

On the Ho-nan Mongol Army

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The military system is one of the most important subjects in the study of Mongol history from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century. There have already been a number of works on the organization of Činggis Qan's army, the kešig units guarding the emperor, the tamma armies garrisoned on the borders of the empire, and the militia system of the Yüan dynasty.¹⁾ We can see a trend towards studying individual components of the military establishment in order to throw light on the internal structure of the empire. Armies of course supplied the essential force for maintaining the existence and expanding the territory of the empire and its successor states. Moreover each army was involved to a greater or lesser degree in the power struggles at the center. Thus we can uncover many new aspects of the history of the Mongol period through this type of research. Still, we do not have many studies of individual field armies aside from ones on the achievements of some of the Il-khan armies.²⁾ Therefore this article will be concerned with an army formed during the course of the conquest of the Chin dynasty which became one of the most important armies of the subsequent Yüan dynasty. As this was one of the tamma armies, this article will also shed new light on the origins of tamma armies.

Yüan shih chüan 86 ("po-kuan chih 百官志" 2)³⁾ describes the Yüan armies. In this chapter we can find mention of an army called the Supreme myriarchy of Mongol soldiers for Ho-nan and Huai-pei (Ho-nan Huai-pei Mêng-ku-chün tu-wan-hu-fu 河南淮北蒙古軍都萬戶府) [hereafter "the Ho-nan⁴⁾ Mongol army"]. According to the *Yüan shih* the name of this army had been changed twice during its existence, as shown below in table 1:

up to 1287	Ssü-wan-hu 四萬戶 (or variations on this) ⁵⁾ ("Four myriarchies")
1287-1303	Mêng-ku-chün ⁶⁾ tu-wan-hu-fu 蒙古軍都萬戶府 ("Supreme myriarchy of Mongol soldiers")
from 1303	Ho-nan Huai-pei Mêng-ku-chün tu-wan-hu-fu ("Supreme myriarchy of Mongol soldiers for Ho-nan and Huai-pei")

As Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing pointed out, this army and that of the Supreme myriarchy of Mongol soldiers for Shan-tung and Ho-pei (Shan-tung Ho-pei

Mêng-ku-chün tu-wan-hu-fu 山東河北蒙古軍都萬戶府) [hereafter “the Shan-tung Mongol army”] were concentrated in the Yellow River valley after participating in the conquest of the Southern Sung. They formed a wall separating the political center, the capital at Ta-tu 大都, from the restive south, which was garrisoned by the politically less reliable Northern Chinese⁷⁾ and Southern Chinese (hsin-fu-chün 新附軍) soldiers.⁸⁾ This article will clarify the organization, origins, and activities of the Ho-nan Mongol army.

1. The Organization of the Ho-nan Mongol Army

1.1 The two commanders and the four myriarchies

Originally the commander of the Ho-nan Mongol army was merely given the title myriarch (wan-hu 萬戶).⁹⁾ In the fourteenth century the commander of the Ho-nan Mongol army was called the supreme myriarch (tu-wan-hu 都萬戶) and his deputy the deputy supreme myriarch (fu tu-wan-hu 副都萬戶). A passage in chüan 86 of the *Yüan shih* appears to state that these two commanders were first appointed in 1318, but it is apparent from another passage in the same chapter that these positions in fact existed since at least 1303. Furthermore, the last record that the commander was called only myriarch is dated 1301,¹⁰⁾ and the official title deputy supreme myriarch had already appeared in 1302, in a passage in the “Hü’üšin inscription”.¹¹⁾ As the inscription was a private record and there is no other source to confirm it, however, it would be safest to consider that the title supreme myriarch was adopted in 1303, when the official name “Supreme myriarchy of Mongol soldiers for Ho-nan and Huai-pei” also appeared.

The army was composed of four myriarchies (wan-hu-fu 萬戶府) of regular troops and two attached chiliarchies (ch’ien-hu-so 千戶所) of mounted scouts and catapult operators. Each myriarchy was commanded by a myriarch. The names of the myriarchs around 1329 were Basar, Jaqurtai, Töredü, and Qošan.¹²⁾ The four myriarchies contained a total of thirty-two chiliarchies, making a total of thirty-four for the army as a whole, led by the same number of chiliarchs (ch’ien-hu 千戶). Subordinate to them were a total of 235 centurions (po-hu 百戶), each in charge of a century. According to “Wu chan Inscription”, the Ho-nan Mongol army had its own military register entitled “Ho-nan Mêng-ku chün-chi 河南蒙古軍籍”. It seems that all of the officers and soldiers and their families were entered in this register.

It is notable that the four myriarchies contained not only Mongol but also Northern Chinese soldiers, that is, former subjects of the Chin. As shown on table 2, the army had fifteen daruḃači. As daruḃači were (usually Mongolian or other Inner Asian) governors sent out to administer the conquered, a chiliarchy to which a daruḃači was attached was probably commanded by a chiliarch from the conquered population, in this case a Northern Chinese. We can find mention of Northern Chinese chiliarchs in the army too. For example Wu Chan 武展, the subject of the “Wu Chan Inscription”, was a Northern Chinese from Hsi-chou 隰

州 in Shan-hsi 山西.¹³⁾ Still there are also specific records of Mongol chiliarchs as well.

Table 2. The Organization of the Ho-nan Mongol Army around 1329¹⁴⁾

myriarchies	daruyāci	chiliarchies	centuries
Pa-sa-êrh 八撒兒 wan-hu-fu (Basar's myriarchy)	10	10	73
Cha-hu-êrh-t'ai 札忽兒台 wan-hu-fu (Jaqurtai's myriarchy)	0	7	38
T'o-lieh-tu 脫烈都 wan-hu-fu (Töredü's myriarchy)	0	9	62
Ho-shang 和尚 wan-hu-fu (Qošān's myriarchy)	4	6	47
.....			
attached chiliarchies	daruyāci	chiliarchies	centuries
P'ao-shou 砲手 ch'ien-hu-so (Catapult operators chiliarchy)	0	1	6
Hsiao-ma 哨馬 ch'ien-hu-so (Mounted scouts chiliarchy)	1	1	9

1.2 The title of the army

In addition to the three titles from the *Yüan shih* "po-kuan chih" given above in the introduction, the Ho-nan Mongol can also be found designated by a number of different terms in a variety of sources:

Ssü-wan-hu ("Four myriarchies")¹⁵⁾

Mêng-ku-chün ssü-wan-hu ("Four myriarchies of Mongol soldiers")¹⁶⁾

Ssü-wan-hu Mêng-ku chün-ma ping chu-i Han-chün 四萬戶蒙古軍馬并諸翼漢軍 ("Four myriarchies of Mongol cavalry with attached Han soldiers")¹⁷⁾

Ssü-wan-hu Mêng-ku Han-chün ("Four myriarchies of Mongol and Han soldiers")¹⁸⁾

Ssü-wan-hu Ao-lu-ch'ih 四萬戶奧魯赤 ("Four myriarchies (A'uruyçi)")¹⁹⁾

Tsung-kuan ssü-wan-hu Cha-la 總管四萬戶札刺 ("Supervisorate of the four myriarchies (Jala[yir])")²⁰⁾

Aside from supreme myriarch, the commander-in-chief of the army was also called supervisor of the four myriarchies (ssü-wan-hu tsung-kuan²¹⁾ or tsung-kuan ssü-wan-hu²²⁾).

The expression "Ssü-wan-hu", meaning four myriarchies, is very general. When we meet such expressions as those above, except for the ones identified specifically with A'uruγči or Jalayir, we can not identify them immediately as referring to the Ho-nan Mongol army. However most of them do in fact indicate this army. Some examples are the phrase Mêng-ku ssü-wan-hu-fu (Office of the four Mongol myriarchies) in the biography of Qaratai (Ha-la-tai 哈刺綽) in the *Yüan shih*,²³⁾ the statement in a Tibetan text that the rDor ban thu man (<Mo. Dörben tümen, "Four myriarchies") was garrisoning the northern pastureland 'Dam na mar and Nan ron of Tibet,²⁴⁾ and the statement found in the *Yüan shih* that the Ssü-wan-hu Mêng-ku-chün was garrisoning Yang-chou 揚州.²⁵⁾ In particular, the fact that the Mongolian expression "Dörben tümen" was transliterated directly into Tibetan shows that it was actually the name of this army in Mongolian and not merely a descriptive phrase. If the author had intended to express the size of the army there, he would have simply stated it in Tibetan rather than transliterating the Mongol word.

2. The Origins of the Ho-nan Mongol Army

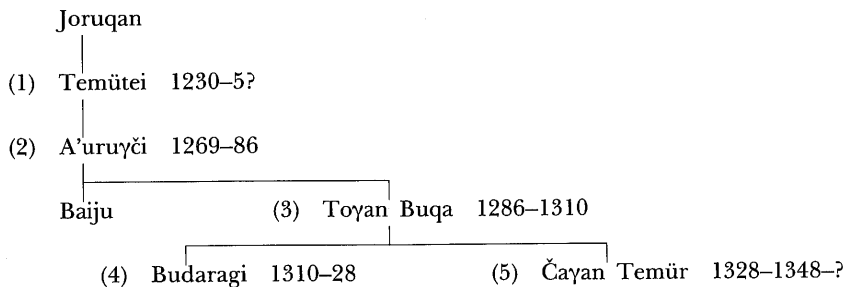
2.1 The lineages²⁶⁾ of the commanders

The genealogies of the commanders of the Ho-nan Mongol army were recorded in the "Headquarters Reconstruction Inscription". According to this inscription, there were two lineages from which men were appointed commanders. One lineage was from the Cha-la-êrh 劄臘爾 (Jalayir) tribe; there were five heads of this lineage over four generations who became commanders. Their names and dates as commanders are follows:²⁷⁾

(1) T'ieh-mu-t'ai 鐵木台	(Temütei)	1230-125?
(2) Ao-lu-ch'ih 奧魯赤	(A'uruγči)	1269-1286
(3) T'o-wan Pu-hua 脫完不花	(Toyan Buqa)	1286-1310
(4) P'u-ta-la-chi 普答刺吉	(Budaragi)	1310-1328
(5) Ch'a-han T'ieh-mu-êrh 察罕鐵穆爾	(Čayan Temür)	1328-1348-?

Their genealogy is given here in table 3.

Table 3. The Genealogy of the Temütei Lineage of the Jalayir

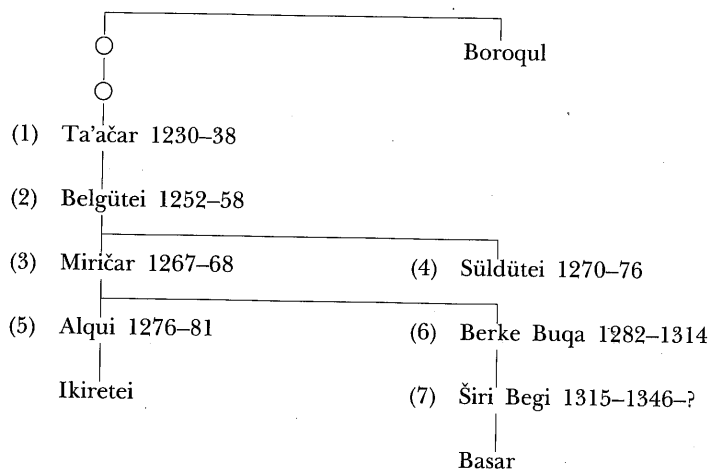


The other lineage was from the Hsü-shên 旭申 (Hü'üšin) tribe; there were seven heads from five generations who became commanders. Their names and dates are as follows:²⁸⁾

(1) T'a-ch'a-êrh 塔察兒	(Ta'ačar)	1230-1238
(2) Pieh-li-chi-t'ai 別里即台	(Bel[gü]tei)	1252-1258
(3) Mi-ch'a-êrh 密察兒	(Mi[ri]čar)	1267-1268
(4) Sung-tu-t'ai 宋都台	(Süldütei)	1270-1276
(5) A-lu-hui 阿魯輝	(Alqui)	1276-1281
(6) Po-li-kê pu-hua 伯里閣不花	(Berke Buqa)	1282-1314
(7) Hsi-chih Po-chi 昔置伯吉	(Ši[ri] Begi)	1315-1346-?

Their genealogy is given here in table 4.

Table 4. The Genealogy of the Ta'ačar Lineage of the Hü'üšin



The first commander listed in each lineage - Temütei and Ta'ačar - appeared in the final campaign against the Chin dynasty from 1230 to 1234 led by Ögedei Qa'an. In 1230 the Chin court was still defending its territory in Ho-nan, to which it had been reduced after transferring its capital from Yen-ching to Pien in 1214. Ögedei split his forces as usual into three groups. Tului led the right wing through Shen-hsi province and across Southern Sung territory. Ögedei marched through Shan-hsi with the main body, while Otčigin led the left wing through Shan-tung.²⁹⁾ The account of the attack on the Chin capital mentions Temütei and Ta'ačar as commanders bearing the title of qorči ("quiver-bearer").³⁰⁾ The passage, dated the third month of 1232, reads as follows:

The emperor [Ögedei] arrived at Nan-ching 南京 [Pien 汴] and ordered Qutuqu (Hu-tu-hu 忽都忽) to assault it. The emperor and Tului crossed back

to the north of the Yellow River to avoid the heat of summer at Kuan-shan. Sübe'etei-batu(r) (Su-pu-tai pa-tu 速不歹拔都), Temütei (T'e-mu-tai 忒木歹)-qorči, Güyüg (Kui-yü 貴由)-batu(r), and Ta'açar (T'a-ch'a-êrh 塔察兒) met the Chin forces and engaged them.³¹⁾

Aside from Qutuqu, the names of four commanders appear here. According to other passages Sübe'etei and Güyüg belonged to Tului's wing. As the left wing was still operating elsewhere at this point, it seems likely therefore that Temütei and Ta'açar belonged to the main body and split the command of it. If we investigate their activities in this campaign we can shed some light on the origins of the Ho-nan Mongol army.

2.2 Temütei and Ta'açar as substitutes for Muqali and Boroquł

Temütei was the son of Shuo-lu-han 朔魯罕 (Joruqan),³²⁾ who is said to be the same person as Yoruqan, listed forty-fifth among the eighty-eight meritorious chiliarchs who served Činggis Qan.³³⁾ As there appears to be no connection between Joruqan's activities and the Ho-nan Mongol army, however, we must look at the career of Temütei for information concerning its origins. With regard to Temütei's activities, A'uruč'i's biography in the *Yüan shih* states:

He was specially ordered to supervise the affairs of the branch secretariat (hsing-shêng 行省) and to command the soldiers from five tribes, that is the Uru'ud (Wu-lu 兀魯), the Mangyud (Mang-wu 忙兀), the Ikires (I-chi-lieh 亦吉烈), the Qonggirad (Hung-chi-la 弘吉剌), and the Jalayir (Cha-la-êrh 札刺兒). He conquered Ho-nan and for his achievement was granted 2,000 households.³⁴⁾

Temütei had had no experience as an army commander before the final campaign against the Chin was launched.³⁵⁾ The "Jalayir Inscription" confirms his appointment to the branch secretariat, although in slightly different words: "The Emperor T'ai-tsung ordered [him] to supervise the affairs of the supreme branch secretariat (tu-hsing-shêng 都行省)."³⁶⁾ The title of supreme branch secretariat was, significantly, previously held by Muqali. Muqali had commanded the left wing of Činggis's central army.³⁷⁾

On the other hand, according to his biography in the *Yüan shih*, Ta'açar began his career as a qorči in the kešig.³⁸⁾ When Tului was serving as regent, i.e. between 1227 and 1229, he was appointed chief judge of Yen-nan (Yen-nan tuan-shih chang-kuan 燕南斷事長官) with responsibility for restoring public order in the area south of Yen-ching.³⁹⁾ Thus Ta'açar was an official of importance, but not as a military commander, before the campaign of 1230–1234. His biography gives this account of his participation in the campaign:

T'ai-tsung [Ögedei] sent a punitive expedition against the Chin. Ta'açar

served in it. [Ögedei] gave him the title of supreme marshal of the branch secretariat (hsing-shêng ping-ma tu-yüan-shuai 行省兵馬都元帥). The soldiers were conscripted from the kešig and princes and [Ta'ačar] was ordered to command them. He conquered many prefectures of Ho-tung 河東 [Shan-hsi]. After crossing the [Yellow] River, he reduced T'ung Pass (潼關) and captured Shan[-chou] 陝[州] and Lo[-yang] 洛[陽]. In the year 1231 he surrounded and captured Ho-chung 河中 In the year 1234 the Chin was destroyed.⁴⁰⁾

Shan-chou was half-way between T'ung Pass and Lo-yang; Ho-chung was on the north side of the Yellow River across from T'ung Pass.

Ta'ačar's career as a military commander then began with his appointment as supreme marshal of the branch secretariat by Ögedei. Note that both Ta'ačar's and Temütei's titles contained the element "branch secretariat", which further reinforces the presumption that they shared command.

According to the same biography, Ta'ačar was the grandson of Boroqul noyan's brother. Since both his grandfather's and father's name are unknown,⁴¹⁾ we can presume that his appointment as supreme marshal was thanks to his relationship with Boroqul. Rashid al-Din records that Boroqul became the commander of the right wing of Činggis Qan's central army.⁴²⁾

Thus both Ta'ačar and Temütei were commanders in the main body of the expedition against the Chin, and they seem to have shared command with each other. It is very interesting that Temütei was the successor to a title that Muqali had once held, on the one hand, and that Ta'ačar seems to have been selected because he was a relative of Boroqul. Muqali and Boroqul led the two wing in Činggis Qan's central army. In this way the command structure of Činggis's central army was carried over into the structure of the main body of Ögedei's army.

2.3 The soldiers under the command of Temütei and Ta'ačar

According to the biography of Temütei, cited above, he commanded soldiers from five tribes - the Uru'ud, the Mangyud, the Ikires, the Qonggirad, and the Jalayir - with the title of supreme branch secretariat. In 1217 Muqali had been given command not only of soldiers from various tribes (including those five) but also of Khitan soldiers under the Salji'ud leader Uyer and Jurchen soldiers under the Khitan leader Toyān.⁴³⁾ At the time Muqali was also given such titles as grand preceptor (t'ai-shih 太師), prince of the state (kuo-wang 國王), and supreme branch secretariat. Moreover, Činggis conferred upon him a big flag with nine streamers as mark that he was acting in Činggis's place. Chao Kung 趙珙 recorded in the *Mêng-ta pei-lu* 蒙鞑備錄 that he met "Acting emperor prince of the state Muqali" (Ch'üan-huang-ti Ma-hou kuo-wang 權皇帝摩喉國王).⁴⁴⁾ Thus "acting emperor" can be considered to have been a sort of title for him.

Muqali was ordered to conquer North China. He established branch secretariats at Ta-t'ung and Yen-ching in 1218 and conquered many districts in

Ho-pei, Shan-hsi, and Shen-hsi before dying in 1223 at Wên-hsi near P'ing-yang.⁴⁵⁾ After his death his son Bo'ol succeeded to Muqali's position until his own death in 1228.⁴⁶⁾

When Temütei was appointed supreme branch secretariat at the beginning of the expedition, Uyer and Toyān were transferred to other expeditions along with their forces. In 1229 Sariytai-qorči and Tege-qorči were dispatched with other forces to invade Liao-tung and Koryō. When Uyer visited Ögedei in 1229 he was ordered to participate in the conquest of Liao-tung 遼東 and Koryō 高麗 under Sariytai's command.⁴⁷⁾ Liao-tung had been conquered once before by Muqali before 1217,⁴⁸⁾ and Sariytai was therefore reopening that theater of operations. The *Koryō sa* 高麗史 shows that Sariytai held the title of "acting emperor" for this operation.⁴⁹⁾ In terms of titles, forces, and theaters, Sariytai can be considered one of the successors to Muqali.

Toyān appeared in the Shen-hsi region with a title, t'ai-fu tsung-ling 太傅總領 yeh-k'o-na-yen 也可那顏 (<Mo. yeke noyan).⁵⁰⁾ "T'ai-fu" (grand mentor) was one of the three highest-ranking honorary posts in the Chinese bureaucracy, only slightly lower than the title of grand preceptor held by Muqali. Toyān died in 1229 at Hsi-ho-chou 西河州 and his son Jöge inherited his position. Commanding seven myriarchies, Jöge conducted an expedition into Szechwan.⁵¹⁾ The "Prince Köden Inscription" puts Jöge, with the title of supreme marshal (tu yüan-shuai), at the head of the list of commanders around Ching-chao 京兆 (Ch'ang-an) before he was superseded by Tege-qorči (T'ieh-k'o 帖哥), the former deputy of Sariytai in Liao-tung and Koryō who transferred to the Shen-hsi area, after 1233.⁵²⁾ Probably Toyān had been the top commander in his own time. The Shen-hsi region was of course another one of the areas that had been within Muqali's field of operations.

Bo'ol's son Tas succeeded to the title of prince of the state when he visited Ögedei in 1229. Therefore the three titles of Muqali were granted to three different people in the years after Bo'ol's death. His grandson Tas became prince of the state, Sariytai became "acting emperor", and Temütei became supreme branch secretariat. Likewise the theater of operations for which Muqali had once been responsible was divided between three commanders. Shen-hsi and the neighboring areas were under the control of Toyān. The campaigns in Liao-tung and Koryō were led by Sariytai. Finally, the Shan-hsi area became the responsibility of Temütei. Temütei's position was explicitly derived from Muqali's; possessing the title of supreme branch secretariat, he led part of the army once under Muqali's control against the Chin capital.

With regard to the soldiers under Ta'ačar's command, his biography, as cited above, states that they were conscripted from the soldiers belonging to the kešig and the princes. This method was the same as that used to form the expeditionary force which Čormayun-qorči led to Azerbaijan in 1228. Rashīd al-Dīn writes:

In the days of Činggis Qan, Čormayun was his qorči . . . [In 1228] he was

given a tamma army of 40,000 and dispatched to the [Iran] region. This is what a tamma army is: a quota to be conscripted from each chiliarchy and century is imposed on each army and [the conscripts are] dispatched to a region to garrison...⁵³⁾

Činggis Qan had organized all the people under his control into a decimal system with 129 chiliarchies in Mongolia. The kešig was composed of 10,000 soldiers and organized along the same lines. Therefore to conscript from each chiliarchy meant to conscript from the entire (adult male) population. While Činggis was alive he distributed 28 chiliarchies among his princes, children and brothers. After he died the remaining 101 chiliarchies were transferred to the youngest son, Tului.⁵⁴⁾ Thus all the chiliarchies belonged to either the kešig or to princes after Činggis's death, so Ta'ačar's army was also conscripted from the entire (adult male) population.

The soldiers under Temütei and Ta'ačar were not limited to just the Mongols described above. They also included former subjects of the Chin. The *Yüan shih* states:

In the eleventh month of the first year of 1229, it was decreed that in the matter of conscription in the places under the jurisdiction of the princes who were imperial brothers and their sons and various officials, if there were any unfair distinctions between cases, both the daruḡači and officials [of the appanage] were to be held culpable. A soldier of between twenty and thirty years of age was to be drafted from each decimal. Moreover, chiliarchs, centurions, and decurions were to be set up.⁵⁵⁾

This source shows that the population of the conquered districts was (to some degree at least) organized into the decimal system and that soldiers had been conscripted from them by daruḡači. This must have been one step in the preparations for the campaign against the Chin launched the following year. In fact, some of these soldiers were commanded by Temütei. According to the *Chin shih*, when Temütei attacked Kui-tê 歸德 in 1232 his units included soldiers from such places in Ho-peï as Chên-ting 眞定, Hsin-an 信安, Ta-ming 大名, Tung-p'ing 東平, and I-tu 益都.⁵⁶⁾ The Mongol and Han soldiers under Ta'ačar and Temütei's control were combined in the organization of the Ho-nan Mongol army.

2.4 The establishment of bases after the conquest of the Chin

After the fall of the Chin, both Temütei and Ta'ačar established garrisons in the southern part of Shan-hsi and in the districts along the Yellow River in Ho-nan. The biography of A'uruḡči states:

[Temütei] conquered Ho-nan and for his achievement was granted 2,000 households. He usually garrisoned his troops in T'ai-yüan 太原, P'ing-yang 平

陽, and Ho-nan. The inhabitants of the districts esteemed him for integrity and all erected a hall for him.⁵⁷⁾

The “Jalayir Inscription” adds Huai 懷 as another place where his troops were garrisoned.⁵⁸⁾ T'ai-yüan is in central Shan-hsi (Chin period Ho-tung north route) and P'ing-yang in southwestern Shan-hsi (Chin period Ho-tung south route). Ho-nan here refers to Ho-nan fu, the city of Lo-yang, in northwest Ho-nan province (Chin period Nan-ching route). Huai is also in northwestern Ho-nan (but Chin period Ho-tung south route).

Ta'açar is known to have constructed a fortress in Wên-hsi 聞喜 county, near P'ing-yang. The “Tung-hsia-kuan Inscription” gives this account:

[Ta'açar] set up military camps. Tung chên 東鎮 [“East Town”] of Wên-hsi is a strategic point on the route from Yen-ching to Shen-hsi. He made his abode at the foot of Nan shan [“South Mountain”] five li from Tung chên. He constructed a great wall around it one fathom [one hsün, about 2.4m] wide and twice as high. Towers were built at the four corners. The central building was very splendid. Running water was led outside of the pike gate to make a moat.⁵⁹⁾

Judging from this passage, the fortress at Wên-hsi seems to have been the headquarters of the army under Ta'açar. We have to keep in mind that Wên-hsi was also the place where Muqali had been at the time of his death. Wên-hsi appears to have been a place of great strategic importance. Some of Temütei's soldiers were also based in this area, as we have seen. As Temütei's headquarters had not yet been constructed in this period, this fortress may possibly have served as his headquarters as well.

Although its headquarters were in Wên-hsi, Ta'açar's army was spread out along a broad front. Ta'açar's biography says:

In the year 1234 the Chin was destroyed. He left garrisons to pacify the Central Plains and detached soldiers to camp along the [Yellow] River in order to check the Southern Sung army . . .⁶⁰⁾

More detailed information on its dispositions is given in the “Hü'üšin Inscription”:

In spring, the first month, of the year 1234 the Chin fell. The marshal [Ta'açar] submitted a report [to Ögedei] thus: “The people of the Chin have already been ruined. If the Sung applies pressure on us how can we defend ourselves? I request to [be allowed to] garrison troops north and south of the Yellow River from P'u 濮 and Ts'ao 曹 in the east to Ch'in 秦 and Lung 隴 in the west to guard the Central Plains and check against the Sung 'bandits'.”

[His request was] approved.⁶¹⁾

According to this, garrison forces were deployed along a front of almost a thousand kilometers. Ts'ao-chou was the prefecture adjacent to Kai-fêng fu (i.e. Pien) to the east, along the Yellow River, and P'u-chou was the prefecture to the northeast of Ts'ao-chou. Ch'in-chou was a good three hundred kilometers west of Ch'ang-an up the Wei River; Lung-chou was the next prefecture to the east of Ch'in-chou. The eastern half of this area corresponded for the most part with the area that Ta'açar and Temütei had been in charge of conquering. As the "Tung-hsia-kuan Inscription" puts it: "The supreme marshal of the branch secretariat, Ta'açar, conquered the area west from Pien and east of the Yellow River." The expression "east of the Yellow River" indicates east of the line along which the Yellow River flows south, or, to put it another way, east of the bend in the Yellow River around T'ung Pass, which Ta'açar had actually been the one to capture.⁶²⁾

It appears that Ta'açar did not take charge of the four-hundred-plus kilometers from T'ung Pass west to Ch'in-chou. One force under Jöge was garrisoned in the area of Ching-chao (Ch'ang-an), and to its southwest, in Hsing-yüan fu 興元府, another unit was stationed under the Jurchen Hsia-ku Mang-ku-t'ai [Mangyutai] 夾谷忙古帶.⁶³⁾ To its west in turn was a force commanded by the Öngüd An-chu-êrh 按竺邇, with its headquarters in Li-tien 禮店 in the southern part of Ch'in-chou, covering the front from Mien-chou 洹州 to Chieh-chou 階州 (in the Southern Sung Li-chou 利州 circuit). These troops defended this part of the border when the Southern Sung attacked.⁶⁴⁾

Furthermore, when the Ho-nan military control office (Ho-nan t'ung-chün-sü 河南統軍司) was established in 1262, it was only responsible for defending the area between Po-chou 亳州 and Chün-chou 均州. Po-chou was maybe 155 kilometers south of Ts'ao-chou and 25 kilometers east; Chün-chou was some 220 kilometers south of T'ung Pass and 80 kilometers east. While the front shifted south it still covered about the same area east to west, and the first head of the Ho-nan military control office was Miriçar, the grandson of Ta'açar who also became the commander of the Ssü-wan-hu (i.e. the Ho-nan Mongol army) in 1267. The conclusion then is that Ta'açar was in charge of one military district on both sides of the Yellow River stretching from Pien west to the bend in the Yellow River. In this way the Ho-nan Mongol army came to be based in the districts in southern Shan-hsi and along the Yellow River in Ho-nan.

3. The Tamma Armies⁶⁵⁾

A number of tamma armies were established and dispatched to the borders of the empire to conquer and hold territory in those same years, the late 1220s and early 1230s, as shown in table 5.

This sort of army is called tamma or tammaçin in the *Secret History*, tamā by

Table 5. Tamma Armies

year	commander	region	est. army size
1228	Čormayun	Azerbaijan	40,000
1228	Sariytai, Tege, Tangyud	Liao-tung, Koryö	40,000
1229	Dair, Oytur, Möngetü	Kashmir	20,000
1229	Köketei, Sünitei	Qipčaq
1230	Ta'açar, Temütei	North China	40,000
1235	Sübe'etei	Qipčaq, Rus	50,000

Rashid al-Din, and t'an-ma 探馬 or t'an-ma-ch'ih 探馬赤 in the *Yüan shih*. The *Chung-t'ang shih-chi* 中堂事記 lists thirteen men who were called t'an-ma-ch'ih kuan-jên 官人 (tamma officials) in North China.⁶⁶⁾ Among them is Ta'açar's son Belgütei (Pieh-li-ku-tai 別里古歹). The *T'ung-chin t'iao-ko* 通制條格 says that the myriarch A'uruyçi, Temütei's son, was a t'an-ma-ch'ih chün-hu 軍戶 (tamma soldier household),⁶⁷⁾ and the *Yüan tien-chang* 元典章 further states that A'uruyçi's son Toyan Buqa was called a t'an-ma-ch'ih wan-hu (tamma myriarch).⁶⁸⁾ Therefore, we can consider that the armies under Temütei and Ta'açar were formed as a tamma army.

Most of the research on tamma armies takes the view that the term was already in use in Muqali's period when he was given command of soldiers from the various tribes. However the term t'an-ma-ch'ih was adopted as a label for the armies which were systematically deployed at the borders of the empire after Činggis's death and according to his instructions. The term was not used in the biography of Muqali in the *Yüan shih*. Although we can find many passages in the *Yüan shih* referring to the five marshals under Muqali's control⁶⁹⁾ as if they held titles using the word t'an-ma-ch'ih before that time, this is a retrospective and anachronistic use of the word.

In the twelfth volume (chapter 281) of the *Secret History* Ögedei enumerated four achievements which he could claim to have added to those of his father. One of those achievements was the deployment of tammačin in the walled cities regions. Some of the deployments were indeed carried out after his enthronement. We should note, however, that when Činggis Qan was about to die in 1227 he left a will ordering his descendants to continue campaigns against the Chin⁷⁰⁾ and explaining how to do so,⁷¹⁾ and that the deployments of the tamma armies began in the period between Činggis's death in 1227 and Ögedei's enthronement in 1229, i.e. during the regency of Tului. Strictly speaking, then, the deployment of tamma armies was not an original policy of Ögedei's. He only continued to carry out the policy of others.

Regarding the deployment of tamma armies, Rashid al-Din has the following to say:

When [Ögedei] Qa'an had been established on the throne of the Kingdom, he first of all made a *yasa* that all the ordinances that had previously been issued by Činggis Qan should be upheld and preserved and protected from change and alteration. [He also commanded:] "Any crime or offence that has been committed by anyone up to the date of our accession, we have forgiven them all. If after today any person behaves with impudence and proceeds to an act that contravenes the old and the new *yasa*, there shall befall him such chastisement and requital as are fitting to his crime."

Before [Ögedei] Qa'an ascended the throne, in the very year of Činggis Qan's death, the princes and emirs who had remained in the ordo of Činggis Qan, having consulted together, had sent Elchitei Noyan, the nephew of Činggis Qan, and Güyük Qan, the son of [Ögedei] Qa'an, to the borders of the country of Qunqan in order to capture it. They had plundered and subjugated it and sent an emir called Tangyud Bahadur with an army as *tamā* to protect that province. Everyone was disputing about this, and when [Ögedei] Qa'an ascended the throne he silenced all of the claimants by means of the aforesaid *yasa*.⁷²⁾

According to this, Ögedei issued a *yasa* to keep and not alter the ordinances issued by Činggis Qan. The dispatch of the army under Tangyud Bahadur had already taken place before Ögedei made his decision, and he recognized the dispatch of the army not just as a *fait accompli* but actually as an act (i.e. an ordinance) of Činggis's. Juvainī adds that "after decreeing these *yasa* [Ögedei] dispatched armies to all the climes of the world".⁷³⁾ Hence it follows that the deployment of the *tamma* armies was a part of Činggis Qan's policy, that after his death princes and commanders began to carry it out, and that while Ögedei dispatched more *tamma* armies he was following in the footsteps of others.

Most the *tamma* soldiers who ended up in the North China theater had been part of the main body of the expedition begun in 1229. The founding of the Ho-nan Mongol army is thus inextricably bound up with the history of the *tamma* armies.

4. The Expeditions against the Southern Sung

In 1235 Ta'ačar led an expedition into the Huai River valley, the border with the Southern Sung, he participated in the operation against Kuang-chou 光州 and Hsi-chou 息州 (in southeastern Ho-nan) in 1236 and died in the attack on Shou-chou 壽州 (in northwestern An-hui 安徽) in 1238.⁷⁴⁾ In 1252 Belgütei succeeded to the position of supreme marshal of the branch secretariat and commanded the "Ssü-wan-hu Mêng-ku Han-chün" (Four myriarchies of Mongol and Han soldiers).⁷⁵⁾ After pacifying the Huai and Han River valleys and the Liang-huai 兩淮 border, he died in 1258. The "Headquarters Reconstruction Inscription" also points out that Belgütei bore the official title of "Mêng-ku-chün

ssü-wan-hu" (Four myriarchies of Mongol soldiers). It is thus clear that the army which had been led by Temütei and Ta'arçar was given the title "Four myriarchies" from at least 1252.

In 1262 two military control offices (t'ung-chün-ssü) were established, one for Ho-nan and one for Shan-tung. Miriçar-qorçi, the son of Belgütei, was appointed the head of the Ho-nan military control office with all the myriarchies between Po-chou and Chün-chou under his control.⁷⁶⁾ A local militia called pao-chia ting-chuang shê-shêng chün 保甲丁壯射生軍, which was organized with conscripts from inhabitants of Ho-nan, was also assigned to be under his control.⁷⁷⁾ In those days Miriçar was a person of great influence in Ho-nan. However, he died in an attack on the Hsiang-Fan 襄樊 area in 1267.⁷⁸⁾

Temütei's son A'uruyçi, who had been commander of the catapult operators during Möngke Qa'an's Ssü-ch'uang 四川 expedition in 1258, participated in an attack on the Hsiang-Fan area in 1268.⁷⁹⁾ The following year A'uruyçi was made a myriarch and allowed to succeed to his father's position.⁸⁰⁾ The Ho-nan Mongol army, for which there is very little information between 1252 and 1269, reappears in the historical records.

It may well be that A'uruyçi was made commander only because Miriçar died at the front. But it was at this point that the Temütei (Jalayir) line seems to have surpassed the Ta'arçar (Hü'üšin) line again. In the fourteenth century, the supreme myriarch is the head of the Temütei line and his deputy the deputy supreme myriarch the head of the Ta'arçar line.

In 1274 the Yüan launched the campaign that brought about the fall of the Southern Sung. Süldütei, a younger brother of Miriçar who had been promoted to myriarch in 1270, participated in the capture of Ching-hu 荆湖 north and south circuits (Hu-pei 湖北 and Hū-nan 湖南). In this period both Süldütei and A'uruyçi were myriarchs, and together they commanded the Ho-nan Mongol army. In the seventh month of 1275 Süldütei was placed in charge of the branch supreme marshal office (hsing tu-yüan-shuai-fu 行都元帥府) which had been established specifically for the purpose of taking Chiang-nan 江南 west circuit (Chiang-hsi 江西).⁸¹⁾ In the first month of 1276 he submitted a report to the emperor proposing that he should advance south into Kuang-tung 廣東 and Kuang-hsi 廣西. He was then appointed supreme marshal of Chiang-hsi (Chiang-hsi tu-yüan-shuai 江西都元帥) and allowed to pacify Kuang-tung.⁸²⁾ This explains why the modern provinces of Chiang-hsi and Kuang-tung were combined into one administrative unit, Chiang-hsi branch secretariat, under the Yüan.⁸³⁾ Later, two sons of his elder brother Miriçar, namely Alqui and Berke Buqa, were appointed supreme marshal of Chiang-hsi one after another.⁸⁴⁾ Evidently this position became a sort of hereditary privilege. Berke Buqa was appointed myriarch in 1282.⁸⁵⁾

A'uruyçi meanwhile took part in the attack on the capital of the Southern Sung and pursued the Sung princes southward. After the conquest he successively held various positions in the Hu-kuang 湖廣 and Chiang-hsi branch secretariats.⁸⁶⁾

According to the *Yüan shih*, military officers found themselves concurrently in

charge of civil functions in occupied territory during the conquest of the Southern Sung. Whenever a chiliarch was employed a daruḡači of a prefecture, he stayed there with the soldiers under his control. This was also the case for centurions. Many cases can be cited of military officers becoming daruḡači of the areas they occupied.⁸⁷⁾ Wu Chan 武展, a Northern Chinese chiliarch mentioned earlier, was one such officer. He became daruḡači of Kuang-tsê 光澤 county in northwestern Fu-chien 福建, which he seems to have occupied in the course of pursuing the Sung princes. We can determine that he was still in command of his soldiers because he was given the title “chiliarch commanding troops” (kuan-chün ch’ien-hu 管軍千戶) during his stay in Kuang-tsê county.⁸⁸⁾

However, it was inexpedient to leave the main armies of the dynasty dispersed. A decree was issued in 1278 that all the Mongol soldiers who had been scattered across occupied territory in the south and north as well as those who had returned to their respective camps (a’uruḡ) were to be reassembled. At this time persons under the control of the “Ssü-wan-hu” were ordered to bivouac north of the Yellow River and await further orders.⁸⁹⁾ Judging from the title “Ssü-wan-hu”, it must be the army which was under A’uruḡči’s and Süldütei’s control, that is, the Ho-nan Mongol army. Their bases were for the most part situated north of or along the Yellow River, as we have seen.

Thus the army had been in garrison after the conquest of the Chin but was remobilized for the conquest of the Southern Sung. For a while after the collapse of the Southern Sung they were used to occupy the newly-captured territory, but they were reassembled at their bases in the north to be dispatched on other expeditions.

5. The Construction of New Headquarters in Lo-yang

The “Headquarters Reconstruction Inscription” states:

A’uruḡči led the Four myriarchies of Mongol soldiers to assist the emperor in pacifying the Sung. [Later] he opened the gate [of the headquarters] at the east side of the I River (伊水) south of Lung-mên Mountain (龍門山) in Lo-yang to supervise the military affairs. In the time of his son, Toyān Buqa, who succeeded as supreme myriarch, the headquarters building was first constructed to keep the officials under tight control.

Now his grandson, Čayan Temür, who succeeded as supreme myriarch, consulted the deputy supreme myriarch Širi Begi, saying that the former headquarters office was cramped and dilapidated, and suggested that therefore they should dismantle and rebuild it.

Originally the size of the site was only ten mu 畝. Therefore they made the size twice as big as before. A general office, a lounge room, a VIP pavilion, a servants’ house, an account book storeroom, a property warehouse, a kitchen,

gates, a watchtower and [other] annexes amount to forty buildings. They are very splendid and impressive. The front hall is named Jên-wu 仁武 (“benevolent valor”) and the rear hall Chung-i 忠益 (“loyalty increasing”), and the tower was named Yen-kêng 嚴更 (“night observance”).

In addition they had the chiliarchs Yao-chu 咬住 and Qutuy Temür (Hu-tu T'ieh-mu-êrh 忽都帖木兒) rush a message [to me] to request this inscription [text].⁹⁰⁾

After A'uruyçi returned to the north he opened the new base in Lo-yang, in Ho-nan. Lo-yang was one of the places where his father Temütei had garrisoned troops after the fall of the Chin. In 1286 A'uruyçi's son Toyan Buqa succeeded him as Mongol myriarch and constructed the buildings of the headquarters.⁹¹⁾ The inscription quoted here dates from 1338, after Toyan Buqa's grandson Čayan Temür rebuilt the headquarters together with Alqui's son Širi Begi. As it states, the site was expanded to twice its previous size and forty buildings were built or rebuilt for administrative use.

On the other hand, the fortress that had been constructed by Ta'açar in Wên-hsi county was abandoned in 1281, as the buildings had an evil appearance, and it was converted into a Taoist temple.⁹²⁾ We know from a stele inscription written for Širi Begi's son Basar, the head of one of the myriarchies, that Basar constructed new offices in the Wên-hsi area sometime in the early fourteenth century. The inscription dates from 1337, when Basar had already been a myriarch for over two decades.⁹³⁾

Though the Lo-yang headquarters and the new Wên-hsi county office continued to serve as the centers of the army, each chiliarchy also had its own base area. One Kereid chiliarch set up his base at the foot of Ming-kao 鳴皋 Mountain in Lo-yang.⁹⁴⁾ The Han chiliarch Wu Chan set up his home at Liang 梁 county in Ju-chou 汝州 southeast of Lo-yang.⁹⁵⁾ We can presume that the bases of the chiliarchs were all in the vicinity of Wên-hsi county or Lo-yang.

The *Yüan shih* has the following to say about the deployment of the four myriarchies in 1327:

... of the four myriarchies of Mongol soldiers under Budaragi (Pu-ta-la-chi 不答刺吉)'s control, three myriarchies are south of the Yellow River and in the west of Ho-nan [Chiang-pei branch] secretariat, and one is in the south of Ho-nan [Chiang-pei branch] secretariat...⁹⁶⁾

The office of the Ho-nan Chiang-pei branch secretariat (河南江北行省) was established at Pien 汴. At this point it was almost a century since the fall of the Chin, and about half a century since the fall of the Southern Sung, and the distribution of the army had not changed considerably. The myriarchy mentioned as being in the south of the Ho-nan Chiang-pei branch secretariat was probably the force garrisoning Yang-chou 揚州.⁹⁷⁾

6. Later Mobilizations of the Army

Even after the conquest of the Southern Sung and the return to the bases in the north, the army was frequently mobilized to meet enemy invasions, quell rebellions, or launch invasions. In 1280 the army appeared in Tibet to guard the temples after the pacification of the Saskya civil unrest.⁹⁸⁾ In the same year troops were moved from Yang-chou to T'an-chou 潭州 (modern Ch'ang-sha 長沙)⁹⁹⁾ as part of a regular obligation of all northern armies to supply garrisons periodically for southern areas.¹⁰⁰⁾ From 1281 to 1282 Alqui and Berke Buqa operated in the Chiang-hsi branch secretariat.¹⁰¹⁾ From 1287 to 1288 A'uruqci participated in the expedition led by Prince Toyan into Annam.¹⁰²⁾ Toyan Buqa went to eastern Mongolia to suppress the revolt of Prince Nayan in 1287.¹⁰³⁾ Berke Buqa was stationed in the Hu-kuang branch secretariat from 1293 to 1294.¹⁰⁴⁾ He also accompanied Prince Qaišan (Wu-tsung 武宗, r. 1307–1311) to reconstruct the line of defenses in western Mongolia from 1296 to 1305.¹⁰⁵⁾ Soldiers were stationed in the Kan-su 甘肅 branch secretariat to defend the border against invasions by Qaidu and Du'a at the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁶⁾ In the struggle within the imperial clan during the T'ien-li 天曆 period (1328–29), soldiers of the army played an important role in supporting the Wen-tsung 文宗 party.¹⁰⁷⁾ At the same time other soldiers of the army under the chief commander Töredü were holding T'ung Pass, at the bend in the Yellow River.¹⁰⁸⁾ It is unfortunate that no detailed information could not be found on the activities of the Ho-nan Mongol army in later years, particularly at the end of the dynasty when the Red Turban bandits arose in Ho-nan.

The mobilizations of the army caused the soldiers great hardships, as shown below:

[Qošan] submitted a report [to the emperor] which said, "Mongol soldiers residing in Shan-tung and Ho-nan have been sent to garrison Kan-su. They trekked over a great distance. All the expenses for loading the camels and packing the horses had to be borne by themselves. Whenever they go [on such missions], they must sell their fields and property. They even have to sell their wives and children in extreme cases. Though those who were sent on garrison duty there have not yet returned, the substitutes are about to leave. As the former's and the latter's burdens were imposed [on their families], their poverty gets heavier day by day. Recently the border area is peaceful. To exhaust the soldiers' power is truly not a [good] strategy. [I] request that soldiers [who live] near Kan-su be garrisoned there. As to those from Shan-tung and Ho-nan who have been garrisoned there up to now, the government should supply money to redeem their fields, properties, wives and children. [I] request that we allow them to recover a little." [The request was] approved by decree.¹⁰⁹⁾

In the same period slaves owned by the soldiers were escaping from their masters' homes. Toyan Buqa and his colleague An-ti Hu-êrh-tu-ha 按的忽兒都哈 [Altı Qurduqa] submitted a report to the privy council (shu-mi-yüan 樞密院) that read in part as follows:

The conscripts from the Mongol and Han soldiers garrisoned in the south [Chiang-nan] had slaves registered under each household in order to furnish them with supplies. Now the slaves escape [from their masters' home] to hide themselves in [Buddhist] and Taoist temples to be Taoists or Buddhist monks. Otherwise, they become hired laborers engaged by the bureaus or travelling merchants selling loading materials.¹¹⁰⁾

This report concerned the period between 1301 and 1308. While these circumstances were beneficial to the slaves, of course, the soldiers in the army were getting poorer and poorer because of the expenses of mobilization. And unlike before, during the expeditions against the Chin and Sung, there was no longer any guarantee that the soldiers would obtain any booty to compensate for their expenses.

7. Participation in the Imperial Guards

In 1295 Berke Buqa led a group of 2,000 Mongol soldiers to Shang-tu 上都 to serve in the emperor's retinue.¹¹¹⁾ Afterwards supplying this number of troops for the imperial guard became an annual routine for the army. When Qaišan went to western Mongolia to reconstruct the line of defenses against Qaidu and Du'a, Berke Buqa accompanied him as mentioned above and was garrisoned at Činqai 鎮海 Ch'ên-hai Balyasun from 1296 to 1305. After he returned to Ho-nan in 1305 he still went to Shang-tu each year to accompany the emperor.¹¹²⁾

When Qaišan was enthroned in 1307, his brother Ayurbarwada (Jên-tsung 仁宗, r. 1311–1320) became the heir apparent. Towards the end of Temür Qa'an's (Ch'eng-tsung 成宗, r. 1294–1307) reign, Ayurbarwada had previously been placed in confinement at Huai-chou 懷州, one of the places previously mentioned as a base for A'uruyči's troops. A'uruyči's son Toyan Buqa supported Ayurbarwada, and Ayurbarwada probably became accustomed to the Ho-nan and Shan-tung Mongol armies.¹¹³⁾ So in the first month of 1311, the same month Qaišan died but two months before Ayurbarwada ascended the throne, many soldiers were conscripted from the two armies by the heir apparent Ayurbarwada's request to make a new palace guard called the Wei-su chün 圍宿軍.¹¹⁴⁾

Thus we know that the Ho-nan Mongol army supported Qaišan and Ayurbarwada. In the twelfth month of 1316 the tamma soldiers from Ho-nan stationed at the palace were mobilized. Each soldier was ordered to bring two horses. If the number of horses was not enough to go around, four-year-old

horses were to be requisitioned in neighboring districts. In the following month soldiers of the Ho-nan Mongol army, which was still being referred to as the "Ssü-wan-hu" here, were supplied with 82,800 horses from districts in the Ho-nan Chiang-pei branch secretariat.¹¹⁵⁾ This is an example of how the soldiers of the Ho-nan Mongol army were well treated by Ayurbarwada.¹¹⁶⁾ In 1329, after the T'ien-li civil war, the imperial guards were supplemented by another thousand soldiers drawn from the Ho-nan and Shan-tung Mongol armies.

8. Conclusions

The Ho-nan Mongol army was composed of four myriarchies, hence it was called "Dörben tümen" in Mongolian and "Ssü-wan-hu" in Chinese. The army was commanded by the heads of two lineages, those of Temütei (from the Jalayir) and Ta'açar (from the Hü'üšin). This arrangement can be traced back through the organization of the main body of the army that Ögedei Qa'an led against the Chin all the way back to the organization of Činggis Qan's central army. The Ho-nan Mongol army was formed as one of the tamma armies, which were deployed on the borders of the empire after the death of Činggis Qan. After the conquest of the Chin, the army established bases in the southern half of Shan-hsi and garrisons along the Yellow River to defend against the Southern Sung. After the conquest of the Southern Sung, the army was dispatched to many different areas on different missions, even to the capital to guard the emperor. When one considers all of the areas as a whole in which this army operated during the conquest of the Chin and the Southern Sung, they were concentrated in a strip running down the center of China from north to south, from Shan-hsi down to Kuang-tung, which reflects the way in which this army was patterned on Činggis Qan's central army. After the reunification of China under the Yüan its area of operations expanded to include the entire territory of the Yüan dynasty. The Ho-nan Mongol army can be considered to have been one of the most active armies in the history of the Mongol empire and Yüan dynasty.

Notes

- 1) On Činggis Qan's army, see Honda. On the kešig, see Yanai. On the tamma armies, see section 3, especially note 65, below. On all aspects of the Mongol and Yüan military system, see Hsiao.
- 2) On the armies of the Il-khanate, see the works by Shimo listed in the bibliography. On those of China during the Mongol period, see Matsuda, "Kanan Waihoku Mōkōgun . . .", which is an earlier version of this article, and the two articles by Tsutsumi.
- 3) All references to *Yüan shih* chüan 86 in this article are to the section 13b5-15a2.
- 4) Most of the names in Mongolian are the author's reconstructions.
- 5) Judging from what is known about other tamma armies, the size of the army which is expressed by this name represents its size at the time it was first created for the campaign against the Chin. Since this army always contained four myriarchies, it was referred to as "Ssü-wan-hu" even as late as 1317. For some of the variations, see below, section 1.2.
- 6) "Chün 軍" is correctly translated as "soldiers" and not "army" in most cases.

- 7) "Han" and "Northern Chinese" will both be used throughout to mean "former Chin subjects" regardless of possible (usually unknowable) ethnic distinctions among them. The Mongol word for them was "Kitad".
- 8) Hsiao, p. 55
- 9) See below.
- 10) *Yüan tien-chang* 34/21b18. In this passage the commander of the army, Toyān Buqa, is called "t'an-ma-ch'ih wan-hu", i.e. tammači myriarch.
- 11) "Hü'üšin Inscription" 3a5-6
- 12) Töredü was the commander of the army in 1328. See *Yüan shih* 137/7a4-5. It has not been determined whether he belonged to the Jalayir or the Hü'üšin (see below).
- 13) "Wu Chan Inscription" 20b10. On daruḡači see Endicott-West.
- 14) *Yüan shih* 86/13b5-15a2. The monographs in the *Yüan shih* were based on the *Ching-shih ta-tien*, which was edited between 1329 and 1331. The passage which serves as the source for this table then probably reflects the situation around 1329 or slightly before.
- 15) This term is found in the "Jalayir Inscription" (72a1) and the *Yung-lê ta-tien* (19417/3a15).
- 16) *Yüan shih* 131/11b6
- 17) "Hü'üšin Inscription" 2a10
- 18) *Yüan shih* 119/26b7
- 19) *Yüan shih* 86/13b6. The function of the name A'uruyči in this title, and the name Jalayir in the following title, is obscure. See section 2.1 below for these names.
- 20) *Shih-lin kuang-chi* 9/10a8
- 21) *Yüan shih* 9/13a3
- 22) *Yung-lê to-tien* 191417/3a16
- 23) *Yüan shih* 132/13b5
- 24) *rGya Bod yig tsang* 290/17-18. See Petech 199, Jên-ch'ing-cha-hsi 55, Lo-sang chün-chüeh 74. *RDor ban Thu man* has not been identified as the Honan Mongol Army in these articles.
- 25) *Yüan shih* 99/21a4
- 26) The word "lineage" is used in this article merely in the meaning of "line of descent".
- 27) "Headquarters Reconstruction Inscription" 3a10-3b4. See also *Yüan shih* 131 and "Jalayir Inscription". For Čayan Temür, see also Ch'ên Yüan, p. 805. The precise date when the "Headquarters Reconstruction Inscription" was written is not clear, but it must have been written no later than 1338, the year when the author, Po-chu-lu chung 季朮魯翀, died.
- 28) "Headquarters Reconstruction Inscription" 3b4-9. See also "Hü'üšin Inscription and *Yüan-shi* 119.
- 29) *Yüan shih* 115/2a1-3
- 30) The qorči troop was one part of the kešig. Shih points out that some of the commanders of tamma armies came from the kešig. See Shih, pp. 233-7.
- 31) *Chêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* pp. 210-211
- 32) *Yüan shih* 131/11a4
- 33) See Murakami, *Mongoru hishi*, p. 375. *Secret History*, section 202. See Cleaves, p. 142.
- 34) *Yüan shih* 131/11b1-2
- 35) According to the same biography in the *Yüan shih* he participated in campaigns before this appointment but not as the commander of an army.
- 36) "Jalayir Inscription" 71b10-11
- 37) Honda, "Chingisu kan...", p. 9
- 38) *Yüan shih* 119/25b8-26a2, "Hü'üšin Inscription" 1b3-4
- 39) *Yüan shih* 119/26a2-5, "Hü'üšin Inscription" 1b5
- 40) *Yüan shih* 119/26a5-b4
- 41) *Yüan shih* 119/26a8
- 42) Rashid/Mss. 1518, p. 128b, and Smirnova, p. 267. This passage is part of the manuscript which contains records concerning the chiliarchs in Činggis Qan's army published as an appendix in Honda, *Mongoru jidaishi kenkyū*.

- 43) *Yüan shih* 119/4a8–4b4, Rashīd/Mss. 1518, p. 98b, 130b and Smirnova p. 178–179, 273–274. For Uyer see also *Yüan-shih* 120, 14a4–15b4 and for Toyan see also *Yüan-shih* 149, 22b10–23a6
- 44) *Mêng-ta pei-lu* p. 436
- 45) *Yüan shih* 119/4b3–8b2. See Martin, pp. 239–282, for Muqali's activities during the conquest of northern China.
- 46) *Yüan shih* 119/8b8–10b4
- 47) *Yüan shih* 120/15a1–3
- 48) *Yüan shih* 119/2b7–4a8. Muqali campaigned in Liao-tung between 1214 and 1217.
- 49) *Koryō sa* 23/3a3. See the passage dated hsün-mao year (1231), eleventh month, ting-hai day.
- 50) *Yüan shih* 149/23a4–6
- 51) *Yüan shih* 149/23a6–7
- 52) "Prince Köden Inscription" 1243/2, 1245/2. See Sugiyama, "Södōji . . .", esp. pp. 89–92. According to the inscription, Jōge appears as the top name in 1243 and 1245 but as the second name, behind Tege-qorči, in 1247.
- 53) Rashīd/Ali-zade, pp. 150–1.
- 54) Hsiao, p. 11
- 55) Adapted from Hsiao, p. 74. The original source is *Yüan shih* 98/3b1–5. It is Shih who points out that this passage is connected with the conscription of troops for the tamma units. See Shih, p. 228.
- 56) *Chin shih* 116/6b10
- 57) *Yüan shih* 131/11b2–3
- 58) "Jalayir Inscription" 71b12
- 59) "Tung-hsia-kuan Inscription" 41b1–4
- 60) *Yüan shih* 119/26b3–4
- 61) "Hü'üshin Inscription" 2a1–4
- 62) "Tung-hsia-kuan Inscription" 41b1
- 63) *Yüan wên-lei* 62/16b2–17a6
- 64) *Yüan shih* 121/11a1–6, 98/16a2–6
- 65) Sudō found that the term "tamma" was derived from the Chinese word "t'an-ma" (mounted scout) in the sources of the Sung period. Ebisawa pointed out that the synonym in Mongolian is "alginči", which he interpreted as "front" or "garrison" based on its usage in *the Secret History* (see Ebisawa, pp. 56–57), and Hasumi that it was synonymous not only with "alginči", which he interpreted as "fighter" based on modern Mongolian, but also "manglai", which means "front" (see Hasumi, "Genchō hishi . . .", and also "Tanbaseki kō . . .", pp. 46–48). Many researchers have studied this term. It is explained in the sources as follows. The *Yüan shih*, chüan 98, states that t'an-ma-ch'ih chün (i.e. tammači soldiers) were from many tribes, as opposed to the native Mongolian soldiers from Mongolia. According to a passage in the *Secret History*, the tamma or tammačin were garrisons established in the walled cities regions by Ögedei Qa'an. For Rashīd al-Din's explanation, see above, section 2.3. On the basis of the *Secret History* and *Yüan-shih's* records, Naka explained as far back as 1907 that t'an-ma-ch'ih were garrison troops who were conscripted from many different tribes (p. 543). The explanation found in the *Yüan shih* reflects the situation as it existed under the Yüan dynasty; we should consider the phrase "many tribes" there to mean both Mongol and Han. Naka's simple explanation is still valid today. For an outline of the research history of the term tamma, see Barthold, pp. 496–497, Hsiao, p. 137n 119, Yang, and Hasumi, p. 50. See Shih for a broad overview of the tamma armies in China and Korea. Doerfer considered that tammači was a commander of tamma, which he interpreted as "Hilfstruppe", i.e. "auxiliary troops." However such a difference between tamma and tammači is not supported by the sources. See Doerfer, pp. 255–256.
- 66) *Ch'ü-chien wên-chih* 81/19
- 67) *T'ung-chih t'iao-ko* 3/23a6–7
- 68) *Yüan tien-chang* 34/21b18
- 69) These five marshals were appointed as commanders over the soldiers given to Muqali in 1217.

Those soldiers were conscripted from many tribes, including the five tribes mentioned in section 2.3 of this article. After Muqali's death they were placed under the control of his son Bo'ol. It is difficult to determine whether these five marshals came under Temütei's control after Bo'ol's death, however. After the conquest of Chin was completed the five marshals were garrisoned at the following locations: Kōke Buqa at I-tu 益都 and Chi-nan 濟南 and Kereitei at Tung-p'ing 東平 in Shan-tung; Se'ünitei at Ta-ming 大名 and Bolo(d) at Chên-ting 真定 in Ho-pei; and Aljar at T'ai-yüan 太原 and P'ing-yang 平陽 in Shan-hsi. The districts they garrisoned were all different from those recorded for Temütei's garrisons, with the one exception of Aljar. The soldiers under the five marshals were recombined to form a separate army at the beginning of Qubilai's reign. We only have circumstantial evidence connecting Temütei with the five marshals. Both Temütei and the five marshals led troops conscripted from the five tribes, and the places from which the Han soldiers under Temütei were conscripted during the conquest of the Chin (i.e. Chên-ting, Hsin-an, Ta-ming, Tung-p'ing, and I-tu) were for the most part the same as the places that the five marshals garrisoned after the conquest of the Chin. On the appointment of the five marshals, see *Yüan shih* 99/4b8–10. For the places garrisoned by the five marshals, see *Yüan shih* 123/3a6–8. For the places from which the Han soldiers under Temütei were conscripted, see *Chin shih* 116/6b10.

- 70) D'Ohsson, pp. 380–1.
- 71) Some indications of this policy can be found in the "Ch'êng-chi-ssü han chih-tu 成吉思汗制度" (Regulations of Činggis Qan) in the *Koryō sa* (26/15a3–5, 26/13a10–b1), and the section on Annam in the *Yüan shih* (209/3b7–9). Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, p. 114.
- 72) Adapted from Boyle, *The successors . . .*, pp. 32–33
- 73) Boyle, *The history of the world-conqueror*, p. 190
- 74) *Yüan shih* 119/26b5–6, "Hü'üšin Inscription", 2a5–8.
- 75) *Yüan shih* 119/26b7–8
- 76) According to the "Hü'üšin Inscription" (2a11–12), the office was established in 1260. However the *Yüan shih* (5/10b3–4) gives the year as 1262. There appears to be no way to determine which one is correct. The *Yüan shih* gives commander's name as Ta-la-hun 塔剌渾 qorči (<Mo. tarγun, "fat"). The meaning of the reconstructed name Miričar ("Hü'üšin Inscription") can not be determined. However if it is related to the Mongolian word "miriya", also meaning "fat", then the inconsistency in the commander's name between the two sources can be understood as different expressions of one person's nickname.
- 77) *Yüan shih* 5/15b1–3, and "Hü'üšin Inscription" 2a12–2b1
- 78) "Hü'üšin Inscription" 2b1–2
- 79) *Yüan shih* 131/11b4–5
- 80) *Yüan shih* 131/11b6
- 81) "Hü'üšin Inscription" 2b5–6, and *Yüan shih* 8/27a8–10, 119/27a1–2
- 82) *Yüan shih* 9/2a6–8, and "Hü'üšin Inscription" 2b8–9
- 83) Maeda, p. 182
- 84) "Hü'üšin Inscription" 2b9–11
- 85) "Hü'üšin Inscription" 2b12
- 86) "Jalayir Inscription" 72a1–9, and *Yüan shih* 131/12a1–12b8
- 87) Hsiao, pp. 111–2, and *Yüan shih* 99/19b2–6
- 88) "Wu Chan Inscription" 19b2–6
- 89) *Yüan shih* 99/19b6–9
- 90) "Headquarters Reconstruction Inscription" 3a2–10
- 91) *Yüan shih* 131/12b10–13a1
- 92) "Tung-hsia-kuan Inscription" 41b4–42a1
- 93) "Basar Inscription" 38b9–12, 39a7–8, 39b11
- 94) "Ch'ien-hu-so Inscription" 20a9–10
- 95) "Wu Chan Inscription" 20b1
- 96) *Yüan shih* 99/30b3–5

- 97) *Yüan shih* 99/21a4-5
 98) *rGya Bod yig tsang* p. 290/17-18. See note 24.
 99) *Yüan shih* 99/21a4-5
 100) *Yüan tien-chang* 34/21b13-14
 101) "Hü'üshin Inscription" 2b10-11
 102) *Yüan shih* 131/12b8-13a2
 103) "Jalayir Inscription" 72a12-b1
 104) *P'ing-wan chi* 13b3, "Hü'üshin Inscription", 2b12-3a1
 105) "Hü'üshin Inscription" 3a3-7. On the dispatch of Qaišan see Matsuda, "Kaishan...".
 106) *Yüan shih* 134/17a1-6
 107) "Jalayir Inscription" 72b5-7, and "Wu Chan Inscription" 20a5-7
 108) *Yüan shih* 137/7a2-5
 109) *Yüan shih* 134/17a1-6
 110) *Yüan tien-chang* 34/21b13-15
 111) "Hü'üshin Inscription" 3a1-2
 112) "Hü'üshin Inscription" 3a6-7
 113) "Jalayir Inscription" 72b2
 114) *Yüan shih* 99/11b3-5
 115) *Ta-Yüan Ma-chêng chi*, 31-33
 116) *Yüan shih* 99/12b7-13a2

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