater or lesser extent the points of view and the preconceptions of the rulers and the official classes.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ John Andrew Boyle, Translator’s Introduction to *The History of the World Conqueror*, Ala-ad-Din ‘Ata-Malik Juvaini, Manchester University Press, p.xxii, 1958.

⁶⁵ David Morgan, *The Mongols*, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Cambridge, Massachussets, (1990): 8.

Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini's book, *Ta'rikh-I-Jahan-Gusbacalled*, was translated by John Andrew Boyle as "*The History of the World Conqueror*", for Juvaini tried to make it as comprehensive as he could. Juvaini traveled twice to Mongolia, where he gathered large quantities of information. To quote Steven Runciman's comments to the Forward of Boyle's translation, "Of the writers who have left contemporary accounts of the Mongols none is more important than Juvaini. He knew personally many of the chief actors in the dramatic stories that he told. He enjoyed the confidence of the Il-Khan Hülegü, the Mongol conqueror of Baghdad. He himself was intimately connected with one of the most interesting episodes in the story, the destruction of the headquarters of the Assassins at Alamut."⁶⁶ Juvaini's history is an encyclopedia of the early Mongol period, written in a flowery literary Persian style.

Yet Juvaini's work has for a long time been overshadowed by the later Rashid-al-Din's *Jami' al-tawarikh*, "Collection of Histories", which deserves the title of a world history, "a vast historical encyclopedia, such as no single people, either in Asia or in Europe, possessed in the Middle Ages".⁶⁷ Rashid-al-Din had an advantage, in the sense that he was able to draw upon Mongol sources inaccessible to Juvaini. His account of the early life of Chinggis Khan is infinitely more complex and more detailed than Juvaini's work. As a trained physician, he entered Mongol service at the end of the thirteenth century. This was at the time when the Mongols in Persia had at last accepted the religion of the majority of their subjects. The Ilkhan Ghazan had declared his conversion to Islam after his accession in 1295, and the Mongols under his rule had followed his examples. With the Mongols' conversion to Islam and the gradual growth of identification between them and their subjects, it was now the Mongol, rather than the Muslim identity, that was in danger. David Morgan

⁶⁶ 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World Conqueror*, (tr.) John Andrew Boyle, Manchester University Press, 1958.

⁶⁷ See the English introduction to Vol. I of Qazvini's text, 1xiii-1xiv.

assumes that, probably with this in mind, Ghazan asked Rashid al-Din to write a history of the Mongols in Persia, possibly as some kind of a permanent *aide-memoire*.⁶⁸

The second volume of this important work was translated by John Andrew Boyle entitled *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, which was published by the Columbia University Press in 1971. A complete Chinese translation entitled *Shiji* 史集 by Yu Dajun 余大鈞 and Zhou Jianqi 周建奇 was published in 1986. However, a complete English translation of this important work was not available until 1999, which was translated by W. M. Thackston and published by Harvard University, entitled *Compendium of Chronicles, A History of the Mongols*.

The most important European sources are those provided by travelers, among whom the most acute observers were two well-known Franciscan friars, John of Plano Carpini (1185-1252) and William Rubruck (?1215/1220-?1270). Carpini was sent to Mongolia by Pope Innocent IV in April of 1245, after the Mongols invaded Europe and when the Europeans were in the fear of another attack from the Mongols. Carpini spent two and half years traveling as papal ambassador through Eastern Europe and to southern Russia to the camp of the Great Khan, not far from the Mongol capital, Qaraqorum in Mongolia. In the November of 1247 he returned to France. Soon he completed his report to the Pope later entitled *Libellus Historicus*. Carpini's book, *L' Ystoria Mongalorum*, describes the history and customs of Mongols he had observed on his journey. But the major part of his report discusses in detail how the Mongols organized themselves for war, and how the European powers ought to prepare themselves in resistance.

More detailed information about the Mongols was provided by William of Rubruck, who was sent by Louis IX of France at the end of 1252. Following the orders of Louis IX, Rubruck insisted that he was only a missionary instead of an official ambassador, and therefore he traveled more

⁶⁸ David Morgan, *The Mongols*, Cambridge, Blackwell Publishers Inc., (1990): 18-19.

freely, and eventually arrived at Qaraqorum, the capital of the Mongol Empire. He stayed there for six months, and had meetings with the then Great Khan, Möngke. Rubruck's *Itinerarium* records his close observations on the military and political organizations of the Mongols Empire, the social position of Mongolian women, the capital of the Mongol Empire, as well as the customs of the Mongols. In sum, his book offers a much more straightforward travel narrative than Carpini's book.

Twenty years later, when Marco Polo traveled to China, the Mongol Empire had, to a degree, broken up into separate khanates. Marco Polo spent twenty years in Asia, most of it in the service of the Mongols in China. According to himself, he soon became a high-ranking official in Khubilai Khan's court and participated in many important policy-making processes, including Mongols' invasions of Japan in 1281, and of South-east Asia in 1283, 1285 and 1287. His book, the *Travel of Marco Polo*, is by far the best known, and the most valuable due to its information about China. It provides useful information about the administrative organizations of the Mongol Empire, its central and local governments, palace institutions, tax system, Chinese cities, provinces, Mongol troops, as well as transportation system of the Yuan dynasty. His book greatly aroused Europeans' enthusiasm for the East. During the 14th and 15th centuries, his book was the most important reference book for drawing Asian maps; it directly enlightened Europeans on how to adopt printing and gunpowder production techniques. And most importantly, it played an important role in the geographical discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Ma. Yi-Ge'erman 馬-伊-戈爾曼, *Xifang de Menggushi Yanjiu* 西方的蒙古史研究 (Mongolian Studies in the West), trans. by Chen Hongfa, Neimenggu Jiaoyu Chubanshe, (1992): 32.

CHAPTER ONE

The Origins and development of Mongolian Marital Traditions and the Characteristics of the Mongolian Royal Marriages

1. MONGOLIAN EXO-TRIBAL (EXOGENIC) MARRIAGE

When we observe the marriages of the Mongolian tribes from the period of the eleventh to the thirteenth century, we find many distinctive facts. In this period, the basic social unit of the Mongol society was the *obogh* (clan or tribe), which translates to “particular blood-related alliance”. Each person belonged to a specific tribe. Every member of a Mongol tribe knew that he or she was related in blood with other members of his or her own tribe. They were his or her *urugh/uruh* which means “kinfolk”, “members of the same tribe”, or of “having common ancestry”. All the people in other tribes were called *jad*, which translates to “different race of tribe” or “aliens”.⁷⁰ Mongols believed that the people in the same tribe should care for each other, help each other and protect each other. As for *jad*, they must be treated as enemies or wild animals with sharp vigilance. And if necessary, they should be plundered and butchered. However, there were so-called *torgüd* in the *jad*, which means “relatives on the side of wives”. A member of the *torgüd* was not regarded as a member of *jad*; instead, he would have been treated well. People usually called the other party (male) *huda* 忽答. If the relationship of *huda* had been established, both parties would make an agreement to exchange girls as wives of another party. Therefore, in ancient Mongol society, each

⁷⁰ B. Y. Wladimirtzov, *Menggu shehui zhidu shi* 蒙古社會制度史, (trans.) Zhang Xingtang 張興唐, Wu Zhankun 烏占坤, (1968): 17-20. Liu Rongjun, Gao Wende 劉榮峻, 高文德, “Lun Menggu zhubu

tribe had a relatively fixed *huda*---or relatives by marriage. This marriage custom was also practiced by the imperial family in the Yuan dynasty.

The ancient Mongols adopted a strict exogamic marriage institution. A man was not allowed to marry a woman from within his own tribe. Instead he had to go to another tribe to choose and receive a wife. This marital institution actually existed throughout the whole period of the Mongol clan society. But between the eleventh century and thirteenth century Mongol society had adopted a patrilineal clan system. Blood relationship would be decided only in accordance with the patrilineal relationship. For instance and as an example, the female ancestor (Mo. *emegen*) of the Mongol tribe, Alanquoa 阿蘭豁阿, had five sons, two of them were born with her husband Dobun-mergen. Three were born when she was in widowhood, which, according to the Mongolian legend, were received from the god.⁷¹ Therefore, the clans that came from Alanquoa's youngest son Boduanchar 孛端察兒, including Chinggis Khan's clan, did not believe that they had any blood relationship with the first two sons of Alanquoa, still less would they believe that they had any blood relationship with the other two sons of Alanquoa, who were born during her widowhood. Therefore, the men of Chinggis Khan's clan were able to marry the women of Salji'üd (Salezhiwuti 撒勒只兀惕) clan. This clan was the descendant of the fourth son of Alanquoa. However, because

tongyi qian de shizuzhi canyu"論蒙古諸部統一前的氏族制殘余, *Menggushi yanjiu lunwenji*, 蒙古史研究論文集, Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1984.

⁷¹ YCMS 元朝秘史, p. 11, translated and annotated by Daorun Tibu 道潤梯步, Shenghuo Dushu Xinzhi Sanlian Shudian, 1980. *The Secret History of the Mongols*, translated and edited by Francis Woodman Cleaves, Harvard University Press, (1982): 4: Then their mother Alan quoa spake. She said: "Ye, my two sons, Belgünütei and Bügünütei, doubting of me, talk with each other, saying 'She hath borne these three sons. They are sons of whom and of what?' and your doubting is right.

Every night, a bright yellow man entered by the light of the hole at the top or [by that] of the door top of the tent and rubbed my belly. His light was wont to sink into my belly. When he went out, like a yellow dog he was wont to crawl out by the beams of the sun or moon.

How [can] ye speak [so] rashly?

If one understand by that, [it is evident that]

Its sign is [that]

They are sons of Heaven.

the first two sons of Alanquoa were from the same father, definitely there was no marital relationship between them.⁷²

This marital custom was recorded in historical materials. For example, Chinggis Khan and the people of the Qraqin tribe and the Salji'üd tribe were all the descendants of Alanquoa. Thus, when Chinggis attempted to gather people in the Mongol steppes, he sent envoys to these two tribes, saying, "Many tribes which are not our relatives now have joined us, including the Onggirat tribe, the Tartar tribe, and the Dierliejin tribe. And we have become friends. You and I are blood brothers, let us make an alliance and become friends."⁷³ But the people of these two tribes did not agree and insulted the envoy. Therefore they fought each other for a long time. Finally Chinggis Khan became the winner and killed many of them. The rest of the people in these tribes became his slaves. Some of them submitted to other Mongol tribes. Chinggis Khan issued an order to his tribesmen, "Do not marry their girls, and also do not give girls in marriage to them; because they still follow the way of consanguinity, which makes them distinctive from other Mongolian tribes."⁷⁴

Chinggis Khan once sent Turuqajar and Sartachei to conquer the Barhuti tribe led by Hotan-a'in. They formed an alliance and made an agreement, and pledged, "We should be like the people in the same clan who are blood brothers. Just as the Mongols who do not marry girls within their tribe, we should not marry our girls to each other. Each of us should marry girls from the other tribes. And follow the betrothal rules and customs of marriage."⁷⁵

Ögödei Khan had admitted that one of the four big mistakes he made in his life was "to hearken unto the word of a woman without principle and to cause [one] to bring the daughters of the *ulus* of

⁷² Halina 哈麗娜, "Shitan gutai Menggu shehui hunyin zhidu", *Neimenggu shehui kexue*, 5 (1989): 102-107.

⁷³ Rashid al-Din, *Jami'al-Tavarikh* (Collection of Histories) *Shiji* 史集 tr., Yu Dajun 余大鈞, Zhou Jianqi 周建奇, Shanwu Yinshuguan, vol. 1a, (1997): 293-4.

⁷⁴ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:294.

Uncle Odchigin were [mine] errors. Although I be the Qahan, Lord of the nation, to deliver myself unto deeds [which were] errors without principle, this was one of my wrongs.”⁷⁶ The women Ögödei took were actually from the Oirat tribe, but at that time they belonged to Odchigin, the younger brother of Chinggis Khan. Therefore they were viewed as the people of Odchigin.

When Chinggis Khan conquered the Merqit tribe, the Tartar tribe, the Keliet tribe, the Naiman tribe, and many other tribes as well as states, he had taken their women as his wives,⁷⁷ because these tribes had no blood relation with Chinggis Khan's Nilun tribe. While after he defeated the Zhurqi tribe and the Taichiwt tribe, he did not take any women from them, because the people of Zhurqi tribe were also the descendants of Hobule Khan, and the people of the Taichiwt tribe were also the descendants of Khaidu. However, since they had been the enemies of Chinggis Khan, they suffered his wrath. Chinggis Khan “killed all the descendants of Awuchu Batur of the Taichiwt.” and captured the people of Zhurqi tribe and made them his slaves.⁷⁸ From these we can see that although the members of the same tribe could become enemies, they still knew that they had to comply with the tradition of external-tribal marriage. Thus, for the purpose of avoiding consanguineous marriage and the multiplication of the tribal population, it was undoubtedly an important device for the existence of their own tribe.

2. CONSANGUINEOUS MARRIAGE AND INBREEDING IN THE MONGOL IMPERIAL FAMILY

The practice of exogamy was obvious to avoid consanguineous marriage and to prevent inbreeding, and the ancient Mongols seemed to be very aware of this. However, the Mongols did

⁷⁵ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:272.

⁷⁶ *The Secret History*, p.228.

⁷⁷ YCMS, vol. 3, 5, 7, 10.

⁷⁸ YCMS, vol. 5, 4.

not know that they should also avoid consanguineous marriages between two different tribes. This could happen if the two tribes maintained a constant marital relationship, such as those between the Mongol royal family and Dei Sechan's family of the Onggirat tribe. The Mongol royal family had maintained a stable marital relationship with the nobles of the Onggirat tribe since the time of Chinggis Khan, and it lasted until the extinction of the Yuan dynasty. As we will see in the following, consanguineous marriages had occurred since the time of Khubilai Khan, and its negative consequences had become gradually obvious. Because of the consanguineous marriage and inbreeding, the population quality of the Mongol royal family decreased rapidly, and many princes and princesses were born unhealthy and did not live long.

The Mongol men were allowed to marry almost all of their female relatives except their own mothers, daughters, and sisters. Marriages between cousins were very common and normal. Grandfathers, fathers, and sons might marry the sisters of the same generation. All of these had happened in the Mongolian royal clan, which made the affinity within the royal clan extremely complicated. For instance, three of the four daughters of Zha'a-qianbo 札阿紺孛, the younger brother of Ong Khan, were taken by Chinggis Khan and his sons. The eldest one was taken by Chinggis Khan himself; the second one was married to his eldest son Jochi; the third one, Sorghaghtani-Beki, became the wife of Tolui, the mother of Khubilai Khan. Emperor Taiding married Sadabala 撒答八剌, the daughter of his own elder sister, Princess of Shouning

After an investigation on the ages of the Mongol Khans and emperors, I have found that from the times of the *Yeke Mongol Ulus* to the Yuan dynasty, the life spans of the members of the Mongol royal family decreased rapidly.

Let's first look at the life spans of the Mongol Khans and the Yuan emperors. As for the four Mongol Khans in the time of *Yeke Mongol Ulus*, Chinggis Khan died when he was 66 years old,

Ögödei Khan died at 56 years old, Güyük Khan died at 43, and Möngke Khan died at 52. Among the emperors of the Yuan dynasty, Khubilai lived the longest, 80 years. Temür (Chengzong) died at 42, Qaishan (Wuzong) died at 31, Ayurbarvada (Renzong) died at 36, Shidebala (Yingzong) died at 21, Yisün-Temür (Emperor Taiding) died at 36. Furthermore, Qoshila (Mingzong) died at 30, Tuq-Temür (Wenzong) died at 29, Irinjibal (Ningzong) died at 7, and Toqon-Temür (Shundi) died at 51. Among these, Güyük Khan, Shidebala, and Qoshila did not die naturally. They died of the internal political struggles of the Mongol royal family. Except Khubilai, nobody lived as long as Chinggis Khan. Many of them were afflicted with chronic illness throughout their lives, and were even unable to fulfill their daily duties. For example, Chengzong was so ill that he had to trust his empress Bulughan to handle the imperial affairs for him.⁷⁹ Wuzong, Renzong and Wenzong also did not have good health.

It is not necessary to analyze all the marriages in the Mongol royal family. In the following I will give examples of the intricate affinity between Khubilai's family and his principal wife Chabui Khatun's family. We will see that consanguineous marriages were indeed very common and their consequences were serious.

Dei Sechan was the father-in-law of Chinggis Khan, the maternal grandfather of Tolui. Dei Sechan had three sons, Anchen 按陳, Huohu 火忽, and Ce 冊. Anchen had three sons, the eldest son was Chigu 赤古, the second son was Wochan 斡陳, the third son was Nachen 納陳. Chigu married the third daughter of Chinggis Khan, Tumanlun 禿滿倫. Wochan married Tolui's Daughter Yesubuhua 也速不花 in the tenth year of Ögödei's reign (1238); Nachen married

⁷⁹YS 114: 2873, see *Houfei zhuan*, "Chengzong was always ill. The empress mediated among different parties to handle the imperial affairs. People all praised that government of the Dade era was smooth and fair, it was handled by this empress."

Princess of the State of Lu Xuezhigan 薛只干, the granddaughter of Chinggis Khan, but her father is unknown.⁸⁰

Khubilai married three women from Dei Sechan's family. One was Chabui, the daughter of Anchen; one was Tiegulun 帖古倫, the daughter of Tuolian 脫憐 (Anchen's grandson). The other was Nanbui 南必, the daughter of Nachen's grandson Xiantong 仙童. Note that Khubilai's daughter Tumanlun was married to Anchen's son Chigu 赤古, Khubilai's another daughter Nangjiazhen 囊加真 was married to Nachen's son Woluochen 斡羅陳, who later remarried Woluochen's younger brother Tiemur 帖木兒, and then remarried Woluochen's another younger brother Manzitai 蠻子台. Ögödei's daughter Suorhahan 唆兒哈罕 married to Anchen's grandson Nahe 納合.⁸¹

Chabui Khatun gave birth to four sons, none of them were healthy, and all died young. Her first son Dorji died early and have no descendants.⁸² Her second son, the crown prince Jin Gim (真金), was very weak in health, and finally died when he was forty-three years old, leaving three unhealthy sons, Kamala 甘麻剌, Tarmabala 答剌麻八剌, and Temür 鐵穆耳 Khan. The eldest son of Jin Gim, Kammala, died at forty; the second son, Darmabala, died at twenty-nine; and the third son, Temür (Öljeitü) Khan, died at forty-two.

Tarmabala had three sons. The eldest son was Amoga 阿木哥, Prince of Wei. His death date is unknown. But he probably died early because he was not involved in the political struggles for the throne with his younger brothers. The second son was Qaishan 海山 Khan (Wuzong, r.1307-

⁸⁰ YS 109: 2757-60, see *Gongzhu Biao*.

⁸¹ Please refer to the tables in Chapter Four of this thesis for details. YS 118: 2915-21, see "De Xuechan"; 109: 2757-60, *Gongzhu Biao*.

⁸² Rashid Al-din, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. by John A. Boyle, Columbia University Press, (1971): 242: "He did not marry and had no issue. He was older than Abaqa Khan. He was always sickly and ill and died of that chronic illness." Rashid Al-din, as a doctor, probably had sensed the common hereditary disease in the Mongol royal clan, therefore he mentioned it as "that chronic illness."

1311), who died at thirty-one; the third son was Ayurbarvada 愛育黎拔力八達 (Renzong, r. 1312-1320) who died at thirty-six.

Amoga's three daughters were married to the Koryŏ kings and they all died very young. The Senior Princess-of-State of Cao 曹國長公主, Kimdong 金童, was married to the King Wang To 王焘 in around 1326 and died one year later when she was only eighteen years old; her sister, Princess of Qing-hua 慶華公主, Bayan Khudu, succeeded her and married Wang To in 1333 and died in 1344 when she was about twenty-seven years old. Another daughter of Amoga, Princess Supreme-of-State of Lu 魯國大長公主, Botasirin 寶塔失里, was married to King Kongmin, Wang Ki 王祺, and died at about thirty-two.⁸³

From Temür (Öljeitü) Khan, Mongol royal population quality began to decline, and many princes died very young. For example, the son of Chengzong, Deshou 德壽, was born of Shiliandali 失憐答里, the daughter of Woluochen 斡羅陳. Deshou was designated as the heir apparent in the sixth month of the ninth year of Dade (1305). But he died in the twelfth month of the same year. In addition, the second son of Renzong, Wudusibuhua, the four sons of Emperor Taiding, the three sons of Wenzong, and the two sons of Shundi, all died very young.

The "Table of the Imperial Clan Genealogy" in the *Yuanshi* has the following records, which may help us understand the consequences of consanguineous marriage and inbreeding in the Mongol imperial clan.

Emperor Chengzong had one son, the crown prince Deshou, who died early and had no children.

Emperor Wuzong had two sons. The elder one was the Emperor Mingzong; and the younger one was the Emperor Wenzong.

Emperor Renzong had two sons. The elder one was the Emperor Yingzong; and the younger one was Wudusi-buhua, Prince of An, who died early without children.

Emperor Yingzong had no children.

⁸³ Please refer to TABLE 2 of this thesis, "Death Ages of Mongol Princesses in the Korean Court".

Emperor Taiding had four sons. The elder one was Alijiba, the crown prince; the second one was Badima-yirjianpu, the prince of Jin; the third one was prince Xiaoxue; the fourth one was prince Yundan-zangbu. They all died young and had no children.

Emperor Mingzong had two sons. The elder one was the Emperor Shun; and the second one was the Emperor Ningzong.

Emperor Wenzong had three sons. The elder one was Alatenadala, the crown prince, who died early without children. The second one was prince Yantiegusi; the third one was prince Taipingna. They all died early without children.

Emperor Ningzong died early without children.

Emperor Shun had three sons. The elder one was Aiyushilidala. The other two died early.⁸⁴

The early deaths of royal members were so frightening for the survivors that all of them became very superstitious. They deeply believed in curses and retribution and were turned to religions for refuge. In addition, to protect their sons from these mishaps, they chose to entrust their children to the care of other people. For example, Khubilai's third son Mangqala 忙哥剌, born of Chabui, married Anchen's niece Khutui 忽推, and had three sons. When Mangqala found that many of his children died very young, he decided to hand over his son Ananda 阿難答 to a Turkistan Muslim called Mihtar Aqtachi to bring him up.⁸⁵ Wenzong's empress Buda-shili bore two sons: Alatenadana 阿剌忒納答納, who was titled Prince of Yan, and Guna-dala 古納答剌. In the twelfth month of 1330 Wenzong designated Alatenadana as the heir apparent. But in the second month of 1331 the crown prince died. Wenzong was so frightened that he decided to entrust his second son Guna-dala to the care of the chief-minister Yantie-mur, and changed his son's name to Yantie-gusi. Both Wenzong and Buda-shili were very superstitious. The death of the crown prince made them believe that they were getting repaid for the murders of Mingzong and his wife Babusha. Quan Heng 權衡 in *Genshen waishi* records that when Wenzong was about to die in 1332, he admitted that the murder of his brother Mingzong was the most serious mistake in his whole life,

⁸⁴ YS 107:2729.

⁸⁵ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 2, p. 379. *The Successors*, 8:323.

and he regretted it deeply.⁸⁶ His last will was to transfer the throne to Mingzong's son. "The throne originally belonged to Mingzong, if you love me, please recall Mingzong's son Tuohuan-tiemur (Toghan-Temür) and let him ascend the throne, so that when I meet Mingzong in the nether world, I can tell him that and fob him off with some lame excuse."⁸⁷

Wenzong's mother Daji 答己 was the daughter of Hundu-tiemuer, the grandson of Anchen. Wenzong's empress Buda-shiri 不答失里 was the daughter of Diao'a-bula. Diao'a-bula was the son of Tiemur. Tiemur married Khubilai's daughter Nangjiazhen. Tiemur was the son of Wuoluochen, Woluochen was the son of Nachen, and Nachen was the son of Anchen.⁸⁸

Out of fear of sudden death, the Mongol royal members tried to seek protection in religion. Buddhism became popular in the imperial clan throughout the Yuan dynasty. All Mongol emperors spent a large amount of money on temple construction and Buddhist ceremonies. For example, Emperor Taiding once granted twenty thousand *ding* 錠 of money and one thousand *qing* 頃 of land to a temple called Da tianyuan yansheng si 大天源延聖寺.⁸⁹ The Tibetan monks (*xifan seng*

⁸⁶ Quan Heng 權衡, *Gengshen waishi* (GSWS) 庚申外史, in *Yuandai biji xiaoshuo*, vol. 3, Hebei Jiaoyu Chubanshe, (1994): 513.

⁸⁷ GSWS, p.513. Mingzong had two sons. The elder son was Toghan-Temür born by Mailaidi 邁來迪; the younger son was Yilian-zhiban 懿璘質班 (Irinjibal) born by Empress Babusha. When Mingzong was murdered, Yilian-zhiban was only four years old. He came to Dadu together with his mother. Wenzong liked Yilian-zhiban and allowed him and his mother to live in the palace. Later Wenzong's empress Budashili killed Babusha who had complained about the death of her husband. They also announced that Toghan-Temür was not Mingzong's son, and sent him into exile in Korea, and later moved him to Guangxi. Yilian-zhiban was brought up in the Yuan palace. (see Wang Gang 王岡, *Zhongguo Yuandai zhengzhi shi*. (1994): 138.

⁸⁸ Please refer to Chapter Four of this thesis, Tables 3-4: "The empresses of Yuan from the Onggirat tribe" and "The Princesses of Yuan Court Married into Onggirat Tribe" for details.

⁸⁹ YS 30: 674. The ministers of the Secretarial Council pointed out, "The supply of armies and common people must rely on the production of lands. Shizu built temples such as *Da xuan wen hong jiao* Temple and granted them permanent land properties, which were deemed then to be unnecessary expenses. However, Chengzong again built *Tianshou wanning* Temple, and spent twice as much as Shizu. Others like Wuzong's building *Chongen fuyuan*, Renzong's building *Chenghua puqing*, were even worse because they had to use the incomes of rent and monopoly. Yingzong leveled off hilltops to build temples, which injured soldiers and farmers, and eventually they were not profitable. Lands are from our ancestors. Descendants should treasure them. We are afraid that later (the monks) use the lands as excuses to improperly start constructions, and use "pray for blessing" as an excuse to satisfy their personal desires. We wish your Majesty to reconsider this decision."

西番僧) became very powerful in the Yuan court. Qaishan (Wuzong) issued a decree stipulating that, for those who beat up Tibetan monks, their hands should be cut off; for those who swore at Tibetan monks, their tongues should be cut out.⁹⁰

From Khubilai Khan to the last Yuan emperor Shundi, virtually all the Yuan emperors were initiated into monkhood through official ceremonies. During the reigns of Emperor Taiding, Wuzong, and Wenzong, the most commonly conducted Buddhist ceremony was to chant the “Sutra of Infinite Life” (*Dasheng wuliangshou jing* 大乘無量壽經).⁹¹ However, none of them lived a long life. Emperor Taiding received the Buddhist commandment of “eternal life” from the emperor’s teacher in the third month of 1328, and ordered one thousand monks to pray for him. But, he died in the seventh month of the same year.⁹²

The reasons for the early death of the Mongol royal family members are many. Political assassination was certainly one of them. As far as we know, several Mongol Khans and Yuan emperors were murdered or poisoned by their political opponents. Besides this, there are some other factors that caused the early death of the Mongol royal family members, such as being unaccustomed to the new climate of China, indulgence in excessive drinking and sensual pleasure. But, consanguineous marriage and inbreeding must have been one of the key factors. The two-clan preferential marriage system was definitely the hotbed of inbreeding, which formed a vicious circle, and eventually led to the decrease of the population quality of the Mongol royal family.

⁹⁰ YS 23:512.

⁹¹ *Dasheng wuliangshou jing* 大乘無量壽經 (Sutra of Infinite Life). The *Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra* is translated as the *Amitaayus sūtra*. The *Dasheng wuliangshou jing*; Skt. *Aparamitaayur-naama-mahaayaanasūtra*; Tib. *Tshe dang ye shes dpag tu med pa shes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*; (Great Vehicle Sutra of Immeasurable Longevity) [To.674/849, 675, P.361/474, 362] A eulogy to the merits of the tathagata *Aparimataayus* 無量壽. Source for a nine-figure *ma.n.dala* centred on *Amitaayus* [Ngor.10]. <http://www.human.toyogakuen-u.ac.jp/~acmuller/dicts/bdict/index.htm>

⁹² YS 30: 685-87.

The early deaths of the crown princes always aroused internal political struggles in the Mongol royal family, which reduced the strength of the Mongol superpower. The leadership of the Mongol royal family became weaker and weaker. At times they could not even find any suitable men to govern the empire. Empresses, empress dowagers, and some powerful ministers were constantly dominating the Yuan court. Finally, the last emperor of Yuan, the Shundi Toqon Temür, whose Mongol blood was controversial, ascended to the throne. It was he who led the Mongol empire to its end. Therefore, in a sense we may say that the consanguineous marriage and inbreeding contributed to the extinction of the Mongol rule.

3. TYPICAL PATTERNS OF MONGOLIAN ROYAL MARRIAGES---“ONE WAY MARRIAGES” AND “TWO WAY MARRIAGES”

In investigating the imperial marriages of the Mongol Yuan, I have found six tribes or states that had relatively stable marriage relationships with the family of Chinggis Khan. Besides Dei Sechen's clan of the Onggirat tribe 弘吉剌部, Ikires tribe 亦乞列思部, Öngüt tribe 汪古部, Idug-qut's clan of the Uighur tribe 畏兀兒亦都護, Oirat tribe 斡亦剌部, and the Koryŏ (Korean) royal family also had marriage relationships with the Mongol royal family.

These six clans can be divided into two categories according to the characteristics of their intermarriage relationships with the Mongol royal family. One can be called two-way marriage relationship, the other one-way marriage relationship. Onggirat tribe, Ikires tribe and Oirat tribe will be put into the first category since they both had women who became the empresses or imperial concubines of the Mongol Yuan royal family. They also had men married to the princesses of the Mongol royal family. As for the other three tribes, although their girls did not enjoy the honor of marrying emperors, their men did constantly have the privilege of marrying the princesses of Mongol Yuan.

This phenomenon may be explained if we relate it to the four social classes determined by the Mongol Yuan rulers. As Mongol tribes, the Onggirat, Kires tribes, and Oirat tribe all belonged to the highest rank; Öngüt tribe and Uighur Idug-qut tribe belonged to the second class as they were “*Semu*” 色目 (miscellaneous peoples). While Koreans were on the third social rank as they were classified as “*Hanren*” 漢人 in the Yuan dynasty. The reason that the Mongol royal family did not choose women from these tribes as empresses, as suggested by some scholars, might be that they did not want their “noble” blood to be mixed and stained with that of these tribes.⁹³ For instance, it is said that Khubilai Khan set up a family rule, never marrying Korean women. However, the *Koryōsa* records that Khubilai once issued a decree to the Koryō court, requiring it to send Korean princess to him to symbolize its submission, and the Koryō court eventually declined this request. Therefore, the establishment of a two-way marriage relationship was possibly related to political, social, cultural, and marriage traditions.

4. LEVIRATE MARRIAGES IN THE MONGOLIAN ROYAL FAMILY

Levirate marriage (*shouji hun* 收繼婚) is a type of marriage in which a widowed woman could be taken by one of her husband’s relatives. As one of the most distinct characteristics of the Mongol marriage customs, the levirate has attracted scholar’s attention and has been described and discussed extensively.

Mongol customs encouraged the remarriage of widows, but her new husband could be chosen only within her husband’s family. Therefore a son sometimes married his father’s widow as long as

⁹³ For instance, see Xiao Qiqing, “Yuan Li guanxi zhong de wangshi hunyin yu qiangquan zhengzhi” 元麗關係中的王室婚姻與強權政治, *Yuandaishi xintan* 元代史新探, Xin Wen Feng Chuban Gongsi, 1983.

she was not his own mother, and a younger brother was occasionally expected to marry his elder brother's widow (though an elder brother rarely married his younger brother's widow).

In China proper, levirate had long been condemned by Chinese elites as early as the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods (770-221 B. C.), in which it was called “*zheng 蒸*” (a son marries his step-mother) “*bao 報*” (a younger brother marries his sister-in-law). This practice was banned officially by law in the Han dynasty (206-220 B. C.). It was condemned as “The behavior of beasts, it confuses the human relations, it goes against the heavenly rules, the punishment should be death.”⁹⁴ However, levirate never completely disappeared in Chinese society.

According to the seniority of the successor and the succeeded (the widow) in a family or a clan, levirate marriage can be classified into two major categories: the two parties in a levirate marriage were in the same generation, such as a younger brother married by succession his elder brother's wife, or an elder brother took the wife of his deceased younger brother. The other is that the two parties in a levirate marriage were in different generations, it can be called cross-generation levirate marriage, such as a son inherited his father's widowed concubine, a nephew married the widowed wife or concubine of his uncle, a grandson married his successive paternal grandmother and so on.⁹⁵ Three types were more popular: a son married his father's widowed concubine (or stepmother); a nephew married his widowed aunt; and a younger brother married his widowed sister-in-law.

Scholars have examined the conditions necessary for the optimum operation of levirate in early Mongol society both before and during the Yuan (1271-1368). General explanations for this custom include that a woman found it difficult to manage a household by herself and needed

⁹⁴ See the biography of Yanwang 燕王 (Prince of Yan) Liu Ze 劉澤, in *Hanshu 漢書*, juan 35, quoted in Zhang Bangwei 張邦煒, *Hunyin yu shehui 婚姻與社會*, Chengdu: Sichuan Renmin Chubanshe (1989): 58.

⁹⁵ Dong Jiazun 董家遵, *Zhongguo shoujihunshi de yanjiu*, Lingnan Daxue Xi'an Shehui Jingji Yanjiusuo, 1950. quoted in “Shuo Yuandai de Shoujihun”, by Yang Yi, in *Yuanshi Luncong*, Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1993.

remarriage to secure her survival. The Mongols believed that a woman who lacked the assistance of a man to share the workload might not be able to support and maintain her children and family. Remarriage with her dead husband's younger brother or son would keep the family together, and preservation of the family was, from the Mongol standpoint, laudable;⁹⁶ The Mongols condemned remarriage outside the family or clan because "a widow would be claimed by her former husband in the next life."⁹⁷

Levirate also had strong economic implications. Herbert Franke points out that marriage in the Yuan dynasty was a contract between families and not between individuals. The wife is regarded after her marriage as a piece of family property. The economic implications of the custom of levirate are, of course, that the wife's dowry and the betrothal presents shall remain in the husband's family and not go to a third family.⁹⁸ In Holmgren's opinion, levirate seems to be simply a direct result of economic consideration. She argues that levirate operates most commonly in conjunction with bride-price rather than with the type of dowry system prevalent in early Chinese society: if the bride's family have been adequately compensated for loss of the woman, then her natal relatives have little or no further claim on her labor and economic potential and little say in her subsequent marital status. Any future marriage transactions involving the woman are the concern of the husband's family. The latter decides whether as widow she remains in the group or is remarried to an outside party. In cases of remarriage out of the family, bride-price is collected not by the woman's relatives but by the family of the late husband. This must be compensated for the expense incurred in obtaining her. Where the cost of obtaining wives is high, the preferred option is for the widow to remain in the group as wife of one of her late husband's relatives since the original bride-

⁹⁶ Morris Rossabi, "Khubilai Khan and Women in His Family", in *Studia Sino-Mongolica*, (1979): 14-15.

⁹⁷ Henry Serruys, "Remains of Mongol Customs during the Early Ming Period", In *The Mongols and Ming China: Customs and History*. Edited by Francoise Aubin, Variorum Reprints, London (1987): 174.

price was paid out not by the individual but by the group as a whole.⁹⁹ On the other hand, because of the physical and legal separation of the husband's share from the parental stem, a wife easily gained control over what remained of her husband's property at the time of his death. That property was the largest share, which has gone to the youngest son after the widow's death. Thus if the widow were to remarry out of the group, it was essential that she first be divested of control over both her dowry and the remaining portion of her husband's property. This, however, involved complex property redistribution within the clan, an act that might lead to disputes and loss of inheritance rights for the youngest son, particularly when that son was still a minor. In this way, continuous residence in the husband's clan in one form or another was mandatory in Mongol society. Holmgren then concludes: the levirate was not so much a strategy for the production of heirs, but rather an economic institution designed to maintain the viability of the family patrimony.¹⁰⁰

Holmgren also explores the other aspect of the levirate as a social strategy by comparing its operations in Mongol society with that in Chinese society. She holds that the levirate can only become a widespread or obligatory institution in a given society in conjunction with polygamy. Where monogamy operates as the legal and socially acceptable form of marriage, levirate will at best be irregular and infrequent unless it be combined with enforced bachelorhood for the younger son. Thus in traditional Chinese society, which operated on the principle of one legal wife (with concubinage), levirate occurred mainly amongst the very poor unable to afford the cost of marriage for all sons. Up to the Yuan era, widow-remarriage out of the group was the norm for the elite and almost all other classes of the society. By contrary, Mongol society was polygamous. It also had no

⁹⁸ Franke, Herbert: "Women under the Dynasties of Conquest". in *La donna nella Cina Imperiale e nella Cina Repubblicana*, (1980): 39.

⁹⁹ J. Holmgren: "Observations on Marriage...", 1986): 151.

¹⁰⁰ J. Holmgren: "Observations on Marriage...", 20 (1986).

restriction on cross-generation marriage. Thus the widow could be incorporated with little difficulty into an established family headed by an adult with wives of his own. Thus Holmgren concludes that for ordinary Mongols levirate was widely practiced as a strategy for preservation of the social and economic integrity of the family. First, it provided wives for younger members of the family at no additional cost. Secondly, it provided security for widows with property who were unable to maintain an independent economic unit within the group and who might be forced into remarriage with an outsider for economic reasons. Finally, it reunited separate portions of the family patrimony which had earlier been detached from the base.

However, the levirate marriages in the Mongol royal family did not follow the above pattern. In investigating the occurrence of levirate within the leadership of allied and subordinate tribes during the World Empire, I have found that it was the result of singular political circumstances. The career of Alahai 阿剌海 illustrates this point. As Holmgren has pointed out, it shows how both levirate and the principle of widow-chastity were manipulated by Chinggisid leaders in their quest for greater domination over allied peoples. Also, it suggests that where Chinggisid control was secure and direct succession could be instituted, widow-chastity was the preferred *modus operandi*. Alahai was married three times---first to the older son of the Öngüt leader, Alaqus, then to Alaqus' nephew, Zhenguo, and finally to Alaqus' younger son, Boyaohe. At one time, she governed the Öngüt as a regent, first in the absence of Zhenguo and then, after Zhenguo's death, as widow in the name of her younger son, Niegutai. Her first marriage had secured the alliance between her father and the Öngüt. But then, her husband and father-in-law were murdered by their own tribesmen. Chinggis Khan was then faced with the problem of installing a successor who would be both loyal to him and able to control the tribesmen. Chinggis Khan thus passed over the young Boyaohe and installed his older cousin Zhenguo as leader. To legitimize the succession, and to further Chinggisid control over the

Öngüt leadership, Zhenguo was married to Alahai. Since Zhenguo's assassination had the potential to create succession problems in the next generation. Then, Boyaohe and his family might challenge the right of Zhenguo's descendants to inherit the leadership. Thus upon Zhenguo's death, Alahai first governed the Öngüt as regent and then married Boyaohe after his return from a military campaign. In this way, her young son by Zhenguo was forced to wait after the death of his step-father/cousin before he could assume the leadership. Then, Boyaohe's sons, being children of a lesser wife, were unable to threaten his position.

It seemed that not all Mongol princes had the right to inherit their fathers' wives. The prince who was entitled to take his father's wives was generally the eldest son and/or the heir apparent. For instance, after Jochi died, his eldest son Orda inherited one of his wives, who was from the Onggirat tribe.¹⁰¹ Orda's grandson Qonichi had been for a long time ruler of the *ulus* of Orda. When Qonichi died, his first son Bayan succeeded to his throne, and at the same time married three of his wives: the first, Barquchin, the second, Chingtüm, and the third, Altaju.¹⁰²

According to Juvaini, Empress Mogo was originally the wife of Chinggis Khan and was inherited by Ögödei after Chinggis Khan died in accordance with the Mongol customs. Chaghatai had asked Ögödei for this woman but was not successful.¹⁰³ According to Rashid Al-din, Empress Mogo was the daughter of the ruler of the Bekrin who gave her in marriage to Chinggis Khan. After his death in accordance with the Mongol custom she became the wife of his son Ögödei, who "loved her more than other wives so that they were jealous of her." She was evidently a woman who was considerably attractive. Chaghatai too was enamored of her and having sought her hand too late refused the offer of any other of his father's ladies as a substitute.

¹⁰¹ *The Successors*, 2: 100.

¹⁰² *The Successors*, 2: 101-2.

¹⁰³ *World Conqueror*, vol. 1, p. 240.

Chaghatai Khan had eight sons. He loved his second son Mö'etüken more than the other children. Since Chinggis Khan also loved him greatly, he was mostly in attendance on him. Unfortunately, when the Mongol troops assaulted Khwārazm Mö'etüken was killed by an arrow. Chinggis Khan was greatly distressed at this, and, when he captured the castle he destroyed it utterly, put all the inhabitants to death and called it Ma'u-Qurghan.¹⁰⁴ Chaghatai designated Mö'etüken's fourth son Qara-Hülegü as the heir apparent in place of his father. When Qara-Hülegü died, his wife Orqina Khatun, who was from the Oirat tribe, became the ruler of the *ulus* of Chaghatai for ten years. Then Alghu, the son of Baidar, who was Qara-Hülegü's cousin, became ruler of the *ulus* of Chaghatai by command of Arigh Böke and married Orqina Khatun.¹⁰⁵ The new rulers obviously tried to use the influence of Orqina to secure their rule in the *ulus* of Chaghatai.

The common pattern of levirat marriage in the Mongol imperial clan was that of a son inheriting his father's wife. But there are examples where a nephew took his aunt, or a grandson took his grandmother. Möngke Khan's Empress Yesur 也速兒 was taken by Arigh Böke's son Yobuqur under the order of Khubilai Khan.¹⁰⁶ According to Rashid Al-din, Yobuqur took Tolui's wife Nayan Khatun.¹⁰⁷

5. MONGOLIAN MARRIAGE CUSTOM AND SINICIZATION

The Sinicization of the Mongols in the Yuan dynasty is a controversial topic. Many scholars have argued that the nomads and semi-nomads that conquered China (Central Plains) could never have escaped sinicization, but among them the Mongols were the least sinicized. A famous historian

¹⁰⁴ In Mongolian language, "Bad Fortress." *The Successors*, 3:137.

¹⁰⁵ *The Successors*, 3:142-3.

¹⁰⁶ *The Successors*, 7:311. Khubilai said: "Let the great yurt, in which Yesüder Khatun lived, be administered by Yobuqur, and let Yobuqur marry Yesüder."

in the Qing dynasty, Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1814), found that “most of the Yuan emperors did not study the Chinese language”.¹⁰⁸ A Japanese scholar Haneda Tōru 羽田亨 claimed that, in the Yuan dynasty, Chinese people and Chinese culture were both despised because the Mongols pursued a policy of “Mongolism”.¹⁰⁹ Karl A. Wittfogel and Chia-sheng Feng believed that the conquerors and the conquered could not fully accept each other, and therefore one party could not be completely assimilated by the other. The cultural relation of the two parties had always been a two-way acculturation instead of a one-way assimilation. Assimilation in its real sense could possibly occur only when the conquering dynasty had collapsed and the status of the nationalities had become equal. The cultural and historical backgrounds of the conquering nationalities determined their attitudes towards Chinese culture. Basically the Jin 金 dynasty and the Qing 清 dynasty, established by the semi-agricultural and semi-nomad nationalities, were inclined to assimilate Chinese culture and consequently were deeply sinicized. While the Yuan dynasty and the Liao 遼 dynasty, established by nomads, had stubbornly resisted Chinese culture, and were consequently less sinicized.¹¹⁰

These views above-mentioned have exerted a great influence on Yuan studies for a long time. However, they are somewhat biased. Some scholars have pointed out the fact that, although the Mongol rulers carried out Mongolism for the purpose of ruling the Chinese nation, most of them had learned Chinese culture (John Langlois 1978; Herbert Franke 1952; Luo Xianyou 1987; Li

¹⁰⁷ *The Successors*, 7:312. “He (Yobuqur) had also one of Tolui’s wives, called Nayan Khatun, of the Qinqirat people, and the yurt had been transmitted by [Sorqoqtani Beki] to Arigh Böke.”

¹⁰⁸ Zhao Yi, (collated and annotated by Wang Shumin 王樹民), *Ershershi zhaji jiaozheng* 二十二史劄記校證, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, *juan* 30, (1984): 686-87.

¹⁰⁹ Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, “Genchō no Kan bunwei ni taisuru taido” 元朝の漢文明に対する態度, *Haneda Kakushi shigaku ronbunshū* 羽田博士史學論文集, Kyōto: Tōyōshi Kenkyūkai 京都:東洋史研究會, (1957): 670-96.

¹¹⁰ Karl A. Wittfogel and Chia-sheng Feng, *History of Chinese Society—Liao (907-1125)*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, (1949): 1-32.

Zefen 1991; Xiao Qiqing 1994).¹¹¹ The founder of the Yuan, Khubilai Khan (r. 1260-1294), showed great interest in Chinese culture in his early life, and appointed many Chinese officials in important governmental positions. But for some reason, especially after the rebellion of Li Tan 李檀, a Chinese general whom Khubilai trusted before, his attitude towards Chinese and Chinese culture changed dramatically. Khubilai truly did not understand Chinese language. He had to use interpreters when receiving Chinese scholars. But it is certain that he provided for literary education of the imperial princes. The heir-apparent Jin Gim (Yuzong 裕宗) received lessons in Chinese writing and had to practice everyday.¹¹² The other three emperors in the middle period of the Yuan--Temür Öljeitü (Chengzong, r.1295-1307), Qaishan (Wuzong, r. 1308-1311), Yisün Temür (Emperor Taiding, r. 1324-1328) had long been living in the northern steppes as military generals and therefore were not familiar with the Chinese language and culture.¹¹³ After the middle Yuan, Ayurbarvada (Renzong, r. 1312-1320), Shidebala (Yingzong, r. 1321-1323), Tuq Temür (Wenzong, r. 1329-1332), and Toqon Temür (Shundi, r. 1333-1368) were all of great attainments in Chinese literature and arts. Renzong was particularly interested in Chinese erudition. Under his reign the literary examinations were reintroduced (1313). He is reported as having personally inspected the list of candidates for the *jinshi* 進士 degree in 1318. He could also write court documents himself.

¹¹¹ John Langlois, Jr., "Yu Chi and His Mongol Sovereign: The Scholar as Apologist", *Journal of Asian studies* 38: 1 (1978), 99-116; Herbert Franke, "Could the Mongol Emperor Read and Write Chinese?" *Asia Major* (New Series), 3 (1952), 28-41. Luo Xianyou, "Yuanchao Zhu Di Hanhua Shu Yi", *Minzu Yanjiu*, (1987): 5, 67-74; Li Zefen: "Yuandai Zhu Di de Hanxue Xiuyang", in *Song Liao Jin Yuan Lishi Lunwenji*, Taipei: Liming Wenhua, (1991): 743-748; Xiao Qiqing, "Lun Yuandai Mengguren zhi huahua", in *Meng Yuan shi xinyan*, Taipei: Yunchen Wenhua, (1994): 219-249.

¹¹² For a detailed account of the literary education of Jin Gim in Chinese language and culture, see Herbert Franke, "Could The Mongol Emperors Read and Write Chinese?" in *China under Mongol Rule*, Variorum, ch. V, (1994): 29-31.

¹¹³ There is a counter-evidence indicating that Khaishan did understand Chinese. In *Yuanshi yeting ji* 元氏掖庭記 we find a story telling us that in an evening of a Middle-Autumn Festival, Wuzong enjoyed the full moon with his concubines on a boat in the *Taiye* Pool 太液池. On both sides of the boat there were "woman armies" wearing different clothes. Accompanied by beautiful dance and music, the emperor started the banquet. One of his concubines, Mrs. Luo, danced and sang in front of him. The words of the song were in classical Chinese, it likened the emperor to the moon, and the emperor was delighted. See *Yuanshi yeting ji*, in *Yuandai biji xiaoshuo*, (ed.) Zhou Guangpei, Hebei Jiaoyu Chubanshe. (1998): 59-60.

However, by far the most erudite emperor of the Yuan dynasty was Wenzong, who was especially talented at Chinese poems, calligraphy and painting. Herbert Franke even believes that although there were no poets and artists of great achievements among the Yuan emperors, if the Yuan did not perish so suddenly, it is highly possible that it would have produced emperors as Kangxi and Qianlong in the Qing dynasty who had mastered Chinese language and culture.¹¹⁴

Etiquette and custom mostly reflect a nation's fundamental ethics and moral standards. The etiquette and customs of the Mongols were deeply influenced by the lifestyle and living environment of the nomad society. While Chinese etiquette and custom were shaped by the Confucian ethics and moral standards of the agricultural society. In the year 1260 Khubilai ascended the throne in Kaiping 開平, in the imperial edict he acknowledged that since Chinggis Khan conquered the world, for more than fifty years, "although the military accomplishments have been achieved, the cultural achievements have been very few."¹¹⁵ Thus, he was determined to carry out a constitutional reform. First, he announced that his Yuan dynasty was in succession to the past Chinese dynasties, and he adopted Chinese titles for his reign. With regard to the etiquette and custom, Khubilai also followed Chinese traditions. In the third year of the Zhiyuan 至元 era (1266), he built an ancestral temple to offer sacrifice to his ancestors. In the eighth year of the Zhiyuan era (1271) he ordered the ministers Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 and Xu Heng 許衡 to start drawing up the court rites. Since then most of the court activities had to follow the court rites, such as in times when an emperor ascended the throne, an emperor changed the title of his reign, the Yuan court celebrated an emperor's birthday, princes and foreign envoys presented at the court, and an emperor

¹¹⁴ Herbert Franke, "Could the Mongol Emperors Read and Write Chinese?" *Asia Major* (New Series), 3 (1952), 28-41. Collected in *China under Mongol Rule*, Variorum, ch. V, (1994):41.

¹¹⁵ YS 4:64. See the basic annals of Shizu (Khubilai).

granted titles to his children, wives, mother, and grandmother. But when the emperor entertained his relatives or ministers, he still followed original Mongolian rites and customs.¹¹⁶

It has to be noted that Khubilai's promotion of Chinese administrative system met strong opposition by the conservative Mongol noblemen. The princes in the northwest sent envoys to question Khubilai, "Our old customs are different from those of the Chinese. Now you stay in the territory of the Chinese people, and build capital and cities, and use the Chinese system of etiquettes and rites. Why do you do these?"¹¹⁷ To ease their anger, Khubilai had to send envoys to them to explain his governing policies, while at the same time limiting the extent of the sinicization reform experiment.

There was a distinctive difference between the marriage customs of the Han Chinese and Mongolians. The Mongols paid great attention to married women's chastity, which was similar to those of the Chinese. However, the Mongols encouraged widow to remarry, especially in levirate marriage that was in sharp contrast to Chinese marriage customs and moral standards. When Chinggis Khan knew, from a cryptic remark of his mother Hö'elun, that she wanted a husband, he gave her in marriage to Menglik Echige of the Qongqotad.¹¹⁸ This is confirmed by the *Secret History*. In 1206 when Chinggis Khan appointed captains of the thousands, the first man who was appointed was "father Münglig".¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ YS 67: 1664, "*Li yue zhi* 禮樂志".

¹¹⁷ YS 125: 3073. See the biography of Gao Zhiyao 高智耀.

¹¹⁸ *The Successors*, 4: 169. This remarriage initially had a strong political implication. One of the sons of Menglik, Kōkōchū, was a powerful shaman who helped Chinggis Khan greatly in his early political career. By establishing this marriage Chinggis Khan intended to use the influence of the Shaman to rule Mongolia. However, things went beyond Chinggis Khan's control. Menglik's family became so powerful that it directly threatened the rule of Chinggis Khan. When Chinggis Khan founded the Great Mongol *Ulus*, his mother together with his youngest brother Odchigin were granted ten thousand troops, which was the largest share. Along with the remarriage of Hö'elun with Menglik, a huge part of Chinggis Khan's troops went to Menglik Echige's family. When Odchigin went to Menglik's home to get his people back, he was insulted by the shaman and his brothers. Therefore Chinggis Khan killed the shaman and decisively punctured the arrogance of this family. See *The Secret History*, Ch. X, pp. 175-82. YCMS, (1980): 273-9.

¹¹⁹ *The Secret History*, ch. VIII, p. 141.

The Levirate marriage may also function as an indicator to measure the extent of the sinicization of the Mongols. Throughout the Yuan dynasty the Yuan court never prohibited this marriage custom among the Mongols. In the early Yuan, it even tried to extend this custom to other nationalities. Later it stipulated that each nationality should follow its own marriage customs, and therefore the Han people, and the Southerners (*Nan ren* 南人) could not practice levirate. “Among the Han people and the Southerners, when a father dies, his son will take his stepmother; when an elder brother dies, his younger brother will take his sister-in-law. This should be banned.”¹²⁰

In the late Yuan, many people urged the emperor Shundi to reform Mongol marriage customs and ban levirate among the Mongols. Wugusun-liangzhen 烏古孫良楨, a highly sinicized Jurchen, pointed out:

The three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues are from the heaven and cannot be changed. The officials discussing the laws say that “the national people (*guoren* 國人, Mongols) are not restricted by this, and the other nationalities (*Semu* people) should follow their own customs.” This implies that the Han people and the southern people should, while Mongols and the *Semu* people should not, abide by the three guides and five constant virtues. It seems to treat them preferentially, but it actually isolates them. Outwardly it seems to respect them, but it actually insults them. From this to infer that they are not treating Mongols as well as the Han and the southern people. Please summon the officials in the Protocol Department and the *zhishi* in the court and have a meeting, and stipulate that from the emperor to the common people all must follow the ethical code, and thereby make laws that the former holy emperors did not have time to make, and manifest the principles that never to change for ten thousand years.¹²¹

The Confucian professor in the first *ordo*, Zheng Heng 鄭heng 口互, also complained:

Mongol people are the first nation of our country. It will be proper to teach them the ethical code. However, they still follow their own customs, they do not have a three year mourning period, and they inherit step mothers, aunts, and sisters-in-law. I am afraid that this will incur the ridicule of the later generations.¹²²

The Yuan emperor Shundi’s response to these suggestions was of “no reply”(*bu bao* 不報). Obviously the Mongol rulers were not inclined to exercise the Confucian code to reform the old Mongol customs. On the contrary, the Mongol rulers had tried to disseminate levirate marriage

¹²⁰ YS 103: 2644. See “*Xingfa zhi* 刑法志”.

¹²¹ YS 187: 4288. See the biography of Wugusun Liangzhen.

among the Chinese during the early period of the Yuan dynasty. There are many stipulations in the Yuan Law Code (*Yuan Dianzhang*) concerning the marriages of the *Semu* people, Han people and the Southerners. But the Mongols were exceptional: “For the *semu* peoples, they should follow their own customs if one marries a person within their own nationality. If a marriage is between two nationalities, they should follow the custom of the male party. But the Mongols are not restricted by this.”¹²³ From this we can infer that marriages between Mongols and other nationalities were allowed, but only Mongol marriage customs could be followed in a marriage between Mongols and another nationality. Throughout the Yuan dynasty, the Mongols still practiced this custom as usual, and the Mongol rulers obviously permitted these practices. During Shundi’s reign, when the chief of the Secretariat Council Kuokuodai 闊闊歹 (Kokodei) died, his concubine, a Korean woman, “swore not to remarry”. However, the son born by his first wife wanted to take her, and thus he bribed the Right Chancellor Boyan 伯顏 and got permission from the emperor to marry her.¹²⁴

But among the Mongol rulers in China proper, levirate marriages seemed to have gradually disappeared. For example, Ögödei Khan had inherited a concubine of Chinggis Khan, Mogo 木哥 Khatun. Möngke Khan inherited a wife from his father Tolui. But since Khubilai Khan, no such cases have been found among the Yuan emperors, although it occurred frequently among the Mongol princes and princesses in other Mongol khanates.

Scholars have explored the extent of the sinicization amongst the Mongols. John W. Dardess has argued that, especially in the late Yuan period, the conquerors had become Confucian adherents themselves. While Luo Xianyou 羅賢佑 points out that, as a result of many factors, such as garrisoning, enfeoffment, the assumption of office outside the capital, and the wandering of the destitute Mongols far from home, a large number of Mongols went south, which led to a wide

¹²² YS 44: 921. See the basic annals of Shundi.

¹²³ *Yuan dianzhang*, vol. 18, “*Hunying*”, Zhongguo shudian, (1990): 280.

distribution of the Mongol population across the country. By the late Yuan and Ming dynasties most of the Mongols who moved southward had become almost indistinctive from the Chinese people.¹²⁵

However, many scholars argue that the Mongols in the Yuan dynasty never lost their cultural identity. Some even believe that the Mongols were not interested in the sophistication of Chinese culture, and that therefore Chinese culture did not strongly influence the Mongols.¹²⁶

Herbert Franke pointed out that the sinicization of the Mongols rulers was never fully achieved, after a long period of potential acculturation and gradual sinicization, and a number of turning points.¹²⁷ He has distinguished several stages in the transition from steppe rulership to (never fully realized) Chinese emperorship and back to the steppes. 1. The old-Mongol period up to Chinggis Khan's accession in 1206; 2. The conquest of Peking and parts of Northern China, marked by the years 1215 (conquest of Peking) and 1234 (extinction of the Jin state). 3. the rule of Khubilai Khan (1260-1294, where several sub-stages could be determined); 4. the late reigns of the Mongol emperors (1294-1368); 5. the influence on the Mongols of their rule over China after their expulsion in 1368. The gradually and never fully achieved sinicization of the Mongol rulers was, of course, the chief element underlying the methods and symbol of their legislation in the eyes of their Chinese subjects. It is clear that the decisive steps to transform the Mongol ruler into a Chinese emperor have taken place under Khubilai Khan. Khubilai accepted the suggestions of his Chinese advisors and ordered his Chinese ministers to formulate court rules. But it is doubtful if these rules had ever been strictly followed. Actually the rituals to be performed by the emperor of his officials

¹²⁴ Tao Zongyi, *Chuo geng lu*, vol.15, (1963): 226.

¹²⁵ Luo Xianyou, "Yuandai Mengguren nanqian huodong shu lue", 元代蒙古人南遷活動述略, in *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究, 4 (1989).

¹²⁶ Elizabeth Endicott-West, "Aspects of Khitan Liao and Mongolian Yuan Imperial Rule: A Comparative Perspective." Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds.), *Rulers from the Steppe. State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery*, Los Angeles: Ethnographics Press, (1991): 199-222; *Mongolian rule in China : local administration in the Yuan Dynasty*. Cambridge, Mass. Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University: Harvard-Yenching Institute, (1989): 122-23.

show, under the Yuan, a syncretism, because in addition to the rituals inherited from the Song and Jin, Mongol national rites continued to be performed.¹²⁸ Moreover, according to the “Records of Imperial Carriages and Garments”(Yu fu zhi 輿服志) in the *Yuanshi*, the ceremonial dress of an emperor was always decorated with clouds, dragons, mountains, and rivers. However, the eight extant paintings of Yuan emperors show that none of them wore the traditional Chinese style dragon robe. We will see the difference if we compare the four famous emperors of the Yuan, the Tang, and the Qing dynasties.



Khubilai Khan (1215-1294)



Wenzong (1304-1332) of the Yuan dynasty

¹²⁷ Herbert Franke, “From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God”, in *China under Mongol Rule*, Variorum, ch. IV, (1994): 8.

¹²⁸ YS 72:1779, “The five rituals of the Yuan dynasty were all performed according to the Mongolian customs (*guosu* 國俗)”.



Taizong (599-649) of the Tang Dynasty



Emperor Kangxi(1662-1722) of the Qing dynasty

The reluctance to recognize and accept Chinese symbols and to adopt Chinese rituals reveals the basic attitudes of the Mongol rulers towards Chinese culture. Contrary to the Manchu conquerors of the Qing dynasty, the Mongols had been emphatically struggling to maintain their nomadic cultural identity and to resist sinicization throughout the Yuan dynasty. The most indicative sign was the two-capital system and the migratory inspection tours of the Mongol emperors. Khubilai Khan built two capitals, with the Grand Capital (Dadu 大都, somewhere near present Beijing) being the official capital and the Supreme Capital (Shangdu 上都) in Mongolia the secondary capital. This type of capital system was not invented by the Mongols. Many Chinese dynasties had practiced this since the Western Zhou dynasty (1066 B.C.-771 B.C.). However, the secondary capitals in Chinese dynasties normally functioned only as a political symbol of the authority of the central governments. Also, rarely would the emperors go to these capitals to handle their official business. The Yuan dynasty was very special in this regard. The secondary capital had

the same political position as the official capital. The Yuan emperors spent approximately equal time in both capitals. Generally the emperors left Dadu for Shangdu in the second or the third month of the year, and by the eighth or ninth month they would return to Dadu. Most of the people in the Yuan court moved to Shangdu with the emperor, including the empresses and imperial concubines, the crown prince, other Mongol princes, and court officials. This was the time to review Mongol customs and to be nurtured by Mongol culture. The Mongol emperors would hold banquets. The most famous banquet was called the “*Zhama* banquet 詐馬宴”.¹²⁹ During the banquet, Chinggis Khan’s *jasagh* would be recited, and there were traditional Mongol sports and music. During their stay in Shangdu, the Mongol emperors had to spend time hunting, which again was a time to review the Mongolian cultural tradition. Even in Dadu, Mongol symbolic presence was evident in the architecture and decoration of some of the buildings within the Yuan palace complex. For example, in Khubilai’s sleeping chambers curtains were dropped and screens of ermine skins set up as tangible reminder of the Mongols’ hunting and pastoral life. The main reception hall contained a dais on which were models of reclining tigers, which were “by some mechanical device capable of motion as if they [were] alive.” Mongol-style tents were erected in the Imperial Parks, and Khubilai’s sons and their cousins often lived in them rather than in the palaces. When one of Khubilai’s wives was in the last stages of pregnancy, she moved to these same tents to give birth.¹³⁰ Moreover, Khubilai assigned underlings to gather grass and dirt from the Mongol steppes for his royal altar, another reminder of their pastoral heritage.¹³¹

¹²⁹ “*Zhama*” is a Persian word, meaning clothing. When the emperors hold a *zhama* banquet, all the princes, the imperial sons-in-law, ministers, and the emperor’s bodyguards were invited to attend, and they had to wear the clothes of the same color. Therefore it also was called “*zhisun* banquet 只孫宴”. “*Zhisun*” means color in Mongolian. It was normally deep red color. See CGL:376.

¹³⁰ Paul Ratchnevsky, “Über den mongolischen Kult am Hofe der Grosskhane in China,” in *Mongolian Studies*, ed. Ligeti, 435-41. Quoted in Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times*, (University of California Press, 1988) p. 133. YS 77:1925.

¹³¹ Emil Bretschneider, “Recherches archeologiques et historiques sur Peking et ses environs”, 57. Quoted in Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times*, University of California Press, (1988):133.

Throughout the Yuan dynasty, the Mongol rulers carried out a policy of racial segregation. By the end of the Yuan dynasty, Han people and Southerners were prohibited from studying Mongolian writing and those of the *Semu* peoples.¹³²

Nonetheless, despite the great efforts the Mongol rulers had made to resist sinicization and to maintain their cultural identity, they still could not stop the trend of sinicization among the Mongols. The levirate marriage is one such example. Some Mongol women had been influenced by the Confucian concept of chastity. Sengge Ragi 祥哥剌吉 (? 1282-1332), the mother-in-law of Wenzong, the Grand Princess of the State of Lu, “became a widow when she was very young. She remained chaste and faithful to her husband, and did not allow her brothers-in-law to marry her, but spent her time fostering and educating her children.”¹³³ She was highly praised and given honored titles by Wenzong. Sengge Ragi became comfortable in Chinese culture. She was a great art collector, preserving many old Chinese paintings, and thus helped to protect Chinese high culture.

The *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (Biographies of Women) in *Yuanshi* also records such a story. A woman named Tuotuoni 脫脫尼 from the Onggirat tribe was widowed when she was young. Her stepsons born by her husband’s previous wife wanted to take her according to the Mongol custom. But Tuotuoni reproached them of “brutish behavior”, and threatened to commit suicide if they use force to take her.¹³⁴ As a Mongol woman, she even regarded levirate as “brutish behavior”. It certainly indicated that she had been deeply influenced by Chinese moral standard.

In sum, the Mongols in the Yuan dynasty never gave up their national and cultural identities. Instead, they made great effort to maintain them. Throughout the Mongol dynasty in China they had been actively resisting sinicization by all means. One of these was to preserve the Mongol marriage

¹³² YS 39:893. See the basic annals of Shundi.

¹³³ YS 33: 746. See the basic annals of Wenzong.

¹³⁴ YS 200: 4495-4496. See Lienü Zhuan.

customs. However, one hundred years of exposure to Chinese culture had altered these Mongolian marriage customs.

The concrete sinicization of the Mongols occurred after the end of the Yuan dynasty. By the early Ming dynasty the Mongols who did not retreat to the north were swiftly sinicized. In 1376 a Confucian scholar in Haizhou, Bing Zheng, reported: “Recently I have seen that many Mongols have changed their surnames to Chinese surnames, and are not distinctive from Chinese people. Among them some people have applied for official positions, some have become famous, some have become rich merchant.”¹³⁵ Another Ming scholar, Qiu Rui also reported, “At the beginning of this state, the Mongols and *semu* people changed their names and lived together with the commoners. They are just like one or two barnyard millets in the rice field with time they will forget their identity and will be transformed, and will not be easily identified.”¹³⁶ In addition, the rulers of the Ming dynasty enforced special laws forbidding the Mongols and the *semu* people from marrying people of their own nationalities. Apparently this was set in order to accelerate the process of sinicization of these nationalities.

¹³⁵ *Ming Taizu shilu* 明太祖實錄, Taipei, Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo, *juan* 109, (1962):

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¹³⁶ Qiu Rui, *Daxue yanyi bu*. Haikou: Haikou Shuju, *juan* 144, p. 105.

CHAPTER TWO

Chinggisid Marriage Strategies and the Political Implications of Mongol Imperial Marriages

1. A COMPARISON OF MARRIAGE STRATEGIES BETWEEN THE MONGOL ROYAL FAMILY AND TYPICAL CHINESE DYNASTIES

In comparing the imperial marriages of the Mongol Yuan with those of the other dynasties in Chinese history, we find that the Mongol Yuan imperial marriages were unique.

First of all, the Mongol Yuan royal family is the only one that actively established and maintained marriage relationships with other nationalities in Chinese history. Two equally important factors may explain this phenomenon. The first factor is related to the exogamic marriage system adopted by Mongols, which required them to find marriage partners outside of their tribe. The other factor, I believe, is political choice. The main purpose of these marriages was to enhance the political and military strength of the Mongol Empire.

In Chinese history, since the West Han 西漢 dynasty (206 B.C.-23 A.D.), one of the most important means in dealing with foreign affairs had been “*heqin*” 和親, in which a feudal ruling house attempted to cement relations with rulers of minorities in border areas, by marrying to them daughters of the imperial family. The aim of *heqin* was either to pacify a border nationality that was making trouble, or to make an alliance with a nationality through marriage. The two parties in the *heqin* relationship generally had to make pledges and exchange gifts. Also the weak party even had to send a prince to the other party as a hostage. The *heqin* strategy was always employed when a dynasty was weak and faced strong enemies. This always occurred between the powerful and the

weak. Rarely would an emperor marry his daughter to a head of a small and weak nationality or tribe that did not constitute a menace to his dynasty. Also he would not marry a girl from such a nationality or tribe as his empress. Therefore, in a general sense, *heqin* was a one-way marriage and a temporary expedient measure.¹³⁷

The *heqin* marriage was the most typical of political marriages. A woman in such a marriage was actually the victim of politics. She had no choice but to obey her destiny and to fulfill her historical mission. The most famous women in Chinese *heqin* history were Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 of the Han dynasty and Princess Wencheng 文成公主 of the Tang dynasty. And Wang Zhaojun was an exceptional example. She took this historical mission on her own initiative. When Huhanye 呼韓邪單于, the chief of the Xiongnu 匈奴, a powerful people on the north border of the Han empire, made an offer of marriage to Emperor Yuan 元帝 of the Han dynasty, the Emperor was reluctant to offer his daughter or any other girl of the imperial family to Huhanye. Instead, he was going to offer him five palace women. Wang Zhaojun, as a palace woman, stood up in this crucial point and stated that she was willing to go to the northern steppes. After her request was approved by the emperor, she was found to be exceedingly beautiful, and the emperor was surprised at her beauty. He immediately had the imperial artist Mao Yanshou 毛延壽 killed because he drew a false and ugly picture of her. This action was supposedly the result of her refusal to offer bribes to Mao.

There were six actual *heqin* marriages in the Mongol Yuan. They occurred between Chinggis Khan's family and West Xia 西夏, Jin 金, and Gaochang 高昌. The Xiangzong 襄宗 (r. 1206-1211) of West Xia was compelled to present a princess to Chinggis Khan when the Mongol troops were attacking his country. The Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 1213-1223) of Jin presented Princess Supreme of the State of Qi 岐國大長公主 to Chinggis Khan when his capital was besieged by the Mongol

¹³⁷ Zhang Zhengming 張正明, "Heqin yanjiu" 和親研究, in *Minzu shi luncong* 民族史論叢, Zhonghua Shuju, 4 (1986).

troops.¹³⁸ Chinggis Khan married a princess to Barshukh Art Tegin 巴爾術阿爾的惕斤, the Idu-qut (Idikut) 亦都護 of the Gaochang State. Khubilai Khan married a princess to Har-dijin 哈兒的斤, the Idu-qut of the Gaochang State. Khubilai successively married two princesses to Niulin-dijin 紐林的斤.¹³⁹ After Niulin-dijin, the Gaochang tribe still maintained marriage relations with the Mongol Yuan royal family. But at that time the Idu-qut had become a local officer of the Yuan dynasty, therefore the later marriages should not be viewed as *heqin*.

If we compare the imperial marriage of the Yuan dynasty with that of the Song, we would determine that their marriage strategies and practices were very different. The Song imperial family learned from the troubles caused by “Imperial In-laws” (*waiqi* 外戚¹⁴⁰) in Han 漢, Jin 晉, and Tang 唐 dynasties, and took various measures to prevent *waiqi*’s interference in their political affairs. In the early Song dynasty, most of the *waiqi*’s existed as the famous generals from the Five Dynasties. The Song imperial family intended to consolidate its political power by means of marriages with those powerful generals. But at the same time, it also intended to weaken the power of those generals by means of marriage to secure its political rule. For example, when the great generals, such as Shi Shouxin 石守信, agreed to establish marriage relationships with Song Taizu (Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤), they were immediately persuaded to give up their military powers. The well-known event in the Song history called “Giving up military power with a cup of wine” 杯酒釋兵權 is an instance of this. In order to avoid the malpractice of *waiqi* in state affairs, a series of “Methods of treating *waiqi*” was gradually developed.¹⁴¹ Its strategy towards *waiqi* was of “Providing them with handsome salary and high-rank titles but not letting them hold and

¹³⁸ YS 1:17. See the basic annals of Taizu.

¹³⁹ YS 122:2999-3001. See the Biography of Barshukh Art Tegin.

¹⁴⁰ *Waiqi* 外戚: Relatives of a king or emperor on the side of his mother or wife. Throughout the history a reference to relatives of rulers by marriage, ordinarily ennobled if not already of the nobility. Considered members of the Inner Court. Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford University Press, (1985): 559.

monopolize power”.¹⁴² The Song imperial family also formulated a series of stipulations. For example, a *waiqi* should not be a chancellor, a Missionary of the Department of Military Affairs (*Shumishi* 樞密使), an Attendant (*Shicongguan* 侍從官), a Circuit Supervisor (*Jiansi* 監司), or a Commandery Governor (*Junshou* 郡守). Also, he must be prohibited from commanding troops. Moreover, a man who holds a military or political office must resign if a woman in his family has been selected and titled as an empress.

On the other hand, one of the distinctive principles of the Song imperial marriage was “not considering family rank in marriage”. Zhang Bangwei 張邦煒 has compared the backgrounds of empresses and Noble Consorts between the Tang dynasty and Song dynasty. According to his statistics, 70.8% of the empresses and Noble Consorts in the Tang dynasty were from the high-rank bureaucratic families, while only 26.8% of empresses and Noble Consorts were from such families in the Song dynasty.¹⁴³ Among the forty-one empresses and Noble Consorts who had biographies in history, twenty-one of them were from non-bureaucratic families, in whom many were from and low class. For example, the empress Liu 劉 of Zhenzong 真宗 had been a street-performer in Kaifeng 開封. The mother of Noble Consort Miao 苗 of Renzong 仁宗 had been the wet nurse of Renzong himself. The father of empress Zheng 鄭 of Huizong 徽宗 was the owner of a wine shop.

On the contrary, almost all of the empresses and Noble consorts in the Mongol Yuan were from aristocratic families. Among the 27 empresses who had biographies in *Yuanshi*, 26 of them were from aristocratic families, which make up 96% of the total statistic numbers. Only the Korean woman, Qishi Wanzhehudu 奇氏完者忽都, the empress of Shundi 順帝, was from a common family.

¹⁴¹ Li Yujie, Qin Xueqi 李禹階, 秦學碩, *Waiqi yu huangquan* 外戚與皇權, Xinan Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, 1993.

¹⁴² *Guochao Zhuchen zouyi* 國朝諸臣奏議, juan 35. Quoted in *waiqi yu huangquan*.

2. POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE MONGOLIAN ROYAL MARRIAGES

Marriages in the imperial families of ancient China always had strong political implications from the very beginning. *Liji-hunyi* 禮記·昏義(婚儀) (Records of Rites--Marriage Rituals) states that “Marriage rituals are to combine the best parts of two surnames (families or tribes), to serve the ancestral hall, and to continue the later generations.”¹⁴⁴ This is the oldest and most typical definition of marriage by the Chinese standards. It has two implications. First of all, a marriage, as a political relationship between two families or tribes, is a means to expand the sphere of political power and to raise the political positions of the families or tribes concerned. This is defined as “combining the best parts of the two surnames” 合兩姓之好. Secondly, external-tribe marriage 族外婚 was regarded as a means to increase population and to improve the quality of population in order to continue the blood lineage of the tribes or families. This is what is so called “to continue the later generation” 下以繼後世.

From the view of socio-politics, the marriages of a royal family and a duke or prince's family were the most typical of political marriages. An imperial family always intended to establish or strengthen the political and military relationships with its marriage partners to increase their own interests. Therefore, they were extremely careful in choosing a marriage partner for their children. In short, the political interests of the royal family are of great and foremost importance in determining a marriage for their children. The feelings of the two people in a marriage were almost always ignored.

¹⁴³ Zhang Bangwei 張邦埈, *Hunyi yu shehui* (Songdai) 婚姻與社會 (宋代), Ch. 4. Quoted in *Waiqi yu huangquan*.

¹⁴⁴ *Liji*—“*hunyi*”, *juan* 44.

The political aspect of the royal marriage of the Mongol Yuan was particularly distinct. The Introduction of the Table of Princesses in the *Yuanshi* tells us:

By a rule of the Yuan imperial court, nobody was allowed to marry a Yuan princess if he was not a noble so conferred for meritorious service or a king in a conferred state. Therefore, the persons who maintained marriage relationships with the Yuan court were deemed as the princes, and they were sincerely entrusted by the Yuan court to guard the frontiers.¹⁴⁵

Since the time of Chinggis Khan, marriage had been regarded as an important means to ally all possible forces. For example, Chinggis acknowledged Ong-Khan as his adoptive father when he was still weak, and initiated an exchange marriage relationship between these two families to keep a more intimate relationship with Ong-Khan. He proposed that his own son Jochi 拙赤 marry Senggüm's 桑昆 (Ong-Khan's son) younger sister Cha'ur Beki 察兀儿别乞; and his eldest daughter Khojen Beki 豁真别乞 marry Senggüm's son Tusaqa 秃撒哈.”¹⁴⁶

The Secret History records:

When Chinggis Khan, thinking, saying [unto himself], '[Over and] above [the fact that we are already] friendly, let us be doubly friendly,' requested for Jochi Cha'ur Beki, the younger sister of Senggüm, as he requested [her], saying, 'I shall give in exchange unto Tusaqa, son of Senggüm, our Khojen Beki.'¹⁴⁷

But Chinggis Khan was not successful because of the refusal of Senggüm. Later when Senggüm attempted to destroy Chinggis, he invited Chinggis to his camp to eat the “betrothal meal”,¹⁴⁸ intending to catch him at the banquet. But Chinggis saw through this fraud and did not attend the banquet. When Senggüm found that his conspiracy was discovered, he launched a campaign to attack Chinggis.¹⁴⁹

In spite of some failures, Chinggis Khan and his successors resolutely devoted to marriage strategies, which made the Mongolian royal marriages in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the

¹⁴⁵ YS 109: 2759.

¹⁴⁶ YCMS 元朝秘史, annotated by Chen Binhe 陳彬龢, Shangwu Yinshu Guan, P. 87,

¹⁴⁷ The Secret History, Ch. V. pp. 89-90.

¹⁴⁸ M. “Buwulezhar”, Chinese translation is *xu hun yan* 許婚宴. “Buwulezhar” referred to animal neck in Mongolian. The special food at the “betrothal meal” was necks of sheep, implying that the two parties in

most typical political marriages. The Mongolian royal house tried various ways to establish or strengthen the military relationship with every marriage partner. Marriages with the allied states were taken as a tool to effectively control them. All the princesses were undertaking important political missions when they were sent to marry the heads of dependencies. The *Altan Tobci* 黄金史 records three stories which will help us understand the political implication of Mongolian royal marriages and Chinggis Khan's marriage strategies. From this we can see clearly how Chinggis Khan used his daughters as pawns on the vast chessboard of his empire.

When a princess was to marry a foreign king or a tribal chieftain, she would be first instructed formally about her mission by Chinggis Khan himself or by one of his representatives. She was seen not merely as a wife of the leader of the allied state, but her mission was to become the political representative of the Mongol Empire to help control the allied state or tribe. She fully understood that she must remain loyal to the Mongol royal family instead of to the family she was going to enter; she must keep a clear head and not be influenced by new circumstances.

When Alahai-Beki was going to be married to the Öngüt leader, Chinggis Khan issued an imperial edict to her:

You should be determined to become one of my feet. When I am going on an expedition, you should be my helper; when I am galloping, you should be my steed! You have to remember: life is short, but fame is everlasting! No friend is better than your own wise heart! No ferocious enemy is worse than a resentful and wicked heart! Although there are many things you can rely on, no one is more reliable than yourself; although many people can be your henchmen, no one is more intimate than your own consciousness; although there are many things you should cherish, no one is more valuable than your own life! If you preserve your purity, you will be able to foster good habits and characteristics! If you are eager to learn, you will always be successful. You should be prudent, steadfast and courageous. You must follow all of these carefully! ¹⁵⁰

the marriage could not go back on their worlds once they ate the meal. See Daruitibu 道潤梯步, *Xinyi jianzhu Menggu mishi*, Neimenggu Renmin Chubanshe, (1979): 139, fn. 1.

¹⁴⁹ YCMS, PP. 88-93.

¹⁵⁰ Sechin Jagchid (Zhaqi-siqin), trans. *Menggu huangjin shi yi zhu* 蒙古黄金史译注, Lian Jing Chuban Shiye Gongsi, (1979): 40-42. Luosangdanjin 羅桑丹津, *Menggu huangjin shi* 蒙古黄金史, trans. by Sedaorji 色道爾吉, Mengguxue Chubanshe, (1993):181-2.

The career of Alahai 阿剌海 proved that she had strictly followed her father's instructions. In investigating the occurrence of levirate within the leadership of allied and subordinate tribes during the World Empire, Holmgren claims that it was the result of singular political circumstances.¹⁵¹ The career of Alahai illustrates this point. It shows how both the levirate and the principle of widow-chastity were manipulated by Chinggisid leaders in their quest for greater domination over their allied peoples. But it also suggests that where Chinggisid control was secure and direct succession could be instituted, widow-chastity was the preferred *modus operandi*. According to Holmgren, Alahai was married three times--first to the older son of the Öngüt leader, Alaques 阿剌兀思, then to Alaques' nephew, Zhenguo 鎮國, and finally to Alaques' younger son, Boyaohe 李要合. At one time, she governed the Öngüt as regent, first in the absence of Zhenguo and then, after Zhenguo's death, as widow in the name of her younger son, Niegutai 聶古台. According to Holmgren's analyses, her first marriage had secured the alliance between her father and the Öngüt. Then her husband and father-in-law were murdered by their own tribesmen. Chinggis Khan, faced with the problem of installing a successor who would be both loyal to him and able to control the tribesmen, passed over the young Boyaohe and installed his older cousin Zhenguo as leader. To legitimize the succession, and to further Chinggisid control over the Öngüt leadership, Zhenguo was married to Alahai, since Zhenguo's assassination had the potential of creating a succession problem in the next generation. Thus upon Zhenguo's death, Alahai first governed the Öngüt as regent and then married Boyaohe after his return from a military campaign. In this way, her young son by Zhenguo was forced to wait until the death of his step-father/cousin before he could assume leadership. Then, Boyaohe's sons, being children of a lesser wife, were unable to threaten his position.

The *Altan Tobci* records the marriage of Chinggis Khan's other daughter Ilkhaltun 也立安敦

¹⁵¹ J. Holmgren, "Observations on Marriage ... (1986): 162-63.

(Ilghaltun) to the Idug-qut (king) of Uighur, Barchukh Art Tegin 巴而術阿而忒的斤.¹⁵² *The Secret History* also records this event in a similar way, but the name of the girl was recorded as Al-Altun 阿勒阿勒屯.¹⁵³ In *Yuanshi* the girl's name is Yeli An-dun 也立可敦,¹⁵⁴ it is closer to the sound of Ilkhaltun. According to the Persian sources, the marriage between the Uighur chief and his intended spouse, variously called Al Altan or Ilkhaltun Begi, never occurred, owing to the demise of the principals.¹⁵⁵ Hong Jun in *Yuanshi yiwen zhengbu* 元史譯文證補 also states that the princess died before her wedding, and Barchukh Art Tegin actually did not marry the princess.¹⁵⁶ However, according to the *Altan Tobci*, it seems that this marriage did occur.

The record in the *Altan Tobci* indicates the political significance of this marriage. It reads:

When the Uighur Idug-qut came to marry Ilkhaltun Begi, Chinggis Khan issued an imperial edict to her, "A blessed woman has three husbands. Which three husbands are they? Firstly, her nation is her husband; secondly, her fame is her husband; finally, the man who married her is her husband. These are your three husbands. If you can take your nation as your husband, and serve him very carefully, you will certainly earn your (second) husband---fame. If you can take your fame as your husband and carefully protect him, how will the husband who has married you ever forsake you?"¹⁵⁷

The third daughter of Chinggis Khan was Checheyigen 扯扯亦堅, her name is not recorded in the "Table of Princesses" in the *Yuanshi*. However, both the *Altan Tobci* and *The Secret History* record that she was married to Inalchi 亦納勒赤, the son of Khutuqa-Begi of the Oirat tribe. In the year 1207, Chinggis Khan ordered his son Jochi 拙赤 to conquer the "People of the Forest" (*linzhong baixing* 林中百姓), the Oirat tribe first submitted to Chinggis Khan and influenced other

¹⁵² Sechin Jagchid (Zhaqi-siqin), *Menggu huangjinshi yizhu* (1979):42-43.

¹⁵³ Sechin Jagchid (Zhaqi-siqin), *Menggu huangjinshi yizhu*. (1979): 355.

¹⁵⁴ YS 109: 2760. The annotators of *Yuanshi* changed the Chinese character 可 to 安 based on the biography of Barchukh Art Tegin in the *Yuanshi* and Yu Ji's 虞集 "Gaochangwang shixun bei" 高昌王世勳碑 (in YWL, *juan* 26). But the pronunciation of Yelikedun seems closer to Ilkhaltun. And as we have known, the compilers of the *Yuanshi* almost directly copied from Yu Ji when they wrote the biography of Barchukh Art Tegin.

¹⁵⁵ See Rashid/Ali-zade, p. 341; Juvaini/Boyle, vol. I, p. 47, n. 17; YS. 109, p. 2760; and Dawson, op. Cit., p. 141. Quoted from Thomas T. Allsen: "The Yuan and the Uigurs of Turfan in the 13th Century". In *China among Equals, the Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors*, ed., Morris Rossabi, University of California Press, (1983): 248.

¹⁵⁶ YSYWZB, *juan*. 3, P. 132.

tribes to submit. Therefore Chinggis Khan married his daughter to Inalchi, and married Jochi's daughter Holuiqan 豁雷罕 to Inalchi's elder brother Törölchi 脫劣勒赤. The *Altan Tobci* reads: "Chinggis Khan married Checheyigen Aghai ¹⁵⁸ to Inalchi of the Oirat tribe. When the wedding was going on, he ordered the nobleman (*noyan*) Boworchu 孛斡儿出 to give instructions (to Checheyigen). Boworchu said:

Listen, Checheyigen Aghai! Because you are the daughter of your Khan father, you are sent to govern the people of the Oirat tribe. You are going to pitch a tent there. You should get up early and go to sleep late! Do not make yourself a stranger in your mother-in-law's family! Day and night, you should be circumspect all the time. Your words must show your wisdom, you must keep yourself chaste. Leave the things that you have not mastered home, and bring all the things you have mastered with you. You should organize the Oirat people and control them! ¹⁵⁹

On the other hand, Chinggis Khan and his successors never married their daughters to their trustful generals, such as the King Muqali 木華黎. "He had a very close relationship with the imperial family, but they never had intermarriage for generations." (*Qin lian tianjia, shi bu hunyin* 親連天家，世不婚姻)¹⁶⁰ Muqali, Borshu, Borhu, and Chila'un were called Chinggis Khan's four gifted generals. They made great contributions to the Mongol Empire. But because they maintained a close relationship with the Chinggisid family, they were not allowed to marry Mongolian princesses. Although Muqali was titled King, he was still deemed as the slave of Chinggis Khan's family. The marriage strategy of Chinggis Khan was to use marriage to control the tribal chiefs and kings whose submission they believed may change. While it was unnecessary to apply this strategy to his own generals who were set on following the orders of Chinggis Khan and his successors.

¹⁵⁷ Luosangdanjin 羅桑丹津, *Menggu huangjinshi* 蒙古黃金史, trans. by Sedaorji 色道爾吉, Mengguxue Chubanshe, (1993):184-5.

¹⁵⁸ According to Zhaqi Siqin, "Aghai" was an honorific title of the girls of noble family in Mongol society. It also means "baby" in Mongolian language. See Zhaqi Siqin: *Menggu huangjin shi yi zhu* (1979): 43.

¹⁵⁹ Zhaqi Siqin, *Menggu huangjinshi y zhu* (1979): 44.

¹⁶⁰ Yun Mingshan 元明善, *Chengxiang Dongping Zhongxianwang bei* 丞相東平忠憲王碑, in YWL 元文類, juan 24. Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, (1993): 284.

From the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries, when Chinggis Khan was annexing other tribes in the great steppes, the marriage relatives of Chinggis Khan had proved to be militarily important. When the Onggirat tribe and four other tribes formed an alliance and swore at the Aleiquan 阿雷泉 to attack Chinggis Khan. Chinggis Khan's father-in-law Dei Sechen sent an envoy to report the situation to Temüjin 鐵木真 (Chinggis). This enabled him to be prepared for the allied attack. Later, when Jamuka 札木合 was going to attack Chinggis Khan with allied troops arranged in thirteen wings 十三翼 (battle array), Chinggis' brother-in-law Botu 孛术, who was the chief of Ikires tribe, also sent an envoy to report the impending danger to Chinggis Khan.

CHAPTER THREE

Social Position of Mongolian Women and the Political Involvement of Mongolian Empresses

1. THE SOCIAL POSITION OF MONGOLIAN WOMEN

Basic differences existed between the social Status of women in a nomad society and a sedentary society, and most of the differences can be explained by the ways of life of the two different types of societies. Herbert Franke points out that in a nomad society where many adult males were away on long hunting expeditions or in warfare, the responsibility of caring for the household and the education of children fell upon the wives. This resulted in a relatively great independence of the women who had to act as heads of the household during the absence of their husbands.¹⁶¹ This is partially true where Mongol women's responsibilities are concerned. However, a husband and a wife were often together, even in times of war. The *ahuruq* 奥鲁 military system is an example, which was translated as "a camp of olds and young's" (*laoxiao ying* 老小营) in the Ming dynasty. It referred to the place where the families of Mongol army remained. It was responsible for the supplies of the Mongol army, therefore, most of the time, it moved along with the army.¹⁶²

A Mongol woman who married into a tribe was certainly never sheltered from the heavy labor and intertribal warfare characteristic of nomadic pastoral societies. Morris Rossabi also points out,

The insecurities of steppe life required each member of a family, clan, or tribe to pull his or her own weight. Horses needed to be herded and led to pasture; sheep had to be sheared and ewes milked; and tents (known as *gers* or *yurts*) had to be pitched, then dismantled, and erected again in another location as the tribe moved to a new grazing area. Without the cooperation of both men and women,

¹⁶¹ Herbert Franke, 'Women under the Dynasty of Conquest', in *China under Mongol Rule*, Variorum, 1994.

¹⁶² For a discussion of the important functions of *ahuruq*, see Li Zhi'an 李治安, "Qixue yu Yuandai chaozheng" 怯薛與元代朝政, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究, 4 (1990): 110-117.

the chores which were essential for the subsistence of nomadic pastoralism could not be completed, and the tribe's or family's survival would be threatened. Women were required to share physically demanding tasks with men.¹⁶³

The Mongol women were responsible for all the domestic duties. They produced the simple necessities for pastoral life. They cooked meals, made clothing, and they were also expected to manage the carts, and the loading or unloading of the yurts and other belongings. They milked the cows, goats, and sheep, and made cheese and butter. They tanned the hides of animals and sewed them with the tendons of horses or oxen. They also made felts to cover houses. The important role placed on women involved in household management allowed them to gain high status in family life. Xiao Daheng 肖達亨 in the early Ming dynasty recorded as the following. "It is said that the barbarian men are always controlled by women." He also tried to explain this phenomenon.

It is not only because the women are shrewish, it is also because the husbands have to rely on them. All the clothing, hats and shoes, big things and small things, are all made by their hands. The husbands only know how to hold a bow to hunt, otherwise they can do nothing. The women at ordinary times attend their duties just like a hen crows in the early morning, and if they get angry they will roar as a lion. They are arrogant because they have made a lot of contributions, their behavior is unbridled because they have done hard work, it is this that makes them act like that.¹⁶⁴

The important role of women in economy also aided them in adopting a relatively higher social position in Mongol society. A woman could lead an army. Chinggis Khan's mother Hö'elun 訶阿倫, had led the first wing of the army in the thirteen wings of his army when he fought against the combined forces of Jamuka and Ong-Khan. It is also well known that Mongol empresses in the first half of the thirteenth century also played a politically great role and de facto ruled the empire. Several times during the thirteenth century the Mongol empire was ruled by imperial widows, the most famous among them being Töregene 脫列哥納, Ögödei's widow who formally ruled the empire from 1241 to 1246, and Oghul Qaimish 斡兀立海迷失, the widow of Güyük, who ruled

¹⁶³ Morris Rossabi : "Khubilai Khan and the Women in His Family", *Studia Sino-Mongolica Festschrift* Für Herbert Franke, Herausgegeben Von Wolfgang Bauer, PP 153-180, Franz Steiner Verlag Gmh. Wiesbaden, 1979

from 1249 to 1251. The wives of the generals often accompanied their husbands on military expeditions. Khans and princes often discussed military or political affairs with their *khatuns* 哈敦.¹⁶⁵ Chinggis Khan prescribed in the *Jasagh* that “Women accompanying the troops carry out the work and duties of the men when the men go to war.”¹⁶⁶ Princesses of the khan’s family had the rights to take part in the general assembly, the *khuriltai*, when important decisions were taken. The high status of imperial princesses is reflected in Yuan legislation where princesses are normally mentioned as a special category apart from the princes and imperial sons-in-law.

Mongolian women had enjoyed some degree of freedom in choosing marriage. Xiao Daheng 肖達亨 in “*Yisu ji*” 異俗記 told us that “Among the barbarians, marriage is based only on the happiness of the man and woman, if the girl and the boy are well-matched in age, they can get married.”¹⁶⁷ “If a woman is not happy (with her marriage), then her husband will let her remarry (someone else), the husband will have to swallow this and dares not say anything.”¹⁶⁸ This probably has been exaggerated, or it only occurred among the women of the aristocrats. Generally speaking, the marriage of a Mongol woman would be determined by her parents. This can be seen in *The Secret History*. Temujin’s father Yesugei went to Dei Sechen’s tribe to look for a wife for Temujin when he was nine years old. While Dei Sechen, the father of Börte Ujin, invited Yesugei and his son to his home to see his daughter and they determined the marriage. According to the Mongol customs, a widow could inherit her husband’s property and become the family head if their sons

¹⁶⁴ Xiao Daheng 肖達亨, *Beilu fengsu* 北虜風俗, quoted in Henry Serruys, “Remains of Mongol Customs during the Early Ming Period”. *The Mongols and Ming China: Customs and History*. Edited by Francoise Aubin, Variorum Reprints, London, 1987.

¹⁶⁵ *Mo*. Married noble women.

¹⁶⁶ Valentin A. Riasanovsky, *Foundamental Principles of Mongol Law*, Bloomington: Indiana University reprint, (1965): 153, David Ayalon, “The Great Yasa” of Chingiz Kan, *Studia Zslamica* XXXVIII (1973): 107-156.

¹⁶⁷ Xiao Daheng, *Beilu fengsu*.

¹⁶⁸ Xiao Daheng, *Beilu fengsu*.

were still young, and she would stay in this position until she died, even after her sons had grown up.

However, one should not overestimate the social position of Mongol women. We find a rather ambivalent attitude towards women among the Mongols. On the one hand, in ancient Mongolian society men and women were actually viewed as unequal both in family life and marriage with men being deemed honorable and women humble. The Mongols believed “women are short of knowledge” and “women are the dog’s face”.¹⁶⁹ Unfortunately, this inequality was believed to be reasonable by women themselves. Rashid al-din recorded some words of the wife of Yitiemuer 亦帖木兒, “A man both has power and is the master, a wife is only his dependant. Therefore she should make efforts to make her husband satisfied, and do not make him disappointed, and do housework as instructed by him. If she can do things like this, her husband’s love towards her will undoubtedly increase.”¹⁷⁰ A woman could even be offered as a gift. Chinggis Khan had once granted his wife Yibahe 亦巴合 to one of his generals, Zhuer-Chedai 主兒扯歹. Ong-Khan had presented his daughter to Tuohei-tuoa 脫黑脫阿, the chief of Merkit 蔑儿乞 tribe in order to borrow a road.¹⁷¹ When Dayier Wusun 答亦兒兀孫 of the Mierqi tribe was defeated, he presented Hulan 忽蘭 to Chinggis Khan in order to curry favor with him.¹⁷² In time of urgency, women could be neglected or forsaken like troublesome belongings. When Temujin 鐵木真 was pursued and attacked by the Merqit tribe in his youth, he rode two horses to escape, while his wife Börte 孛儿帖 and his father’s concubine had no horses to ride and were consequently caught by the Merqit people.¹⁷³ Hasar 合撒兒 (Chinggis’s younger brother) left his wife in Ong-Khan 王罕’s

¹⁶⁹ YCMS, P. 109, annotated by Chen Binhe 陳彬龢, Shangwu Yinshu Guan, 1933.

¹⁷⁰ Shi Ji 史集. Vol. 1a, p 134.

¹⁷¹ YCMS, annotated by Chen Binhe, (1933): 98.

¹⁷² YCMS, annotated by Chen Binhe, (1933): 120

¹⁷³ YCMS, (1933): 39-41

troops.¹⁷⁴ Women's words were always blamed as a root of failures or mistakes. Jamuka 札木合 believed that one of the sources of his failure was "my wife is a long-tongued woman".¹⁷⁵ Ögödei 窩闊台 Khan counted one of his mistakes in his reign was "having listened to a woman's words and taken the women in my uncle Otchigin's state."¹⁷⁶

The marriages of Mongol princesses also elucidated the social position of Mongol women. These women were simply the victims of the political and military strategies of the Mongol royal family. They could not decide their marriages, which were completely determined by the khans and emperors who were their elders. They were always presented just as gifts to the men they simply did not know. No matter how old the men were, or of what types, once the marriage was determined by her elders, the princess had to sacrifice her body and emotions, and obey her destiny for the sake of the interests of the royal family. With few exceptions, such as Princess Alahai Beki, 阿剌海別吉, most of them remained obscure their whole lives and left no traces in history. Therefore we do not know much about the quality of their marriages. What we have known is that many of them never bore children. For example, among the nine Mongolian women who were

¹⁷⁴ YCMS, (1933): 103.

¹⁷⁵ YCMS, (1933): 126

¹⁷⁶ YCMS, (1933): 183, Ögödei Khan often listened to his sixth empress Naimazhen Tuolie Gena 乃馬真氏·脫列哥納 (Töregene). She was originally a concubine of Hudubek 忽都, the eldest son of Tuohe Tuo 脫黑脫阿, the chief of the Merkit 蔑儿乞 tribe. When Chinggis Khan conquered the Merkit people and caught Töregene, he granted her to his son Ögödei. (see YCMS, p. 122). Töregene was the mother of Güyük 貴由. After Ögödei's death she was the regent for four years.

YS 2:35. See the basic annals of Taizong. "In the sixth month of the ninth year [of Taizong's reign] (1237), there was a rumor among the tribes of the Left Wing 左翼 that the emperor was going to select girls from their tribes. The emperor was angry and therefore gathered all of their girls and granted them to his generals and subordinates."

D'Ohsson, Constantin d', baron, *Historie des Mongols, Duosang Menggushi* 多桑蒙古史, trans, Feng Chengjun. Taipei, Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1963. "There was a rumor spreading in the Oirati tribe 幹亦剌惕 that the Khan was going to marry the girls in their tribe to the men in other tribes. The Oirati people were afraid of it, and they hastily made marriage contracts. Several of them had already held marriage ceremonies. When Ögödei knew this, he issued an order collecting all the young girls who were seven years old or above and those who were newly married in that year in the tribe, and arranged them in two lines. There were totally four thousands of them. Ögödei himself selected the most beautiful girls from them and took them to his palace. He granted some of them to his subjects, and sent the rest to brothels. But there were still some left, (Ögödei) ordered the standbys to take them as they liked." If, as identified by

married into the Korean court, only four had children.¹⁷⁷ From this we can infer that their marriage lives might have been unhappy. This assumption can be further evidenced by the high early death rate of the married princesses. In Chapter Six: “One-way Marriage”: Royal Marriages between the Mongol Yuan and Koryō (Korea), I will provide the specific causes of their deaths. We will see that although the Mongol princesses seemed powerful in Korea, their marriage lives were mostly miserable. Their misfortunate fate can be ascribed to the roles they played in Korea. They were married to the leaders of the former enemy state of the Mongols whose submission was shaky. And rebellions, disloyalty, and disobedience occurred frequently. Rarely had the Mongolian princesses been truly loved by their husbands in the Korean court. On the contrary, they were surrounded by the jealousy and hatred of the other wives of the Korean kings. Therefore, tensions and conflicts among the Mongol princesses, the Korean kings, as well as his other wives were often observed. Korean officials also hated the Mongol princesses because they represented the Mongol Yuan to control Korea. There were rumors saying that some Mongol princesses were cursed or tortured to death, and the Yuan court sent people to Korea to investigate and arrested many people. But the results of the investigations or interrogations were never announced.

I have found eighty-four Mongolian princesses who were married into the six tribes or states that had maintained the most stable marriage relationship with the Mongol royal family, among whom twenty-two princesses died early. They make up twenty-six percent of the total princesses.

Ögödei himself, this idea was initiated by his wife, Töregene, then this woman was really deserved blames. Meanwhile, it implied that Töregene had exerted great influence on Ögödei.

¹⁷⁷ Xiao Qiqing 蕭啓慶, “Yuan Li guanxi zhong de wangshi hunyin yu qiangquan zhengzhi” 元麗關係中的王室婚姻與強權政治, *Yuandaishi xintan*, Xin Wen Feng Chuban Gongsi, 1983.

TABLE 1 Age at Death of Married Mongol Princesses

Tribe Name	No. of Married Princesses of Yuan	No. of Princesses Died Early	Percentage of Princesses died early
Onggirat	19	3	16%
Ikires	18	5	28%
Oirat	16	3	19%
Ongüt	16	3	19%
Korea	8	5	63%
Uighur	7	3	43%
Sum	84	22	26%

Obviously, the princesses who married into the Uighur tribe and the Korean royal family have the highest early death rate. They are 63% and 43% respectively, while the princesses who married into the Onggirat tribe have the lowest early death rate of 16%. We may assume that their high early death rate was attributable to their inadaptability to the unfamiliar environments, climates, life styles, customs, and cultures. Nonetheless, as we have discussed in Chapter one, consanguineous marriage and inbreeding in the Mongol imperial family may also have been responsible for this early death rate of Mongol princesses.

I must acknowledge that the numbers above are quite conservative. I employed a simple inference strategy to determine the early death of the princesses based on records of the biographies in the *Yuanshi*. For example, the Korean “Prince of Ch’ungsug” 忠肅王 Wang To 王焘 first married Princess Yilianzhenbala 亦憐真八剌. When Yilianzhenbala died, he remarried “Princess Supreme of the State of Cao” 曹國大長公主 Jintong 金童. After Jintong died, he remarried the “Princess of Qinghua” 慶華公主 Boyanhudu 伯顏忽都.¹⁷⁸ Then I determined that Yilianzhenbala and Jintong died early. However, based on other sources, I have found that Boyanhudu actually died when she was about only 27 years old. Unfortunately, for most of the princesses, one does not know

¹⁷⁸ Please refer to Chapter six, “One-way Marriage”: Royal Marriages between the Mongol Yuan and Koryō (Korea). Table 9 “Princesses of the Yuan Court Married into the Koryō Court”.

when they married and died. Thus, there is no way to find out their accurate ages at death. The following is a table of the death ages of the Mongol princesses who were married into the Korean court.

TABLE 2 Age at Death of Mongol Princesses in the Korean Court

Princess Name	Birth Year— Death year	Marriage Year	Age at Death	Years in Marriage
Khudulu (gh) Khaimish	1258-1296	1274	38	22
Botashirin	? —1343	1296	~63	47
Yesujin	? —1316	?	?	?
Irinjinbala	? —1319	1316	~19	3
Kimdong	1307—1325	? 1326	18	? 1
Bayan Khudu	? —1344	1333	~27	11
Nolun	? —1329	1316	~29	13
Irinjinbal	? —1375	1330	~61	45
Botasirin	? —1365	1349	~32	16
			Average Age at Death: 33 (260/8)	Average Years in Marriage: 18 (146/8)

This table was made based on the records in the *Koryōsa*.¹⁷⁹ We have the basic information for eight of the nine princesses whose birth years and marriage years are available to infer their ages at death.

I decide, that their common marriage age was sixteen, which I believe to be close to the real marriage age at that time. For example, Khudulu (gh) Khaimish 忽都魯 揭里迷失, the daughter of Khubilai Khan, married the Korean King Wang Sim when she was 16(1274-1258=16).

¹⁷⁹ KRS, Chong In-ji tung ch'an. Seoul T'ukpyolsi : Asea Muhwasa, 1972.

Surprisingly, five out of the eight princesses whose death ages are known died before thirty. They make up 63% of the total data. This information probably indicates the quality of their marriages.

2. POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT OF MONGOL EMPRESSES

It is often suggested that the high political profile of imperial wives and princesses during the early Tang period (seventh-eighth centuries) was the result of the relatively high status of women in steppe society. This also indicates their consequent involvement in court politics during the preceding conquest era. In a similar manner, the well-documented concern of the founder of the Ming dynasty set to restrict the power of imperial wives in the fourteenth century has been seen as a reaction against the authority assumed by such women in the preceding Mongol Yuan era.¹⁸⁰

Mongol empresses played very important political roles throughout the history of the Mongol Empire. On the one hand, they had the absolute right to participate in the *khuriltai* 庫爾台 to determine the major issues of the Mongol Empire. In particular, they played a crucial part in the election and enthronement of new emperors. On the other hand, they often became regents with direct command over the government, or they represented the emperors who were too old or too ill to handle state affairs, or they at least influenced the emperors in policy or decision-making procedures.

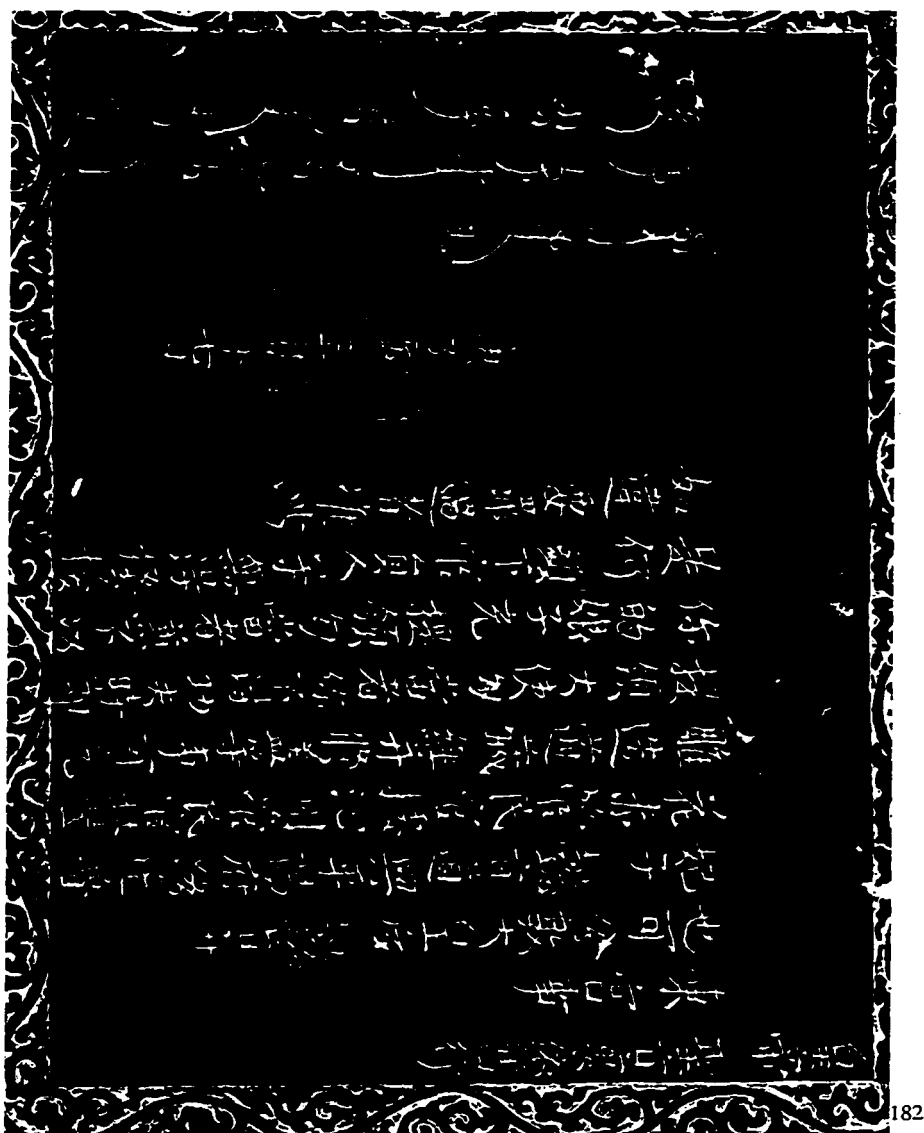
During the thirteen reigns of the Mongol Khans and the emperors of the Yuan dynasty, eleven empresses were actively involved in governmental affairs.¹⁸¹ Some of the empress dowagers partially or even fully controlled the Yuan emperors for several reigns. The trend in the Yuan

¹⁸⁰ J. Holmgren, "Imperial Marriage ..." (1991): 58-96.

¹⁸¹ Hu Wu 胡務, "Meng Yuan huanghou yu Yuanchao zhengzhi", *Qiusuo* 求索, 3 (1990): 121-125.

dynasty was an escalation of the influence of the empress and the decline of the power of the emperor.

One of the distinctive evidence is that Mongol empress had the authority to issue decrees to the local governments. The decrees of empress and imperial concubine were called “yizhi 懿旨” (exemplary edict), to differ from the “shengzhi 聖旨” (imperial edict) of emperors and “lingzhi 令旨” (princely decree) of princes.



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¹⁸² 1240 Nian Jiyuan shifang da ziweigong shengzhi bei 一二四零年濟源十方大紫微宮聖旨碑. In Cai Meibiao 蔡美彪 (ed.), *Yuandai baihuabei jilu* 元代白話碑集錄, Kexue Chubanshe, 1955. This tablet was found in Jiyuan 濟源 County, Henan 河南 Province.

(1) Empresses as Regents

Women's political involvement was encouraged or at least tolerated in early Mongolian society. Chinggis Khan's mother Hö'elun and his wife Börte Ujin helped him make many important decisions in his political and military career. Sorghaghtani-Beki, the wife of Tolui, also greatly influenced politics in the reigns of Ögödei Khan, Güyük Khan, and Möngke Khan. "In any business which Qa'an (Ögödei) undertook, whether with regard to the weal of the Empire or the disposal of the army, he used to consult and confer with her and would suffer no change or alteration of whatever she recommended."¹⁸³ Khubilai's daughter-in-law, the wife of the crown prince Jin Gim, had displayed her political talents and was appreciated by Khubilai. "His (Jin Gim's) wife, Kökejin by name, was very intelligent and the Qa'an was on very good terms with her and did whatever she commanded."¹⁸⁴

In the early World Empire, the Mongol emperors were elected at the *khuriltai*. In principle all the Mongol princes, princesses, and nobles were required to attend this assembly. An empress would be expected to be temporarily in charge of the affairs of the empire before a new emperor was elected. When that *khuriltai* could not be held on time, an empress would become regent and govern the whole empire until the *khuriltai* was held. Chaos and confusion was unavoidable during the transitional period.

Khuriltai was one of the legacies inherited from primitive Mongol society. Originally it was a conference for Mongol tribes and tribe alliances to discuss and determine important issues such as electing leaders and the planning of wars. Along with the expansion of the Mongol Empire, many traditional Mongol institutions had been changed to adapt to the new situation, and only the *Khuriltai* was retained. This institution seemed democratic, but because the *Khuriltai* was often

¹⁸³ *World-Conqueror*, Vol. II, pp. 551-52.

manipulated by some powerful noblemen and empresses and because of the unpredictability of the elections, political confusion and even wars always occurred in the transitional period of a throne transaction.

One of the Mongol customs included that the youngest son was entitled to inherit family property. Based on this, some people believed that the youngest son was entitled to inherit the throne.¹⁸⁵ But this was not clearly affirmed by anybody or any *khuriltai*. Some people claimed that the eldest son had the priority to succeed to the throne, but the fact was that Chinggis Khan did not let his eldest son Jochi succeed to his throne, and designated his third son Ögödei as the crown prince instead. Because the Mongol Empire lacked an efficient system for the stable transfer of the throne, the confusion that occurred in the intermediary period seemed inevitable. The princes always entrusted empresses with the affairs of the empire during this period, and the roles they played were not always destructive. Most of the time, they were able to effectively and fairly conduct state affairs with the help of ministers. They were also able to run the affairs and the Empire itself, eventually helping the new Khan to ascend the throne.

Töregene 脫列哥納 became the regent after Ögödei died and remained in that position for four years. According to Rashid Al-Din, she played many political games to lure the support of the princes. “Töregene Khatun, who was the mother of the eldest son, making use of all the arts of diplomacy, seized possession of the kingdom by herself without consulting *aqqa* and *ini* and wooed the hearts of kinsfolk and emirs with all manner of gifts and presents until they all inclined toward her and came under her control.” “For nearly 3 years the throne of the Khanate was under the

¹⁸⁴ *The Successors*, p. 299.

¹⁸⁵ Juvaini said, “By the *yasa* and custom of the Mongols the father’s place passes to the youngest son by the chief wife. Such as Ulugh-Noyan (Tolui), but it was Chinggiz-Khan’s *yasa* that Ögödei should be khan ...” *World-Conqueror*, Vol. II, p. 549. This account is obviously contradictory. It implied that there was no definite stipulation for the succession of throne in Chinggis Khan’s *yasa*.

control of Töregene Khatun.”¹⁸⁶ During this period the government was in chaos until she handed over power to her son Güyük. “In that time of interregnum and confusion, everyone sent ambassadors in every direction and broadcast drafts and assignments; and on every side they attached themselves to parties and clung to such protection, each with a different pretext.”¹⁸⁷ During this period a very serious incident occurred. Otchigin 斡赤斤 Noyan, the younger brother of Chinggis Khan, attempted to seize the throne by force. He set out a large army to the capital of the empire. The whole army and *ulus* were alarmed. Töregene even planned to escape from the capital but was stopped by the Right-Chancellor Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材.¹⁸⁸ Following Yelü Chucai’s instruction, she sent a messenger to say, “We are the *kelins*¹⁸⁹ and have set our hopes on thee. What is the meaning of thy coming with an army and so much gear and equipment? The whole *ulus* and army have been disturbed.”¹⁹⁰ Fortunately, at this moment her son Güyük returned from the West with a large army. Otchigin Noyan withdrew his army and the crisis was resolved.

Töregene probably did not intend to stay in the position for long, but she was determined to put her own son Güyük on the throne. She sent ambassadors to the East and West of the world to summon the princes, the sons of Chaghatai, the emirs of the right and left hand, the sultans, *maliks*, great men, and *sadrs* and invited them to the *quriltai*. Töregene continued to execute decrees until the Khanate was bestowed upon her son.¹⁹¹

The disadvantage of the Mongolian military democracy in throne transferring was once again manifested after the death of Güyük Khan. “When Güyük Khan passed away confusion again found its way into the affairs of the Empire, and matters of the state were administered by Oghul-Qaimish

¹⁸⁶ *The Successors*, pp. 176, 178. The number of years Rashid records is not correct. The regency of Töregene was four years, not three years.

¹⁸⁷ *The Successors*, p. 178.

¹⁸⁸ YS 146: 3464. See the biography of Yelü Chucai.

¹⁸⁹ Mo. Sister-in-law.

¹⁹⁰ *The Successors*. P. 178.

¹⁹¹ *The Successors*. P. 179.

and the ministers.”¹⁹² Oghul-Qaimish remained in charge of state affairs for six months until Möngke Khan was elected at the *khultai*. Although she tried to put Shiremün, the grandson of Ögödei Khan, on the throne, she failed.

When Khubilai Khan died, his daughter-in-law, Kōkejin 闊闊真, the senior wife of Jin Gim, immediately seized state power. “When Qubilai Qa’an passed away in the *morin yīl*, that is the Year of the Horse, corresponding to the year 693/1293-1294, the senior wife of Jin Gim, who was the mother of Temūr Qa’an, dispatched Bayan that same day along with the great emirs in search of Temūr Qa’an to inform him of the Qa’an’s death and bring him back so that he might sit on the throne of the Empire. For the space of a year before his return, Kōkejin administered the affairs and business of the realm. Upon his auspicious arrival a great *quriltai* was held.”¹⁹³

In view of malpractices in the throne transfer, some Confucian scholars had repeatedly advised Khubilai Khan to adopt the Chinese succession institution of primo-geniture in which only the eldest son of the emperor had the right to succeed to the crown. In 1260 after Khubilai succeeded in the struggle for the throne with his younger brother Arigh Bōke 阿里不哥, Hao Jing 郝經 advised him “to designate a heir apparent to avoid the chaos.”¹⁹⁴ However, this step would arouse the strong protests of the Mongol noblemen because it would completely destroy the traditional Mongol *khuriltai*. The latter was an important occasion involving merry-making, feasts, and the acceptance of large amounts of grants from the new Khan. Therefore, Khubilai had to be very careful to avoid alienating them.

¹⁹² *The Successors*. P. 199.

¹⁹³ *The Successors*. P. 320.

¹⁹⁴ Hao Jing: *Lingchuan ji* 陵川集, juan 32, “*Bianyi xinzheng*” 便宜新政. quoted in Zhao Yongchun, *Luanding zhiping: Yuan Shizu Hubilie*, Ha’erbin Chubanshe, (1997): 112.

In 1267 a Chinese scholar Yao Shu 姚樞 again advised Khubilai “to designate an heir-apparent to attach importance to the throne.”¹⁹⁵ In 1268 Chen You 陳祐 wrote a letter to Khubilai, pointing out “the heir apparent is related to the foundation of the state and should be designated as soon as possible.”¹⁹⁶ Khubilai might never have truly realized the urgency of this until he was warned by Zhang Xiongfei 張雄飛, a Chinese scholar-official, that “the designation of heir apparent is the foundation of the state, it should be determined as soon as possible to reassure the public. Even the common people in the alleys know that they should entrust their children with the little grain they stored. The land under heaven is so vast, and state affairs are so important. It will be unwise to not designate an heir apparent early. If the former emperor had understood this, would you have become the emperor?”¹⁹⁷ The last words really shocked Khubilai who suddenly sat up in his bed exclaiming repeatedly, “Yes! Yes!”¹⁹⁸ In 1273, Khubilai was finally determined to designate his son Jin Gim as the heir apparent. But he did not completely abandon the *khuriltai* institution, which caused even more confusion and political struggle for the throne throughout the Yuan dynasty.

(2) Empresses’ Manipulation of the Election of a New Khan or Emperor

An emperor was always the representative of various groups of Mongol nobles who shared the same interests. Mongol empresses constantly tried to exert maximum influence on the power transfer, and they played very important roles in the election and designation of a new Khan or emperor. In particular, they applied most of their influence upon the election of *khuriltai*. One typical instance was after Ögödei Khan’s death Sorghaghtani-Beki, the wife of Tolui, made good

¹⁹⁵ YS 158:3715. See the biography of Yao Shu.

¹⁹⁶ YS 168:3940. See the biography of Chen You.

¹⁹⁷ YS 163: 3819-20. See the biography of Zhang Xiongfei.

¹⁹⁸ YS 163: 3820. See the biography of Zhang Xiongfei.

use of all her resources. She had the support of the powerful prince Batu 拔都, and therefore successfully seized the throne from the family of Ögödei for her own son, Möngke Khan.

In the *khuriltai* following Khubilai Khan's death, Kōkejin Khatun, the daughter-in-law of Khubilai Khan, put to good use her political skills and finally helped her favorite son, Temür, ascend the throne. At the *khuriltai* there was a dispute about the throne and the succession between Temür and his brother Kamala.

Kōkejin Khatun, who was an extremely intelligent woman, said to them: "Chechen-Qa'an (that is, Qubilai Qa'an) said that whoever knew the *biligs* of Chingiz-Khan best should ascend the throne. Now, therefore, let each of you recite his *biligs* so that the great men who are present may see which knows them better." Being extremely eloquent and [a good] reciter, Temür Qa'an declaimed the *biligs* well and with a pure accent, while Kamala, having something of a stammer and not being so well gifted in this respect, was unable to match him in the contest. All cried out with one voice: "Temür Qa'an knows them better and recites them better also. It is he that is worthy of crown and throne."¹⁹⁹

Khuriltai had actually terminated after Temür Khan's reign. However, the role of empresses became even more vital to the enthronement of new emperors. They often assumed the authority to directly enthrone the new emperors. In the late Yuan three emperors, Yingzong, Ningzong, and Shundi were directly enthroned by the empress dowagers when they were very young and easy to control. All empress dowagers preferred to designate younger and weak emperors so that they could continue to control governmental affairs. When Renzong died, according to seniority, Mingzong should have succeeded. However, the empress dowager Daji 答己 "found that Mingzong was full of heroic spirit while he was young, while Yingzong was relatively weak. All the villains thought that the enthronement of Mingzong would not benefit themselves, therefore they supported the enthronement of Yingzong."²⁰⁰ Surprisingly, however, Yingzong soon turned out to be an independent-thinking emperor. As soon as he ascended the throne, he pursued a series of radical

¹⁹⁹ *The Successors*, 8:321.

²⁰⁰ YS 116:2902. See the biography of Daji.

reforms, which went against the interests of the Empress Dowager Daji and her followers. Daji was overcome with regret and soon died.

(3) Empresses' Involvement in State Affairs

When an emperor was too old or too ill, his principal empress was entitled to handle governmental affairs on his behalf. In 1283, when Khubilai was 69 years old, Nambui 南必 became his principal empress. "At that time Shizu was very old, this empress gradually became involved in politics. The chancellor and ministers could not see the emperor frequently. They had to report things [to Shizu] through the empress."²⁰¹

When Chengzong (r.1295-1307) was very sick in his late years, his wife Bulughan 不魯罕 also played an important role in government. "Chengzong had always been ill, this empress undertook some work in the government. She trusted the chancellor Halahasun. The government in the Dade 大德 era had been deemed to be stable and fair, which was all decided and handled by this empress."²⁰² Probably she enjoyed the pleasure of power too much and was reluctant to give it up easily. Therefore when Chengzong died, she planned to become regent. She failed only because Renzong and his supporters took preemptive measures against her.

The political involvement of empresses in the Yuan dynasty was allowed even when the emperors were alive and healthy. Confucian officials had never criticized them for their interference in governmental affairs. Instead, they were deemed constructive. Chabui 察必, the principal empress of Khubilai, had proved to be a good political assistant of Khubilai. One day, four *chieshiq*²⁰³ officers presented a memorial to Khubilai. They planned to enclose and occupy a piece of land at the outskirts of the capital to herd horses, and Khubilai had already given permission. When Chabui

²⁰¹ YS 114:2873. See the biography of Nanbi.

²⁰² YS 114:2873. See the biography of Bulughan.

²⁰³ *Chieshiq*, Imperial guard.

discovered this, she immediately realized that it was a wrong decision. To avoid embarrassing her husband, the empress cleverly turned to the Grand Guardian (*chn. Taibao* 太保) Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 and reproved him, “You are a clever man of the Han people. The emperor will listen to your words. Why do you not admonish the emperor? If we are only now beginning to build the capital, it would be all right to use this land to herd horses. But now the land has already been divided among the army and commoners. How can you take it by force?” Khubilai acquiesced and ordered this stopped.²⁰⁴ Chinese historians recorded this as the most important deed of Chabui in her biography, which shows their gratitude towards her, as it was extremely important to them to preserve the agricultural culture of China under Mongol rule.

(4) Struggles between Empress Dowagers and Emperors

When an empress was successful in politics and had enjoyed the pleasure of great power, she would be normally unwilling to give it up even when the new emperor had already matured as an adult. Therefore, struggles for power between the empress dowager and the emperor were unavoidable. While in most cases the empresses would eventually be defeated, they were also killed, poisoned, ordered to commit suicide, or forcibly driven out of the palace.

When Chengzong died, his wife Bulughan tried to become regent, and she wished to place the Prince of Anxi, Ananda 阿難答, as her assistant. They received support from the chancellor and other important government officials. However, Renzong and his supporters arrested Ananda and killed the chancellor and the other officials. Then Bulughan was ordered to move to the Dong'an Zhou 東安州 and was soon killed.²⁰⁵

Although Renzong and Wuzong successfully destroyed the forces of Bulughan, they were not able to cast off the domination of their mother, the Empress Dowager Daji, who had successfully

²⁰⁴ YS 114:2871. See the biography of Chabi.

controlled three emperors. “However, she was careless about her conduct. Since she occupied the principal position of the Palace, she was even more lascivious and unrestrained.”²⁰⁶ Renzong and Wuzong were very obedient to their mother and dared not disobey her. When her secret lover, the chancellor of the Yunnan Province, Tiemudier 帖木迭兒, was impeached because he left his post without permission, Wuzong was going to punish him. He had to give up his plans because Daji gave protection to him.²⁰⁷ Later, since Tiemudier had committed too much evil, Wuzong decided to kill him. But, Daji let Tiemudier hide in her palace. The only thing Wuzong could do was to dismiss him from office.²⁰⁸ When the Empress Dowager’s decision conflicted with national laws, Wuzong and Renzong chose to sacrifice national interests and follow the commands of the Empress Dowager. Therefore, although they were ambitious in pursuing some political reforms, because of the interference of their mother, all their efforts went to ruin.

The empress of Wenzong Buda-shili 不答失里 became the Empress Dowager in Ningzong’s reign. After Ningning died, she seated Toghan-Temür on the throne, but she continued to control the government for several years. When Toghan-Temür became independent, he started to wipe out the forces of his aunt. In the sixth month of 1340 he issued a decree to remove the respectful titles of the Empress Dowager and banished her to the Dong’an Zhou. She died there soon after.²⁰⁹

Toghan-Temür’s first empress Dana-shili 答納失里 was the daughter of the powerful minister Yantie-mur 燕帖木兒. Yantie-mur had controlled Toghan-Temür at the beginning of his reign. Her uncle and brother also occupied important positions in the Yuan government. Because Shundi intended to reduce their power, they harbored resentment and complained openly. It is alleged that

²⁰⁵ YS 22: 478. See the basic annals of Wuzong.

²⁰⁶ YS 116:2902. See the biography of Daji.

²⁰⁷ YS 205:4576-77. See the biography of Tiemudier.

²⁰⁸ YS 179: 4149-51. See the biography of He Sheng 賀勝.

²⁰⁹ YS 40:856-7.

they planned to stage a coup d'état but failed.²¹⁰ As a result, her brothers were killed, and she was also poisoned.

The deprival of the power of the Empress Dowager and his own empress reveals that Shundi was very concerned about the power of the empress and tried to restrain them. Later when the Empress Qi, a Korean woman, tried to force him to abdicate and hand over his power to the crown prince, he was very angry and refused to see her for two months.²¹¹ The struggles between the emperor, the empress, and the crown prince ran through the later period of Shundi's reign, which seriously poisoned the political atmosphere of the Yuan dynasty and facilitated the demise of the Mongol dynasty.

(5) Limitations to the Political Involvement of the Mongol Empresses

Generally speaking, the successful political involvement of the Empresses depended on support from government officials and Mongol princes. However, the support they could rely on was limited, and was often unavailable. There were constant obstacles to the fulfillment of their political ambitions. For instance, in Töregene's regency, Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材, always corrected her wrong decisions. She could not even get support from her own son Köten, who refused to extradite the ministers who came to him seeking refuge from the political persecution of Töregene.²¹² Empress Bulughan had some supporters, but later she was defeated in the coup d'état. One of the important reasons was that the chancellor Hala-hasun opposed her. While the Empress Qi's political involvement had been opposed by many ministers in the Yuan government.

²¹⁰ YS 138: 3333-34. See the biography of Tang Qishi 唐其勢.

²¹¹ YS 114:2880. See the biography of Wanzhehudu.

²¹² *World Conqueror*, Vol. II, pp. 241-42.

To whom, then, did the empress dowagers and empresses resort to practice their power and to exert their political influence? In general, the most reliable forces were their sons and servants, such as eunuchs, who played an important role in late Yuan politics. For example, one of Töregene's trusted followers, Fātima 法蒂瑪 Khatun, was initially a prisoner of war, but she became very powerful during Töregene's regency.

It so chanced that she came to Qara-Qorun, where she was a procuress in the market; and in the arts of shrewdness and cunning the wily Delilah could have been her pupil. During the reign of Qa'an she had constant access to the *ordu* of Töregene Khatun; and when times changed and Chinqai withdrew from the scene, she enjoyed even greater favor, and her influence became paramount; so that she became the sharer of intimate confidences and the depository of hidden secrets, and she was free to issue commands and prohibitions.²¹³

The Empress Dowager Daji had relied on her followers to execute her commands, "Inside her palace she trusted Hei Lü's mother Yilie-shiba 亦列失八. Outside her palace her favorites Shiliemun 失列門, Niulin 紐鄰, and the then-chancellor Tiemudier 帖木迭兒 acted in collusion with each other, they even insulted and beat the director of political affairs Zhang Gui 張珪 stopping at nothing, fouling and confusing court affairs."²¹⁴ Empress Buda-shili had incited the eunuch Baizhu 拜住 to murder Empress Babusha 八不沙 of Mingzong. While the Korean eunuch Piao Buhua 朴不花 actually acted as the representative of the Empress Qi of Shundi. They came from the same hometown. Later, Piao Buhua became the servant of Empress Qi, and was promoted to the rank of the Great Officer in Eminent Dignity (*Rong Lu Dafu* 榮祿大夫), ambassador of the Zizheng Yuan 資政院, and the director of financial matter of the empress. Piao Buhua collaborated with the Right-chancellor Shuosijian 搠思監 to deceive Shundi. "They hid the warnings from every quarter and the reports about the merits of the generals and ministers and did

²¹³ *World Conqueror*, Vol. II, pp. 244-45.

²¹⁴ YS 116:2902. See the biography of Daji.

not let Shundi become aware of these. ...They were so powerful that nine out of ten officials ingratiated themselves with them.”²¹⁵

Compared with other dynasties in Chinese history, the political involvement of the Yuan empresses is unprecedented. Women’s political involvement in ancient China was constantly criticized as “a hen acting as a cock to crow in the morning” (*pinji si chen* 牝雞司晨)²¹⁶ and rigidly restricted. Although imperial consorts were highly honored, they still remained as dependants. Their functions in reproduction and entertainment were deemed much more important than their political talents. Several women in Chinese history had been active politically and one of them, Wu Zetian 武則天, even became emperor. However, they were after all small in number. In the Yuan dynasty, empresses were active politically in almost all reigns. This was by no means a fortuitous phenomenon. It reflected women’s social position in ancient Mongol society. It is well known that Mongol women had a higher social position than Chinese women. This was, firstly, a result of their important social and economic activities. Jean de Plan Carpin, William of Rubruk, and Marco Polo all mentioned the significant role of Mongol women in household economy. “All women had power in their families. Many of them even shoot arrows as men.”²¹⁷ The political involvement of empress was basically constructive in the early Yuan period. However, after the middle Yuan, empresses or empress dowagers controlled the emperors and the government. The internal struggles in the ruling house became more and more fierce, which greatly wore down the strength of the Mongol empire and facilitated the decline of the Yuan dynasty.

In typical Chinese dynasties, the political involvement of empresses was always supported by their powerful families. Their political involvement implied the political involvement by their

²¹⁵ YS 204: 4552. See the biography of Piaobuhua 朴不花.

²¹⁶ *Shangshu*—“Mu shi” 尚書-牧誓.

²¹⁷ Jean de Plan Carpin, *Bolang Jiabin Menggu xing ji*, tr. Geng Sheng, He Gaoji, Zhonghua Shuju, (1985): 44.

families, who took advantage of their daughters by monopolizing power in governmental affairs. “Disasters caused by *waiqi*” had been a critical problem in Chinese dynasties. However, although the empresses were very active in the Yuan dynasties, their families were rarely involved in the internal political struggles of the ruling house. There were many measures in the Yuan dynasty which limited *wanqi*’s access to central power. One of the good deeds of the empress dowager Kōkejin, which was commented upon by historians, was that she refused her younger brother’s request for a government position.²¹⁸

Women’s interference in state affairs had been criticized and even condemned by Chinese historians. “The involvement of women in politics was the source of confusion.”²¹⁹ In their writings, the decline and destruction of almost all dynasties had something to do with the “disasters caused by women 女禍”. This certainly was a prejudice towards women, however, it has been determined that some women were responsible for the decline and destruction of some Chinese dynasties. Through their power of their beauty, empresses and concubines vied for the favor of the emperor, which easily led the emperor to fall into a dissolute life. As a result, the emperor’s personal life inevitably affected state politics. In extreme, if an emperor was very indulgent in sensual pleasures and ignored his governmental responsibilities, his dynasty would hardly be able to maintain stability of power and reign.

Since the very beginning of Chinese dynastic history, the destruction of the three earliest Chinese dynasties, Xia, Shang, and Zhou, were claimed to be caused by women. The last emperor of the Xia Dynasty, “Jie 桀 abandoned etiquette and ethics, and had sex with women. He collected many beautiful women in his harem, and gathered courtesans, dwarfs, and close servants who could play funny games. He created decadent music. Day and night he drank together with Meixi 妹喜

²¹⁸ YS 116: 2899.

and other palace girls and never stopped. He put Meixi on his knees, and listened to her words.”²²⁰ The last emperor of the Yin-Shang dynasty, Zhou Wang 紂王 “loved wine, sex, and pleasure, and favored women. He loved Daji 妲己, and always complied with Daji’s words.”²²¹ The You Wang 幽王 of the Zhou dynasty favored Baosi 褒姒. “Baosi did not like to laugh. You Wang wanted her to laugh, but she did not laugh. You Wang then played a big drum and lighted the beacon-fires that were only used when foreign enemies invaded. All the dukes came, but there were no enemies, Baosi then laughed loudly.”²²² The Xuanzong 玄宗 in the Tang Dynasty favored his Honoured Consort Yang, and therefore ignored his governmental duties.

The last emperor of the Yuan dynasty shared all these characteristics of licentiousness. When he was tired of government duties and sought sensual pleasures, his bodyguard, Hama 哈麻, immediately recommended an Indian monk to teach him the method of “great pleasure (*da xile* 大喜樂 or *yan dier fa* 演揲兒法)”.²²³ The monk boasted that if one learned this method, one could have intercourse with ten women in a night, and absorb the feminine essence to nurture the masculine. Following the monk’s instruction, Shundi ordered a tantric temple built for the “happy Buddha 歡喜佛” in which all the Buddha figures were in all kinds of positions of sexual intercourse. Shundi then selected some beautiful women from his harem in order to practice this method in this temple.²²⁴ Later, Hama’s sister-in-law, Tulu-tiemur, recommended another Tibetan monk named Jialinzhen 珈璘真, to teach Shundi another sexual method called “men and women practice together (*nan nü shuangxiu fa* 男女雙修法).” Shundi knew that his principal empresses

²¹⁹ *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, *juan* 2, “Weishu-Wendi Ji” 魏書-文帝紀. Quoted in Bo Hua, *Tianzi, digong, zhengdao* 天子-帝宮-政道, Guangxi Jiaoyu Chubanshe, (1996): 172.

²²⁰ Liu Xiang 劉向 [Han]: *Lie nü zhuan*, *juan* 7, “Xia Jie Meixi zhuan”. Quoted in Bo Hua, *Tianzi, digong, zhengdao*, Guangxi Jiaoyu Chubanshe, (1996): 166.

²²¹ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 史記 *juan* 3, “Yin benji” 殷本紀. Zhonghua Shuju, (1959): 105.

²²² Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 史記 *juan* 4, “Zhou Benji” 周本紀. Zhonghua Shuju, (1959): 148-9.

²²³ A method of directing one’s strength, through concentration, to a part of the body. This “great pleasure” directs the strength to the sexual organ.

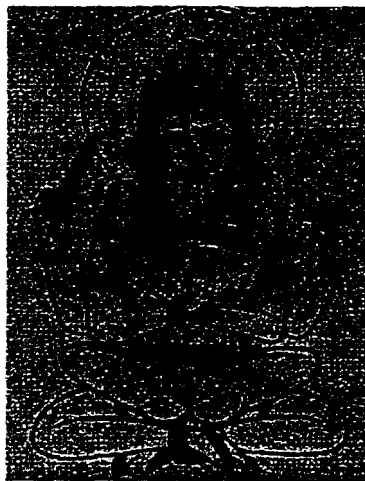
might refuse to learn this method because she rigidly adhered to etiquette, and that it would take time for the other concubines to change their minds. Therefore he ordered thirty beautiful girls selected from the common families, and ten men selected from his relatives who were called “*yina* 倚納”,²²⁵ to practice the sexual method together. Moreover, the “*yina*” of Shundi used Korean women as spies to look for beautiful women among the common families or even noble’s families, and introduced them to the palace. These women would stay in the palace for several days.²²⁶ Soon they trained sixteen beautiful girls who formed a dancing team, called “heavenly demon dancing girls (*tian mo wunü* 天魔舞女).” Shundi was fascinated by these girls and whenever a dancing girl attracted him he would take her to a room in order to have sexual intercourse. There was a secret room called “anything goes (*shishi wuai* 事事無礙)” where Shundi often had intercourse with the dancing girls, together with other officials.²²⁷ According to a rule of the Yuan dynasty, an emperor should not stay in one *ordo* for more than five days. To visit the dancing girls more often, Shundi ordered a tunnel built connecting his room and the place where the dancing girls were situated in, so that he could avoid the criticism of the ministers. It is difficult to find a parallel for him even among the most dissolute emperors in Chinese history. It would have been a miracle if the Yuan dynasty did fall with him.

²²⁴ Li Yanjie, Wang Fuchun, *Zhongguo diwang houfei waizhuan, Yuandai juan*, Jilin Wen Shi Chubanshe. (1994): 260-62.

²²⁵ *Yina* 倚納, companion.

²²⁶ Ren Chongyue 任崇岳, *Gengshen waishi jianzheng* 庚申外史箋證, Zhongzhou Guji Chubanshe, (1991): 71.

²²⁷ YS 205: 4583. See the biography of Hama. Li Yanjie, Wang Fuchun, *Zhongguo diwang houfei waizhuan, Yuandai juan*, Jilin Wen Shi Chubanshe. (1994): 263-64.



happy Buddha



*man and woman practice together*²²⁸

The founder of the Ming dynasty drew a lesson from the lascivious practices in the later Yuan and enacted decrees strictly prohibiting empresses from contacting outsiders.

In view of the failure of the former dynasty and the fact that in the later Yuan, the wives and concubines [of the emperor] and other women in the palace committed adultery with outside ministers, or allowed monks to stay in the palace to be initiated into nunhood, and the wives of ministers also came and left the prohibited palace, and made the palace full of obscenity, the emperor (Hongwu) issued a decree: An empress could be in charge only of the business of the imperial consorts and other women in the palace. She was not allowed to be involved in things outside the palace.²²⁹

The Ming founder even attributed the extinction of the Yuan dynasty to the obscenity in the later Yuan palace.²³⁰

²²⁸ Liu Dalin 劉達臨, *Shijie gudai xingwenhua* 世界古代性文化, Shanghai, Sanlian Shudian, (1998): 368, 380.

²²⁹ *Mingchao Jishi Benmo*, juan 14. quoted in Ren Chongyue 任崇岳, *Gengshen Waishi Jianzheng*, p. 71.

²³⁰ Diangu Ji Wen, juan 2, quoted in Ren Chongyue 任崇岳, *Gengshen waishi jianzheng*, p. 72.

CHAPTER FOUR

“Two-way” Marriages: Marriages between the Mongolian Royal Family and Dei-sechan’s Clan of the Onggirat Tribe and the Ikires

THE ONGGIRAT TRIBE

1. Historical Background

The Onggirat tribe was a nomadic tribe which had settled in districts from the lower reaches of the Kerulen River to the Argun River. To its west was Chinggis’s Kiyan 乞顏 tribe, a sub-tribe of Mongol; its southeast bordered on the Great Wall of the Jin; and its southwest was contiguous to the Tartar tribe.²³¹

According to Rashid Al-din, all the Mongol people were divided into two sub-tribes. One was the Darlakin Mongol tribe and the other was the Niru’un Mongol tribe. The Darlakin Mongol referred to the common Mongol people, while the Niru’un Mongol tribe comprised of the descendants of Alan Quo’a. 阿蘭-豁阿.²³² The Onggirat tribe belonged to the Darlakin Mongol tribe and Chinggis’s Kiyan 乞顏 tribe belonged to the Niru’un Mongol tribe.

The Onggirat and the Mongol Kiyan tribes had been related by marriage for many generations prior to Chinggis (Temüjin) Khan. When Temüjin’s father Yesügei took him to his maternal grandfather’s tribe to make an offer of marriage, they met by Dei Sechen 德薛禪, a nobleman of the Onggirat tribe, who said to Yesügei:

“We Unggirad people from days of old,
Having [for us] the comeliness

²³¹ Ye Xinmin 葉新民, “Hongjilabu de fengjian lingdi zhidu” 宏吉剌部的封建領地制度, *Menggushi Lunwen Xuanji*, Huhehaoteshi Menggu Yuwen Lishi Xuehui, 1 (1983): 220.

²³² *Shiji*, vol.1a: 152.

Of the daughters of [our] daughters,
 And the beauty
 Of [our] daughters,
 Have not been disputing enemies.
 For those of you which are become *qahan*,
 We make [our] daughters comely of cheek
 To ride in a *Qasay* cart
 And, making [one] to harness a black he camel [to it],
 Making him to trot, we go [unto the *qahan*]
 And make [them] to sit together [with the *qahan*]
 On the *qatun* throne.”²³³

The Onggirat people had helped Chinggis Khan greatly in unifying the Mongol steppes and in the founding of the Great Mongol Empire. During the war conquering the Jin, Onggirat tribe was one of the “five *touxia* 投下”²³⁴, together with the Ikires, Wuluwut, Mangwut, and Jalair. In the early stage of the *Yeke*-Mongol *ulus* the Onggirat people were an important force that Chinggis Khan relied upon.

According to D'Ohsson's *Mongol History* 多桑蒙古史, there were five sub-tribes under the Onggirat tribe. They were the Councarates 弘吉剌惕, Ikires 亦乞列思, Oulcounoutes (Olqunu'ud) 斡勒忽訥兀惕, Caranoutes 哈剌納惕, and the COUNKOLIOUTES 弘吉剌兀惕.²³⁵ Chinggis Khan's father-in-law Dei Sechen belonged to the Oulcounoutes tribe. But later Dei Sechen's posterity formed a tribe called the Bosihur-Onggirat.

²³³*The Secret History*, pp. 15-6. YCMS, P. 22. We know from the words of Dei Sechen that Onggirat tribe and the Mongol tribe had longer history of intermarriage. In a note under Yesügei's abducting Hō'elün, Daorun Tibu 道潤梯步 points out that the Onggirat tribe had an intermarriage relationship with the Mongol tribe for many generations before Yesügei. It may explain why Yesügei abducted Hō'elün. He argues that Yesügei probably did not like Olqunu'ud-Onggirat 斡勒忽訥兀惕-弘吉剌特 tribe to establish a new marriage relationship with another tribe. (See Daorun Tibu: *Xinyi jianzhu Menggu mishi* 新譯簡注蒙古秘史, P. 26, Vol. 1, Sanlian Shudian Xianggang Fendian, 1980). The problem is how Yesügei knew that Hō'elün was an Onggirat woman when he first saw her on the road. It might have been a coincidence because Yesügei was initially attracted by the beauty of Hō'elün. According to Rashid al-din, these two tribes had a marriage relationship earlier than Yesügei. Chinggis Khan's great-grandmother, the wife of Qobule Khan 合不勒, was a woman of the Onggirat tribe, who gave birth to six sons. (*Shiji* 史集, vol. 1b: 50)

²³⁴ *touxia* 投下 was one of the several terms for land grants (often rendered appendages) conferred on members of the nobility; the recipient of large tracts were virtually autonomously fief-holders who nominated men for official appointments in their domains, collected taxes, and exercised other governmental powers until c. 1311, when the central government began exerting its direct control in all areas and nobles were given stipends in lieu of incomes derived from their tracts.

However, it should be noted that although the Mongol and Onggirat tribes called each other *huda*, for a long time most members of the Onggirat tribe were antagonistic to Chinggis Khan in his establishment of unifying wars in the northern steppes, since Chinggis' action had threatened their interest and existence. They "were all afraid of the power (of Chinggis Khan) and felt restless. Therefore they gathered at Aleiquan 阿雷泉. ...and were going to attack the Emperor (Chinggis Khan)". "Onggirat tribe submitted to Jamuga's (Zhamuhe 札木合) tribe, together with several other tribes, met at the Jian River 健河 ...and drove soldiers to invade and harass."²³⁶ Chinggis Khan's Mongol tribe also had often plundered the Onggirat tribe. "Onggirat people came and were going to surrender, Hasar 哈撒兒 did not understand their intention and plundered them."²³⁷ Therefore Onggirat people went to surrender to Jamuga. In 1201, the chief of the Onggirat tribe, Qarkeh-aml (Dierge-ke'emiele 迭兒格-克額蔑勒) and the chiefs of the Qtqin (Hedajin 合答斤) and Saljiut tribes (Sale-zhiwuti 撒勒只兀惕) and others met at the Jian River. They elected Jamuga as their Khan, and jointly assaulted Chinggis Khan and Ong-Khan. But they were defeated by the armies of Chinggis Khan and Ong-Khan in the fields of Buir-nauur.²³⁸ In this campaign a part of the Onggirat people formally surrendered to Chinggis Khan.²³⁹ In 1203, when Chinggis Khan was defeated by Ong-Khan and marched along the Qalqa River (Helehe 合勒合), he sent a troop to conquer the Onggirat people, and said,

If they say [unto themselves], "The Unnirad people from days of old [have had their being not by the
might of arms, but]
By the comeliness
Of the daughters of [their] daughters,
By the beauty
Of [their] daughters,"

²³⁵ D'Ohsson, Constantin d', baron, *Historie des Mongols, Duosang Menggushi* 多桑蒙古史, (tr.) Feng Chengjun, Taiwan: Shangwu Yinshuguan, vo. 1, (1963): 171-2.

²³⁶ YS 1:7. See the basic annals of Taizu.

²³⁷ YS 1:8.

²³⁸ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1b:158.

²³⁹ YS 1:8. *MGMS* 蒙古秘史, pp. 141-143; *Shiji* 史集 Vol. 1: 119-120, *Qin zheng lu* 親征錄, pp. 23-24.

They should submit themselves. If they say, “Revolt!” we shall fight.”²⁴⁰

This part of Onggirat people then surrendered to Chinggis Khan. Later, Chinggis Khan conquered the sub-tribe of the Onggirat tribe---Nierjin 溺兒斤部. Since then, all the sub-tribes of the Onggirat tribe surrendered to Chinggis Khan. In 1203, Chinggis Khan found an excuse and killed Qarkeh-aml—the chief of Onggirat tribe, and made all the Onggirat people under the command of Dei Sechen and his descendants.²⁴¹

According to *The Secret History*, Chinggis Khan’s mother Hö’elün Üjin was an Onggirat woman abducted by Yesügei 也速該 Ba’atur.²⁴² The story was very dramatic. One day, Yesügei was hunting with hawks at the Onon River, he saw a man of the Merkit (Märkit) tribe, named Yeke-Chiliedü 也克赤列都, who just married to a girl from the Olqunud tribe (a sub-tribe of the Onggirat tribe) and was returning home with his wife. The bride was beautiful. Yesügei immediately ran home to call his two brothers, Nekün Taisi and Daritai Odchigin, to abduct the bride. They drove the bridegroom away and brought Hö’elün home.²⁴³

Hö’elün cried very bitterly when she was seized. *The Secret History* tells us that her cry was so loud that even the water in the Onon River and the trees in the woods vibrated.²⁴⁴ Obviously she loved her newly married husband. When she realized that Yesügei and his brothers were going to

²⁴⁰ YCMS 元朝秘史, pp. 96-97, annotated by Chen Binhe, 1933. *The Secret History*, ch. VI, p. 101.

²⁴¹ According to the Biography of Dei Sechen in XYS, Chinggis Khan granted Die’erge Ke’emiele a girl named Buyisaike 布亦塞克, Die’erge disliked the girl’s appearance and said that she looks like a toad, and he did not want to marry her. That made Chinggis Khan angry and had him killed. (XYS. Juan 114, p. 521). Ke Shaomin does not clearly state the relationship between this girl and Chinggis Khan. But Rashid Al-din said that she was a daughter of Chinggis Khan, “When Chinggis Khan married his daughter namedto him (Qarkeh-aml); when he was marrying [his daughter] to him, [Qarkeh-aml] said: ‘your daughter looks like a toad and tortoise, how can I marry her?’ because of this, [Chinggis Khan] killed him in anger. (Shiji 史集, vol. 1a: 263-64). I assume that Chinggis’ original intention was to establish a marriage relationship with Qarkeh-aml for the purpose to control the Onggirat tribe. It is also probable that Chinggis Khan intentionally offered him an ugly girl in order to find an excuse to kill him and give his people to Dei Sechen.

²⁴² Ba’atur/Batur meant warrior in Mongolian language.

²⁴³ YCMS, p. 18, annotated by Chen Binhe. *The Secret History*, ch.1, p. 12-3.

²⁴⁴ *The Secret History*, ch. I, p. 13. YCMS, p.18.

abduct her, she urged her husband Yeke-Chiliedü (Chledü) to run away in order to save his life. She said to him:

Hast thou observed those three men? They are other [in countenance] than [all other] countenances.
They have the countenance [of being desirous] of attaining unto thy life. If there be [for thee] but thy
life, there are [for thy]
Maidens
At every forefront;
Women
At every black cart.

If there be [for thee] but thy life, thou shalt find a maiden or a woman. Thou shalt also name Hō'elün [her] which hath another name. Save thy life. Go scenting my scent.²⁴⁵

Then she took off her undershirt and gave it to Yeke-Chiliedü as a memento. When she had been seized by Yesügei, she cried and said:

Mine "elder brother" Chledü is one
Whose tuft hath never blown
Against the wind;
Whose belly hath never hungered
In the desert land.

Now how, tossing his two braids [of hair] one time on his breast, one time forward, one time backward, how [so] doing, goeth he.²⁴⁶

However, it was legal to abduct a married woman in ancient Mongol society. A woman could only obey her destiny. She was not allowed to protest. Her relationship with Yesügei seemed quite harmonious, for she gave birth to four sons and one daughter. The eldest son was Temüjin (Tiemuzhen) 鐵木真, the other three in order were Qasar 合撒兒, Qachi'un 合赤溫, and Temüge 鐵木格. Her only daughter was Temülün 鐵木倫.

Hō'elün was a very important woman in Mongol history. It was she who gave birth to Temüjin, although his identity is possibly questionable.²⁴⁷ As a great Mongol hero, he founded the Great

²⁴⁵ *The Secret History*, ch. I, pp. 12-13. YCMS, p.18

²⁴⁶ *The Secret History*, ch.I, p. 13. YCMS, P.19.

²⁴⁷ According to the study of Hadesi 哈德斯, Temüjin's father was probably not Yesügei, instead, the Merkit people. "After about ten days when Yesügei got Hō'elün, she was again abducted by the Mirkete 密爾克特 (Merkit) people. She lived in an embarrassing situation. She even did not know whose child

Mongol Empire and significantly changed the world order in the twelfth and thirteen centuries. Therefore, in a sense, it is fair to say that the abduction of Hō'elün was significant for it changed Mongol history and even world history.

There is also a story recorded in *The Secret History* about the formal establishment of the marriage relationship between the Mongol tribe and the Onggirat tribe. When Temüjin was nine years old, his father Yesügei took him to his maternal grandfather's tribe to make an offer of marriage. On the way they met by Dei Sechen 德薛禪, a nobleman of the Onggirat tribe. When Dei Sechen knew that Yesügei was looking for a girl for Temüjin, he looked at the boy and found that he had a pair of bright eyes, glowing with health and radiating vigor" "With fire in his eyes, with light in his face."²⁴⁸ He then invited Yesügei and Temüjin to see her daughter who was ten years old. Her name was Börte 李爾帖, and she was pretty. Then the two fathers decided on marriage for their children. The next day when Yesügei asked Dei Sechen to allow him to take the girl with them, Dei Sechen said,

If I give [my daughter], [after] letting [thee] request [her] many times, shall [I] be exalted? If [I] give [my daughter], [after] letting [thee] request [her but] a few times, shall [I] be abashed? [It will not be so, for] the destiny of a girl is not to wax old at the door where she was born. I will give [unto thee] my daughter. And go [thou], leaving thy son as son in law.²⁴⁹

she conceived. When Yesügei knew that Hō'elün bore a boy, he named him Temüjin, the same name of a warrior he captured. Yesügei treated Temüjin as his own child. Hō'elün also treated the children born by the other wife of Yesüge as her own children. However, there were always conflicts among Temüjin, his younger brothers Bieketier (Begter), and Bieliegutai (Belgūtei). One day, Temüjin said to Bieketier: 'you are not born by Hō'elün.' Bieketier answered back: 'only you are not born by my father Yesüge. We, Bieliegutai, Hasar, Tiemugai, Tiemulun, are all the children of Yesüge, but you are not his son. We all know this, and all the people in the tribe know it. Your body had the blood of the Mirkete people. Hō'elün conceived you and bore you when she came to our tribe. If you do not believe me, you can ask your mother, she knows it the most clearly.' Temüjin angrily shouted: 'Do not say that nonsense!' soon after, Temüjin killed Bieketier with an arrow." (Hadesi 哈德斯, "Hasakezu Kelie buluo jiqi Wang Han Tuherele" 哈薩克族克烈部落及其王汗吐和熱勒. In *Xinjiang shifan daxue xuebao*, vol. 18. No. 4, 1997) This study bases on the historical materials and the folk legends among the Hasake people in Xingjiang. It convincingly accounts for the true motivation of Temüjin's murdering his younger brother. *The Secret History* offers an explanation that Temüjin and Hasar killed Begter because he wrested a lark they shot with a bone-tipped arrow. But this does not seem to be a strong reason for them to kill the boy. (*The Secret History*, pp. 22-23)

²⁴⁸ *The Secret History*, ch.I, p. 15.

²⁴⁹ *The Secret History*, ch. I, p 17. A simple translation is as the following: "If you have asked me many times and I finally give my daughter to you, it indicates that I am putting her in a high position. If you just

Yesügei presented a horse as a betrothal gift for his son and left Temüjin in Dei Sechen's home as an uxori-local son-in-law.

On the way home Yesügei took part in a feast with the Tartar tribe, the feud of Yesügei's tribe. The Tartar people recognized that he was the man who had captured their chief Temüjin-Wuge 鐵木真兀格 in a battle nine years ago; therefore they put poison in his food. Three days later, Yesügei died at home. Before he died, he entrusted his servant Münglig 蒙力克 to bring Temüjin home from his parents-in-law's.²⁵⁰

Yesügei's death brought hardship upon his widows and children. His subjects refused to obey the orders of his widow Hö'elün and his children, and finally they abandoned them. Hö'elün was a steadfast and persevering woman. In such adverse circumstances she raised five little children alone by collecting wild fruits and digging grass roots.²⁵¹

When Temüjin grew up, he went to Dei Sechen's home to marry his betrothed wife Börte. We found two different accounts about the attitude of Dei Sechen. According to *The Secret History*, Dei Sechen was very happy and immediately let Temüjin marry his daughter. Then he and his wife Chotan sent the newly married couple off in person. Dei Sechen returned from the Kerulen River, while his wife traveled with them to Temüjin's home.²⁵² However, according to Rashid Al-din, Dei Sechen had obstructed this marriage, and only with the help of Anchen, the elder brother of Börte who was on good terms with Temüjin did they finally get married.²⁵³

have asked me once and I give her to you immediately, that indicates that I am putting her in a lower position. Of course, it's irrational for a girl to become old and die in the door where she was born. I will give my daughter to your son, you should leave your son here as a son-in-law." *YCMS 元朝秘史* / Chen Binhe, p. 23.

²⁵⁰ *The Secret History*, ch. I, p 18.

²⁵¹ *The Secret History*, ch. II, p 20-22.

²⁵² *The Secret History*, 1982, p 32.

²⁵³ *Shiji 史集*, vol. 1a, p. 264.

Temüjin had been determined to restore the power and fame of his family and to revenge his father. To gain support from Ong-Khan 王罕, the chief of the Kereit tribe 克烈部, which was the most powerful tribe at that time, Temüjin presented him with a valuable black marten garment which was the dowry of his wife. Ong-Khan had been the *anda* 安答 (sworn brother) of Temüjin's father, therefore Temüjin acknowledged Ong-Khan as his adoptive father.²⁵⁴ Since then the alliance of these two tribes was established. With the help of Ong-Khan, Temüjin soon became powerful and he gradually destroyed most of his enemies.

In the following war years, Chinggis Khan took in more than ten wives and had many children, but Börte and her children had been placed at the highest position. Börte was posthumously titled as “*Guang xian yi sheng* Empress” 光獻翼聖皇后.²⁵⁵

Because of the great contributions of the Onggirat tribe, Ögödei Khan issued an imperial edict, “The girls born to the Onggirat tribe should become empresses (of Mongol) for generations. The boys born to the Onggirat tribe should marry princesses (of Mongol) for generation. It should never cease.”²⁵⁶

In the Yuan dynasty, Anchen's descendants were granted a fief (*shiyi* 食邑) in Jining 濟寧路²⁵⁷ in the territory of the ancient state of Lu 魯. Therefore, they were titled Prince-of-prefecture-of-Jining, Prince-of-Jining, and Prince-of-state-of-Lu. The princesses married all titled Princess-of-state-of-Lu.

The grandson of Chigu, Changji 昌吉, was sent by Khubilai Khan to guard the Prefecture Xining 西寧州, therefore this part of Onggirat people migrated to Qinghai 青海. Chigu's fief was in Puyang 濮陽 (in present Henan province). Therefore, Changji was titled Prince-of-prefecture-of-

²⁵⁴ *The Secret History*, Ch. III, p 38.

²⁵⁵ YS 114: 2869.

²⁵⁶ YS 114:2869. See the biography of Bortie 孛兒台 (Borte). YS 118:2915. See the biography of Texuechan 特薛禪 (Dei Sechan).

Ningpu and Prince-of-Puyang. The Prefecture Pu governed Juancheng 鄆城. Therefore the princesses married all titled Princess-of-state-of-Juan. In addition, because Changji's new fief was in the west of the Qishan 岐山, his brother Tuotuoshur 脱脱術兒 was titled Prince-of-Qi.²⁵⁸

In 1270 (the seventh year of the Zhiyuan era), Nachen's son Woluochen built a city named Yingchang 應昌 in the Dar Haizi 答儿海子 area.²⁵⁹ In 1295 (the first year of the Yuanzhen 元貞 era), Woluochen's younger brother Manzitai built a new city named Quanning 全寧 (in present Inner Mongolia). Each of these cities had governed a circuit. All the officials within the fief were selected and appointed by the Prince-of-state-of-Lu.²⁶⁰ Therefore, the lands governed by the Onggirat nobles covered a vast part of northern China and southern Mongolia.

2. Onggirat Men Married to Mongol Princesses

Dei Sechen had three sons, they were Anchen 按陳 (Alchi), Huohu 火忽 (Huqu), and Ce 冊.²⁶¹ Although Dei Sechen himself did not command troops to participate in the conquering wars of Chinggis Khan, his three sons accomplished great things. The three thousand mounted troops of the Onggirat tribe were commanded by Anchen and had participated in the campaign against Ong-Khan and the expedition against the Naimans 乃蠻. When Chinggis Khan ascended the throne, Anchen was granted the official title of *Battalion Commander* (*qianhu* 千戶). In the campaign against the Jin 金, Anchen first fought in the east of the Liao 遼 with Hundugu 渾都古 and forced Yeliao Liuge 耶遼留哥 to surrender to the Mongols. Then he was ordered to support Yelü Liuge 耶律留哥. Later when Chinggis Khan was going to launch a westward expedition, he entrusted

²⁵⁷ Lu, circuit.

²⁵⁸ Han Rulin 韓儒林, et. al. *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu-Yuanshi* 中國大百科全書-元史, Zhongguo Da Baikequanshu Chubanshe, (1985): 42-3.

²⁵⁹ Three hundred li east of Shangdu 上都. YS, 118: 2920.

²⁶⁰ Han Rulin 韓儒林, et. al. *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu-Yuanshi*, pp. 42-3.

King Muqali 木華黎 continuing the campaign against the Jin. Anchen led his Onggirat troops to take part in the campaign under the command of Muqali and became one of the ten high-ranking officials (*tikong* 提控) of Muqali. When Chinggis Khan returned from the Western Regions, he ordered Anchen to command his troops to participate in the campaigns conquering the Xi Xia. In 1227 (the 22nd year of Taizu) Anchen was granted an assumed name “Imperial (National) Maternal Uncle Noble” (*Guojū Nayan* 國舅那顏). In 1232 (the fourth year of the reign of Ögödei), he was granted a silver seal and a title the Prince of Hexi. 河西王. In 1236 he was granted five thousand and two hundred households in Dongping 東平 which were captured by his troops. The next year he was granted two hundred thousand *min*²⁶² of money. According to the *Yuanshi*, Anchen participated in thirty-two campaigns and contributed to all of them.²⁶³ Anchen was titled Prince of Jining 濟寧王 posthumously. Anchen’s eldest son Chiku 赤苦 married Princesses Tumanlun 禿滿倫, who was the third daughter of Chinggis Khan, and was titled Princess of the State of Yun 鄯.²⁶⁴ In 1206 Chiku was granted a title of the commander of one thousand households and led his troops to guard the east of Liao under the commander of Qasar, the younger brother of Chinggis Khan.²⁶⁵

No detailed records remain describing the activities of Huqu (Huohu) in the *Yuanshi*, the second son of Dei Sechen. What we have known is that he was granted a big piece of land in the areas of east Mongolia bordered on the territory of the Ikires tribe.²⁶⁶ It was recorded that his grandson Buzhier 不兒 married Princess Wokezhen 斡可眞.²⁶⁷

²⁶¹ Rashid Al-din claims that Dei Sechen had two sons and one daughter, but he did not mention Ce. See *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a, p. 264

²⁶² One *min* contained one thousand copper coins.

²⁶³ YS 118: 2915. XYS 114:521.

²⁶⁴ XYS 114:521.

²⁶⁵ YS 118: 2915-23.

²⁶⁶ YS 118:2919. Aso See Ye Xinmin 葉新民, “Hongjilabu de fengjian lingdi zhidu” 宏吉剌部的封建領地制度, *Menggushi lunwen xuanji*, Huhehaote Shi Menggu Yuwen Lishi Xuehui, 1(1983): 223.

²⁶⁷ YS 118:2918.

Dei Sechen's third son Ce was granted a title of "*Battalion Commander*" by Chinggis Khan. His son Harhasun 哈兒哈孫 made contributions in the campaign against the Jin and was conferred an assumed name *batur* (warrior). In 1267, (the fourth year of Shizu) the grandson of Harhasun, Duluor 都羅兒, was conferred the title of Grand Master for Splendid Happiness (*Guanglu Dafu* 光祿大夫). He was awarded a silver medal and granted a title of Duke of the state of Yi 懿國公.²⁶⁸

The son of Anchen, Wochen 斡陳, was granted the title of Brigade Commander (*Wanhu* 萬戶)²⁶⁹ in 1238, and married Princess Yesu-Buhua 也速不花, the daughter of Tolui.

When Wochen died, his younger brother Nachen 納陳 inherited the title of *Brigade Commander* in 1238 and married Princess Xuezhigan 薛只干, the granddaughter of Khubilai Khan. Nachen played a role in the campaign in Sichuan 四川 under the command of Möngke Khan. In 1261 (the second year of the Zhongtong era) he led his sons Hahai 哈海, Tuohuan 脫歡, and Woluochen 斡羅陳, together with other princes, to launch a punitive campaign against Khubilai's younger brother Arigh Bōke. His troops defeated the troops of Barharhū, a general of Arigh Bōke, and pursued them to Boluoketu 孛羅克禿. In this battle they killed more than ten thousand troops of Arigh Bōke.²⁷⁰

When Nachen died, his son Woluochen inherited the title of *Brigade Commander* and married Princess Wanze 完澤. After princess Wanze died, he remarried Princess Nangjiazhen 囊加真, the daughter of Khubilai Khan. Woluochen died in 1278. Since he did not have a son, his younger brother Tiemuer 帖木兒 inherited the title *Brigade Commander* in 1281 and married his elder

²⁶⁸ YS 118: 2918.

²⁶⁹ Brigade was the standard military unit in the Yuan dynasty, theoretically comprising 10,000 soldiers under a Brigade Commander, most commonly the headquarter at the Route (*lu* 路) level of territorial administration, subordinate to a Circuit (*dao* 道) command of one of several types. In theory divided into Battalions (*qianhu* 千戶) of 1,000 soldiers each.

²⁷⁰ YS 118: 2916.

brother's widow, Princess Nangjiazhen. In 1287 Naiyan 乃顏²⁷¹ rebelled against Khubilai and Tiemuer led his troops to suppress the rebellion. He was granted the title of "Prince of the prefecture of Jining" 濟寧郡王. In the year 1282 Princes Hadan-Tulugan 哈丹禿魯干²⁷² rebelled against Khubilai, and Tiemuer led his troops, together with other princes, to suppress the rebellion. His troops killed all the enemies. Khubilai Khan granted him the name Anchardu Noyan 按察兒都那顏 to praise his contributions.²⁷³

When Tiemuer died, his two sons Diao'a-bula 瑯阿不剌 and Sangge-bula 桑哥不剌 were still young. So Manzitai 蠻子台, the younger brother of Tiemuer, inherited the title of *Brigade Commander* in 1290. Manzitai also married the widow of his elder brother, princess Nangjiazhen. When Chengzong 成宗 succeeded to the throne, Nangjiazhen was titled "Princess Supreme of the State of Lu" 魯國大長公主, while Manzitai was titled "Prince of the prefecture of Jining" with a gold seal. When Manzitai was ordered to lead his troops to suppress the rebel princes Haidu (Qaidu) 海都 and Du'a (Du'a) 都哇. He was very brave and rushed into the enemy's battle array four times and threw the enemy into confusion, and thereby defeated them. After princess Nangjiazhen died, he remarried "Princess of the State of Lu" Nange Bula 南哥不剌, who was the daughter of the crown prince Jin Gim.

Manzitai died when he was fifty-two years old. In the third month of 1307 (the eleventh year of the Dade 大德 era), Diao'a-Bula 瑯阿不剌, the eldest son of Tiemuer, inherited the title of *Brigade Commander* and married Sengge Ragi (Xiangge-Laji 祥哥剌吉) who was granted the title of "Princess Supreme of the State of Lu" in the sixth month of the same year. Diao'a-Bula was granted a gold seal and the title of "Prince of the State of Lu". Later during the Tianli 天曆 era (1328-29)

²⁷¹ Naiyan was the great-great-grandson of Otchijin 斡赤斤, Chinggis Khan's youngest brother. His fief was in the east of Mongolia and most parts of Liaodong 遼東. When 1286 the princes Qaidu 海都 and Du'a 篤哇 rebelled in the north-west, Naiyan followed them and rebelled against Khubilai Khan. See *The Successors*, pp. 266-69.

Sengge Ragi had six characters “*Huiwen yifu zhenshou*” 徵文懿福貞壽 added to her title. Wenzong was the son of Wuzong, thereby, Sengge Ragii was called “Imperial Aunt” (*Huanggu* 皇姑) by Wenzong.²⁷⁴

Diao’a-Bula died in 1310 (the third year of the Zhida 至大 era). His son Alijiashili 阿里嘉室利 inherited the title of Brigade Commander in the same year when he was only eight years old. In the seventh month of the next year he was granted the title “Prince of the State of Lu”. He married princess Duor-Zhiban 朵兒只班, who was titled Princess *Suyixianning* 肅雍賢寧公主 later during the Zhishun 至順 era.²⁷⁵ Alijiashili died in the first year of Yuantong 元統 (1333).

Sangge-Bula 桑哥不剌 was the younger brother of Diao’a-Bula and the uncle of Alijiashili. He was raised from childhood in Princess Nangjiazhen’s home under the order of Khubilai. Later he inherited four hundred households of his tribe. In Chengzong’s 成宗 reign he received an imperial decree to marry Princess Puna 普納 who was granted the title of “Princess Supreme of Yun’an” 郕安大長公主 later in the years of the Zhishun era. Sangge-Bula was granted a gold seal and titled “Prince of Yun’an” and commanded a thousand of households. In 1333 he was promoted to Battalion Commander. The next year he was titled “Prince of the State of Lu”. Sangge-Bula died when he was sixty-one years old.²⁷⁶

The men mentioned above were those who had inherited the title of prince and who had married princesses. There were still some men in the Onggirat tribe who married princesses of Yuan but did not inherited a title of prince. Many of the princesses they married are not listed in the Table of Princesses in the *Yuanshi*. Besides, the records of *Yuanshi* are very incoherent and in chaotic order. In the following paragraph I attempt to reorder them from one line to another.

²⁷² Hadan-Tulugan was the descendant of Hechiwen 合赤溫, the younger brother of Chinggis Khan.

²⁷³ YS 118: 2916. Anchardu meant “of reputation” in Mongolian.

²⁷⁴ See Francis Woodman Cleaves, “The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335”.

Anchen's younger brother Ce 冊 was granted the title of Battalion Commander to command the troops of his own tribe during Chinggis Khan's reign. Ce's son Har-Hasun 哈兒哈孫 contributed in the campaign conquering the Jin. He was granted a name *Batur*. Har-Hasun's grandson Duluor 都羅兒 was conferred the title of Grand Master for Splendid Happiness in 1267 and was titled "Duke of the State of Yi" with a silver medal.

Anchen's son Suor-Huodu 唆兒火都 made contributions in Chinggis Khan's conquering wars and was granted the nominal title of Assistant Chancellor.²⁷⁷ He was also granted a title Battalion Commander, and a gold-plated silver medal. His son was called *Fuma* Aha 附馬阿哈²⁷⁸ in the *Yuanshi*, but the *Yuanshi* does not state which princess he married. Aha led troops to capture Xuzhou 徐州 city in Möngke Khan's reign. He was awarded one cube of gold and ten cubes of silver as well as a silver saddle. He inherited his father's official title, too. Tuolian 脫憐 was also a descendant of Anchen, who was granted the title of Battalion Commander in Khubilai Khan's reign and was ordered to guard the Kerulen river. In 1287 he took part in the expedition suppressing Naiyan's rebellion and distinguished himself in action, and thus was granted a name "*batur*". When Tuolian died, his son Bengbula 迸不剌 inherited the title of Battalion Commander. When Bengbula died, his son Maizhuhan 買住罕 inherited the title of Battalion Commander. Maizhuhan married Princess Baidasha 拜答沙. We don't have much information about her either. When Maizhuhan died, his younger brother Boluo Tiemur 孛羅帖木兒 inherited the title of *Battalion Commander*. In the 1325 he was granted the title of "Prince of Yude" 毓德王 and a gold seal.

²⁷⁵ YS does not state whose daughter the princess was and in which year she was titled. Since Zhishun was the title of Wenzong's 文宗 reign, the XYS assumes that she might be the daughter of Wenzong.

²⁷⁶ YS 118: 2915. XYS 114:521-23.

²⁷⁷ Ke Shaomin in XYS believes that it should be in Ögödei's (Taizong) reign when Suor-Huodu was granted an assistant Prime-minister because this title had not been set up until the third year of Taizong's reign. And Suor-Huodu was the youngest son of An Chen, he might be too young to be granted such a title.

²⁷⁸ *Fuma* 附馬 means imperial-son-in-law in Chinese.

When Boluo Tiemur died, Maizhuhan's grandson Ashi 阿失 inherited the title of *Battalion Commander*.

Chouhan 丑漢 was the descendant of Bige 必哥, the second son of Anchen. He married Princess Taihuludu 台忽魯都, and was titled "Prince of Anyuan" 安遠王 in the reign of Renzong.

Anchen's grandson Nahe 納合 married Princess Suor-Hahan 唆兒哈罕, the daughter of Ögödei Khan.

Dei Sechen's second son Huohu's 火忽 grandson Buzhier 不只兒 married Prince Wokezhen 幹可真.

Dei Sechen's grandson Tuoluohé 脫羅禾 married Princess Bulughan 不魯罕, and later remarried Princess Kuokuolun 闊闊倫.

3. Yuan Empresses from the Onggirat Tribe

In the Yuan Dynasty, thirteen women of the Bosihuer Onggirat tribe became the principal empresses. Nine women of this tribe were called empresses or titled empresses posthumously. Nineteen men of this tribe married Mongol princesses, and thirteen of them were titled princes.

The Onggirat tribe maintained a very stable marriage relationship with the Chinggisid clan from a very early time. Chinggis Khan's first wife, Borte, was from this tribe. Two of Chaghatei's wives, two of the seven wives of Hülegü, one of Möngke's wives, two of Khubilai's wives, one of Abaha's wives, two of Ahmed, Tigoudar's wives, two of Aluhun's wives, and two of Khazan's wives, were all from the Onggirat tribe.

My description of the empresses of the Yuan court who came from the Onggirat tribe is mainly based on the biographies of empresses and imperial concubines, and the biography of Dei Sechen in

the *Yuanshi*, with some modifications according to the *Mengwuer shiji* 蒙兀儿史記, *Menggu yuanliu* 蒙古源流, . *Jami'al-Tavarikh* 史集 (Collection of Histories), and *Historie des Mongols* (*Duosang Menggushi* 多桑蒙古史).

After Chinggis Khan married Börte 李兒帖, eleven Mongol emperors married thirteen Onggirat women. They make up 65% of the seventeen Mongol Khans and emperors from Chinggis Khan to the last emperor of Yuan—Shundi, Toghan-Temür. Of the six emperors who did not marry Onggirat women, two of them were too young when they ascended the throne. One was Tianshun Di 天順帝 (Arigiba /Asu-Jiba 阿速吉八) who was only nine years old when he died and had a very short reign of only one month. The other was Ningzong (Irinjibal /Yilin-Zhiban 懿璘質班) who died at 7 and was on the throne for only forty-three days. The other four emperors who did not marry Onggirat women were Ruizong (Tolui), Taizong (Ögödei), Dingzong (Güyük), and Mingzong (Qoshila). Tolui was actually not an official emperor who acted as a regent to deal with the state affairs for one year. He was titled Ruizong posthumously. Mingzong did not formally ascend the throne in the Grand Capital (Dadu 大都). He was murdered by his younger brother Wenzong.

Therefore there were only two emperors who did not marry Onggirat women: Ögödei and his son Güyük. It is somewhat strange why Ögödei announced the imperial decree that women born to the Onggirat tribe should be selected as Mongol empresses but in fact only he himself and his son did not follow it. It is possible that they actually had wives from the Onggirat tribe but they were not recorded. The records of the wives of Ögödei and Güyük are not complete. They might have been modified by the descendants of Tolui after they took the throne from the line of Ögödei.

Möngke Khan's Empress Hu [du] Tai 忽[都]台 and empress Yesuer 也速兒 were the daughters of Manggechen 忙哥陳, who was the son of Ce (the third son of Dei Sechen).

Khubilai's Empress Chabui was the daughter of Anchen. Khubilai's principal empress Nambui was the daughter of Xiantong 仙童 who was the grandson of Nachen 納陳 (Anchen's son). Khubilai's empress Tegülün (Tiegulun 帖古倫) was the daughter of Tuolian 脫憐 (grandson of Anchen).²⁷⁹

The Empress of Chengzong (Temür Öljeitü), Shiliandali 失憐答里, was the daughter of Woluochen, the son of Nachen.

The principal wife of Darmabala was Daji 答吉 who was the daughter of Hundu-Tiemuer 渾都帖木兒 (Anchen's grandson). Daji gave birth to Qaishan. When Qaishan ascended the throne in 1307, Daji was titled "Empress Dowager of *Zhaoxian yuansheng*" 昭獻元聖皇太后. Later in 1310 she was added another title of Honor "Empress Dowager of *Tianyi xingsheng*" 天儀興聖皇太后. When Aiyuli Balibada (Renzong) ascended the throne, Daji was added twelve characters on her title—"Ciren zhaoyi shouyuan quande taining fuqing" 慈仁昭懿壽元全德泰寧福慶 in 1315. When Yingzong, Shuode Bala, succeeded to the throne in 1320, Daji was titled Supreme Empress Dowager and added four more characters—*Huiwen chongyou* 徽文崇祐 on her title. Daji was undoubtedly the only woman who received so many characters on her titles.

Wuzong's Empress Zhenge 真哥 was the daughter of Bengbula 迸不剌 (son of Tuolian 脫憐). Wuzong's another empress Sugeshili 速哥失里 was the daughter of Harzhi 哈兒只 (son of Manggechen).

²⁷⁹ According to *Yuanshi*—"Houfei Biao", Tie Gulun was the Grand Empress 大皇后. But she did not receive any title of honor. She was even not titled posthumously. She did not have a biography in *Yuanshi* either. Therefore we know very little about her.

Emperor Taiding's empress Babuhan 八不罕 was the daughter of Woliuchar 斡留察兒 (grandson of Anchen). His other two empresses Bihan 必罕 and Sugedali 速哥答里 were both the daughters of Maizhuhan 買住罕 (grandson of Tuolian),²⁸⁰ Prince of Yan 克王.

Mingzong's empress Buyanhudu 不顏忽都 was the daughter of Boluo Tiemuer 李羅帖木耳.

Wenzong's empress Budashili 不答失里 was the daughter of Diao'abula 瑯阿不剌 (Diwabula 諦瓦不剌).

There are four empresses from the Onggirat tribe whose fathers are unknown. They are Renzong's Empress Anashisheli 阿納失舍里 who was the mother of Yingzong. Ningzong's empress Daliyetemishi 答里也忒迷失;²⁸¹ Yuzong's empress Bolan Yeqiechi 伯藍也怯赤, Xianzong's 顯宗 (Ganmala) Empress Puyanqielimishi 普顏怯里迷失.

Besides the Yuan emperors, many Mongol princes' families maintained long-term marital relationships with Dei Sechan's clan. Among the four sons of Chinggis Khan, two married women from the Onggirat tribe. Chinggis Khan's eldest son, Jochi Khan's two wives were from the Onggirat tribe. One of them was the daughter of Anchen noyan, Öki-fujin Khatun.²⁸² The second son of Chinggis Khan, Chaghatai's two principal wives, Yesülün Khatun and Tögen Khatun, were from the Onggirat tribe. According to Rashid Al-din, they were the daughters of Qata Noyan, the son of Daritai, the brother of the ruler of the Qonqirat. Daritai was the brother of Dei Sechan;

²⁸⁰ The records in *Yuanshi* including those in "Houfei Zhuan", "Houfei Biao", and the Dei Sechen Zhuan" are different about the father of Babuhan. "Houfei Zhuan" and "De Xuechan Zhuan" record that she was the daughter of Woliuchar 斡留察兒, but "Houfei Biao" records that she was the daughter of Maizhuhan 買住罕, and was the elder sister of empress Bihan 必罕 and empress Sugedali 速哥答里. In addition, "Houfei Zhuan" and "De Xuechan Zhuan" all record that Bihan and Sugedali were the Noble Consorts of Emperor Taiding. But "Houfei Biao" records that they were both empresses.

²⁸¹ Ningzong (Yilinzhiban 亦璘質班, the son of Mingzong. Mingzong was murdered with poison by Wenzong and Yantiemur 燕鐵木兒) was only seven year old when he ascended the throne under the manipulation of the prime minister Yantiemur and the empress of Wenzong, Budashili 不答失里, in the tenth month of the third year of Zhishun 至順 (1332), and died forty-three days later. I don't think he really got married at that time.

²⁸² *The Successors*, 2:99-107. The first son of Jochi Khan—Orda, "He was born of [Jochi Khan's] chief wife, Sorghan by name, of the Qonqirat people." The second son of Jochi Khan--Batu, "He was born of Öki-fujin Khatun, the daughter of Alchi Noyan, of the Qonqirat people."

therefore Rashid mentions that Yesülün Khatun was the cousin of Börte, the principal wife of Chinggis Khan.²⁸³

A Japanese scholar Uno Nobuhiro 宇野伸浩 has studied the sister marriage exchanges between Chinggisid clan and the Dei Sechen's clan of the Onggirat tribe. He claims that Jochi's marriage was significant.²⁸⁴ Chinggis Khan had tried to establish an exchange marriage relationship with Ong-Khan's family of the Kereit tribe. He proposed that his daughter Qojin 豁真 Beki marry Tusaqa, son of Senggün, and that Jochi marry Senggün's younger sister Cha'ur.²⁸⁵ This proposal was not accepted by Ong-Khan. However, this sister marriage exchange relationship was successfully established between Jochi and Anchen's son Chigu 赤古. Jochi married Chigu's sister Öki-fujin, and Chigu married Jochi's younger sister Tumanlun 禿滿倫. Chinggis Khan selected Jochi to establish this marriage relationship with the Onggirat people indicating that he did not discriminate against Jochi because of his possible Merkit blood. On the contrary, he might have truly intended to establish Jochi as his successor.

Jochi's edest son Orda-Quli married three Onggirat women as his chief wives. "One of them being Jüke Khatun of the Qongqirat people, another Tobaqana, also of Qonqirat, and another—, likewise of the Qonqirat, whose father's name was Öge Khan; [Orda] married her after her father's death."²⁸⁶

²⁸³ *The Successors*, 3:135. "Chaghatai had many wives, but the most important of them were two. The first, Yesülün Khatun, who was the mother of all his chief sons, was the daughter of Qata Noyan, the son of Daritai, the brother of the ruler of the Qonqirat. Börte Fujin, the chief wife of Chinggis-Khan, and Yesülün Khatun, were cousins. The second was Tögen Khatun, the sister of the aforesaid Yesülün Khatun, whom he married after Yesülün's death."

²⁸⁴ Uno Nobuhiro 宇野伸浩, "Hunggilabu yu Chengjisihan xi tonghun guanxi de bianqian. 宏吉剌部与成吉思汗系通婚关系的变迁", (trans from *Toyoshi kenkyu* 东洋史研究, vol. 52, No. 3.) *Mengguxue xinxi* 蒙古学信息, 67 (1997): 1-7.

²⁸⁵ *The Secret History*, Ch V. (1982): 89.

²⁸⁶ *The Successors*, 2:100.

TABLE 3

The empresses and imperial concubines of Mongol Yuan from the Onggirat tribe

NAME	TITLE	HUSBAND	FATHER
Bortie/ Bōrte 李兒帖	<i>Guan xian yi sheng</i> 光獻翼聖	Chinggis Khan (Taizu 太祖)	Dei Sechen 特薛禪
Hudutai 忽都台	<i>Zhenjie</i> 貞節	Mōngke Khan (Xianzong 憲宗)	Manggechen 忙哥陳 (Dei Sechen's grandson)
Yesuer 也速兒 ²⁸⁷		Mōngke Khan	Manggechen
Chabi 察必	<i>Zhao rui shun sheng</i> 昭睿順聖	Khubilai Khan (Shizu 世祖)	Anchen 按陳 (Dei Sechen's son)
Nanbi 南必		Khubilai Khan	Xiantong 仙童
Tiegulun 帖古倫		Khubilai Khan	Tuolian 脫憐 (Anchen's grandson)
Shiliandali 失憐答里	<i>Zhenci jingyi</i> 貞慈靜懿	Temür (Oljeitü) Khan (Chengzong 成宗)	Woluoche 斡羅陳 (Nachen's son)
Daji 答吉	<i>Zhaoxianyuansheng</i> 昭獻元 聖 <i>YitianXingsheng Ciren</i> 儀天興聖 <i>Zhaoyi houyuan</i> 儀天興聖 慈仁 昭懿壽元 <i>Quande</i> 泰寧福慶 <i>HuiwenChongyou</i> 徽文崇祐	Tarmabala (Shunzong 順宗)	Hundu Tiemuer 渾都帖木兒
Zhenge 真哥	<i>Xuancihuisheng</i> 宣慈惠聖 徽文崇祐	Qaishan (Wuzong 武宗)	Bengbula 迸不剌
Sugesili 速哥失里		Qaishan	Harzhi 哈兒只
Babuhan 八不罕		Yisün Temür (emperor Taiding 泰定帝)	Woliuchar 斡留察兒
Bihan 必罕		Yisün Temür	Maizhuhan 買住罕
Sugedali 速哥答里		Yisün Temür	Maizhuhan 買住罕
Buyanhudu 不顏忽都		Qoshila (Mingzong 明宗)	Boluo Tiemuer 孛羅帖木兒
Budashili 不答失里	<i>Zantian kaisheng renshou</i> 贊天開聖仁壽徽懿宣昭 皇太后 ²⁸⁸	Tuq Temür (Wenzong 文宗)	Diwabula 瑯阿不剌

²⁸⁷ According to Rashid Al-din, Yesuer (Yesüder) was taken by Arigh Böke's first son Yobuqur under the order of Khubilai Khan. See *The Successors*, 7:311.

²⁸⁸ There is no record of the honorary title of Budashili in the "Hou-fei-biao", but it appears in the basic annals of Shundi 順帝. "On [the cyclical day] Jimao 乙卯 [25th day] of the tenth moon of the second year of Yuantong 元統 [22 November 1334] [the emperor] presented a jade seal and a 'jade' patent and offered the Empress Dowager the honorary title *Zantian kaisheng renshou huiyi xuanzhao huangtaihou*."

Anashisheli 阿納失舍里	<i>Zhuangyicisheng</i> 莊懿慈聖	Ayurbarvada (Renzong 仁宗)	?
Daliyetemishi 答里也忒迷失		Yilianzhiban 懿璘質班 (Ningzong 寧宗)	?
Bolanyeqiechi 伯藍也怯赤	<i>Huiren yusheng</i> 徽仁裕聖	Zhen Jin/Jin-Gim 真金 (Yuzong 裕宗, Khubilai's son)	?
Puyanqielimishi 普顏怯里迷失	<i>Xuanyi huisheng</i> 宣懿徽聖	Ganmala (Xianzong 顯宗)	?
Sorghan 鎖兒歡		Jochi 術赤 (eldest son of Chinggis Khan)	?
Oki-fujin 幹乞兀真	<i>Khatun</i>	Jochi	Anchen 按陳
Yesülün 也速命	<i>Khatun</i>	Chaghatai 察合臺 (second son of Chinggis Khan)	Qata 合答 (Daritai's 答里台 son. Daritai was the brother of Dei Sechan)
Tögen 朵堅 (sister of Yesülün)	<i>Khatun</i>	Chaghatai	Qata
Jūke /Jöge 主客	<i>Khatun</i>	Orda 幹魯朵 (eldest son of Jochi)	?
Tobaqana 脫巴合納		Orda	?
? (levirate, inherited from Jochi Khan) ²⁸⁹		Orda	Oge Khan 幹格汗
Hujan 兀苦		Sartaqtai 撒兒塔臺 (first son of Orda)	?
Neidiken 捏的斤		Quli 忽里 (second son of Orda)	?
Qutui 忽推 (sister of Hujan)	<i>Khatun</i>	Hülegü 旭烈兀 (seventh son of Orda, grandson of Jochi)	?
Toquluqan 脫忽魯罕		Qonichi 火你赤 (Orda's first son Sartaqtai's first son) ²⁹⁰	?
Chingtüm 鎮土木		Qonichi	?
Ilgen 亦勒堅		Bayan 伯顏 (Qonichi's first son)	Temüge 帖木格
Altaju 按塔出		Bayan	Dödei BahaTur 朵歹拔都兒
Kökejin 闊闊真		Temür-Buqa 帖木兒不花 (first son of Hülegü)	Yisün noyan
Bayalun 巴牙倫 (sister of Hülegü's wife Qutui Khatun)		Temür-Buqa	?
Öljei 完澤	<i>Khatun</i>	Möngke-Temur 蒙哥帖木兒 (second son of Togoqan, grandson of Batu) ²⁹¹	?

²⁸⁹ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:128.²⁹⁰ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:128.

Tükünche 禿昆怯		Toqta 脱脱 (fifth son of Toqoqan, ruler of Goden Horde from 1291 to 1312)	?
Ariqachi 阿里合赤		Töde-Mōngke (third son of Toqoqan)	?
Qtaqash ²⁹² 合塔合失	<i>Khatun</i>	Kurju 闊出 (son of Ögödei)	? (son of Anchen)
Nayan Khatun ²⁹³		Tolui 拖雷	?
Bulga 不剌合 ²⁹⁴	<i>Khatun</i>	Jurikeh 術里客 (son of Tolui)	? (son of Anchen)
Qutlu	<i>Khatun</i>	Arigh Bōke 阿里不哥 (younger brother of Khubilai Khan)	?
Eshitei 額失歹 ²⁹⁵		Arigh Bōke	?

TABLE 4 Princesses of the Yuan Court Married into the Onggirat Tribe

NAME	TITLE	HUSBAND	FATHER
Tumanlu 禿滿倫	Princess-of-State of Yun 郕國大長公主	Chigu 赤古 ²⁹⁶ (Anchen's son, Prince-of Pacifying Pu 寧漢郡王)	Chinggis Khan
Suorhahan 唆兒哈罕		Nahe 納合 (Anchen's grandson)	Ogödei Khan
Yesubuhua 也速不花	Princess Supreme-of- State of Lu 魯國大長公主	Wochen 斡陳	(Tolui (Ruizong))
Kelmish-aqa 克勒迷失阿合 ²⁹⁷		Saljidai 撒勒只臺	Qutuqtu 忽睹都 (third son of Tolui)
Xuezhigan 薛只干 (Chinggis Khan's Granddaughter)	Grand and Senior Princess-of-State of Lu	Nachen/Nachin 納陳	?

²⁹¹ *The Successors*, 2:109. *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:140.

²⁹² *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a: 267.

²⁹³ This empress was taken by Yobuqur, the first son of Arigh Bōke. See Rashid Al-din, *The Successors*, 7:312.

²⁹⁴ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a: 267.

²⁹⁵ *The Successors*, 7:311.

²⁹⁶ According to Rashid Aldin, the husband of Tumanlun was Dairkai 帶儿海. see *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:267.

²⁹⁷ *The Successors*, 4:160. This woman made great contributions to the friendly relationship between Toluo's line and Jochi's line. "And because she is of the family of Tolui Khan, she is always on friendly terms with the Lord of Islam and constantly sends ambassadors to inform them of the events that occur in that country. And through her efforts, the foundations of friendship have been strengthened between Toqta and the other descendants of Jochi Khan and the Descendants of Tolui Khan, and she has put a stop to strife and enmity between them."

Wanze 完澤	Princess Supreme-of-State of Lu	Woluochen 斡羅陳	?
Nangjiazhen 囊加真	Princess Supreme-of-State of Lu	(1) Woluochen (2) Tiemur 帖木兒 (3) Manzitai 雙子台	Khubilai Khan
NangeBula 南哥不剌	Princess Supreme-of-State of Lu	Manzitai 雙子台	Zhen Jin/Jin Gim 真金 (Yuzong 裕宗)
Xianggelaji 祥哥剌吉	Princess Supreme-of-State of Lu <i>Huiwen yifu zhenshou</i> 徽文懿福真壽	Diao'abula 瑯阿不剌 (Tiemuer's son)	Dalamabala 答剌麻八剌, Yuzong's son (順宗 Shunzong)
Puna 普納	Princess Supreme-of-State of Lu	Sanggebula 桑哥不剌 (Diao'abula's younger brother)	?
Baidasha 拜答沙	Princess Supreme 大長公主	Maizhuhan 買住罕 (Bengbula's son)	?
Taihuludu 台忽魯都		Chouhan 丑漢 (Anchen's son Bige's 必哥 grandson)	?
Wokezhen 斡可真		Buzhier 不只兒 (Huohu's grandson)	?
Bulughan 不魯罕		Tuoluohe 脫羅禾 (Dei Sechen's descendant)	?
Kuokuolun 闊闊倫		Tuoluohe	Ayurbarvada (Renzong 仁宗)
Wongji Bahu ²⁹⁸ 完吉八忽		Huaidu 怀都 (Chigu's grandson)	?
Caizhen 采真		Aibuge 愛不哥 (Huaidu's younger brother)	?
Manggetai 忙哥台	Princess Supreme of-State of Yun	Changji 昌吉 (Chi Gu's great grandson, Prince of Pacifying Pu Prefecture 寧漢郡王)	?
Sanggebula 桑哥不剌	Princess Supreme of- State-of Yuan 郕國大長公主	Tuotumur 脫脫木兒	?

Marriage List I

Mongol Royal Family → Onggirat Tribe

1. Chinggis Khan (1) Bortie
2. Möngke Khan (2) Hudutai (3) Yesuer

²⁹⁸ Qian Daxin 錢大昕, *Shijiazhai yangxin lu* 十駕齋養心錄, Vol. 15, “Zhaochengxian lingzhi bei” 朝城縣令旨碑. “There is a Tablet of Decrees. The third decree says, ‘Princess Baihu 百戶 and Fuma Hui Du’s 附馬會都 land includes the Zhaoxian city.’ According to “*Shihuo zhi*” 食貨志, Princess of the State of Yun was granted thirty thousand households in Puzhou 濮州 in the Bingshen 丙申 year. Zhaocheng belonged to Puzhou, therefore it was also her land. In addition, “*Gongzhu Biao*” states that “Princess Wengji Bahu married Huaidu 怀都, the grandson of Chiku 赤窟. Huaidu is actually Huidu on the tablet, their sounds are similar.” In the records of the first, sixth, and seventh month of 1267 (the fourth year of Zhongtong 中統) in the basic annals of Khubilai Khan in the *Yuanshi* (YS 5:90-93), we find a woman’s name “Princess Baihu 拜忽”. “[Khubilai Khan] granted a seal to Princess Baihu.” “Granted Princess Baihu’s tribe money of one thousand *ding*.” “Baihu 拜忽”, “Bahu 八忽”, and “Baihu 百戶” should refer to the same princess, and ‘Wengji’ should be her tribal name “Wengjila 完吉剌” (Onggirat).

3. Khubilai Khan ... (4) Chabi (5) Nanbi (6) Tiegulun
4. Temür Öljeitü ... (7) Shiliandali
5. Dalamabala ... (8) Daji
6. Khaishan ... (9) Zhenge (10) Sugeshili
7. Emperor Taiding ... (11) Babuhan (12) Bihan (13) Sugedali
8. Khoshila ... (14) Buyanhudu
9. Tuq Temür ... (15) Budashili
10. Ayurbarvada ... (16) Anashisheli
11. Irinjibal ... (17) Aliyetemishi
12. Jin Gim ... (18) Bolanyeqiechi
13. Ganmala ... (19) Puyanqielimishi
14. Jochi ... (20) Sorghan (21) Öki-fujin
15. Chaghatai ... (22) Yesülün (23) Tögen
16. Orda ... (24) Jüke /Jöge (25) Tobaqana
17. Sartaqtai ... (26) Hujan
18. Quli ... (27) Neidiken
19. Hüleü ... (28) Qutui
20. Qonichi ... (29) Toquluqan (30) Chingtüm
21. Bayan ... (31) Altaju (32) Ilgen
22. Temür-Buqa ... (33) Kökejin (34) Bayalun
23. Möngke-Temur ... (35) Öljei
24. Toqta ... (36) Tükünche
25. Töde-Möngke ... (37) Ariqachi
26. Kurju ... (38) Qtaqash
26. Tolui ... (39) Nayan
27. Jurikeh ... (40) Bulga
28. Arigh Böke ... (41) Qutlu (42) Eshitei

Marriage List II

Onggirat Tribe → Mongol Royal Family

1. Chigu ... (1) Tumanlun
2. Nahe ... (2) Suorhahan
3. Wochen ... (3) Yesubuhua
4. Saljidai ... (4) Kelmish-aqa
5. Nachen ... (5) Xuezhigan
6. Wo luochen ... (6) Wanze (7) Nangjiazhen
7. Tiernuer ... (8) Nangjiazhen
8. Manzitai ... (9) Nangjiazhen (10) Nangebula
9. Diaobula ... (11) Xianggelaji
10. Alijiashili ... (12) Duorzhiban
11. Sanggebula ... (13) Puna
12. Maizhuhan ... (14) Baidasha
13. Chouhan ... (15) Taihuludu
14. Buzhier ... (16) Wokezhen
15. Tuoluohu ... (17) Bulughan (18) Kuokuolun
16. Huaidu ... (19) Wengjibahu

17. Aibuge... ..(20) Caizhen
 18. Changji... ..(21) Manggetai
 19. Tuotumur... ..(22) Sanggebula

4. Discussion

The imperial marriage constitution of the Mongol Yuan was a type of hereditary system, in which an emperor's consorts would be selected mainly from one or two Mongol noble's tribes. Also, these Mongol nobles' tribes maintained that for generations, the noble families should be celebrated for their special relationship with the royal family. The most renowned "Imperial In-law" (*waiqi* 外戚) that maintained the most stable relationship with the royal family was the Onggirat tribe.

The Onggirat tribe and the other tribes who maintained a stable marriage relationship with the Yuan royal family all had their fiefs (*touxia* 投下).

There were two different administrative systems and land systems in the Yuan dynasty. One was run by the central government (*zhongshu sheng* 中書省), province (*xingsheng* 行省), prefecture (*jun* 郡), and county (*xian* 縣). The officials within this system were appointed by the central government. The tax revenue in this system belonged to the central government. The other system was the *touxia* that was granted to the princes, imperial sons-in-law and meritorious ministers. The officials in a *touxia* were first appointed by its owner, then they were reported to the central government to be conferred titles. Most of the tax revenue and products of the *touxia* belonged to its owner.

According to the *Yuanshi*, the Onggirat tribe had a vast territory of fiefs. As early as in Chinggis Khan's reign, Anchen and his brothers had been granted a huge piece of land in Mongolia. Later in this territory several circuits (*lu* 路) were established, including Yingchang *Lu*

(應昌路), Quanning *Lu* (全寧路) which belonged to the “Prince of Lu 魯王”. The Onggirat tribe also had many other manors in other areas. For example, the three prefectures—Ji 濟, Yan 兗 and Shan 單 in Jining *Lu* (濟寧路) commanded sixteen counties; the six counties in Ting Zhou *Lu* (汀州路); seven counties in Yong Ping *Lu* (永平路). These areas cover parts of three present provinces of Shandong, Jiangsu and Jiangxi.

In general situation, it was very easy for such a powerful tribe to control the imperial court and threaten the existence of the dynasty. However, although some empress dowagers in the Yuan dynasty had been regents, there were not any imperial maternal uncles who had controlled imperial political affairs. The following reasons may account for this fact. First of all, every duke or prince in the Yuan dynasty had his own manor in which he could function however he pleased. The manor was actually like his mini kingdom; he had enough things to deal with. Which, to a certain extent, diverted his attention from the throne. Secondly, and it may be the most important factor, the Yuan imperial court maintained the military democratic tradition throughout the dynasty. The princes and nobles were always invited to discuss and determine important state political or military affairs. In addition, the “Four *Keshig* System” of Yuan also contributed to safeguard this tradition. The “Four *keshigs*” was a safeguard army established by Chinggis Khan in unifying Mongolia. It was composed of skilled and strong men who were the sons of Brigade Commander, Battalion Commander (*qianhu* 千戶), Company Commander (*baihu* 百戶), Squad Commander (*shihu* 十戶) as well as common people (*baishenren* 白身人). According to the military service laws of the Yuan, every noble (*noyan* 那顏) must send his son to serve the Mongol Khan. Therefore the key members of the *keshig* were sons of the Mongol nobles. The main duties of the *keshig* were to safeguard the imperial court and to be in charge of the various affairs in the imperial court.²⁹⁹ At the same time it

²⁹⁹ For a detailed discussion of the important role of *Keshig* in the Yuan politics, see Li Zhi'an 李治安, “Qixue yu Yuandai chaozheng” 怯薛與元代朝政, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究, 4 (1990): 110-117.

was also a fresh and combat-worthy troop directly under the command of the emperor. Chinggis Khan appointed his four meritorious generals—Borhu 博爾忽, Borshu 博爾術, Muqali 木華黎 and Chila'un 赤老溫 as the Chiefs of *keshig* army who Safeguarded the imperial court. This was an important institution in the Yuan dynasty. Because the sons of nobles or meritorious generals worked around the emperors, the influences of *waiqi*'s and eunuchs were effectively controlled. Tu Ji presents his comments at the end of the biography of Botu:

Amongst the Mongol emperor's relatives on the side of his wives or mother, Onggirat tribe was the most illustrious, but this tribe had a separate manor governed by it. It took part in the expeditions or campaigns with its own people. Except collecting the land rents and tax, it had not been granted any imperial authority. Therefore it did not have the disaster that the whole people in the tribe were put to death as such happened in the Han and Tang dynasties. This strategy was actually adopted by the Qing dynasty. De Sechen had foresight in choosing a son-in-law; he helped Temūjin to become an emperor. Therefore he was the benefactor of Chinggis Khan. Moreover his descendants had made great contributions. Although they did not have the astuteness and resourcefulness of the people in the Wei 衛 and Huo 霍 families in the Han dynasty, they cannot be seen only as the fathers or brothers of the empresses and Noble Consorts. Botu was intelligent for he associated with Chinggis Khan on his own initiative and went through thick and thin together with him. It was especially important in the initial stage.³⁰⁰

THE IKIRES TRIBE 亦乞列思部

1. Historical Background

According to Rashid Al-din, the Ikires tribe was one of the four sub-tribes of the Onggirat tribe.³⁰¹ It was one of the important tribes that maintained stable marriage relationships with the royal family in the Yuan dynasty.

The marriage relationship between the Ikires tribe and the Mongolian royal house started from the marriage between Botu 李禿 and Tiemulun 帖木倫, the younger sister of Chinggis Khan.

Botu's father, Niequn 捏坤, was subordinate to the Taiyichiwuti tribe (Taijigot) 泰亦赤烏惕.

³⁰⁰ MWESJ 23:10.

Later Botu decided to submit to Chinggis Khan because he admired his fame. According to the biography of Botu in the *Yuanshi*, he excelled in horsemanship and marksmanship. Chinggis Khan had once sent Shuer-chedan 術兒徹丹 as an envoy to the Argun River. When Botu knew that he was sent by Chinggis Khan, he invited him to his home and entertained him cordially, and gave him a good fine horse because Shuer-chedan's horse was tired. When Shuer-chedan returned to Chinggis Khan and told him about this, Chinggis was pleased. He decided to establish a marriage relationship with Botu, allowing Botu to marry his younger sister Tiemulun. Soon Botu's tribe sent Yebu Jiandai 也不堅歹³⁰² as an envoy to discuss the marriage and to pay respect to Chinggis Khan, "We have heard about your might and virtue. It seems that the clouds are opened and the sun is seen, the spring wind comes and the ice melts. Therefore we are very happy." When Chinggis Khan asked how many horses Botu had, Yebu Jiandai said that Botu had thirty horses and he was willing to present half of them as the betrothal gift. But Chinggis Khan said, "To decide a marriage only based on the amount of property is almost like the businessmen's conduct. The ancients said, 'It's really difficult to do things with one heart'. I am just going to take the whole lands under heaven, you people of Ikires tribe can follow Botu to pledge loyalty to me. What is the use of property?"³⁰³ Chinggis Khan's words clearly revealed the political significance of this marriage. At the beginning of his great undertaking he really needed military talents like Botu. Therefore he was willing to initiate this marriage so that he could take advantage of the strength of the Ikires tribe for his own ends. Thus, Botu married Tiemulun as Chinggis Khan's uxori-local son-in-law. In this way, he had to live with Chinggis Khan in order to serve him.³⁰⁴

³⁰¹ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a, p. 267.

³⁰² Yebu Jiandai 也不堅歹 is not a person's name according to *XYS* 新元史. It means "old man" in Mongolian language.

³⁰³ *YS* 118:2921

³⁰⁴ *YCMS*, p. 54, "A man of the Ikires tribe, Butu 不圖, was a son-in-law here, then he also came." Thereby we know that Botu was actually an uxori-local son-in-law of Chinggis Khan.

When Chinggis Khan broke off with Jamuka, Botu was with Chinggis Khan, while the other people in his tribe were still under the control of the Taiyichiwuti tribe. Jamuka and Taiyichiwuti plotted to attack Chinggis Khan with thirty thousand soldiers. It so happened that Botu had just sent an envoy to see his parents. His father Niequn 捏群 immediately asked the envoy to report the plot to Chinggis Khan. It gave Chinggis Khan enough time to prepare for the plotted attack. Tiemulun died early, so Chinggis Khan let Botu marry his daughter Huochenbieji 火臣别吉 as a second wife. Botu was one of the meritorious generals who had drunk the water in the Banzhuni River 班朱尼河 with Chinggis Khan.³⁰⁵ He participated in many campaigns when Chinggis Khan was unifying the Mongol plateau. Later, the Ikires tribe was forced to submit to Chinggis Khan. Chinggis Khan appointed Botu as a Battalion Commander (*Qianhu*) to command the two thousand households of the Ikires tribe.

Botu led the two thousand households of his tribe to take part in the campaign against the Jin under the command of Muqali. The number of people he governed rapidly increased to more than ten thousand households. In the seventh month of 1227, several days after Chinggis Khan's death, Botu died of sickness in the campaign against Xi Xia.³⁰⁶ Ögödei Khan ordered that a state funeral be held for him and his graveyard become a forbidden area for three years.³⁰⁷ Botu was posthumously titled as the Prince-of-state-of-Chang 昌王 and many other honorable titles in the reign of Chengzong.³⁰⁸

Rashid Al-din only offers a brief account about the Ikires tribe in *Jāmi' al-Tawarikh*. In "Beginning of the History of Möngke Qa'an" in *The Successors*, Rashid mentions a man named

³⁰⁵ YS 1:11. See the basic annals of Taizu. "(When they withdraw) to Banzhuni River 班朱尼河, the river water was muddy. The emperor (Chinggis Khan) drank it and swore before his troops. A man of the Ikires tribe, Botu, was just defeated by the Huolula tribe 火魯剌部, met with the emperor and swore to make an alliance."

³⁰⁶ XYS 114:522. MWESJ 23:8.

³⁰⁷ Zhang Shiguan 張士觀, "*Fuma Changwang shide bei*", YWL 25:301.

³⁰⁸ YS 118:2922.

Derekei Küregen of the Ikires people, who was a son-in-law of Chinggis Khan. In a *quriltai* in 1251 he suggested that Möngke, who was the newly elected Khan, launch a campaign to conquer the Southern Song, saying, “The kingdom of Nangiyas is so near and they are hostile to us. How can we neglect and delay [our attack]?”³⁰⁹ In the footnote Boyle writes, “Or Dayirkei. He was a *Küregen* (“imperial son-in-law”), being the husband of Chinggis Khan’s daughter Tümelün.” Boyle made a mistake by stating that Derekei was the husband of Tümelün. As we mentioned above, Tümelün’s husband was Botu. When Tümelün died, Botu married Huochen Beki, the daughter of Chinggis Khan. Botu died in 1227. Thus he could not possibly have been able to attend the *quriltai* election of Möngke Khan in 1251. I believe that Derekei was the son of Botu, whose name in Chinese is Tieligan 帖里干. In the Table of Princesses his name was mistakenly written as Tiejiangan 帖堅干.³¹⁰

Derekei married two princesses. One was Yiqiliesi; the other was Chalun. Both of them were titled Princess Supreme-of-State of Chang 昌國大長公主.³¹¹

According to Rashid Al-din, Derekei was the chief of Brigade Commander (*Tümen*), and played an important role in Mongol military campaigns and political struggles. He was one of the military generals in the campaign that conquered the Southern Song. He actively involved himself in the campaigns for the throne between Khubilai and Arigh Böke, and commanded his troops to fight the army of Arigh Böke.³¹² However, in the biography of Botu, his activities were omitted. Moreover, the *Yuanshi* recorded that Suorha was the chief of *Tümen* and he participated in the campaign against the Southern Song. However, there are still some unexplained historical areas that need to be clarified. I will leave them for future investigations.

³⁰⁹ The Successors, 6:223-4.

³¹⁰ The annotators of *Yuanshi* believe that his name should be Tieligan 帖里干, which appears in other Chinese sources including Tongzhi tiaoge 通制條格. See YS 109:2764.

³¹¹ YS 109:2758.

³¹² The Successors, 6:252, 256.

2. Marriages between Ikires Tribe and Chinggisid Clan

According to the *Yuanshi*, Botu's son Suorha 鎖兒哈 was promoted to the position of chief of Brigade Commander during Ögödei's reign. He took part in the campaign against Shu 蜀 and captured Jiazhou 嘉州 of the Southern Song and died on the returning way. Suorha married Princess Antu 安秃, the daughter of Kuochu 闊出 (son of Ögödei), and Princess Buhaihan 不海罕 (father unknown).³¹³ The daughter of Princess Antu became the Empress of Möngke Khan.³¹⁴

Zhawu-Erchen 札兀兒臣, the son of Suorha, took part in the campaign against the Puxian-Wannu 蒲鮮萬奴 under the command of Güyük during Ögödei's reign, and he rendered meritorious service. Ögödei Khan allowed him to marry Princess Yesunzhen 也孫真, the daughter of Prince Anchidai 安赤歹. Zhawu-Erchen was posthumously titled "The Prince-of-the-State-of-Chang."³¹⁵

Zhawu-Erchen had two sons. The eldest son was Yuelietai 月列台 who married Princess Hadahan 哈答罕, the daughter of Prince Saiyinzhubu 賽因主卜.³¹⁶ She gave birth to a son named Tuobietai 脫別台. Yuelietai took part in the campaign to pacify the rebel prince Naiyan 乃顏 in the northwest and distinguished himself in action.

The younger son of Zhawu-Erchen was Hulian 忽憐, who married Princess Boyaluhan 伯牙魯罕, the daughter of Möngke Khan. During Khubilai Khan's reign, Hulian played an important role in suppressing the rebel princes. Following a great victory over the rebellious prince,

³¹³ The two princesses probably married Suorha one after the other when one died, but we do not know who was the second wife.

³¹⁴ YS 118: 2922.

³¹⁵ YS 118: 2922.

³¹⁶ Saiyinzhubu is not listed in the "Tables of Princes" 諸王表 of *Yuanshi* (108: 2735-49). We do not know which emperor's son he was. Hadahan was not recorded in the "Table of Princesses" 公主表 either.

Khubilai let Hulian marry Princess Bulanxi 不蘭奚, the granddaughter of Möngke Khan, as a reward.³¹⁷ After the southern Song was conquered, Hulian was granted the district of Guangzhou 廣州 as his fief. Hulian was posthumously titled Prince-of-the-State-of-Chang.

Ashi 阿失, the son of Hulian, served Chengzong (r. 1295-1307). In 1301, Ashi participated in the campaign to suppress the rebellious princes in the northwest under the command of the Prince of Jin 晉王 Kammala (Chengzong's younger brother) and Qaishan (Chengzong's nephew). One day, in a battle, Ashi wounded the rebellious prince Du'a and killed many enemies. To commend his great deeds, Chengzong granted him a suit of pear clothes, and let him marry princess Yilihaiya 益里海涯, the daughter of Chengzong. Yilihaiya gave birth to two daughters. The eldest one was Sugebala 速哥八剌, who later became the principal empress of Yingzong. The other was Yilianzhenbala 亦憐真入剌, who later became the principal empress of Emperor Taiding.³¹⁸ Ashi also married princess Maidi 買的, the name of her father is unknown. After Qaishan succeeded to the throne, Ashi was ordered to inherit the title of *Brigade Commander*, and was granted a gold seal and titled "Prince of the State of Chang". In addition, he was permitted to set up his princely mansion and government system.³¹⁹

Ashi had seven sons. The eldest son Balashili 八剌失里, inherited the title of Prince of Chang. After Balashili died, his son Shalanduoer 沙藍朵兒 inherited the title.

In addition, Hulian's cousin Buhua 不花 married Khubilai's daughter, Princess Wuluzhen 兀魯真. Hulian's brother Suolangha 鎖郎哈 married Princess Nuwulun 奴兀倫, the daughter of

³¹⁷ It might be that Bulanxi married Hulian as a second wife when Boyaluhan died. But the *Yuanshi* does not state clearly if Boyaluhan had died when Hulian married Bulanxi. Therefore it is also possible that Hulian had two princesses as his wives at the same time. "The emperor (Khubilai) highly commended him and again ordered him to marry Princess Bulanxi." (YS 118:2922)

³¹⁸ Zhang Shiguan 張士觀, "Fuma Changwang shide bei" 附馬昌王世德碑. (In YWL 元文類 25: 300-302) But according to *Yuanshi*-*Houfei Zhuan*, Yilianzhenbala was not the principal empress. Her name is recorded in the *"Houfei Biao"*, but she does not have a biography.

³¹⁹ Zhang Shiguan, "Fuma Changwang shide bei".

Khubilai's son, Manggela 忙哥剌, Prince of Anxi 安西王. The daughter of Nuwulun became the empress of Wuzong who gave birth to Mingzong.

“*Fuma Changwang shide bei*” 附馬昌王世德碑 makes the following remarks, “[The men in this family] were titled princes and married princesses for generations. Their privilege was no less than that of the Yuan 袁 family and Deng 鄧 family in the Han dynasty. But their celebrity and contributions were greater than that of the Yuan and Deng.”³²⁰

TABLE 5 *The Empresses of Yuan from the Ikires Tribe*

NAME	TITLE	HUSBAND	FATHER
Hutuheitai (Qutuqtai) 忽秃黑台		Möngke (Xianzong 憲宗)	Suorha 鎖兒哈 (Botu's son) ³²¹
Shou Tong 壽童 ³²² [Mingzong's mother]	<i>Renxianzhangsheng</i> 仁獻章聖	Khaishan (Wuzong 武宗)	Suolangha 鎖郎哈 (Hulian's younger brother)
Sugebala 速哥八剌	<i>Zhuangjingyisheng</i> 莊靜懿聖	Shidebala (Yingzong 英宗)	Ashi 阿失
Yilianzhenbala 亦憐真八剌		Yisün Temür (Emperor Taiding 泰定帝)	Ashi 阿失

TABLE 6 *Princesses of Yuan Court Married into Ikires Tribe*

NAME	TITLE	HUSBAND	FATHER
Tiemulun 帖木倫	Princess Supreme-of-State of Chang 昌國大長公主	Botu 孛秃	Yesugai (Liezu) 也速該 (烈祖)
Huochenbieji 火臣別吉	Princess Supreme-of-State of Chang	Botu	Chinggis Khan (Taizu 太祖)
Yiqiliesi 亦乞列思	Princess Supreme-of-State of Chang	Tieligan/Tiejiangan 帖里干/帖堅干 (Botu's son)	? Chinggis Khan
Cha Lun 茶倫	Princess Supreme-of-State of Chang	Tieligan/Tiejiangan	?

³²⁰ YWL, juan 25:302.

³²¹ According to the Yuanshi, Suorha married Ögödei's great-granddaughter, Princess Antu 安秃. Their daughter was the empress of Möngke Khan. Yuanshi does not mention the princess's name. Rashid Al-din says that her name was Hutuheitai. Her father was Uladai (also Botu's son). See *The Successors*, 6: 197.

³²² *Yuanshi*-“*Gongzhu Biao*” does not record her name. She is called “*Feizi Yiqilie Shi*” 妃子亦乞烈氏. Mao Yuesheng 毛岳生 offers her name in *Yuanshi houfei gongzhu zhuan bu* 元史后妃公主傳補. But he presents two names-- “Shoutong” 壽童 and “Shouzhang” 壽章. See *Yuanshi houfei gongzhu zhuan bu*, P.19. Tu Ji believes that her name was 壽童, See MWESJ 19:14.

Antu 安禿 (mother of Xianzong's empress)	Princess Supreme-of-State of Chang	Suorha 鎖兒哈 (Botu's son, Prince of Chang)	Kuochu 闡出 (幹赤) (Taizong's son)
Buhaihan 不海罕		Suorha	?
Yesunzhen 也孫真	Princess Supreme-of-State of Chang	Zhahuerchen 札忽兒臣 (Suorha's son, Prince of Cahng)	Anchitai 安赤台 (阿列赤 歹) ³²³ (?son of Hechiwen, Prince of Ji'nan 濟南王)
Hadahan 哈答罕		Yuelietai 月列台 (Zhahuerchen's elder son)	Saiyinzhubu 賽因主卜 (?Ögödei's son)
Boyaluhan 伯牙魯 罕 (伯雅倫)	Grand and Senior Princess- of-State of Chang	Hulian 忽憐 (Zhahuerchen's younger son, Prince of Chang)	Möngke Khan
Bulanxi 不蘭奚 (Xianzong's granddaughter)	Grand and Senior Princess- of-State of Chang	Hulian	?
Yilihaiya 益里海涯 (mother of the empresses of Yingzong and Emperor Taiding)	Grand and Senior Princess- of-State of Chang	Ashi 阿失 (Hulian's son., Prince of Chang)	Temür Oljeitü (Chenzong 成宗)
Maidi 買的 (Xianzong's great granddaughter)	Princess Supreme-of-State of Chang	Ashi 阿失	?
Wuluzhen 兀魯真 (吾魯真)		Buhua 不花 (Hulian's younger cousin, Tiemugan 帖木干's son)	Khubilai Khan
Nuwulun 奴兀倫 (mother of Wuzong's Empress of Renxian Zhangsheng who was Mingzong's mother)		Suolangha 鎖郎哈 (Buhua's younger brother)	Manggela 忙哥剌 (Renzong's son, Prince of Anxi 安西王)
Luluhan 魯魯罕		Suoduge 唆都哥 (Buhua's younger brother, Prince of Ning Chang 寧昌郡王)	?
Lulun 魯倫		Suoduge	?
Puyankelimeisi 普顏可里美思		Bulianjidai 不憐吉歹 (Suoduge's son, Prince of Ning Chang 寧昌 郡王)	?
Yanheya 煙合牙	Princess Supreme of-state of Chang	Balashili 八剌失里 (Prince of Chang)	?
Yuelu 月魯	Princess Supreme of-state of Chang	Shalanduor 沙藍朵兒	Khoshila (Mingzong 明宗)

³²³ Anchitai 安赤台 was probably the son of Hechiwen 合赤溫, the elder brother of Chinggis Khan. See YS 107:2710-1, 108:2744.

Marriage List III

Mongol Royal Family → Ikires Tribe

- 1 Möngke Khan (1) Hutuheitai
- 2 Khaishan Khan... .. (2) Shoutong
- 3 Shidebala (3) Sugebala
- 4 Yisün Temür (4) Yilianzhenbala.

Marriage List IV

Ikires Tribe → Mongol Royal Family

1. Botu... .. (1) Tiemulun, (2) Huochenbieji
2. Tiejiangan... .. (3) Yiqiliesi, (4) Chalun.
3. Suorha... .. (5) Antu, (6) Buhaihan
4. Zhahuerchen... .. (7) Yesunzhen
7. Yuelietai... .. (8) Hadahan
8. Hulian... .. (9) Boyaluhan (10) Bulanxi
9. Ashi... .. (11) Yilihaiya (12) Maidi
10. Buhua... .. (13) Wuluzhen
11. Suolangha... .. (14) Nuwulun
12. Suoduge... .. (15) Luluhan (16) Lulun
13. Bulianjidai... .. (17) Puyankelimeisi
14. Balashili... .. (18) Yanheya
15. Shalanduor... .. (19) Yuelu

CHAPTER FIVE

“Two-way Marriages”: Marriages between The Mongolian Royal Family and the Oirat tribe

幹亦剌部³²⁴

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Mongolian tribes in the thirteen-century could generally be divided into two different categories in terms of their socio-economic patterns. One of them was the nomadic people category to which belonged the Mongol, Tartar, Merkit, Kereit, and Naiman. The other category was called by the Mongols, the “people in the forest” (*lin zhong baixing* 林中百姓). They lived in the forests and led a life of hunting and fishing.³²⁵ The Oirat tribe was one of the more powerful tribes of the “people in the forest”. They lived at the head of the Deleger River 德勒格爾河 and the Yenisei River.³²⁶ They “had a large population, and were divided into many sub-tribes, each of these had a specific name.”³²⁷

During a certain period, the Oirat tribe was antagonistic to Chinggis Khan when he tried to unify the Mongol steppes. In 1201 the chief of the Oirat tribe, Qudugha Beki, together with other nine tribal chiefs, elected Jamuka as Gür-khan.³²⁸ They organized allied forces to attack Chinggis

³²⁴ Bai Cuiqin 白翠琴 has conducted a thorough study on the intermarriages between Chinggisid clan and the nobles of the Oirat tribe. Some parts of this chapter are derived from her studies. For details see “Woyila guizu yu Chengjisihanxi lianyin kaoshu”. In *Minzu yanjiu*. 1 (1984): 46-59.

³²⁵ For a detailed account of the two different economic patterns, see B. Y. Wladimirtzov, *Menggu shehui zhidu shi* 蒙古社會制度史, tr., Zhang Xingtang 張興唐, Wu Zhankun 烏占坤, Zhonghua Wenhua Chubanshiye Weiyuanhui, (1957): 1-7.

³²⁶ Bai Cuiqin, “Wala jingyu bianqian kaoshu” 瓦剌境域變遷考述, in *Menggushi yanjiu*, No. 1, Zhongguo Menggushi Xuehui, (1985): 35-51.

³²⁷ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:193.

³²⁸ I.e. “Ruler of all”. *The Secret History*, ch. IV, p. 68. Fn. 29.

Khan and Ong-Khan's troops. The Oirat people led by Qudugha Beki 忽都合 别吉 were the vanguards of the united army. The battle occurred at the place called Köyitien 闊 亦 田. According to *The Secret History*, Khudugha Beki and the Buyirug Khan of the Naiman state had the ability to summon wind and rain, but after they performed their magic arts, the wind and rain surprisingly attacked their own army. Suddenly it became dark all round, and the battlefield became very muddy, and the united army of Jmuka was consequently defeated.³²⁹ In 1204, Khudugha Beki formed another alliance with the Naiman people against Chinggis Khan, but again they were defeated.³³⁰

In 1207, after having conquered many tribes including the Tartar, Merkit, Kereit, and Naiman, Chinggis Khan sent his elite troops (*you shou jun* 右手軍), commanded by his eldest son Jochi, to conquer the “people in the forest”. Surprisingly, Khudugha Beki surrendered without resistance.³³¹ He probably realized that his tribe alone was unable to resist the powerful troops of Chinggis Khan. Therefore he chose to surrender, and moreover, he guided Jochi's troops to the north where Jochi forced seven other sub-tribes of Oirat to surrender. Chinggis Khan was very pleased by the performance of Qudugha Beki whose submission set an example for other tribes to follow. As a result, the casualty of the Mongol troops was greatly reduced. As a reward for his contribution, Chinggis Khan decided to marry his own daughter and his granddaughter (Jochi's daughter) to the two sons of Khudugha Beki.³³² After that, the marriage relationship between Chinggis Khan's family and the Oirat nobles was formally established. In 1217 when Chinggis Khan conquered the Tumad tribe 秃馬惕, he granted the concubine of the chief of Tumad tribe to Khudugha Beki.³³³ In

³²⁹ *The Secret History*, ch. IV. p. 69.

³³⁰ YS 1: 12-13. See the basic annals of Taizu.

³³¹ MGMS/Daorun Tibu, Neimenggu Renmin Chubanshe. (1991): 269. *The Secret History*. ch. X, p. 173.

³³² MGMS/Daorun-Tibu, p. 269. *The Secret History*. ch. X, p. 173.

³³³ MGMS/Daorun-Tibu, p. 270. *The Secret History*, p. 175.

addition, Chinggis Khan gave great honor and power to the Oirat nobles. He granted a title of "four thousand households" (*si qian hu* 四千户) to the nobles of the Oirat tribe.

The successors of Chinggis Khan also paid great attention to their relationship with the Oirat tribe. In addition to rewarding them with high-ranking official titles, they also took women from the Oirat tribe and married their daughters to the nobles of this tribe. In his discussion of the reason why the princes took wives from the Oirat tribe, Juvaini writes:

The Oirat tribe are one of the best known of the Mongol tribes, and to that tribe belong most of the maternal uncles of the children and grand-children of Chingiz-Khan, the reason being that at the time of his rise to power the Oirat came forward to support and assist him and vied with one another in their alacrity to tender allegiance, and in recognition of their services an edict was issued concerning that tribe to the effect that the daughters of their emirs should be married to the descendants of Chingiz-Khan; and he likewise bestowed upon the chief of that tribe a daughter of his own called Checheken Beki.³³⁴

Oirat women were well known for their beauty. Therefore the Mongol Khans and nobles frequently selected girls from this tribe.³³⁵

Chinggis Khan's original purpose was apparently to use marriage as a means to form a military alliance with the Oirat tribe. He was successful in this regard. The Oirat nobles, however, also

³³⁴ *World Conqueror*, Part Two, XXX, pp. 505-6.

³³⁵ According to Rashid Al-din, Ögödei Khan had done a very ridiculous thing to the Oirat tribe. "A rumor once sprang up amongst the Mongol tribe of Oirat that in accordance with a decree the daughters of that tribe were to be affianced to a certain group of people. In fear they affianced most of their daughters to husbands within the tribe, and some they actually delivered up to them. News of this reached Qa'an's ear, and he investigated the matter. It being just as had been reported, orders were given to gather all the girls of that tribe over seven years of age and to take back all who had been given that year to their husbands. Four thousand girls were thus assembled. he ordered those who were daughters of emirs to be separated from the rest and made a *yasa* that all who were present should have intercourse with them. Two of the girls expired. As for the rest, he drew them up in two rows. Those who were worthy of the ordo he dispatched to the harem, some he gave to the cheetah-keepers and falconers, and some to the various attendants at Court; others again he sent to the brothel and the hostel for ambassadors. As for those that still remained, he ordered all present, whether Mongols or Muslims, to carry them off whilst their brothers, husbands, and kinsmen looked on not daring to breathe." *The Successors*, 1: 93-4. Juvaini recorded exactly the same event in *The History of the World-Conqueror*, part one, XXXII, pp. 233-4. Their records were confirmed by Chinese source. It happened in 1237. "At the Dingyou day 丁酉 of the sixth month of the ninth year [of Ögödei Khan's reign] (1237), a rumor sprang up among the left-wing tribes that the girls of the common people were to be collected. The emperor was angry and therefore really collected [the girls] and grant them to his subordinates." YS 2:35.

realized the inevitable rise and invincible power of Chinggis Khan. Thus they were also eager to take advantage of this relationship to raise their own political position and to gain economic interests in the Mongol Empire. Therefore, this kind of marriage relationship, like the other Mongol imperial marriages in the twelfth and thirteen centuries, was both militarily and politically significant. The military and political considerations had prompted Chinggis Khan and his descendants to establish and maintain marriage relationships with the Oirat tribe.

2. MONGOL PRINCESSES MARRIED INTO THE OIRAT TRIBE

Many nobles of the Oirat tribe married Mongol princesses, and vice versa, many Oirat women married Mongol princes. This was a bilateral marriage relationship. The records of these marriages in the *Yuanshi* are however very incomplete. The “Tables of Princesses” in the *Yuanshi* records only six Mongol princesses who were married into the Oirat tribe. Yet, there are scattered records found in Chinese, Mongolian, and Persian source materials. We can piece together pieces of information found in these languages in order to draw a complete possible picture of this marriage relationship.

(1) Princess Checheyigen 扯扯亦干³³⁶ married Törölchi 脫劣勒赤 (or Inalchi 亦納勒赤)

Princess Checheyigan was the second daughter of Chinggis Khan. Törölchi was the eldest son of Khudugha Beki. The identity of the person to whom Princess Checheyigen married is controversial. There are two different versions. One is found in *The Secret History*, according to which, Checheyigen was married to Inalchi, the second son of Khudugha Beki: “(Chinggis Khan) going to meet Khudugha Beki of the Oirat, saying, ‘He is come, aforetime submitting himself and

leading [hither] his ten thousand Oirat,' he favored [him] and gave Chechegen unto his son, unto Inalchi. He gave Holuiqan 豁雷罕, daughter of Jochi 拙赤, unto Törölchi, elder brother of Inalchi."³³⁷ This very clear record was adopted by many scholars in Yuan studies, such as Qian Daxin 錢大昕 in *Yuanshi shizubiao*, Wei Yuan 魏源 in *Yuanshi xinbian*, Hong Jun 洪鈞 in *Yuanshi yiwen zhengbu*, Tu Ji 屠寄 in *Mengwuer shiji*, and He Shaomin 何紹忞 in *Xin Yuanshi*. However, it would have been more reasonable if Chinggis Khan had married his own daughter to the elder son of Khudugha Beki. But this record is not compatible with the record in *Yuanshi*.

The other record is found in Rashīd Al-din's book. In two places in this book he records that Princess Checheyigen was married to Törölchi.³³⁸ This has been confirmed by *Yuanshi*-“Table of Princesses”. Under the Yan'an Gongzhu Wei 延安公主位, it says: “Princess Kuokuogan 闊闊干 married Kūregen Tuo (Yihe)(Luan) chi. 脱(亦禾)[樂]赤”.³³⁹ Tu Ji changed “Kuokuogan” to “Checheyijian 扯扯亦堅”,³⁴⁰ and the Tuoluanchi 脱樂赤 in the *Yuanshi* is Törölchi. In addition, Juvaini mentions the princes, *noyan*, and imperial sons-in-law who followed Hülegü on the westward expedition in 1252-3, “from Checheken Beki, Buqa-Temür with an army of Oirat tribesmen.”³⁴¹ Buqa-Temür was the son of Törölchi.³⁴²

According to Rashid Al-din, Checheyigen and Törölchi had three sons and two or four daughters. The three sons were Buqa-Temür, Burtua, and Pars-buqa.³⁴³ There are two different records about the number of Törölchi's daughters in Rashid Al-din's book. One tells us that he had

³³⁶ There are various transliterations of her name: Checheyigen/Secheyigen Aghai/Chichigen 扯扯亦堅 / 扯扯亦干 / 闊闊干.

³³⁷ *The Secret History*, ch. X p. 173. MGMS/Daor-un-Tibu., juan 10. p. 269.

³³⁸ *Shiji*, vol. 1a: 194. “Chenggis Khan married his own daughter Jijakan to this *gurgan* Turalji.”; vol. 1b, p. 88: “[Chinggis Khan's] second daughter Jijakan was married to *gurgan* Turalji of the son of Khudugha Beiki, the chief of the Oirat tribe.”

³³⁹ YS 109:2762.

³⁴⁰ Tu Ji says, “Originally it is Kuokuogan. It's not a correct transliteration. Besides, Cheche means flower and Kuokuo means green in Mongolian language, since their meanings are different, and pronunciations are not similar to each other, it must be a mistake in *Yuanshi*.” See MWESJ 151:7.

³⁴¹ *World Conqueror*, Part three, VI, p. 608.

³⁴² *Shiji*, vol. 1a:194.

two daughters, El-Chiqmish Khatun, who was the senior wife of Arigh Böko, and Orqina (Wulu-hunai 兀魯忽乃 in *Yuanshi*). She married Qara-Hülegü, the grandson of Chaghatai, and ruled the Chaghatai's state after her husband died.³⁴⁴ The version contends that Buqa-Temür had four sisters. They were Kubak Khatun, who was the first wife of Hülegü; Orqina (Aurgneh) Khatun, who was the wife of Qara-Hülegü; Huchu Khatun, who married Tuohan, the second son of Batu (Jochi's son); and Öljei Khatun, who was he wife of Hülegü. Rashid Al-din believed that the latter was correct.³⁴⁵

(2) Princess Holuiqan (Huolu) 火魯 married Inalchi 亦納勒赤

The other transliterations of Holuiqan are Huolu, Huolei, and Qului-aikaji. They refer to the same person, the daughter of Jochi and the sister of Batu. *The Secret History* reveals that she married Törölchi, the younger brother of Inalchi. The record of the Table of Princesses in *Yuanshi* reads, "Princess Huolu married Hada 哈答 Küregen." Hada was believed to be Törölchi in both the *Xin Yuanshi* and the *Yuanshi Xin Bian*. However, Tu Ji claims that this person should be Hedai 合歹 küregen, a general of Chinggis Khan.³⁴⁶ But according to Rashid Al-din, "The story of the above Inalchi, the other son of Khudugha Beki is as follows: Batu married his sister Qului-aikaji to him. She bore a son named Auldu, who had two sons named Niktai and Aqu-Temür. They were in the *ulus* of Qunji (the great grandson of Batu), commanding an army of four thousand for Zhalayir."³⁴⁷ The Table of Yearly Grants ("Shihuo Zhi-Sui Ci" 食貨志-歲賜) of *Yuanshi* has records of the yearly grants of Princess Huolei 火雷. In 1236 (the eighth year of Taizong), 9,796

³⁴³ *Shiji*, vol. 1a:194.

³⁴⁴ *World-Conqueror*, p. 274.

³⁴⁵ *Shiji*, vol. 1a:195.

³⁴⁶ *MWESJ* 151: 7.

³⁴⁷ *Shiji*, vol. 1a, p. 195.

households were granted to the Prefecture of Yan'an under her name. In 1319 (the sixth year of Yanyou) she actually governed 1809 families, which supplied her with 722 *jīn* of silk annually.³⁴⁸

(3) Princess Tuotuohui 脱脱灰 married Tumandar 秃满答儿

In the Table of Princesses in the *Yuanshi*, under the name of Princess Yan'an 延安 it reads, "Princess Tuotuohui, the granddaughter of Shizu (Khubilai), married Tumandar *fuma*." However, the identity of Tumandar is not clear. The biography of Anbo 暗伯 in the *Yuanshi* records the story of a person named Tumiandar 秃绵答儿. In 1287 (the twenty-fourth year of the Zhiyuan era) when Naiyan 乃顔 rebelled against Khubilai, Tumiandar followed the rebellion of Prince Halu 哈魯 and was later killed. "And prince Halu and *fuma* Tumiandar rebelled. Anbo comanded his troops to fight them at the place named Keliusu Shibatu. He stabbed Tumiandar and killed him."³⁴⁹ In the Table of the Princesses in the *Yuanshi*, there is only one person named Tumandar--an imperial son-in-law. Bai Cuiqin assumes that they were probably the same person.³⁵⁰

In the Table of Princesses in the *Yuanshi*, under the name of "All the other Princesses" we find a record "Princess Supreme Tuotuohui 脱脱灰 was the granddaughter of Shizu." Since they were all the granddaughters of Khubilai, and their pronunciations are identical although the Chinese characters are different, it is highly possible that they were the same person.

Tu Ji 屠寄 believes that Tuotuo Hui 脱脱灰 and Tuotuohui 妥妥灰 was the same person.³⁵¹ The basic annals of Shundi of the *Yuanshi* records that in 1334 (the second year of Yuantong), "(Shundi) granted the title of Princess of Yingshou 英壽 to the imperial aunt Tuotuohui 妥妥灰."³⁵² Shundi was the grandson of Qaishan (Wuzong), and his aunt should be the daughter of

³⁴⁸ YS 95:2427. See "*Shihuo zhi-sui ci* 食貨志-歲賜".

³⁴⁹ YS 133: 3237.

³⁵⁰ Bai Cuiqin 白翠琴, "Woyila guizu yu Chengjisihanxi lianyin kaoshu", *Minzu yanjiu*, 1 (1984): 49.

³⁵¹ MWESJ 151:7.

³⁵² YS 38:820.

Qaishan instead of Khubilai. But if Tumantar and Tumiandar was the same person, then Tuotuohui 脱脱灰 should not be Tuotuohui 妥妥灰. She should be the daughter of Khubilai.

(4) Princess Yixiji 一悉基 married Balituo 八里托

Their names cannot be found in either the Tables of princes or the Table of Princesses of *Yuanshi*, but they appeared in the inscription on a tablet known as “*Shijiayuan bei*” 释迦院碑 discovered by the archeologists of People’s Republic of Mongolia in 1953. The inscription was written in both Mongolian and Chinese. It was a prayer and a congratulation on the birthday of Möngke Khan by imperial son-in-law Balituo and princess Yixiji in the year of 1257.³⁵³

Bai Cuiqin has found that in *Yuanshi* there is someone named Balitu 八里土. The pronunciation is very similar to Balituo. “In the spring of the seventh year *dingsi* (Möngke’s reign, 1257), Möngke went to Hulanyerji. He ordered all the princes to dispatch troops to conquer the Song.” “In the winter, the emperor passed the south of the desert and arrived at Yulongzhan 玉龍棧. Khubilai, Balitu, Chumuhar, Yulongdashi, Xilieji, and Princess Tuomiekhan came to meet him, and they had a big banquet. Then everybody was sent to his own army.”³⁵⁴ However, Tu Ji believes that the name Balitu in this document should be the eldest son of Möngke Khan, whose name was Bantu 班秃.³⁵⁵

Fortunately, Rashid Al-din provides us with important clues about the family background of Balituo in *Jāmi’ al-Tawarikh*. “Chinggis Khan had married a girl in his clan to this Burtua, her name and seniority are not clear, [therefore] Burtua became the emperor’s son-in-law.”³⁵⁶ The pronunciations of Burtua and Balituo are similar, and they lived during the same period, therefore

³⁵³ Hu Sizhen 胡斯振, Bai Cuiqin 白翠琴, “1257 nian Shijiayuan bei kaoshi 1257 年释迦院碑考释”, *Menggushi yanjiu*, Zhongguo Menggushi Xuehui, 1 (1985): 11-20.

³⁵⁴ YS 3:50.

³⁵⁵ MWESJ 6:10. See the basic annals of Möngke Khan.

³⁵⁶ *Shiji*, vol. 1a: 195.

Bai Cuiqin maintains that Balituo was very likely the grandson of Khudugha Beki. And Yixiji must have been the woman from Chinggis Khan's clan.³⁵⁷ According to Rashid, Burtua was known as being weak in personality. He had two sons, Auluq and Hin. They were all officials in the reign of Khubilai Khan.³⁵⁸

(5) Princess Ile-Temür(Yantiemur) 燕帖木儿 married Pars buqa 巴儿思不花

Ile-Temür Yantiemur was the daughter of Tolui and Lingqun 領昆 Khatun, She married Pars-buqa, the third son of Törölchi.³⁵⁹ According to Rashid Al-din, "when Lingqun Khatun died, she left a daughter named Ile-Temür who married Pars-buqa *Küregen*".³⁶⁰

(6) A princess (name unknown) married Biklamish (Bielimishi) 别里迷失

This princess' name was omitted in the "Table of Princesses" in the *Yuanshi*. It merely indicates that a certain princess was married to the imperial son-in-law Bielimishi.³⁶¹ Biklamish was the great-grandson of Khudugha Beki, the son of Parsbuqa. Rashid Al-din points out that Parsbuqa had two sons. One was called Shirap; the other was called Biklamish. They all served Khubilai Khan at his palace as his attendants.³⁶²

(7) A princess (name unknown) married Shirap

This princess' name was left blank in the "Table of Princesses" in the *Yuanshi*. She was married to the imperial son-in-law Shalan 沙蘭." Shalan, according to Bai Cuiqin, was Shirap who

³⁵⁷ Bai Cuiqin 白翠琴, "Woyila guizu yu chengjisihanxi lianyin kaoshu", *Minzu yanjiu*, 1 (1984): 50.

³⁵⁸ *Shiji*, vol. 1a:194-5.

³⁵⁹ Rashid Al-din, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, Russian version, trans. By Y. P. Verkhovsky, 1960. Quoted in Bai Cuiqin, "Woyila guizu yu chengjisihanxi lianyin kaoshu", *Minzu yanjiu*, 1 (1984): 50.

³⁶⁰ *Shiji*, vol. II, p. 368.

³⁶¹ YS 109:2762.

³⁶² *Shiji*, 1a, p. 195.

was mentioned in Rashid Al-din's book.³⁶³ He was the son of Parsbuqa, the brother of Biklamish. He worked in the Yuan palace.

(8) The Princess of Yan'an 延安 married the Prince of Yan'an Yebugan 也不干

"Yan'an" was obviously the title representing the name of the fief. There was no record about the origin of this princess. The "Tables of Princesses" in the *Yuanshi* tell us that Princess of Yan'an married Prince of Yan'an Yebugan.³⁶⁴ Yebugan was a noble of the Oirat tribe, who, according to Bai Cuiqin, was probably the descendant of Princess Holuqan (Huolu) 火魯 and Inalchi 亦納勒赤 since he inherited the fief and the title of Prince of Yan'an. There is a record in the basic annals of Ningzong's reign in *Yuanshi* that in 1332 (the eighth month of the third year of Zhishun 至順), "[The emperor] granted Huantehachi 歡忒哈赤, the son of the imperial son-in-law Yebugan, with gold, silver, and clothe in different amounts."³⁶⁵

(9) Numugan married Junan

According to Rashid Al-din, Numugan was the daughter of Arigh Böke and Hutuheita Khatun, and Junan was the eldest son of Buqa-Temür, the son of Törölchi.³⁶⁶

(10) Emegen married Toq-Temür

According to Rashid Al-din, Emegen was the daughter of Melik-Temür, the second son of Arigh Böke; Toq-Temür was the grandson of Pars-buqa and the great-grandson of Törölchi.³⁶⁷

³⁶³ Bai Cuiqin, "Woyila guizu yu chengjisihanxi lianyin kaoshu", *Minzu yanjiu*, 1 (1984): 50.

³⁶⁴ YS 109:2762.

³⁶⁵ YS 37:810.

³⁶⁶ *Shiji*, vol. 1a:194. vol II, p. 366. "She (Hutuheita Khatun) lives in the yurt of Sorghaghtani-Beki, he (Arigh Böke) and she gave birth to a daughter named Qamty who has not been married. The other daughter was named Numugan. She was married to Chuban *küregen*." Junan and Chuban were probably the same person.

³⁶⁷ *The Successors*. 7:313.

(11) A princess married Tanggis (Tengjisi 騰吉思)

This princess was the daughter of Güyük Khan. Her name was not recorded in the *Yuanshi*. Tanggis Küregen was the chief of the Oirat tribe. According to Rashid Al-din, “Among the *güragan* commanders who are related to the chief of the Oyirat tribe, Qutuqa Beki, one was the Tanggiz *güragan* to whom Güyük Khan gave a daughter, and he served as a son-in-law. When Güyük Khan died and Möngke Khan became ruler, Güyük Khan’s family and some officers plotted a mutiny, but he had the officers executed. Tanggiz *güragan* was also accused, and he was so beaten that the flesh fell from his thighs. After that, the girl who was his wife asked for his life to be spared, and he was spared for her sake.”³⁶⁸

(12). Tödögach married Tanggis

Tödögach was the fourth daughter of Hülegü Khan. According to Rashid Al-din, she was initially married to Tanggis. After Tanggis died, she remarried his son Sulamish. Later she remarried Chechak, the son of Sulamish.³⁶⁹ However, the *Jāmi‘ al-Tawarikh* reads: “Hülegü Khan’s daughter Tödögach, who was married to Tanggis Küregen, is at this time married to his grandson Chechak *küregen*, and they have had children.”³⁷⁰ There is a discrepancy in the records of *Jāmi‘ al-Tawarikh*. It is hard to imagine that a woman could marry her great grandson and bear several sons to him. Bai Cuiqin also doubts this levirate marriage for the age span of four generations was simply too great.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ Rashid Al-din, *Jāmi‘ al-Tawarikh Compendium of Chronicles, A History of the Mongols*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Harvard University, pt. One, (1998): 56.

³⁶⁹ *Shiji*, vol. III:27.

³⁷⁰ Rashid Al-din, *Jāmi‘ al-Tawarikh Compendium of Chronicles, A History of the Mongols*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Harvard University, pt. One, (1998): 56.

³⁷¹ Bai Cuiqin, “Woyila guizu yu Chengjisihanxi lianyin kaoshu”, *Minzu yanjiu*, 1 (1984): 51.

(13) Mankku-lukan married Jaqir

Mankku-lukan was the third daughter of Hülegü Khan. Jaqir was the son of Buqa-Temür, and the grandson of Törölchi. He and his son Tarqai were both the Battalion Commanders (*qianhu zhang*) of the Oirat tribe. In 1253 his father Buqa-Temür commanded an Oirat troop to conquer Persia under the command of Hülegü. His two aunts, Öljei Khatun and Guyuk Khatun, married Hülegü. According to Rashid Al-din, Jaqir married Mankku-lukan, the third daughter of Hülegü Khan.³⁷² But in the accounts of the history of the Oirat tribe, Rashid Al-din offers a different version, saying that the princess was married to Jaqir's son. "Tarqai married Hülegü Khan's daughter Mankku-lukan. After she died, he married Mengü-Temür's daughter Ara-Khutluq."³⁷³ Since Jaqir was called *gurgen* (imperial son-in-law), he must have married a princess. It is also probable that this was a levirate marriage and Tarqai married his father's widow.

(14) Araqutluq married Tarqai

Araqutluq was the daughter of Möngke-Temür and the granddaughter of Hülegü. According to Rashid Al-din, Tarqai first married Mankku-lukan, the daughter of Hülegü, and then he married Araqutluq, the niece of Hülegü.³⁷⁴ But the biography of Hülegü Khan states that Mankku-lukan married Tarqai's father. Tarqai was the son-in-law of Mengü-Temür because he married Araqutluq. One possibility was that Tarqai first married his stepmother Mankku-lukan, and then married Araqutluq.

In the reign of Ghazan Khan in Persia, Tarqai led the Oirat troops to guard Bagda. But they rebelled and fled to Syria in 1296. According to D'Ohsson, "When Ghazan Khan's troop revolted and attempted to enthrone a new Khan, the Oirat army that was guarding Baghdad also rebelled and

³⁷² *Shij*, vol. III:26.

³⁷³ *Shij*, vol. 1a:196.

ran to Syria. Because their commander of the ten thousand households Tarqai *Gürge*n joined Bodu and attacked the Qihe tribe, Ghazan decided to kill him, and he ordered Mulai, the newly pointed commander at Diyar-Bieker to command troops to surround Tarqai, and dispatched eighty cavalymen to arrest the other Oirat high-ranking military officers. However, the Oirat people killed the envoys and the cavalymen. They then crossed the Efurat River and went westward to Syria for shelter. Mulai commanded his ten thousand troops to pursue the Oirat people, but many of his troops were killed by them. About eighteen thousand households from this tribe ran away.”³⁷⁵ Finally the Oirat troops were defeated and many were killed. “His (Tarqai’s) troops were captured and were distributed.”³⁷⁶ As refugee and pagans they were rejected by the local people and not allowed to enter any Syrian city, and many of them died. D’Ohsson writes, “Their children were pretty, and the local people liked them, therefore many generals, solders, and other people in Syria adopted their sons and married their daughters. As for their solders, they were distributed to Syrian military units. Later they became Muslims and they were no different from other people.”³⁷⁷

(15) Two princesses married Nauruz and Lakzi

Nauruz and Lakzi were the sons of Arghun-aqa, who was the emir of the Oirat tribe. He was of a very low class family background. Initially he was a member of *keshik* in Ögödei Khan’s *ordu*. Later he was promoted to the high position of Basqaq, governing the whole territory of Iran. “His sons Nauruz and Lakzi married the women of Chinggis Khan’s family.”³⁷⁸ But the names and origins of these women are unknown.

³⁷⁴ *Shiji*, vol. 1a:196.

³⁷⁵ D’Ohsson, Constantin d’, baron, *Historie des Mongols, Duosang Menggushi* 多桑蒙古史, trans, Feng Chengjun. Taibei, Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1963, vol. II, Ch. 6, p. 56-57.

³⁷⁶ *Shiji*, vol. 1a:196.

3. OIRAT WOMEN MARRIED INTO THE CHINGGISID CLAN

Although the Oirat tribe did not enjoy the special honor given to the Onggirat tribe, still approximately eleven Oirat women married Mongol Khans or princes. The following record discusses these marriages.

1. Oghul Ghaimish married Möngke Khan (or Güyük Khan?)

The records of Oghul Ghaimish are controversial. Bai Cuiqin's studies reveals three different views. One is represented by Rashid al-Din. He recorded the existence of two Oghul Ghaimishs. One was the daughter of Khudugha Beki, the chief of the Oirat tribe. She was married to Möngke Khan. The other was from the Merkit tribe. She was the empress of Güyük. Rashid Al-din informs us that the chief of the Oirat tribe Khudugha Beki had two sons, Inalchi and Törölchi, and a daughter named Agul-quimish, who was married to Möngke Khan. Initially Chinggis Khan intentioned to marry her, but the marriage never occurred.³⁷⁹ Rashid al-Din holds that although she was the sister-in-law of Khubilai Khan and Hülegü Khan, she always called them her sons, while they showed much respect toward her.³⁸⁰ However, in the basic annals of Möngke Khan, Rashid differently states that Möngke Khan also had a principal wife from the Oirat tribe, whose name was Oghul-Qoimish, she was the sister of Öljei Khatun.³⁸¹ This woman was very talented. Initially she was betrothed to Tolui, so she called her husband's brothers, Khublilai Khan and Hülegü Khan, as

³⁷⁷ D'Ohsson, Constantin d', baron, *Historie des Mongols, Duosang Menggushi* 多桑蒙古史, (trans.) Feng Chengjun, vol. II, Chapter 6, p. 56-57.

³⁷⁸ *Shiji*, vol. 1a:198.

³⁷⁹ *The Successors*, 6:198. Also see *Shiji* 史集, vol. II, p. 233.

³⁸⁰ *Shiji*, vol. I:194.

³⁸¹ According to Boyle, "Öljei Khatun, one of the wives of Hülegü, was actually Oghul-Qoimish's grand-niece." See Khetagurov, p. 119 and *The Successors*. 6:198, fn.11.

her sons. They all respected her. She did not have sons, but two daughters.³⁸² Although the transliterations of the names are slightly different in these two places in Rashid Al-din's book, there is no doubt that they refer to the same person. The only difference is that according to the "Tribal Histories" in *Jami'al-Tawarikh*, Chinggis Khan originally intended to marry her, but eventually she was married to Möngke Khan. According to the basic annals of Möngke Khan, however, she was betrothed to Tolui initially and later married Möngke Khan instead. That was why she called Khubilai and Hülegü her children. In addition, she was not the sister of Öljei Khatun. Rather, she was the aunt of Öljei Khatun. Rashid Al-din also mentioned in the account of the Merkit Tribe, "Agul-quimish Khatun was the first wife of Güyük Khan. She bore two sons to him, Khuajeh and Naqu."³⁸³

Another opinion is represented by D'Ohsson's *Mongolian History*, Tu Ji's *Mengwuer Shiji* and Hong Jun's *Yuanshi Yiwen Zheng Bu*. All these historians believed that there was only one woman called Oghul Ghaimish and that she was the daughter of Khudugha Beki of the Oirat tribe, and the empress of Güyük Khan. D'Ohsson writes, "Oghul Ghaimish was the wife of the highest Status among Güyük's wives. She was the daughter of Khudugha Beki, the chief of the Oirat tribe."³⁸⁴

Ke Shaomin in his *Xin Yuanshi* provides a third opinion. He unifies two opinions and contends that there were two different persons named Wowuli-haimishi 斡兀里海迷失 (Oghul Ghaimish) among Güyük's empresses. "The empress Qinshu of Dingzong, Mrs. Wowuli, whose given name was Haimishi, and whose courtesy name was San Huanghou (the third empress), acted as an regent in the imperial court for four years, and did not give up power until Xianzong ascended the throne. Two years later she was found guilty of committing imprecation together with the imperial

³⁸² *Shiji*, vol. II:233. In the YS-Houfei biao, under the name of Xianzong (Möngke Khan), there is no name similar to Oghul Ghaimish. But under the name of Dingzong (Güyük Khan), there is a record of Oghul Ghaimish (Wowuli-Haimishi).

³⁸³ *Shiji*, vol. 1a:189.

grandson Shiliemen (Shiremūn). Shiliemen was banished to Muchituo, and the empress was put to death. In the third year of Zhiyuan (1266), she was posthumously conferred a respectful title and her memorial tablet was placed in the temple of Dingzong. When Dingzong was still a prince, his original wife was called Wowur-heimishi 斡兀儿黑迷失, who was from the Merkit tribe. Her date of death is unknown.”³⁸⁵ Although Ke Shaomin changed the Chinese characters, the pronunciations are nearly the same and clearly they are of the same person. It is unclear whether Ke had a strong reason for doing this.

The History of the World Conqueror provided the reader with details about how Oghul Ghaimish acted as a regent and how she was killed. But it did not tell us of her family background.³⁸⁶ Neither the “*Houfei zhuan*” nor the “*Houfei biao*” in the *Yuanshi* mentions her family background.³⁸⁷

The background of Oghul Ghaimish remains a mystery. If we can trust the scholarship of Rashid Al-din, then there existed two Oghul Ghaimishs. One was the wife of Güyük Khan, and the other was the wife of Möngke Khan. One possibility may lay in that Möngke Khan took the empress of Güyük, Oghul Ghaimish, as his wife. However, considering the relationship between Güyük’s widow Oghul Ghaimish and Möngke, this explanation seems implausible. Oghul Ghaimish protested strongly when Möngke tried to ascend the throne. Therefore, they were clearly enemies. Möngke Khan once condemned her as “viler than a dog?”³⁸⁸ The records in the *Yuanshi* indicate that she was killed by Möngke Khan.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁴ D’Ohsson, *Duosang Menggu shi* 多桑蒙古史, tr. Feng Chengjun, vol. 1:249.

³⁸⁵ YYS 104:482-3.

³⁸⁶ *World Conqueror*, Part One, XXXVII, pp. 262-66. *Shijie zhengfuzhe shi* 世界征服者史, tr. He Gaoji, Nei Menggu Renmin Chubanshe, pp. 309-313, 690-693.

³⁸⁷ *Yuanshi* has a very short biography of about forty Chinese characters for Wowuli-haimishi, in which there are three mistakes, it indicates that the author of *Yuanshi* was very ignorant about this woman.

³⁸⁸ William of Rubruk, *The Journey of William of Rubruk to the Eastern Parts*, 1253-55. (Rockhill, 249-50) *Lubuluke dongxing ji* 魯布魯克東行紀, tr. He Gaoji, Zhonghua Shuju, (1985): 310.

³⁸⁹ YS 3:45. See the basic annals of Möngke Khan.

The clan of Khudugha Beiki maintained a constant marriage relationship with the clan of Tolui. This trend may have started from Oghul Ghaimish. The nephew of Khudugha Beki, Balituo, erected a monument to commemorate the birthday of Möngke Khan, indicating that they had a special relationship.

(2) Ailjiqmish married Arigh Böke

Ailjiqmish was the daughter of Törölchi. According to Rashid Al-din, she was the senior wife of Arigh Böke. She was Tuolei's favorite wife, but she did not give birth to any children.³⁹⁰

(3) Orqina (Aurgneh) married Qara-Hülegü (remarried to Alghu)

Orqina was the daughter of Törölchi and Chinggis Khan's daughter Checheyigen. Rashid Al-din states "Orqina Khatun married Qara-Hülegü, the son of Muatugan, the grandson of Chaghatai. Mubarak-Shak was born by this Orqina Khatun. Ögödei (? Chaghatai) liked her and called her Orqina *Bieli*, which means daughter-in-law. She had managed Chaghatai's *ulus* for a long time."³⁹¹ According to the *History of the World Conqueror*, after Chaghatai died, Qara-Hülegü acted as regent. In 1246 Güyük replaced him with Yesü-Möngke, the fifth son of Chaghatai, with the excuse that a grandson should not ascend the throne while a son was still alive.³⁹² However, Yesü-Möngke later joined Shiremün to challenge Möngke Khan's claim for the throne, therefore, when Möngke Khan ascended the throne, he ordered Qara-Hülegü to rid Yesü-Möngke of his power. But Qara-Hülegü died on his way to the Chaghatai *ulus*. Because his son Mubarak-Shak was still young,

³⁹⁰ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:194-95. But Rashid Al-din also offers another record that Buqa-Temür had four sisters. They were Kubak, Aurgneh, Öljei and Köchü. Among them there was no name of Ailjiqmish.

³⁹¹ *Shiji*, vol. 1a:119. Ögödei was obviously a mistake for Chahatei.

³⁹² *World Conqueror*, vol. I:273.

Möngke Khan ordered Orqina to act as regent, and ordered Yesü-Möngke to be put to death.³⁹³ She ruled the Chaghatai *ulus* for ten years.

In 1260, a struggle for the throne occurred between Arigh Böke and Khubilai. Both of them realized the strategic political-military importance of central Asia and tried to control it. Khubilai sent Abishqa, the eldest son of Būri,³⁹⁴ to return to the Chaghatai *ulus* to marry Orqina Khatun and to rule the *ulus* of Chaghatai, in place of Qara-Hülegü. But on his way he was caught by Arigh Böke and later was put to death.³⁹⁵ At the same time, Arigh Böke appointed Alghu, the son of Baidar, the sixth son of Chaghatai, as ruler of the *ulus* of Chaghatai. The latter successfully seized the state power from Orqina Khatun. Orqina went to Arigh Böke and stayed there for a while. Soon Alghu killed the envoys of Arigh Böke who levied large amounts of cattle and money in his *ulus* and rebelled against Arigh Böke. In 1262, Arigh Böke dispatched troops to attack him. In Alimali 阿力麻里 his troops killed many people and seized goods, and therefore lost the support of the local people. Even his own troops ran away from him. Afraid of the sudden attack from Alghu, Arigh Böke sent Orqina Khatun to Alghu to negotiate peace. Alghu then took Orqina Khatun as his wife. Alghu died in 1266. Orqina Khatun, having all the emirs and army under her command, installed her son Mubarak-Shak, the eldest son of Qara-Hülegü, as ruler. Soon after Khubilai Khan sent Paraq, the son of Yesün-To'a and the nephew of Qara-Hülegü, to the *ulus* of Chaghatai in order to jointly govern the state. But Barak deposed Mubarak-Shak and became the absolute ruler of the *ulus*. In 1270 Parak died, and Mubarak-Shak recaptured the throne.³⁹⁶

³⁹³ *World Conqueror*, Part Two, II:322-323. *Shiji* 史集, vol. 2:90-98, 159-168.

³⁹⁴ Būri was the elder brother of Qara-Hülegü's.

³⁹⁵ *The Successors*, 3:138-39, 150.

³⁹⁶ *The Successors*, 3:150-51; *Shiji*, vol. II:305-6.

(4) Kubak married Hülegü Khan

Kubak was the daughter of Törölchi and the sister of Buqa-Temür. According to Rashid Al-din, “Kubak Khatun was Hülegü’s first wife, the mother of Jumqur.”³⁹⁷ The biography of Hülegü Khan also mentions that Kubak was born by Checheyigen, the daughter of Chinggis Khan.³⁹⁸

(5) Öljei (Aulljai) Hülegü (remarried Abaha)

Öljei Khatun was the daughter of Törölchi, the sister of Guyuk. She married Hülegü and gave birth to one son named Möngke-Temür and two daughters named Mankku-lukan and Qimishi. After Hülegü died, Abaqa took her as a wife. When Abaqa died, she initially intended to set up her son Möngke-Temür as Khan. But Möngke-Temür died, and helped Arghun, the son of Abaqa, to become Khan.³⁹⁹

(6) Quchu married Toqoqan (Tuqan)

Quchu Khatun was the daughter of Törölchi. She married the second son of Batu. In the account of the history of the Oirat tribe, Rashid Al-din says that Törölchi’s other daughter’s name was unknown. She was married to Tuqan in Batu’s honorable clan and gave to birth to Möngke-Temür. However, in the biography of Jochi her name was given, “Third son of Toqoqan---Töde-Möngke. His mother and Möngke-Temür’s was Köchü Khatun, the sister of Öljei Khatun and the daughter of Buqa-Temür of the Oirat people.”⁴⁰⁰ Her two sons were the Khans of Qipchaq, who ruled consecutively from 1266 to 1290.

³⁹⁷ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:195.

³⁹⁸ *Shiji* 史集, vol. III:20.

³⁹⁹ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:194; D'Ohsson, *Duosang Menggu shi*, tr. Feng Chengchun, vol. II:146, 189.

⁴⁰⁰ *The Successors*, 2:109-11.

(7) Emegen married Melik-Temür

Emegan was the daughter of Pars-buqa. According to Rashid al-Din, she married Melik-Temür, the second son of Arigh Böke. Among the six sons of Melik-Temür, four were born by this woman. They were Mingqan, Ajīqī, Yesū-To'a, and Baritai.⁴⁰¹

(8) Nulun married Jumgur (remarried Tekshin)

Nulun was the daughter of Buqa-Temür (son of Törölchi). According to Rashid Al-Din, Nulun Khatun married Hülegü Khan's second son Jumgur and was his senior wife. Her daughter Urgudaq was married to Shadi, the son of Sunjaq-aqa.⁴⁰² According to the biography of Hülegü Khan, after Jumgur died, Nulun remarried Tekshin, the fourth son of Hülegü Khan and gave birth to a girl named Yesün.⁴⁰³

(9) Auljatai married Möngke-Temür (remarried Barchi)

Auljatai was the daughter of Buqa-Temür, the nephew of Öljei (Aulja) Khatun, the mother of Möngke-Temür. According to the history of the Oirat tribe and the biography of Hülegü Khan, Auljatai initially married Möngke-Temür, and gave birth to two daughters. After Möngke-Temür died, she was taken by Barchi, the son of Möngke-Temür, and she gave birth to a daughter named Quruqtai. The latter married Alapu, the son of Samuqur.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰¹ *The Successors*, 7: p. 313.

⁴⁰² *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:197.

⁴⁰³ *Shiji*, vol III:22-23.

⁴⁰⁴ *Shiji*, vol. 1a:197; vol III: 21.

(10) Qutluq and Öljei married Arghun Khan

Qutluq was the daughter of Tanggis *gurgan*. Her mother was the daughter of Güyük Khan. She married Arghun, the fourth Il-Khan of Persia (1284-1291).⁴⁰⁵ Öljei was the granddaughter of Tanggis *küregen*, the daughter of Sulamish and Tudakaj Khatun. Öljei married Arghun Khan when her aunt, Qutluq, had died.⁴⁰⁶

In summary, there existed sixteen princesses of the Chinggisid clan who married into the Oirat tribe. Among them were the daughters of Chinggis Khan, Jochi Khan, Tolui, Güyük Khan; Hülegü Khan, Arigh Böke, and Khubilai Khan. In total there were eleven women from the Oirat tribe who were married into the Chinggisid clan. The daughter of Khudugha Beki married either Möngke Khan or Güyük Khan. The five daughters of Törölchi married Arigh Böke, Hülegü, Qara-Hülegü (the grandson of Chaghatai), and Toqoqan (the grandson of Jochi). One must state that these statistics are most probably incomplete since they are merely based on current known information. On the other hand, some marriages were not recorded in historical books. Therefore the actual number of marriages should be much higher.

There are some distinct characteristics in the marriages between the Oirat tribe and the Chinggisid clan. One is the marriage of cousinship. For example this occurred when Checheyigen married her daughter to her nephew Hülegü and Öljei Khatun married her daughter to her nephew Jaqir. Under this arrangement, an aunt and a niece became mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, two sisters became sisters-in-law, or they married the same man. This is a typical “consanguineous marriage”. The purpose of this type of marriage was obviously established in order to form a closer relationship between the two clans. Another type of marriage is the “levirate marriage”.

⁴⁰⁵ *Shiji*, vol. 1a:196. vol. III:186.

TABLE 7 Oirat Women married into the Chinggisid clan

Name	Husband	Father-mother
Oghul Ghaimish 斡兀里海迷失	Möngke Khan	Khudugha Beki 忽都合别乞 (chief of Oirat tribe)
? Oghul Ghaimish	? Güyük Khan	?
Ailiqmish	Arigh Bōke 阿里不哥 (the youngest son of Tolui)	Törölchi. 脱劣勒赤 (eldest son of Khudugha Beki) or Inalchi
Orqīna/Aūrgneh 斡儿吉納 (daughter of Checheyigen)	Qara- Hülegü 合剌旭烈兀 (Son of Muatugan and Grandson of Chaghatai Khan)	Törölchi
Kubak 古巴克 (mother of Jumgur)	Hülegü Khan 旭烈兀 (IL-Khan, fifth son of Tolui)	Törölchi
Oljei /Auljai 完者 (sister of Kubak, mother of Möngke-Temūr, remarried Abaha)	Hülegü Khan	Törölchi
Khuchu 忽出 (mother of Möngke-Temūr)	Toqoqan/Tuqan 秃罕 (second son of Batu)	Törölchi
Emegen 額木干	Melik-Temūr 明理帖木儿 (second son of Arigh Bōke)	Pars-buqa 巴儿思不花 (third son of Törölchi)
Nulun 那倫 (cousin of Jumgur, remarried Tekshin)	Jumgur 出木哈儿 (second son of Hülegü Khan)	Buqa-Temūr 不花帖木儿 (son of Törölchi)
Auljatai 完者臺 (cousin of Möngke-Temūr remarried Barchi)	Möngke-Temūr 蒙哥帖木儿 (son of Hülegü Khan)	Buqa-Temūr,
Khutlq 忽都魯 (Daughter of Güyük Khan's daughter)	Arghun 阿魯渾 (Il-Khan of Persia, r.1284-1291)	Tankkiz 騰吉思 (chief of Oirat tribe)
Oljei 完者 (granddaughter of Tenggis)	Arghun	Sulamish 速剌迷失

Table 8 Princesses of the Chinggisid clan Married into the Oirat tribe

Princess	Husband	Father
Checheyigen 扯扯亦干 (second daughter of Chinggis Khan)	Törölchi 脱劣勒赤 (Eldest son of Khudugha Beki) or Inalchi 亦納勒赤 (Second son of Khudugha Beki)	Chinggis Khan
Holuiqan/Huolu 火魯	Inalchi 亦納勒赤	Jochi 術赤 (first son of Chinggis Khan)
Tuotuohui 脱脱灰 (Granddaughter of Khubilai Khan)	Tumandar 秃滿答儿	?
Yixiji 一悉基	? Burtua [Palituo 八里托] (Grandson of Khudugha Beki)	?

⁴⁰⁶ *Shiji*, vol. III:186.

Ile-Temūr (Yanti-temur) 燕帖木儿 (Daughter of Lingqun 领昆 Khatun)	Pars-buqa 巴儿思不花 (Third son of Törölchi)	Tolui 拖雷 (youngest son of Chinggis Khan)
??	Biklamish/Bielimishi 别里迷失 (Great grandson of Khudugha Beki, the son of Parsbuqa)	??
??	Shirap/Shalan 沙兰 (Son of Parsbuqa)	??
?? (Princess of Yan'an 延安)	Yebugan 也不干 (Prince of Yan'an 延安)	??
Numugan (Daughter of Hutukheita Khatun)	Junan (Eldest son of Buqa-Temūr, the son of Törölchi)	Arigh Böke 阿里不哥 (The youngest son of Tolui)
Emegen	Toq-Temūr (Grandson of Pars-buqa and great- grandson of Törölchi)	Melik-Temūr 明理帖木儿 (Second son of Arigh Böke)
??	Tanggis/Tengjisi 腾吉思 (Chief of Oirat tribe)	Güyük Khan 贵由 (son of Ögödei Khan)
Tödögach (After Tanggis died, remarried his son Sulamish. Then remarried Chechak, the son of Sulamish)	Tanggis/ Sulamish/ Chechak	Hülegü Khan 旭烈兀 (IL-Khan, fifth son of Tolui)
Mankku-lukan	Jaqir (Son of Buqa-Temūr and the grandson of Törölchi)	Hülegü Khan
Araqutluq	Tarqai	Möngke-Temūr
??	Nauruz (Son of Arghun-aqa)	??
??	Lakzi (Son of Arghun-aqa)	??

Marriage List V Mongol Royal Family → Oirat tribe

1. Möngke Khan ... (1) Oghul Ghaimish
2. Arigh Böke ... (2) Ailiqmish
3. Qara-Hülegü ... (3) Orqina/Aürgneh
4. Hülegü ... (4) Kubak (5) Öljei
5. Toqoqan ... (6) Khuchu
6. Melik-Temūr ... (7) Emegen
7. Jumgur ... (8) Nulun
8. Möngke-Temūr ... (9) Auljatai
9. Arghun ... (10) Khutlq (11) Öljei

Marriage List VI Oirat Tribe → Mongol Royal Family

1. Törölchi ... (1) Checheyigen
2. Inalchi ... (2) Holuiqan
3. Tumandar ... (3) Tuotuohui
4. Burtua ... (4) Yixiji

5. Pars-buqa... ..(5) Ile-Temür
6. Biklamish... ..(6) ?
7. Shirap... ..(7) ?
8. Yebugan... ..(8) ?
9. Junan... ..(9) Numugan
10. Toq-Temür... ..(10) Emegen
11. Tanggis... ..(11)? (12) Tödögach
12. Jaqir... ..(13) Mankku-lukan
13. Tarqai... ..(14) Araqutluq
14. Nauruz... ..(15) ?
15. Lakzi... ..(16) ?

4. DISCUSSION

As previously mentioned, the marriage relationships between the Chinggisid clan and the Oirat noblemen were motivated by political interests of the Mongol royal family. When Chinggis Khan initiated this relationship by sending his own daughter, Checheyigen, and his granddaughter, Holuiqan, to the Oirat tribe, his purpose was very clear. He was using his own daughters as his political agents to control this tribe. This was revealed by an imperial edict issued to Checheyigen.

The *Altan Tobci* reads:

Chinggis Khan married Checheyigen Aghai ⁴⁰⁷ to Inalchi of the Oirat tribe. When the wedding was going on, he ordered the nobleman (*noyan*) Boworchu 李幹儿出 to give instructions [to Checheyigen]. Boworrchu said, "Listen, Checheyigen Aghai! Because you are the daughter of your Khan father, you are being sent to govern the Oirat people. You are going to pitch a tent there. You should get up early and go to sleep late! Do not act as a stranger in your mother-in-law's family! Day and night, you should be circumspect all the time. Your words must show your wisdom. You must keep yourself chaste. Leave the things that you have not mastered home, and bring all the things you have mastered with you. You should organize the people of Oirat and control them!" ⁴⁰⁸

By taking advantage of the strength and influence of the Oirat tribe, Chinggis Khan was able to successfully conquer the "people in the forest." The geographic position that the Oirat tribe occupied was very critical to the Mongol Empire. Thus, during the later political struggles, the

⁴⁰⁷ According Sechin Jagchid, "Aghai" was an honorific title for the girls of noble family in Mongolian society. It also means "baby" in Mongolian language. See Sechin Jagchid, *Menggu huangjin shi yizhu* (1979): 43.

descendants of Chinggis Khan all tried to win over the Oirat noblemen by marriage relationships to receive support from them. This resulted in the break-up of the Oirat tribe. In the ensuing political struggles of the imperial clan, one part of the Oirat people joined the rebellions of the northwest princes against the Yuan court. However, another part of the Oirat people supported the Yuan court to pacify the rebellions of the northwest princes. Therefore it was always viewed that the Oirat troops fought against each other in campaigns because they belonged to different parties within the internal struggles of the Mongol royal family. According to the basic annals of Khubilai Khan in the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in 1261 a decisive battle was fought between Arigh Böke's army and Khubilai Khan's army at the Shimultai lake. As a result, Arigh Böke's army was defeated and many Oirat soldiers were killed by the troops of Khubilai Khan.⁴⁰⁹ In the biography of Shuchitai in the *Yuanshi*, the troops of Arigh Böke were called "Oirat troops" during the "battle of Shimultai". This suggests that the main military strength of Arigh Böke relied on in his rebellion was from the Oirat tribe.⁴¹⁰

The Mongol royal family maintained a constant marriage relationship with the Oirat nobles, and granted their descendants official titles and territories. In return they also made great contributions to the Mongol empire. Many of them held important positions in the Mongol court, including Khudugha Beki, Törölchi's son Burtua (Balituo), Burtua's son Wuluhei-hexin, Törölchi's grandsons (Barsbuqa's sons) Shirap and Biklamish (*chn.* Bieqilimishi), and Yebugan, Prince of Yan'an. For instance, Biklamish participated in the campaigns led by Boyan conquering the Southern Song and was active in the campaigns against the Mongol princes' rebellions.

On the other hand, the Oirat nobles were also very active in seeking such political marriage relationships with the Mongol imperial clan. It was an important device to enhance their political

⁴⁰⁸ Sechin Jagchid (Zhaqi-Siqin), *Menggu huangjin shi yizhu* (1979): p. 44.

⁴⁰⁹ *The Successors*, 7: 256.

status and economic interests. Their marriage relationships with the descendants of Chinggis Khan continued even after the destruction of the Yuan dynasty.

For example, when the Mongol Anda 俺答 Khan launched the westward expedition, he married the Oirat woman Zhongjin 鐘金 who was the daughter of the Oirat noble Qilagute-zheheng ahe. He “followed the example of Chinggis Khan by marrying Holuiqan and Chichigan to Inalchi and Törölchi, making them become *Küregens*. Yaomen' 佉門 son Anta married his two daughters Manzhuxili 滿珠錫里 and Songbur 松布儿 to Bokedai 伯克岱 and the chancellor Oge 額格, and made them become his *Küregens*.”⁴¹¹ When Tuohuan was unifying the Mongol territories, he married his daughter Nuwen-Dashili 努溫答失里 to Buda-shili 卜答失里, Prince of Zhongshun, to control the Hami area. Beginning in 1460, when her son Buliege 卜列革 died, Nuwen-Dashili acted as regent for 22 years. The Oirat nobles also maintained a marriage relationship with the descendants of Chaghatai. They tried very hard to establish a marriage relationship with the rulers of the Chijin 赤斤 Mongol.⁴¹²

Another typical example is the Oirat attack on the Ming in the early Ming dynasty, which was called the “Incident of Tumu Port”. In the Tumu battle, two hundred thousand Mongol mounted troops under the command of Esen defeated half-a-million Ming troops. Many scholars have studied the economic motivation for the Oirat invasion of China in 1449. They have shown that the Oirat ruler Esen (Yexian 也先) was concerned about the Chinese mistreatment of his envoys and the inadequate, even worthless, gifts and payments offered him in return for his tribute. However, the basic factor that instigated the war between the Chinese and the Oirats was a proposed marriage. Several Chinese books, including the Mingchao Jishi Benmo 明朝紀事本末, reports that the Ming ambassadors to Mongolia, without any authorization, assured him that his son could marry a

⁴¹⁰ YS 120:2963.

⁴¹¹ *Anda Khan Zhuan*. p. 12-13. Quoted in Bai Cuiqin.

Chinese princess. In 1449, when Esen sent the marriage ritual presents for the forthcoming marriage, however, the Ming court, totally ignorant of Esen's discussion with the ambassadors, abruptly rejected the proposed betrothal. Esen was so angry that he gathered his troops for an invasion of China.⁴¹³

Morris Rossabi offers a different explanation for Esen's attack on Ming China.⁴¹⁴ He believes that it is more likely that Esen used a marriage proposal for his own purposes and advantage. As we have seen above, marital alliances were one of his favorite devices and an integral part of his foreign policy. By the late 1430s, he had his older sister marry his superior, the Mongol Khan Toyto-buqa. Thus he buttressed his own position and at the same time gave himself the aura of belonging to the Mongol ruling family. He presented another one of his sisters to Dawadasiri, the prince of Hami. Again he hoped to exert influence on that important oasis on the road from China to Central Asia and the Near East. However, in 1452 an open battle occurred between Esen and Toyto-buqa Khan because the latter did not designate the son born by Esen's sister as the crown prince. Esen defeated Toyto-buqa and proclaimed himself Great Khan of Yuan.⁴¹⁵ He also twice needed to send punitive expeditions to Hami, so that it would follow his leadership. In 1443 he dispatched envoys to propose a marital alliance with Shazhou and Chijien, two strategic Mongol Guards on China's northwest border. But these chiefs procrastinated and finally rejected his proposal. At approximately the same time he himself married the daughter of the chief of the Taining Guard, one of the Uriyangqad settlements on China's northeastern frontier. Thus he sealed an alliance with these tribes, who incidentally served as his spies in China.

⁴¹²Bai Cuiqin, "Woyila guizu yu Chengjisihanxi lianyin kaoshu". *Minzu yanjiu*, 1 (1984): 49.

⁴¹³*Ming Yingzong shilu*, juan 174. See Aodeng 敖登, "Lun Yexian Han" 论也先汗, in *Menggushi wenji*, Neimenggu Jiaoyu Chubanshe. (1992): 22.

⁴¹⁴Morris Rossabi, "Notes on Esen's Pride and Ming China's Prejudice", *The Mongolia Society Bulletin*, Bloomington, Indiana. vol. IX, Fall 2(1979): 31-36.

⁴¹⁵See Aodeng, "Lun Yexian Han", *Menggushi wenji*, Neimenggu Jiaoyu Chubanshe. (1992): 32.

In summary, Esen apparently used the marital agreement to attract other states or tribes before attacking them. Taking into account his previous foreign policy, Rossabi states, it seems likely that he wished to form a marital alliance with China. But the Court envoys, or perhaps the interpreters, probably informed him that the Court would never agree. Nevertheless, he dispatched an embassy with gifts for the “impending marriage.”⁴¹⁶ If the Court permitted the marriage, not only would Esen’s prestige among the peoples of Mongolia and Central Asia had increased, but also he would have exerted influence on the Chinese border areas. If, on the other hand, the Court would have rejected the proposal, he would have had a convenient excuse for an invasion of China.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁶ Morris Rossabi, “Notes on Esen’s Pride and Ming China’s Prejudice”, *The Mongolia Society Bulletin*, Bloomington, Indiana. vol. IX, Fall 2 (1979): 31-36.

⁴¹⁷ Morris Rossabi, “Notes on Esen’s Pride and Ming China’s Prejudice”.

CHAPTER SIX

“One-way Marriage”: Royal Marriages between the Mongol Yuan and Koryŏ (Korea)

The marriage relationship between the Mongol Yuan imperial family and the Koryŏ royal family in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was unique. It lasted for almost a century, and among the seven Koryŏ kings from Loyal and Stern King (King Ch'ungyŏl 忠烈王) Wang Sim 王諱 (1275-1308) to the Respectful and Pitiful King (King Kongmin 恭愍王 1352-1374) Wang Ki 王祺, five of them married eight princesses of the Mongol Yuan court.⁴¹⁸ Because of the marriage relationship with the Mongol Yuan imperial family, the Koryŏ court received special treatment from the Mongols which was deemed to be “unique among all the states.”⁴¹⁹ The original Koryŏ political organizations and institutions were maintained: the Koryŏ kings retained the authority to set up their own governmental structures, to appoint officials, and to exercise laws. Taxes collected were not sent to the Yuan capital but were for the consumption of the Koryŏ government. The Yuan court only assigned some senior officials (Mo. *Darughachi*) for periods of time to Korea as supervisors. Rashid Al-din states that Korea was a province in name but was actually a separate state in the Yuan dynasty.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁸ They were King Ch'ungyŏl Wang Sim, the Loyal and Mighty Prince (King Ch'ungsŏn 忠宣王) Wang Wŏn 王源 (1309-1313), the Loyal and Decorous Prince (King Ch'ungsug 忠肅王) Wang To 王焄 (1314-1330), the Loyal and Compassionate Prince (King Ch'unghye 忠惠王) Wang Chŏn 王禎 (1331-1332), and the Respectful and Pitiful Prince Wang Ki 王祺. The Prince of Sim (Sim Wang 沈王) Wang Sung 王嵩 also married a princess of the Yuan court. Although he was not a crown prince, his position was equal to that of the crown prince. Therefore he had the right to marry a Mongol princess.

⁴¹⁹ Yao Sui, *Mu'an Ji* 牧庵集, juan 3, “Gaoli shen wang shi xu” 高麗神王詩序. Taiwan, Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975.

⁴²⁰ *The Successors*, 7: 282, “Third—the *shing* (Chinese *sheng* 省, province) of Goli (Koryŏ 高麗) and ____, which is a separate kingdom. Their ruler is called *yang* (Chinese *wang* 王, prince/king). Qubilai Qa'an gave him his daughter in marriage. His son is one of the Qa'an's intimates, but he is not *yang* there.”

This chapter will argue that imperial marriage was employed as a means by both the Mongols and the Koreans to secure their own political and military interests.

1. HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIPS AND THEIR IMPACT ON YUAN-KORYŎ RELATIONS

The Mongol princesses were the de facto representatives of the Yuan court. Therefore the relationship between the Mongol princesses and the Koryŏ kings had a great impact on the relationship between the two courts. If the relationship between husbands and wives was harmonious, or if the Mongol princesses were able to effectively control the Koryŏ kings and the Koryŏ government, and if the Koryŏ kings were willing to accept this kind of control, then the relationship between the Mongol Yuan court and the Koryŏ court tended to be stable and harmonious. Otherwise, if the relationship between a particular Mongol princess and a Koryŏ king worsened, or if the Mongol princesses were unable to control the Koryŏ kings, or if the Koryŏ kings did not respect the Mongol princesses or tried to cast off the control of the Mongol princesses, then the Koryŏ court would lose the trust of the Yuan court. The Yuan court did not hesitate on one occasion to dethrone a Koryŏ king and replace him with a man who was docile and obedient to the Yuan court.

King Ch'ungyŏl 忠烈王 (r. 1275-1308) was the first to marry a Mongol princess. He was loyal and devoted to the Yuan court, and worked very hard to improve relations with the Mongol Yuan. At the same time he grasped every opportunity to fight for the interest of his state and people. Therefore he was trusted by the Yuan court and was loved by the Korean people.

However, the son of King Ch'ungyŏl, Wang Wŏn 王諫 (later King Ch'ungsŏn 忠宣王), apparently did not follow the example of his father. He was born of the Mongol princess, Khudulu Khaimish, the daughter of Khubilai Khan. The King Ch'ungyŏl abdicated and handed over the crown to him in the first month of 1298 (the 24th year of the reign of King Ch'ungyŏl).⁴²¹ He must have hoped him to form a closer relationship with the Mongols and to better protect the interests of Korea. The Mongol court must have believed that as a man of half Mongolian blood, Wang Wŏn would be loyal and obedient to the Mongol court and easy to control. Neither of them expected that this Koryŏ king would not love the Mongolian princess chosen to be his wife, but he refused to make love with her. The Korean historians truthfully recorded, "It was said that since the King married the Mongolian princess, he did not do his duty well as a husband. But other concubines slept with the King and became pregnant, which aroused jealousy." ⁴²² The "arrogant" Mongol princess refused to tolerate such neglect, and her first reaction was to pick quarrels and to stir up trouble for the Koryŏ king. She also sent messengers to the Yuan court, trying to use the Yuan court to compel the Koryŏ king to submit to her control, but she seemed unable to understand that she could not win the love of the Koryŏ king by force.

The Empress Dowager of the Yuan finally sent an envoy to persuade the Koryŏ king to mend his relationship with the princess, but the Koryŏ king was not moved. Because of jealousy mingled with shame, the princess was determined to have revenge and did so by conducting loose sexual relationships with other officials in the Koryŏ court. In the beginning the abdicated Koryŏ king tried to help this couple to improve their relationship, but since all efforts failed, and he knew that the princess had become loose in morals, he decided to appeal to the Yuan court to remarry the princess

⁴²¹ KRS, I. 31:642-3. Jin Weixian, ed. *Gaoli shi zhong Zhong Han guanxi shiliao huibian*, p. 620. When King Ch'ungyŏl abdicated, the Yuan court granted him the title of "King of Pleasure and Longevity" (*Yishou Wang* 逸壽王).

⁴²² KRS, III, 89:26-27.

to someone else. It was understandable for him to do so. He must have worried about the behavior of the princess bringing disgrace to his family; and, if the princess were to bear illegitimate children, the Koryŏ court would face a difficult situation. The risk was that the Koryŏ throne might be taken by an outsider because the son born of the Mongol princess had the priority to succeed to the Koryŏ throne.⁴²³ To avoid this awkward situation, the best choice would be getting rid of this princess by remarrying her to another person. In suggesting this, he was also taking a great risk to offend the Yuan court because remarrying the princess meant to reduce her position in the Koryŏ court, which would not only humiliate the Yuan court, but also greatly damage its marriage strategy. Therefore, although the Yuan court did not receive a formal appeal from the Koryŏ court, it still decided to depose Wang Wŏn, and restore his father in the eighth month of 1298.⁴²⁴

King Ch'ungsŏn 忠宣王 (r. 1298, 1309-1313) married two Mongol women. One was the Mongol princess Botasirin; the other was Yesujin. Yesujin was not a princess and is called “a Mongol woman” by Korean historians. But she gave birth to a son, therefore she was posthumously entitled “virtuous concubine” (Ŭibi 懿妃). It is not clear when she married King Ch'ungsŏn, but she died in 1316 in the Yuan court.⁴²⁵

The king Ch'ungsug 忠肅王 (r. 1314-1338), Wang To 王焘, married three Mongol princesses. The first Mongol princess he married was Irinjinbala 亦憐眞八剌, the daughter of the Prince of Ying 營王 Esen-Temür (Yexian-Tiemur). They married in 1316 when Wang To resided in China as a hostage. In the winter of the same year they went to Korea together. Three years later (1319) the princess died. The Yuan court was suspicious about the death of the princess. Therefore the

⁴²³ For instance, King Ch'ungyŏ married Chŏnghwa 貞和 who gave birth to a son named Kangyangkong Cha 江陽公滋 before he married Khubilai's daughter Hudulujielimish. “Kangyangkong Cha was the oldest, but because he was not born of the (Mongol) princess, he was not designated as crown prince.” Later in the fifth year of King Ch'ungyŏ (1279) he was even moved to a temple afar to “shun the crown prince”. (KRS, vol. 91. III, P. 57. See the biography of Kangyangkong Cha).

⁴²⁴ KRS I, 31: 643-4.

⁴²⁵ KRS, III, 89:27.

princess was not formally buried until 1320. In 1321 the Yuan court sent envoys to Korea to arrest a servant girl and the cook of the princess to investigate the death of the princess.⁴²⁶ The cook admitted, “Last August when the king consorted with Tōkbi 德妃 in the Yangyōng Palace, the princess was jealous, and she was beaten by the King and her nose bled. In September the King visited the Yōnhwa Temple, and he beat the princess again.”⁴²⁷ The cook and the servant girl were escorted to the Yuan court for further interrogation. If the death of this princess was really the consequence of ill-treatment or even murder by the Koryō King, it would surely be a disaster for Korea. At this critical moment, many Koryō ministers collectively wrote an appeal to the Yuan court to defend the Koryō king and to charge the cook with a false accusation.⁴²⁸ Fortunately for them, the Yuan court abandoned this case, and for the next five years there were no Mongol princesses in the Koryō court. In 1324, the Yuan court married Jintong 金童 (k. Kimdong), the daughter of the Prince of Wei, to the Koryō King Ch’ungsug 忠肅王 when he was a hostage in the Yuan court. One year later, they went to Korea together. Unfortunately, this princess had an even shorter married life. In 1325 when the princess visited the Dragon Mountain (*Yongsan* 龍山) with the Koryō king, she gave birth to a son later named *Yongsan Wōnja* 龍山元子. But the princess soon died in the temporary dwelling of the Koryō king. She was only eighteen years old. In 1342 she was posthumously entitled “The Senior Princess of the State of Cao”.

A second Mongol woman King Ch’ungsug married was Princess Kyōnghwa, Bayan Khudu 伯顏忽都. The *Koryōsa* simply mentions her as a “Mongol woman” without indicating her family background. However, since she had a royal title, she must have belonged to the Mongol Royal family. According to Xiao Qiqing 蕭啓慶, she was the sister of Jintong, a daughter of Amuge, the

⁴²⁶ KRS, III, 89:26.

⁴²⁷ KRS, III, 89:28.

⁴²⁸ KRS, III, 89:28.

Prince of Wei.⁴²⁹ She married King Ch'ungsug in 1333 in the Yuan court, but three years later King Ch'ungsug died.

This princess was powerful and had her own government office. But when she was in widowhood, she was raped by her stepson, King Ch'unghye 忠惠王, who was the son of Ch'ungsug. The princess felt humiliated by the new Koryŏ king and decided to return to the Yuan court. However, when she ordered her servants to buy horses, the Koryŏ king issued an order to ban the horse trade, and Yuan envoys who were in Koryŏ at that time immediately arrested the king and escorted him to the Yuan court. At the same time the princess issued an order to arrest many other Koryŏ officials.⁴³⁰

The reason that Ch'unghye did such a foolish thing as rape his stepmother was probably because he tried to follow the Mongol tradition of levirate marriage. We know that he was one of the most Mongolianized of the Koryŏ kings. His changes were not only in dress and hairstyle, but also in conduct. The *Koryŏsa* records: "When the previous King (e.g. Ch'ungsug) was traveling to the Yuan, ... the King (Ch'unghye) went to greet him on the way using the Mongolian etiquette of kneeling. The previous king said: 'your father and mother are both Koreans, why do you salute me with "barbarian" etiquette (*huli* 胡禮)?'"⁴³¹ King Ch'unghye was not born by a Mongol princess. His mother was a Korean woman who gave birth to King Ch'unghye and King Kongmin.⁴³²

In fact, King Ch'unghye had married a Mongol princess named Irinjinbal 亦憐真班 (posthumously titled as Princess of Dening) in 1330 before he ascended the Koryŏ throne. This princess was the daughter of Jiaoba, the Prince of Zhenxi Wujing. She gave birth to two children,

⁴²⁹ Xiao Qiqing: "Yuan Li guanxi zhong de wangshi hunyin yu qiangquan zhengzhi", in *Yuandaishi xintan*, Xinwenfeng Chubanshe, (1983): 239.

⁴³⁰ *KRS*, III, 89:28.

⁴³¹ *KRS*, I, 36:726.

⁴³² When the King of Ch'ungsug married the Mongolian princess, this woman was moved to another place because of the jealousy of the Mongolian princess. But the King of Ch'ungsug still secretly met her. See *KRS*, III, p. 29.

one was a son named Wang Sin (Mongol name Basima Duorzhi), and the other was a daughter. In 1344 the Yuan emperor, Shundi, issued a decree to depose King Ch'unghye, and put his eight-year-old son to the throne. The government was actually run by his mother. Four years later, Wang Sin died. Yuan Shundi ordered Wang Sik (Mongol name Misijian Duorzhi), the son of Ch'unghye born of a concubine, to succeed the throne. Wang Sik became King Ch'ungding when he was only twelve years old, and Princess Irinjinbal still controlled the Koryŏ government during his reign. Ch'ungding was forced to abdicate in 1351. The Yuan court finally ordered Wang Ki (Mongolian name Boyan Tiemur), the brother of Ch'unghye, to ascend the throne. Wang Ki was the last Koryŏ king who married a Mongolian princess. He was probably the only Koryŏ king who truly loved a Mongolian princess.

In 1349 Wang Ki married the Mongol princess Botashirin 寶塔實憐 / 卜答失里, the daughter of Prince of Wei, Amuge, when he was a hostage in the Yuan court.⁴³³ This princess was a devout Buddhist. She did not have any children nine years after she married King Kongmin, and therefore she agreed to the suggestion of the ministers to select women for the king to bear sons. She was also loyal to her husband when, in a palace coup, the Koryŏ king hid under a blanket in his mother's bedroom, while the princess calmly sat beside the door to guard him. The princess finally became pregnant in 1365. The Koryŏ king was so pleased that he issued an order of amnesty, but unfortunately the princess died in childbirth. The Koryŏ king was so bereaved that he did not go to court for three days. He ordered all the governmental officials to wear their mourning apparel, and he decided to hold a state funeral for the princess. The funeral arrangements were made according to the specifications of the Princess Supreme of Qi, Khudulu[gh] Khaimish. In addition, the Koryŏ

⁴³³ KRS, I, 38:754.

king led all the officials in holding a memorial ceremony for the princess accompanied by Mongol music.⁴³⁴

2. MONGOL-KORYŎ STRIFE DURING THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Korea suffered greatly from the warfare with the Mongols during the thirteenth century, yet it eventually survived as a relatively independent state by acknowledging the Mongol Yuan as its suzerain. As a vassal state, Korea had to fulfill specific duties, but after all it preserved itself in spite of the determination of Chinggis Khan to conquer it.

Mongolia was not originally contiguous to Korea, but since 1218, Mongol troops had encroached on Korean territory from the northwest. In 1216, the Khitan generals Qi Nu, Jin Shan, Tongguyu, Ya'er, Han She, who had all previously submitted to the Mongols rebelled in the Liaodong area and after suppression by Mongol troops they eventually retreated to Korea and occupied the city of Kangdong 江東. In December of 1218, the Mongol general Hechiwen 合赤溫 and general Wanyan Ziyuan 完顏子淵 of the Dongzhen 東真 state led a troop of thirty thousand soldiers to Korea to suppress the rebellion. They sent envoys to the Korean king, requesting Korea to provide the Mongol troops with provisions and funds. The Koryŏ king Wang Chŏl 王暉 then sent the general Cho Ch'ung 趙沖 in the northwest to lead a force to meet them with provisions. Kangdong was captured in the next year. Before retreating, Hechiwen swore an oath with Cho Ch'ung, "from now on our two countries should become brothers forever. Our sons and grandsons of a thousand generations should not forget this."⁴³⁵ The Koryŏ king was grateful and willing to pay tribute to the Mongols, but Hechiwen said, "your country is far from ours, and it

⁴³⁴ *KRS*, III, 89:33-34.

will be too much trouble for you to travel. We will send no more than ten envoys to you every year.”⁴³⁶

This report is dubious since Chinggis Khan's original purpose was to conquer Korea. He had previously declared, “the holy King came here to collect tax and corvee”, and announced to the Koreans that “you must send tax and corvee to me, so that you may preserve your land.”⁴³⁷ Therefore the relationship between the Mongols and Koreans could never be that of “brothers”. It is recorded in *Koryōsa* that from 1219 to 1224 the Mongols demanded that Korea pay tribute on eight occasions.⁴³⁸ For instance, in 1221, Chinggis Khan's younger brother Otchigin sent an envoy Zhuoguyu 著古與 to Korea, requesting a large amount of tribute, including ten thousand otter furs, three thousand bolts of fine silk, two thousand bolts of fine ramie, ten thousand *jin* of cottonseed, one thousand lumps of ink, two hundred brushes, ten thousand sheets of paper, and many other things.⁴³⁹ The insatiable demands of the Mongols for tribute became a heavy burden on Korea, thus it enraged more and more Koreans. It happened in 1225 that the Mongol envoy Zhuoguyu was murdered by unknown assassins on his way home from Korea.⁴⁴⁰ New envoys were sent to Korea to

⁴³⁵ MWESJ 蒙兀兒史記 38, Shijie shuju, 1962.

⁴³⁶ Based on the records in *KRS* (Koryō History) and MWESJ, *juan* 38. But the record in the *Yuanshi* is slightly different, “Your country is far and there is too much trouble to travel. You can send ten envoys every year to pay tribute.” I believe that the record in *KRS* is correct because during the following years the Mongols sent envoys to Korea every year to collect tribute. This way of tribute payment was changed since Khubilai Khan's reign when Korea sent envoys every year to the Yuan court to pay tribute.

⁴³⁷ “Solongyut”, which meant Korea according to the translation of Zhu Feng, Jia Jingyan. See *Han yi Menggu huangjin shigang*, trans. by Zhu Feng 朱楓, Jia Jingyan 賈敬顏, Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, (1985): 20. There is a mistake here. *Altan Tobci* states that Chinggis Khan took a Korean woman Qulan (Hulan 忽蘭). But according to *The Secret History*, Qulan was the daughter of Dayir Usun of the Merkit Tribe. See Francis Woodman Cleaves (trans.) *The Secret History*, p. 130. In the *Houfei biao* in *Yuanshi*, Hulan belonged to the second *Ordo* of Chinggis Khan, while there is an imperial concubine named Solangha 索郎哈 in the fourth *ordo*. Suolangha means Korea. See *YS*, 106: 2695-96.

⁴³⁸ *KRS*, , Chong In-ji tung ch'an. Seoul T'ukpyolsi : *Asea Muhwasa*, I, vol. 22, Kojong. (1972): 446-450.

⁴³⁹ *KRS*, I, 22: 447. See the eighth month of the eighth year of Kojong's reign.

⁴⁴⁰ Hao Shiyuan 郝時遠 believes that the Mongol envoys were murdered by the Dongzhen State because it had broken off its relation with the Mongols, and attempted to control Korea to get its support to resist the Mongols. Thus it assassinated the Mongol envoys and shifted the misfortune on Korea, to sow discords between Mongol and Korea. In addition, the Dongzhen soldiers often disguised themselves as Mongols to attack Korean cities for the same purpose. See “Menggu dongzheng Gaoli gaishu”, in *Menggushi yanjiu*, 2 (1986): 15-20.

investigate the event but were attacked by Koreans and had to return.⁴⁴¹ Chinggis Khan died in 1227 and for four years the Mongols did not send envoys to Korea.⁴⁴²

Finally, in 1231, Ögödei Khan dispatched Mongol troops commanded by General Salita 撒禮塔 to punish Korea. The Mongol troops captured more than forty Korean cities, though they encountered fierce resistance, and the Koryō king was eventually compelled to submit to the Mongols in 1232 (the nineteenth year of Kojong 高宗). In the same year Mongol troops departed, but 72 Mongol senior officials were appointed to Korea's central, provincial, and county administrative units to supervise and control the Koreans. Mongol officials were placed above the Koryō officials, thus holding power over Koreans' lives and property. On behalf of the Mongol Khan, they frequently ordered the Koreans to pay large tribute to the Mongols.

Hatred towards the Mongols increased among the Koreans. In 1232, a powerful Korean minister Ch'oe Yi 崔怡 held the Koryō king under duress on Kanghwa island 江華島 to "seek refuge from war", and shortly afterwards, in the sixth month of 1232 all of the 72 Mongol senior officials were disarmed and killed by Koreans.⁴⁴³ In the eighth month of the same year Mongol troops commanded by Salita arrived to punish the Koreans.⁴⁴⁴ Although the Koryō court remained safe on Kanghwa Island from the Mongol wrath, the Korean people were plunged into misery. Many cities were destroyed and the inhabitants of these captured cities were often massacred even though the Koryō king wrote many letters to the Mongol general Salita to protest. During this period the internal struggles for the khanate in the Mongol royal family occurred frequently, leaving little time for the war with Korea, and in fact, the court held out for twenty-eight years, though their isolation was perceived as cowardice, and their prestige was seriously damaged.

⁴⁴¹ KRS, I, vol. 22, p. 451, 458.

⁴⁴² YS 208: 4608.

⁴⁴³ KRS, vol. 22. *Gaoli shi zhong Zhong Han guanxi shiliao huibian*, edit. by Jin Weixian, Shi Huo Chubanshe, (1983): 408. YS 208: 4609.

During this time Koreans resisted tenaciously the attacks of the Mongols. They had killed the prominent Mongol general Salita at the Ch'ŏin 處仁 city in 1232, and this victory boosted their morale. However, the costs were great. In the year 1254 alone (the forty-first year of Kjong), Mongol troops captured and deported more than 266,800 (Korean) men and women, and executed a number “beyond calculation”, reducing every prefecture and county they passed to ruins.⁴⁴⁵ Finally the Koryŏ king Wang Chŏl 王曄 found no way out but to send his son, the crown prince Wang Chŏn 王璘 to the Mongol capital as a hostage in exchange for a Mongol agreement to withdraw from Korea. Eventually the 28-year-old Mongol-Korean war ended.

In the fourth month of 1259 the Koryŏ crown prince Wang Chŏn 王璘 travelled to the Mongol court, and soon left Dadu (the Yuan capital, present-day Beijing) for Sichuan to call on Möngke Khan who was there commanding Mongol troops to attack the Southern Song. When Wang Wŏn arrived at the Liupan Mountain 六盤山, he was informed of the death of Möngke Khan. Wang Wŏn made a clever decision by changing his journey southward to meet Khubilai with presents and appropriate protocol, which made Khubilai pleasantly surprised.⁴⁴⁶ And they travelled together to Kaiping.

In the sixth month of 1259 the Koryŏ King Kjong 高宗 died. In the seventh month of the same year Möngke Khan died in the campaign against the Southern Song, and the next year Khubilai Khan ascended the throne in Kaiping 開平. Thereby, the Mongol-Korean relationship entered a new era.

Since the beginning of Khubilai's reign (1260-1294) the Mongols changed their Korean policy from military conquest to control through conciliation. The Koryŏ crown prince Wang Chŏn had been a hostage in the Yuan for two years and had been treated badly by the Mongols. Before

⁴⁴⁴ YS 208: 4609.

⁴⁴⁵ KRS, “Kjong”, Chong In-ji tung ch'an. Soul T'ukpyolsi : Asea Muhwasa, I, vol. 22, (1972): 488.

Khubilai ascended the throne, the ministers Zhao Liangbi 趙良弼 had advised Khubilai to treat Wang Chǒn as a foreign prince with proper courtesy, and to send an escort with Chǒn back to Korea to succeed to the Koryō throne.⁴⁴⁷ Khubilai accepted this suggestion, and Wang Chǒn (name changed to Wang Sik 王植) was escorted by Mongol troops to Korea where he became the Wōngjong 元宗 of Korea in 1260. At the same time Khubilai rescinded the punishment of Korea, and in addition, Khubilai issued an imperial decree to Wang Sik before he went home, “Now under heaven, only your country and the Song have not acknowledged allegiance to me. When you return to home to govern your state, I hope you will clear up hatreds and dispel misgivings, demonstrate your benevolent rule and bestow your favors on your people. You should aid and comfort your people in these hard times. You should move your palace from the island to the mainland; you should sell your swords and buy cattle. You should throw away your weapons of war and take up hoes and ploughs.”⁴⁴⁸ Soon Khubilai complied with the requests of Wang Sik to withdraw the Mongol troops from Korea, and repatriate prisoners of war and refugees to Korea. Khubilai granted Wang Sik a royal seal and certificate and approved Korea’s paying tribute to the Mongols based on Korean resources.⁴⁴⁹ Also, the Korean people were allowed to maintain their traditional customs and clothing style.⁴⁵⁰

However, the Mongol control of Korea was more direct than before. Prior to the Yuan dynasty, Korea had been paying tribute to Chinese imperial courts for many generations. Theoretically China was the suzerain state and Korea was its dependency. This relationship was based on the concept

⁴⁴⁶ KRS, I, vol. 25, p. 505-6.

⁴⁴⁷ KRS, I, vol. 25, p. 506.

⁴⁴⁸ YS 208: 4610-2. See “Gaoli Zhuan”.

⁴⁴⁹ YS 208: 4613.

⁴⁵⁰ King Ch’ungyō (Wang Sim) was greatly influenced by Mongol customs when he stayed in the Yuan court as a hostage. When he ascended the Koryō throne, he decided to adopt Mongol hairstyles. He ordered all the governmental officials to cut their hair according to the Mongol *qiechour*, cutting from the top to the forehead, making it in square shape, leaving some hair in the middle. See *Gaoli shi zhong Zhong Han guanxi shiliao huibian*, p. 519.

that China was the center of the world, and a Chinese emperor was, in name, the universal emperor of the world. Therefore Korea was theoretically treated as one of its dependencies. However, except for requiring Korea to follow some diplomatic protocols, China after the Han, had neither tried to annex Korea, nor intended to interfere in its internal affairs. Therefore Korea had been basically an independent state for generations. In the Yuan dynasty, however, the relationship between China and Korea changed to direct control.

The Mongol Yuan first sent *Darughachi* to Korea, then set up a “Regional Secretariat Council of Conquering the East (*Zhengdong Xing Zhongshu Sheng* 征東行中書省)” to supervise the Koryŏ court. The Mongol Yuan Dynasty also stationed garrison troops and opened horse breeding grounds in Korea. Korea was responsible for paying tribute to the Yuan court, helping the Mongol troops, setting up posts, and providing grains to Mongol troops.

3. WŎNGJONG’S 元宗 MARRIAGE PROPOSAL AND ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Korea had greatly suffered under the Mongol raids and invasions. The Koryŏ court had retreated to Kanghwa Island, leaving the Mongol mounted troops to pillage wantonly on the Korean peninsula. The court and country had become exhausted and impoverished. Therefore, in 1259 the Koryŏ court formally submitted to the rule of the Yuan.

Although this ended the state-of-war, the intervention of powerful military ministers prevented the Koryŏ court from following the orders of the Yuan court, to “leave the water and go ashore” (*chu shui jiu lu* 出水就陸), that is, to return to its original capital Kaegyŏng 開京 from Kanghwa island. In 1274 Khubilai mounted an invasion of Japan and was displeased with the failure of the expedition and began to regard Koryŏ as a half-hearted ally both against Japan and Song China. He

thus issued many imperial edicts to the Koryŏ court, requiring it to fulfill its responsibilities as a dependency.⁴⁵¹ However, numerous Korean military ministers had always resented the Koryŏ court's submission to the Mongols, and the most powerful of them, Im Yŏn 林衍, in the sixth month of the tenth year of Wŏngjong's reign (1269) forced Wŏngjong 元宗 to abdicate his throne to his younger brother Wang Chǎng 王曄. The Yuan court immediately dispatched troops to Korea and helped to restore Wŏngjong to the throne.⁴⁵²

By that time, Korea was close to a state of total disintegration and prey to many factions. One of these, led by a Korean general Ch'oe T'an 崔坦, presented fifty cities in the northwest to the Yuan court, and they were immediately annexed by Khubilai.⁴⁵³ Another faction consisted of the Korean élite who had retreated to Kanghwa Island and were against returning to the original capital. This factionalism had led to the *Sambyŏlch'o* 三別抄 Rebellion, which lasted for three years from 1270 to 1272.⁴⁵⁴ In the Yuan court, some ministers still suggested to Khubilai that he conquer Korea by military force and divide it into prefectures and counties.⁴⁵⁵ In this situation, Wŏnjong finally decided to sacrifice the sovereignty of Korea in order to obtain protection from the Mongols.

One of the means Wŏnjong chose was to establish a marriage relationship with the Yuan court. During the first month of 1270 (the eleventh year of Wŏngjong's reign), he had a personal audience with Khubilai at Dadu 大都, promising that he would return to the original capital Kaegyŏng 開京 from Kanghwa island. At the same time, he requested Khubilai to marry a princess to his son Wang Sim 王諶, "I sincerely ask your Majesty to marry a princess to my son. Should we be fortunate

⁴⁵¹ KRS, I, Vol. 25, p. 515-6. Vol. 26, pp. 523-4

⁴⁵² KRS, I, Vol. 26, p. 529.

⁴⁵³ YS 208:4615.

⁴⁵⁴ KRS, I, Vol. 26, pp. 535-36.

⁴⁵⁵ YS 208:4616.

enough to contract a marriage with you, my small state will rely upon you for ten thousand generations, and we will fulfill our duties with full hearts.”⁴⁵⁶

But Khubilai did not approve Wōngjong’s request immediately. His excuse was:

“According to the laws of Dada 韃旦 (Tartar),⁴⁵⁷ two peoples should be connected together by means of marriage and contact with each other sincerely, so how can I not agree to your request? However, today you come here for something else, and it seems to me that your proposal is made in haste. When you return to your own state and have placated your people, you can send a special envoy here, and then I will agree to your request. All my daughters have been married out, but I will discuss this matter with my brothers, and we will agree upon the disposition of your request.”⁴⁵⁸

Obviously Khubilai knew the political motives behind Wōngjong’s marriage request. Therefore, although he promised to provide support for him, he required that Korea first fulfill its duties as a dependency.

Wōngjong did as he had promised Khubilai. In May, 1270, after having destroyed the forces of Im Yōn, he finally returned to the former capital Kaegyōng. Then he cooperated with the Mongol troops in pursuing and suppressing the *Sambyōlch’o* Rebels. In 1271 he sent a special envoy to formally make an offer of marriage to the Yuan court, saying, “We humbly hope to receive your bounty and protection forever by this marriage relationship 伏望俾諧親好於附疏, 永固恩榮於庇本”.⁴⁵⁹ He also sent his son to the Yuan court as a hostage (Mo. *turghagh* 禿魯花). Khubilai then agreed to allow his young daughter Khudulugh Kelmish 忽都魯·揭里迷失 to marry Wōngjong’s son, but since the princess was only thirteen years old at that time, the marriage had to be postponed. Three years later, in 1274, Wang Sim 王諱 married Princess Khudulugh Kelmish at the Yuan court. He was thirty-nine years old at that time. One month later, Wōngjong died, and

⁴⁵⁶ KRS, I, Vol. 26, 533-4.

⁴⁵⁷ Dada 韃旦 (韃靼、達達、塔塔兒) refers to northern nationalities in general and Mongols in particular.

⁴⁵⁸ KRS, I, Vol. 26, 534.

⁴⁵⁹ KRS, I, Vol. 27, p. 539.

Wang Sim returned to Korea to succeed to the throne, becoming King Ch'ungyō 忠烈王. When the princess and the Koryō king entered Kaegyōng in an imperial carriage, "The people in the streets said in joy: 'We never imagined that after the wars of one hundred years, we would see peace again.'",⁴⁶⁰

According to the *Koryōsa*, Khudulugh Kelmish was born of Asuzhen Khatun,⁴⁶¹ but this woman's name is not listed under Khubilai's name in the Tables of Empresses and Imperial Concubines (*Houfei biao*) in the *Yuanshi*, but we know that before her marriage, Khudulugh Kelmish was titled Princess Supreme of the State of Qi (*Qiguo da zhang gongzhu* 齊國大長公主). Her marriage with Wang Sim started a new relationship between the Mongol Yuan imperial family and the Koryō royal family that lasted for almost one century.

Among the eight princesses married into the Koryō court and the house of the Prince of Sim, only the Princess of Kyōnghwa 慶華公主 Boyan Khudu 伯顏忽都, who was the Noble Consort of the Loyal and Decorous Prince, is called "a Mongol woman" in the *Koryōsa*, and was not counted as a princess of Yuan. But according to Xiao Qiqing 蕭啓慶, it was recorded in *Koryōsa* that the Loyal and Decorous King had married the daughter of Prince Ying 英王 and later married two daughters of the Prince of Wei 魏王. One of the daughters of the Prince of Wei was Princess Supreme of the State of Cao 曹國大長公主 Jin Tong 金童, the other must be Boyan Khudu. This implies that Boyan Khudu was also a princess of Yuan.⁴⁶²

Thus, only two Koryō kings during the Yuan dynasty did not have Mongol princesses as their principal wives. The reasons are clear. King Ch'ungmog 忠穆王 (1345-1348) ascended the throne

⁴⁶⁰ KRS, I, Vol. 28.

⁴⁶¹ KRS, III, vol. 89, p. 20.

⁴⁶² Xiao Qiqing, "Yuan Li guanxi zhong de wangshi hunyin yu qiangquan zhengzhi", in *Yuandaishi xintan*, Xin Wen Feng Chuban Gongsi, (1983): 239.

in his childhood and died when he was only twelve. King Chungjong 中宗王 (1349-1351) had to abdicate when he was fourteen years old because he was mentally deranged.

It is clear, therefore, that the pattern was essentially universal.

The royal family in the Koryŏ period customarily adopted a blood-relationship (endogamic) marriage system. Rarely did they establish inter-marriage relationships with Koryŏ clans outside the traditional circle, and this meant that, early at least, the marriages were incestuous.⁴⁶³ In 1275 Khubilai criticized the Koryŏ royal family's practice, "The Wang families in your state marry people of the same surname. What is the reason for you to do so? Inasmuch as you and I have become one family, we should marry each other. Otherwise how can we say we are of the same family?"⁴⁶⁴

But in the same decree Khubilai said: "You know that when my grandfather the emperor conquered the thirteen states, their kings vied with each other in presenting beauties, good horses, and treasures."⁴⁶⁵ The implication was very clear: the Korean king should present his "beautiful" daughter to Khubilai to symbolize his submission.

It seems to me that Khubilai initially had no interest in marrying his daughter to the Korean king. What he wanted to do was to follow the example of his grandfather Chinggis Khan by demanding the princesses of defeated states in exchange for peace. For instance, in 1209, when the Mongol troops surrounded the capital of the Jin, the emperor was forced to give his daughter, Princess of the State of Qi to Chinggis Khan in exchange for the withdrawal of the Mongol

⁴⁶³ See Chong, Yong-suk, *Koryŏ wangsŭl chongnaehon yon'gu*, Seoul: Saemunsa, 1988. For example, the Kuang-jong, To-jong, Wen-jong all married their own sisters and conferred empress titles on them. But they closely guarded the secret and announced to the public that they were from other clans. This marriage system was abandoned because of the interference of the Mongol Yuan court which clung to an exogamic marriage practice. The Yuan court ordered the Koryŏ royal family to have intermarriages with fifteen clans. Also see Wang Yi, *Menggu Yuan yu Wangshi Gaoli ji Riben de guanxi*. Taiwan, Shangwu Yinshuguan, (1973): 120.

⁴⁶⁴ *Gaoli shi zhong Zhong Han guanxi shiliao huibian*. p. 524.

⁴⁶⁵ *Gaoli shi zhong Zhong Han guanxi shiliao huibian*. P. 524.

troops.⁴⁶⁶ When the Mongol troops were attacking Xi Xia, the king of the Xi Xia was also forced to present his daughter to Chinggis Khan. But, when Chinggis Khan received the daughters of the enemies, he only temporarily postponed the attacks.⁴⁶⁷

However, the Mongol treatment of the states or tribes whose leaders married Mongol princesses had been very different. Generally speaking, the reason for the kings or tribal chieftains who enjoyed the special favor of marrying Mongol princesses arose from the fact that they had submitted to the Mongols without resistance. The Ikires tribe, the Öngüt Tribe, and the Uighur Tribe all submitted to the Mongols peacefully and on their own initiative. Therefore, when their chieftains made marriage proposals to Chinggis Khan, Chinggis readily agreed to marry his daughters to them.

It should also be noted that according to Mongol tradition, princesses basically had equal political rights with the princes, and the imperial sons-in-law were treated as members of the Mongol royal family. All of them had the right to attend the *quriltai*—the conference attended by the Mongol royal family and the Mongol nobles to determine major issues of the Mongol Empire. Therefore, once a Mongol princess was married into a state or a tribe, the relationship of this state or tribe with the Mongols was fundamentally changed. The Mongols would no longer treat it as hostile. Instead, its status in the Mongol Empire would be notably enhanced.

If we view Korea in this light, we will find that the Korean kings and their people should not have been eligible to marry Mongol princesses. They had been among the fiercest antagonists of all the Mongol conquests. So too, were the Jin and the Xi Xia. Like them, Koryō had been forced to offer its own royal women to the Mongol court in order to obtain peace; but unlike them, the peace

⁴⁶⁶ See the basic annals of Taizu of YS 1:17.

⁴⁶⁷ See *The Secret History*, (trans.) Francis Woodman Cleaves, Harvard University Press, (1982): 184-5. YS 1:14-17.

thus obtained would not be simply a cunning tactic of the Mongols, an excuse to play a waiting-game, until they were ready to extinguish the state.

There was, therefore, something very special about the Mongol-Korean relationship, and we need to ask within our restricted frame of marriage politics, what was it that made the Korean case characteristically different. We are aware that Khubilai was not Chinggis, and that a half-century had passed between the Mongol extinction of the Jin and Xi Xia, and Khubilai's request in 1275 for a "beautiful" Korean princess. Khubilai, we also know, had used the Korean peninsula for his first, unsuccessful, attempt to invade Japan. We might thus consider that the Korean court was in a particularly precarious position.

It is strongly evident that it was an awkward matter for the Korean king to offer his daughter to Khubilai Khan. First of all, the Korean royal family had adopted an in-clan marriage system, and rarely had its princesses married into other clans. Secondly, deeply influenced by Chinese culture, the Koryŏ royal family still looked down upon the Mongols, regarding them as barbarians. As King Taejo 太祖, the founder of Koryŏ, had suggested, "Our state in the east loves the Tang 唐 (Chinese) tradition. Our dress style, etiquette, and music should all follow theirs...Khitan is a state of beasts. Our customs are different from theirs, and our language is also different from theirs. Be careful, do not follow them."⁴⁶⁸

This cultural pride prevented the Koryŏ royal family from immediately agreeing to Khubilai's demand. Instead, as a compromise, they chose to select many beautiful young women to present to the Yuan court. In 1275, Wŏnjong issued a decree to ban all marriages in Korea in order to select

⁴⁶⁸ KRS, I, vol. I, p. 55. Even when Mongol troops had already occupied parts of Korea, the Koryŏ court still showed their contempt of Mongol culture. When the Duke of Ankyong, Wang Chǎng, returned from Mongolia, he did not want to see his father, the Koryŏ king Kojong, simply because "I have been contaminated by the foul smell of mutton for a long time. Please allow me to see you after one night." But the king ordered him, "Burn all the clothes you are wearing, wear new clothes, and come immediately." (see KRS, vol. I, p. 20)

beautiful virgins to send to the Chinese (Yuan) court.⁴⁶⁹ This was not unprecedented, but by following a tradition, dating at least from the Tang dynasty, the Koryŏ court was acknowledging the legitimacy of the Mongol rule. Even though many Chinese emperors had taken Korean women as Imperial concubines, they had never married their daughters into the Koryŏ royal family. This exchange of women, perhaps unwelcome to the Koryŏ court showed a shrewd diplomacy on their part. The “family connection” protected Koryŏ.

One may ask: Was this a triumph for Korean diplomacy?

The political significance of the royal marriages between the Yuan and Koryŏ courts seems obvious: they were relationships between a ruler and the tributary. The purpose of the Yuan court’s activities of marrying their princesses into the Koryŏ court were done to effectively control it, and the expectation of the Yuan court was that its women would exercise significant political power. The Koryŏ court’s offer of marriage to the Yuan court was initially to seek peace and protection from the Mongol Yuan dynasty in circumstances of domestic troubles and foreign invasions. At the same time, however, it intended to raise its position in the world order of the Mongol Yuan dynasty by taking advantage of this relationship. The marriage relationship was on the surface unequal since it reflected the unequal relationship between the Mongol Yuan court and the Koryŏ court. Therefore, the character of the marriage relationship between the Mongol Yuan and the Koryŏ court cannot, in spite of Yuan wishes, be described as that of *Heqin*, the old policy of using a Chinese princess to “civilize” the barbarians” (*hua hu* 化胡).

The marriage relationships between the Yuan court and the Koryŏ court was one-sided. Although the Mongol Yuan court continuously injected its princesses into the Koryŏ court, it never took the princesses of the Koryŏ royal family as empresses or Noble Consort (*guifei* 貴妃). In the Yuan dynasty, Korean women were famed for their gentleness and loveliness, and many officials

ol. 28, p. 569.

took Korean women as wives, concubines, or maidservants.⁴⁷⁰ The Yuan court also issued many imperial edicts to the Koryŏ court, ordering them to present girls to the Yuan imperial court, and many Korean officials presented women to the Yuan of their own accord. This happened every year according to the Korean historian Yu Kye 俞榮.⁴⁷¹ In 1307, the Koryŏ court issued a decree: “girls under sixteen and above thirteen should not marry without authorization. They must first be reported to the government, then they can marry. Those families who violate this ban will be [considered] guilty.”⁴⁷²

At the same time, some of the Korean women in the Yuan court were ranked among the empresses and imperial concubines in the *Yuanshi*. Among them, Qi Shi Wanzhe Hudu 奇氏完者忽都, the empress of Shundi 順帝 (Toghon Temur), was the most famous.⁴⁷³ None of

⁴⁷⁰ Ye Ziqi 葉子奇, *Cao mu zi* 草木子, Zhonghua Shuju, (1959):63, “The maidens employed by northerners had to be Korean ...without this they will not be regarded as officials.”

⁴⁷¹ “[Korea] did this (presenting virgins and eunuchs to the Yuan court) every year either in response to an imperial decree or on a voluntary basis.” See Yu Kye 俞榮 (1607-1664): *Yosa chegang* 麗史提綱: [23 kwon/Yu Kye ch’an]. Sour: Asea Munhwasa, Han’gukhak kojon ssiriju. kwon 17, (1973): 390.

⁴⁷² KRS 32:667. Koreans had been perturbed so much that “when Koreans had girls they kept it secret. They were still afraid that the secret would be divulged, even their neighbors were prevented from seeing the girls. Whenever envoys came from China, the Koreans would be alarmed, and talked to each other:

‘Why do they come? Do they come to take virgins?’” KRS 109:389. See the biography of Yi Kok 李穀.

⁴⁷³ Empress Wanzhe-hudu 完者忽都, Née Qi 奇氏, was a Korean woman who played a very important role in the politics of the late Yuan period and has been blamed for the destruction of the Yuan dynasty.

Her family was of very low origin, and she came to the Yuan palace only as a maidservant. Throughout the Yuan dynasty the Yuan government regularly selected beautiful virgins for the Yuan palace; the high officials and noble lords also liked to take Korean women as concubines or maidservants. Initially, Qi was mainly responsible for serving Shundi with tea. She was very clever and crafty, and gradually gained the favour of Shundi. Empress Dana-shili was jealous of her, and flogged her with a whip and often insulted her. When empress Dana-shili was killed, Shundi planed to designate Qi as the empress, but the then chancellor Boyan opposed this idea, and therefore Shundi had to give it up, and married an Onggirat woman Boyan-hudu as his principal empress. After Boyan was dismissed from the chancellor’s position, Shundi accepted a suggestion of Shalaban and designated Qi as the second empress.

According to Quan Heng, Khubilai had decided a domestic rule by decreeing that his descendants should never take Korean woman into the palace. This was actually not true, because Khubilai himself had issued a decree to the Koryŏ king, ordering him to present his daughter to him as a sign of submission to the Mongol rule. But as far as we know, the Koryŏ king never presented his daughter to the Yuan emperor. Instead, he selected many beautiful Korean girls to present to the Yuan court, and he even had to ban all marriages in the Korean territory in order to select the most beautiful virgins. It was not clear whether Khubilai received any Korean girls in his palace. But at least in the reign of Wenzong (r. 1329-32) Korean women had been used in the Yuan palace. *Ershier shi zhaji* 二十二史札記 records: “There was a practice to select Korean girls in the Yuan dynasty. Wenzong once granted a Korean woman Buyan-tieni 不顏帖你

them originated from the Koryŏ royal family, and they seem to have been despised in the Yuan court even when they had become imperial consorts. It is said that Khubilai had declared a family rule to “despise Korean women, and not to allow them to enter the palace.”⁴⁷⁴

This particular rule is in need of further examination. What special “charm” enabled the women of Korea to rise so high? Sadly, we must leave this to further discussion.

4. MONGOL PRINCESSES IN THE KORYŌ COURT

The princesses of the Mongol Yuan had the highest status in the palace chambers of the Koryŏ court. Whether or not the Koryŏ king/prince had wife/wives, as soon as he married a princess of the Yuan court, he had to place her into the position of his principal wife. Any son born by a Mongolian princess was first in line to be the crown prince regardless of his age.⁴⁷⁵ For example, one year after Khudulugh Kelmish was married into the Koryŏ court, there occurred a serious conflict among the Mongol princess, the Koryŏ king, and his other wife Chŏnghwa (貞和). When Khudulugh Kelmish gave birth to a son, Chŏnghwa went to express her congratulations, and a maidservant organized a banquet in the East Hall, the traditional site of a crown prince. The Koryŏ king said: “It would be better to sit in the central hall.” In response, the maidservant placed a low seat for Khudulugh Kelmish in the central hall. The Mongol princess was very angry because she believed that this arrangement of the seating made her only the equal of Chŏnghwa. Therefore she ordered the maidservant to move the banquet to the West Hall because there existed a higher seat for her there. The Koryŏ king was unhappy about this change, and when he looked at the princess during the

to the chancellor Yakete-mur (Yantie-mur).....” Therefore the domestic discipline of Khubilai might only have prohibited a Korean women from becoming a Mongol empress.

⁴⁷⁴ Quan Heng 權衡: *Gengshen waishi* 庚申外史, the first year of the Yuantong 元統 era. This order obviously was not followed by the descendants of Khubilai.

⁴⁷⁵ Please see footnote 432 for details.

banquet, she said: “Why do you look upon me with disdain? Are you not going to order Chŏnghwa to kneel down in front of me?” Then she angrily ordered the banquet suspended, saying: “I must go to my son’s proper place.” She ordered her servants to prepare the carriage, but the Koryŏ king beat the servants with a cane. The wet nurse of the Mongol princess also said to her: “If you insist on leaving, I must die here.” And she gripped her throat. The Mongol princess then agreed to stay.⁴⁷⁶

This anecdote indicates that the Mongol princess was extremely sensitive about her superior position in the Koryŏ court. She believed that she had the absolute right to be the first wife of the Koryŏ king and that her position could not be challenged. It suggests also the resistance of the Koryŏ king, though the resistance was impotent and unsuccessful.

While Korean historians describe the arbitrariness of the Mongol princess and the “helplessness” of the Koryŏ king, we may regard this as historiographical convention.

Another story tells of the same princess who took a small golden pagoda from a temple to melt it down for her own purpose. “The king was unable to stop her. All he could do was cry.”⁴⁷⁷ On another occasion, the Koryŏ king and his Mongol consort were going to visit a temple. The king arrived early, and when his consort arrived, she found that only a small retinue was there. She was angry and immediately decided to return. The Koryŏ king could do nothing but blame one of the retinue for not summoning more people to come. When they arrived at the temple, the princess became angry again because her husband did not wait for her, so that they might enter the temple together, and she struck him with a cane, “scolding him and beating him.”⁴⁷⁸

In spite of what seems a stormy relationship, this couple maintained a close enough connection that the Mongol princess gave birth to three children for the Koryŏ royal family. She might have given birth to more children if Khubilai had not sent them a doctor captured from the Song named

⁴⁷⁶ KRS, vol. 89, III, p. 20.

⁴⁷⁷ KRS, vol. 89, III, p. 21.

Lian Texin 鍊德新, who was famed for his skill at concocting aphrodisiacs, and therefore was requested and favored by the Koryō king and his Mongol princess. A Korean minister by the name of O Yunpu 伍允孚 believed that this kind of medicine was harmful to conception and pointed out this fact but his view was disregarded. The Mongol princess gave birth to three children in quick succession, but when the Koryō king accepted the prescription of the Chinese doctor, she never became pregnant again.⁴⁷⁹

This couple visited the Yuan court together many times, and Khubilai always gave banquets to welcome them.⁴⁸⁰ The princess brought her son and daughter to visit the Yuan empress Chabui 察必, who loved the boy and bestowed upon him a knife and wine utensils. The wife of the Yuan crown prince even gave him a Mongolian name, Yizhili-Puhua.⁴⁸¹ In 1295, Chengzong ascended the throne as the second Yuan emperor, and as a sign of favor to Korea, he granted the title, Princess of Anping (安平), to Khudulugh Kelmish. In 1297, she and her husband visited the Yuan capital together and remained there “for a long period”. In 1298, when the Koryō king was about to return to Korea, Emperor Chengzong honored them with a visit to their own residence. At the banquet the princess sang songs and the Koryō king performed dances. This was the last time they visited the Yuan capital together. In the fifth month of 1298, they returned to Korea. Shortly after, the princess fell ill and died. She was thirty-nine years old.⁴⁸²

5. POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT OF MONGOL PRINCESSES IN KOREA

Morris Rossabi suggests that Khubilai’s daughters did not play a role in politics:

⁴⁷⁸ KRS, Vol. 89. III, p. 22.

⁴⁷⁹ KRS, Vol. 89. , III, p. 24.

⁴⁸⁰ KRS, Vol. 89. , III, p. 22.

⁴⁸¹ KRS, Vol. 89. III, p. 22.

⁴⁸² KRS, Vol. 89. , III, p. 24.

Unlike the powerful Mongol women starting with Chinggis' mother Hō'elun to Khubilai's wife Chabui, Khubilai's daughters did not have a role in political decisions. Perhaps they were influenced by Chinese cultural standards which imposed severe restrictions on women. To rule the Chinese inevitably required adoption of some Chinese attitudes and practices, and such sinicization meant less political influence for and additional restraints on women. On the other hand, it may simply be that Khubilai's daughters lacked any interest in politics.⁴⁸³

However, in view of the political involvement of the Mongol princesses in Korea, this claim seems less than true. Although there was no specification for political authority of Mongol princess in the Koryō court, they played very important roles not only in the Korean palace chambers but also in the Korean government. Their power seem to have arisen simply from their status as Yuan princesses.

To begin with, Koryō kings and their native concubines were forced to take their advice and often to yield to them. According to most sources, the Mongol princesses even had the power to arrest Korean officials and Korean king's wives.

A good example occurred in the twelfth month of the second year of King Ch'ungyōl's reign (1276), when Khudulugh Kelmish received an anonymous letter, saying that King Ch'ungyōl's first wife, Chōnghwa 貞和 had placed a curse on her,⁴⁸⁴ and that forty-three persons led by Kim Pang-gyōng 金方慶 were planning to rebel by returning to Kanghwa Island. Therefore the princess arrested Chōnghwa, and the Mongol *darughachi* (commandant) arrested Kim Pang-gyōng and the others. The Korean Chief-ministers and other officials begged to see the princess. They knelt before her, saying, "In recent years, powerful ministers have been controlling state power. If someone accused another person of criminal behavior, they did not investigate whether it was true, and instead, immediately executed the accused. Therefore people felt unsafe. They did not know when

⁴⁸³ Morris Rossabi, "Khubilai Khan and the Women in His Family", *Studia Sino-Mongolica*, Festschrift für Herbert Franke, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH Wiesbaden, 1979. P. 172.

⁴⁸⁴ According to the short biography of Chōnghwa 貞和 in KRS, Chōnghwa lost the favor of the Koryō king after he married the Mongolian princess. Chōnghwa had to live in a separate house, and never sleep with the king again. Therefore her jealousy would be a natural reaction. See KRS, III. vol. 89, p. 25.

they would be killed. August Heaven (皇天) cared for us and helped us to get rid of these evil ministers, and let you come to the east. We all thought there would be no more disasters. We did not expect that today it would happen again.”⁴⁸⁵ They made great effort to vindicate themselves, with tears running down their faces. The princess was moved and convinced by their words, she ordered the release of most of them, but kept Chŏnghwa and the chief-minister in prison. Later because of the sincere pleas of a Korean minister, the princess decided to release them all.

This event enables one to understand how powerful the Mongol princesses were in the Koryŏ court. Their powers were obviously above the Koryŏ kings. The Koryŏ kings were controlled by the Mongol princesses because the latter were trusted by the Yuan court to jointly govern Korea, and they actually represented the Yuan court.

The Mongol princesses from the beginning, were involved in the political affairs of Korea. Previous female involvement in Korean politics awaits a full study, but it seems fair to say that the open flaunting of power by these princesses was unprecedented. The Mongol princesses asserted a right to take part in imperial meetings, banquets, tours of inspection, hunting, and the reception of foreign guests. They seemed able to appoint and remove officers as they wished without the approval of kings. There are instances where they could even reverse the decisions made by the Koryŏ kings. This involvement in Korean political affairs was often encouraged by the Yuan court, especially in matters related to the Yuan interests.

In 1291, when a Mongol general Xue Dugan 薛閣干 visited the Koryŏ court, King Ch’ungyŏl and his Mongol princess Khudulu (gh) Khaimish entertained him to a state dinner. The Mongol princess sat in the central seat, the Koryŏ king sat to her left, and the Mongol general to her right.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁵ Yu, Kye (1607-1664): *Yosa chegang*: [23 kwon/Yu Kye ch’an]. Sour: Asea Munhwasa, 1973. p.338.

⁴⁸⁶ KRS, III, vol. 89, p. 24.

This seating arrangement seemed to indicate that the political position of the Mongol princess was even higher than the Koryō king!

Therefore, the Koryō governmental system under the control of Mongol Yuan may be described as the joint rule of Koryō kings and Mongol princesses.

Khubilai recalled the *Darughachi* from Korea four years after his daughter married into the Koryō court,⁴⁸⁷ which might indicate that he believed that the princesses could better safeguard the interests of the Mongol Yuan and supervise the Koryō court.⁴⁸⁸

However, we might also suggest that the interference of the Mongol princesses in Korean political affairs was not entirely negative to Korea. On one occasion, when the Koryō king, Wang Sim, invited the Mongol princess Khudulugh Kelmish to go sightseeing and hunting, she scolded him, “You know only how to make merry. What about your state affairs?” The Koryō king was ashamed, and because he had used fire to hunt animals, and in so-doing, had burnt peasants’ crops, he had to compensate them for their losses. The princess said, “The common people have been disturbed too much, and your followers are tired too. Why do we not return home?”⁴⁸⁹

Wang Sim also loved music, and often ordered musicians to play music for him. The princess said: “I have never heard of a king who can use music to run his state.” And she ordered the dismissal of the musicians.⁴⁹⁰

With regard to cultural identity, we find little evidence that these princesses assimilated to Korean practice. They were condemned by later Korean commentators as arrogant, jealous, sexually monopolistic and irritable in the Koryō court. These charges are at least partially true. When

⁴⁸⁷ Yu, Kye (1607-1664): *Yosa chegang*, 1973. P. 342, “In the seventh month (of the fourth year of Wōngjong), the Yuan dismissed the *darughachi* of our state and the garrisons in the capital.....”

⁴⁸⁸ Ikeuchi Hiroshi 池内宏: *Kōrai ni Chūzai Shita Gen no Darugachi ni Tsuite* 高麗に駐在した元の達魯花赤について, *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報, dai 18-kan 第十八卷, (1929): 277-283. Quoted in “Yuan Li Guanxi zhong de Wangshi Hunyin yu Qiangquan Zhengzhi”.

⁴⁸⁹ KRS, III, vol. 89, p. 23.

⁴⁹⁰ KRS, III, vol. 89, p. 23.

Khudulugh Kelmish learned that a Korean general, Kim Chung-kyōng 金仲卿, had presented a beautiful girl to her husband, King Ch'ungyōl, she immediately had the general arrested and put in prison.⁴⁹¹

Some of the Mongol princesses are said to have been unconventional and unstrained in sex. The Mongol princess, Botashirin 寶塔實憐, had had a bad marital relationship with her husband, King Ch'ungsōn, Wang Wōn 王諫, whom she had married when he was a hostage in the Yuan capital in 1296. Two years later, in the first month of 1298 she went to Korea with her husband. Soon she found that he began to treat her coldly because he loved his other wife Chobi 趙妃. In the fifth month of 1298, the princess wrote a letter in Uighur Characters to the Empress Dowager of the Yuan, complaining that Chobi had placed a curse on her and that the Koryō King did not love her anymore. The Koryō King worried about this and sent an official to ask the princess what she said in the letter. The princess refused to tell, and ordered her retainers to beat the messenger. Although her father-in-law, King Ch'ungyōl, tried to calm her anger, even bribing her followers with treasures and women, she still sent messengers to the Yuan court to complain. The situation escalated when someone put an anonymous letter on the gate of the palace, saying that the mother of Chobi had cursed the Mongol princess, causing the Koryō king to withdraw his love for her. The princess immediately had Chobi's mother arrested along with her family, including her husband, her son, daughter, and son-in-law.⁴⁹²

The Yuan court took this matter so seriously that it sent more than one hundred imperial envoys led by its Right-chancellor Alihui and the assistant of the Left in the Secretarial Council, Yang Yanlong, to Korea. They arrested Chaobi and her parents and sent them under escort to the Yuan court. The Empress Dowager of the Yuan then sent five Western monks and two Taoist

⁴⁹¹ KRS, III, vol. 89, p. 24.

⁴⁹² KRS, III, vol. 89, p. 26.

priests to Korea to ward off the curses on the princess and sent another envoy to negotiate with the Koryŏ king, urging him to amend his relationship with the princess.⁴⁹³ But obviously all their efforts were in vain, and the Yuan court finally decided to remove the Koryŏ king from his throne. His father, King Ch'ungyŏl, was restored to power and given the title of king.⁴⁹⁴

This is perhaps the ultimate indication of “princess power”.

An interesting sidelight on this affair is the *Koryŏsa* suggestion of its sexual overtones. “The princess was usually promiscuous and often had sex with many court officials.”⁴⁹⁵ King Ch'ungyŏl then planned to remarry the princess to a handsome man, known as the Marquis of Sŏyŏ (瑞興侯). First he sent this man, disguised in black clothing to the princess to spend several nights with her. Since the princess was satisfied with her new lover, the King sent an envoy to the Yuan court in 1301, asking permission to remarry her to him. This request was seen by many as too outrageous even for the “lax morals” of the Yuan court. Therefore the envoy did not dare to present it to the Yuan court and returned to Korea instead.⁴⁹⁶

6. CONCLUSION

Korea and China were both conquered by the Mongol forces, and both suffered discrimination from the Mongols. The Koreans and Chinese were both in the third rank among the national classes in the Yuan dynasty.⁴⁹⁷ To change this disadvantageous situation, the Koryŏ royal family developed

⁴⁹³ KRS, III, vol. 89, p. 23.

⁴⁹⁴ KRS, I, vol. 31, p. 643-4.

⁴⁹⁵ KRS, III, vol. 89, p. 27.

⁴⁹⁶ Jin Weixian (ed.) *Gaoli shi zhong Zhong Han guanxi shiliao huibian*. Taipei: Shi Huo Chubanshe, 1983. PP. 637-38.

⁴⁹⁷ The Mongols belonged to the first class, the “varied peoples” (*semu*) the second class, the Northern Chinese (*hanren*) and Koreans the third class, the Southerners (*nanren*)—the Chinese people of the Southern Song who were conquered by the Mongols last, were in the fourth class.

a new strategy and accomplished a great breakthrough by establishing an unprecedented marriage relationship with the Mongol Yuan royal family.

Mongol princesses marrying into the Koryŏ court changed the relationship between these two countries. The marriages enhanced the political status of the Koryŏ royal court in the Mongol Empire, and as imperial sons-in-law, the Koryŏ kings were entitled to have a say in the political affairs of the Mongol Empire. Previously Korea was only one of the many foreign countries subject to the Mongol Yuan. The relation between them was no more than that between a suzerain and a dependency. After the imperial marriages, the relationship between them became that of relatives. The Koryŏ kings had previously been reluctant to have personal audiences with Yuan emperors. But after the marriages, they were presented almost every year in the Yuan court with the Mongol princesses. King Ch'ungyŏl explained the significance of this activity as follows: "going to have an audience with the emperor is the etiquette of a prince's pledge of loyalty to the emperor. Paying a visit to her parents is the etiquette of a woman serving her parents."⁴⁹⁸ The Yuan court's attitude towards the Koryŏ court had also changed dramatically. When King Ch'ungyŏl first visited the Yuan court in 1278 after he married the princess of Yuan, the empress of Yuan sent princes, princesses, and Noble Consorts to the outskirts of the capital to welcome them. Besides the formal meeting with the emperor, Khubilai also instructed him on how to govern his country.⁴⁹⁹

As the emperor's sons-in-law, the Koryŏ kings generally enjoyed a higher position than others in the Great Mongol Empire. This was indicated by the seating order in the imperial banquet of the Yuan court. In 1294 King Ch'ungyŏl was seated seventh in the imperial banquet of the Yuan⁵⁰⁰ in

⁴⁹⁸ KRS, I, Vol. 28. P. 579.

⁴⁹⁹ KRS, I, Vol.28, P. 580-1.

⁵⁰⁰ KRS, I. Vol. 31. P 633.

all the princes' presence. In 1300 he was seated fourth. The Korean historians regarded this as a "distinctive favor".⁵⁰¹

This marriage relationship also provided the opportunity for Korea to be involved in the politics of the Mongol Empire and to exert its influence. One obvious example was that the Koryŏ kings were qualified to take part in the *khuriltai* to elect a new Mongol khan. King Ch'ungyŏl, for instance, participated in the *khuriltai* in 1294 and supported Chengzong to ascend the Mongolian throne. He received many favors from Chengzong as reciprocation, "Because of the great contributions and old age of the King (King Ch'ungyŏl), the Emperor (Chengzong) issued an edict allowing the King to ride a small carriage at the gate of the palace."⁵⁰² The Koryŏ king was also titled "peaceful prince" by Chengzong. Later, King Ch'ungsŏn who lived in the Yuan court after he abdicated was again involved in supporting Wuzong Qaishan's ascent to the throne. Thus, he was entitled the Prince of Shenyang and soon re-ascended the throne of Korea in 1308. Emperor Renzong also appointed King Ch'ungsŏn as the Right Chancellor of the Yuan court in 1313, but he politely declined this offer.⁵⁰³

Although husband-wife relationships in the Koryŏ court were rarely harmonious, their effects were basically positive in nature. These marriages helped to maintain a stable relationship between these two states, and on the Korean side, ended almost a half-century of warfare and chaos, permitting a return of some prosperity and population growth. On the Mongol side, marriage was a convenient and practical means to control Korea without debilitating warfare. Its effect was probably more peaceful and effective than conquering wars. With the marriage of Mongol princess Khudulu(gh) Khaimish to the Koryŏ king, Wang Sim, the Yuan court gradually withdrew its troops

⁵⁰¹ KRS, I. Vol. 31. P. 647.

⁵⁰² KRS, I. Vol. 31. P. 634.

⁵⁰³ See KRS I, vol. 34, p. 693. Jin Weixian (ed.), *Gaoli shi zhong Zhong Han guanxi shiliao huibian*. Taipei: Shi Huo Chubanshe, (1983): 668. MWESJ, *juan* 134, p. 14.

from Korea. Later the “Regional Commander for Conquering the East” (*Zheng dong xing zhongshu sheng*) was dismantled. Only when Khudulu (gh) Khaimish died and the Koryŏ king could not control the Korean people did the Yuan court decide to restore the Regional Commander for Conquering the East (led by Kuolijisi) to govern Korea.⁵⁰⁴

Table 9 Princesses of the Yuan Court Married into the Koryŏ Court

NAME	TITLE	HUSBAND	FATHER
Khudulu(gh)Khaimish 忽都魯揭里迷失 (mother of Yuan 詠)	Princess Supreme-of-State of Qi 齊國大長公主	Wang Sim 王諶(忠烈王) King Ch'ungyŏl	Khubilai Khan (Shizu 世祖)
Botashirin 寶塔實憐/卜答失里	Princess Supreme-of-State of Ji 莒國大長公主	Wang Wŏn 王諤(忠宣王) King Ch'ungsŏn	Ganmala 甘麻剌 (晉王, Prince of Jin)
Yesujin也速真 (mother of To 焮)	Übi懿妃 Good Imperial Concubine	Wang Wŏn 王諤	?
Irinjinbala 亦憐真八剌 /亦憐只班	Senior Princess-of-State of Pu 濮國長公主	Wang To 王焮(忠肅王) King Ch'ungsug	Esian-Temur /Yexian- Tiemur 也先帖木兒 (Prince of Ying 營王, grandson of Khubilai)
Jintong 金童 (mother of Yongsan Wŏnja 龍山元子)	Senior Princess-of-State of Cao 曹國長公主	Wang To 王焮(忠肅王)	Amuge 阿木哥 (Prince of Wei, 魏王, Shunzong's son)
Bayanhudu 伯顏忽都	Princess Qing-hua 慶華公主	Wang To 王焮(忠肅王)	Amuge 阿木哥(魏王)
Nolun 納倫	Princess of-State of ? 國公主	Wang Hao 王皓(濬王) Sim Wang-- Prince of Shen	Songshan 松山 (Prince of Liang 梁王, Möngke Khan's son)
Irinjinbal亦憐真班 (mother of King Ch'ungmog 忠穆王(昕))	Princess De-ning 德寧公主	Wang Chōng 王禎(忠惠王) King Ch'unghye	Jiaoba 焦八 (Prince of Zhen xi wu jing 鎮西武靖王)
Botasirin 寶塔失里	Grand and Senior Princess-of-State of Lu	Wang Ki 王祺(恭愍王) King Kongmin	Amuge 阿木哥 (Prince of Wei 魏王)

⁵⁰⁴ Wang Yi, *Menggu Yuan yu Wang Shi Gaoli ji Riben de guanxi*. Taiwan: Shangwu Yin Shu Guan, (1973): 116-117.

CHAPTER SEVEN

“One-Way Marriages”: The Imperial Marriages Between the Mongol Royal Family and the Öngüt Tribe 汪古部

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

According to the *Yuanshi*, the chief of the Öngüt tribe, Alawusi Tijihuli 阿剌兀思·剔吉忽里 (Alaqush-tikin-quli), was the descendant of the Shatuo-yanmen 沙陀雁門; and according to Rashid Al-din, “Alawusi” was his name and “Tijihuli” was his official title.⁵⁰⁵ In the Jin dynasty he was entrusted by the Jurgens 女真 to guard the fortresses on the Great Wall.⁵⁰⁶ Because the Mongols called the Great Wall Ongou, the Öngüt tribe got this name.⁵⁰⁷

Military and political considerations impelled Chinggis Khan to establish a marriage relationship with the Öngüt tribe. In 1203 Chinggis Khan conquered the Kereit tribe whose west territory was contiguous to the Naiman 乃蠻 tribe.⁵⁰⁸ The Taiyang Khan 太陽汗 of the Naiman was afraid of the invasion of the Mongols, therefore he sent an envoy named Yuehunan 月忽南 to persuade Alawusi to jointly attack the Mongols. The Naiman tribe and the Öngüt tribe belonged to the same ethnic group. They were all called “White Tartar” 白達達 (contrary to the Mongols who were called “Black Tartar” 黑鞑旦) and had a marriage relation between them.⁵⁰⁹ However, Alawusi realized that they were not strong enough to defeat Chinggis Khan, so he decided to ignore

⁵⁰⁵ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a: 230.

⁵⁰⁶ YS 118: 2923.

⁵⁰⁷ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a: 229-30.

⁵⁰⁸ YS 1:11.

⁵⁰⁹ MWESJ 36:1. See the biography of Alawusi Tijihuli 阿剌兀思剔吉忽里.

the opposition of his subordinates and submit to Chinggis Khan. He arrested the envoys of Taiyang Khan and ordered Tuor Bitashi 脫兒必塔失 to send them under escort to Chinggis Khan. He also informed Chinggis of the scheme of Taiyang Khan. In addition, he presented six jugs of wine to Chinggis Khan. Chinggis Khan was very pleased and repaid him with five hundred horses and one thousand sheep, and decided to establish an alliance and marriage relationship with him, calling him *Anda-huda* 安答·忽答.⁵¹⁰ Chinggis Khan proposed that Alawusi marry his third daughter Alahai Beki 阿剌海別吉, but Alawusi politely declined, saying that he was too old to marry the princess. Instead he proposed that his elder son Buyanxiban 不顏昔班 marry the princess.⁵¹¹

Alawusi participated in the campaign launched by Chinggis Khan against the Naiman tribe. In 1206, when Chinggis Khan ascended the throne, Alawusi was enfeoffed Battalion Commander to command his own five thousand households.⁵¹²

In 1211 (the sixth year of Chinggis Khan), when the Mongol troops were going to launch a campaign against Jin, they reorganized in the territory of the Öngüt tribe after a long march. Alawusi led his troops to guide the Mongol troops cross the border. Shortly after, he was ordered by Chinggis Khan to return to govern his own tribe. However, his subordinates, who opposed his cooperation with the Mongols, killed him. According to the *Yuan-shi*, his eldest son Buyanxiban died at the same time. Alahai Beki, Alawusi's younger son Boyaohe 李要合, and his nephew Zhenguo 鎮國 fled to Jieyuan at night. Then they took refuge in the city of Yunzhong 雲中. When the Mongols captured Yunzhong, Chinggis Khan issued a decree to find them. Since Boyaohe was still young, Alawusi's nephew Zhenguo was titled "Prince of Beiping" 北平王 and governed the Öngüt tribe. At the same time Zhenguo married his cousin's widow, Alahai Beki.⁵¹³

⁵¹⁰ "Anda": Sworn brothers; "huda": relatives by marriage of children.

⁵¹¹ MWESJ 36:2.

⁵¹² The Secret History, ch. VIII:142.

⁵¹³ YS 118: 2924.

2. THE MYSTERY OF ALAHAI BEKI

Alahai Beki was a very important woman in the history of the Öngüt tribe. Her married life, however, is very controversial. It has been a mystery regarding both how many men (one, two, three, or even four) she married and when she was initially married into the Öngüt tribe.

The records of Alahai Beki in the *Yuanshi* are unclear and somewhat misleading. Based on the *Yuanshi*, it seems that Alahai only married one man, Alawisi's younger son Boyaohe. But this is definitely wrong. The "Table of Princesses" in the *Yuanshi* tells us: "Princess Supreme of the state of Zhao 趙國大長公主 Alahai Bieji, the daughter of Taizu, married Boyaohe, the Prince Zhao Wuyi 趙武毅王".⁵¹⁴ The following is the biography of Alawisi in *Yuanshi*:

Taizu ordered Alawisi Tilihuli to return home and govern his own tribe. He was killed by his subordinates who formerly objected to him. His elder son Buyanxiban died too. His wife Alihei 阿里黑 took his younger son Boyaohe, together with his nephew Zhenguo, fled from the calamity at night to Jieyuan. They told the guards about the tragedy and climbed to the city up ropes. Then they took refuge in Yunzhong city. When Taizu had pacified Yunzhong, he offered a reward to find them and compensated them generously. Alawusi Tilihuli was posthumously granted the title 'Prince of Gaotang' 高唐王. Alihei was granted the title 'Imperial Concubine of Gaotang'. Because his son Boyaohe was still younger, Taizu first granted the title 'Prince of Beiping' to his nephew Zhenguo. When Zhenguo died, his son Niegutai 聶古台 succeeded to the title and married the daughter of Ruizong 睿宗, Princess Dumugan 獨木干. Niegutai died in troops. ... Boyaohe took part in the campaign attacking the Western Regions since his childhood. When he returned, he was conferred the title "Prince of Beiping" and married Princess Alahai 阿剌海 Bieji. Because Boyaohe did not have sons, the princess presented him with concubines to bear offspring, and those bore him three sons.⁵¹⁵

The biography of Alawusi Tilihuli in the *Yuanshi* was based on the inscription of the "Tablet of Imperial sons-in-law, Princes of Gaotang" (*Fuma Gaotang Zhongxianwang bei* 附馬高唐忠獻王

⁵¹⁴ YS 109:2757-8.

⁵¹⁵ YS 118:2924.

碑)⁵¹⁶ which was written by the Chinese scholar Yan Fu 閻復 during Chengzong's reign (1294-1307). It was written on the request of Shuhunan 術忽難, the great grandson of Alawusi. This stele inscription intentionally hid the truth about the marriage of Alahai Beki. There are two women's names in the biography: Alihei and Alahai. But Shuhunan called both of them grandmother (*zubi* 祖妣). Were they one person or two? It is highly probable that they were the same person, namely, Princess Alahai.

Yuanshi does not state when Alahai Beki first married into the Öngüt tribe. According to *The Secret History*, it was in 1207 (Year of the Rabbit, *Tuer nian* 兔兒年, the second year of Chinggis Khan). But *The Secret History* does not indicate the man whom Alahai first married. It only says, "He (Chinggis Khan) gave Alaqai unto the Önggüd."⁵¹⁷ According to Rashid Al-din, Princess Alahai was born between Ögödei and Tolui.⁵¹⁸ Ögödei died in 1241 (the eleventh month of Xinchou 辛丑) when he was 56.⁵¹⁹ So he was born in 1186. Tolui died in 1231/1232 at the age of forty or so,⁵²⁰ so he was born in about 1191/1192. Accordingly, Alahai Beki must have been born between 1186 and 1191, and she was between 16 and 21 years old when she was first married into the Öngüt tribe in 1207. Chinggis Khan launched the first westward expedition in 1219 (*Jimao* 己卯). Boyaohe went along with the Mongol troops as a child. Seven years later, in 1225 (*Yiyao* 乙酉), the first Westward expedition ended and Boyaohe returned from the Western Regions when he was 17 years old. He was granted the title "Prince of Beiping" and married Princess Alahai. At that time the princess's age was between 34 and 39. Obviously, there was a gap of 18 years from 1207 to 1225 when the princess was living in the Öngüt tribe. Who was her husband(s) during that

⁵¹⁶ Su Tianjue 蘇天爵 (compiled), *YWL 元文類*, Vol. 23:281-4.

⁵¹⁷ *The Secret History*, ch. X, p.173. *YCMS 元朝秘史*, annotated by Chen Binhe, Shangwu Yinshu Guan, (1933): 150-151.

⁵¹⁸ *Shiji*, vol. 1a, p. 231. *YSYWZB*, Vol.1:111.

⁵¹⁹ Du Jianmin 杜建民, *Zhongguo lidai diwang shixi nianbiao* 中國歷代帝王世系年表, Qilu Shushe, (1995): 184. Shao Yechang 邵葉昌, *Zhongguo lidai huangdi gailan*, 中國歷代皇帝概覽, Changchun Chunbanshe, 1989.

period? If, as Tu Ji 屠寄 assumed, Alihei and Alahai in the stele inscription of biography of Alawusi in the *Yuanshi* were actually the same person, then the first man Alahai married must have been Alawusi. One important evidence is that in the name list of ninety-five *Battalion Commander's* announced after Chinggis Khan ascended the throne, there was “Alawushi Dijitihuli *Küregen* 古列堅”.⁵²¹ “*küregen*” means “son-in-law” in Mongolian language. If Alawusi did not marry the princess, how could he be called the “son-in-law” by Chinggis Khan?

A Japanese scholar Naka Michiyo 那珂通世 believes that Alawusi had married Alahai Beki:

She was called Alahe Bieqi in Volume. 10 of the Mongol *Secret History*. She had married Alawusi before she married Zhenguo. In vol. 10 of the *Secret History* it says ‘gave Alahe Bieqi to Wangguti’. She was given to Alawusi. The Alihei Beyin in *Mengda Beilu* 蒙韃備錄 was the different transliteration of Alahe Bieqi. Alihei, the wife of Alawusi in *Yuanshi*, was actually the Alihei in *Beilu* 備錄, as well as the Alahe in the *Secret History*. Mongols did not avoid remarriage as a taboo, when a father died, his son would marry his stepmother; when an elder brother died, his younger brother would marry his sister-in-law. Originally Xiongnu 匈奴, Tujue 突厥 and the tribes in the north of the Great Wall all had such a custom. Boyaohe was probably born by Alawushi’s ex-wife. When Alawushi was killed, Boyaohe was still young. Therefore Alahe remarried his husband’s nephew Zhenguo. After Zhenguo died, Boyaohe returned home, and married Alahai according to the custom that a son should marry his stepmother. In Yan Fu’s “Fuma Gaotang Wang Kuolijisi Bei” the ‘great grandmother’ and ‘grandmother’ were actually the same person, but it called Alawushi’s wife great grandmother Alihei, while called Boyaohe’s wife great grandaunt 曾祖姑 Alahai Bieji. It seemed that they were two persons. And it did not state the background of Alihei. The biography in the *Yuanshi* was copied completely from the stele inscription. Therefore the historians who wrote the biography in the early Ming dynasty did not know that Alihei was actually Alahai.⁵²²

Did Buyanxiban marry the princess? Naka Michiyo does not believe that Buyanxiban married Alahai Bieji, his reason is the following, “Although it was the Mongolian custom that a son should marry his stepmother after his father died. Buyanxiban and his father died at the same time, thus he should not have married his stepmother when his father was still alive.”⁵²³ If the father and son really died at the same time, then only one of them could have married the princess.

⁵²⁰ Morris Rossabi, “Khubilai and the Women in his Family”.

⁵²¹ *The Secret History*, ch. VIII, p. 142: “Ala Qush Digid Quri Güregen of the Önggüd, five thousand Önggüd.” *Xinyi jianzhu Menggu mishi*, p. 222.

⁵²² Naka Michiyo, *Jingisu Kan jitsuroku* 成吉思汗實錄, Tokyo: Dai Nihon Tosho Kabushiki Kaisha, (1907): 329-330.

⁵²³ Naka Michiyo, *Jingisu Kan jitsuroku* 成吉思汗實錄, Tokyo: Dai Nihon Tosho Kabushiki Kaisha, (1907): 329-30.

However, Zhou Qingshu 周清澍 has provided evidence showing that Alawusi and Buyanxiban actually did not die in the same year, “It was in 1204 when the Öngüt tribe established friendship with Chenggis Khan when they conquered the Naimans. It could have been only after this year that Alahai Belü married Alawusi. While Alawusi died in 1207. Then the time was very short after they got married. Therefore she remarried Buyanxiban soon after she went to the Öngüt tribe. Buyanxiban died in 1211 soon after Chinggis Khan’s first attack on the Jin.”⁵²⁴

Zhao Gong 趙珙 in the Southern Song dynasty recorded in *Mengda beilu* 蒙鞑備錄⁵²⁵ that “The Emperor Chinggis has seven daughters, the second princess is called Alihei Beyin, normally called Madam Biji 必姬夫人, who had married Baisibu 白四部, the deceased subject of the Jin. She is in widowhood presently since her husband died, and has been in charge of the state affairs of the White Tartar.”⁵²⁶ According to Tu Ji 屠寄, Alihei was actually Alahai, Baisibu was the different transliteration of Buyanxiban.⁵²⁷ Peng Daya 彭大雅 and Xu Ting 徐霆 in the Southern Song dynasty also recorded in *Heida shi lue* 黑鞑事略⁵²⁸ that “Baisima 白廝馬 is also called Baisibu 白廝卜, who is the puppet prince of the White Tartar, the son-in-law of Temuzhen 忒沒真, the ex-husband of the puppet princess Alahan 阿剌罕.” According to Tu Ji, Baisima is the shortened form of Buyanxiban *fuma* 不顏昔班附馬. In 1221 (xinsi 辛巳) Zhao Gong went to Mongolia, accompanying the envoy of the Southern Song, and wrote the *Meng Da Bei Lu*. At that time Buyanxiban and Zhenguo both died, and Boyaohe was still in the Western Regions. Alahai was in

⁵²⁴ Zhou Qingshu, “Wanggubu yu Chengjisi Han jiazhu shidai tonghun de guanxi” 汪古部與成吉思汗家族世代通婚的關係, *Menggu shi lunwen xuanji*, Huhehaote, 1 (1983): 135.

⁵²⁵ Zhao Gong 趙珙, *Mengda beilu*. Zhao Gong went to Mongolia as an envoy of the Southern Song in 1221 and met the King Muqali who was commanding the Mongol troops to attack the Jin. Zhao Gong recorded what he observed and heard in this book.

⁵²⁶ Zhao Gong 趙珙, *Mengda beilu*, in *Shu fu* 說郛, yuan 54.

⁵²⁷ MWESJ 36:2. . Also see YS 118:2924.

⁵²⁸ [Song] Peng Daya 彭大雅, *Heida shilue* 黑鞑事略, annotated by Xu Ting 徐霆. Peng Daya went to Mongolia in 1232 while Xu Ting was in Mongolia during 1235-36 accompanying the Song envoys. Peng Daya was a “Record Writing Officer” 書狀官. He first wrote a manuscript. When Xu Ting returned, he wrote down what he observed and heard in the same book, using Peng Daya’s records as the original text and his records as the annotations.

widowhood and read Buddhist sutras everyday. Peng Daya travelled to Mongolia in 1232. Xu Ting went to Mongolia around 1235. At that time about ten years had passed after Alahai Beki remarried Boyaohe.

There remains no record of the remarriage of Alahai Beki with Zhenguo in such primary Chinese sources. It is found in Rashid al-Din's *Jami'al-Tavarikh* that: "When Zhenguo came, he served Chinggis Khan. Chinggis Khan granted his daughter Alahai Beki to him. She was younger than Ögödei Khan and older than *Yeke Nayan* (Tolui). Hereafter she was called Alahai Beki. Alahai Beki bore a son with Zhenguo named Niegudai."⁵²⁹

Based on the records in Rashid al-Din's book Hong Jun 洪鈞 concluded:

After a careful investigation and inference, it must have been that the princess first married Zhenguo. After her husband died, she was in charge of the affairs of the Öngüt tribe. Later her husband's younger brother returned from the Western Regions, and married the princess. Zhenguo's son Niegutai was born by the princess, while Boyaohe's three sons were born by the concubines presented by the princess.⁵³⁰

The marriage of Alahai Beki still needs future resolving investigations. I am inclined to believe that Alahai Beki first married Alawusi Tijihuli in 1207, but Alawusi was killed in the same year. Then Alahai Beki remarried Buyanxiban. When Buyanxiban died in 1211 she remarried Zhenguo. Zhenguo died some time before 1221 since Zhao Gong said that Alahai Beki was in widowhood when he went to Mongolia. She remarried Boyaohe around 1225 when the latter returned with the Mongol troops from the Western Regions.

Alahai Beki played a very important role in the government of the early period of the Mongol Empire. She was generally called "Regent Princess 監國公主" in Chinese sources. Her authority was not limited to the domain of the Öngüt tribe, but also to the northern China. For instance, she

⁵²⁹ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a: 231.

⁵³⁰ YSYWZB 3:131.

had the authority to appoint the Regional Commander of the Middle Capital 中都⁵³¹ and Hebei province.⁵³²

3. THE OTHER ÖNGÜT MEN MARRIED MONGOL PRINCESSES

Boyaohe had three sons. They were Junbuhua 君不花, Aibuhua 愛不花, and Zhuolibuhua 拙里不花.

Junbuhua married the daughter of Güyük, Princess Yelimish 葉里迷失. He participated in the campaign against the Southern Song at Diaoyushan in Sichuan under the command of Möngke Khan.⁵³³ Junbuhua was granted the title of Zhongxiang 忠襄 posthumously. He had three sons: Nangjiatai 囊家台, Qiaolinchu 喬鄰察, and Antong 安童.

Nangjiatai married Princess Yilianzhen 亦憐真, and was granted the title of “Prince of Zhonglie 忠烈王”. Nangjiazhen’s son Mazhahan 馬札罕 married Princess Sanggebala 桑哥八剌 and was granted the title of “Prince of Zhao 趙王” in 1323 (the first year of Taiding). Junbuhua’s second son Qiaolinchu married Princess Huihe 回紇, the daughter of prince Azhiji 阿只吉 (great grandson of Chaghadai 察合台), and was posthumously titled “Prince Zhao Kangxi 趙康禧王”.⁵³⁴

Boyaohe’s second son Aibuhua married Princess Yuelie 月烈, the daughter of Khubilai Khan. He participated in the campaign against Arigh Böke and defeated the rebellious general Kuobuhua

⁵³¹ YS 153:3612. See the biography of Wang Ji 王機. “In the year of wuzi 戊子 (1228), as ordered by the Regent Princess, [Wang Ji] became the Regional Commander of the Middle Capital.”

⁵³² In 1974 the archaeologists of Inner Mongolia discovered a official seal with fourteen characters--- 監國公主行宣差河北都總管之印. see Ding Xueyun, “Jianguo gongzhu tongyin kaoshi” 監國公主銅印考釋. In *Zhongguo Menggushi xuehui chengli dahui jinian jikan* 中國蒙古史學會成立大會紀念集刊.

⁵³³ YS 118:2924-5. XYS 115: 523.

⁵³⁴ XYS 115:524.

閼不花 . In 1263 (the third year of the Zhongtong era), Aibuhua took part in the campaign against Li Tan 李壇 who rebelled in Ji'nan 濟南 during Khubilai's reign. Later he led his troops to conquer the rebel princes in the northwest under the command of the chancellor Boyan 伯顏, and defeated the rebellious general Saliman 撒里蠻.⁵³⁵

Although Aibuhua was the second son, probably because he married the daughter of Khubiali Khan, he was the actual representative of the Öngüt tribe during Khubilai's reign.

Boyaohe's third son Zhuolibuhua was the governor of Yunnan and died there. His son Huosidan 火思丹 married Princess Zhuhuzhen, the daughter of Prince Buluochu 卜羅出 (Ögödei's great-grandson).

Aibuhua's four sons were all born by Princess Yuelie. They were Kuolijisi 闊里吉思, Yexian-Haimishi 也先海迷失 (died early), Shuhunan 術忽難, and Alibadai 阿里八歹. After Aibuhua died, his elder son Kuolijisi inherited the official title. Kuolijisi was highly sinicized. He was especially interested in Confucianism, and built a library named "*WanYuan Tang* 萬卷堂" in his mansion, frequently discussing scholarship with Confucian scholars. He even built a temple for Confucius in the garrisoned north frontier. Kuolijisi married Princess Hudadiemishi 忽答迭迷失, the daughter of Jin Gim (son of Khubilai Khan). After Hudadiemishi died, he remarried Princess Aiyashili 愛牙失里,⁵³⁶ the daughter of Chengzong 成宗, Tiemuer Khan 鐵穆耳. When Prince Yebugan 也不干 revolted in 1287 (the twenty-fourth year of the Zhiyuan 至元 era), Kuolijisi led about one thousand mounted troops to punish them. In a battle, however, he was wounded by three arrows. When his army returned in triumph, Kuolijisi was awarded three *jīn* of gold and one thousand and five hundred *jīn* of white gold (*baijīn* 白金). When Tiemuer Khan ascended the throne, Kuolijisi was titled "Prince of Gaotang 高唐王", together with a gold seal. When the rebel

⁵³⁵ YS 118:2924-5.

princes Khaidu and Du'a harassed the north frontiers, Kuolijisi asked the emperor for a battle assignment, and swore on departure, "If I cannot pacify the northwest my horse will never head south." In the first battle in 1297 his troops inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy. The emperor Chengzong issued a decree to grant him the marten coat and treasured saddle that had been used by Khubilai Khan, together with seven hundred bolts of brocade, as well as various weapons. Unfortunately, in a battle in the following year, Kuolijisi and his six thousand troops was defeated by Du'a's army and Kuolijisi was captured. The enemy tried to force him to marry a girl, but he said, "I am the son-in-law of the emperor. How can I remarry without the permission of the Khan and the empress?"⁵³⁷

The Yuan court was shocked by the capture of Kuolijisi, and it immediately sent troops to rescue him. Later it tried to use the son-in-law of Du'a, who was captured by the Yuan army, for exchange with Kuolijisi. But Kuolijisi was eventually killed by the enemy.⁵³⁸ In 1305 (the ninth year of the Dade era) he was posthumously titled "Zhongxian 忠獻". His wife, Princess Hudadiemish was posthumously titled "Senior Princess of the State of Qi 齊國長公主". Aiyashili was granted the title of "Princess of the Sate of Qi 齊國公主". Because his son Shu'an 術安 was still young, his younger brother Shuhunan inherited the title of "Prince of Gaotang". Shuhunan married Princess Yemian'ganzhen 葉綿干真, the daughter of Prince Wuludai 兀魯歹, the Prince of Hejian, the second son of Kuoliejian 闊列堅.⁵³⁹ When Yemian'ganzhen died, he remarried Princess Ashituluhu 阿實禿忽魯, the daughter of Prince Nailabuhua 奈剌不花.⁵⁴⁰ In 1308 (the first year of the Zhida era) Shuhunan was further granted the title of "Prince of Zhao 趙王". In the same year he returned the title to Shu'an. Shu'an then married Princess Aladinabala

⁵³⁶ YS 109:2758-9. The Table of Princesses in *Yuanshi* erroneously records Aiyashili 愛牙失里 as Aiyamishi 愛牙迷失.

⁵³⁷ YS 118:2925-6. *Shiji*, vol. 2:383

⁵³⁸ *Shiji*, vol. 2, pp. 384-5.

阿剌的納八剌, the daughter of Ganmala 甘麻剌. However, the basic annals of Yingzong in the *Yuanshi* records that in 1322 (the second year of Zhizhi 至治), “Princess Alatenabala was going to marry down, [Yingzong] granted her a half million *guans* of money.”⁵⁴¹ Chen Yuan 陳垣 claimed that it was the remarriage of the princess. She did give birth to children with Shu’an.⁵⁴²

Kuolijisi’s younger brother Alibadai married Princess Nulun 奴倫, the daughter of Wangze 完澤, Prince of Wei, son of Yulongdashi and grandson of Möngke Khan.⁵⁴³

Rashid Al-din records that Alahai Beki and Zhenguo had a son named Ankudai who married the daughter of Tolui.⁵⁴⁴ This son’s name in the *Yuanshi* is Niegutai 聶古台, who married Princess Dumugan 獨木干, the daughter of Tolui, and inherited the title “Prince of Beiping”, and was posthumously titled “Prince of Yu 郃王”.⁵⁴⁵ Because he did not have a son, he designated Shuhunan as his successor. When Shuhunan returned the title of “Prince of Zhao” to Shu’an, he inherited the title of “Prince of Yu”. Shuhunan was posthumously granted “Zhongxiang 忠襄”.

Princess Dumugan was probably another powerful woman in the history of the Öngüt tribe. An inscription on a tablet in the name of a Buddhist Monk, a description of her is recorded. “In the year *renzi* 壬子 (1252)...on the fifteenth day of the sixth month of this year, Princess Dumogan 獨謨干, the daughter of Taizu, who had great influence in the court and the commonalty, and who was widely known for her military prowess, respected our master’s moral integrity, and therefore

⁵³⁹ Kuoliejian 闊列堅 was the sixth son of Chinggis Khan.

⁵⁴⁰ Son of Arigh Böke. Also called 乃剌忽不花 Nairaqu-buqa. See YS 107:2721. *Shiji*, vol. 2:369.

⁵⁴¹ YS 28:619.

⁵⁴² See *Huayi xue zhi* 華裔學志, vol. 3, No. 1. quoted in Zhou Qingshu, “Wanggubu yu Chengjisi Han jiazu shidai tonghun de guanxi”, *Menggu shi lunwen xuanji*, Huhehaote, 1 (1983): 148-9.

⁵⁴³ YS 107:2723. See the Table of Princes.

⁵⁴⁴ *Shiji*, vol. 1a:231.

⁵⁴⁵ YS 109:2758. See the Table of Princesses, “Prince Dumugan, the daughter of Ruizong 睿宗, married Prince of Yu 郃王 Niegudai 聶古歹 who was the younger brother of Baiha 拜哈.” This statement is wrong. Baiha is the different transliteration of Boyaohe, who was the uncle of Niegutai, not his elder brother. According to Rashid Al-din, Princess Dumugan’s age was between Möngke Khan and Hülegü Khan. Rashid wrote “Niegudai” as “Aukudai”. See *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:231.

granted him a title of “*fo ri yuan zhao*”.⁵⁴⁶ The year 1252 was the second year of Möngke Khan’s reign. As the younger sister of the Khan, she may have been the governor of the Öngüt tribe during this period because her husband had died in the war while conquering the Southern Song.

In addition, the basic annals of Renzong and the Table of Princes in *Yuanshi* records a person named Alutu 阿魯禿 who was titled Prince of Zhao in 1314, and, according to the studies of Zhou Qingshu, he married Princess of Zhao, Jilashisi.⁵⁴⁷

The people of the Öngüt tribe believed in Nestorianism. New archeological discoveries have provided enough information to support this viewpoint.⁵⁴⁸ The leaders of the Öngüt tribe were the representatives of Nestorians. For example, Kuolijisi, Prince of Zhao, was perhaps the most important religious figure in the history of Öngüt tribe. Initially he believed in Nestorianism, but later he was converted to Catholicism. Pope Nicholas IV sent a bishop to China named John Mengde-Gaoweinu who lived in the Öngüt tribe for a long time and had an intimate relationship with Kuolijisi. He wrote,

“There is a prince named George (Kolijsi) here ..., previously he believed in Nestorianism. One year after I came here, we became very close, and he followed my words and was converted to the orthodox religion, namely, Catholicism, and he was among the monks. ...therefore, the Nestorian sect criticized him for abandoning his belief. The king led his people to be converted to the orthodox religion, and donated money to build a church ... When King George died, he left one son who was still an infant. But now he has been already nine years old. When King George died, his younger brothers mistakenly believed in the heresy of Nestorianism, and again led astray the people who were converted to the orthodox religion when the king was alive. The son of King George, John (*chn. Shu'an* 術安), probably used my name as his name. I pray the Lord to let him follow his father.”⁵⁴⁹

This reveals that there existed religious struggles between these two sects, and Nestorianism was still the principal religion of this tribe.

⁵⁴⁶ Shi Xiangmai 釋祥邁, “Xijing Dahuayansi Fori yuanzhao Minggong heshang beiming” 西京大華嚴寺佛日圓照明公和尚碑銘, *Shanyou shike congbian* 山右石刻叢編, *juan* 25. “The daughter of Taizu” should be “the granddaughter of Taizu”. Quoted in “Wanggubu yu Chengjisi Han jiazou shidai tonghun de guanxi”, in *Menggu Shi Lunwen Xuanji*, Huhehaote, 1 (1983): 141.

⁵⁴⁷ YS 108:2740. 25:564.

⁵⁴⁸ Nestorianism was called *Jingjiao* 景教 or *Yelikewen* 也里可溫 in the Yuan dynasty. See Zheng Mao 正茂, “Yuandai Wanggubu Jidujiao qiantan” 元代汪古部基督教淺談, *Neimeng sheke*, 6 (1993): 82-6.

Kuolijisi's younger sister was also a devout Nestorian. She wrote the Gospels in the Syrian language. Kuolijisi's father Aibuhua and uncle Junbuhua were also ardent Christians. Junbuhua financially supported Lieban Saoma and Markesi for their pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁵⁵⁰ The Mongol rulers pursued a policy of freedom of belief, and because of their marriage relationship with the Öngüt tribe they gave preferential treatment to the Nestorians, and built many churches amongst the Öngüt tribe.

TABLE 10 Princesses of the Yuan Court Married into the Öngüt Tribe

PRINCESS	TITLE	HUSBAND	FATHER
Alahai-Bieji [Alaqai-begi] 阿剌海別吉	Princess Supreme-of-State of Zhao 趙國大長公主	First Alawusi Tijihuli阿剌兀思·別吉忽里, Buyanxiban不顏昔班 Zhenguo振國 Boyaohe李要合	Chinggis Khan (Taizu 太祖)
Dumugan /Tümügen 獨木干		First Niegutai 聶古台 (Prince of Yu 郃王, son of Zhenguo), then Chahu 察忽	Tolui (Ruizong 睿宗)
Yelimishi /Yelmish 葉里迷失	Princess Supreme-of-State of Zhao	Junbuhua君不花 (Prince of Zhong Xiang 忠襄王 son of Boyaohe)	Güyük Khan (Dingzong 定宗)
Yuelie /Yüre(k) 月烈	Princess Supreme-of-State of Zhao	Aibuhua愛不花 (son of Boyaohe)	Khubilai Khan (Shizu 世祖)
Yilianzhen 亦憐真	Princess Supreme-of-State of Zhao	Nangjiatai囊家台 (Prince of Zhong Lie 忠烈王 son of Junbuhua)	?
Huihe /Uyihur 回紇	Princess Supreme-of-State of Zhao	Qiaolinchu 喬鄰察 (son of Junbuhua)	Azhiji 阿只吉
Hudadiemish 忽答迭迷失 /Qudadmish 忽答迭迷失	Princess Supreme-of-State of Zhao	Kuolijisi 闊里吉思 (Prince of Zhong Xian 忠獻王, son of Aibuhua)	Jin Gim真金 (Yuzong 裕宗)
Aiyashili /Aiyashiri 愛牙失里	Princess Supreme-of-State of Zhao	Kuolijisi	Temür Oljeitü (Chengzong 成宗)
Nulun 奴倫	Untitled Princess	Alibadai阿里八歹 (the third son of Aibuhua)	Wan Ze 完澤 (衛王 Prince of Wei, son of Yulongdashi and

⁵⁴⁹ Zhang Zhenglang 張政琅, *Zhong Xi jiaotong shiliao huibian* 中西交通史料匯編, No. 2. quoted in Zheng Mao 正茂, "Yuandai Wanggubu Jidujiao qiantan". *Neimeng Sheke*, 6 (1993): 84.

⁵⁵⁰ See Gai Shanlin 蓋山林, "Yuandai Wanggubu diqu de Jingjiao yiji yu Jingjiao zai Dong Xi wenhua jiaoliu zhong de zuoyong" 元代汪古部地區的景教遺跡與景教在東西文化交流中的作用, *Zhongguo Menggushi xuehui lunwen xuanji*, (1981): 92.

			grandson of Mōngke Khan)
Yemian'ganzhen /Emegenjin 葉錦干貞	Untitled Princess	Shuhunan 術忽難 (Prince of Zhong Xiang 忠襄王, son of Aibuhua)	Wuludai 兀魯歹 (Prince of hejian, second son of Kuoliejian 闊列堅)
Ashituhulu /Ashi(q)tuqluq 阿失禿忽魯	Princess Supreme-of- State of Zhao	Shuhunan	Nailahubuhua 乃剌忽不花
Sanggebula /Suga-bala 桑哥八剌 (Yingzong's sister?)	Grand and Senior Princess-of-State of Zhao	Mazhahan 馬札罕 (son of Nangjiatai, Prince of Zhao)	?
nan ⁵⁵¹ □難		Mazhahan	Huangwutiemuer 晃忽帖木耳
Aladinabala /Aradnabala 阿剌的納八剌	Grand and Senior Princess-of-State of Zhao	Shu'an 術安 (Prince of Zhao)	Kammala 甘麻剌 (Prince of Jin, son of Jin Gim)
Zhuhuzhen /Juqujin 竹忽真	Princess-of-State of Zhao	Huosidan 火思丹	Buluochu 卜羅出
Jilashisi /Bkra-shis 吉剌實思	Princess of -state -of Zhao 趙國公主	Alahudu 阿剌忽都 (Prince of Zhao)	?

According to Rashid al-dīn, some Öngüt women were married into the imperial family of the Yuan. But this is an exception. None of them became empresses of the Yuan. These were very different cases from those of the Onggirat and Ikires tribes. But it is similar to those situations of the Uighur tribe and Korean court. Their chiefs could marry the princesses of the Yuan, but the Yuan emperors did not marry their daughters.

TABLE 11 *The princely Concubines of the Yuan Imperial Family from the Öngüt Tribe*

NAME	TITLE	HUSBAND	FATHER
Haimishi 海迷失 ⁵⁵²	Imperial Consort 王妃	Abaha (Ill-Khan, grandson of Tolui)	?
Bizhaxia	Imperial Consort	Ganmala 甘麻剌	Aibuhua

⁵⁵¹ One character in this princess's name is missing in the *Yuanshi*.

必札匣	王妃	(Prince of Jin 晉王)	愛不花
Yeliwan	Imperial Consort 王妃	Antanbuhua按攤不花 (Prince of Qin 秦王)	Aibuhua 愛不花
Hudulu Qudulu(q) ⁵⁵³ 忽都魯	Imperial Consort 王妃	Yebugan也不干 (Prince of Hejian 河間王)	Aibuhua 愛不花

Marriage List VIII

Öngüt Tribe → Mongol Royal Family

1. Alawusi Tijihuli ... (1)Alahai Bieji
2. Buyanxiban ... (1)Alahai Bieji
3. Zhenguo ... (1)Alahai Bieji
4. Boyaohe ... (1)Alahai Bieji
5. Niegutai ... (2)Dumugan
6. Aibuhua ... (3)Yuelie
7. Junbuhua ... (4)Yelimish
8. Kuolijisi ... (5)Hudadiemish (6) Aiyashili
9. Nangjiatai ... (7)Yilianzhen
10. Qiaolincha ... (8)Huihe
11. Shuhunan ... (9)Ashituluhu (10)Yemian'ganzhen
12. Mazhahan ... (11) Sanggebala (12) nan
13. Huosidan ... (13) Zhuhuzhen
14. Alibadai ... (14) Nulun
15. Shuan ... (15) Aladinabala
16. Alahuda ... (16)Jilashisi

Marriage List IX

Mongol Royal Family → Öngüt Tribe

1. Abaha ... Haimish (1)
2. Ganmala ... Bizhaxia (2)
3. Antanbuhua ... Yeliwan (3)
4. Yebugan ... Hudulu (4)

⁵⁵² Yan Fu's "*Fuma Gaotang Zhongxianwang bei*" states that "Wuxiang 武襄 (Aibuhua 愛不花) ... had three daughters: Bizhaxia was the concubine of the Prince of Jin."

⁵⁵³ Yan Fu's "*Fuma Gaotang Zhongxianwang bei*" states that Aibuhua's third daughter "Hudulu was the Noble Consort of Yebugan 也不干, the Prince of Hejian 河間王." Yebugan was the son of Wuludai 兀魯歹 (Prince of Hejian) whose daughter was Yemianganzhen 葉棉干貞, the former wife of Shuhunan. Although the Öngüt tribe had marriage relationship with 'Prince of Hejian', Kuolijisi's first expedition punishing the rebelled prince in 1287 (the twenty-fourth year of Zhiyuan) was against the Prince of Hejian Yebugan.

CHAPTER EIGHT

“One-way Marriages”: The Imperial Marriages between the Mongol Royal Clan and the Uighur Idug-qut’s Clan 畏吾儿亦都護

The Uighur people in the Yuan dynasty were formerly called Huihe 回鹘 in the Tang dynasty. After they were defeated by the Tang, one section of the Huihe people fled to Xizhou 西州, and thus was called Xizhou Huihe. Xizhou was also called Hezhou 和州 during the Song, Liao and Jin dynasties. Therefore they were also called Hezhou Huihe. The ruler of the Uighurs was not called Khan, but Idug-qut, which means “lord of fortune”.⁵⁵⁴

The Uighur Idug-qut Barchukh Art Tegin 巴而術阿而忒的斤 was previously the subject of West Liao (Xi Liao 西遼) established by the Khitans. In 1209 (the fourth year of Taizu, the *jisi* 己巳 year) he had the supervisors of Khitan killed because they extorted excessive taxes and levies and decided to submit to the Mongols for protection. It just happened then that Chinggis Khan’s envoys arrived at his state. The Idug-qut was delighted that things were better than he expected, and he immediately sent envoys to the Mongols to express his willingness to acknowledge allegiance to Chinggis Khan. “As soon as I heard of your emperor’s awesome power and character, I immediately abandoned the old friendly relationship with the Khitans and was going to express my allegiance to you. I did not expect that Your Majesty’s envoy would come to my humble country. From now on, I am willing to lead my people to be your subjects.”⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁴ *World Conquer*, Vol. I, p. 44.

⁵⁵⁵ YS 122: 1321. See the biography of Barchukh Art Tegin. 元史·列傳·巴而術阿而忒的斤, Guofang Yanjiu Yuan, Zhonghua Dadian Bianyin Hui. 1966.

Soon Idug-qut received an opportunity to show his loyalty to the Mongols. In 1208 Chinggis Khan defeated the Merkit tribe and killed Tuoheituo 脱黑脱阿. Tuoheituo's son Hutu 忽秃 led the remains of his routed army to the Uighur territory to seek refuge. The Idug-qut rebuffed them and killed the envoy. Following a fierce engagement, the Uigurs successfully drove them off. Then he sent his chancellor to report the victory to the Mongols. Chinggis Khan also sent another envoy to him, inviting him to Mongolia where he was to meet him.⁵⁵⁶

In the spring of 1211 (the sixth year of Taizu, *Xinwei* 辛未 year), when Chinggis Khan returned from the campaign against Jin and was living in his temporary palace at the Kerulen River, the Idug-qut Barchukh Art Tegin personally had an audience with Chinggis Khan and presented him with jewelry and gold. He asked Chinggis Khan to adopt him as his "fifth son": "If Your Majesty could bestow your favors to me and put me in the place after your four sons, I would do my best to serve you."⁵⁵⁷ Chinggis Khan was impressed by his words and betrothed princess Yeli Andun 也立安敦 (Al Altun) to him and counted him as his adopted son. According to Rashid Al-din, the wedding never took place because of the death of Chinggis Khan.⁵⁵⁸ However, elsewhere, Rashid Al-din mentions that it was because of the jealousy of his wife that Barchukh Art Tegin did not marry the Mongol princess.⁵⁵⁹ So it appears that Barchukh Art Tegin did not marry the princess after all.

When Ögödei Khan ascended the throne, he planned to marry the betrothed princess to Barchukh Art Tegin. But unfortunately, she died soon after.⁵⁶⁰ Juvaini's record is similar to this:

In recognition of these praiseworthy services Chinggis-Khan distinguished him with extraordinary attentions and favours; and betrothed his own daughters to him. Owing to the death of Chinggis-

⁵⁵⁶ XYS 115:524.

⁵⁵⁷ YS 122: 1321. See the biography of Barchukh Art Tegin.

⁵⁵⁸ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a: 243-4.

⁵⁵⁹ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1b: 92.

⁵⁶⁰ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:243-4.

Khan this daughter remained behind; and he returned to Besh-Baligh. When Qa'an⁵⁶¹ ascended the throne, in fulfillment of his father's command he betrothed Altun Beki upon him, but he had not yet arrived at Court when she died. After sometime Qa'an betrothed Alajin Beki to him, but before she was delivered up to him the idi-qut was no more. His son Kesmes then presented himself at court, became idi-qut and married Alajin Beki. After a short space the idi-qut Kesmes passed away; and at the command of Queen Toregene his brother Salindi took his place and was called idi-qut.⁵⁶²

Based on the accounts of Rashid Al-din and Juvaini, there were two Mongol princesses who were betrothed to Barchukh Art Tegin, but none of them actually married him. According to *The Secret History*, however, Princess Al Altun did marry Barchukh Art Tegin: "Chinggis Khan favoured the idu'ud and gave [unto him] Al Altun."⁵⁶³ In the table of imperial princess of the *Yuanshi*,² it states that the Mongol princess married the Uighur ruler, "Princess Yeli-Andun, the daughter of Taizu, married Yidu-hu Barshu-Artedijin."⁵⁶⁴ Chinese sources do not mention that Ögödei Khan betrothed Alajin Beki to Barchukh Art Tegin.

Barchukh Art Tegin led his ten thousand troops to join the campaigns undertaken by Mongol troops. From then on the territory of the Uighur was under the rule of the Mongols for nearly a century.

When Barchukh Art Tegin died in the early year of Ögödei's reign (1229-1241), his eldest son Qieshi-maiyin 怯石邁因 succeeded to the title of Idug-qut. Qieshi-maiyin married the daughter of Ögödei Khan, Alajin Beki. When Qieshi-maiyin died in the regency of Namazhen-shi 乃馬真氏 (1241-1245), his younger brother Salun-dijin 薩倫的斤 inherited his title.

Salundijin was involved in the political struggle of the Mongol court between Ögödei's line and Tolui's line. He was designated as Idug-qut by Töregene Khatun, the widow of Ögödei Khan.⁵⁶⁵ The territory of the Uighur tribe bordered on the territories of the descendants of Ögödei

⁵⁶¹ Ögödei Khan.

⁵⁶² *World Conquer*, Vol. I, p. 49.

⁵⁶³ *The Secret History*, p. 172.

⁵⁶⁴ YS 109:2757. See the Table of Princesses.

⁵⁶⁵ *Shiji* 史集, vol. 1a:244.

Khan. And probably for these reasons, Salundijin fully supported the Ögödei's line in the struggles for the khanate. This political choice, unfortunately, resulted in fatal disaster. Ögödei's line was defeated by the line of Tolui in the political struggle and the khanate was finally transferred to Tolui's line.

According to the *Xin Yuanshi*, when Möngke ascended the throne in 1251, Salun-dijin went to the Yuan court to pay respects to the new emperor. At that time there was a rumor spreading in his state that Salundijin, a Buddhist, was going to kill all the people who believed in the religion of Tianfang 天方教 (Islam) in the Besh-Baligh 别失八里 area. His servant brought a charge against him. The Mongol official who supervised Besh-Baligh requested that Salun-dijin return to refute the rumor. Möngke ordered Manggesar 忙哥撒儿 to investigate. Salundijin was declared guilty under torture and upon false evidence and was killed. His younger brother Yuguluchi-dijin 玉古倫赤的今 was ordered to replace him.⁵⁶⁶

But things might not be so simple. It's highly probable that Salun-dijin was a victim of the internal political struggles of the Mongol court. *XinYuanshi* emphasized that "Xianzong hated the descendants of Taizong. Because of this event, all the old people of Taizong in Uighur were driven away."⁵⁶⁷ When Yu Ji 虞集 wrote inscription of the Tablet Inscription of Prince of the State of Gaochang (*Gaochangwang shixun bei* 高昌王世勛碑), he hid the true story and said that when Barchukh Art Tegin died, his son Yugulunchi-dijin succeeded to the title of Idug-qut,⁵⁶⁸ and the *Yuanshi* completely copied Yu Ji's records. Tu Ji's *Mengwur shiji* has also corrected this mistake.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁶ XYS 115:524-5.

⁵⁶⁷ YS 122:1322. See the biography of "Barchukh Art Tegin".

⁵⁶⁸ Su Tianjue 蘇天爵 (compiled), YWL 元文類, Vol. 26. Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1993.

⁵⁶⁹ MWESJ 蒙兀儿史記, Vol. 36.

The truth is that when Güyük Khan died in 1246, the Uighur people supported the descendants of Ögödei in their claim to the throne and went against the descendents of Tolui. As ordered by Ohul Qhaimish, the widow of Güyük, Salun-dijin organized a force of fifty thousand soldiers to support Shiremün 失列門, the grandson of Ögödei.⁵⁷⁰ Therefore, when Möngke Khan ascended the throne he immediately started to take revenge on the Uighur people. Salun-dijin was arrested and taken to the Mongol capital to receive arrogation and was then killed by his own younger brother Yugulunchi at Besh-Baligh, the capital of the Uighur capital, together with many other Uighur nobles.⁵⁷¹ Yugulunchi, who was loyal to Möngke Khan, became the idug-qut.

When Yugulunchi-dijin died, his son Mamula-dijin 馬木剌的斤 succeeded to the title of Idug-qut. Mamula-dijin led ten thousand soldiers of the *Tammachi* 探馬赤 troops, under the command of Möngke Khan, attacked Hezhou 合州 and Diaoyu Mountain 釣魚山 of the Southern Song.⁵⁷² But he died soon after in Huozhou 火州. His son Huochihar-dijin 火赤哈儿的斤 succeeded to the title of Idug-qut in 1266.

During Huochihar's reign, the Uighur people suffered greatly in warfare. From 1272 to 1275, the rebellious prince Khaitu, the grandson of Ögödei, and Du'a, the great grandson of Chaghatai, frequently invaded Uighur lands. In 1275, after having defeated the Yuan troops commanded by Azhiji 阿只吉 and Auluzhi 奧魯只, Du'a and Busiba 卜思巴 led one hundred and twenty thousand troops to encircle Huozhou. At that time, Khubilai was occupied in conquering the Southern Song and was unable to send troops to lift the siege on Uighur people. Du'a and Busiba threatened the Idug-qut, "Azhiji, Auluzhi and many other princes even with three hundred thousand troops could not resist me, and they were defeated. Can your isolated city resist my attack?" The Idug-qut

⁵⁷⁰ *World Conqueror*, Part One, VI, p. 48.

⁵⁷¹ Tu Ji, MWESJ 蒙兀儿史記, Vol. 36.

⁵⁷² YS 122:1322.

replied, “I know that a loyal subject never serves two masters. I take this city as my home when I am alive and will take it as my tomb when I die. I shall never submit to you.”⁵⁷³

The city was encircled for six months but was not captured. Finally Du’a wrote a letter to Huochihar-dijin, tied it on an arrow, and shot it into the city. The letter read, “I am also the descendent of the emperor Taizu. Why do you not submit to me? Your great-grandfather has married the princess. If you give your daughter to me, I will stop the attack. Otherwise, I will launch an all-out offensive.” At that time, the city had run out of food, so the Idug-qut decided to comply with Du’a’s request. But he did not want to meet Du’a personally. Therefore he put his daughter, Princess Yeliyheimishi Beki 也立亦黑迷失别吉, into a basket padded with thick mats and sent her down the city wall. Then Du’a withdrew his troops.⁵⁷⁴

Under the threat of the powerful rebel Mongol princes from the north-west, Khubilai was determined to strengthen defense capabilities in the Uighur area. In order to win the support of the Uighur Idug-qut, Khubilai greatly enhanced the political position of the Idug-qut. In 1270, as Khubilai had told the Korean king Wang Sik 王植:

You [the Korean monarch] submitted later, therefore [you] are ranked low among the princes (*wang* 王). During the reign of our Taizu [Chinggis Khan] the Idug-qut was the first to submit, accordingly it was ordered that he be ranked first among the princes. Arslan next submitted, therefore he was ranked below him [the Idug-qut]. You should know this.⁵⁷⁵

Khubilai told other Mongol princes that they should treat the Idug-qut as a member of the Mongol royal family with the courtesy of brothers.⁵⁷⁶ In addition, Khubilai resumed the marriage relationship with the Idug-qut which was suspend for nearly thirty years since Yeli Andun Beki was married into the Idug-qut’s family. When Huochihar arrived at the Yuan court, he was praised and

⁵⁷³ YS 122:1322

⁵⁷⁴ YS 122:1322.

⁵⁷⁵ YS 7:128.

⁵⁷⁶ See Kaha-Balati 卡哈把拉提, Liu Yingsheng 劉迎勝: “Yiduhu Gaochangwang shixunbei Huihe beiwen jiaokan yu yanjiu” 亦都護高昌王世勳碑回鶻碑文校勘与研究, in *Yuanshi ji beifang minzushi yanjiu jikan*, No. 8.

was given a handsome reward by Khubilai Khan. In the mean time he married Princess Baba Har 巴巴哈儿, the daughter of Güyük. In addition, Khubilai granted him one hundred thousand *ding* of money to save his people.

Although Huochihar was favoured by the Yuan court, he was in a predicament in the following years. He died later (around 1285) in a battle with the enemy from the north.

Huochihar-dijin had three sons: Niulin-dijin 紐林的斤, Qinchatai 欽察台, and Xuexue-dijin 雪雪的斤. When Huochihar-dijin died, his eldest son Niulin-dijin was still young, but he went to the Yuan court and requested that the emperor allow him to lead a troop to launch a northward expedition to avenge his father. The emperor was impressed by his ambitions, so he granted him ten thousand gold coins, and married him to Princess Bulughan 不魯罕, who was the granddaughter of Ögödei. Later after Bulughan died he remarried her younger sister Babucha 八不叉. When Tuosima 脱思麻 of the Tufan 土番⁵⁷⁷ rebelled, the emperor issued an imperial edict to grant Niulin-dijin the titles of Great Officer of Eminent Dignity (*Ronglu-Dafu*), and director of political affairs (*Pingzhang-Zhengshi*), and ordered him to lead ten thousand *Tammachi* troops of his own state to garrison Tufan. In 1308, he was ordered by Khashan 海山 (Wuzong, r. 1307-1311) to return to his own state to succeed to the title of Idug-qut and was granted a gold seal. Later Renzong granted him the title of Prince of Gaochang with an additional gold seal. When Princess Babucha died, he remarried Princess Wulazhen 兀剌真, who was the daughter of Prince of Anxi.

During Temür Öljeitü's reign (Chengzong, r. 1295-1307), the Yuan court had actually lost the control of the Uighur territories. The central part of Uighur state, including Besh-Balig and Huozhou, had been occupied by the Chaghatai *ulus*. Niulindijin set up his government-in-exile in Yongchang 永昌 in Gansu. Niulin-dijin died in 1318 (the fifth year of the Yanyou 延祐 era).

⁵⁷⁷ Tibetans in present Qinghai and Gansu provinces.

Niulin-dijin had three sons. The eldest son Tiemuer-buhua 帖木儿補化 and the second son Jianji 錢吉 were born by Princess Babucha. The youngest son was Taipingnu 太平奴, whose mother is unknown.⁵⁷⁸ In the Dade era (1297-1307), Tiemuer-buhua married Princess Duorzhisiman 朵儿只思蠻, the granddaughter of the Crown prince Kuoduan 闊端. Tiemuer Buhua had been living in the Yuan court since the Zhida era (1308-1311) as imperial guard, and served the empress dowager Daji 答吉. He was granted a title of Great Officer in Palace Attendance (*zhongfeng dafu* 中奉大夫), and was in charge of the security affairs of the Yuan capital, Dadu. Later he was promoted to the position of Great Officer Endowed with Goodness (*zishan dafu* 資善大夫), and took up the post of General *Darughachi* 都總帥達魯花赤 in Gongchang 鞏昌.

When Niulin-dijin died, Tiemuer-buhua returned to Yongchang 永昌, and tried to resign the right of succession of the title of Prince of Gaochang to his uncle Qinchatai but was unsuccessful. Therefore he succeeded to the titles of Idug-qut and Prince of Gaochang. In the Zhizhi era (1321-1323), he was in charge of the troops in Gansu 甘肅 and in his own state. In the Taiding era (1324-1327), he was ordered to return to the Yuan court.⁵⁷⁹

Tiemuer Buhua was a highly sinicized Uighur Idug-qut. He was deeply involved in the political life of the Yuan dynasty and played an important role. His political career reached the apex during Wenzong's reign, when he became the Chancellor of the Yuan court.

During the reign of Emperor Taiding, Tiemuer Buhua was ordered to garrison Xiangyang 襄陽. Soon he was granted the titles of Commander Unequalled in Honour (*kaifu yitong sansi* 開府儀同三司) and director of political affairs of the Hu-Guang (湖廣平章政事). During this period he established a close relationship with Tuq Temür, Prince of Huai 懷王 (Wenzong 文宗).

⁵⁷⁸ YS 122:1322. The biography of Barchukh Art Tegin states that Barchukh Art Tegin had two sons who were all born by Princess Babucha. But XYS states that he had three sons but it does not say who was their mother. See XYS, Guofang Yanjiu Yuan, *Zhonghua Dadian Bianyin Hui*. (1966): 1323.

⁵⁷⁹ YS 122:3002.

In 1328 (the first Year of Zhihe 致和, the first year of the Tianli era in Wenzong's reign), Tuq Temür went to the capital from Jiangling 江陵 to claim the throne. He invited Tiemuer Buhua to go together with him to the capital and help him to deal with the internal disorders of the Yuan court. As the director of the Department of Military Affairs, Tiemuer Buhua played a vital role in the ensuing war between the Supreme Capital and the Grand capital. In 1329, Tiemuer Buhua was appointed to the position of assistant of the Left in the Secretarial Council (*Zhongshu zuo chengxiang* 中書左丞相). Soon he was appointed with other important positions: the grand preceptor of the Heir Apparent (*Taizi zhanshi* 太子詹事) and chief censor (*yushi dafu* 御史大夫). In 1329 Tiemuer Buhua transferred the titles of Idug-qut and Prince of Gaochang to his younger brother Qianji in order to concentrate on the government affairs of the Yuan court.

When Wenzong died, Toqon Temür, the son of Mingzong, Qoshila, ascended the throne in 1333. Previously, Wenzong murdered his own brother, Mingzong, and sent Toqon Temür into exile. Therefore, when Toqon Temür ascended the throne, Wenzong's line suffered his revenge. As the favorite minister of Wenzong, Tiemuer Buhua was now in a difficult position. He was dismissed from office. Several years later he was killed based on an unwarranted charge.⁵⁸⁰ Later his brother Taipingnu was executed too.

In 1331 (the second year of the Zhishun era), Qianji transferred the official titles to his younger brother Taipingnu. When Taipingnu died, his son Yuelutiemur 月魯帖木儿 inherited the title of

⁵⁸⁰ NCCGL *juan* 8, p. 104. According to Quan Heng 權衡: *Gengshen waishi* 庚申外史, Tiemuer Buhua was killed in 1351. Luo Xianyou 羅賢佑: "Yuandai Weiwuer Yiduhu puxi jiqi diwei bianqian" 元代畏兀儿亦都護譜系及其地位變遷, *Minzu yanjiu*, 2 (1997): 68-75.

Idug-qut. Yuelutiemur was involved in suppressing the peasant uprising in the end of Yuan⁵⁸¹ and died in Nanyang. His son, Sangge 桑哥, inherited the title of Prince of Gaochang.⁵⁸²

Among the vassals of the Mongols, the Uighurs, as noted by Rubruck, “were the first dwellers in towns to be subject to Chinggis Khan.”⁵⁸³ Because of their early adherence to the empire and their proximity to the Mongol homeland as well as their administrative and clerical skills, the clan of Uighur Idug-qut enjoyed a close and continuous relationship with the Mongol imperial clan for nearly a century. The Uighur people were highly proficient in administration, commercial management, and cultural education, and therefore they played important roles in the political, military, cultural, and economic lives of the Mongol Empire during both the *Yeke Mongol Ulus* and the Yuan dynasty. Moreover, because of their great contributions to the Mongol Empire, their position in the Yuan dynasty was much higher than those of the other allied nationalities. Many Uighurs became high-ranking government officials. According to the *Xin Yuanshi*, members of twenty-nine prominent Uighur clans were high-ranking officials in the Yuan government.⁵⁸⁴ The marriage relationship between the Mongol imperial family and the Idug-qut’s clan only clearly indicates that the ruling clan of the Mongols attached great importance to their relationship with the Uighurs. On the other hand, as members of the ruling class of the Mongol Empire, the Uighur Idug-quts did their utmost to serve the Mongol rulers and to preserve the empire.

⁵⁸¹ YS 42:899. “[Shundi] ordered the Yiduhu, Yuelutiemur, to command the Uighur troops, together with the Prince of Yu, Alatenashili, and the director of the Department of Military Affairs, Laozhang, to suppress the bandits in Xiangyang, Nanyang, and Dengzhou.”

⁵⁸² YS 43: 910.

⁵⁸³ Dawson, op. cit., Thomas T. Allsen, “The Yuan Dynasty and the Uighur of Turfan in the 13th Century”, in *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbours, 10th-14th Centuries*, ed. Morris Rossabi, University of California Press, (1983): 141.

⁵⁸⁴ XYS 29:121-27.

TABLE 12 Mongol Princesses Married into the Uighur Idug-qut's Clan

NAME	TITLE	HUSBAND	FATHER
Yeli Andun 也立安敦		Barchukh Art Tegin 巴而述阿儿忒的斤 (Uighur Idug-qut)	Chinggis Khan
Alajin Beki 阿剌真		Qieshi-maiyin怯石邁因 (Eldest son of Barchukh Art Tegin)	Ogōdei Khan
Babahaer 巴巴哈儿		Huochihaer火赤哈儿 (Son of Mamula-dijin 馬木剌的 斤 and great grandson of Barchukh Art Tegin, Uighur Idug-gut]	Güyūk Khan
Bulughan不魯罕 (Granddaughter of Ögōdei)		Niulindijin紐林的斤 (Prince of Gaochang高昌王)	?
Babucha八不叉 (Granddaughter of Ögōdei)		Niulindijin	?
Wulazhen兀剌真		Niulindijin	Ananda 阿難答 (Prince of Anxi 安西王)
Duozhisiman朵只思蠻		Tiemuerbuhua 帖木儿補化 (Prince of Gaochang高昌王)	Kuoduan /Kōten 闊端 (Ögōdei's son)

Marriage List X***Uighur Idug-qut Tribe → Mongol Royal Family***

1. Barshuartedijin ... (1) Yeli Andun
2. Qieshi-maiyin ... (2) Alajin Beki
3. Huochihar ... (3) Babahar
4. Niulindijin ... (4) Bulughan (5) Babucha (6) Wuluzhen
5. Tiemurbuhua ... (7) Duorsiman

Conclusion

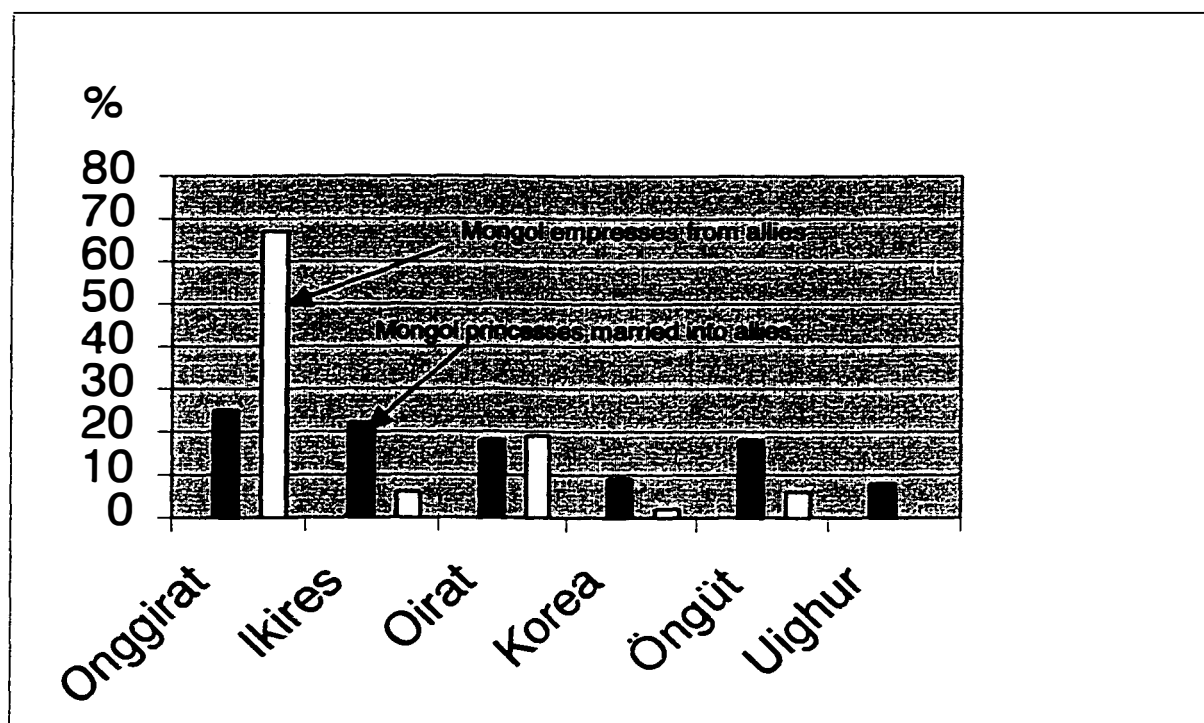
The Mongolian Empire was the largest contiguous land empire in human history in terms of geographical expanse. At its peak in the middle of the thirteenth century, its territory extended west to east from Poland to Siberia, and north to south from Moscow to the Arabian Peninsula and Siberia to Vietnam. The Mongol Empire was separated into four khanates, each ruled by a separate khan and overseen by a Great Khan. The Kipchak Khanate, or Golden Horde, ruled Russia; the Ilkhanate ruled Persia and the Middle East, the Chaghatai Khanate ruled over western Asia, and the Great Khanate controlled Mongolia and China.

These areas included a multitude of peoples and states differing greatly in their languages, cultural traditions, and forms of social and economic organization. Consequently, Mongolian royal marriages had an impact on a large number of regions.

1. The Tradition of Mongolian Royal Marriage

Both during the World Empire and the Yuan dynasty, marriage unions of the ruling clan were by no means confined to the tribes or clans described in this thesis, and in practice, were spread over a large number of peoples. Nonetheless, the six tribes and clans we have examined in this study maintained relatively stable marriage relationships with the Mongol ruling house. The following chart shows the number of Chinggisid princesses who were married into the allied clans and the number of Mongol empresses from the allied clans.

Clan Name	No. of Chinggisid princesses into the allied tribe or clan	%	No. of Mongol empresses from the allied tribe or clan	%
Onggirat	22	25	42	67
Ikires	19	22	4	6
Oirat	16	18	12	19
Korea	8	9	1	2
Ongüt	16	18	4	6
Uighur	7	8	0	0
TOTAL	88	100	63	100



The Onggirat tribe was obviously the most important marriage partner of the Mongol ruling clan, with 67% of the imperial consorts selected from this tribe and 25% of its princesses married into this tribe. Among the 22 women who received the title of Empress, either during their lifetime or posthumously, and whose family backgrounds are known (based on the *Yuanshi*), fourteen originated from the Onggirat tribe. They represented 64% of all titled and titular empresses of the Yuan. Among the rest of the eight Non-Onggirat empresses, four were from the Ikires tribe, a sub-

tribe of the Onggirat tribe according to Rashid Al-din. One came from the Bay'aut clan, and another from the Tangut. Another one was from the Kiptchac, and another from Korea.

In 1237, Ögödei Khan declared that members of the ruling Chinggisid clan would henceforth take Onggirat women as their senior or principal wives.⁵⁸⁵ However, this decree did not necessarily imply that the members of the Mongol ruling clan would thereafter take only Onggirat women as their senior or principal wives. Holmgren thus argues that “given the situation so described, and the fact that at least as many Chinggisid princesses married into the Ikires leadership as into the Onggirat, imperial marriage strategy during Yuan was scarcely based on the concept of a two-clan preferential system: despite the rhetoric on this subject, there was a deliberate attempt to maximize the spread of marriage ties and to avoid the development of close or exclusive relations with the Onggirat which might work to the disadvantage of the imperial family.”⁵⁸⁶ In view of the high percentage of the Yuan empresses from the Onggirat tribe, as well as the important roles of the Onggirat women in the Yuan court, Holmgren's claims seem unwarranted.

The selection and designation of Yuan empresses were restricted not only by the marriage traditions of the Mongol royal clan, but also by the political situation during the particular reign. For instance, at the end of the Yuan, the powerful military minister Yantimur from the Kiptchak tribe dominated the Yuan court in the early days of the reign of Toghan-Temür. Thus, Danashili, the daughter of Yantimur, was designated the principal empress of Toghan-Temür. However, when the forces of the Kiptchak tribe were cleared out from the Yuan court and Empress Danashili was killed, Shundi was forced to choose his new principal wife from the Onggirat tribe.⁵⁸⁷

There seemed to be no deliberate attempt to maximize the dissemination of marriage ties during the Yuan period. On the contrary, we see a tendency of gradually narrowing down the extent

⁵⁸⁵ YS 118:2915.

⁵⁸⁶ Jennifer Holmgren, "Observations on Marriage...", (1986): 127-92.

of marriage partners of the Mongol royal house. For example, among the large number of Chinggis Khan's wives,⁵⁸⁸ only one was known to have originated from the Onggirat tribe. The others were all taken from or presented by the conquered tribes or states, including the Merkit tribe, the Naiman tribe, the Tartar tribe, the Taijiut tribe, the Kereit tribe, Jin, Xi Xia, and Korea. Ögödei had more than sixty wives, but none were known to be from the Onggirat tribe.⁵⁸⁹ Rashid Al-din states that Güyük Khan had many wives and concubines, but only one was recorded, and she was Oghul Ghaimish from the Oirat tribe.⁵⁹⁰

Starting from Möngke Khan, practically all Mongol emperors took Onggirat wives. Among the five empresses (*huanghou* 皇后)⁵⁹¹ of Möngke Khan recorded in the *Yuanshi*, two were from the Onggirat tribe.⁵⁹² Khubilai Khan had eight empresses, and three of them were from the Onggirat tribe. One of the three recorded wives of Temür Öljeitü's (Chengzong) was from the Onggirat tribe. Two of the five recorded wives of Qaishan (Wuzong) were from this tribe. One of the two-recorded wives of Ayurbarvada (Renzong) was from this tribe. Three of the ten empresses of Shidebala (Emperor Taiding) were from the Onggirat tribe. The only recorded wife of Tuq Temür (Wenzong) was an Onggirat woman. One of the three known empresses of Toqon Temür (Shundi) was an Onggirat woman.⁵⁹³

At the same time, Mongol princesses often married into the Onggirat tribe. Because of incomplete information about the Mongol princesses who married into this tribe, especially that concerning their fathers, it is impossible to conduct a thorough analysis of this matter. This thesis

⁵⁸⁷ YS 114:2878-9.

⁵⁸⁸ If we can trust Rashid Al-din, Chinggis Khan had five hundred wives. See *Shiji* 史集, 1b:85.

⁵⁸⁹ *The Successors*, 1:18.

⁵⁹⁰ *The Successors*, 5: 175.

⁵⁹¹ In the Yuan dynasty, an emperor could have many titular empresses (*huanghou* 皇后 in Chinese and *Khatun* in Mongolian), but only one was titled principal empress (*da huanghou* 大皇后).

⁵⁹² YS 106:2693-4.

⁵⁹³ YS 106:2696-2701; 114:2879-82

has analyzed the two-clan intermarriages between Chinggisid descendants and the nobles of the Onggirat tribe, which, I believe, will shed light on this issue.⁵⁹⁴

Chinggis Khan married Börte Ujin, Dei Sechan's daughter. Chinggis Khan's first son Jochi married two women of the Onggirat tribe. One of them was Öki-fujin, the daughter of Anchen. As an exchange, Chinggis Khan's daughter Tumanlun married Chigu, the son of Anchen, and the grandson of Dei Sechan. This marriage tie, according to Uno Nobuhiro 宇野伸浩, was a "sister exchange marriage". Jochi married Öki-fujin, the sister of Chigu, and Chigu married Tumanlun, the younger sister of Jochi.⁵⁹⁵ Jochi's descendants continued the marriage ties with the Onggirat tribe. The eldest son of Jochi, Orda, married three Onggirat women. The first son of Orda, Sartaqtai, married Hujan. The second son of Orda, Quli, married Neidiken. The seventh son of Orda, Hülegü, married Qutui.

Chinggis Khan's second son Chaghatai established a new marriage tie with the descendants of Daritai, the brother of Dei Sechan. Chaghatai married Yesülün and Tögen, the two daughters of Qata. Qata was the son of Daritai and the cousin of Börte Ujin.

Although Ögödei did not marry an Onggirat woman, his third son, the heir-apparent, Kurju 闊出, married Qtaqash, the granddaughter of Anchen. As an exchange, Ögödei's daughter Suorhahan married Nahe, the grandson of Anchen.

Chinggis Khan's youngest son Tolui married Nayan Khatun (father's name unknown⁵⁹⁶). Tolui's son Jurikeh married Bulga, the granddaughter of Anchen. As an exchange, Tolui's daughter Yesubuhua was married to Wochen, the son of Anchen. Tolui's first son Möngke married

⁵⁹⁴ For the details of these marriage ties, see Chapter Four of this thesis, and refer to "TABLE 3: The empresses and imperial concubines of Mongol Yuan from the Onggirat tribe", as well as "TABLE 4: The Princesses of Yuan Court Married into Onggirat Tribe".

⁵⁹⁵ Uno Nobuhiro 宇野伸浩: "Hungjilabu yu Chengjisihan xi tonghun guanxi de bianqian. 宏吉剌部与成吉思汗系通婚关系的变迁", (trans from *Toyoshi Kenkyu* 東洋史研究, vol. 52, No. 3.) *Mengguxue Xinxu* 蒙古學信息, 67 (1997): 1-7.

two Onggirat women, Hudutai and Yesuer. They were both daughters of Manggechen. The fourth son of Tolui, Khubilai, married three Onggirat women. They were Chabui, the daughter of Anchen; Nanbui, the Daughter of Xiantong; and Tiegulun, the daughter of Tuolian. The youngest son of Tolui, Arigh Böke, married two Onggirat women: Khutlu and Eshitei.

Therefore, one may state that there existed a two-clan preferential system established between the Mongol royal family and Dei Sechan's family of the Onggirat tribe. Although new marriage ties were occasionally established, these ties had no impact on the old marriage ties. And, according to Chinggisid marriage strategies, the augmentation of new marriage partners were political choices to either control foreign states, such as the intermarriages between the Yuan court and the Koryŏ court, or to win over powerful military ministers, such as the marriage between Shundi and Danashili, the daughter of Yantiemur of the Bay'aut clan.

Holmgren further claims that "there was no urgent reason for a rigid two clan system of marriage exchange. Moreover, with the rationale for its existence removed, such a system could only pose a threat to the supremacy of the ruling family in that the powers invested in the head of state would inevitably fall into the hands of the consort clan. For this reason, practice during Yuan was very different from theory, and the wide-range of marriage ties established during Chinggis Khan's time was maintained with very little modification through to the fourteenth century."⁵⁹⁷

There were only five non-Onggirat empresses during the Yuan period. They represented 24% of all women who were elevated to the rank of empress during their lifetime, and 50% of first empresses of the Yuan ruler. It is true that, in general, it was easy for clans as powerful as the Onggirat to dominate the imperial court and to threaten the existence of the dynasty. "Disasters caused by external clans" (*waiqi zhi huo* 外戚之禍) had frequently occurred in Chinese dynastic

⁵⁹⁶ It is inferable that Nayan Khatun was probably from Anchen's family since Tolui and his descendants maintained a close marriage relationship with Anchen's family.

history. For instance, Wang Mang and Empress Lü in the Han dynasty, and Yang Guozhong and Empress Wu in the Tang Dynasty either deposed the emperors and established their own dynasties, or caused unrest leading to the dynasty's extinction.

Some empress dowagers from the Onggirat tribe in the Yuan dynasty became regents, but there were no imperial maternal uncles from this tribe who manipulated imperial political affairs. The following reasons may account for this fact. First of all, every prince in the Yuan dynasty had his own *touxia* 投下,⁵⁹⁸ a fief or a manor, over which he had complete control. The leaders of the Onggirat tribe and other tribes that maintained a stable marriage relationship with the Yuan court held on to their own fiefs of vast territories. During Chinggis Khan's reign, Anchen and his brothers were granted a huge piece of land in Mongolia. Later several circuits (*Lu* 路) were established in this territory, such as the Yingchang Lu and Quanning Lu which belonged to "Prince of Lu 魯王". The Onggirat tribe also had many other manors in other areas. For example, the three prefectures--Ji 濟, Yan 兗 and Shan 單 in Jining Lu 濟寧路 commanded sixteen counties; the six counties in Tingzhou Lu 汀州路; and the seven counties in Yongping Lu 永平路. These areas included parts of present-day Shandong, Jiangsu, and Jiangxi. For the Onggirat nobles, the fiefs were like their own kingdoms. The management of the fiefs, to a certain extent, sidetracked their attentions from the throne and political affairs of state.

Holmgren correctly states that imperial marriage under the Mongols evolved to fit a decentralized feudal mode of administration in which the female offspring played a critical role in preserving the authority and independence of male agnates stationed on the realm's periphery. Also, because of this decentralized control, the Yuan was one of the few regimes successful in breaking the link between the authority delegated to the senior widow and the status and power of her family.

⁵⁹⁷ Jennifer Holmgren, "Observations...", (1986): 141.

⁵⁹⁸ For the explanation of *touxia* 投下, see footnote 234 in page 98.

During the Yuan dynasty, the position of the imperial wife was never dependent upon that of her family. Rather, she was entrusted with power in the same way as a sister or brother. Moreover, her authority did not challenge, and was not challenged by her sister or brother.⁵⁹⁹

On the other hand, the Yuan imperial court maintained the military democratic tradition throughout most of the dynastic period. Princes and nobles were entitled to attend *khuriltai* to discuss and determine important state political or military affairs. This would have surely decreased the attempts of the *waiqi* to control the throne. In addition, the “Four *Keshig* Institution” of the Yuan also contributed to the presentation of this tradition. Because the sons of nobles or meritorious generals worked around the emperors, the influences of *waiqi* and eunuchs were effectively controlled by the emperors. The *Mengwur Shiji* offers the following comments regarding this issue:

Amongst the Mongol emperor’s relatives on the side of his wives or mother, the Onggirat tribe was the most illustrious. But this tribe had a separate manor. It took part in the expeditions or campaigns with its own people. Except collecting the land rents and tax, it had not been granted any imperial authority. Therefore it did not have the disaster that the whole people in the tribe were put to death as such happened in the Han and Tang dynasties. This strategy was actually adopted by the Qing dynasty.⁶⁰⁰

In comparing the imperial marriages of the Yuan dynasty with those of the Song dynasty, one finds their marriage policies differed in form and function. The Song imperial family drew a lesson from the troubles caused by *waiqi* in the Han 漢, Jin 晉, and Tang 唐 dynasties. They also adopted various measures to prevent *waiqi* from interfering in political affairs. During the early Song, most of the *waiqi* consisted of famous generals from the Five Dynasties. The Song imperial clan aimed at consolidating its political power by means of marriage ties with these powerful generals. But, the Song government was also worried about the potential threat constituted by these powerful generals. Thus it decided to weaken the power of those generals by means of marriages. For example, when the great generals, including Shi Shouxin 石守信, agreed to establish marriage

⁵⁹⁹ J. Holmgren, “Imperial Marriage ...”, (1991): 89-90.

⁶⁰⁰ MWESJ 23:10.

relationships with Taizu of the Song (Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤), they were immediately persuaded to give up their military powers. This is the well-known event in Song history called “giving up military power with a cup of wine”. To avoid the malpractice of *waiqi* in state affairs, a set of “Methods of treating *waiqi*” was gradually developed.⁶⁰¹ Its strategy towards *waiqi* was to “provide them with a handsome salary and high-ranking titles, but do not let them hold and monopolize power”.⁶⁰² The Song imperial family formulated a series of stipulations regarding this concern. For example, a *waiqi* was not allowed to hold the posts of chancellor, commissioner of the Department of Military Affairs (*Shumishi* 樞密使), retinue official (*Shicong Guan* 侍從官), censorial inspector (*Jiansi* 監司), or prefecture governor (*Junshou* 郡守). A member of the *waiqi* was absolutely prohibited from commanding troops. A man who held a military or political office had to resign if a woman in his family had been selected and conferred the title of empress.

There is no clear evidence indicating that the *waiqi* ever posed a real threat to the central government. Also, there were no specific stipulations concerning the treatment of *waiqi* in the Yuan dynasty. In fact, all the *waiqi* in the Yuan dynasty were regarded and treated as the pillars of support for the Mongol Empire. Not only were they not dismissed from military positions, as had occurred in the Song dynasty, but they also were awarded the titles of princes and retained their military power. However, this does not imply that all the *waiqi* supported the Yuan court. Along with the frequent internal political struggles for the throne in the ruling clan, the *waiqi* were forced to make political choices, and they were inevitably divided. For example, when the campaigns between Khubilai Khan and his younger brother Arigh Böke broke out, the Oirat people organized troops to support Arigh Böke. “Arigh Böke’s army was defeated, and many of the Oirat tribesmen were

⁶⁰¹ Li Yujie, Qin Xueqi 李禹階，秦學頤，*Waiqi yu huangquan* 外戚與皇權，Xinan Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, 1993.

⁶⁰² *Guochao zhuchen zouyi* 國朝諸臣奏議，Vol. 35. Quoted in *Waiqi yu huangquan*.

killed.”⁶⁰³ The political choice of the Oirat nobles was obviously influenced by their close marriage ties with Arigh Böke and his descendants. (Arigh Böke married Ailjiqmish, the daughter of Törölchi, the chief of the Oirat tribe. Melik-Temür, the second son of Arigh Böke, married Emegen, the daughter of Pars-buqa, the third son of Törölchi. The daughter of Melik-Temür, Emegen,⁶⁰⁴ married Toq-Temür, the grandson of Pars-buqa.) On the contrary, Khibilai and his descendants had no marriage ties with the Oirat tribe.

Moreover, one of the distinctive policies of the Song imperial marriage was “not considering family rank in marriage (*hunyin buwen fayue* 婚姻不問閥閱)”. According to Zhang Bangwei’s statistics, 70.8% of the empresses and Noble Consorts in the Tang dynasty came from the high-rank bureaucratic families, while only 26.8% of the empresses and Noble Consorts in the Song dynasty originated from such families.⁶⁰⁵ Among the 41 empresses and Noble Consorts who had biographies in the Song historical materials, 21 were from non-bureaucratic families. Amongst these, many were from low-class families. For example, empress Liu of Zhenzong was a street-performer in Kaifeng. The mother of Noble Consort Miao of Renzong was a wet nurse of Renzong. The father of empress Zheng of Huizong was the owner of a wine-shop.

On the contrary, almost all of the empresses and Noble consorts in the Mongol Yuan came from aristocratic families. Among the 27 empresses and consorts who had biographies in the *Yuanshi*, 26 were from aristocratic families. They comprise 96% of the total number. Only the Korean woman, Qishi Wanzhehudu, the empress of Shundi, was from a common family.

⁶⁰³ *The Successors*, 7:256.

⁶⁰⁴ I suspect that Rashid Al-din was probably confused about the names of the two women. It would be unusual for them to have an identical name: Emegen.

⁶⁰⁵ Zhang Bangwei 張邦煒, *Hunyin yu shehui* (Songdai), Ch. 4. Quoted in *Waiqi yu huangquan*, 1989.

2. Cultural Aspects of the Mongolian Royal Marriage

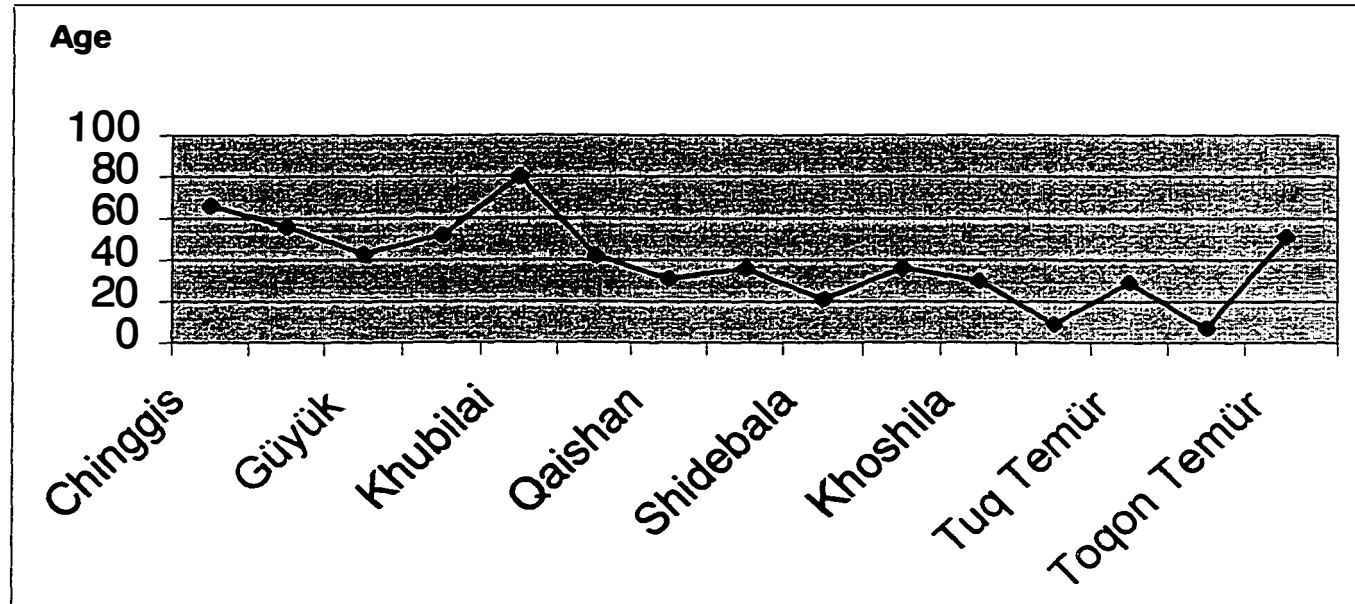
The marriage institution of the Mongol imperial ruling house stemmed from the exogamic marriage tradition. A man in ancient Mongolian society was not allowed to marry a woman from within his own tribe. Instead, he had to go to another tribe to select a wife. This custom inevitably affected the marriage institution of the Mongol imperial ruling house. Exogamic marriages have been discussed in detail in Chapter One of this thesis.

The practice of exogamy was obviously to avoid consanguineous marriage and to prevent inbreeding. However, the Mongol royal family seemed not to understand that consanguineous marriage and inbreeding could also take place between two tribes if the two-clan preferential marriage system was continued in future generations. My study reveals that consanguineous marriage had occurred since the reign of Khubilai Khan and continued until the end of the Yuan dynasty.

The negative impact of consanguineous marriages on the population quality of Mongol imperial house became evident beginning with the sons of Khubilai Khan. Many princes and princesses were born unhealthy. The life spans of the imperial family became shorter and the Yuan rule became weaker. As a result, the Yuan government was often controlled by empress dowagers, empresses, as well as powerful ministers. The following chart shows these life spans of the Mongol Khans and Yuan emperors.

Khan/Emperor	Age at death	Khan/Emperor	Age at death
Chinggis (Taizu)	66	Shidebala (Yingzong, murdered)	21
Ögödei (Taizong)	56	Yisün Temür (Emperor Taiding)	36
Güyük (Dingzong)	43	Khoshila (murdered)	30
Möngke (Xianzong)	52	Arigiba (Tianshun Di, killed)	9

Khubilai (Shizu)	80	Tuq Temür (Wenzong)	29
Temür Öljeitü (Chengzong)	42	Irinjibal (Ningzong)	7
Qaishan (Wuzong)	31	Toqon Temür (Shundi)	51
Ayurbarvada (Renzong)	36		



One should not conclude, however, that the decline of the Mongol Empire was the direct outcome of consanguineous marriages in the Mongol imperial clan, and of course, the destruction of Yuan dynasty was the result of many factors. Consanguineous marriage and inbreeding was possibly one of them, or at least one of the indirect factors. When we look at the short life spans of the Yuan emperors after Khubilai Khan, what association of ideas should we have? When we see the morbid and indecisive character the later Yuan Emperors possessed, can we believe that they were really the descendants of the strong and powerful Mongol hunters and conquerors?

Obviously, an immature and inexperienced emperor, a mindless emperor, or an emperor suffering from long-term illness, would hardly perform his duties efficiently. And furthermore, when we have understood that the short life spans of the imperial family members were actually the

result of consanguineous marriage and inbreeding, we have to admit that genetic factors were also one of the important factors that contributed to the collapse of the Yuan dynasty.

Among the Mongol rulers in China, Khubilai was without doubt the most capable, but his descendants became increasingly less competent. His grandson and successor, Emperor Temür (1294-1307), was the last able member of the Mongol dynasty of China. After him, degeneration set in at once. My study reveals that the degeneration occurred in step with the occurrence of consanguineous marriage and inbreeding among the Mongol imperial members.

In exploring the causes of the extinction of the Mongol dynasty, however, we might agree with a view popular among historians that the destruction of the Yuan dynasty was the result of over-Sinicization of the Mongols.⁶⁰⁶ They believe that the descendants of the steppe hunters so much succumbed to the pleasures of the sedentary life that they forgot their hardy origins and the causes of their rise to power. In René Grousset's opinion, some Mongol rulers tried unsuccessfully to reverse this trend.

Möngke Khan had been the last to try to bring the conquerors back to the simple ways of the steppe. Khubilai, who succeeded him, decisively reoriented his dynasty toward the Chinese way of life: a sedentary existence among civilized pleasures. Under a man of his personality (or that of his grandson Temür), this was all to the good, for to Mongol hardihood—which in him remained unimpaired—he added Chinese ability. But with the coming of weak, second rate emperors, that combination proved wholly detrimental. The last Jenghiz-Khanites of China were over-Sinicized, softened by court life and its voluptuous excesses, and cut off from the outer world by a screen of favorites and mistresses, literati and bureaucrats, and so lost virtually every vestige of their Mongol vigor. These descendants of the most redoubtable and terrible conqueror known to history dwindled away into feebleness, ineptitude, tearful vacillation, and in the hour of disaster, lamentation. Of the barbarian character they retained only the inability to accustom themselves to the Chinese idea of the state as an abstract entity. Although occupying the throne of the Sons of Heaven, they remained a clan whose members wrangled in public, snatched power from one another, and destroyed one another. At the time of the Chinese rebellion, they were so hopelessly divided among themselves and so bitterly jealous that, rather than unite in face of danger, they let the Chinese overcome them one by one.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁶ See, for example, René Grousset: *The Empire of the Steppes*, trans. by Naomi Walford, Rutgers University Press, (1997): 320-2.

⁶⁰⁷ René Grousset: *The Empire of the Steppes*, trans. by Naomi Walford, Rutgers University Press, (1997): 320.

Grousset has also noticed the short lives of the Mongol emperors, but he asserts that they resulted from their hedonistic excesses. Women and wine were certainly two important matters in the daily life of Mongol nobles. However, they cannot convincingly account for the short lives of the Mongol emperors after Khubilai Khan. Although most Mongol khans and emperors loved wine and women, not all of them were short-lived. It is said that Chinggis Khan had five hundred wives, but he lived sixty-six years. Ögödei Khan was well-known for his excessive drinking, but he still enjoyed a life of fifty-six years. The last Yuan emperor, Toqon Temür, “a weak, vacillating person, found delight only in the company of his favorites and of Tibetan lamas. Dulled by debauchery ...”⁶⁰⁸ he still lived for fifty-one years. Toqon Temür, as we have seen, was born of Mailaidi, 邁來迪, the granddaughter of Arsilan 阿兒思蘭, chief of the Halahu 哈剌魯 (罕祿魯) tribe.⁶⁰⁹ Thus was beyond the traditional marriage circle of the Mongol imperial family and Toqon Temür was not an outcome of a consanguineous marriage.

Not only did the Mongol emperors have short life spans, but also many Mongol princes and princesses were short-lived. As we have discussed in Chapter Three, the Mongol princesses who were married into the Korean court had only a thirty-three-year average life span.

In terms of sinicization, the emperors of the Qing Dynasty were obviously much more sinicized than their Mongol counterparts in the Yuan dynasty. But the Qing Dynasty lasted more than three times that of the Yuan. Therefore, over-sinicization, in the sense of a debauched court-life, cannot fully account for the destruction of the Mongol dynasty.

Some scholars have suggested a very different view: notably, that the Mongols were not sinicized enough. Richard Hooker, for instance, believes that the failure to learn Chinese and

⁶⁰⁸ René Grousset: *The Empire of the Steppes*, trans. by Naomi Walford, Rutgers University Press, (1997): 323.

⁶⁰⁹ YS 38:815.

integrate themselves fully into Chinese culture greatly undermined the Mongol rulers.⁶¹⁰ Some other scholars have argued that, although the nomads and semi-nomads that conquered China could never have escaped sinicization, the Mongols were the least sinicized. This view is popular among Chinese scholars who believe that the Mongols would have been more “civilized” if they had been more sinicized. They often complain that the Mongol emperors were so reluctant to learn Chinese culture that they could hardly become good Sons of Heaven. Zhao Yi 趙翼, for instance, suggested that most of the Yuan Emperors did not learn the Chinese language. And even though some of them became interested in Chinese culture, they had to rely on translation.⁶¹¹

Chinese scholars of later periods seem to have held ambivalent views about the Mongol rule. On the one hand, they were resentful about Mongol rule, because under the Mongols, traditional Chinese culture was faced with extinction and Chinese intellectuals received unjust treatment. On the other hand, however, some of them sincerely accepted the Yuan as a legitimate Chinese dynasty, and believed that the Mongols had received the mandate of Heaven to rule over China. And of course, many Chinese scholars in the Yuan dynasty served the Mongol conquerors loyally. According to Zhao Yi, during the peasant rebellions at the end of the Yuan Dynasty, many Chinese scholar-officials who held the *jinshi* 進士 degrees died to preserve their moral and political integrity.⁶¹²

The Yuan was the shortest lived of the major Chinese dynasties. From the time that Kublai occupied Beijing in 1264 to the fall of the dynasty in 1368, a mere hundred years passed. Since Khubilai moved his capital to China proper and adopted a Chinese title for his dynasty, he seems to have lost legitimacy among the Mongols still in Mongolia who thought he had become too Chinese.

⁶¹⁰Richard Hooker (1996). See <http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/CHEMPIRE/YUAN.HTM>

⁶¹¹ Zhao Yi 趙翼, (collated and annotated by Du Weiyun 杜維運), *Nianer shi zhaji* 廿二史劄記, Taipei: Dingwen Shuju, (1975): 682-3.

Thus, his successors were placed in an awkward situation. On the one hand, rebellions of Mongol princes against the Yuan were frequent during the fourteenth century, and on the other hand, the majority of Chinese, especially in the south, never accepted the Yuan as a legitimate dynasty but regarded the Mongol conquerors rather as bandits, or at best an occupying army.

Intermarriage with Chinese had been one of the most effective and natural means to assimilate “barbarians” in Chinese dynastic history. However, this tactic proved futile to the stubborn Mongols. Throughout the Yuan dynasty, the Mongol rulers constantly discouraged Mongols from marrying Chinese. There were also no Chinese women among the large number of Mongol emperors’ wives. When the Southern Song was conquered and the Song imperial consorts were sent to Shangdu 上都, the Mongol capital, Khubilai did not take any of them.

It seems to be a mystery why Khubilai did not take any of the Song imperial consorts as his wives as did by his grandfather Chinggis Khan who took women from conquered tribes and states. Was it a sign indicating a change in attitude of the Mongols towards war captives? Or was he concerned about the consequences of such marriages? To answer these questions, we have to first consider the possible psychological reactions among both the Chinese and the Mongols. If Khubilai took any of the Song consorts, what signal would he send to both the Mongols and Chinese? What would the former Song people feel? Would they deem it an honor or a shame?

Certainly, if Khubilai married a Chinese woman, the Mongols might take it as an example and then marry Chinese too. On the other hand, from the Chinese view of point, it would be shameful for a woman to remarry, and it would be a great disgrace to be taken by the enemy. Thus, if Khubilai chose to take the Song consorts, he would probably also take the risk of misleading the Mongols and provoking resentment among the Chinese.

⁶¹² Zhao Yi 趙翼, *Nianershi zhaji* 廿二史劄記, Taipei: Dingwen Shuju, (1975): 703-4.

Concerning women's remarriage, there existed a distinctive difference between the marriage customs of the Han Chinese and the Mongols. Like the Chinese, the Mongols valued married women's chastity. However, the Mongols encouraged widows-remarriage, especially levirate marriage, which was in sharp contrast to Chinese marriage customs and moral standards. Levirate marriage may serve as an indicator of the extent of the sinicization of the Mongols. Throughout the Yuan dynasty, the Yuan court never banned this marriage custom. On the contrary, during the early Yuan it attempted to spread this custom to other ethnic groups. And there is evidence that some Han Chinese practiced levirate under Mongol influence.

Paul Ratchnevsky has pointed out the fact that, at first, the Mongol conquerors tried unsuccessfully to force their laws upon the subjugated people.⁶¹³ But because nomadic law was wholly concerned with the facts of life on the steppe, it was incapable of meeting the complex requirements of an urban, and rural, chiefly agrarian population.⁶¹⁴ Therefore, in a second phase, the conquerors introduced a dualistic system of rule. One set of laws governed the conquerors' own people, while the set of laws indigenous to the conquered Chinese was enforced among the latter. The Yuan court thus stipulated that each nationality should follow only its own marriage customs, and the Han people and the Southerners should therefore not practice levirate.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹³ Paul Ratchnevsky, "Jurisdiction, Penal Code, and Cultural Confrontation under Mongol Yuan Law". In *Asia Major*, Third series, Vol. VI, Part I, (1993): 161.

⁶¹⁴ *Yuan Dianzhang*, 18-35a, 35b. Also see Paul Ratchnevsky, "The Levirate in the Legislation of the Yuan Dynasty", in *Asiatic Studies in Honour of Dr. Jitsuzo Tamura on the Occasion of His Sixty-fourth Birthday (Tamura Hakase Sosho Toyoshi Ronso 田村博士頌壽東洋史論叢)* Tokyo, May 25, MCMLXV. Kyoto, Japan, (1968): 45-62.

⁶¹⁵ YS 34, see the basic annals of Wenzong.

3. Political Aspects of Mongolian Royal Marriages

The political character of the Mongol imperial marriages was particularly distinct. Marriage strategy was one of the most important political strategies of the Mongol royal family. Chinggis Khan and his successors successfully carried through their marriage strategies, which made the Mongolian royal marriages in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the most typical political marriages.

Since the time of Chinggis Khan, marriage had been regarded as an important means to ally all potential forces. For example, Chinggis acknowledged Ong-Khan as his adoptive father when he was still weak, and then proposed an exchange marriage relationship between these two families to establish a “doubly friendly” relationship.⁶¹⁶ He proposed that his own son Jochi marry Senggüm’s (Ong-Khan’s son) younger sister Cha’ur Beki; and his eldest daughter Khojen Beki marry Senggüm’s son Tusaqa.⁶¹⁷ This action indicates that Chinggis fully realized the importance of political marriage and tried to use it for his own interests at the very beginning of his political and military careers. In the following conquering wars, Chinggis Khan successfully used this strategy to subdue some important tribes and states. In most cases it was Chinggis Khan who initiated these marriages. For example, when Arslan Khan submitted to the Mongols without fighting, Chinggis Khan made a decree, “I shall give [unto him] a daughter.”⁶¹⁸ When the Uighur Idug-qut submitted to Chinggis Khan, Chinggis Khan said: “I shall also give [unto him] my daughter. Let him become my fifth son.”⁶¹⁹ When Khuduqa Beki of the Oirat tribe submitted, Chinggis Khan “favored [him]

⁶¹⁶ *The Secret History*, Ch. V. p. 89.

⁶¹⁷ *YCMS 元朝秘史*, annotated by Chen Binhe 陳彬龢, Shangwu Yinshu Guan, P. 87. *The Secret History*, Ch. V. p. 89.

⁶¹⁸ *The Secret History*, Ch. X. p. 171.

⁶¹⁹ *The Secret History*, Ch. X. p. 172.

and gave Checheyigen unto his son, unto Inalchi. He gave Holuiqan, daughter of Jochi, unto Torolchi, elder brother of Inalchi. He gave Alaqa Beki unto Öngüt.”⁶²⁰

The Mongolian royal house tried various stratagems to establish or strengthen the military relationship with every marriage partner. Marriages with the allied states were taken as a tool to effectively control them. This was exemplified by the political involvement of Mongol princesses in the Öngüt state and the Korean court.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when Chinggis Khan was annexing other tribes in the northern steppes, the marriage relatives of Chinggis Khan had proven to be militarily important. When the Onggirat tribe and four other tribes formed an alliance and swore at the Aleiquan 阿雷泉 to attack Chinggis Khan. Chinggis Khan's father-in-law Dei Sechen sent an envoy to report the situation to Temüjin 鐵木真 (Chinggis). This enabled him to be prepared for the allied attack. Later, when Jamuka 札木合 was preparing to attack Chinggis Khan with allied troops arranged in thirteen wings 十三翼, Chinggis' brother-in-law Botu 孛术, who was the chief of Ikires tribe, also sent an envoy to report the impending danger to Chinggis Khan.

In fact, virtually all Mongol princesses were undertaking important political missions when they were sent to marry the heads of dependencies. When a princess was to marry a foreign prince or a tribal chieftain, she would be first instructed formally about her mission by Chinggis Khan himself or by one of his representatives. She was henceforth to be seen not merely as a wife of the leader of the allied state, but instead, her mission was to become the political representative of the Mongol Empire to help control the allied state or tribe. She knew that she must remain loyal to the Mongol royal family instead of to the family she was going to enter. She was to keep a clear head and not be influenced by the new environment. And these women did play important roles in the political affairs of the allied and subordinate tribes and states. This was especially so in the case of

The Secret History, Ch. X. p. 173.

the marriages of Alahai Beki in the Ongut state and Khudulu(gh)Khaimish in the Koryō court.

The practice of the marriage strategy by the Mongol ruling house, however, underwent changes throughout the history of the Mongol Empire. When the Mongol ruling house had secured their rule over the vast empire, they appeared satisfied with the established marriage ties and were no longer eager to seek new marriage ties with other tribes or states. During Ögödei's reign (1229-1241), it was further declared that the Onggirat clan should be the chief marriage partner of the Mongol ruling house, thus limiting the sphere of their marriage partners. When the Korean court finally submitted to the Yuan rule, Khubilai did not intentionally grant a marriage to the Korean king. Instead, it was the Korean king who repeatedly proposed to Khubilai the marriage tie on his own initiative.

Unfortunately, during the later Yuan period, the established marriage institutions of the Mongol royal family were damaged and the Mongolian royal marriages became devalued. The extreme case was that of the powerful military minister Yantimur 燕帖木兒 of the Kiptchak clan, who took the empresses of Emperor Taiding during Wenzong's reign (1329-32). Moreover, to reward Yantimur for his military merits, Wenzong awarded him four princesses, and it is astonishing that Yantimur married in total forty Mongol princesses.⁶²¹ The devaluation of the Mongol royal marriage is indeed a significant sign of the decline of the Mongol empire. Furthermore, Yantimur married his daughter to Shundi and successfully controlled him during his early reign.

As for the political roles of the Mongol empresses in the Yuan court, Mongolian tradition did not restrict empresses' political involvement, and therefore, most of the Mongol empresses were very active in politics throughout the history of the Mongol Empire. They either became regents

with direct influence over the government, or they represented the emperors who were too old or too ill to handle state affairs. At the very least, they influenced the emperors in policy and decision-making. In particular, they played crucial roles in the election and enthronement of new emperors. During the thirteen reigns of the Mongol Khans and the emperors of the Yuan dynasty, eleven empresses were actively involved in government affairs.⁶²² Some of the empress dowagers partially, or even fully, controlled the Yuan emperors for several reigns, as exemplified by the Empress Dowager Daji. Thus, the trend in the Yuan dynasty was an escalation of the influence of the empresses and the decline of the power of the emperors.

The *Khuriltai*, the Mongolian-style military democratic institution, had actually been terminated after Temür Khan's reign (1294-1307). As a consequence, the role of the empress became more and more vital to the enthronement of new emperors, and they often asserted their authority to directly enthrone the new emperors. During the late Yuan, three emperors, Yingzong, Ningzong, and Shundi, were directly enthroned by the empress dowagers when they were very young. The majority of empress dowagers preferred to designate young and weak emperors so that they were able to continue their control over government affairs. The struggles among the emperors, empresses, empress dowagers, as well as crown princes, persisted throughout the late period of the Mongol Yuan, inevitably poisoning the political environment of the Yuan dynasty and facilitating the destruction of the Mongol dynasty.

In conclusion, the great ambitions of the Chinggisid clan for a maximum geographical expansion of the Mongol empire necessitated marriage strategies for an effective control of the realm. The effect of the political marriages of the Mongol royal family was largely justified by its

⁶²¹ YS 138: 3333. See the biography of Yantimur. A Mongol princess was not necessarily a daughter of the emperor. All girls of the royal house could be called and titled "princess". They were generally called "zongshi nü 宗室女".

⁶²² Hu Wu 胡務, "Meng Yuan Huanghou yu Yuanchao Zhengzhi", in *Qiusuo* 求索, 3 (1990): 121-125.

successive domination over the allied tribes and states during the early period of the Mongol empire. The halo once placed on the strategy of Mongol royal marriage faded along with the decline of the Mongol empire.

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- YCMS** Daorun Tibu 道潤梯步, tr., *Yuanchao Mishi* 元朝秘史, Shenghuo Dushu Xinzhi Sanlian Shudian, 1980.
- YS** Song Lian 宋濂 et al., *Yuanshi* 元史, Zhonghua Shuju, 1976,
- YSYWZB** *Yuanshi yiwen zhengbu* 元史譯文證補, Hong Jun 洪鈞, Shanwu Yinshuguan, 1936.
- YWL** *Yuan wen lei* 元文類. Ed. Su Tianjue 蘇天爵, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1993.

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Appendix I

YUANSHI VOLUME 114**Biographies Of Empresses and Imperial Concubines****(hou fei zhuan 后妃傳)**

The *Guang xian yi sheng* 光獻翼聖 empress of Taizu,¹ named [Bortai 李爾台] Xuzhen 旭真,² was from the Onggirat clan, the daughter of Dei Sechen. Dei Sechen and his son Anchen followed Taizu to go on punitive expeditions and performed meritorious services. [Anchen] was granted the name “national uncle” (*Guojiu* 國舅), and was conferred the title of prince to command his tribe. There was an imperial decree: “A girl born [to this tribe] will be the empress [of the Mongols]; a boy born [to this tribe] will marry a Mongol princess. This will continue from generation to generation.” In the twelfth month of the second year of the Zhiyuan (1265) in Shizu’s reign she was posthumously conferred the title of *Guang xian yi sheng* Empress³. The document of conferment reads: “To respect the ancestors, and to promote honesty and filial piety, were really the most important duties of a king’s government. [A king should] model after heaven and earth, and establish great fame so that his mother could be glorified. Therefore one must be reverent in the ancestor’s temple, and reveal [the achievements of the ancestor] to the following generations. To do this is extremely proper, and to do this will be of great benefit. The *Guangxian* Empress had a deeply placid heart and had a gentle and beautiful moral character. When the worthy forefather undertook the pioneering work, she helped day and night by seeking out men of worth and ability. She made great contributions to the state, ...now I sent a grand commandant, with a jade conferment book and a jade treasure, to confer the respectful title of *Guang xian yi sheng* Empress upon her...”⁴ She was added to the temple of Taizu and was offered sacrifices in

¹ Taizu 太祖, temple name of Chinggis Khan.

² Xuzhen means “Madam”, “Mrs.”. It came from the transliteration of Chinese “furen 夫人.”

³ In “*Houfei Biao*” of *Yuanshi*, under the name of Bortie Xuzhen, it reads, “She was posthumously conferred the title of ‘*Guangxian*’ in the second year of the *Zhiyuan* 至元 era (1265), and was added the title of ‘*Guang xian yi sheng* Empress’ in the second year of the *Zhida* 至大 era (1309). See YS 106:2693-4.

⁴ This conferment document was actually issued in the second year of the *Zhida* era. The compilers of *Yuanshi* mistakenly dated it to the second year of the *Zhiyuan* era. In addition, according to the Records of Sacrifices 祭祀志 in *Yuanshi*, “The ancestral temple was completed in the third year of *Zhiyuan*. The

the temple of Taizu. There were more than forty other empresses and imperial concubines from the four *ordo*. Their clan names were not recorded, their names are all in the Table. The following will follow this example.

The *Zhaoci* 昭慈 Empress of Taizong,⁵ named Tuoliegena 脫列哥那, was from the Naimazhen 乃馬真 clan. She gave birth to Dingzong. In the twelfth month of the year *Xinchou* (1241), when Taizong died, this empress acted as regent for five years. In the year of *Bingwu*, she summoned all the princes and officials to discuss the enthronement of Dingzong. Most governmental affairs were still controlled by the empress. She died in the second year of *Zhiyuan* (1265),⁶ and was posthumously conferred the title of *Zhao Ci* Empress. She was worshiped in the temple of Taizong.

The *Qinshu* 欽淑 Empress of Dingzong,⁷ was named Wowulihaimishi 斡兀立海迷失. When Dingzong died, this empress held court from behind a screen while holding her son Shiliemen 失列門 for six months. In the second year of the *Zhiyuan* era she was posthumously conferred the title of *Qin Shu* Empress.

Zhenjie 貞節 Empress of Xianzong,⁸ Hudutai 忽都台, was from the Onggirat clan, and was the daughter of Manggechen 忙哥陳, the grandson of Dei Sechen. She died early. Her younger sister Yehsur 也速儿 succeed her as an imperial concubine. In the second year of the *Zhiyuan* era she was posthumously conferred the title of *Zhen Jie* Empress.

The *Zhao rui shun sheng* 昭瑞順聖 Empress of Shizu,⁹ named Chabi 察必, who was from the Onggirat clan, was the daughter of Anchen 按陳, the prince of Zhongwu of Jin. She gave birth to Yuzong. In the early year of the *Zhongtong* era (1260-64) she was conferred the title of empress. In the third month of the tenth year of the *Zhiyuan* era (1273) she was presented with

director of political affairs Zhao Bi 趙璧, et al, were ordered to work together to discuss and decide the respectful titles and temple names. Eight rooms were determined.” See YS 74:1832. Therefore all the posthumous names were conferred in the third year of *Zhiyuan* instead of the second year of *Zhiyuan*.

⁵ Taizong 太宗, temple name of Ögödei Khan.

⁶ This record is totally wrong. First, “the second year of *Zhiyuan*” should be “the third year of *Zhiyuan*”; second, according to Juvaini, Toregene died two or three months after Güyük ascended the throne. See *World Conqueror*, vol. 1, p. 244.

⁷ Dingzong 定宗 Temple name of Güyük Khan.

⁸ Xianzong 憲宗, temple name of Möngke Khan.

⁹ Shizu 世祖, temple name of Khubilai Khan.

the conferment book and received the respectful name “empress of Chen-I-chao-sheng-shun-t’ien-jui-wen-kuang-ying 貞懿昭聖順天睿文光應”.

One day, four *chieshieq* 怯薛 officers presented a memorial to the emperor to enclose and occupy a piece of land just outside the capital to herd horses. The emperor having just given permission, and with [the four *chieshieq* officers] were about to present a map of the land to be occupied, the empress went before the emperor, admonishing against this. She first reproved grand guardian (*Taibao* 太保) Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠: “You are a smart man among the Han people. The emperor listens to your words, why do you not admonish the emperor? If the capital were just being established, it would be all right to use the land to herd horses, but now that the lands have already been divided among the army and commoners, how can you take them by force?” The emperor became silent, and ordered this action not to be done.

The empress once drew one silk facing and one silk underside for a quilt from the palace administrative bureau. The emperor said to the empress: “These are things needed by the army and the state. They are not personal things. How can you take them?” From then on, the empress led the palace women to do needlework, using the old bowstrings to make threads, and then making cloth. It was even thicker and more solid than silk and satin. Taking the abandoned skins of the front legs of sheep in the *Xuan Hui Yuan*,¹⁰ the empress sewed them into carpets. These examples show that she was very thrifty and did not like things to be abandoned.

In the thirteenth year (1276), the Song was conquered, and the young Song emperor made obeisance to Khubilai in Shangdu. There was a huge banquet, and all the people were very happy. Only the empress was unhappy. The emperor said: “Now that I have conquered south of the Yangzi River, I will not need to use any military forces any more. All the people are happy, but only you seem unhappy. Why?” The empress knelt down and replied: “I have heard that from the ancient times there have been no states that have lasted for a thousand years. I will feel lucky if I do not let my descendants fall in such a situation.” The emperor displayed the antique treasures from the Song palace storehouse, and asked the empress to have a look. The empress took a casual look from one side and then left. The emperor sent a eunuch to ask the empress which things she would like to take for herself. The empress replied: “The Song people saved these things for their descendants, but their descendants were unable to guard them, and gave them to us. How can I be so hardhearted as to take any of them?” At that time the empress dowager of the Song, Quanshi 全氏, arrived at the capital. Since she was not accustomed to the northern climate, the empress asked the emperor to send her back to the south of the Yangzi River. The emperor did not accede to this. After she had presented a memorial to the emperor three times, he

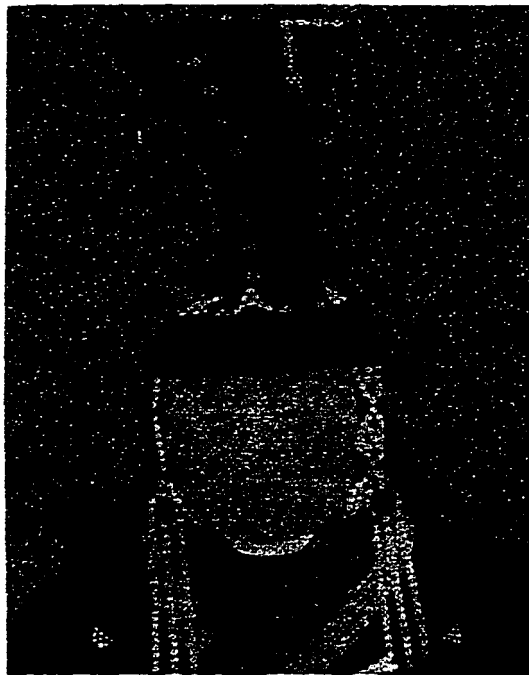
answered, “You women do not have foresight. If we send her back to the south, in case there is a rumor arising, we have to destroy her whole clan immediately. That is not the way of taking pity on her. If we want to show our compassion, we can frequently give her a pension, and let her live in peace.” The empress then left. Afterwards, she treated the Song empress dowager more generously.

The old style Mongolian hat did not have a brim. The sunlight always dazzled the emperor when he shot arrows. When the emperor told the empress about this, she immediately added a front brim to his hat. The emperor was extremely happy, and ordered that it should be a formal design. The empress also made a cloth. The front part was made of one piece of cloth while the back part was twice longer than the front part. There was no collar nor sleeves, but there were two loop straps. It was called “*bijia* 比甲”, and was convenient to wear while riding horses and shooting arrows. People followed this design. This empress was clever, alert and resourceful. She was sensible in important events and emergencies. At the beginning of the state government, she made great contributions in correcting the wrong policies of the government.

She died at the second month of the fourteenth year of the *Zhiyuan* era (1277).¹¹ In the thirty-first year (1294), Chengzong succeeded to the throne. In the fifth month of the same year, she was posthumously conferred the title of “*Zhao rui shun sheng* Empress”. The conferment book reads: “...this former empress’s great virtue can hold things. Her righteous position can support the heavens. She displayed great leadership in the inner court and promoted the great ethics under heaven. Previously she served the emperor when he was still a prince. Together they passed through troubled times. She saw clearly the potential danger and urged Shizu to return his troops from the river of Hubei. She provided great advice to help Shizu ascend the throne in Shangdu. She had great prophetic vision and was able to make quick decisions based on her own judgment. She also set her mind on recommending persons of virtue to help the emperor. She helped my holy ancestor establish the extreme honor of an emperor. She brought up my former father to succeed the heavy duties of the country...” She was offered sacrifices in the temple of Shizu.

¹⁰ A bureau responsible for the affairs of the empresses.

¹¹ According to the basic annals of Shizu and the Table of Empresses and Imperial Concubines in the *Yuanshi*, Chabi died in the second month of the eighteenth year of the *Zhiyuan* era (1281). This should be correct. See YS 11:230; 106:2698.



Chabui 察必. Empress of Khubilai Khan (?-1277)

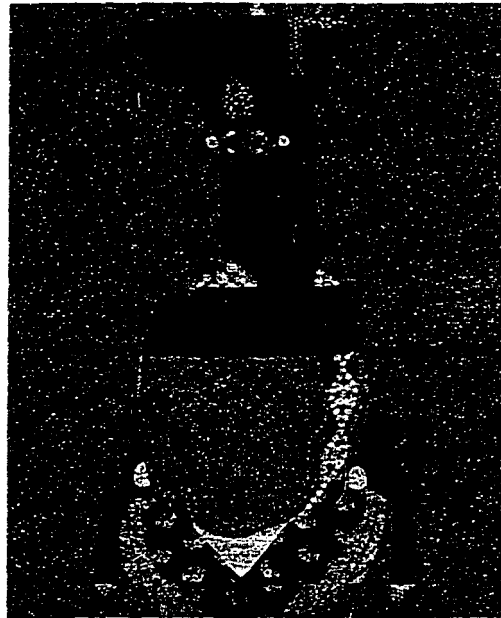
The empress Nanbi 南必, was from the Onggirat clan, the daughter of Xiantong 仙童. Xiantong was the grandson of Nachen 納陳. She was conferred the title of empress in the twentieth year of the *Zhiyuan* era (1283) to live in the principal empress's palace. At that time Shizu was very old, so this empress gradually became involved in politics. The chancellors and ministers could not see the emperor frequently, and they had to report things through the empress. She gave birth to one son whose name was Tiemiechi 鐵蔑赤.

The *Zhen ci jing yi* 貞慈靜懿 empress of Chengzong,¹² named Shiliandali 失憐答里, was from the Onggirat clan, the daughter of Woluochen 斡羅陳. In the tenth month of the third year of the Dade era (1297) she was designated as the empress.¹³ She gave birth to a son named Deshou 德壽 who died very young. In the tenth month of the third year of the *Zhida* era (1310) in Wuzong's reign she was conferred posthumously the title of *Zhen Ci Jing Yi* Empress. The

¹² Chengzong 成宗, temple name of Temür Öljeitü.

¹³ The record about this woman in Table of Empresses and Imperial Concubines in the *Yuanshi* is different, it reads, "The Imperial Concubine Shiliandali was from the Onggirat clan. She died early. In the first year of the *Zhida* 至大 era (1308) she was posthumously conferred the title of *Zheng Cii Jing Yi* Empress, and was added to the temple of Chengzong." She died before Chengzong ascended the throne. Therefore, she was called *yuanfei* 元妃 (principle imperial concubine) in the Houfei Biao. She was not conferred the title posthumously in Chengzong's reign. The biography is wrong to say that she was designated as the empress in the third year of Dade. According to the basic annals of Chengzong, the empress that was designated in the third year of Dade was Empress Buluhan from the Boyawu 伯牙吾 clan, not from the Onggirat clan. See YS 20:429; 106:2697-8.

conferment book reads, “... The respectful former principal imperial concubine from the Onggirat clan, who gave birth to a prince. Her virtue has been shown in the red palace history (*tongshi* 彤史) ...”



Shiliandali 失憐答里. Empress of Chengzong

Empress Buluhan 卜魯罕, who was from the Boyuewu 伯岳吾 clan, was the daughter of the imperial son-in-law Tuolisi 脱里思. In the early years of the *Yuanzhen* era (1295-97) she was designated as the empress. In the third year of Dade era (1299) she was presented with the conferment book and treasure. Because Chengzong had always been ill, this empress undertook some duties of government. She entrusted the chancellor Halahasun. The government in the Dade era was deemed to be stable and fair, which was all decided and handled by this empress. The Wanning Temple was built up in the capital, in which a secret Buddha figure was molded. Its appearance was ugly. The empress used a handkerchief to cover its face, and soon afterwards ordered it destroyed. The ministers presented a memorial to the emperor to confer a respectful name [to the empress]. The emperor did not permit this. When the emperor went to Shangdu, the empress personally asked the emperor to do this. The emperor said: “I have been sick for a long time. Many big things of the state have to be put aside. How can I take care of things like this?” This thing then was not done. In the tenth year of the Dade era (1306), this empress planned to demote Daji 答吉, the imperial concubine of Shunzong, and her son Renzong 仁宗, to Huaizhou. The next year Chengzong died. Wuzong was in the northern frontier. [The empress]

was afraid that when he returned he would retaliate because of her former enmity. So the empress ordered Anantashihli, the Prince of Anxi, sent to the capital, and planned to put him on the throne. Renzong entered the capital from Huaizhou and cleared up the palace. He killed Prince Anxi, and charged the empress with having a secret communication with the Prince Anxi. She was sent out to live in Dong'an Zhou.

The *Xuan ci hui sheng* 宣慈惠圣 Empress of Wuzong,¹⁴ named Zhengge 真哥, was from the Onggirat clan, the daughter of Bengbula 迸不剌 who was the son of Tuolian 脱憐. In the Fourth month of the third year of the *Zhida* era (1310) she was conferred the title of Empress. In the second year of the *Huangqing* era (1313) the Changqiu Temple 長秋寺 was set up to manage the affairs of the empress's palace, which was ranked officially as the third rank. (*san pin* 三品). She died in the eleventh month of the fourth year of the *Taiding* era (1327). She was conferred the respectful title of *Xuan Ci Hui Sheng* Empress, and was buried together with Wuzong.



Zhenge 真哥. Empress of Wuzong (?-1327)¹⁵

¹⁴ Wuzong 武宗, temple name of Khaishan.

¹⁵ The identification of this woman has been controversial. According to Hakanchulun 哈刊楚倫, this painting was tagged "Zhengge" in the collection of the Palace Museum in Taiwan. But in an album of paintings published in Inner Mongolia, this woman is believed to be Nanbui 南必, the empress of Khubilai Khan. (see Hakanchulun, *Menggu Kehan yu Kedun* 蒙古可汗與可敦 The Mongolian Kings and Queens,

Empress Sugeshili 速哥失里, who was the daughter of Anchen Harzhi,¹⁶ the cousin of Empress Zhengge.

[Wuzong] had two imperial concubines: one was Yiqilieshi 亦乞烈氏 from the Ikires tribe, who was the daughter of princess Nuwulun 奴兀倫. She actually gave birth to Mingzong. In the second year of the *Tianli* 天歷 era (1329) she was posthumously conferred the title of *Ren Xian Zhang Sheng* 仁獻章聖 Empress; the other was Tangwushi 唐兀氏 from the Tangwu clan, who gave birth to Wenzong. She was posthumously conferred the title of *Wen Xian Zhao Sheng* 文獻昭聖 Empress in the second year of the *Tianli* era (1329).



Empress of Wuzong. Name unknown

Taibei, Zhonghua Minguo Menggu Wenhua Xiehui, 1992:1) Another album of paintings published in the year of Jiazi 甲子 (1924) confirms that this woman was Zhengge (see Temugetu 特睦格圖 (ed.) *Yuanchao Lidai Di Hou Xiang*, Beiping 北平, Mengwen Shushe 蒙文書社, Jiazi Nian 甲子年).

¹⁶ Anchen Harzhi is not the name of one person. Instead Anchen is one person, and Harzhi is another person. Some words were missing following Anchen. According to the biography of Dei Sechan in the *Yuanshi*, Sugeshili was “the daughter of Harzhi who was the great grandson of Anchen.” See YS 118:2919.



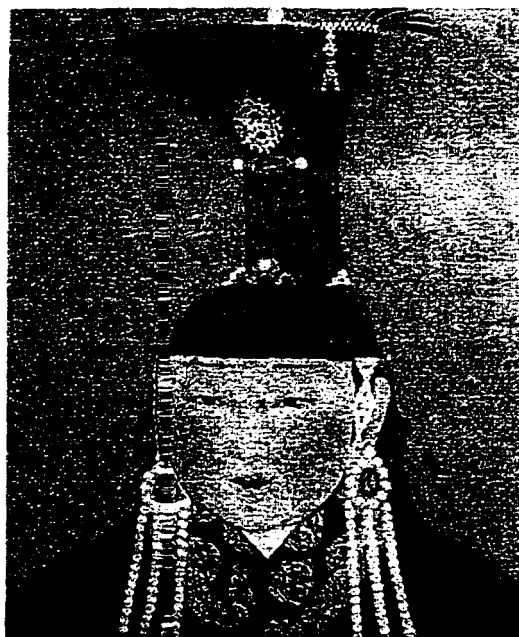
Empress of Wuzong, mother of Wenzong, name unknown

The *Zhuang yi ci sheng* 庄懿慈圣 Empress of Renzong,¹⁷ named Anashihshihli 阿納失失里, was from the Onggirat clan. She gave birth to Yingzong. In the third year of the *Huangqing* 皇慶 era (1314) she was conferred the title of empress, with conferment book and seal. Officers were sent to report and offer sacrifice to Heaven in the southern suburbs and the ancestral temple. The Diannei Yuan 典内院 was changed to Zhongzheng Yuan 中政院, which was ranked as the second highest (*zheng er pin* 正二品).

When Yingzong ascended the throne, she was conferred a respectful title of Empress Dowager. She received the congratulations of all the officials in the Xingsheng Palace 興盛宮.

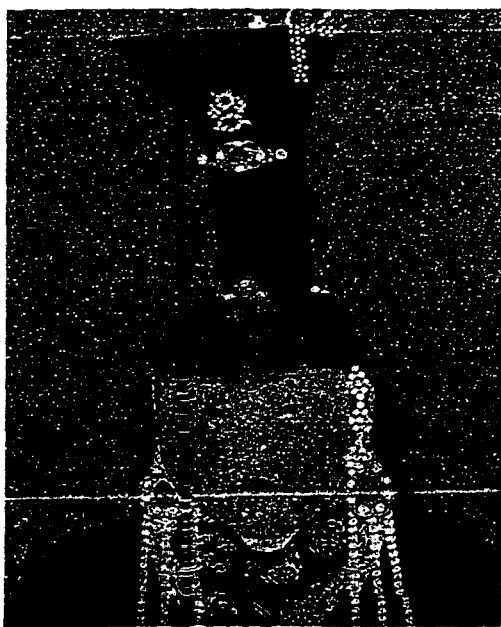
She died in the second year of the *Zhizhi* 至治 era (1322). Then she was conferred the posthumous title of *Zhuang yi ci sheng* Empress. She was buried together with Renzong.

¹⁷ Renzong 仁宗 temple name of Ayurbarvada.



Anashisheli 阿納失失里 (?-1322). Empress of Renzong

The *Zhuang jing yi sheng* 庄靜懿圣 Empress of Yingzong, named Sugebala 速哥八剌, was from the Ikires tribe, the daughter of Yilihaiya 益里海涯, the Princess of the State of Chang. She was conferred the title of empress in the first year of the *Zhizhi* 至治 era (1321). She died in the sixth month of the fourth year of the *Taiding* era (1327). She was conferred the posthumous title of *Zhuang jing yi sheng* Empress.



Sugebala 速哥八剌 (?-1327). Empress of Yingzong

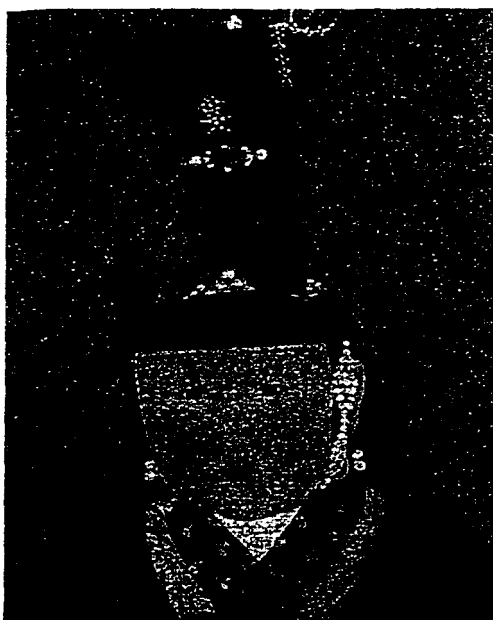


Empress of Yingzong. Name unknown.

Empress Babuhan 八不罕 of Emperor Taiding,¹⁸ was from the Onggirat clan, the daughter of Woliuchar 斡留察儿 who was the grandson of Anchen. In the first year of the *Taiding* era (1324) she was conferred the title of empress.

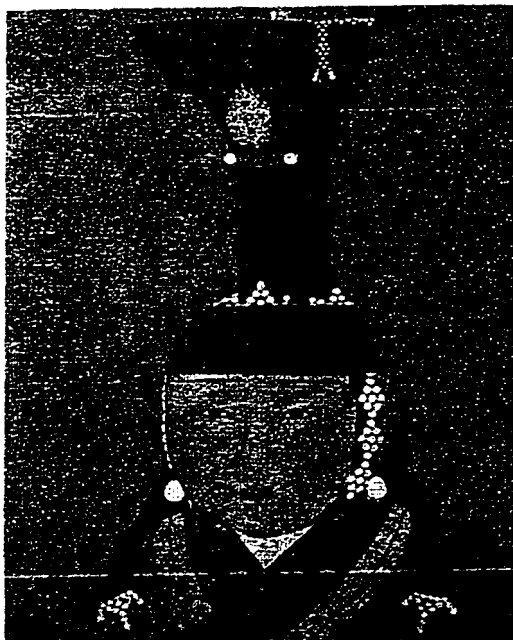
Emperor Taiding had two imperial concubines: one was called Bihan 必罕, the other one was called Sukedali 速哥答里. They were all from the Onggirat tribe, daughters of Maizhuhan 買住罕, the Prince of Yen. In the early years of the *Tianli* era during Wenzong's reign they were all settled in Dong'an Zhou.

¹⁸ Yisün Temür.



Babuhan 八不罕. Empress of Taidingdi

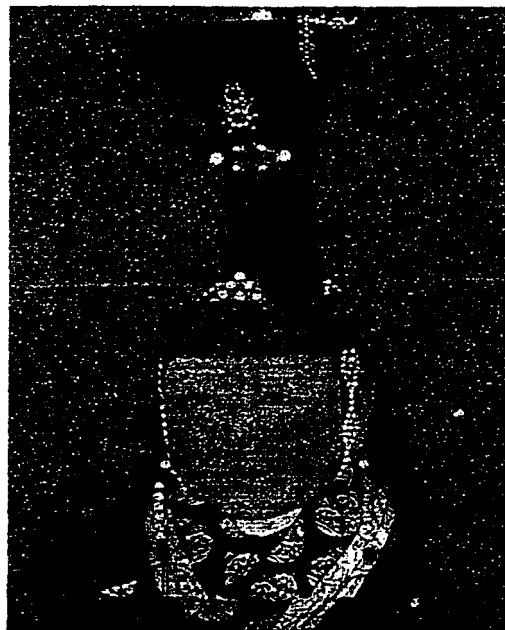
The *Zhen yu hui sheng* 貞裕徽聖 Empress of Mingzong,¹⁹ named Mailaidi 邁來迪, gave birth to Shundi and then died. When Wenzong came to the throne she was conferred the posthumous title of *Zhen yu hui sheng* Empress.



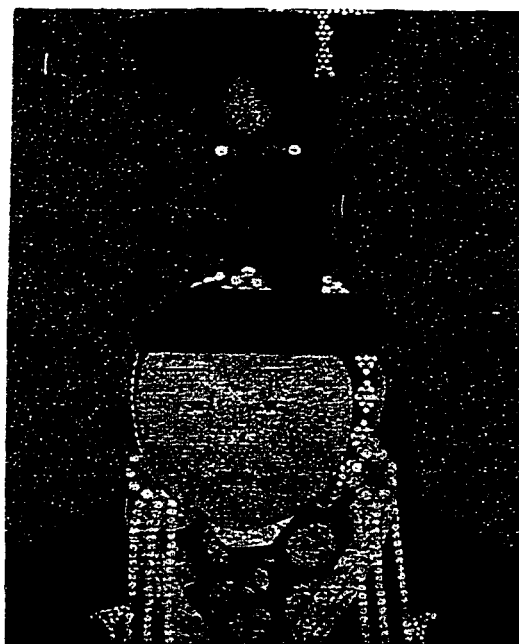
Mailaidi 邁來迪. Empress of Mingzong

¹⁹ Mingzong 明宗, temple name of Khoshila.

Empress Babusha 八不沙, was the daughter of Princess Shouning, the niece of Chengzong. She served Mingzong when he was a prince, and gave birth to Ningzong. In the second year of the *Tianli* era (1329) the Ninghui Temple 寧徽寺 was established to manage the palace affairs of the empress of Mingzong, ten thousand *tings* 錠 of money and two thousand *pi* 匹 of silk were appropriated for the consumption of this empress's palace. In the eleventh month the empress asked [the emperor] to pray for happiness for Mingzong in the nether world. Then the imperial teacher was ordered to lead all the monks in performing Buddhist services for seven days in the Datianyuan Yansheng Temple. The Taoist monks built sacrificial altars in the four palaces of Yuxu 玉虛, Tianbao 天寶, Taiyi 太乙, and Wanshou 萬壽, as well as on the two mountains of Wudang 武當 and the Longhu 龍虎. In the first year of the *Zhishun* era (1330), the administrative bureau was instructed to supply the empress's palace of Mingzong with two hundred *pi* of silk. She died in the fourth month of this year.



Babusha 八不沙 (?-1330). Empress of Mingzong



Empress of Mingzong. Name unknown.

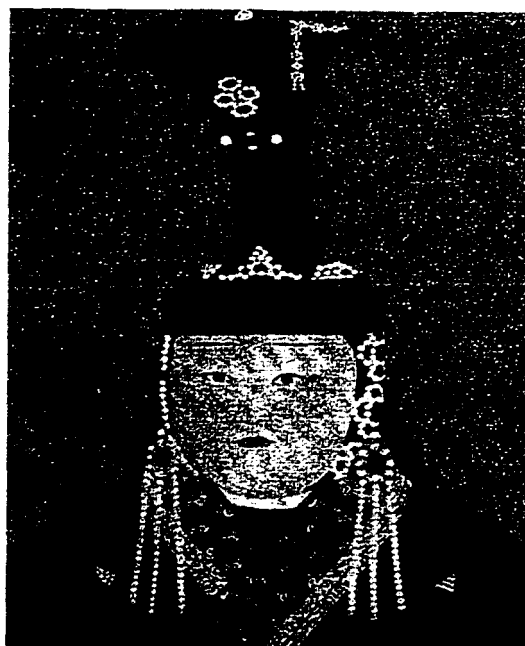
Empress Budashili 卜答失里 of Wenzong,²⁰ was from the Onggirat clan. Her father was the imperial son-in-law Diao'ebula 瑯阿不剌, her mother was the Princess of the State of Lu Sanggelaji 桑哥刺吉. When Wenzong lived at Jianye 建業, this empress was with him. When Wenzong ascended the throne in the first year of the *Tianli* era (1328), she was conferred the title of empress. In the second year [of Tianli] she was presented with the conferment certificate and seal. In the eleventh month of the same year the empress spent fifty thousand *liangs* of silver to help building the Dachengtian Husheng Temple. In the first year of the *Zhishun* era (1330) she granted the four hundred *qing* 頃 of land that was confiscated property of Zhang Gui to the Husheng Temple as its permanent property. Later she together with the eunuch Baizhu 拜住 murdered the empress of Mingzong, Babusha.

In the eighth month of the third year [of the *Zhishun* era] (1332), Wenzong died in Shangdu. The empress made known and obeyed the emperor's initial intention and latest order, and put the second son of Mingzong, Yilinzhiban 懿璘質班, on the throne, who was Ningzong. In the eleventh month of the same year she was presented with the jade book and jade treasure (seal) and was conferred the title of Empress Dowager. In the twelfth month she received the congratulations of all the officials in the Xingsheng Palace. When Ningzong died, the ministers asked her to put the crown prince Yantiegusi 燕帖古思 on the throne. The empress said, "The position of an emperor is extremely important. My son is still young. The eldest son of Mingzong

²⁰ Wenzong 文宗, temple name of Tuq Temür.

Tuohuan-tiemur 妥懽帖睦爾 is now in Guangxi, and is now thirteen years old. It is appropriate to put him on the throne.” Then the minister undertook her order to receive Tuohuan-tiemur to the capital. In the sixth month of the next year (1333) Shundi ascended the throne. In the first year of the *Yuantong* 元統 era (1334) she was respectfully titled as Great Empress Dowager, and was still present in court to receive ministerial reports. In the sixth month of the sixth year of the *Zhiyuan* era (1340) the emperor ordered her deprived of her respectful titles and settled her in Dung’an Zhou. She died soon after.

Empress Daliyetemishi 答里也忒迷失 of Ningzong,²¹ was from the Onggirat clan. She was designated as empress in the tenth month of the third year of the *Zhishun* era (1332). She died in the twenty-eighth year of the *Zhizheng* era (1368). Then she was buried and received sacrifices together with Ningzong.



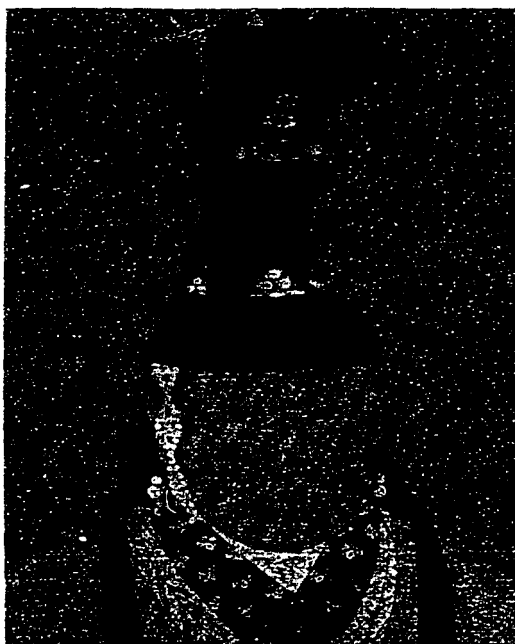
Daliyetemishi 答里也忒迷失 (?-1368). *Empress of Ningzong*

Empress Danashili 答納失里 of Shundi,²² was from the Chipchaq 欽察 clan, the daughter of Prince of Taiping, Yantiemur 燕帖木兒. In the fourth year of the *Zhishun* era (1333) she was designated as empress. In the second year of the *Yuantong* era (1334) she was presented with the

²¹ Ningzung 寧宗, temple name of Irinjibal.

²² Shundi 順帝, temple name of Toqon Temür.

conferment book and seal. The conferment book reads, “...Empress Chipchaq, you are elegant, sedate, kind, modest, quiet, refined and gentle. Your grandfathers and your father have been open-minded and determined. They have been of great help in governing this state...” In the third year [of *Yuantong*](1335), the empress’s elder brother Tang Qishi 唐其勢, the chief censor, was killed because of his conspiring against the emperor. The empress’s younger brother Talahai ran into her palace and hid there. The empress used her clothes to shield him. Therefore she was moved out of the palace. The chancellor Boyan 伯顏 killed her with poison in a private house in Kaiping.



Danashili 答納失里 (?-1335). Empress of Shundi

Empress Boyanhudu 伯顏忽都, was from the Onggirat clan, was the daughter of the Prince of Yude, Boluotiemur, who was the nephew of the Empress of *Xuan Ci Hui Sheng*, Zhengge. In the third month of the third year of the *Zhiyuan* era (1337) she was conferred the title of empress. ... She gave birth to prince Zhenjin 真金 who died when he was two years old.

The empress was thrifty, and never jealous. She always kept herself within the bounds of rules and etiquette. The second empress Qishi lived in the West palace of Xingsheng and she was favored by the emperor. The emperor rarely went to the East palace. The servants of the empress talked about this, but the empress had almost no complaints. Once she followed the emperor on an imperial inspection tour of the Upper capital, on the road they had a stop-over. The emperor sent a eunuch to announce a decree [to the empress]. He wanted to visit the empress. The empress

declined and said, “Night time is not the appropriate time for you, the most revered and respected, to come.” The eunuch went back and forth three times, but she eventually refused to receive the emperor. Then the emperor deemed that she was more virtuous. The emperor had once asked her, “The Zhongzheng Yuan drew money and grain all by delivering your order, do you still remember them?” The empress answered, “If I need, I will draw some. As for things related to income and expenses, I had to entrust a person to take charge of them. How can I remember all of them?” When she lived in the Kunde Palace, she sat up straight all day long, and never went outside the door wantonly. She died in the eighth month of the twenty fifth year of the Zhizheng era (1365). She was forty two years old. When Empress Qi saw that the clothes she left were so old, she laughed heartily and said, “As the principal empress, what is the need to wear such kind of clothes!” From this we know how thrifty she was. One month later, the crown prince returned from Jining 冀寧, and cried for her very sadly.

Empress Wanzhehudu 完者忽都, Qishi 奇氏, who was a Korean, gave birth to the crown prince Aiyoushilidala 愛猷識理達臘. Her family was of very low origin. After she became the empress, they became rich and powerful. Three generations of her family were conferred posthumously the titles of princes. Initially, she was introduced by the servant Tumandier of the Huizheng Yuan. As a maid in the palace, she was mainly responsible for serving Shundi tea. She was very clever and crafty, and was gradually favored by Shundi. Later the empress Danashili was jealous of her, and flogged her with a whip and insulted her many times. When empress Danashili was murdered, the emperor intended to designate her as the empress. But the chancellor Boyan pleaded with the emperor not to do so. After Boyan was dismissed from the chancellor’s office, Shalaban suggested the emperor designate her as the second empress. She was settled in the Xingsheng Palace, and the Huizheng Yuan was renamed as Zizheng Yuan.

In her spare time, the empress read the Classics of Female Filial Piety (*Nū Xiao Jing*) and historical books, trying to find out about those virtuous empresses of past dynasties, so as to take them as models. When there were rare delicacies in the tributes from other states, she would first sent somebody to present them to the ancestral temple, only then would she eat them. In the eighteenth year of the *Zhizheng* era, a severe famine occurred in the capital. The empress ordered the officers to make porridge to feed the famine victims. She gave out her own gold, silver, millet, and cloth, and ordered the Piaobuhua 朴不花, the commissioner of the Zizheng Yuan, to buy graveyards at the eleven gates of the capital and bury more than one hundred thousand bodies. Then she ordered the Buddhist monks to set up a “water and land conference” (*shui lu da hui*) to redeem their lost souls by making offerings and saying prayers. At that time Shundi was

tired of governmental affairs. The empress schemed with the crown prince Ayoushilidala to force the emperor to abdicate and hand over the throne to his son. They sent Biaobuhua to tell their intention to the chancellor Taiping, but Taiping did not answer them. Then the empress invited Taiping to her palace, and bestowed wine on him, and personally spoke of her previous request. But again Taiping refused her. From then on the empress and the crown prince disliked him. When the emperor knew the empress's intention, he was angry and estranged himself from her by refusing to see her for two months. Piaobuhua had been favored because of the empress. Now he was being impeached and dismissed from office. Then the empress hinted the chief censor Fojianu to defend him. However, Fojianu planned to impeach Piaobuhua even further more. When the empress found out, he instigated the other censors to impeach Fojianu and had him demoted to Chaohe.

Initially, the people of Qishi's clan in Korea took advantage of the empress's power and became more and more arrogant and overbearing. The Korean king was angry and killed them all. In the twenty-third year [of the Zhizheng era] (1363), the empress told the crown prince, "Why don't you avenge me?" They designated a man of the Korean royal family who stayed in the capital of China as the king, and designated the man of the Qi clan, Sanpaonu, as the crown prince (*yuanzi* 元子). At the same time they designated Cuitiemur, the co-director of the Department of Military Affairs, as the [Korean] chancellor. They dispatched an army of ten thousand soldiers, recruited Japanese soldiers, and went to Korea. Having just crossed the Yalu River, Korean troops suddenly appeared from all directions. They suffered a crushing defeat, with only seventeen cavalries escaping. The empress was very ashamed.

In the seventh month of the twenty-fourth year, Boluotiemur led troops to assault the capital. The crown prince ran to Jining, and gave orders to send armed forces to suppress Boluotiemur. Boluotiemur was angry, and he instigated the censorial inspector, Wu Qizong 武起宗, to accuse the empress of interfering in state affairs. Wu Qizong suggested that the emperor should move her outside of the capital. But the emperor did not permit this. In the third month of the twenty-fifth year (1365), [Boluotiemur] delivered a false imperial edict and put the empress under house arrest at the administration of *semus* 諸色總管府, and ordered his conspirator Yaoboyanbuhua to guard her. On the day of *gengyin* of the fourth month, Boluotiemur forced the empress to return to her palace to fetch her seal, and then he forged the empress's letter to summon the crown prince. The empress was then again returned to the prison. Later the empress gave several beautiful girls to Boluotiemur. After one hundred days she finally returned to her palace. After Boluotiemur died, the crown prince was recalled to the capital. The empress delivered an imperial edict to Kuokuotiemur, ordering him to send troops to accompany

the crown prince, trying to force the emperor to abdicate and hand over the throne to the prince. Kuokuotiemur knew her intention. When they arrived at a place thirty *li* from the capital he ordered the troops to return to their camps. The crown prince took a dislike to him. This can be seen in the biography of Kuokuotiemur.

At that time, the empress Boyanhudu died. In the twelfth month, the ministers of the Secretarial Council presented a memorial to the emperor, saying that the empress should be designated as the principal empress. Yet the emperor did not give his permission. Then they presented another memorial to the emperor, suggesting that *Zi Zheng Yuan* 資政院 be changed to *Chong Zheng Yuan* 崇政院. It was also under the leadership of the *Zhong Zheng Yuan* 中政院. The emperor then conferred her with a conferment book and treasure. The conferment book reads: “...SulianghoShi 肅良合氏 was born to a illustrious family, and came to serve me. You have been prudent and diligent day and night. You have been respectful and frugal and set up a good example for others for years. You have given birth to the crown prince who will carry on future generations. Therefore it is proper for you to occupy the position of the principal empress. Our relatives and ministers have presented many memorials to me about this. All the people in the imperial harem with you to occupy the respectful position. Since you have modestly declined many times, this deed should be especially praised. Now I send this grand commandant, with my edict, to present you with the jade certificate and seal and appoint you to the position of empress ...” In the twenty-eighth year (1365) she followed the emperor north.

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The *Xian Yi Zhuang Sheng* 顯懿莊聖 Empress of Ruizong,²³ named Suoluhetieni 唆魯和帖尼, was from the Kereit tribe. She gave birth to Xianzong and Shizu who became emperors successively. In the second year of the Zhiyuan era (1265)²⁴ she was posthumously titled *Zhuang Sheng* Empress, and was buried together with Ruizong.

In the twelfth month of the second year of the *Zhida* era (1309) she was additionally titled *Xian Yi Zhuang Sheng* Empress. In the tenth month of the third year [of the Zhiyuan era] she was presented with the jade letter of imperial edict.

²³ Ruizong 睿宗, temple name of Tolui.

²⁴ It should be the third year of the Zhiyuan era (1266).

The *Hui ren yu sheng Empress* 徽仁裕聖 of Yuzong²⁵ Bolanyeqiechi 伯藍也怯赤, also known as Kuokuozhen 闊闊真, was from the Onggirat tribe. She gave birth to Shunzong and Chengzong.

Once when Shizu went out to hunt, on his way he felt thirsty, so he went to a tent, where he saw a girl weaving camel's hair. Shizu asked her for some horse milk. The girl said, "We have horse milk, but my parents and brothers are not home right now. I am a girl and cannot give it to you." Shizu was about to leave, but the girl said, "I am here alone. If you come and leave, it would not be proper according to courtesy. My parents will come back soon, please just wait for a while." Soon her parents came home. They presented horse milk to Shizu to drink. When Shizu left he was full of praise of her. He said, "If I can get such a girl as my daughter-in-law, wouldn't that be a nice thing?" Later Shizu discussed with the ministers about selecting a wife for the crown prince. He was not satisfied with any of the candidates. An old minister had heard Shizu's previous words, and knew that the girl had not been married off, so he told Shizu about this. Shizu was extremely happy, and selected her as the imperial concubine for the crown prince.

This empress showed great filial piety and prudence, and conducted great services in the palace of Shizu. Shizu always called her "virtuous daughter-in-law". When she served the *Zhao rui shun sheng Empress*,²⁶ she never left her. Even the paper used in the washroom she would rub it on her face to make it soft for [the *Zhao rui shun sheng Empress*]. One day, when Yuzong was ill, Shizu went to see him. When he saw the golden brocade mattress on the bed he was unhappy and said to her, "I have thought you are virtuous, why are you like this?" The empress knelt down and replied, "We usually never dare to use it. Now that the crown prince is ill, I am afraid that he will get eczema. Therefore I used it for him." She immediately removed it from the bed.

When Shizu died, Chengzong went to Shangdu. All the princes met together. Previously, the vice chief censor Cui Yu 崔彧 got a jade seal from the home of the great grandson of King Muqali, Shide 世德. The characters read, "You have received the order of heaven. You will have a long life and be prosperous." (受命于天, 既壽永昌) Then he presented it to the empress. At this time she personally gave it to Chengzong. When Chengzong ascended the throne as emperor, he titled the empress respectfully as empress dowager... He ordered an official office set up for her, and the *Hui Zheng Yuan* established. Later the officials of the *Hui Zheng Yuan* received seven hundred *qing*²⁷ of land in the west of Zhejiang and put it under the name of the empress dowager. But she said, "I am a widowed woman, I already have enough food and clothing.

²⁵ Yuzong 裕宗, temple name of Jin Gim.

²⁶ Temple title of Chabui, empress of Khubilai Khan.

Besides, the lands south of the Yangzi River all belong to the country, how can I take it as my own property?" She immediately ordered the Secretariat Council to dismiss the officials who had accepted this piece of donated land. The empress dowager's younger brother wanted to obtain an official position through her, but she told him, "You want to get a position? You should apply for it yourself, do not make trouble for me." Later, her younger brother was really dismissed from his position. People were all convinced that she had prophetic vision.

She died in the second month of the fourth year of the Dade era (1300), and was buried in the crown prince Zhenjin's tomb. She was posthumously titled *Yu sheng* 裕聖 Empress, and was offered sacrifices in the temple of Yuzong. In the tenth month of the third year of the *Zhida* era, she was additionally titled *Hui ren yu sheng* Empress.

The *Xuan yi shu sheng* 宣懿淑聖 Empress of Xianzong 顯宗,²⁸ named Puyanqielimishi 普顏怯里迷失, was from the Onggirat tribe. Xianzong married her when he lived in the official residence in Jin 晉. She gave birth to Emperor Taiding.

In the first year of the *Taiding* era (1324) she was posthumously titled *Xuan Yi Shu Sheng* Empress...She was added to the temple of Xianzong. In the early years of the *Tianli* era Xianzong's temple was again offered sacrifices.

The *Zhao xian yuansheng* 昭獻元聖 Empress of Shunzong,²⁹ named Daji 答己, from the Onggirat tribe, was the daughter of Hundutiemur 渾都帖木兒 who was the grandson of Anchen. When Yuzong lived at the official residences of Yan 燕 and Chao River 潮河, Shunzong was there to serve him. When he got older, Shizu granted him a maidservant, Mrs. Guo. Later he married the empress who gave birth to Wuzong and Renzong.

In the ninth year of the Dade era (1305), Chengzong was seriously ill. Empress Buluhan 卜魯罕 was in charge of government affairs, and she deported Renzong and his mother out of the capital to live at Huaizhou 懷州. In the twelfth month of the tenth year of the Dade era, the empress arrived at Huaizhou. In the first month of the eleventh year of the Dade era (1307) Chengzong died. At that time Wuzong was commanding troops in the north frontier. The Right Chancellor *Dalahan*³⁰ Halahasun 哈剌哈孫 secretly sent envoys to report it to Renzong. [Renzong] immediately returned to the capital with the empress. The empress and Renzong entered the mourning hall to cry, then went out to live in their old residence. Every morning and

²⁷ One *qing* equals to 100 *mu*, or 16.44 acres.

²⁸ Xianzong 顯宗, temple name of Ganmala.

²⁹ 順宗 Shunzong, temple name of Dalamabala.

³⁰ Mo. *Darhan*, freeman.

evening they went to the mourning hall to make offerings to the spirits of the dead. In the mean time they sent envoys to greet Wuzong returning to the capital who was going to ascend the throne in the fifth month.

Initially, the empress dowager gave her two sons' stars to the fortune-teller. When she asked the fortune-teller who should be made the emperor, the answer was, "There will be a disaster when the son born in the time of *Chongguang dahuangluo* 重光大荒落 ascends the throne, but the son born in the time of *Zhanmeng zuo'e* 旌蒙作噩 will rule a long time on the throne." Chongguang was the birth-year of Wuzong, and Zhanmeng was the birth-year of Renzong. The empress dowager was quite misled by his words. Then she sent her close minister Duoer 朵耳 to tell Wuzong, "You two brothers were both born by me, how could I have different relationships with you? But we cannot ignore the words of the fortune-teller about the long and short fortunes of the throne." When Wuzong heard this he did not say anything, but he called in Kangli Tuotuo 康里脱脱 and told him, "I have been guarding the northern frontier for ten years, and I am the oldest brother of the family. The empress dowager uses the fortune-teller's words as an excuse. They are hard to believe. If my rule satisfies the will of heaven and the hopes of the people, then even if I am on the throne for as short as one day, it is enough to leave my name for ten thousand years. How could she believe the fortune-teller's words, and change the entrustment of the ancestors?" Tuotuo forwarded these words to the empress-dowager. She was stunned, and said, "Although the saying of long and short rule was from the fortune-teller, I also have a long view for you, because I deeply love you. Since you say this, you should come immediately." The details can be seen in the biography of Kangli Tuotuo.

In the fifth month, Wuzong ascended the throne. He titled the empress as empress dowager on the same day. He also designated Renzong crown prince. The three palaces were in harmony. In the eleventh month, the emperor paid respect to the empress dowager in Longfu Palace 隆福宮, and presented her with jade certificate and jade seal. In the third month of the first year of the *Zhida* era (1308), the emperor built Xingsheng Palace 興盛宮 for the empress dowager, and presented her with money of fifth thousand *tings*, and silk of twenty thousand *jins* (10,000 kilogram). In the first month of the second year, the empress dowager went to the Wutai 五臺 Mountain to conduct Buddhist ceremonies. She called the Korean king Wang Zhang 王璋 to go with her. In the fourth month, [the emperor] established the General Administration for the Property and Tax of the Jiangsu and Anhui (*Jiang Huai caifu zongguanfu* 江淮財賦總管府) of the Xingsheng Palace, to deal with the money and grain for the consumption of the empress dowager. In the second month of the third year, [the emperor] conducted a sacrifice ceremony in the south suburb to report the entitlement of empress dowager. In the fourth month [the emperor?

divided four thousand households at Falconer Town (*Ying fang* 鷹坊) belonging to *Xingsheng* Palace and moved them to Liaoyang, and established a Myriarch Administration (*wan hu fu* 萬戶府) to govern them. On *wushen* 戊申 day of the fourth month, the emperor led the crown prince and all the princes and palace officials to the *Xingsheng* Palace to grant the empress dowager a respectful title and to present her with a certificate and a seal. The characters of her title are “*Yitian xingsheng ciren zhaoyi shouyuan* 儀天興聖慈仁昭懿壽元 Empress Dowager”. On *gengxu* 庚戌 day the empress dowager offered thanks in the Imperial Ancestral Temple. Because the empress dowager received the respectful title, [the emperor] issued an imperial edict to give a general pardon to all the people under heaven. In the fourth year (1311) Renzong ascended the throne. In the third month of the second year of the *Yanyou* 延祐 era (1315), the emperor led all princes and officials in presenting the empress dowager with a jade certificate and seal. More characters were added to her titles, “*Yitian xingsheng ciren zhaoyi Shouyuan Quande Taining Fuqing* 儀天興聖慈仁昭懿壽元全德泰寧福慶 Empress Dowager”.

In the seventh year of the *Yanyou* era (1320), Yingzong ascended the throne. In the twelfth month, the emperor titled the empress dowager as Great Empress Dowager (*Tai huangtaihou* 太皇太后), the entitlement letter reads: “...your virtue has surpassed the *Tu* 塗 Mountain. Your beneficence is higher than the *Wenmu* 文母. Therefore four characters should be added to your title...Now we respectfully present you with the jade certificate and seal, expanding your title as *Yitian xingsheng ciren zhaoyi shouyuan quande taining fuqing huiwen chongyou* 儀天興聖慈仁昭懿壽元全德泰寧福慶徽文崇佑 Empress Dowager.”

On *bingchen* day the Great Empress Dowager went to the Daming Palace to receive court congratulations. At the *wushen* day she offered thanks to the Imperial Ancestral Temple. The Empress Dowager saw that Yingzong had heroic spirits when he was young, while Yingzong was relatively weak. All the vile characters believed that it would not be beneficial if Mingzong ascend the throne. Therefore they supported putting Yingzong on the throne. When Yingzong ascended the throne, the empress dowager came to congratulate him. Yingzong firmly showed an unpleasant facial expression to her. When the empress dowager returned she felt regret, and said, “I should not have brought this son up!” Soon she was ill with a grievance in her heart. She died in the second month of the third year of the *Zhizhi* 至治 era (1323), and was buried together with Shunzong.³¹

³¹ There is an error about the date of her death. According to the basic annals of Yingzong in the *Yuanshi*, Daji died in 1322. See YS 28:624. There is a record “The Great Empress Dowager died” under *bingchen* day of the ninth month of the second year of the *Zhizhi* era. This should be the reliable date of her death. In addition, under *Wushen* day of the third month of the third year of the *Zhizhi* era there is a record “the Great Empress Dowager was worshiped in the temple of Shunzong.” See YS 28:629.

The empress dowager was naturally intelligent. She assisted three emperors in governing the country. She taught the maidservants in the palace to do needlework, and she herself personally did housework. However, she was careless about her conduct. And since she occupied the principal position of the Palace, she was even more and more lascivious and unrestrained. Inside her palace she trusted Hei Lū's 黑驢 mother Yilieshiba 亦烈失八; outside her palace her favored Shiliemen, Niulin, and the then-chancellor Diemutier who acted in collusion with each other, and they even insulted and beat the director of political affairs Zhang Gui, stopping at nothing and fouling up court affairs. When Yingzong ascended the throne, all her favorites were killed, and their forces suddenly died out.



Daji 答己 (?-1323). Wife of Shunzong.³²

³² The identification of this woman has been controversial. According to Hakanchulun 哈刊楚倫, this painting was tagged “Taji 塔濟” in the collection of the Palace Museum in Taiwan. But in an album of paintings published in Inner Mongolia, this woman is believed to be Shiliandali, the empress of Chengzong. (see Hakanchulun, *Menggu Kehan yu Kedun* 蒙古可汗與可敦 The Mongolian Kings and Queens, Taipei, Zhonghua Minguo Menggu Wenhua Xiehui, (1992):1) Another album of paintings published in the year of Jiazi 甲子 (1924) confirms that this woman was Daji (see Temugetu 特睦格圖 (ed.) *YuanchaolLidai di hou xiang*, Beiping 北平, Mengwen Shushe 蒙文書社, Jiazi Nian 甲子年).

Appendix II

REIGN PERIODS OF MONGOL KHANS AND YUAN EMPERORS

YEKE MONGOQOL ULUS—YUAN DYNASTY

Personal Name	Temple Name	Reign Period	Comments
Chinggis Khan 成吉思汗	Taizu 太祖	1206-1227	1162-1227. 1189 became the leader of the Mongol Nirun tribe. Defeated Tartar, Naiman, Kereit, and unified Mongolia. 1206 became Mongol Khan, called Chinggis Khan. Mongol Empire was founded.
Tolui 拖雷	Ruizong 睿宗	1227-1228 (Regent)	1193-1232.* 1227 Chinggi Khan died, Tolui became regent. 1229 Ögödei ascended throne. Tolui was ordered to conquer the Jin and died in Henan.
Ogödei 窩闊臺	Taizong 太宗	1229-1241	1186-1241. Ascended throne in 1229. Conquered Jin in 1234.
Töregene 脫列哥那		1241-1245 (Regent)	?-1246. A Naiman woman. The sixth wife of Ögödei. The five years of Töregene's government was a disaster for the Mongol empire.
Güyük 貴由	Dingzong 定宗	1246-1248	1206-1248. 1241 Ögödei designated his grandson Shiremün as heir-apparent. 1246 Töregene disobeyed Ögödei's will and put her own son Güyük on the throne.
Ogul Qaimish 幹兀里海迷		1248-1251 (Regent)	Third empress of Güyük. 1248 Güyük died, she became regent for 3 years. She intended to put Shiremün on the throne but failed. When Möngke ascended the throne, she was put to death.
Möngke 蒙哥	Xianzong 憲宗	1251-1259	1208-1259. With the support of his mother Sorghaghtani-Beki and Batu, he ascended the throne in 1251. 1258 launched a conquering war against Southern Song, 1259 died in Sichuan.
Khubilai 忽必烈	Shizu shi 世祖	1260-1294-- Chongtung 中統 1260-64 Zhiyuan 至元 1264-94	1215-1294. In 1251 he was ordered by Möngke to govern the Chinese territories in the south of Mongolia. 1259 commanded Mongol troops to attack Ezhou of the Southern Song. When Möngke died, he was involved in the struggles for throne with his younger brother Arigh Bōke. 1260, he ascended throne in Kaiping without the election of <i>khuriltai</i> , and started to use Chinese reign title Zhongtong. In 1264 he

* Huhewendur believes that Tolui was born in 1187 based on the Qingshi 青史.

			moved his capital from Karakorum to Dadu. In 1271 he used Yuan as his dynasty title. 1279 he conquered the Southern Song, and China was unified.
Temür Oljeitü 帖穆耳完澤篤	Chengzong 成宗	1295-1307— Yuanchen 元貞 (3) 1295- 97, Dade 大 德 (11) 1297- 1307	1265-1307. Grandson of Khubilai. Because his father, the crown prince Jin-gim, died early, he was designated the heir-apparent.
Khaishan 海山	Wuzong 武宗	1308-1311---- Zhida 至大 1308-11	1281-1311. When Chengzong died in 1307, Ayurbarvada, nephew of Chengzong, became the regent, and put her elder brother Khaishan on the throne.
Ayurbarvada 愛育黎拔力 八達	Renzong 仁宗	1312-1320--- Huangqing 皇慶 1312- 1313 (2) Yanyou 延祐 1314-1320 (7)	1285-1320. When Khaishan ascended the throne, Ayurbarvada was designated heir-apparent. When Khaishan died, he succeeded to the throne.
Shidebala 碩德八剌	Yingzong 英宗	1321-1323---- Zhizhi 至治 1321-23 (3)	1303-1323. Son of Renzong, succeeded to the throne when Wenzong died. His radical political reforms infringed upon the interests of some Mongol nobles and therefore he was assassinated by Tieshi and other political opponents in the “Nanpo incident” in the 8 th month of 1323.
Yisün Temür 也孫鐵木兒	Taidingdi 泰定帝	1324-1328---- Taiding 泰定 1324-28 (5), Zhihe 致和 1328 (1)	1293-1328. When Shidebala was assassinated, Yisün Temür ascended the throne in the 9 th month of 1323 in Mongolia with the support of Tieshi, the assassin in the “Nanpo incident” and other Mongol nobles.
Arigiba/Aragibag 阿剌吉八	Tianshundi 天順帝	1328--- Tianshun 天順 (9 th month-10 th month) (one month)	1320-?. When Taidingdi died, a palace coup occurred in Dadu. Yantimur, the deputy administrator of the Department of Military Affairs, gathered all officials in the Xingsheng Palace and announced their decision to enthrone Tuq Temür, the second son of Wuzong. The Chancellor Daolasha put the crown prince Arigiba on the throne in Shandu in the 9 th month of 1328. In the 10 th month of the same year Tuq Temür's troops captured Shangdu. Arigiba was missing.
Tuq Temür 圖帖睦耳	Wenzong 文宗	1328-1329--- Tianli 天歷 9 th month, 1328-1th month, 1329 (5 months)	1304-1332. In the 9 th month of 1328 he was put on the throne by Yantimur. In the first month of 1329 Khoshila ascended the throne in Mongolia. In the 3 rd month of the same year Tuq Temür sent envoys to pay respect to Khoshila and inform him of his willing to hand over the throne to Khoshila. In the 4 th month Khoshila designated Tuq Temür crown prince. In the 8 th month on the way to

			Dadu Khoshila was murdered by Tuq Temür. Tuq Temür restored himself to the throne.
Khoshila 和世剌	Mingzong 明宗	1229 天歷— 11th month-8 th month (7 months)	1300-1329. In the 9 th month of 1328 Tuq Temür was put on the throne. In the first month of 1329 Khoshila ascended the throne and became Mingzong. In the 8 th month of the same year, Tuq Temür murdered Khoshila.
Tuq Temür 圖帖睦耳	Wenzong 文宗	1329-1332--- Tianli 天歷 1328-30 (3) Zhishun 至順 1330-1332	
Irinjibal 懿璘只班	Ningzong 寧宗	1332— Zhishun 至順 (43 days)	1326-1332. The second son of Khoshila. In the 8 th month of 1332 Tuq Temür died. His empress Budashili put Irinjibal on the throne in the 10 th month of 1332. He died in the 11 th month.
Toqon Temür 妥歡帖睦爾	Shundi 順帝	1333-1368--- Yuantong 元統 1333- 1335, Zhiyuan 至元 1335- 1340, Zhizheng 至正 1340-1368	1320-1370. When Irinjibal died, Empress Budashili decided to put Toqon Temür, the first son of Mingzong, on the throne. Toqon Temür ascended the throne in the 6 th month of 1333. In 1351 the Red Scarf Rebellion broke out. 1368 Zhu Yuanzhang's troops captured Dadu. The Yuan dynasty ended. Toqon Temür ran to the north, and died in 1370.

SOURCES: Du Jianmin 杜建民, ed., *Zhongguo lidai diwang shixi nianbiao* 中國歷代帝王世系年表, Qilu Shushe, 1995.

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Appendix III

GLOSSARY

Abd al-Rahman (*chn.* Audu-laheman 奧都剌合曼) chief chancellor during Toregene's regency (1241-46).

Abishqa, son of Būri.

Aga, *m.* concubine

Aha *m.* chief

Aha 阿哈, son of Suor-Huo-du 唆兒火都 of the Onggirat tribe.

Ahuruq 奧魯, place where the families of Mongol army remained.

Aiyashili/Aiyashiri 愛牙失里, daughter of Chengzong 成宗, wife of Kuolijisi 闊里吉思 of the Öngüt Tribe.

Ala-al-Din-Malik: Ta'rikh-Jaham-Gusha The history of the world conqueror 世界征服者史

Alahai Beki/Alaqa Beki 阿剌海別吉, daughter of Chinggis Khan, married into the Öngüt tribe.

Alakhushi-Khuri, head of the Öngüt tribe.

Al-Altun Beki 阿勒-阿勒屯別乞 also Ilghaltun Beki/Lia-Altun Beki, daughter of Chinggis Khan, married Barshukh Art Tegin 巴爾術阿爾的惕斤, the Idu-qut (Idikut) of the Uighur tribe.

Alandar 阿藍答兒

Alanquoa 阿蘭豁阿, female ancestor (*Mo. emegen*) of the Mongol tribe.

Alawusi Tijihuli 阿剌兀思 - 別吉忽里, chief of the Öngüt tribe.

Alatena-shina 阿剌忒納答納, son of Wenzong.

Alchi / Anchi / Anchen 按陳, son of Dei Sechen.

Aleiquan 阿雷泉

Alijiashili 阿里嘉室利, son of Diao'a-Bula.

Alimali 阿力麻里

Ailiqmish, wife of Arigh Böke, daughter of Törölchi. 脫劣勒赤 of the Oirat tribe.

Ariqachi 阿里合赤, wife of Töde-Möngke (third son of Toqoqan)

Altaju 按塔出, wife of Bayan, daughter of Dödei.

Altan Tobci 黃金史.

Altan Uruh Golden Clan

Amoga 阿木哥, eldest son of Tarmabala.

Ananda Qghul 阿難答, son of Mangqala 忙哥刺 (grandson of Khubilai)

Anda *m.* sworn brother

Anda 俺答 Khan

Antu 安禿, daughter of Kuochu 闊出 (son of Ögödei), wife of Suorha of the Ikires tribe.

Araqutluq, daughter of Möngke-Temür, wife of Tarqai of the Oirat tribe

Arghun, 阿魯渾, Il-Khan of Persia (1284-1291).

Argun 阿爾古納河

Arigh Böke 阿里不哥 (the youngest son of Tolui)

Ashi 阿失, grandson of Maizhuhan.

Ashituhulu/Ashi(q)tuqluq 阿失禿忽魯, daughter of the Mongol prince Nalahubuhua

乃剌忽不花, wife of Shuhunān of the Öngüt Tribe

Auljatai 完者臺, wife of Möngke-Temür 蒙哥帖木兒,

Aürgneḥ/Orqīna Khatun (Qara-Hülegü's wife)

Ayurbarvada (Ren-zong) 愛育黎拔力八達 1312-1320. son of Tarmabala.

Ba'atur hero, a brave and strong man

Babuhan 八不罕, empress of Emperor Taiding.

Babusha 八不沙, empress of Mingzong
 Baidasha 拜答沙, Mongol princess, wife of Maizhuhan of the Onggirat tribe.
 Baikal 貝加爾湖
 Baishen Ren 白身人
 Baizhu 拜住, eunuch in Wenzong's reign.
 Balashili 八剌失里, Prince of Chang.
 Banzhuni River 班朱尼河
 Baosi 褒姒, a favorite woman of the You Wang 幽王 of the Zhou dynasty.
 Balashili 八剌失里, son of Ashi of the Ikires tribe.
 Baragūn-gar *m.* right-wing
 Bars-buqa/ Pârs-buqa (husband of Yantiemur, the daughter of Tolui)
 Barshukh Art Tegin 巴爾術阿爾的惕斤, the Idu-qut (Idikut) of the Uighur tribe.
 Batu Khan 拔都, son of Jochi.
 Batur, *m.* warrior.
 Bayalun 巴牙倫, wife of Temūr-Buqa, sister of Hūlegū's wife Qutui Khatun.
 Bay'aut 伯要吾氏
 Bayan Khudu 伯顏忽都, wife of Korean king Wang To, daughter of Amoga.
 Bayan 伯顏
 Bayan *m.* the rich, feudal lord
 Begi *m.* princess
 Beki *m.* official title
 Belge *m.* ceremony for engagement
 Bengbula 迸不剌, son of Tuolian of the Onggirat tribe.
 Bieli *m.* daughter-in-law
 Bige 必哥, the second son of Anchen.
 Bihan 必罕, empress of Emperor Taiding, daughter of Maizhuhan
 Biki(a)mish (Bielimishi) 別里迷失 (the great-grandson of Khuduqa Beki, the son of Pârsbuqa)
 Bilge *m.* a good and wise man
 Boduanchar 李端察兒, youngest son of Alanquoa.
 boghtagh *m.* Headress.
 Bōl *m.* slave
 Boluoketu 李羅克禿, place name in Mongolia.
 Boluo Tiemuer 李羅帖木兒, son of Bengbula of the Onggirat tribe.
 Boraqchin (Bola Hezhen 正宮李剌合眞皇后), first wife of Ögödei Khan.
 Borhu 博爾忽
 Bōrōigān 李二只今
 Borshu 博爾術
 Börte Ujin 李爾帖兀眞, Cheinggis Khan's first wife, the daughter of Dei Sechen of the
 Botasirin 寶塔失里, wife of Korean King Kongmin, Wang Ki 王祺, daughter of Amoga.
 Botu 李禿, brother-in-law of Chinggis Khan, nobleman of the Ikires tribe.
 Boworchu 李幹兒出
 Boyaluhan 伯牙魯罕, daughter of Möngke Khan, married Hulian 忽憐, of the Ikires tribe.
 Boyanhudu 伯顏忽都, Princess of Qinghua 慶華公主, married Korean king Wang To.
 Boyokha 李要合 younger son of Alaques, the leader of the Öngüt tribe.
 Buda-shili 不答失里, empress of Wenzong, daughter of Diao'abula 瑯阿不剌.
 Buhua 不花, Hulian's younger cousin, Tiemugan 帖木干's son.
 Buhaihan 不海罕, wife of Suorha of the Ikires tribe.
 Bulanxi 不蘭奚, granddaughter of Möngke Khan, wife of Hulian of the Ikires tribe.
 Bulga 不剌合, wife of Jurikeh 術里客 (son of Tolui).
 Bulianjidai 不憐吉歹, Suoduge's son, Prince of Ning Chang 寧昌郡王.
 Bulughan 不魯罕, empress of Chengzong Temūr Öljeitü.

Bulughan 不魯罕, Mongol princess, wife of Tuoluohe 脫羅禾 of the Onggirat tribe.
 Buqa- Temür (son of Törölchi)
 Būri, Qara- Hülegū's elder broth.
 Buyanhudu 不顏忽都, daughter of Boluo Tiemuer 李羅帖木耳, empress of Mingzong.
 Buyanxiban 不顏昔班
 Buyirug 不亦魯黑罕, chief of the Naiman tribe.
 Buzhier 不只兒, grandson of Huqu.
 Caizhen 采真, wife of Aibuge 愛不哥 (Huaidu's younger brother)
 Caranoutes 哈刺納惕部, a sub-tribe of Onggirat tribe
 Ce 冊, son of Dei Sechen.
 Chabui Khatun 察必, Empress of Khubilai Khan, daughter of Anchen of the Onggirat tribe.
 Chaghatai 察合台 second son of Chinggis Khan.
 Cha Lun 茶倫, wife of Tieligan of the Ikires tribe.
 Changji 昌吉, grandson of Chigu.
 Cha Lun 茶倫
 Cha'ur Beki 察兀儿别乞, daughter of Ong-Khan.
 Checheyigen/Secheyigen Aghai/ Checheyigen/ Chichigen/ 扯扯亦堅 / 扯扯亦干 / 闊闊干 ,
 daughter of Chinggis Khan, married to Inalchi's wife of the Oirat tribe.
 Chen You 陳祐
 Chigu 赤古, first son of Anchen of the Onggirat tribe.
 Chila'un 赤老溫
 Chinggis Khan 成吉思汗
 Chingtüm 鎮土木, wife of Qonichi.
 Chobi 趙妃.
 Cho Ch'ung 趙冲
 Ch'oe T'an 崔坦
 Ch'oe Yi 崔怡
 Ch'öin 處仁 city
 Chŏnghwa 貞和, wife of the Korean King Ch'ungyŏ.
 Chouhan 丑漢, descendant of Bige 必哥 of the Onggirat tribe.
 chu shui jiu lu 出水就陸
 Clan tribe, group
 Coulan / Hulan 忽蘭, wife of Chinggis Khan..
 Counkoulioutes 弘吉剌兀惕部. a sub-tribe of Onggirat tribe)
 Dada 韃旦 (Tartar)
 Dadu 大都, Grand Capital of the Yuan dynasty.
 Daji 妲己, a favorite woman of Zhou Wang 殷紂王 of the Shang dynasty.
 Dalamabala 答剌麻八剌, Yuzong's son 順宗 Shunzong.
 Dar Haizi 答儿海子
 Darhan m. freeman
 Darughachi 達魯花赤
 Da xile 大喜樂
 Dei Sechen 德薛禪, father-in-law of Chinggis Khan, a nobleman of the Onggirat tribe.
 Deleger River 德勒格爾河
 Deshou 德壽, son of Chengzong.
 Diaoa-bula 瑯阿不剌, son of Tiemuer of the Onggirat tribe., husband of princess Sengge Ragi
 (Xiangge-Laji 祥哥剌吉)
 Dobun-mergen, son of Alanquoa.
 D'Ohsson, i. X. Abe Remusat, Nouveaux Melanges Asiatique.
 Dongping 東平

Dongzhen 東真

Duluor 都羅兒, grandson of Harhasun.

Dumugan/Tümügen 獨木干, daughter of Tolui, married to Niegutai 聶古台 (Prince of Yu 郃王, son of Zhenguo), remarried Chahu 察忽 of the the Öngüt Tribe.

Duor-Zhiban 朵兒只班, Mongol princess, wife of Alijiashili of the Onggirat tribe.

Dürlükün 多儿勒斤

Ebuge *m.* ancestor

Ecige *m.* father

Egechi *m.* elder sister

Eke *m.* mother

Ekener *m.* wife

El-Chiqmish Khatun (the senior wife of Arigh Böke)

Emegen 額木干, wife of Melik-Temür 明理帖木儿, daughter of Pars-buqa 巴儿思不花 of the Oirat tribe.

Emergen *m.* female ancestor

Empress Lü 呂后

Eshitei 額失歹, wife of Arigh Böke.

Fātima (sorcery) 法蒂瑪

Gaochang 高昌

Gegen (1320-1323)

Gergen *m.* principal wife

Ghazan Khan 合贊罕, r. 1295-1304, son of Arhun.

Goden Horde 金帳汗國

Guanglu Dafu 光祿大夫, Grand Master for Splendid Happiness.

Guna-dala 古納答剌, son of Wenzong.

Gurgen/ Kūregen *m.* son-in-law

Gūr-khan 古儿罕

Gūyūk 貴由, first son of Ögödei Khan.

Had *m.* duke, prince

Hadahan 哈答罕, daughter of Prince Saiyinzhubu 賽因主卜, wife of Yuelietai 月列台.

Hadan-tulugan 哈丹禿魯干, descendant of Hechiwen 合赤溫 (the younger brother of Chinggis Khan).

Hahai 哈海, son of Nachen.

Hama, 哈麻, bodyguard of Shundi.

Hao Jing 郝經, advisor of Khubilai Khan.

Har-dijin 哈兒的斤

Harhasun 哈兒哈孫, son of Ce.

Harzhi 哈兒只

Hasar 合撒兒, younger brother of Chinggis Khan.

Hechiwen 合赤溫

Heqin 和親

Hō'elun 訶阿倫, wife of Yesugei, mother of Chinggis Khan.

Hō'ün *m.* son

Hōbe'gūn son, prince

Holuiqan 豁雷罕, daughter of Jochi 拙赤, who married Törölchi of the Oirat tribe.

Hubi *m.* fief

Hudadiemish/Quadamish 忽答迭迷失, daughter of Jin Gim, wife of Kuolijisi 闊里吉思 of the Öngüt Tribe.

Huhanxie Chanyu 呼韓邪單于

Huihe/Uyihur 回紇, daughter of Azhiji 阿只吉, wife of Qiaolinchu 喬鄰察 of the Öngüt Tribe.

Hulan 忽蘭, empress of Chinggis Khan.

Hūlegū 旭烈兀, (1) IL-Khan, fifth son of Tolui. (2) Son of Orda, grandson of Jochi.
 Hulian 忽憐, son of Zhawu-Erchen of the Ikires tribe.
 Hundugu 渾都古
 Hundu Tiemu'er 渾都帖木兒
 Huochenbieji 火臣別吉/ Khojen Beki 豁真別乞, daughter of Chinggis Khan, wife of Botu of the Ikires tribe.
 Huqu/Huohu 火忽 son of Dei Sechen.
 Hutuheitai (Qutuqtai) 忽禿黑台, empress of Möngke Khan, daughter of Suorha 鎖兒哈 of the Ikires tribe.
 Idu-qut (Idikut) 亦都護
 Ikiras/Ikires/ Ikirasses 亦乞剌思部
 Ile-Temūr (Yantiemur) 燕帖木兒, daughter of Tolui 拖雷, wife of Pars-buqa 巴兒思不花 of the Oirat tribe.
 Ilgen 亦勒堅 wife of Bayan 伯顏 (Qonichi's first son), daughter of Temüge 帖木格.
 Ilkhaltun Begi /Ilghaltun Begi 也立安敦別吉, daughter of Chinggis Khan.
 Im Yōn 林衍
 Inalchi / Inalči 亦納勒赤 (the son of Quduya Beki /Khuduqa /Khutukha-Begi)
 Irgen *m.* tribe
 Irinjinbal 亦憐真班 wife of the Korean king Wang Chōng 王禎(忠惠王), daughter of Jiaoba 焦八.
 King Ch'unghye
 Jad *m.* foreigner, alien
 Jam *m.* post station
 Jāmi' al-Tawārikh 史集
 Jamuka /Jamuga 札木合
 Jarlig *m.* imperial decree
 Jasa *m.* code, statute book
 Jegün-gar *m.* left-wing
 Jialinzhen 珈隣真
 Jian River 健河
 Jiansi 監司
 Jigu *m.* sister's son, nephew
 Jin 金 (1115-1234)
 Jin-Gim 真金, son of Khubilai Khan, crown prince of Yuan.
 Jining 濟寧
 Jintong 金童, wife of the Korean King Wang To 王焘, daughter of Amuge 阿木哥.
 Jochi 術赤, Chinggis Khan's eldest son.
 John of Plano Carpini
 Juancheng 鄧城
 Junshou 郡守
 Juwaini 術外尼 : Ta-rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha (History of the World-Conqueror), translated by John Andrew Boyle (1916-1978)
 Kaegyōng 開京
 Kaiping 開平
 Kammala/ Ganmala 甘麻剌, Jin-Gim's first son.
 Kanghwa island 江華島
 Kangyangkong Cha 江陽公滋, Korean prince, son of King Ch'ungyō.
 Karakorum 和林. capital of the Mongol Empire.
 Kelmish-aqa 克勒迷失阿合, wife of Saljidaï 撒勒只臺, daughter of Qutuqtu 忽睹都 (third son of Tolui).

Kentei 肯特山

Kerāt / Kereit / Karāt 克烈部

Kerulen 怯連達河

Keshigci *m.* guards

Khadan / Qadan 哈丹, sixth son of Ögödei.

Khaidu/ Qaidu 海都, son of Qashi, grandson of Ögödei.

Khaishan/Qaishan 海山, Wuzong, r. 1307-1311, son of Tarmabala 答剌麻八剌.

Khan *m.* chief of a tribe, emperor

Khan-balik 汗八里 (元中都)

Khangai 杭愛山

Khatun empress, imperial consort

Khitan 契丹

Khojen Beki 豁真別乞, eldest daughter of Chinggis Khan.

Kholunkhan 豁雷罕, daughter of Jochi, wife of Inalchi of the Oirat tribe.

Khubilai (Qubilai) 忽必烈

Khuchu 忽出 wife of Toqoqan/Tuqan 秃罕, mother of Möngke-Temür, daughter of Törölchi of the Oirat tribe.

Khudugha Beki/ Khutukha-Begi / Qudugha 忽都合別吉, chief of the Oirat tribe.

Khudulu(gh)Khaimish 忽都魯揭里迷失, daughter of Khubilai, married Korean king Ch'ungyŏl Wang Sim 王諶 (忠烈王), mother of Yuan 諫.

Khuriltai *m.* meeting, congress

Khwārazm 花刺子模

Kichik or keshik 怯薛

Kimdong 金童, Mongol princess (daughter of Amoga), married Korean King Wang To 王焄.

Kiptchac 欽察

Kitad *m.* slave

Kiya *m.* body guard

Kiyan 乞顏 tribe, the tribe that Chinggis Khan belonged to.

Köchü/Qochu 闊出 third son of Ögetei Khan.

Kökejin (chn. Kuokuo-zhen) 闊闊真, wife of Jin-gim, daughter-in-law of Khubilai

Kokochü, 闊闊出 (Teb Tenggeri), a famous Shaman who helped Chinggis ascend the throne.

Later was killed by Chinggis Khan.

Kongirat/Konkurat/Kongrat 宏吉剌

Kökejin 闊闊真, wife of Temür-Buqa 帖木兒不花 (first son of Hülegü).

Köten (chn. Kuoduan) 闊端, second son of Ögödei Khan.

Köyitien 闊亦田, the battle field that Chinggis Khan and Ong Khan's joint army fought against the joint army led by Jamuka.

Kubak Khatun, wife of Hülegü, daughter of Törölchi of the Oirat tribe.

Küchlüg 屈出律, the Naiman prince who seized the Khara-Khitai throne.+

Kun-dgah-rho-rje (1309-1364): Hu-lan-deb-ther 紅史

Kuokuolun 闊闊倫, Mongol princess, wife of Tuoluohe 脫羅禾 of the Onggirat tribe.

Küregen / Güregen 古列堅 (imperial-son-in-law)

Lian Texin 鍊德新

Liao 遼 (907-1125)

Lienü Zhuan 列女傳

Lingqun Khatun/Lingqum Khatun, wife of Arigh Böke, the daughter of Küchlüg Khan.

lin zhong bai xing 林中百姓, people in the forest.

Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠, Grand Guardian (chn. Taibao 太保) in Khubilai's reign.

Luluhan 魯魯罕, Mongol princess, wife of Suoduge 唆都哥 of the Ikires tribe.

Lulun 魯倫 Mongol princess, wife of Suoduge 唆都哥 of the Ikires tribe.

Maidi 買的, Mongol princess, wife of Ashi of the Ikires tribe.

- Maizhuhan 買住罕, son of Bengbula of the Onggirat tribe.
 Manggechen 忙哥陳, Dei Sechen's grandson.
 Manggetai 忙哥台, wife of Changji 昌吉 (Chigu's great grandson).
 Mangqala 忙哥剌, the third son of Khubilai Khan.
 Mankku-lukan, daughter of Hülegü Khan, wife of Jaqir of the Oirat tribe.
 Manzitai 蠻子台, younger brother of Tiemuer of the Onggirat tribe.
 Märkit / Merkit 蔑儿乞部
 Mao Yanshou 毛延壽, court artist of the Han dynasty.
 Meixi 妹喜, a favorite woman of Jie 桀 in the Xia dynasty.
 Melik-Temür 滅里 / 明理帖木兒, second son of Arigh Böke.
 Mengü-Temür / Mōngke-Temür, son of Hülegü.
 Mingganon *m.* thousand households
 Mö'etüken, second son of Chaghatai Khan.
 Mogo, wife of Chinggis Khan and was inherited by Ögödei.
 Mōngke / Mongu 蒙哥, the eldest son of Tolui.
 Mōngke-Temur 蒙哥帖木兒, (1) second son of Toqoqan, grandson of Batu. (2) son of Hülegü Khan and Öljei Khatun
 Kubak 古巴克, wife of IL-Khan Hülegü Khan 旭烈兀, daughter of Törölchi of the Oirat tribe.
 Münglig/Menglik 蒙力克, father of Kokochü, 闊闊出 (Teb Tenggeri), step-father of Chinggis Khan.
 Muqali / Muhuali 木華黎, one of the four most gifted generals of Chinggis Khan.
 Nachen 納陳, third son of Anchen of the Onggirat tribe.
 Nahe 納合, grandson of Anchen of the Onggirat tribe.
 Naiman 乃蠻
 Naiyan 乃顏, great-great-grandson of Otchijin 斡赤斤 (Chinggis Khan's youngest brother).
 Nambui / Nanbi 南必, Khubilai's wife, the daughter of Xiantong 仙童 of the Onggirat tribe.
 Nange Bula 南哥不剌, daughter of the crown prince Jin Gim, wife of Manzitai.
 Nangjiazhen 囊加真, daughter of Khubilai, wife of Woluoche 斡羅陳, remarried Tiemur 帖木兒, and Manzitai 蠻子台.
 Nayan *m.* official, lord, noble
 Nayan Khatun, wife of Tolui 拖雷.
 Nekün Taisi 捏坤大石, brother of Yesügei.
 Néstorianisme 景教
 Niegutai 聶古台.
 Niequn 捏坤, father of Botu of the Ikires 兀里.
 Nierjin 溺兒斤部, a sub-tribe of the Onggirat tribe.
 Nirun 尼倫
 Niulin-dijin 紐林的斤
 Nolun 訥倫, wife of Korean Wang Hao 王皓, Prince of Shen (Sim Wang 審王). daughter of Songshan 松山.
 Noyan 那顏
 Nuhan 奴罕 wife of Khubilai.
 Nulun 奴倫, daughter of the Mongol prince Wan Ze 完澤, wife of Alibadai 阿里八歹 of the Öngüt Tribe.
 Numugan, daughter of Arigh Böke, wife of Junan of the Oirat tribe.
 Nuwulun 奴兀倫, daughter of Manggela 忙哥剌, wife of Suolangha 鎖郎哈 of the Ikires tribe.
 Obogh *m.* clan or tribe, particular blood-related alliance
 Odchigin 斡赤斤, Chinggis Khan's youngest brother.
 Odcigin ejen *m.* master of kitchen range—the youngest son
 Oghul Ghaimish 斡兀里海迷失, principal wife of Güyük.

Ögödei (Ögetei Qa'an) 窩闊台, third son of Chinggis Khan.

Oirat/Oirad/Oyirad 幹亦剌/瓦剌

Öljei Khatun/Aulljai Öljei /Auljai 完者 (1) empress of Hülegü Khan, sister of Kubak, mother of Möngke-Temür, remarried Abaha. (2) empress of Arghun, Il-Khan of Persia, r.1284-1291, daughter of Sulamish, granddaughter of Tenggis

Olqunu'ud-Onggirat 幹勒忽訥兀惕--弘吉剌特 (Wolehuna 幹勒忽訥) (a sub-tribe of Onggirat tribe)

Omog *m.* family

Ong *m.* king

Onggirat 弘吉剌部

Ong-Khan 王罕, To'oril Khan of the Kereyid.

Öngüt 汪古部

Onon 幹難河

Orda, eldest son of Jochi.

Ordou/Ordu 幹儿朵, Mongol Khan's tent palace

Orqina/Aürgneh 幹儿吉納_Khatun, wife of Qara-Hülegü.

O Yunpu 伍允孚

Piao Buhua 朴不花, a Korean eunuch, ambassador of the *Zizheng Yuan* in Shundi's reign.

Princess Supreme of the State of Qi 岐國大長公主

Princess Wencheng 文成公主

Puna 普納, Mongol princess, wife of Sangge-Bula of the Onggirat tribe.

Puxian-Wannu 蒲鮮萬奴

Puyang 濮陽

Puyankelimeisi 普顏可里美思, Mongol princess, wife of Bulianjidai 不憐吉歹 of the Ikires tribe.

Qachi'un 合赤溫, Chinggis Khan's younger brother.

Qara-Hülegü 合剌旭烈兀, fourth son of Mö'tüken, grandson of Chaghatai.

Qaraqorum 喀剌和林

Qarkeh-aml (Dierge-ke-emiele 迭兒格-克額蔑勒), chief of the Onggirat tribe in the early 13th century.

Qasar 合撒兒, Chinggis Khan's younger brother.

Qianhu 千戶 Battalion Commander

Qishan 岐山

Qishi Wanzhehudu 奇氏完者忽都, a Korean woman, empress of Shundi.

Qtaqash 合塔合失, wife of Kurju 闊出 (son of Ögödei).

Qtqin/Hedajin 合答斤

Quanning 全寧

Quda/Huda 忽答 *m.*, A kinship term used by and in reference to those who are relatives by virtue of the marriage of their children.

Quriltai/khuriltai 庫爾台

Qutlu, wife of Arigh Böke 阿里不哥.

Qutuqtu (1329-1332)

Rashid al-Din (1247-1317): Jami'al-Tavarikh 史集 (Collection of Histories)

Salita 撒禮塔

Saljidai 撒勒只臺

Salji'üd / Salezhiwuti 撒勒只兀惕

Sambyölch'o 三別抄

Sanggebula/Suga-bala 桑哥八剌, Mongol princess, married Mazhahan 馬札罕 of the the Öngüt Tribe.

Sangge-bula 桑哥不剌, son of Tiemuer of the Onggirat tribe.

Sanggebula 桑哥不剌, wife of Tuotumur 脫脫木兒 of the Onggirat tribe.

Semu 色目

Sengge Ragi 祥哥剌吉 (? 1282-1332), the mother-in-law of Wenzong.

Senggūm's 桑昆, son of Ong-Khan.

Sengūn *m.* official title

Shalanduoer 沙藍朵兒, son of Balashili.

Shangdu 上都 Supreme Capital

Shatuo-yanmen 沙陀雁門

Shi Shouxin 石守信

Shidebala 碩德八剌, Yingzong, r. 1321-1323.

Shiliandali 失憐答里, empress of Chengzong, daughter of Woluochen of the Onggirat tribe.

Shirap/Shalan 沙蘭, son of Parsbuqa of the Oirat tribe. he married a Yuan princess.

Shiremūn 失列門, son of Kōchū, grandson of Ōgōdei.

Shiyi 食邑

Shou Tong 壽童, empress of Wuzong 武宗 Qaishan, mother of Mingzong, daughter of

Shuer-chedan 術兒徹丹

Shumishi 樞密使

Shuosijian 搠思監, Right-chancellor in Shundi's reign.

Sorghaghtani-Beki 唆爾忽帖尼別吉, senior wife of Tolui, mother of Khubilai.

Sugebala 速哥八剌, daughter of Princess Yilihaiya, principle empress of Yingzong.

Sugedali 速哥答里, empress of Emperor Taiding, daughter of Maizhuhan.

Sugeshili 速哥失里, empress of Wuzong, daughter of Harzhi 哈兒只

Sulde *m.* banner, county

Solangha 索郎哈

Suoduge 唆都哥, Buhua's younger brother, Prince of Ning Chang 寧昌郡王.

Suorha 鎖兒哈, son of Botu.

Suorhahan 唆兒哈罕, daughter of Ōgōdei, wife of Nahe 納合.

Suor-Huodu 唆兒火都, son of Anchen.

Taihuludu 台忽魯都, wife of Chouhan 丑漢 of the Onggirat tribe.

Taijigot/Taijiut 泰赤烏

Talahai 塔剌海 wife of Khubilai.

Tankiz (Tengjisi): chief of the Oirat tribe, who married the daughter of Gūyūk Khan.

Tarmabala / Dalamabala 答剌麻八剌, second son of Jin-gim.

Tartar 塔塔爾部

Tayang Khan 太陽罕, King of Naiman state.

Tchagatai 察合台, second son of Chinggis Khan.

Tegülün/Tiegulun 帖古倫, wife of Khubilai Khan. the daughter of Tuolian 脫憐 of the Onggirat tribe.

Temüge Odchigin 鐵木格斡赤斤, younger brother of Chinggis Khan.

Temüjin /Tiemuzhen 鐵木真, name of Chinggis Khan.

Temüjin-Wuge 鐵木真兀格, the chief of the Tartar tribe, captured by Yesügei.

Temülün 鐵木倫, younger sister of Chinggis Khan.

Temür Ōljeitü 鐵穆耳, Chengzong, third son of Jim-Gim, r. 1295-1307.

Tikong 提控

Tian mo wunü 天魔舞女

Tieligan/Tiejiangan 帖里干/帖堅干, Botu's son.

Tiemudier 帖木迭兒, chancellor under Wentsung's reign, favorite of Empress Dowager Daji.

Tiemuer 帖木兒, son of Nachen.

Tobaqana 脫巴合納, wife of Orda.

Tödögach, daughter of Hülegü Khan 旭烈兀, wife of Tanggis of the Oirat tribe.

Toghan-Temür 妥歡帖穆爾

Tolui/ Tului 拖雷, youngest son of Chinggis Khan.

Toqoqan(Tûqân): second son of Batu.
 Toquluqan 脱忽魯罕, wife of Qonichi 火你赤 (Orda's first son Sartaqtai's first son)
 Töregene 脱列哥納, wife of Ögödei.
 Törelchi/ Törölchi 脱劣勒赤 (son of Khuduqa Beki)
 Torgüd *m.* relatives on the side of wives
 Tougous 東胡 (通古斯)
 Touxia 投下
 Tükünche 秃昆怯, wife of Toqta 脱脱 (fifth son of Toqoqan, ruler of Goden Horde from 1291 to 1312).
 Tumad 秃麻部
 Tumanlu 秃滿倫, daughter of Chinggis Khan, wife of Chigu 赤古 of the Onggirat tribe.
 Tümen ten thousand households
 Tuoba 拓跋 (A.D. 399-534)
 Tuohei-Tuoa 脱黑脱阿, chief of Merkit 蔑儿乞 tribe.
 Tuohuan 脱歡, son of Nachen.
 Tuolian 脱憐, Anchen's grandson.
 Tuoluohu 脱羅禾, grandson of Dei Sechen.
 Tuosima 脱思麻
 Tuotuohui 脱脱灰, Granddaughter of Khubilai Khan, wife of Tumandar 秃滿答儿 of the Oirat tribe.
 Tuotuomur 脱脱木兒
 Tuotuoshur 脱脱術兒
 Tuq Temür 圖帖睦爾, Wenzong, r. 1329-1332.
 Tusaqa 秃撒哈, son of Senggüm.
 turghagh (*m.*) 秃魯花 (質子) hostage
 Üibi 懿妃
 Uighur 畏吾儿部
 Ulus *m.* nation, people
 urugh/uruh *m.* of the same clan
 Waiqi 外戚
 Wang Chǎng 王渇
 Wang Chōl 王瞰
 Wang Chōn 王禎(1331-1332), the King Ch'unghye 忠惠王 of Korea.
 Wang Ki 王祺 (r. 1352-1374), the King Kongmin 恭愍王 of Korea.
 Wang Mang 王莽
 Wang Sik 王植
 Wang Sim 王禔 (r. 1275-1308), the King Ch'ungyōl 忠烈王 of Korea.
 Wang Sung 王嵩, the Sim Wang 沈王 of Korea.
 Wang To 王焘(1314-1330), Korean "King Ch'ungsug" 忠肅王.
 Wang Wōn 王源(1309-1313), the King Ch'ungsōn 忠宣王 of Korea.
 Wang Zhaojun 王昭君
 Wanhu 萬戶, Brigade Commander.
 Wanyan Ziyuan 完顏子淵
 Wanze 完澤, wife of Woluochen.
 Wochen 斡陳, second son of Anchen of the Onggirat tribe.
 Wokezhen 斡可真
 Woliuchar 斡留察兒, grandson of Anchen.
 Woluochen 斡羅陳, son of Nachen.
 Wongji Bahu 完吉八忽, wife of Huaidu 怀都 (grandson of Chigu)

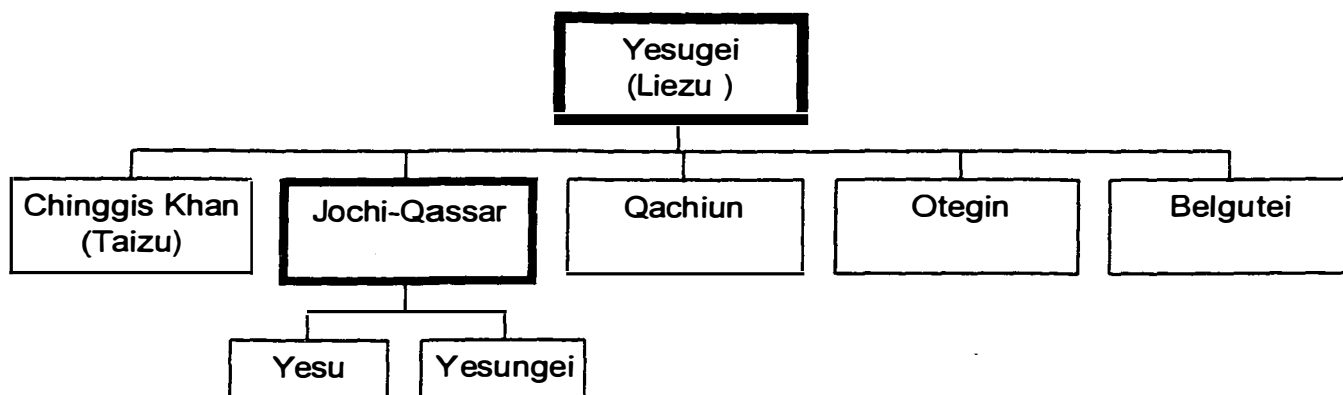
Wuluzhen 兀魯真/吾魯真, daughter of Kubilai Khan, wife of Buhua 不花 of the Ikires tribe.
 Wu Zetian 武則天
 Xi Xia 西夏 (1032-1227)
 Xiantong 仙童
 Xiangzong 襄宗, emperor of the Xi Xia state.
 Xiao Daheng 肖大亨
 Xining Prefecture 西寧州
 Xiongnu 匈奴
 Xu Heng 許衡, minister in Khubilai's reign.
 Xuanzong 宣宗, emperor of the Jin dynasty.
 Xuezhigan 薛只干, granddaughter of Khubilai Khan, wife of Nachen 納陳.
 Xuzhou 徐州
yan dier fa 演揲兒法
 Yang Guozhong 楊國忠
 Yanheya 煙合牙, Mongol princess, wife of Balashili 八剌失里 of the Ikires tribe.
 Yao Shu 姚樞, advisor of Khubilai Khan.
 Yebujiandai 也不堅歹
 Yeke-Chiliedü 也克赤列都, a man of the the Merkit (Märkit) tribe, the first husband of Hö'elün Üjin.
 Yeke Monggol Ulus, Great Mongol State
 Yeke Nayan, High-ranking noble
 Yeke Ulus, fief directly beloned to the Great Khan
 Yelimishi/Yelmish 葉里迷失, Daughter of Güyük Khan, wife of Junbuhua 君不花 (Prince of Zhong Xiang 忠襄王 son of Boyaohe) of the Öngüt Tribe.
 Yelü Chucai/Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材, Right-Chancellor during Ögödei's reign and the Toregene's regency.
 Yelü Liuge 耶律留哥
 Yemianganzen/Emegenjin 葉綿干貞, daughter of prince Wludai 兀魯歹, wife of Shuhunan 術忽難 of the Öngüt Tribe.
 Yesubuhua 也速不花, Daughter of Tolui, wife of Wochan of the Onggirat tribe.
 Yesügei 也速該, father of Chinggis Khan.
 Yesü-Mengü/ Yesü- Mōngke, fifth son of Chaghatai's.
 Yesün-Temür/Yesun Tiemur 也孫鐵木兒, Taidingdi, r. 1324-1328.
 Yesunzhen 也孫真, daughter of Prince Anchidai 安赤歹, married Zhawu-Erchen 札兀兒臣 of the Ikires tribe.
 Yesur 也速兒, Empress of Möngke Khan, taken by Yobuqur, son of Arigh Böke.
 Yesujin 也速真, Mongol princess, wife of the Korean king Wang Wōn 王諤
 Yexian 也先
 Yibahe 亦巴合, wife of Chinggis Khan, granted to his general, Zhuer-Chedai 主兒扯歹.
 Yilianzhen 亦憐真, Mongol princess, wife of Nangjiatai 囊家台 of the Öngüt Tribe.
 Yilianzhenbala 亦憐真八剌, Mongol princess, married Korean king Wang To.
 Yilianzhenbala 亦憐真八剌, daughter of princess Yilihaiya 益里海涯, principle empress of Emperor Taiding
 Yilihaiya 益里海涯, the daughter of Chengzong, wife of Ashi 阿失 of the Ikires tribe.
yina 倚納
 Yin Zhou Wang 殷紂王
 Yingchang 應昌
 Yiqiliesi 亦乞列思, wife of Tieligan/Tiejiangan 帖里干/帖堅干 of the Ikires tribe.
 Yi Shou Wang 逸壽王

Yixiji 一悉基, Mongol princess, wife of Burtua [Palituo 八里托] of the Oirat tribe.
 Yongsan Wŏnja 龍山元子. Korean prince, mother was Mongol princess Jintong 金童.
 Yort *m.* domain, territory
 you shou jun 右手軍
 Yu Fu Zhi 輿服志, Records of Imperial Carriages and Garments
 Yuandi 元帝, Emperor of the Han dynasty
 Yuelietai 月列台. son of Zhawu-Erchen of the Ikires tribe.
 Yuelu 月魯, daughter of Mingzong, wife of Shalanduor 沙藍朵兒 of the Ikires tribe.
 Yulongzhan 玉龍棧
 Yunzhong 雲中
 Zha'a-qianbo 札阿紺孛, younger brother of Ong Khan.
 Zhahuerchen 札忽兒臣, Suorha's son, Prince of Cahng.
 Zhamayan 詐馬宴
 Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤, founder of the Song dynasty.
 Zhao Liangbi 趙良弼
 Zhawu-Erchen 札兀兒臣, son of Suorha.
 Zhenge 真哥, empress of Wuzong, the daughter of Bengbula.
 Zhenguo 鎮國, nephew of Alaques of the Öngüt tribe.
 zhisun banquet 只孫宴
 Zhongjin 鐘金
 Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, founder of the Ming Dynasty.
 Zhuoguyu 著古與

Appendix IV*

Genealogical Tables of the Mongol Royal Clan

1. House of Yesugei



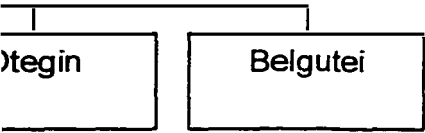
* Sources: Gong Shijiong 龔士炯, *Diwang shixi tu sanzong* 帝王世系圖三種, Shijie Shuju, 1963.

Gao Wende 高文德, Cai Zhichun 蔡志純, *Menggu shixi* 蒙古世系 (The Genealogy of Mongols), Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe 中國社會科學出版社, 1980.

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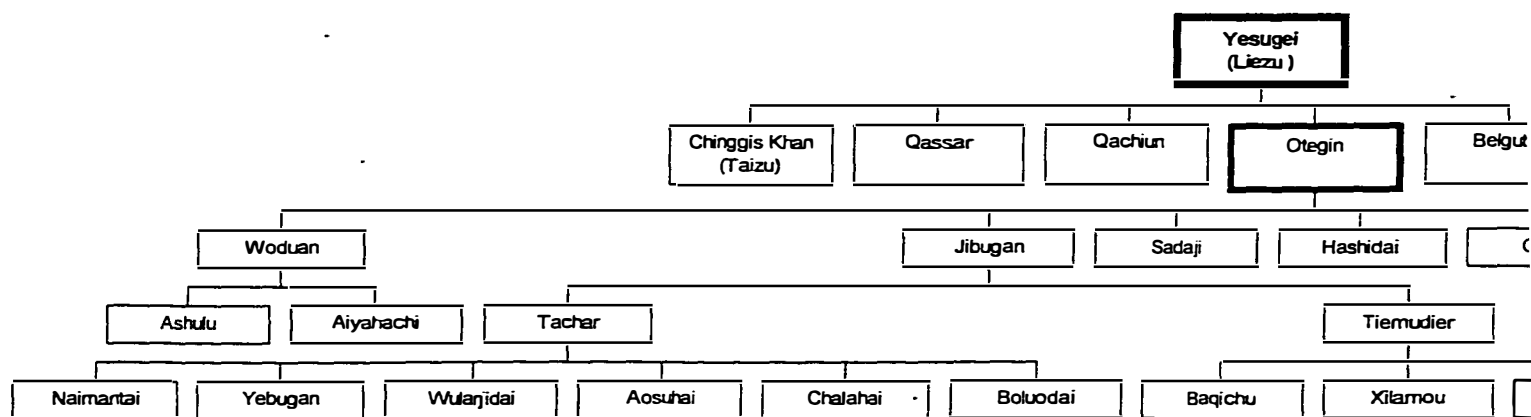
Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World Conqueror*, tr., John Andrew Boyle, Manchester University Press, 1958.

Royal Clan

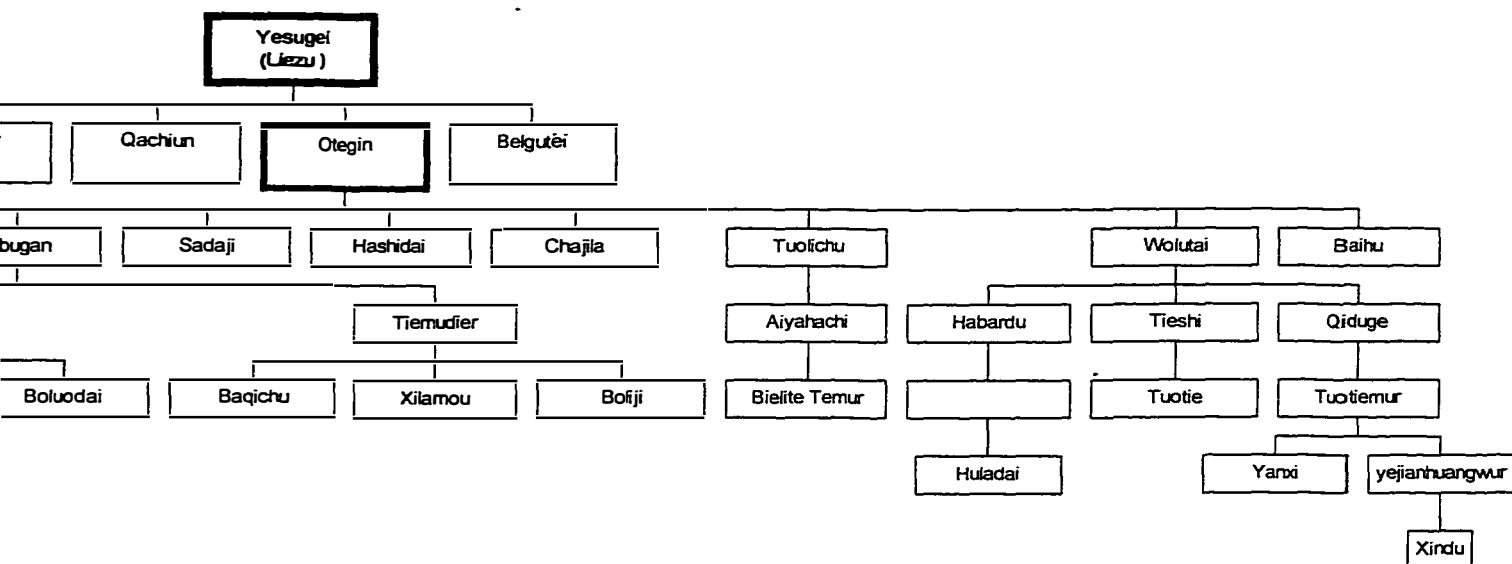


種 , Shijie Shuju, 1963.
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olumbia University Press, 1971.
Andrew Boyle, Manchester University Press, 1958.

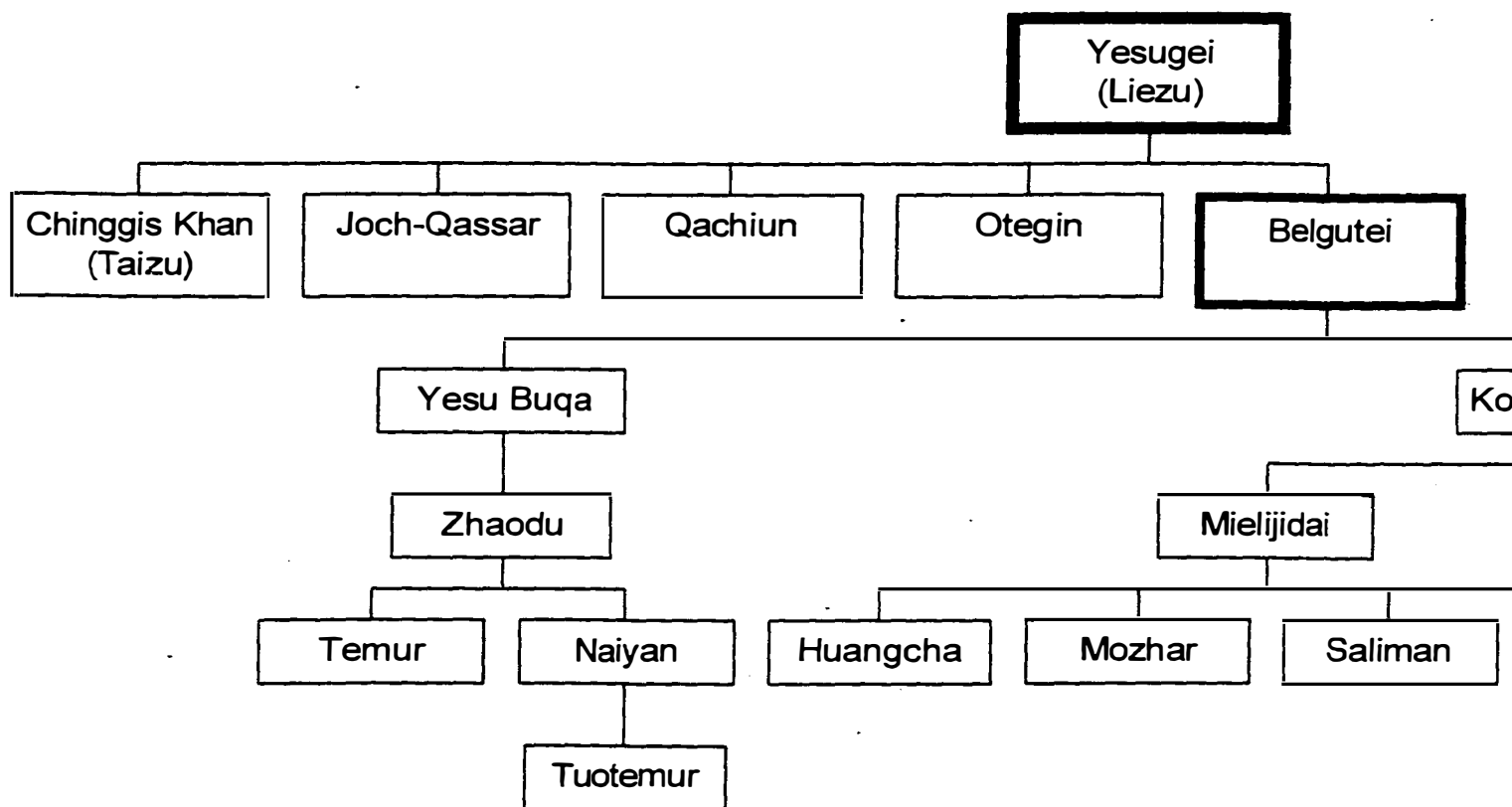
2. House of Otegin



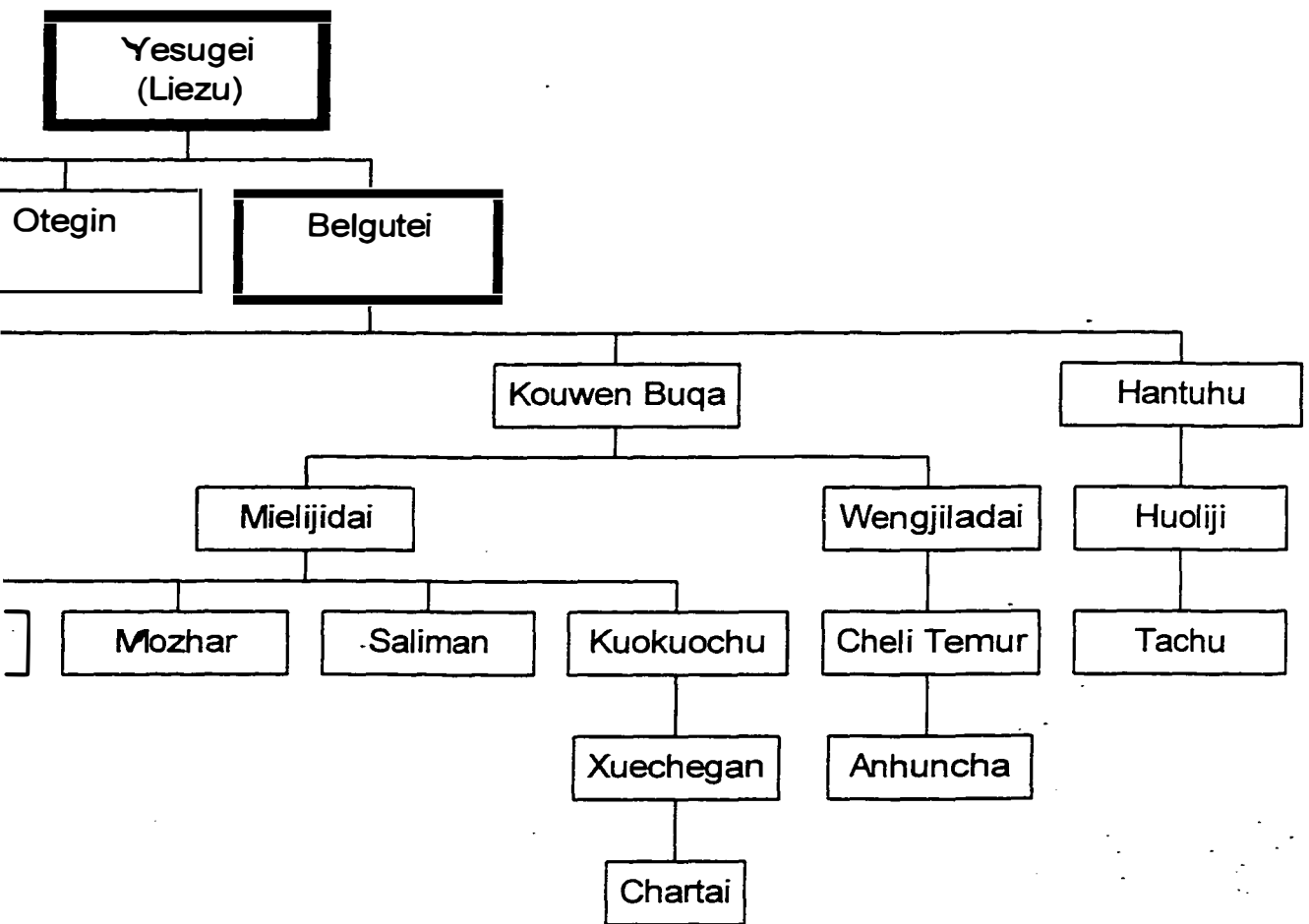
2. House of Otegin



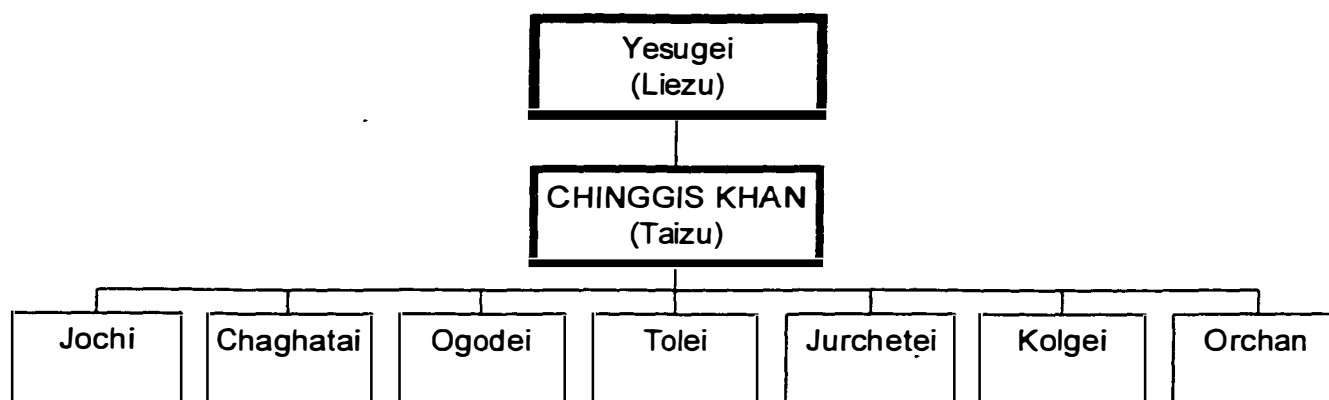
3. House of Belgutei



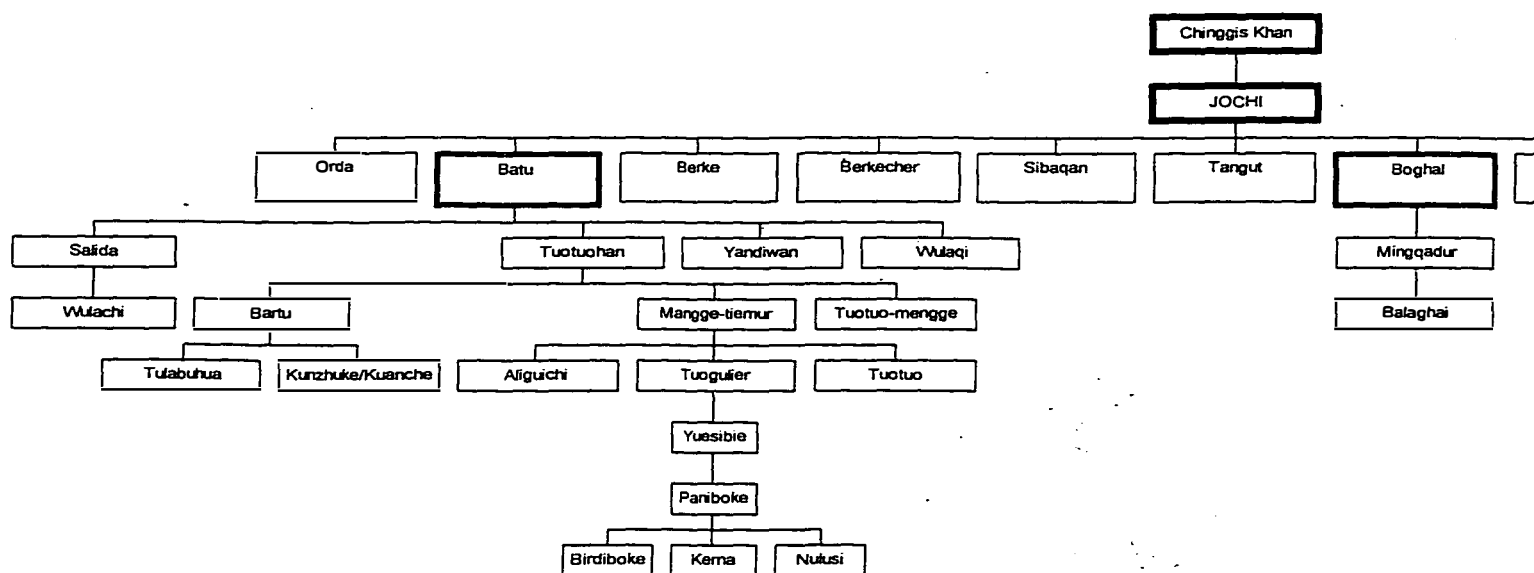
3. House of Belgutei

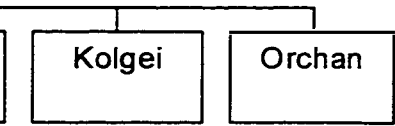


4. HOUSE OF CHINGGIS KHAN

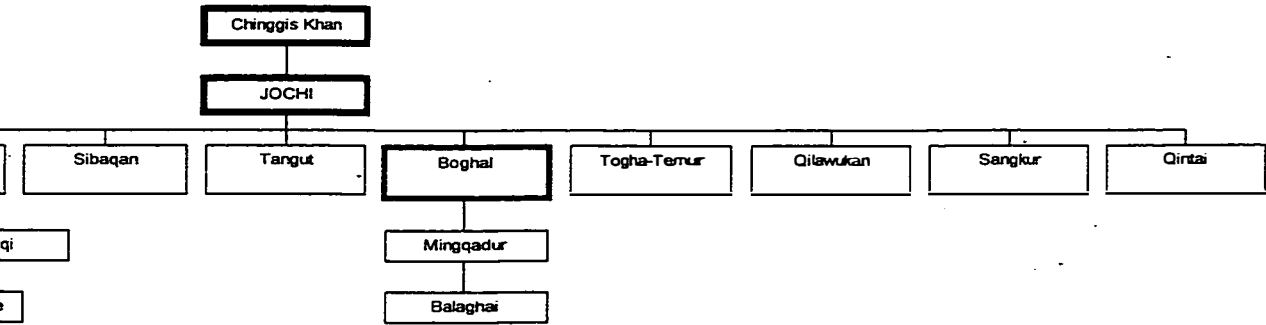


5. HOUSE OF JOCHI

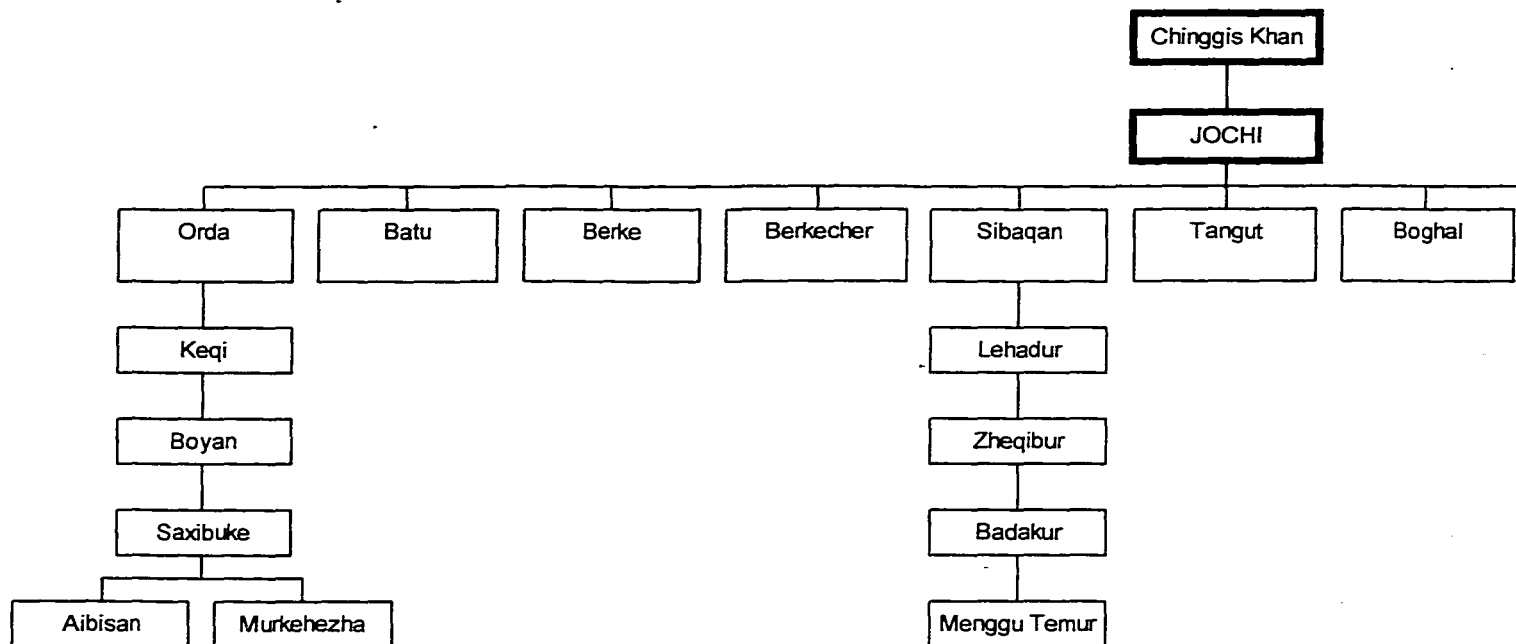




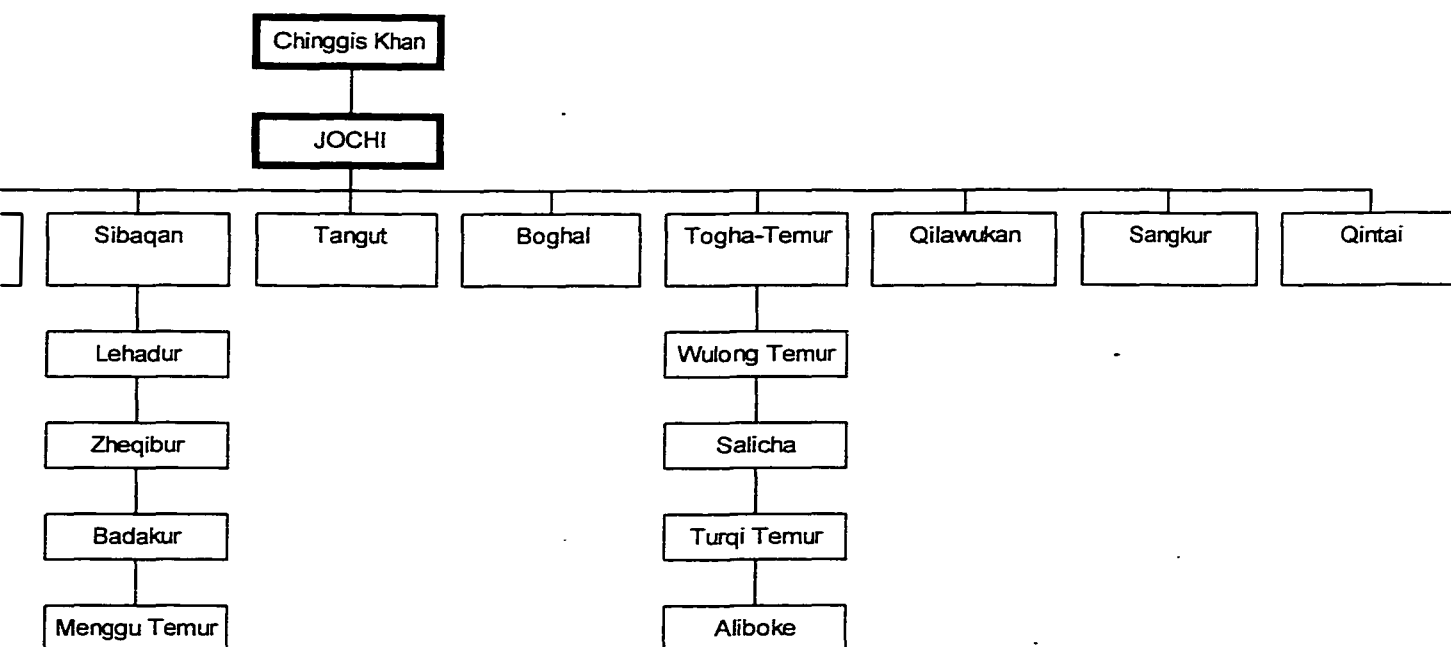
5. HOUSE OF JOCHI



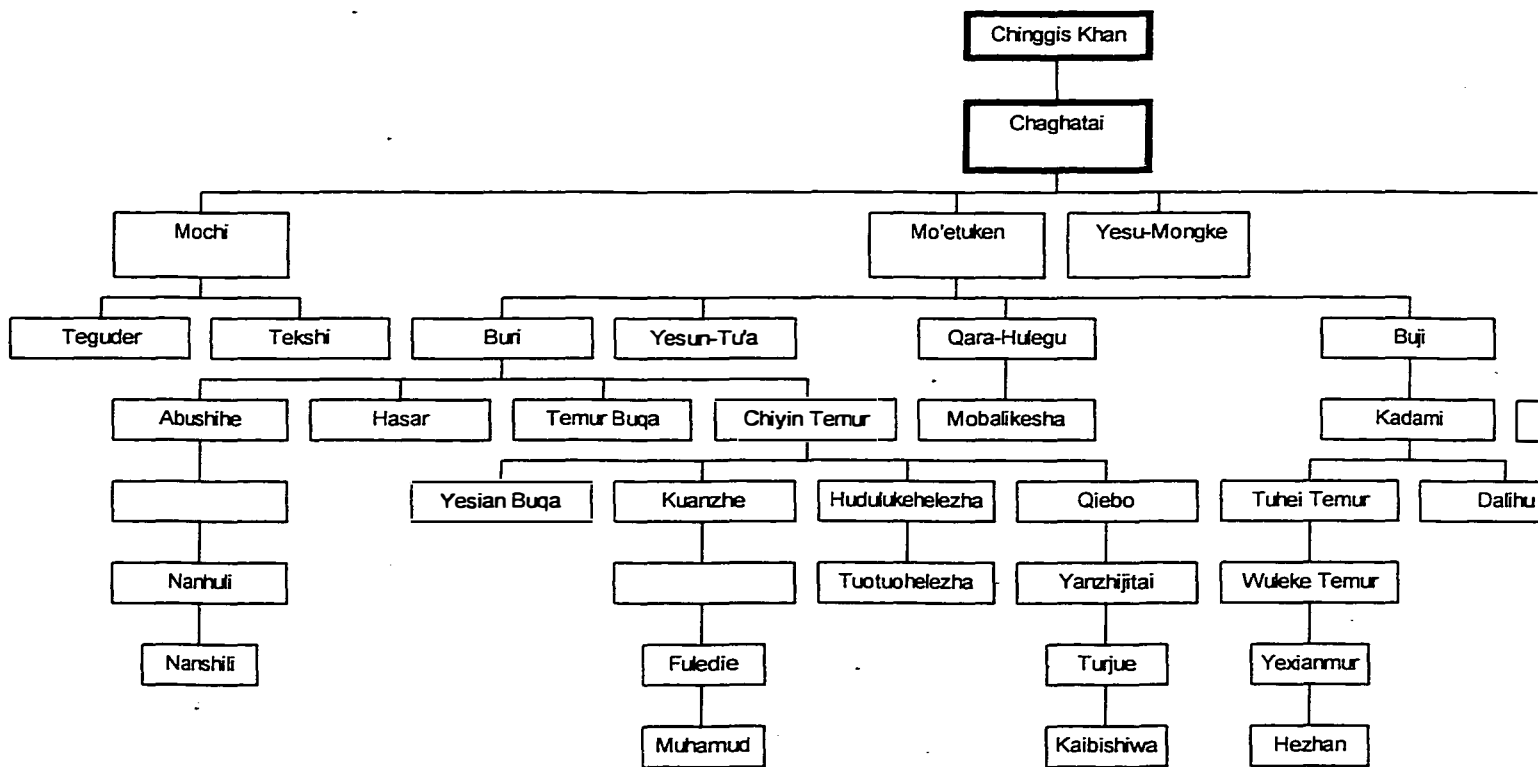
6. House of Jochi



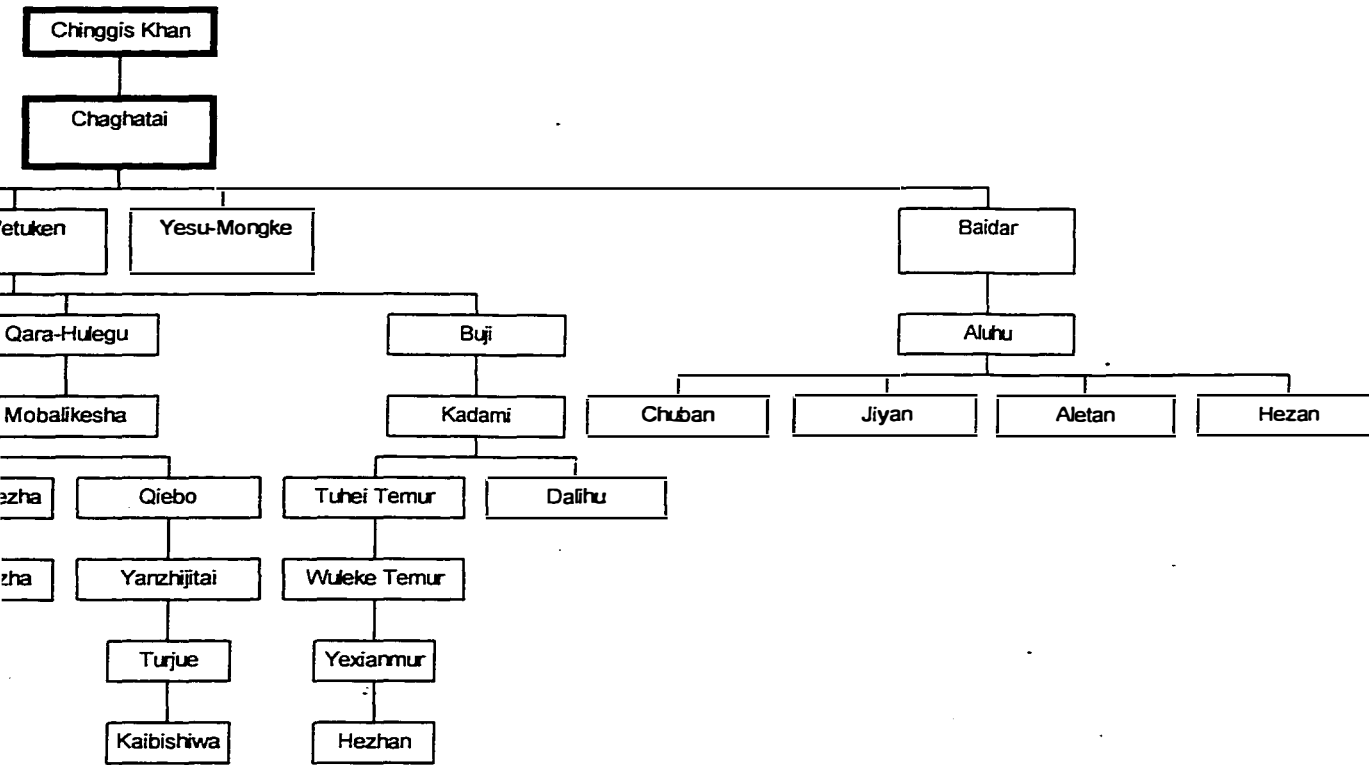
6. House of Jochi



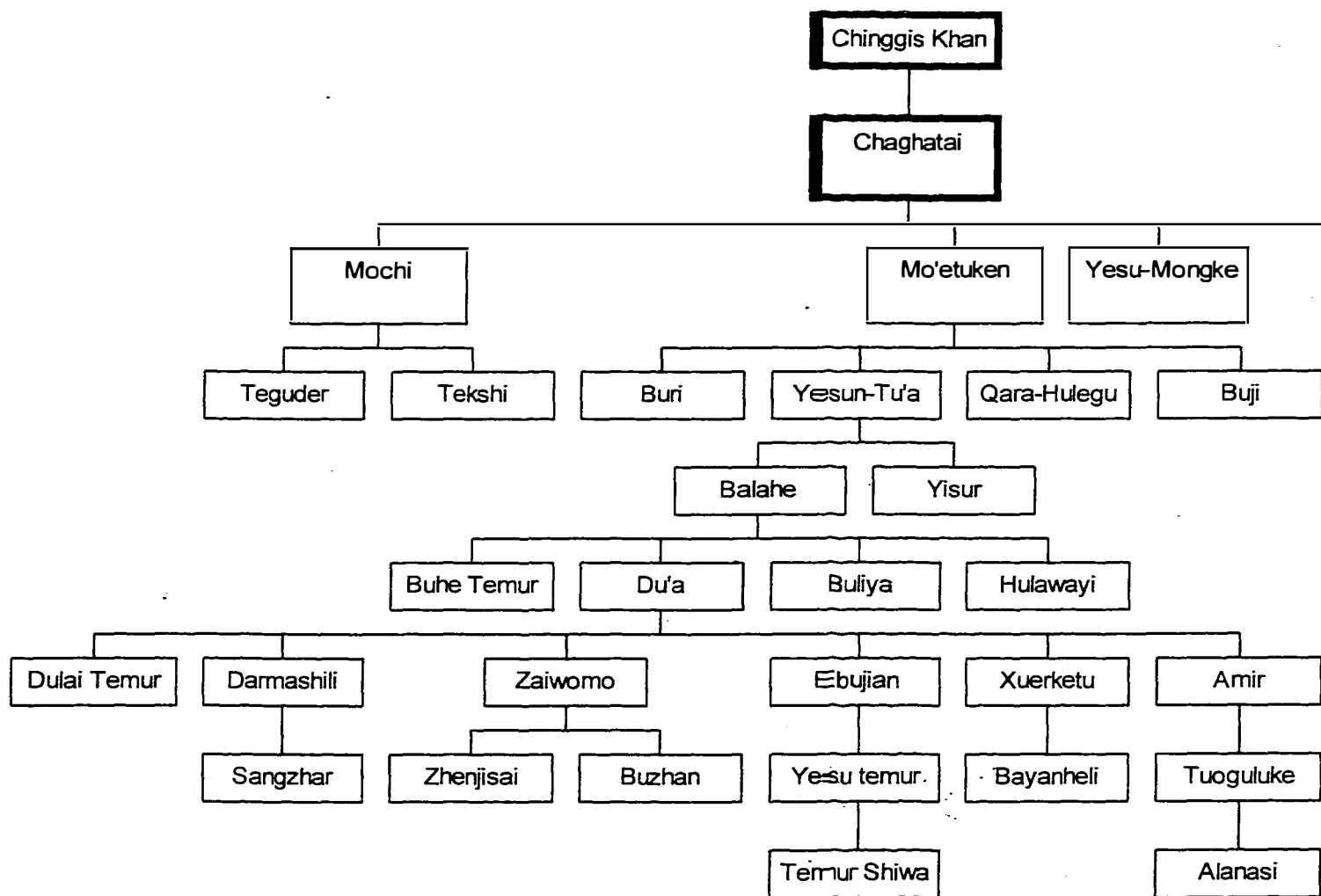
7. HOUSE OF CHAGHATAI



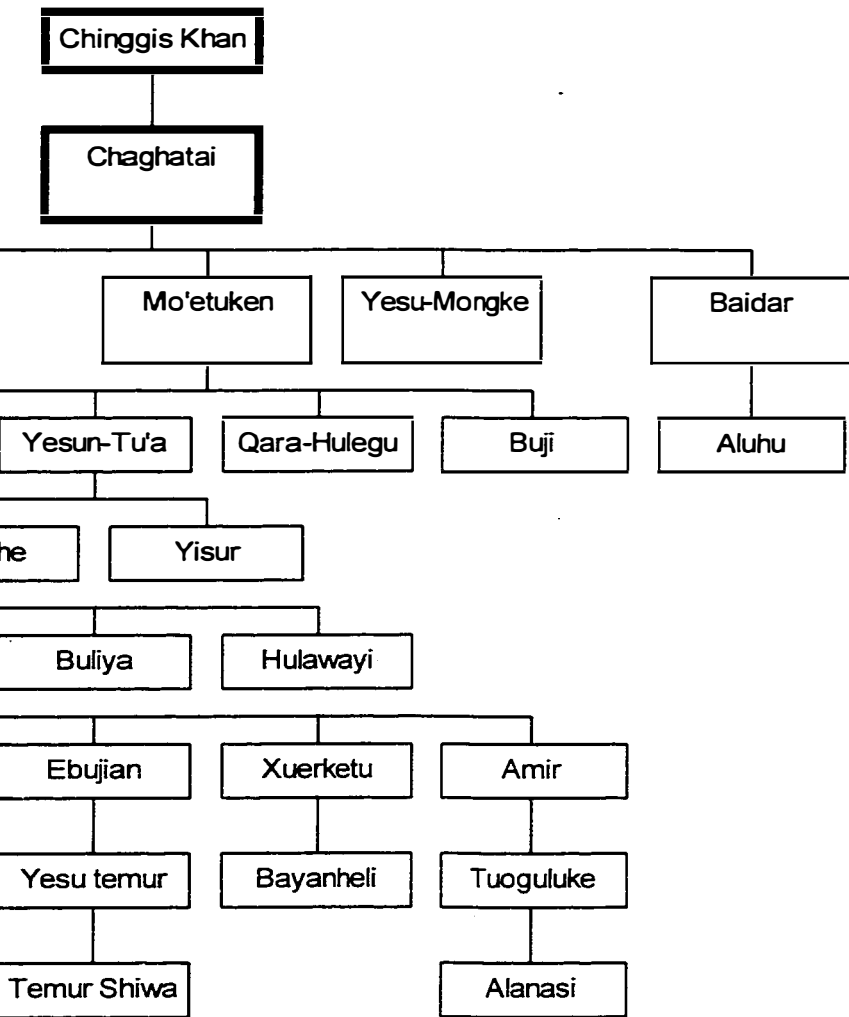
7. HOUSE OF CHAGHATAI



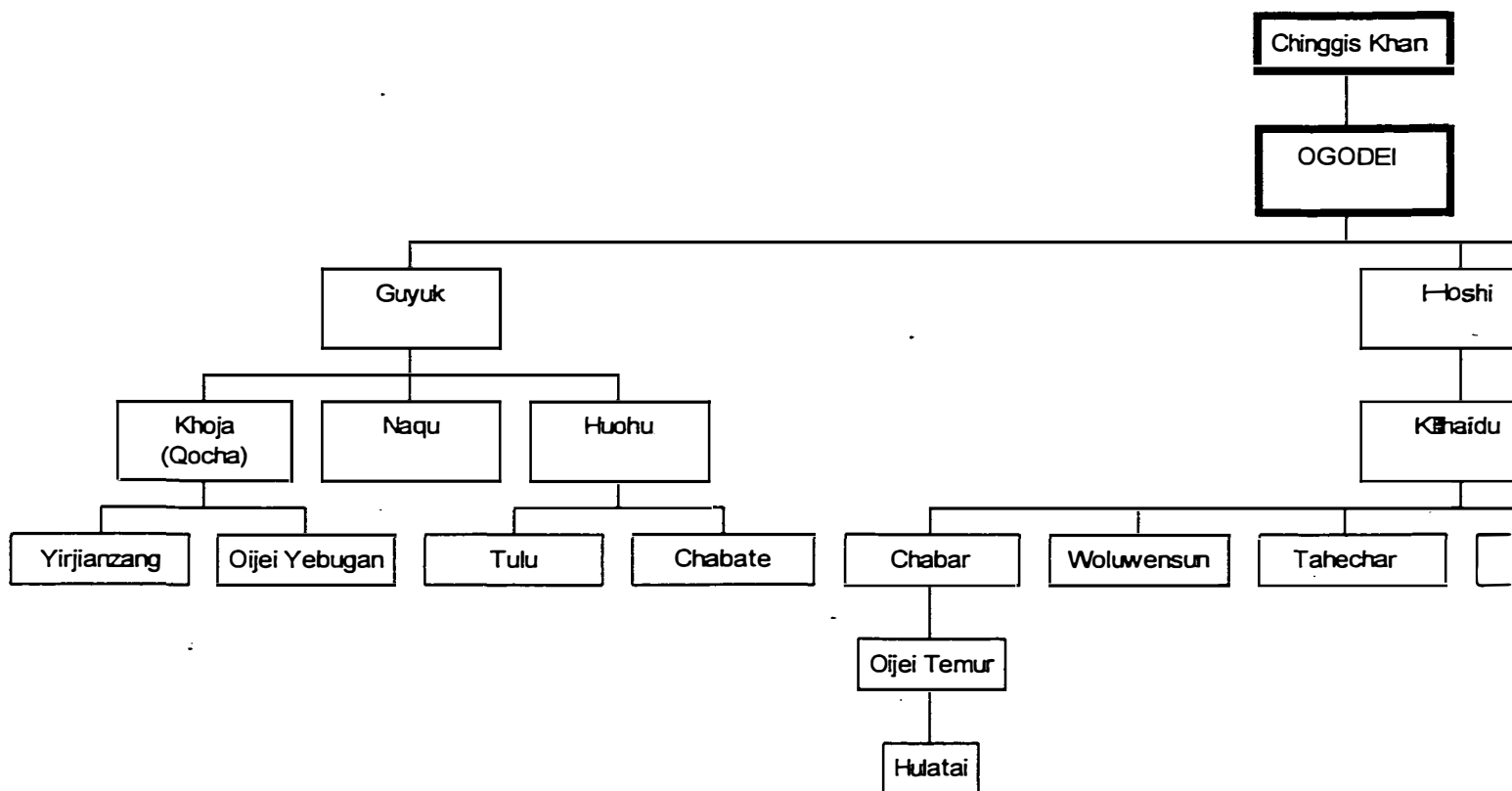
8. House of Chaghatai



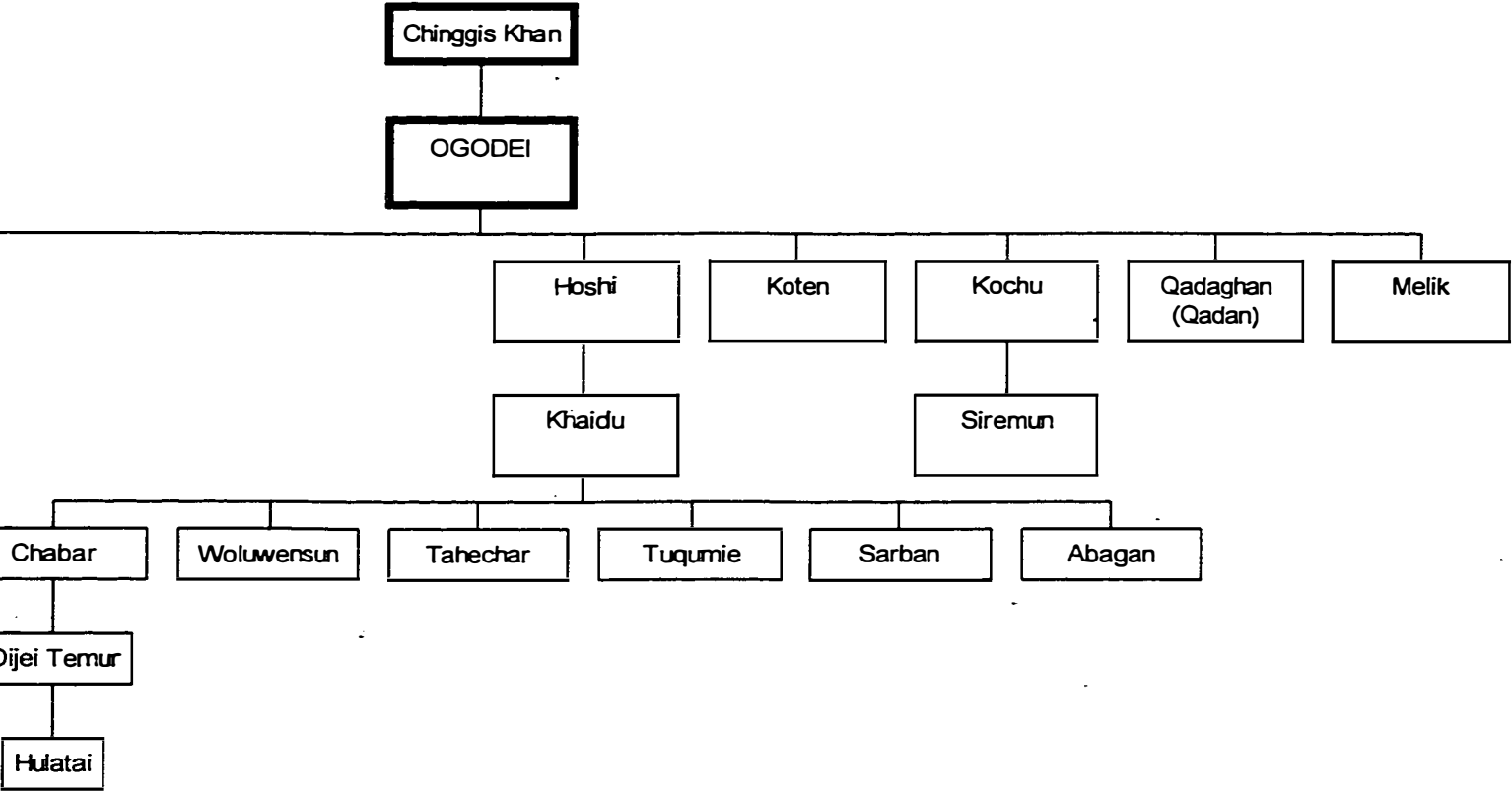
Chaghatai



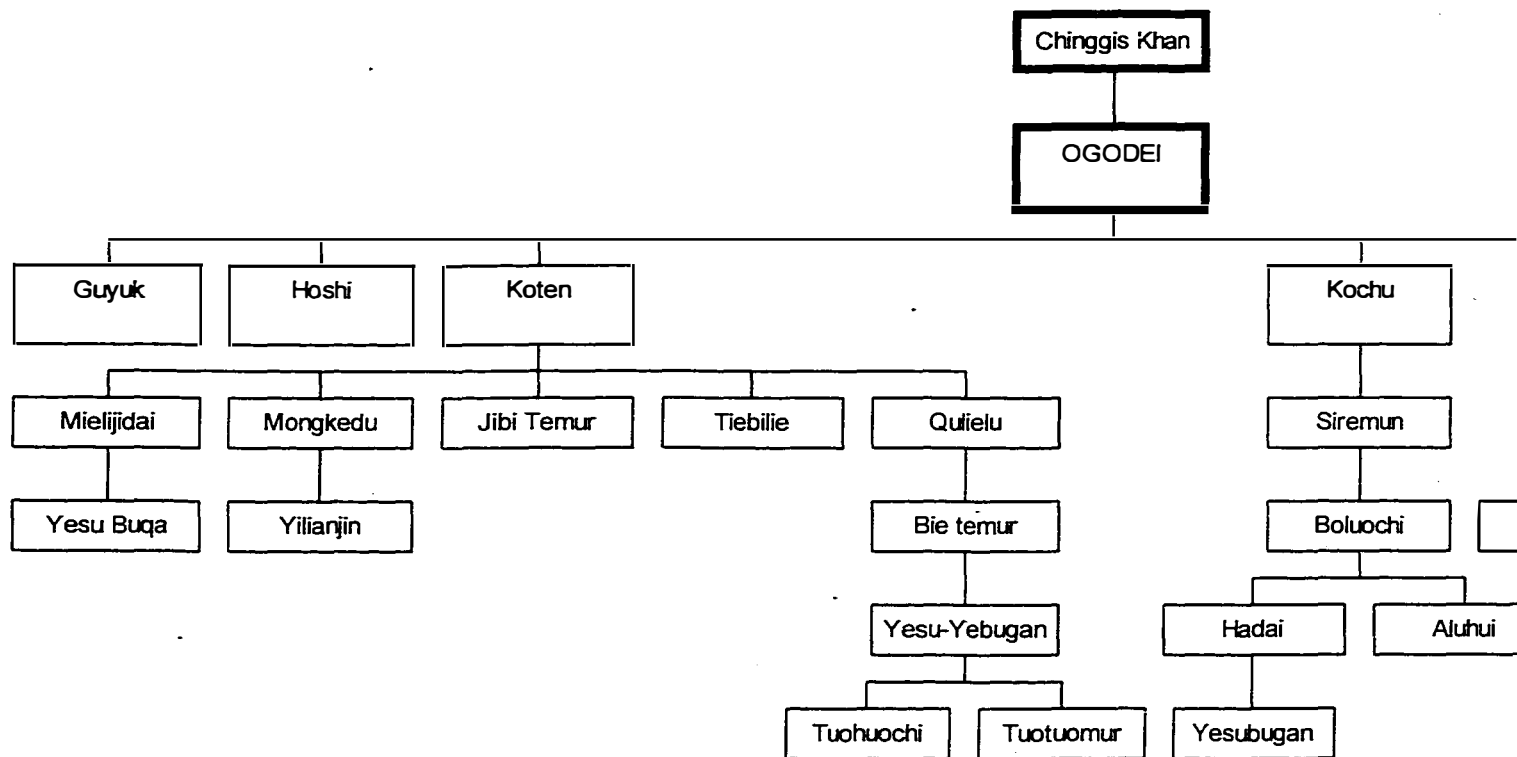
9. HOUSE OF OGODEI



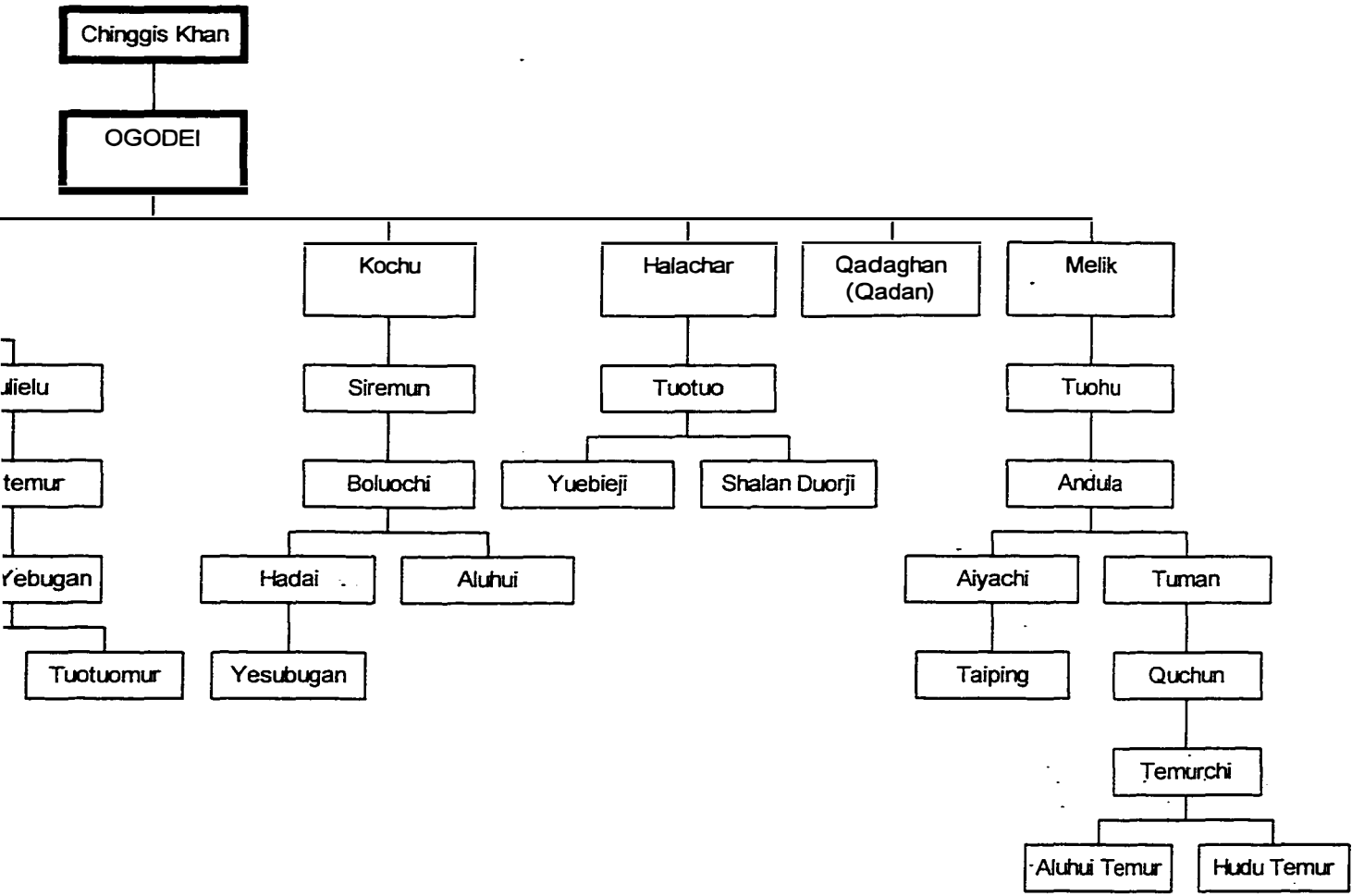
9. HOUSE OF OGODEI



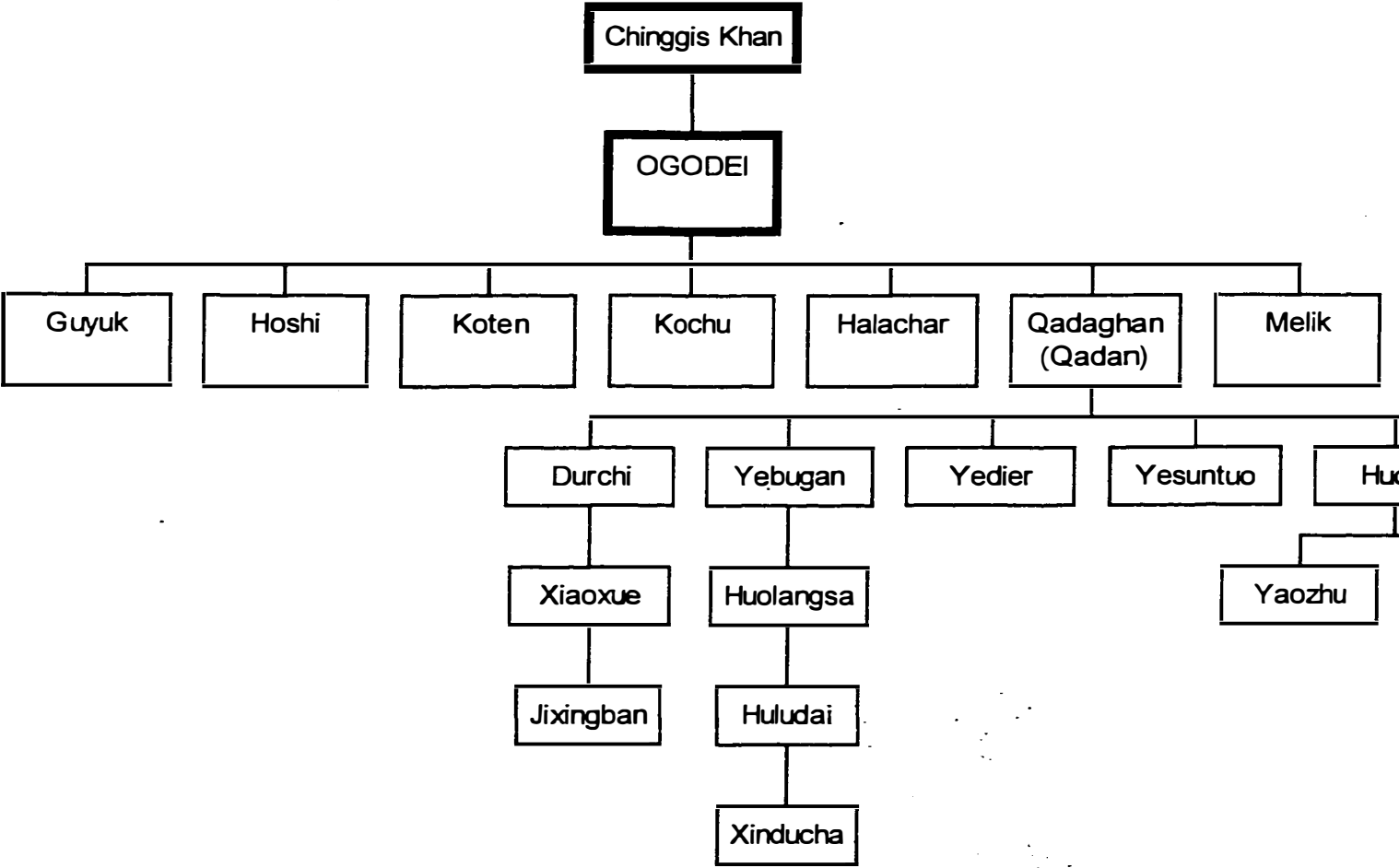
10. House of Ogodei



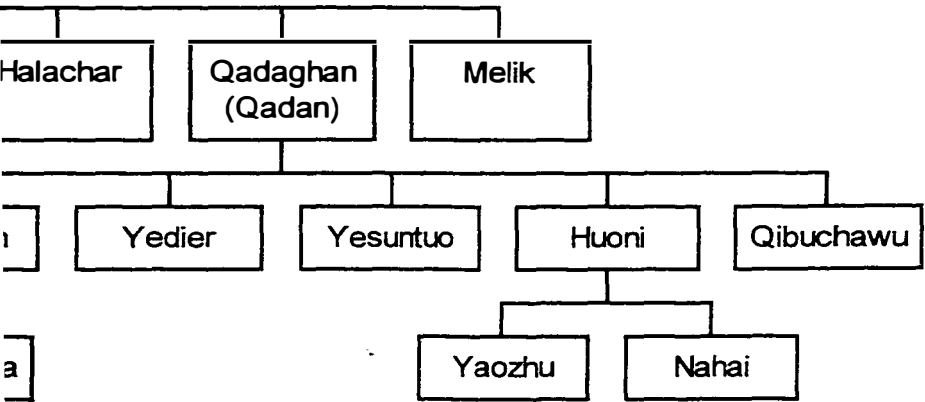
10. House of Ogodei



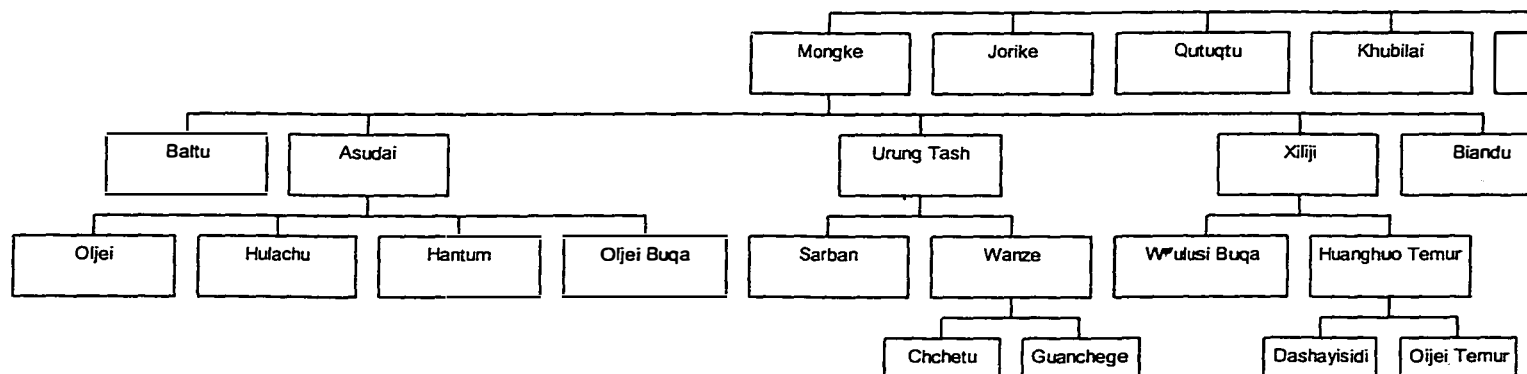
11. House of Ogodei



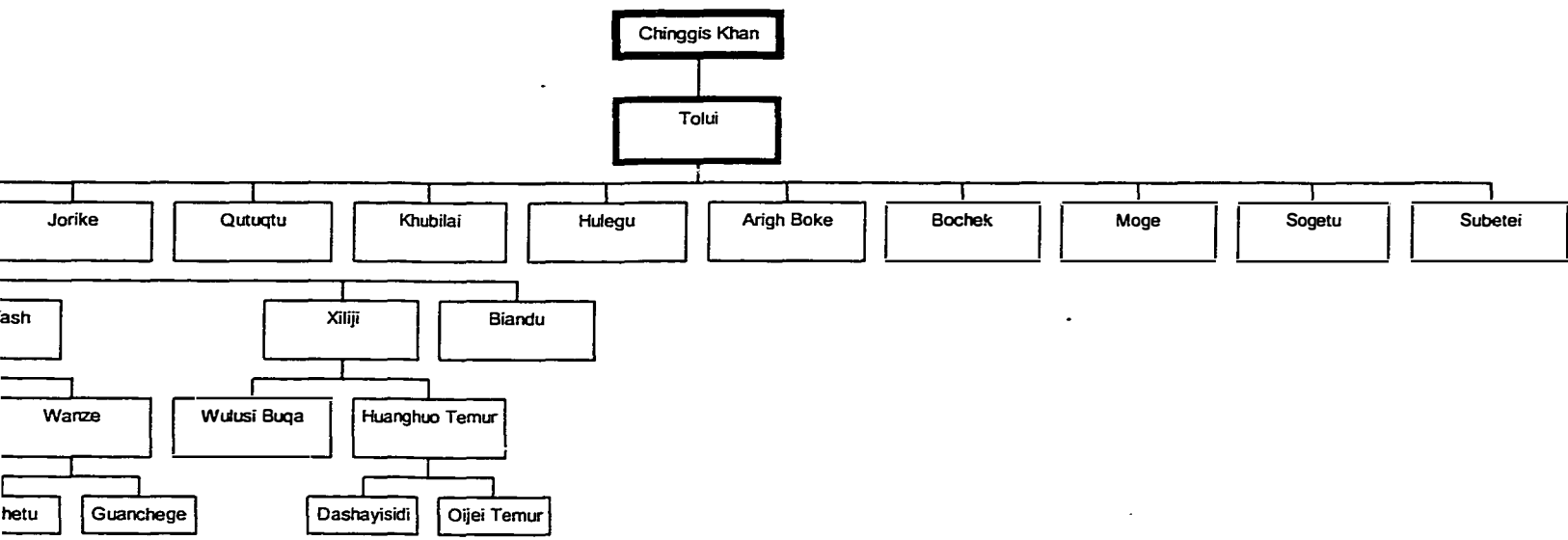
of Ogodei



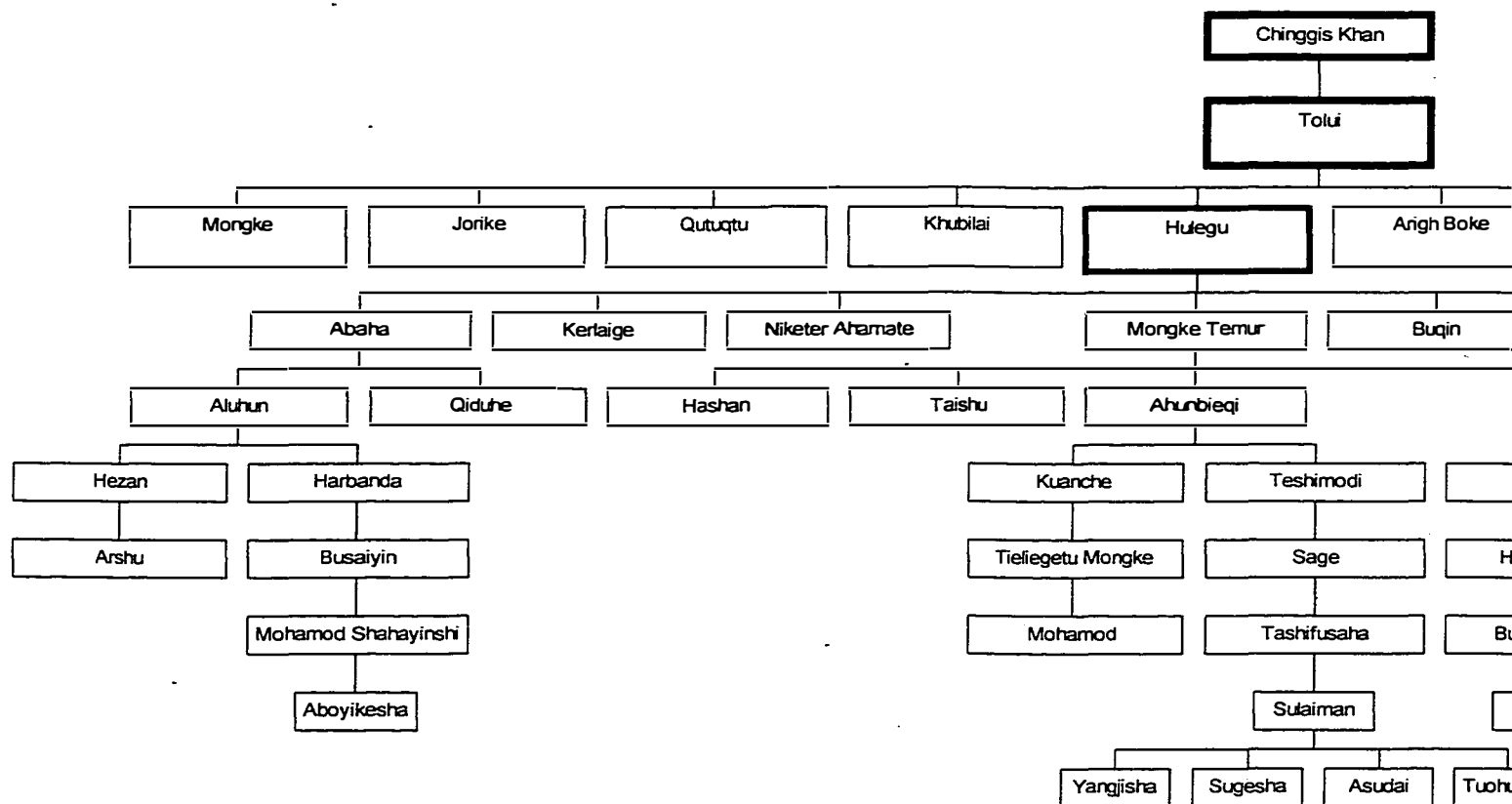
12. HOUSE OF TOLUI



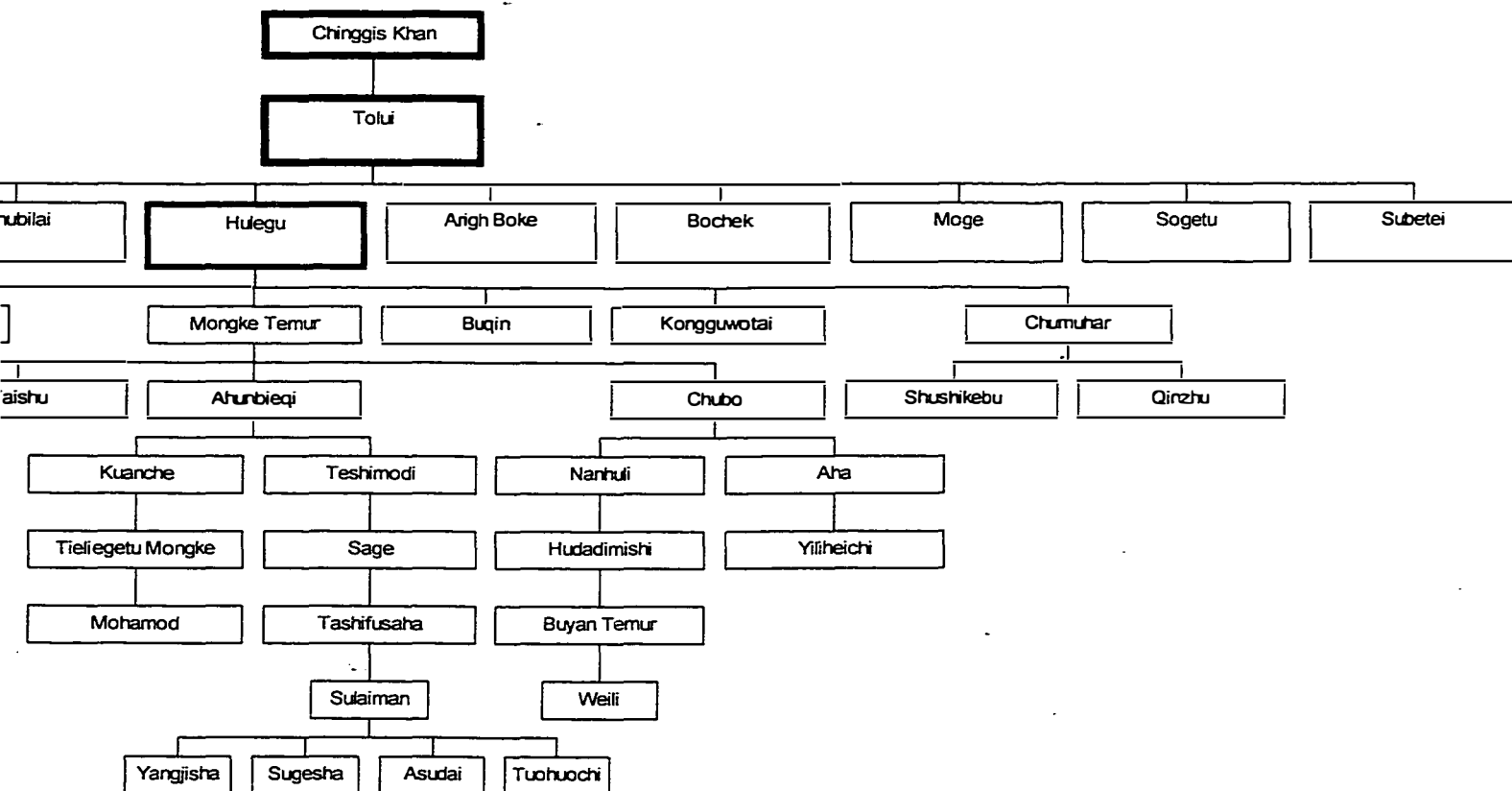
12. HOUSE OF TOLUI



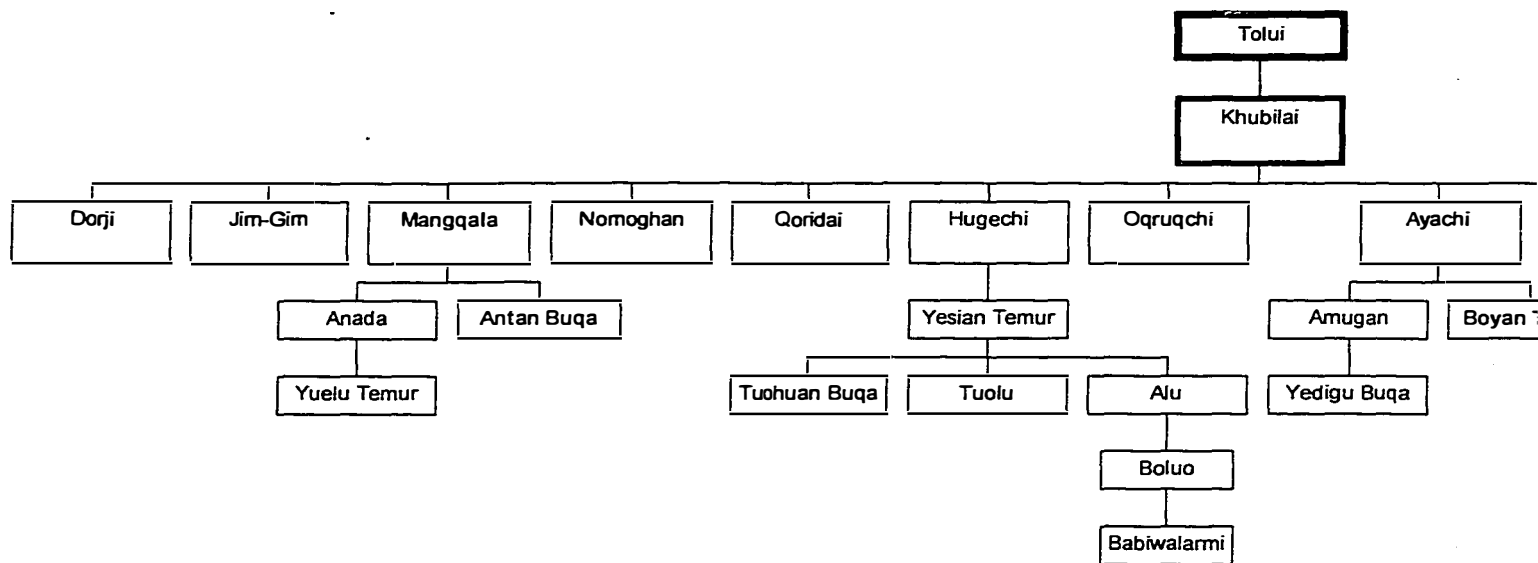
13. House of Tolui



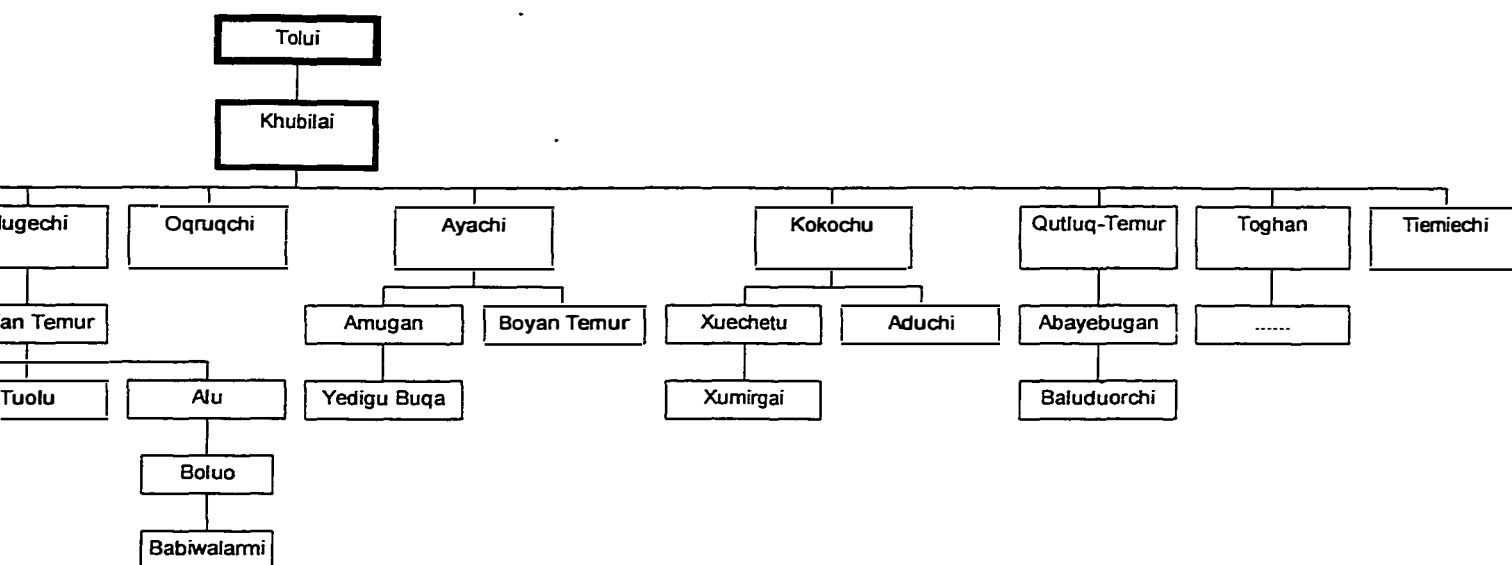
13. House of Tolui



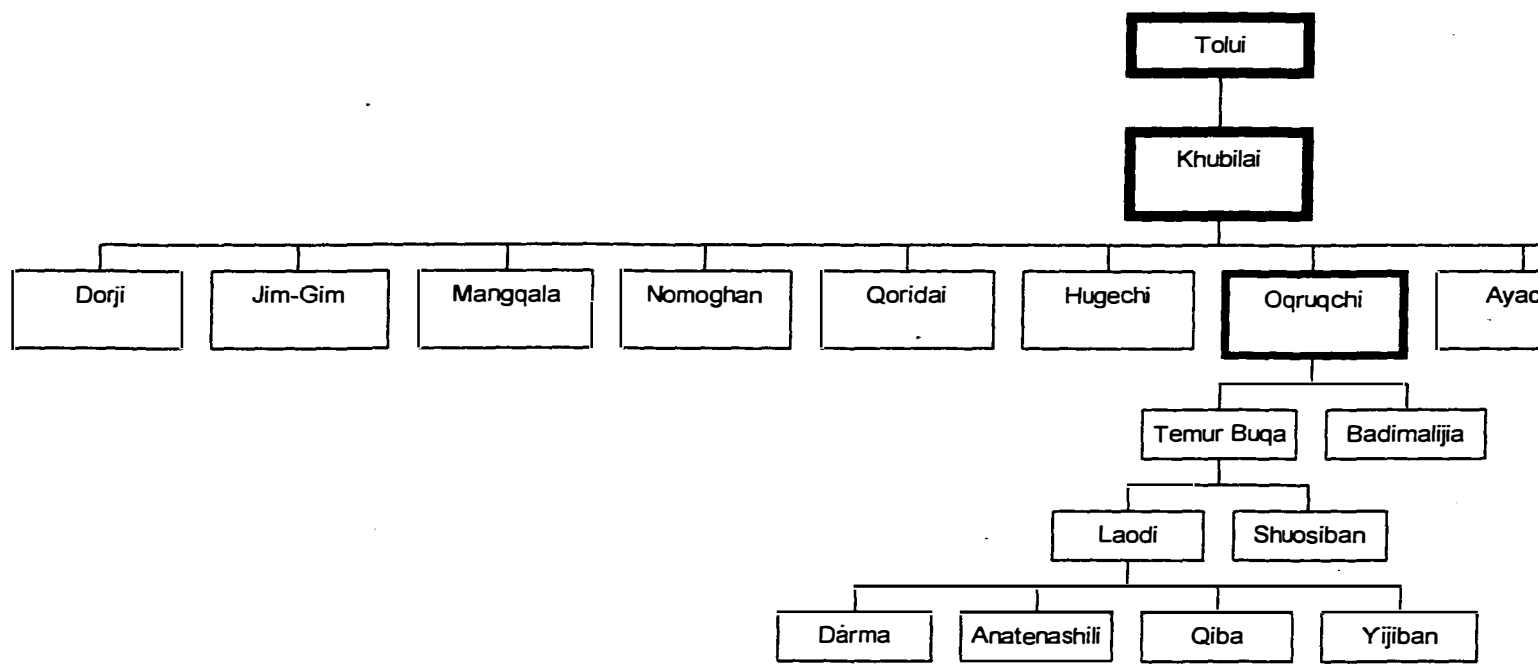
14. House of Khubilai Khan



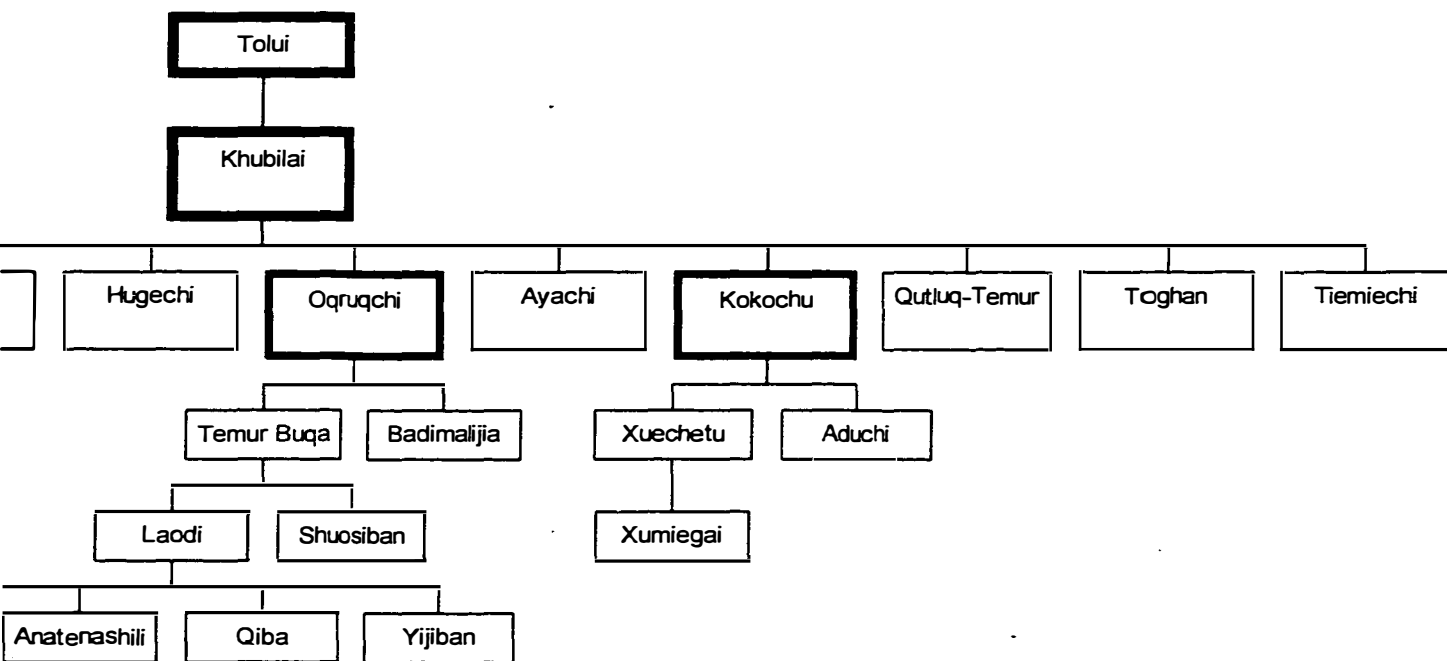
14. House of Khubilai Khan



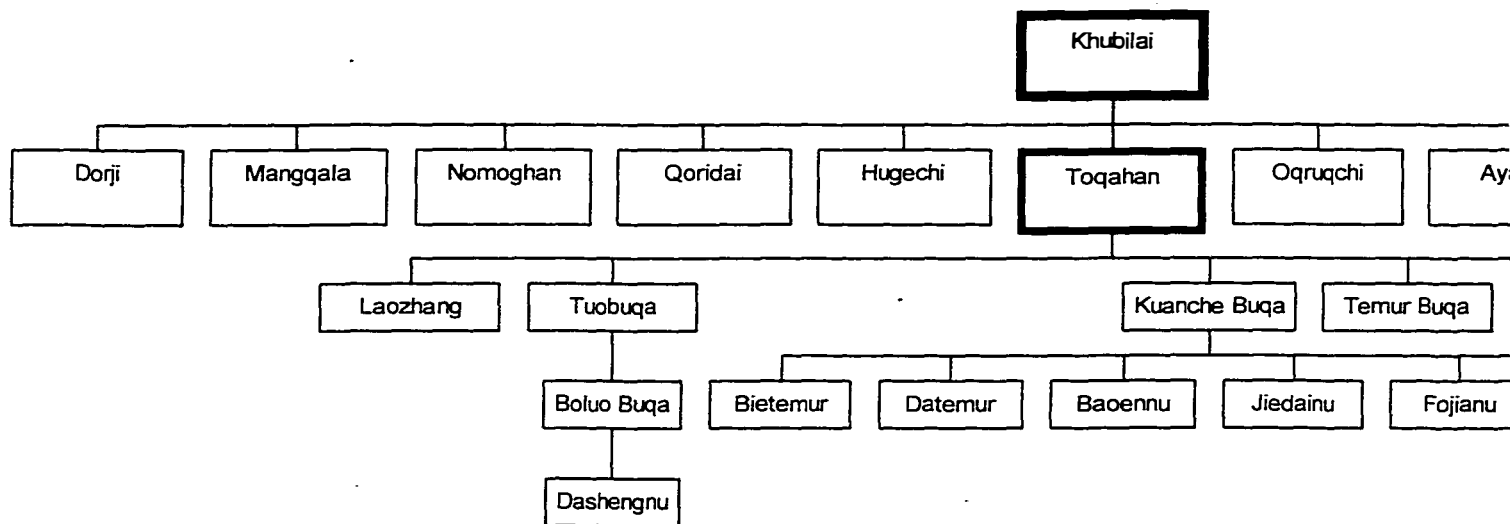
15. House of Khubilai Khan



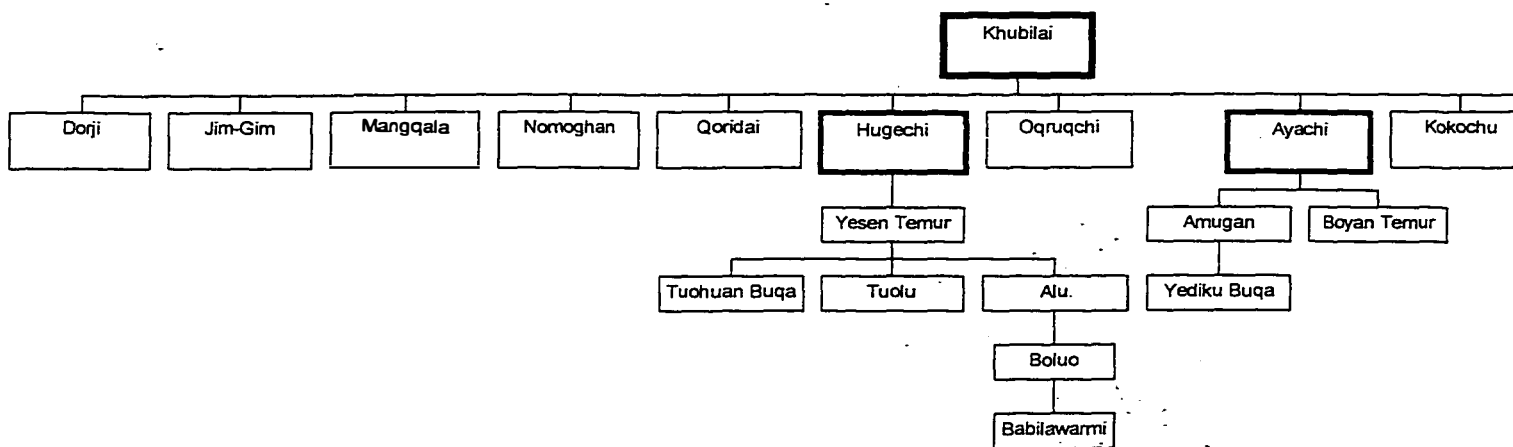
15. House of Khubilai Khan



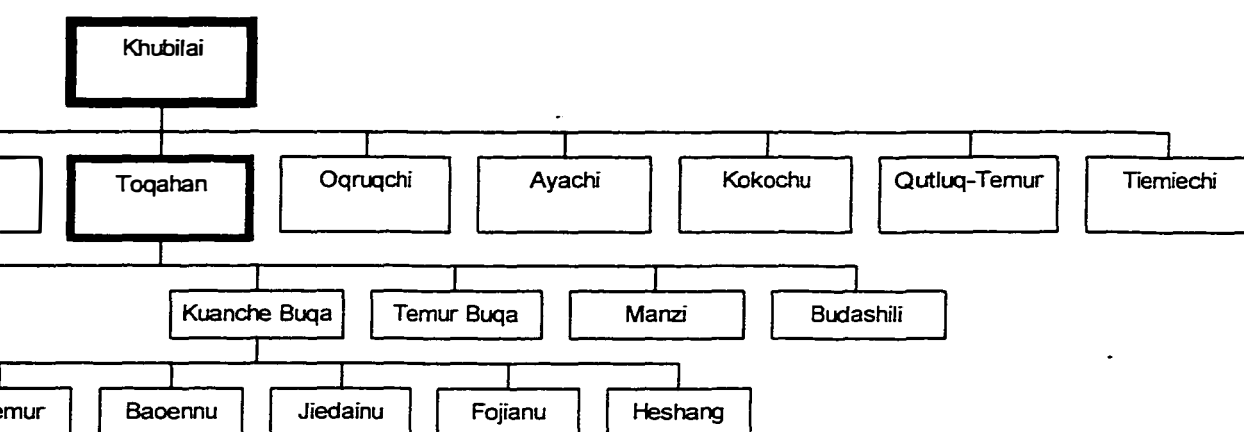
16. House of Khubilai Khan



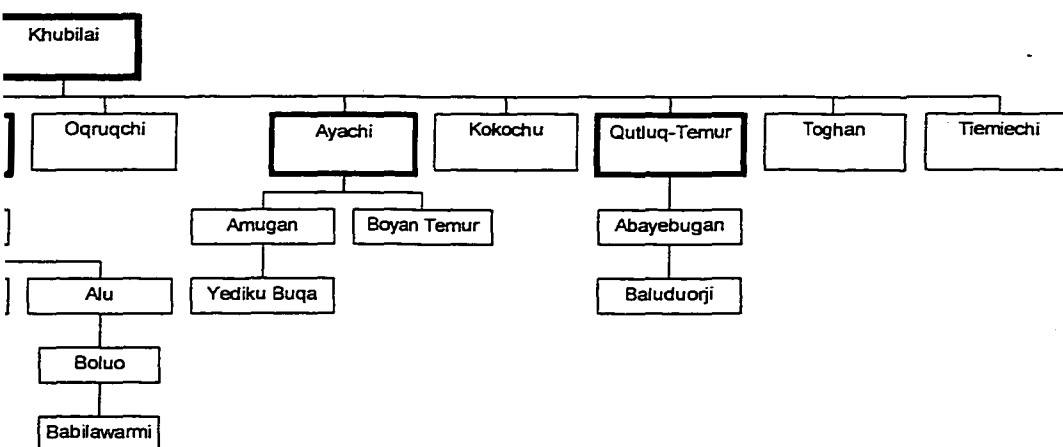
17. House of Khubilai Khan



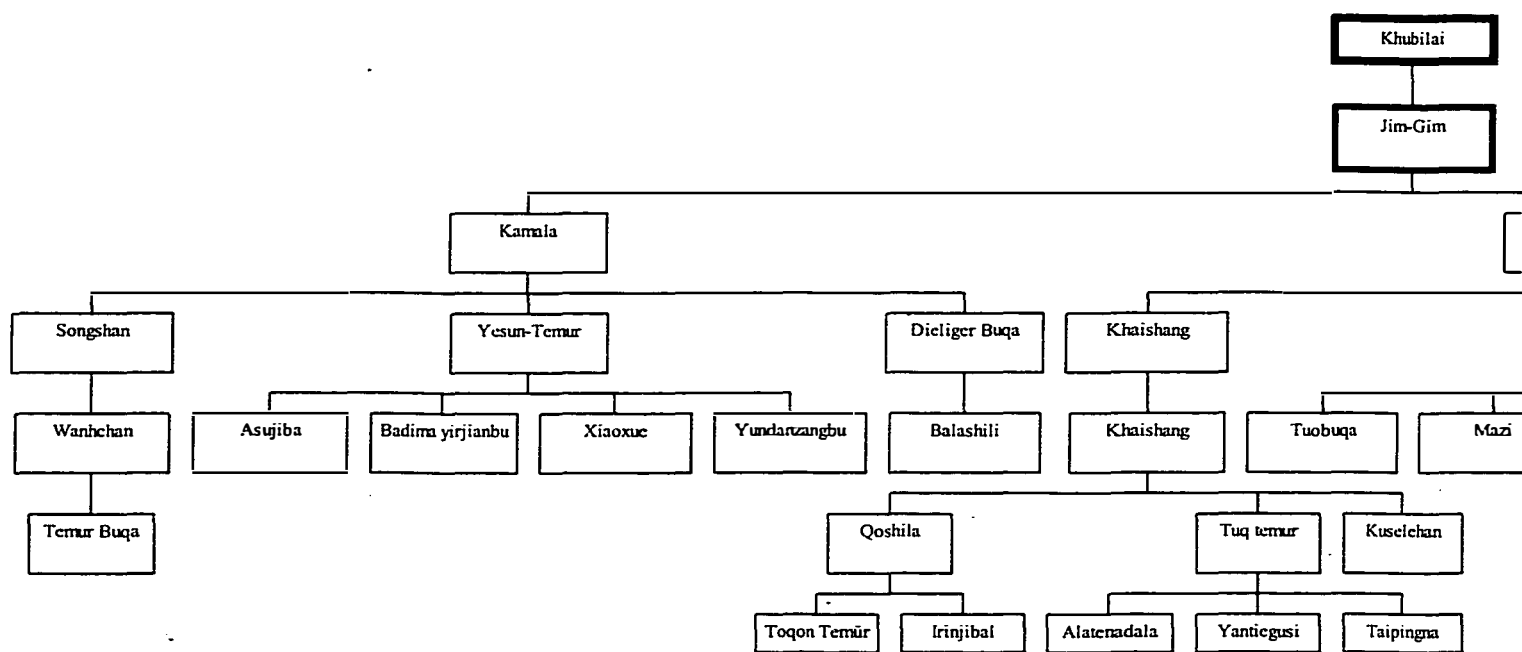
6. House of Khubilai Khan



House of Khubilai Khan



18. House of Jim-Gim



18. House of Jim-Gim

