

A Study of Dayan Khan

By Sei WADA

1. The Age of Dayan Khan
2. The Two Dayan Khans
3. His Activities
4. The Enfeoffment of His Sons

I. The Age of Dayan Khan

Dayan Khan 達延汗 rose in the middle Ming period, unified all Mongolia, and divided it among his sons and grandsons. The later Khans of Inner Mongolia and Outer Mongolia were able to boast of being the descendants of Chinggis Khan because they were all the offsprings of this man Dayan Khan. The men on whom Mongol Khans prided themselves were Temüjin 鐵木眞 or Tai-tsu 太祖 Chinggis Khan, Sechen Khan 薛禪汗 or Shih-tsu 世祖 Kubilai and Dayan Khan or Lieh-tsu 烈祖⁽¹⁾ Batu Möngke 巴圖蒙克. Dayan Khan was such an important character. Despite the fact, a great deal is in doubt as to his age and his work. This accounts for the necessity to investigate the facts concerning Dayan Khan.

As a rule, the facts on Mongolia during the Ming period frequently appear in the accounts on the Ming side, but they are always fragmentary and never to the purpose. On the other hand, the accounts on the Mongolian side, though incomplete, are generally consistent and to the purpose as to the genealogy and activities of the Khans. They are (1) *Altan Tobchi*⁽²⁾ by an

- (1) The title Lieh-tsu 烈祖 is from the chinese translation of *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* 蒙古源流 and Mr. Minoru Gō 江實 also employs the same title Lieh-tsu in his Japanese translation from the Manchu Manuscript. However, seeing that in the German translation, this is always translated 'Edler Grossvater' (Sain ebüge), it is hardly correct to rank Lieh-tsu side by side with Tai-tsu 太祖 and Shih-tsu 世祖.
- (2) *Altan Tobchi* is the oldest history which treats Mongolia in the Ming period, but its author is unknown (sometimes considered a work by Blo bzang Bstan-'jin), and on account of several omissions here and there, it is exceedingly difficult to read. There are several editions of the original, from which the following Japanese translations have been published: *Karachin-bon Mōko Genryū* 喀喇沁本蒙古源流 (Kharachin edition's *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu*) by Dr. Katsuji FUJIOKA 藤岡勝二, Bunkiyūdō 文求堂, 1940; *Mōko Ōgonshi* 蒙古黃金史 by Dr. Takashiro KOBAYASHI 小林高四郎, Seikatsusha 生活社, 1941; and the complete English translation of these by Mr. C.R. BAWDEN, *The Mongol Chronicle, Altan Tobči*, Wiesbaden, 1955, all of which supplement one another.

unknown writer; (2) *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* 蒙古源流 (*Erdeni-yin Tobchi*) by Sanang Sechen⁽³⁾; (3) *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p'u* 蒙古世系譜 (*Mongghol Borjigid obogh-un teüke*) by Lomi;⁽⁴⁾ *Chen-po hor-gyi-yul-du dam-paihi-chos ji-Itar-byun-bahi-tshul-bsad-pargyal behi-bstan-pa-rin-po-che gsal-bar-byed pahi-sgron-me*. (*The History of Mongolian Buddhism*) by Jig's-med-nam-mk'a⁽⁵⁾ and (5) *Ch'in-ting-mêng-ku-hui-pu-wang-kung-piao-chuan* 欽定蒙古同部王公表傳⁽⁶⁾. Among these the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* goes into

- (3) Sanang Sechen is the prince of Ordos Mongols. He compiled the history *Erdeni-yin Tobchi* after making researches on the seven materials including Altan Tobchi. It was in the 1st year of Kêng-hsi (1662). In the 42nd year of Ch'ien-lung (1777), over a century later, the Emperor Kao-tsung 高宗 of Ch'ing ordered his history officials to translate the work into Chinese, and included it in the *Ssü-k'u-ch'üen-shu* 四庫全書. This is *Han-i-mêng-ku yüan-liu* 漢譯蒙古源流 in 8 Bks. As the Chinese translation was translated from the Manchu original, Mr. Minoru Gō of Japan faithfully revised the translation by referring to the Manchu original, and published it with a careful study and index of the original. (Publisher, Kōbundō 弘文堂, 1940). Prior to this, from the earliest years, the Mongol original had been handed down in Russia, and Isaac Jacob SCHMIDT translated by strenuous efforts, and published it with the Mongol original and the German translation and the notes. This is *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*. As the German version contains some merits which are missing in the Chinese translation, the present study has referred to it. Apart from this, another version of *Han-i-mêng-ku-yüan-liu* with a study of CH'EN Ts'ao-chih 沈曾植 of Ch'ing and revised by CHANG Erh-t'ien 張爾田, entitled the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu-chien-chêng* 蒙古源流箋證, was published. On account of its valuable notes, it has also been referred to in this work.
- (4) The *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p'u* is a Chinese translation by Ch'eng-yü 盛昱 a member of the Ch'ing family. Its substance is concise and lucid and somewhat resembles *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu*, but resembles *Altan Tobchi* more. While the annals are abundant in the former two, in the *Shih-hsi-p'u* none is given. Only selections were available for a long time, it has lately been published with a postscript by CHANG Erh-t'ien.
- Mongghol Borjigid obogh-un teüke* (Geschichte des mongolischen Clans Bodzigid) which Lomi (Dayan Khan's grandson and the eighth-generation descendent of Bayaskhal Daiching of Kharachin of Aisilaku hafan 員外郎 of Ch'ing compiled in the 10th year of Yung-chêng (1732) has lately been discovered indisputably to be the original of this *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p'u*; and this has been published with a photographic copy of the *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p'u* by Walter HEISSIG and C.R. BAWDEN. It is Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Band 9, 1957.
- (5) *The History of Mongolian Buddhism* by Jig's-med-nam-mk'a was written in 1819 on the basis the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu*, and it was translated into German in 1892 by Georg HUTH of Germany, and was published entitled *Geschichte des Buddhismum in der Mongolei*. This was retranslated by Rev. Kōhō HASHIMOTO 橋本光實 of Japan with the title of *Mōko Ramakyōshi* 蒙古喇嘛教史 (History of Mongolian Lamaism), Seikatsu-sha 生活社, 1940. In this study Rev. HASHIMOTO's translation was exclusively used.
- (6) *Ch'in-ting-mêng-ku-hui-pu-wang-kung-piao-chuan* is the complete collection of the records which the Ch'ing court during the Ch'ien-lung and Chia-ch'ing requested these princes to submit. Therefore, it chiefly treats the affairs of the Ch'ing period, but sometimes it refers to those of the Ming period. The present writer has referred to the edition included at the beginning of the *Kuo-chao-ch'i-hsien-lei-chêng* 國朝耆獻類徵.

Moreover, there are books in the Mongol language entitled *Bolor erike* by Rasipung-sug compiled during the Ch'ien-lung period, a Chinese book entitled the *Huang-chao-fan-pu-yao-liao* 皇朝藩部要略 (18 Bk. with 4 supplementary tables) by CH'I Yün-shih

most details and to the point. However, the book being full of serious errors and confusions in the point of dates and other matters could not be believed as they stand. Unless we first rectified them, we could not proceed. Leaving other matters alone, we shall first take up the dates in connection with Dayan Khan. According to the Chinese translation of *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* Vol. 5~6, it may be outlined as follows:

“Dayan Khan, a son between Bolkho Jinong 博勒呼濟農 and Shiker Khatun 錫吉爾福晉, named Batu Môngke 巴圖蒙克, was born in the year Chia-shên 甲申. Later, as Mandaghul Khan 滿都古勒 the preceding ruler died in the year Ting-mao 丁卯 (to be read Tin-hai 丁亥), Mandughai Sechen Khatun 滿都海徹辰福晉 his widow, seeking a surviving descendant of the Yüan family, married Batu Môngke in the year Kêng-yin 庚寅, and in the hope of occupying Dayan 達延 Country, she called Batu Môngke, Dayan Khan. At that time Khatun was 33 years old and the Khan only 7 years old. After a brilliant reign for 74 years, he died in the year Kuei-mao 癸卯.”

Now, a study of chronology will show that the year Chia-shên was the 8th year of T'ien-shun 天順 of Emperor Ying-tsung 英宗 of the Ming dynasty (1464), Ting-hai the 3rd year of Ch'êng-hua 成化 of Emperor Hsien-tsung 憲宗 (1467), Kêng-yin the 6th year of Chêng-hua (1470), and the year Kuei-mao the 22nd year of Chia-ching 嘉靖 of Emperor Shih-tsung 世宗 (1543). This is the view of the Chinese translation of the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* translated from the Manchu language original, and according to German translation from the Mongol original by Dr. SCHMIDT, the dates of Dayan Khan were two years later, he being born in the year Ping-hsü 丙戌, the 2nd year of Chêng-hua (1466), (though the death of Mandaghul Khan 滿都古勒汗 is dated the year Ting-hai as previously stated), the year of his marriage in the year Kêng-yin when he was 5 years old and when Mandughai Sechen was 23 years old. Consequently, the Khan's death is given as in the year Kuei-mao and at the age of 78 years. No matter which account one may follow, the difference is a matter of only two years. The most serious question is their contradictions with the accounts on the Ming side.

As previously stated⁽⁷⁾, so far as the Ming accounts are concerned, the appearance of the name Man-tu-lu 滿都魯 or Mandaghul dates only from May of Ch'êng-hua (1473), and the date of his ascension to the position of a

祁韻士 of Ch'ing and the *Mêng-ku-yu-mu-chi* 蒙古遊牧記 (16 Bks.) by CHANG Mu 張穆. However, these are not discussed here.

(7) Sei WADA 和田清, Uriyanhasanei ni kansuru Kenkyū 兀良哈三衛に関する研究 (A historical study on the Uriyanghad Mongols), *Tōa-shi Kenkyū (Mōko-hen)* 東亞史研究 (蒙古篇), pp. 151-424.

Khan was no doubt during the 5 years between the 11th year and the 15 year of Ch'êng-hua. In year Ting-hai of Ch'êng-hua which falls on the year following the murder of the Little Prince 小王子 (Ma-lun Khan 麻倫汗) the preceding ruler of Mandaghul, when Molikhai 毛里孩 and Oroju 阿羅出 ran rampant and the name Mandaghul had not yet appeared. Most probably Mandaghul, after 9 years' vacancy, ascended the throne about the 11th year of Ch'êng-hua and reigned until the first half of the 15th year of the same era. The first appearance of the Little Prince (Dayan Khan) the next Khan after Mandaghul, as far as the *Shih-lu* 實錄 is concerned, dates from May, the 17th year of Ch'êng-hua (1481). How could he be said to have ascended the throne in the year Kêng-yin, the 6th year of Ch'êng-hua? It is evident that the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* committed the first blunder in its chronology.

I am of the opinion that when the *Yüan-liu* says, "Mandaghul Khan reigned for 5 years from the year Kuei-wei to the year Ting-hai. He died at 42.", it gave the dates only in the Twelve Zodiacal Signs in accordance with the Mongol custom, but when the Ten Calendar Signs were added later an error was introduced in combining the signs: the actual reign may be that extended over the 5 years from the year I-wei 乙未 one whole series later, to the year Chi-hai 己亥 namely from the 11th year of Ch'êng-hua (1475) to the 15th year (1479). If so, this would agree with the Ming record. If so, Dayan's enthronement no doubt took place in the following Yin 寅 year, namely the year Jêng-yin 壬寅 the 18th year of Ch'êng-hua (1482). Since Mandughai Khatun who was in her prime married Dayan Khan only 7 years old, the birth-year of Dayan Khan would seem to have been the year Ping-shên the 12th year of Ch'êng-hua (1476); however, if we accepted this, we could not reconcile the facts both preceding and following and especially the dates relative to Dayan Khan's sons and grandsons. Therefore, this should be an error in this account. It should be accepted that Dayan Khan was born in the year Chia-shên the 8th year of T'ien-shun (1464) and at the time in question he was 19 years old.

This is not all. It is not yet quite certain whether Dayan Khan's death took place, as stated, in the year Kuei-mao or the 22nd year of Chia-ching. According to the Ming account, it could not be denied that since more than 10 years previous to this, the hegemony of Mongolia had fallen into the hands of other chiefs such as Chi-nang 吉囊 (Jinong) and An-ta 俺答 (Altan). Though Chi-nang and An-ta were both relative of Dayan Khan, they were by no means successors of the position of the Khan. How could they run rampant freely as they did? Dr. HOWORTH, the compiler of the *History of the Mongols*, who readily observed this situation says as follows:—

"Ssanang Setzen dates the death of Dayan Khan in 1543. This seems

hard to reconcile with the scattered notices of DE MAILLA, which show Anda and Kisiang, other Mongol chiefs, acting very independently long before this, and says further, that as early as 1528 they had become so powerful that they no longer obeyed 'the Little Prince'. This can only be reconciled on the supposition that Dayan Khan lost his control over the Baraghon Tumens in his later days."⁽⁸⁾

Anda is An-ta 俺答 in the Ming account and Kisiang, Chi-nang 吉囊. It is not clear on what ground DE MAILLA says, in the 7th year of Chia-ching "They had grown so powerful that they no more obeyed the Little Prince." Looking for a similar instance, we find the following passage in the *Shih-lu* 實錄 or the Emperor Shih-tsung 世宗 of Ming under Kêng-hsü 庚戌 of August, the 6th year of Chia-ching (1527):

"Several ten thousand barbarians of Ordos, wading the frozen river and shouting loudly invaded the land. WANG Hsien, CHÊNG Ch'ing, HANG Hsiung, CHAO Ying and others occupying several forts, defended the land. Ordering PU Yün to conceal troops and cut the enemy's retreat. Soon after the enemy invaded the land from Shih-chiu-tung, fought and defeated them. The enemy retreated and ran away to Ch'ing-yang mountain. PU Yün and others started again and completely defeat them, killing over 300 men and seized numberless barbarian horses and arms. This being reported to the throne, the Emperor was pleased by the exploits of WANG Hsien and others. The Emperor rewarded them with letters of appreciation...."⁽⁹⁾

On the other hand, WANG Hsien chuan 王憲傳 in the *Ming-shih* 明史 (Bk. 199) gives for "several ten thousand horsemen under Chi-nang" "several ten thousand barbarians"; under HANG Hsiung chuan 杭雄傳 *ibid.* (Bk. 174) is given "Chi-nang invaded with powerful troops and Governor WANG Hsien, ordered Hsiung and others to defeat them." Again, CHOU Shang-wên chuan 周尙文傳 *ibid.* (Bk. 211), citing the repeated invasions of Chi-nang over the ice prior to the 9th year of Chia-ching says:

"Chi-nang frequently invaded treading the ice. Shang-wên made a fence for 120 *li* and surrounded it with water. As the ice being slippery, they could not climb it. When the ice smelt, wrestlers holding long poles with iron hooks, hooked and killed those who tried to cross the ice. In the 9th year he was picked up from Tu-tu-ch'ien-shih to be Tsung-pin-kuan of Ning-hsia".⁽¹⁰⁾

(8) H.H. HOWORTH; *History of the Mongols*, Vol. I, p. 375.

(9) 套虜數萬踏冰過河，聲言大入。提督尙書王憲督總兵鄧卿·杭雄·趙瑛等，分據要害，屯兵以禦之。令都指揮卜雲伏兵，先斷其歸路。無何，虜從石臼墩入，卿等與戰敗之。虜退走，至青羊嶺，雲等復發，又大敗之。凡斬首三百餘級，獲胡馬器機無算。捷聞，上嘉憲等功，賜勅獎勵.....

The *Shih-lu* says that around the 8th year of Chia-ching the Ordos barbarians frequently invaded the boundary of Ning-hsia; under Chia-ch'êng 甲辰 of March, is given the following passage:

“At the beginning barbarians leading several ten thousand men entered Ordos. Taking advantage of the ice, they crossed the Huang-ho river; and invaded Ning-hsia. HANG Hsiung, Tsung-pin-kuan of Ning-hsia confronted the enemy, but was defeated. His loss was quite heavy. The defenders reported this to the court....”⁽¹⁰⁾

Under Jên-wu 壬午 of October, a report on the facts of the defeat is fully given. Consequently, HANG Hsiung 杭雄 being removed from the post of the Tsung-pin-kuan of Ning-hsia, CHAO Ying 趙瑛 became his successor. It must be even after this that CHOU Chang-wên was appointed the Tsung-pin-kuan of Ning-hsia. How powerful Jinong and Altan had become by this time it is easy to imagine.

Therefore, the *Ming-shih-chi-chih-pên-mo* 明史紀事本末 (Bk. 60, 俺答封貢) by KU Ying-t'ai 谷應泰 of Ch'ing concisely remarks:

“In October, winter, the 8th year of Chia-ching of Emperor Shih-tsung, Chi-nang 吉囊 and An-ta 俺答 attacked Yü-lin and Ning-hsia fortress. WANG Chiung, the Governor leading troops defended and expelled them. To begin with, the Little Prince had three sons A-êrh-lun 阿爾倫 the eldest, A-chu 阿著 the second son, and Man-kuan-ch'ên 滿官嗷 the next. A-êrh-lun had already died and the two sons were still small. A-chu was called the Little Prince; he also died before long. The people supported Pu-ch'ih 卜赤 the son of A-êrh-lun. A-chu had two sons, named Chi-nang and An-ta. They grew extremely strong. Although the Little Prince claimed to be the sovereign, he does not govern the people....”⁽¹¹⁾

Chi-nang of course is another name for Gūn Bilik Mergen Jinong 衮必里克墨爾根濟農 one of Dayan Khan's grandsons, that is, another translation of Jinong 濟農, the title of the highest Mongol noble which he held. Since Bars Bolod 巴爾斯博羅特, namely Gun Bilik's father, and Dayan Khan's third son had been appointed to the Jinong of the three Tümens of Rightwing 右翼三萬戶, this had been the hereditary title of the family. However, Bars Bolod

-
- (10) 吉囊數踏冰入。尙文築牆百二十里，澆以水，冰溜不可上，冰泮則令力士持長竿鐵鉤，鉤殺渡者。九年，擢署都督僉事，充寧夏總兵官。
- (11) 初虜賊擁衆數萬入河套，乘冰渡河，犯寧夏，總兵官杭雄迎敵，爲虜所敗，亡失甚多，守臣以聞....
- (12) 世宗嘉靖八年冬十月，吉囊·俺答寇榆林·寧夏塞，總督王瓊率兵禦却之。初小王子有三子，長阿爾倫，次阿著，次滿官嗷。阿爾倫既死，二子皆幼。阿著稱小王子，未幾死。衆立阿爾倫子卜赤。而阿著子二，曰吉囊，曰俺答，強甚。小王子雖稱君長，不相總攝也。

Jinong was known to the Ming Chinese by Sai-na-la 賽那刺 (a corruption of Sain Alak 賽音阿拉克) and Noyandara Jinong 諾延達喇濟農 Gün Bilik's eldest son Chi-nêng 吉能 another transliteration of Jinong, but as the Ming Chinese, it seems, made it a rule to employ a different term, it would be generally correct to assign Chi-nang 吉囊 always to Gün Bilik. To begin with, the title Jinong 濟農 first appears in the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* 蒙古源流 when in the year Chi-wei (1439?) Taisung Khan 岱總汗 ascended to the rank of Khan and his younger brother Akbarji 阿噶巴爾濟 was made Jinong 濟農. According to SCHMIDT who translated the *Yüan-liu* into German, Dschin-Ong 濟農 is a nobility title corrupted from the Chinese original Tsin-Wang 親王 (royal prince); which in Mongolia corresponded to the viceroy who governed part of the land and was awarded on a younger brother or sons.⁽¹³⁾ An-ta 俺答 is another transliteration of the name for Altan 阿勒坦 the younger brother of Chi-nang 吉囊.

The name Chi-nang 吉囊 appears in the *Shih-lu* since his invasion in February, the 12th year of Chia-ching (1533) and also appears frequently in *Pêng-chi* 本紀 and *Ta-tan-chuan* 韃靼傳 of the *Ming-shih* 明史 since the same year; but the *Shih-lu* under December, the 15th year of the same era (1536) gives the official report to the Emperor by CHAO Tsai 趙載, Hsün-wu-kan-su-yu-ch'ien-tu-yü-shih 巡撫甘肅右僉都御史 in which this occurs: "Chi-nang, Ordos barbarian frequently invaded the boundary area. He also intended to rule over the Little Prince. On his account the boundary area was considerably disturbed...." How could we suppose that the Little Prince, namely Dayan Khan, still lived at this time?

Now, the *History of Mongol Lamaism*, after an account of Dayan Khan's life, says: "Thus Dayan Khan ascended the throne at 74 years of age and deceased at 80 years of age in the year Kuei-mao (1543)." However, this must be an error, for it meant that he reigned for 74 years. Though the *Altan Tobchi* says: "Dayan Qa'an died aged forty four."⁽¹⁴⁾ it certainly implies that he reigned for 44 years, because his life as it stands would be too short to extend over the birth-years of his children. If his reign extended for 44 years from the 18th year of Ch'êng-hua (1482), it would last till the 4th year of Chia-ching; this would seem quite adequate. For this reason, "he died aged forty four", in the *Altan Tobchi* should be interpreted as "he reigned for 44 years."

Dayan Khan's sons and grandsons will be fully discussed later. Since his first son Törö Bolod had died while young, his eldest grandson Bodi Alak Khan succeeded him. Now, a question arises concerning A-chu his second

(13) I. J. SCHMIDT.; *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, p. 405. Note 17.

(14) *Mōko Ramakyō-shi* p. 61. *Mōko Ūgon-shi* p. 179. *Karachin-bon Mōko Genryū*, Bk. 4, p. 21.

son. As he was the father of Chi-nang and Altan, he could not have been the real second son; he was evidently the third son Bars Bolod. This A-chu called himself the Little Prince, but died before long. The people supported Pu-ch'ih a son of A-êrh-lun.⁽¹⁵⁾ This account from the *Ming-shih-chi-shih-pêng-mo* is probably based on the *Wu-hsüeh-pien*, for *Kuang-ming-pei-lu-k'ao* 皇明北虜考 in *Wu-hsüeh-pien* has the following passage:

“In the Chêng-tê era, the Little Prince had three sons: the eldest A-êrh-lun, the second son A-chu, and the Man-kuan-chên. Taishi I-pu-la murdered A-êrh-lun....A-êrh-lun had two sons: the elder Pu-ch'ih and the younger Mieh-ming 也明. They were both small. A-chu called himself the Little Prince, but died before long. The people supported Pu-ch'ih (Bodi Khan) and called him I-k'o-han 亦克罕”.⁽¹⁶⁾

About the same account is found in *Ta-tan-k'ao* 韃靼考 and *Chin-yen* 今言 of the same book. Apart from these, the *Lung-wan-liang-chao-p'ing-jang-lu* 隆萬兩朝平攘錄 (Bk. 1) by CHU-KO Yüan-shêng 諸葛元聲 remarks on Altan as “Altan was the Little Prince, the son of Sai-na-lang 賽那郎”. Sai-na-lang is Sai-na-la 賽那刺 in the *Ssü-i-k'ao* 四夷考 by YEH Hsiang-kao 葉向高 and in the *Pei-lu-shih-hsi* 北虜世系 by SIAO Ta-hêng 蕭大亨, Sai-na-lang-han 賽那浪罕 in the *Têng-t'an-pi-chiu* 登壇必究 by WANG Ming-hê 王鳴鶴, and Si-a-lang 認阿郎 under Ting-yu 丁酉 July, the 20th year of Chia-ching in the *Shih-tsung-shih-lu* 世宗實錄 of Ming all represent one and the same person, namely a corruption of Sain Alak 賽音阿拉克, another name for Bars Bolod. Therefore, Bars Bolod here is likewise called the Little Prince. The Little Prince is of course another term for Khaghan 可汗 since Ukektü Khan 烏珂克圖汗 (Mergürkis 麻兒可兒). As this had always referred to Khaghan it must be supposed that Bars Bolod at this time ascended to the rank of Khan. Especially, the fact that the *Têng-t'an-pi-chiu* gives Sai-na-lang-han 賽那浪罕 deserves notice; for han 罕 being Khan 汗, this must be considered another circumstantial evidence that Sain Alak called himself a Khan.

This matter is represented more clearly by *Altan Tobchi*;

“The eldest son of Dayan Qaγan, Törü Bolod, died without descendants before reigning. His younger brother Ulus Bolod, died at the hands of Ibarai Tayisi before reigning. After that, saying that Bodi Alaγ was small, his uncle sat on the great royal throne.

After that, Bodi Alaγ, taking the Jegün Gurban Tümen, went to the Eight White Houses, and bowed and said: ‘I will sit on the royal throne.’

He said to the Ĵinong, Barsu Bolod: ‘When I was young you reigned

(15) Cf. Note No. 12.

(16) 正德間，小王子三子，長阿爾倫，次阿著，次滿官曠。太師亦不剌弒阿爾倫....阿爾倫二子，長卜赤，次也明，皆幼。阿著稱小王子，未幾死。衆立卜赤稱亦克罕。

irregularly. Now, bow to me. If you do not bow, I shall fight you.' Thus he reprimanded him rudely. At these words the Ĵinong Bars Bolod bowed, saying: 'The Qaŕan is right.' He said: 'I will bow.' Bodi Ala Qaŕan said: 'If you say this, it is good again,' and having bowed to the Eight White Houses he sat on the great throne."⁽¹⁷⁾

As to the story of this usurpation of the throne, nothing is said in the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu*. If there were a period of usurpation of Bars Bolod, the reign of Dayan Khan would become further shortened. However, as to this, there is another strange version. According to it, it would seem that Dayan Khan, while living, abdicated the throne in favor for the middle son A-chu, and later on the throne was handed over to Bodi. According to the *Wan-li-wu-kung-lu* 萬曆武功錄 (Bk. 7, 俺答列傳 Pt. 1) by CH'U Chiu-ssü 瞿九思, continued from under the item the 7th year of Chêng-tê occurs the following passage:

"In the winter of his 7th year, Pa-yen-mêng-k'o 伯顏猛可 Khaghan of the barbarian, handed over the throne to the middle son A-pu-hai-a-chu-pu-sun 阿不亥阿著不孫. Pa-yen had three sons: the eldest A-êrh-lun, the next A-chu, and the youngest Man-kuan-ch'ên. After a long time, A-êrh-lun died. He left two sons: the elder Pu-ch'ih, and the younger Mich-ming. Both were yu-ku 幼孤 (small helpless children). Pa-yen made A-chu succeed to the throne. He was called the Little Prince."⁽¹⁸⁾

Again, continued from under his 16th year, occurs the following passage:

"At that time barbarian Khaghan A-chu died. The tribesmen supported the eldest son Pu-ch'ih of the late Taiĵi A-êrh-lun. He is called I-k'o-han 亦克罕. I-k'o-han is the Khaghan in the barbarian language."⁽¹⁹⁾

As will be explained later, Pa-yen-mêng-k'o of course should read Batu Môngke⁽²⁰⁾ and A-pu-hai-a-chu-pu-sun is A-chu.⁽²¹⁾ This account is found nowhere else, and it is not unknown where it came from. According to this, however, Pa-yen-mêng-k'o, nemely Dayan Khan in the 7th year of Chêng-tê handed over the throne to his middle son A-chu, namely Bars Bolod, and he no doubt became a Khaghan (the Little Prince) and held the post until

(17) BAWDEN, *Altan Tobĵi*, p. 191. *Mōko Ōgon-shi* pp. 180-181. *Karachin-bon Mōko Genryū*, *ibid.*

(18) 其七年冬，虜可汗伯顏猛可，禪仲子阿不亥阿著不孫。伯顏生三子，長阿爾倫，次阿著，次滿官曠。久之，阿爾倫死，遺二子，長卜赤，次包明，皆幼孤。伯顏乃以阿著嗣，稱小王子。

(19) 時虜可汗阿著死。部人立故阿爾倫台吉之長子卜赤，號亦克罕。亦克罕者，虜言可汗也。

(20) Cf. The following section: "The Two Dayan Khans."

(21) As to why Bars Bolod is called A-chu, nothing is known. But in the *Chu-yü-chou-tzŭ-lu* 殊域周咨錄 by YEN Ts'ung-chien 嚴從簡 and the *Wan-li-wu-kung-lu*, he is likewise represented as A-cho-pu-sun 阿著不孫。

the 16th year of Chêng-tê. Since it says, "He handed over the throne to the middle son A-pu-hai-a-cho-pu-sun" it seems that Dayan Khan retired while living, handing over the throne to A-chu and A-chu ascended to the throne of the Khan. This certainly agrees with the view of the aforesaid *Altan Tobchi*. This agreement of the accounts both Chinese and Mongolian would certainly prove that Bars Bolod Sain Alak for some time pretended to be Khaghan (the Little Prince).

That while Dayan Khan was the Great Khan there was a Lesser Khan to protect him may be seen from the following message with which Altan Khan entreated Daraisun Khan Dayan Khan's grandson in the *Yüan-liu* (Bk. 6):

"(Sain) Alak the second son of Altan came to receive him, and begged the Khan to bestow on him a title by saying, 'Peace reigns over the land now. Formerly, for protecting the Khan, there was one with the title Sutu Khan 索多汗 or Lesser Khan. I wish you would honour me with this title. I desire to support your reign faithfully.' The Khan consented and bestowed on him the title of Sutu Khan."⁽²²⁾

From this we may suppose that Sain Alak was such a Lesser Khan under a retired Great Khan. Though the previously cited Ming account says, "Pu-ch'ih was called I-k'o-han. I-k'o-han is the Khaghan in the barbarian language", this explanation is mistaken; for I-k'o-han was probably Yeke Khan (Great Khan), and the reason Bodi Khan (Pu-ch'ih) adopted this term because his predecessor Khaghan Sain Alak had been considered a comparatively lesser Khan he called himself for the purpose of distinguishing himself. As A-pu-hai 阿不亥 or Abaghai in A-pu-hai A-cho-pu-sun is said to mean an uncle in the Mongol language, while Bodi was a small boy, it may be supposed, he exercised his power as an uncle. Moreover, a Ming account (the *Têng-t'an-pi-chiu* enumerates the names of the successive Mongol Khans, placing Ha-pu-hai Khan 哈不害罕 (or A-pu-hai Khan 阿不亥罕) immediately after Ta-yen Khan 答言罕 (Dayan Khan)⁽²³⁾.

However, on the mere strength of the dates the 7th year and the 16th year and the 16th year of Chêng-tê, this could not be accepted so readily because, as will be discussed later, the 7th year of Chêng-tê being the year in which Dayan Khan destroyed the old Right-wing 右翼 forces and appointed Bars Bolod as Jinong in their stead it is evident that his eldest son Törö Bolod was still living; therefore when the *Yüan-liu* says that Törö Bolod, in the year Kuei-mao (the 2nd year of Chia-ching, 1523) died at 42 years of age, it may

(22) 阿拉克第二子阿勒坦來迎，向汗求賜號云，「今統治已平，原有護衛汗，治索多汗小汗之號，祈即將此號賜我，我情願護衛大統，汗然之，遂與以索多汗之號。

(23) Cf. The following section on "The Enfeoffment of His Sons."

be trusted as an approximately accurate account. In view of the succession law in those days, a younger son could not ascend to the throne while the eldest son was still living; so the statement that in the 7th year of Chêng-tê Pa-yen (Dayan Khan) made A-chu succeed and called him the Little Prince, is probably the misrepresentation of his appointment as the Right-wing Jinong. Again the account that in the 16th year of Chêng-tê Pu-ch'ih or Bodi Khan became I-k'o-han may be doubted. This may be another erroneous date.

In the *Yüan-liu* (Bk. 6) we read that, after the description of Dayan Khan's death in the year Kuei-mao (the 22nd year of Chia-ching, 1543), his eldest son Törö Bolod died under the reign of Khan, in the year Kuei-wei 癸未 (the 2nd year of Chia-ching, 1523), at 42 years of age. The son of Törö Bolod, Bodi Taiji was born in the year Chia-tzū 甲子, (the 17th year of Hung-chih 弘治, 1905), and was enthroned at the age of 41 years in the year Chia-chên (the 23rd year of Chia-ching, 1544.).

The interval between the 2nd year of Chia-ching in which Törö Bolod died, and the 23rd year of the same era when Bodi Khan was enthroned was the best opportunity for the usurpation of Khanate. Therefore, the assumption of the title Little Prince most probably took place during the period. Now, *yu-ku* 幼孤 (a small helpless child) customarily refers to a child of about ten years old. Seeing that, at the time of Törö Bolod's death, Bodi Khan was no doubt 20 years old, a grown-up man, he could hardly be called "yu-ku". However, it is conceived that by some measure or other, the man managed to usurp Khanate during this period. And the period was no doubt comparatively brief.

As Sain Alak's death is given in the *Yüan-liu* as in the year Hsin-mao 辛卯 (the 10th year of Chia-ching, 1531) he died at 48; so if this be accepted, Bodi Khan's succession to Khanate probably took place approximately as this time. There is no doubt that in his last years Dayan Khan carried out a conquest of Uriyangkai 烏梁海 or 兀良罕. On that occasion, the *Yüan-liu* says, "While pledging loyalty to Bars Bolod Jinong's son, leading Right-wing three Tümen, he attacked from the front and invaded the land." Among the chiefs who responded to the call are given in the chiefs who responded to the call are given in the *I-yü* 譯語 of the Ming only such names: Pa-tu-êrh 把都兒, Na-lin Taiji 納林台吉, Ch'êng Taiji 成台吉, Hsüeh-la Taiji 血刺台吉, Mong-hui 莽晦, An-da 俺答, Chi-ning 己寧; judging from the fact that Bars Bolod himself is not among them, this happened after his death. However, as Dayan Khan died after adjusting the matters relative to this conquest, the date must be at the earliest the 11th or 12th year of Chia-ching. And following that, Bodi Khan ascended to the Khanate.

Studied from other sources, it may be said that Dayan Khan was after

all a most splendid ruler who unified Mongolia ; with admirable manipulation of troops and manner of paying tribute.

For instance, the report to the emperor made by Hsu Ning 許寧 Tsung-pin-Kuan of Ta-t'ung 大同 and others, which occurs under June, the 19th year of Ch'êng-hua 成化 says: "The Little Prince the Chief of barbarian on the 11th of this month leading over 30,000 horsemen invaded the boundary extending their divisions east and west over more than 50 *li*." Another entry under July, the following year a passage reads: "On July 28th the barbarians reunited invaded Ta-t'ung castle on Ma-pu-shan 馬鋪山 extending east and west over more than 150 *li*." Again, under May, the 10th year of Hung-chih 弘治 it says: "The barbarians come over the Ta-t'ung boundary, extending their divisions over 30 *li*." The report, in May, the 12th year of the same era, to the emperor by WANG Êrh 王璽 the Tu-tu-ch'ien-shih 都督僉事 of Ta-t'ung reads: "A spy reported that four divisions out of the barbarians in five divisions numbering over several ten thousand set out marching east while one division attempted to attack Hsüan-fu 宣府 to avenge themselves." Under May, the 13th year, the following year, it says: "The barbarians supported by numerous men invaded the boundary on Ta-t'ung-tso-way 大同左衛. From the 17th to the 23rd of April, they engaged in murdering and plundering." Again, under June, the 17th year of the same era, it says: "At that time the northern barbarian the Little Prince camped across the boundary on Ta-t'ung and Hsüan-fu. They extended over 30 or 40 *li*." Moreover, during the Chêng-tê era, this is written: "In January, the barbarians supported by numerous men invaded Ta-t'ung and on three roads surrounded SHEN Chou 神周 Vice Tsung-pin on Ts'ao-to-shan 草垛山". Again, "In June, CHIH Yang 知烺 Prince of Chin 晉王 reported that several thousand barbarians invaded Pien-tou-kuan 偏頭關 and entering Yen-mên 鴈門, finally Wu-t'ai 五臺, Fan-chih 繁峙, Hsiang 崞, Hsin 忻 etc., They penetrated the land to a great extent, doing heavy damages." "In June, the 9th year, the defender of Hsüan-fu reported that Ta-tan 鞑靼 barbarian supported by 40,000 men entered Hsi-hai-tzŭ 西海子 and plundered." "In July, the northern barbarian the Little Prince, assembling several dozen divisions, approached the boundary of Hsüan-fu and Ta-t'ung, and attempted to invade Tien-ch'ên 天城 and Yang-ho 陽和: and despatching 10,000 horsemen entered Huai-an 懷安." "In August, the barbarians invaded Pai-yang-k'ou 白羊口 and Fou-t'u-ku 浮圖峪. Their divisions extended over several dozen *li*." "In September, over 50,000 barbarian horsemen entered the land by way of Hsin-kai-k'ou 新開口 of Wan-chüan-wei-yu-wei 萬全衛右衛 of Hsüan-fu, crossed Huai-an and sweeping through Wei-chou 蔚州 and other places, plundered. Besides, 30,000 horsemen entered the land from the south of P'ing-lu-ch'êng 平虜城." In as late as August, the 15 year, "The barbarians

stationed themselves on the west road of Hsüan-fu, and in Pa-êrh-tun 把兒墩, To-luan-tsui 朶蠻嘴, and Niu-hsin-shan 牛心山. Each division extended over 30 or 40 *li*." And in January, the first year of Hung-chih, introducing himself as Ta-yüan-ta-k'o-kan 大元大可汗 (Great Khaghan of great Yüan) paid tribute to the Chinese court and in the 9th year and 10th year, he paid tribute to the court.⁽²⁴⁾

Judging from his admirable attitude, he was not like the later barbarian chief who in February, the 13th year of Chia-ching, came to Ta-t'ung castle on the invitation of the rebels of Ta-t'ung and was pleased with the remark "We will offer this for your dwelling place." The latter was probably Bodi Khan or one of his party. He could not have been the high-spirited Ta-yüan-ta-k'o-kan (Dayan Khan). Bodi Khan's succession to Dayan Khan surely took place in this interval. As previously stated, around the 15th year of Chia-ching the Ming Chinese were saying, "Chi-nang 吉囊 Ordos barbarian frequently invaded the frontier; he also intended to rule over the Little Prince." Is it possible to conceive that Dayan Khan was still living? Even this Chi-nang passed away before long.

According to the annals of the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* (Bk. 6):

"To begin with, Sain Alak's father⁽²⁵⁾, when 29 years old, in the year Jên-shên (the 7th year of Chêng-tê, 1512) was made Jinong. Reigning for 20 years, he died at 48 in the year Hsin-mao (the 11th year of Chia-ching, 1531). After this, Gün Bilik Mergen Jinong, in the year Jên-chên (the 11th year of Chia-ching, 1532) and at 27 was made Jinong.... Mergen Jinong, 19 years after becoming Jinong died at 45 in the year Kêng-hsü (the 20th year of Chia-ching, 1550)."⁽²⁶⁾

However, according to the Ming record, Chi-nang 吉囊 had already died approximately the 21st year of Chia-ching⁽²⁷⁾ Dayan Khan could not have

(24) As for the invasions and tribute-paying tours of Dayan Khans, the items under the date in the *Shih-lu* and the *Wu-pien-tien-tse* 五邊典則 by HSU Jih-chiu 徐日久 (Bk. 6, 7) have been consulted.

(25) This means Sain Alak who is father, a peculiar Mongol expression.

(26) 初賽音阿拉克之父, 年二十九歲, 於壬申年, 爲濟農, 在位二十年, 歲次辛卯, 四十八歲卒. 其後, 衮必里克墨爾根濟農, 歲次壬辰, 年二十七歲爲濟農.

(27) Though the date of the death of Chi-nang 吉囊 is given in the *Yüan-liu* as occurring in the year Kêng-hsü (the 29th year of Chia-ching), the *Shih-lu*, under April, the 25th year of Chia-ching, already says "虜酋吉囊遺孽狼台吉等云々.... (Lang Taiji, orphan of the barbarian chief Chi-nang and others....)", and under July of the same year even his son's name Chi-nêng 吉能 appears. So it is evident that he had died some time prior to this. Moreover, the Ming accounts in the *Kuang-ming-pei-lu-k'ao* of the *Wu-hsüeh Pien*, the *Ssü-i-k'ao* by YEH, the *Ming-shan-tsang*, the *Ta-tan-chuan* of the *Ming shih* all these put his death under the 21st year of Chia-ching, and explain that, after the great invasion in July the same year, he was infected with the disease of a prostitute of Hsin-tai 忻代 whom he captured and died of exhaustion. Referring to

been living after Jinong his Right-wing died. The *I-yü* 譯語 by Min-ê-shan-jên 岷峨山人 is a record of what Su Chih-kao 蘇志皋 who was Fen-shou-k'oupei-tao 分守口北道 saw and heard about the 23rd or 24th year of Chia-ching, in which he put down the information of the Little Prince in those days as follows: "His name is not accurately known. He is now over 40 years old." It does not say anything about the succession of Khanate which had taken place recently. This must show that Dayan Khan had died a long time before and it was the reign of Bodi Khan who was now in the prime of life. These dates would agree with those of the annals given in the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu*.

At any rate, the 6th or 7th year of Chia-ching must have been in the period in which Chi-nang and Altan were active, and if it should be supposed that Sain Alak's usurpation of the Khanate took place during this period, Dayan Khan, it would seem, had retired and was then something like a guardian after it. As stated later, Dayan Khan's last attack on Uriyangkhai took place in the 7th year of the 11th or 12th year of Chia-ching; therefore, it would follow that Dayan Khan was living at this time. Therefore, it is impossible to suppose that the reign of Dayan Khan, as the *Yüan-liu* says, continued from the 6th year of Ch'êng-hua to the 22nd year of Chia-ching and was so long as 74 years. It was really from the 17th or 18th year of Ch'êng-hua to the 11th or 12th year of Chia-ching, namely, somewhat over 50 years.

II. The Two Dayan Khans

To make the matter worse, the Ming accounts even for this period read as if there existed two so-called Dayan Khans instead of one. The *Huang-ming-pei-lu-k'ao* when discussing the Khanate since Mandaghul says:

"Before long Man-lu-tu 滿魯都 (a misspelling for Man-tu-lu 滿都魯 or Mandaghul) grew so weak that they could not tell when he would die. Thereupon, Prince Batu Möngke 把禿猛可 or 巴圖蒙克, Taishi 太師 I-ssü-ma-yin 亦思馬因 and Chih-yin 知院 T'o-lo-kan 脫羅干 frequently dispatched messengers with horses as a tribute. And as Batu Möngke died at the beginning of Hung-chih, A-tai 阿歹 choosing his younger brother Bayan Möngke 伯顏猛可 or 巴延蒙克, made him the Prince."⁽²⁸⁾

The identical matter is given in the *Pei-lu-k'ao* in *Ssü-i-k'ao* 四夷考北虜考

the annals of the invasions of the northern tribes, no invasion of the northern tribes represented by the name of Chi-nang occurs after this year. Therefore, the account in the *Yüan-liu* should not be followed. The death of Chi-nang must be dated at the latest back to the 21st or 22nd year of Chia-ching.

(28) 未幾，滿魯都衰弱，不知所終。而把禿猛可王，太師亦思馬因。知院脫羅干屢遣人貢馬。弘治初，把禿猛可死，阿歹立其弟伯顏猛可爲王。

by YEH Hsiang-kao 葉向高 as follows:

"At this time Man-lu-tu became so weak that they could not tell when he would die. This invader was also named the Little Prince. This man was called Prince Batu Mōngke, that is, he was the successor of the late Little Prince.... The Little Prince died and his younger brother Bayan Mōngke became the Little Prince in his place."⁽²⁹⁾

Ho Chiao-yüan 何喬遠 gives almost the same sentences under Ta-tan 鞑韃 in Wang-hsiang-chi 王享記 in *Ming-shan-tsung* 名山藏. The *Wan-li-wu-kung-lu* (Bk. 7) in connection with the 18th year of Ch'êng-hua, says:

"That winter Man-lu-tu died. Ma-i-ssü-yin 馬亦思因 (a misspelling for I-ssü-ma-yin 亦思馬因), choosing Batu Mōngke, made him the Khaghan and called him the Little Prince again. He dispatched a messenger with horses as tribute."⁽³⁰⁾

Later, in connection with the 1st year of Hung-chih, 1488, it is written:

"That winter the foreign Khaghan Batu Mōngke died. [His younger brother Bayan Mōngke succeeded him."⁽³¹⁾

Though the *Wu-kung-lu* is a dubious book, it gives the date of the succession of the Khaghan. On account of these accounts, for some time I supposed they be right.⁽³²⁾

These refer to the frequent invasions of the Little Prince during the Ch'êng-hua era. For instance, under the year Hsin-wei 辛未 the 22nd year of Ch'êng-hua, the *Shih-lu* of Ming says:

"Ku-shih 克失 the Chief of Oirad 瓦剌 considering the Little Prince in the north ever threatening to disturb the frontier and interrupting his route for paying tribute to the court, desired to borrow the troops of the three garrisons of Ming and conquer him in the winter of that year. Leaving Tai-ning-wei 泰寧衛 in trust, he dispatching Hsu A-lao-wu 徐阿

(29) 是時，滿魯都已衰弱，不知所終。其入寇者復稱小王子，或稱把禿猛可王，即故小王子後也，... 小王子死，弟伯顏猛可代為小王子。

(30) 其冬，滿魯都死。馬亦思因立把禿猛可為可汗，亦曰小王子，尋遣使貢馬。

(31) 其冬，虜可汗把禿猛可死，弟伯顏猛可嗣。

(32) As a matter of fact, Mr. Yui Bayan mistook him for two men: 按史料所記的達延汗，實為二人；成化六年即汗位者，系指兄巴圖蒙克（明代史料作把禿猛可），弘治元年遣使至明者，系指弟巴延蒙克（明史作伯顏猛可），史料概稱二人為大元可汗即達延汗。（A study historical accounts shows that they actually make Dayan Khan to be two men. The one who assumed the Khantate in the 6th year of Ch'êng-hua 成化 in the elder brother Batu Mōngke 巴圖蒙克 which is spelt 把禿猛可 in the *Ming-tai-shih-liao* and the other who sent an envoy to the Ming court in the 1st year of Hung-chih 弘治 is the younger brother Batu Mōngke 巴圖蒙克 spelt 伯顏猛可 in the *Ming-shih*. Most historical accounts name the two men as Ta-yüan-k'o-kan 大元可汗 namely Ta-yen-ken 達延汗 Dayan Khan). *Nei-mêng-ku-li-shih-kai-yao* 內蒙古歷史概要 (Brief history of Inner Mongolia).

勞兀⁽³³⁾ and others who brought a barbarian language report to the throne. A-lao-wu and others also says, 'The Little Prince intended to invade in the month of September. His whereabouts was not known.'⁽³⁴⁾

Under the year I-yu 乙酉, May, the 1st year of Hung-chih (1480), two years later, it reads:

"Prior to this, the northern barbarian the Little Prince leading his tribesmen secretly approached the Ta-t'ung borderland. He struck camps extending over more than 30 *li*, threatening to invade at any moment. Thereupon, a barbarian language message asking for paying tribute. But the phraseology was extremely haughty, calling himself the great Khaghan of the great Yüan 大元大可汗. Furthermore, he had the 15th of June as the last day and hear from the emperor. The defence officer hereby makes a report to the throne."⁽³⁵⁾

Under I-ch'ou 乙丑, September, the same year, it says:

"Bayan Mōngke in the north dispatching his envoy Tung-ha 桶哈 and others paid tribute."⁽³⁶⁾

And under Kuei-mao, March, the 23rd year of Ch'eng-hua (1487) dated between the two foregoing accounts occurs the following:

"LIU Chuan 劉潺 Hsün-wu-liao-tung-tu-yü-shih 巡撫遼東都御史 and others report to the throne that the barbarians in Pu-lan-han-wei 卜蘭罕衛 and T'ai-ning-wei report that according to a rumor, the Little Prince was already dead, and they desired to proceed to pay tribute by way of Hsi-fêng-k'ou 喜峯口. By the way, T'ai-ning-wei is identical with the horse market...."⁽³⁷⁾

Based on the foregoing, I have concluded that the first Little Prince Batu Mōngke died in the last year of Ch'eng-hua and the next Little Prince who came beginning of Hung-chih was most probably Prince Bayan Mōngke.

However, Prince Bayan Mōngke is represented in later accounts under February, the 4th year of Hung-chih (1491), and under May, the 11th year of the same era (1498) as "Prince Bayan Mōngke and Huo-êrh-hu-li 火兒忽力

(33) He was originally a Chinese. The sequence to the *Shih-lu* says: 阿勞兀自題, 本名安, 爲御用監銀土, 正統末爲也先所虜, 嘗奉先帝遺命, 留處虜中, 其後逃入泰寧隨住, 今乞授之職事, 事下, 兵部謂, 六月中哈密傳報, 克失已死, 而今報不同者, 蓋安等入瓦剌, 在前年故也, 其云小王子欲來寇邊, 似亦不虛...遂陞安爲泰寧衛副千戶....

(34) 瓦剌會長克失, 以迤北小王子常爲邊患, 且阻其入貢之道, 欲以今年冬, 借三衛兵, 往劫之. 預托泰寧衛, 遣徐阿勞兀等, 齎番文來奏. 阿勞兀等又云, 小王子欲以九月中爲寇, 未知所往.

(35) 先是, 北虜小王子率部落, 潛住大同近邊, 營互三十餘里, 勢將入寇. 至是, 奉番書求貢, 書辭悖慢, 自稱大元大可汗. 且期六月十五日齎聖旨來, 守臣以聞.

(36) 迤北伯顏猛可王遣使臣桶哈等來貢.

(37) 巡撫遼東都御史劉潺等奏, 卜蘭罕衛與泰寧衛夷人傳報, 小王子已死, 且言欲從喜峯口入貢, 因與泰寧衛同於馬市交易,....

Taishi of Oirad dispatched the envoy Nu-li 努力 and others to pay tribute"; it is always Prince Bayan Môngke; therefore this could not be identified with the Little Prince, the Ta-yüan-ta-k'o-kan 大元大可汗. The report in the 23rd year of Ch'êng-hua to the effect that according to a rumor, the Little Prince was already dead, was lightly taken up only as a mere rumor, and could not readily be accepted as a fact. At least, so far as the Mongol accounts are concerned, not merely the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu*, but the *Altan Tobchi*, the *History of the Mongolian Lamaism*, the *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p'u* the *Mêng-ku-wang-kung-piao-chuan*, all these unanimously give Batu Môngke 巴圖蒙克 as the only man for Dayan Khan and fail to recognize another man named Bayan Môngke 伯顏猛可. Indeed, the present-day Chinese translation of the *Mêng-ku-yüan-lu* (Bk. 5) says; "In the year Mou-tzũ 戊子 (the 4th year of Ch'êng-hua, 1468), Bolkho Jinong 博勒呼濟農, at the age of 29 years, begot his son Bayan Môngke 巴延蒙克." It would seem as if Batu Môngke 巴圖蒙克 had Bayan Môngke as his younger brother, but Bayan Môngke was really a name of Bolkho Jinong. This was so carelessly compiled as to include such an erroneous item, as Mr. Minoru Gō and others have definitely demonstrated.⁽³⁸⁾ I am of the opinion that, though this text is missing in the Mongol original, this text might be correct;—that is, Batu Môngke had a younger brother named Bayan Môngke 巴延蒙克 represented in the Ming accounts as Bayan Môngke 伯顏猛可. Besides consulting the Mongol genealogy given in the Ming accounts, it may be seen that the *Têng-t'an-pi-chiu* (Bk. 23), Bolkho Jinong 卜兒戶吉農 (博勒呼濟農), has Da-yin-han 答言罕 (Dayan Khan), one son for one generation; and in the *Pei-lu-shih-hsi* 北虜世系 also Tai-yen-ha 歹顏哈 (Dayan Khan) has one son, the number of children being limited to one for each generation. Should Dayan Khan during the Ch'êng-hua and Hung-chih period be divided into two Dayan Khans, of the famous eleven children a smaller number would be of the elder brother Batu Môngke 把禿猛可 and a greater number of the younger brother Bayan Môngke 伯顏猛可. But no such traces could be found. Dayan Khan was the greatest Khaghan that restored Mongol prosperity. How should this question be settled? It is the most important question that every Mongol is eagerly watching. And as a matter of fact, in Mongolia there is always only one Dayan Khan, namely Batu Môngke. I could not help believing that. The abovesited report made by LIU Chuan should be rejected as a false hearsay.

(38) *Mōko Genryū* translated by Mr. Minoru Gō, Bk. 5, p. 113, Note, p. 25. The *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu-chien-chêng* 蒙古源流箋証 by CHANG Êrh-tien 張爾田 (Bk. 5) also annotates: "Êrh-tien is of the opinion that Bolkho Jinong 博勒呼濟農 is the title of Pa-yen-mêng-k'o 巴延蒙克. Yen 延 should read for tu 圖. In the sequence to another edition, Pa-tu-mêng-k'o 巴圖蒙克 is also erroneously spelt Pa-yen-mêng-k'o 巴延蒙克."

Indeed, Ta-tan-chuan 韃靼傳 in the *Ming-shih* (Bk. 327) in discussing this point, says:

“There was not an idle year until the end of the Ch'êng-hua era when I-ssü-ma-yin 亦思馬因 died. The invader was also named the Little Prince. Also there was Prince Bayan Möngke. In the summer of the 1st year of Hung-chih, the Little Prince dispatching a message to the throne asking for paying tribute. He called himself Ta-yüan-ta-k'o-kan 大元大可汗. The court endeavored to treat him politely and granted it. From this time on Prince Bayan Möngke and others frequently came to pay tribute. Before long they came and went throughout the vast land for plundering appearing and disappearing at will.”⁽³⁹⁾

Thus it distinguishes the Little Prince and Prince Bayan Möngke. The *History of the Mongols* by HOWORTH does not recognize the change in generations, “This is clearly a mistake, which has probably arisen from the confusion between the name Batu and the title Dayan.”⁽⁴⁰⁾ Dayan could not have been corrupted to be Bayan. Still it is to his credit that he does not recognize the change in generations.

Let me say a word on Ta-yüan-ta-k'o-kan 大元大可汗. It is said that as the Northern Yüan declined, the Mongols changed the title to Ta-tan-k'o-kan 韃靼可汗, but this is nothing but an erroneous title on the part of the Ming Chinese.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The truth is that in Mongolia the people still called themselves Mongols, and their khaghan Ta-yüan-ta-k'o-kan (the great Khaghan of the Ta-yüan). This being the case, Esen 也先 of Oirad also called himself Ta-yüan-t'ien-shêng-ta-k'o-kan 大元天聖大可汗.⁽⁴²⁾ This accounts for the fact that the Little Prince called himself Ta-yüan-ta-k'o-kan. CHANG Mu 張穆 of Ch'ing in discussing this in his *Mêng-ku-yu-mu-chi* 蒙古游牧記 (Bk. 7) says; “In the translation by a Ming Chinese Dayan Khan is translated as Ta-yüan-ta-k'o-kan. Ta-yüan 大元 is a mistake for Ta-yen 達延 (Dayan). The *Cha-ha-êrh-shih-hsi* 察哈爾世系, makes him Po-tu-t'o-ku-tai-yin-kan 跋圖拖克代音汗.” When he says that Ta-yüan is a mistake for Ta-yen of course the reverse is right. T'o 拖 in 跋圖拖克代音汗 must be a mistake for some character, and an alternative transliteration of a sound similar to Pa-tu-mêng-ku-ta-yen-kan, 巴圖蒙古達延汗.

(39) 迨成化末, 無寧歲, 亦思馬因死。入寇者復稱小王子, 又有伯顏猛可王。弘治元年夏, 小王子奉書求貢, 自稱大元大可汗, 朝廷方務優容, 許之。自是與伯顏猛可王等屢入貢, 漸往來套中, 出沒為寇。

(40) HOWORTH, *History of the Mongols*, I, p. 371.

(41) The Ta-tan-chuan of *Ming-shih* says: “The title of the emperor is unknown. A man named Kuei-li-ch'ih 鬼力赤 usurped the throne and assumed the title of Khaghan 可汗. Giving up the state title, he finally called it Ta-tan 韃靼”. This groundless false statement. Cf. Min-dai no Mōko 明代の蒙古 (Mongolia in Ming Period) by Yoshito HARADA 原田淑人, *Tōa-dōbun-kai-hōkoku* 東亞同文會報告 No. 108, Nov., 1908.

(42) Sei WADA, Uriyangkha Sanei ni kansuru Kenkyū, *op. cit.*,

When the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* (Bk. 5) says that Mandughai Sechen Khatun 滿都海徹辰福晉, supporting the Little Prince desired of controlling the country of Ta-yen 達延, he finally called himself Ta-yen-kan 達延汗, because no country with the title Ta-yen existed what is implied here is the people of the Mongolia or Ta-yüan country which is translated as "der gesammite Volk" in SCHMIDT's German translation⁽⁴³⁾ Ta-yen-kan 達延汗 was Ta-yüan-k'o-kan 大元可汗; so this agrees with the Ming accounts, According to which Dayan Khan is variously represented by the characters Tai-yen-han 歹顏罕, Tai-yen-ha 歹顏哈, Ta-yin-han 答言罕, which are all corruptions with no original meaning.

III. Dayan Khan's Activities

Now that we have thus determined Dayan Khan's age and his character, we may take up his activities. Being a man more intent upon internal unification than upon invading Ming. So little of him is told in the Ming accounts. Therefore, we have to infer his major activities exclusively by Mongol accounts, and, by referring to the Ming accounts, to decide whether such inference is right or not.

Batu Möngke lost his parents early, and suffering from a stomach trouble in infancy grew up only slowly, but cured through devoted efforts of Temür Khadak 特穆爾哈達克 of Tanglakhar 唐拉噶爾 and his wife, and later married Mandughai Sechen Khatun and finally became Dayan Khan. The Little Prince in those days is often cited in the *Li-chao-shih-lu* 李朝實錄 of Korea; especially under Kêng-ch'ên 庚辰, February, the 16th year of Ch'êng-tsung 成宗 (the 21st year of Ch'êng-hua) the report by the chief envoys Li K'o-tun 李克墩 and CHIN Pai-ch'ien 金伯謙 is given as follows: "The characteristic of the Little Prince is superior wisdom, etc." Dayan Khan was known for his superior wisdom.

The first achievement of Dayan Khan was to defeat I-ssü-ma-yin 亦思馬因, a great chief under him, and to get rid of his control. I-ssü-ma-yin was probably from among the Wild Mekrin 野也克力⁽⁴⁴⁾ which inhabited the northern mountains of Khamil 哈密. It seems that, he first enlisted under the banner of his elderly tribesman Taishi Bekerisün 太師朮加思蘭⁽⁴⁵⁾; but as Bekerisün proved too despotic and fought Mandaghul Khaghan, he plotting with the great chief To-lo'-kan 脫羅干 under Mandaghul, killed Bekerisün and became Tai-shi 太師 in his place. This is recorded in the *Pei-lu-k'ao* 北虜考

(43) SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, p. 181.

(44) Sei WADA, Mekri-kō 也克力考 (A study of Mekrid) Tōa-shi Kenkyū (Mōko-hen) 東亞史研究 (蒙古篇), pp. 855-866.

(45) Sei WADA, Uriyangkha Sanei ni kansuru Kenkyū, *op. cit.*,

of the *Ssü-i-k'ao* 四夷考 by YEH Hsiang-kao 葉向高:

"In the autumn of the 11th year (of Ch'êng-hua) Man-lu-tu 滿魯都 (a misspelling for Man-tu-lu 滿都魯) and Bekerisün sent envoys. Before long, Bekerisün gave his daughter in marriage to Man-lu-tu. He intended to become a Khaghan in his place, but feared that the people would not be satisfied. He plotted to kill Man-lu-tu and support Kan-ch'ih-lai 幹赤來 and make him a Khaghan. Man-lu-tu knew this and sought Kan-ch'ih-lai. Bekerisün concealed him and did not surrender him, and finally expelled Man-lu-tu, collected the men of P'o-lo-hu 李羅忽, To-lo-kan and I-ssü-ma-yin of the chief Man-lu-tu attacked again and killed Bekerisün. I-ssü-ma-yin called himself Tai-shi. Since Bekerisün's death, the barbarians seldom invaded for several years."⁽⁴⁶⁾

Under Kêng-wu 庚午, May, the 15th year of Ch'êng-hua (1479) in the *Hsien-tsung-shih-lu* 憲宗實錄, the following occurs, "Niu-tai 扭歹 Tu-chih-hui 都指揮 of the Fu-yü-wei 福餘衛 and others reported that Bekerisün in the north had been killed by his younger tribesman I-ssü-ma-yin." Under Kêng-ch'ên 庚辰, July in the autumn, the same year, "All the chiefs of the San-wei 三衛 (three garrisons) To-yen 朵顏, Fu-yü 福餘, and T'ai-ning 泰寧 reported that Man-tu-lu and Bekerisün had died, etc." These accounts that the affair took place in the first half of the 15th year of Ch'êng-hua, and then Dayan Khan was supported, and for several subsequent years it was a golden age for I-ssü-ma-yin when he invaded the Ming frontier, plundered the San-wei and played the tyrant. His tyranny led to ruin, it seems for in the 19th year of the same era he was expelled by the Khaghan. Under Jên-yin 壬寅 May, the 19th year of Ch'êng-hua (1483) in the *Shih-lu* 實錄, it reads:

"This chief I-ssü-ma-yin was defeated and driven away by the Little Prince in the north. Only a small child was left behind. Men in San-wei took commodities to Hai-hsi 海西 and bartered them for weapons. The route was by way of Liao-tung 遼東."⁽⁴⁷⁾

This serves to prove the point. The *Ssü-i-k'ao* by YEH, following the above-mentioned item on repeated invasions, says:

"The barbarians went, but frequently returned so that until the end of Ch'êng-hua era there passed no idle year. Now at that time Man-lu-tu was already critically ill. None knew when he would pass away. This invader was also named the Little Prince. He was also named Prince

(46) [成化]十一年秋,滿魯都札加思蘭並遣使來。未幾復相讐殺。始札加思蘭以女妻滿魯都,欲代爲可汗,恐衆不服,謀殺滿魯都,而立幹赤來爲可汗。滿魯都知之,索幹赤來。札加思蘭匿不與,攻逐滿魯都,併有李羅忽之衆,滿魯都部酋脫羅干。亦思馬因復攻殺札加思蘭,亦思馬因稱太師。自札加思蘭死,虜數歲稀入寇。

(47) 虜酋亦思馬因爲遼北小王子敗走。所遺幼稚,朵顏三衛携往海西易軍器,道經遼東,....

Batu Möngke. He was the successor of the late Little Prince. He and Tai-shi I-ssü-ma-yin, being hostile to each other, waged war from time to time. In the 23rd year, Han-shên 罕慎 Tu-tu 都督 of Khamil reported that Tai-shi I-ssü-ma-yin had been dead.”⁽⁴⁸⁾

Referring to the *Yüan-liu*, we find the following concerning Isama Taishi 伊斯滿太師 of Yüngshiyebü 永謝布 who had formerly by slandering Bolkho Jinong 博勒呼濟農 to Mandaghul Khan had him expelled the former. “Khan dispatched Isama Taishi who leading the people went for capturing (Bolkho) Jinong. Jinong escaped and was not yet captured. At last his estate was seized. So Isama Taishi of Yüngshiyebü took Jinong’s wife Shiker Khatun 錫吉爾福爾 and made her his wife.” As Isama became a tyrant later, Toghoji Shigüshi 托郭齊實古錫 of Ghorlos 郭爾羅斯 raising an army in the cause of justice, subjugated him. HOWORTH is wrong in ascribing Huo-shai 火箭 later mentioned in the Ming accounts to this Toghoji Shigüshi⁽⁴⁹⁾. Nevertheless, he might be T’o-huo-ch’ih 脫火赤 of To-yen 朵顏 previously mentioned. At any rate, there is no doubt that this Isama Taishi of Yüngshiyebü corresponds to I-ssü-ma-yin Taishi 亦思馬因太師 who is mentioned in the Ming accounts. Yüngshiyebü as later explained, is an area extending from the present Chakhar outside Hsüan-hua 宣化 and Ta-t’ung 大同 to Sünid 蘇尼特. The account that the small child left behind was captured by the people of San-wei 三衛 and was made a slave exported from Hai-hsi 海西 would well agree with the account in the *Yüan-liu* that describes him as murdered by the chief of Ghorlos, and the manners of defeat he suffered beyond Liao-tung might be imagined. The *Shih-lu* contains a report to the throne in Jên-shên 壬申 July, the 22nd of Ch’êng-hua compiled in the *Shih-lu* by CHIAO Chün 焦俊 Tsung-pin-kuan 總兵官 of Kan-su 甘肅. “Han-shên 罕慎 Tu-tu 都督 of Khamil sent a messenger to me to inform that the chiefs K’o-shê 克捨 and I-ssü-ma-yin 亦思馬因 had died. The men and horses of the two tribes remain scattered below the fortress.” The *Ping-fan-shih-mo* 平番始末 by Hsu Chin 許進 also reports of the remnants of I-ssü-ma-yin inhabiting the mountains in the north of Khamil. From these accounts, it would seem that I-ssü-ma-yin, defeated on the eastern frontier, fled to his homeland and died there.

Concerning this, the *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p’u* (Bk. 4) says: “Toghoji Shigüshi 托和齊少師 and others of the Ghorlos tribe were ordered to lead troops and conquer Isama Taishi, because previous to this Isama had slandered and ruined Bayan Möngke Bolkho Jinong to Mandaghul Khan. Toghoji Shigüshi slew

(48) 虜去輒復來，至成化末，迄無寧歲。而是時滿魯都已衰弱，不知所終。其入寇者復稱小王子，復稱把禿猛可王，即故小王子後也。與太師亦思馬因不協，頗相攻。二十三年，哈密都督罕慎報太師亦思馬因死。

(49) HOWORTH, *History of the Mongols*.

Isama Taishi and took his wife Kuo-lo-tai 郭羅代 as his own wife." The *Altan Tobchi* records, a number of warriors on his side.

The *Kuang-ming-pei-lu-k'ao* by CHEN says; "Among the barbarians Taishi 太師 was the highest dignity. The prince being a small child was afraid of the Taishi's tyranny. No Taishi has been appointed again since." The account must refer to this occasion. However, Taishi was appointed a number of times.

Now, Isama does not seem perfectly to agree with I-ssü-ma-yin. Still I-ssü-ma-yin coming from the northern mountains of west Khamil was certainly a Moslem and his name no doubt was the transliteration of Ismail and Isama was certainly a Mongol corruption of it. Corruptions of this kind frequently occur in the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* and other books; for instance, Bakhamu 馬哈木 for Mahmud which has been previously cited; and Ibiri 亦不刺 for Ibrahim which will be cited later.

Dayan Khan's second job was to defeat Oirad. At length Dayan Khan succeeded to recover the Khanate. After removing unruly subjects at home, naturally he had to defend the country against powerful enemies abroad. To defeat the forces of Oirad was the most urgent affair and according to the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu*, the conquest of Dörben Oirad⁽⁵⁰⁾ was conducted twice by Mandughai Sechen Khatun while the Khan was a small child. The first occasion is thus recorded; "Prince Dayan Khan was saved in a skin-case and a horse carried it. Attacking Dörben Oirad with troops, she bravely fought at Tas Bürtü 塔斯博爾圖 and won the battle. She captured innumerable enemies." After some time she raised an army and attacked Dörben Oirad. This time Khatun fell off her horse, but was luckily rescued by her own men. The *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* (Bk. 5) says;

"After this she raised an army and [attacked Dörben Oriad. When Mandughai Sechen Khatun fell from her horse, Khonggirad or Eselei Daibu, Sechen Jikhör Darkhan Balakchin or Bayan Böke, and Asud Batu Bold, these four men protected and supported her to get away sitting a beautiful yellow horse."⁽⁵¹⁾

As to the location of Tas Bürtü or the date of the battle nothing is to be known. According to the *Altan Tobchi*, when Khatun was nine months pregnant with Ochir Bolod and Alchu Bolod, she fell upon the Oirad. There

(50) As Oirad was of four tribes, it was called Dörben Oirad 四衛喇特 (Four Oirads). Over against these, Mongghol was called Döchin Mongghol 四十蒙古 (Forty Mongols); often Dörben 都爾邊 represented Oirad; and Döchin 都沁 represented Mongghol.

(51) 迨後，興兵往征四衛喇特，時滿都海徹辰福晉墜馬，洪奇喇特之額色壘太保，徹辰濟古爾達爾罕，巴勒噶沁之巴延布庫，阿蘇特之巴圖博羅特等四人保護，乘騎巴雅古特之上好黃馬，衛之而出。

she fell of her horse, and came home, and after one month were born the twins Ochir Bolod and Alchu Bolod⁽⁵²⁾. As later discussed, the *Yüan-liu* (Bk. 6) says, "Both Arsu Bolod 阿爾蘇博羅特 and Wachir Bolod 斡齊爾博羅特 were born in the year Kêng-hsü 庚戌". As the year Kêng-hsü falls on the 3rd year of Hung-chih (1490), if this account is correct, the affair took place in the 1st year of Hung-chih. However, hostilities with Oirad never ceased. The *Kuang-ming-pei-lu-k'ao* discusses the situation as follows:

"In the 23rd year of Ch'êng-hua, Han-chên 罕慎 of Hsi-fan 西番 said Oirad had K'o-shê Taishi 克捨太師 and Ko-shê Taishi 革捨太師. As K'o-shê died, his younger brother A-cha-ch'ih 阿沙赤 became Taishi after him. A-lu-k'o-to-wu 阿力古多兀 the younger brother of K'o-shê hated and slew A-cha-ch'ih. He fled west and dwelt in Khamil. During the Ch'êng-hua era, the most powerful tribe in the north was Oirad, and next ranked the Little Prince. The two tribes always survived, and secretly allying themselves with To-yen, looked for an opportunity to invade our fortress. They offered horses as a tribute. The two tribes came over one after another. When in China they looked up right and left for this reason, though they were far in the interior, they were suspicious of each other, and could not stay long in our land".⁽⁵³⁾

The power of Oirad in Hsüan-tê and Chêng-t'ung had not weakened ever by the Ch'êng-hua and Hung-chih era. But when as a result of an internal trouble in Oirad, her power began to decline, the so-called Ta-tan 鞑靼 tribe found a chance to rouse themselves in full activity in the northern borderland. This accounts for the fact that, as previously stated, the Little Prince as the beginning of Hung-chih, proudly called himself Ta-yüan-ta-ko-kan 大元大可汗 and began to pay tribute to Ming. Of course, the account of the hostilities with Oirad are lost sight of even in the *Yüan-liu*, and even Ming Chinese failed to know about them as the site was far beyond the frontier. We may observe a few traces, however. For example, in MA Wên-shêng chuan 馬文升傳 in the *Ming-shih* (Bk. 182), as to the Little Prince who in the 1st year of Hung-chih approached the Ta-t'ung fortress with several ten thousand horsemen. MA Wên-shêng gives utterance to his observation as follows: "Wên-shêng said 'As he is defeated by other tribe, he will be unable to do anything. Get prepared secretly, and if we approach him with a loud shouting, he will surely run'. He did run as expected". Nothing is said as to who the other

(52) Takashirō KOBAYASHI, *Mōko Ōgonshi*, p. 162.; *Karachinbon Mōko-genyū* p. 48. BAWDEN, *Altan Tobči* pp. 184-5.

(53) [成化].二十三年,西番罕慎言,互刺有克捨太師·革捨太師。克捨死,其弟阿沙赤爲太師。革捨弟阿力古多兀與阿沙赤相讐殺,遂西走據哈密。成化間,北虜大抵瓦剌爲強,小王子次之,二種反復相殘。並陰結朵顏,伺我塞下,即貢馬。二種亦相繼往來,恐中國左右,以故雖深入,彼自相猜忌,不能久留內地。

tribe was, but it was no doubt the Oirad tribe. Again, in the report to the throne, in the *Shih-lu*, by Fu Tê 傅憲 Tai-chien 太監 of Kan-sü dated Wu-tzŭ 戊子 June, the 6th year of Hung-chih (1493), occurs the following: "Now that the northern barbarians were murdered or scattered by Oirad they live as nomads in Ning-hsia and behind the Ho-lang 賀蘭 mountains". Again under Chi-wei May, the 9th year of Hung-chih (1496) it is written: "The northern barbarians sent an envoy to ask for permission to pay tribute. Citing a previous instance, they desired to visit the capital with 3,000 men. The commander of the Ta-t'ung fortress reported this. The military department, after discussing the matter, decided to receive 1,000 men. Before long the barbarians sent another message saying that the brothers in Oirad were fighting each other, and they wished to send troops and conquer them. In the autumn they came to pay tribute". In this way, the tribute by Oirad which had prospered since Esen 也先 almost came to an end, toward the last years of Hung-chih. The growth of Dayan Khan's power is described in the Chih-fang-k'ao 職方考 quoted in the *Wu-pei-shih* 武備志 as follows: "During the Hung-chih era, there was the Little Prince who, as Oirad moved west, fought Turfan and became a powerful tribe".

Oirad 瓦剌 or 衛拉特 will not be discussed here, and we shall quote Wa-la-chuan 瓦剌傳 in the *Ming-shih* (Bk. 328) as a lamentation over him.

"Since Esen died, Oirad began to decline and the tribesmen were scattered, and their genealogy cannot be traced. During the T'ien-shun era, A-shih Temür of Oirad frequently sent envoys and paid tribute. As he was the grandson of Esen, the Court treated him politely according to precedents. And Ch'ê-li-k'o always hated and killed Bolai. And Pai-i-sa-ha always came with Khamil to pay respect to the Court. The head was called K'o-shê; he was very strong and often resisted the invasion of the Little Prince of Ta-tan. As K'o-shê died, prince Yan-han pretended to be the hero leading several thousand strong men. A-sha the younger brother of K'o-shê, became a Taishi. In the 23rd year of Ch'êng-hua, prince Yan-han attempted to invade the borderland. Han-chên of Khamil came to report it. Yan-han failing went away, hating Khamil soldiers. After returning, they plundered Ta-tu-la. At the beginning of Hung-chih, the men honored with the title of Taishi were two. One was Ho-êrh-hu-li and the other Ho-êrh-k'o-tao-wên. They sent envoy to pay tribute to the Court. Turfan inhabited Khamil. Hsu Chin Tu-yü-shih cordially presented the two tribes with gold and silk. He attacked them with his soldiers and set them flying. A head tribes-man named prince Pu-liu was stationed at Pa-ssŭ-k'uo. In the 13th year of Ch'êng-tê, Turfan invaded Sŭ-chou. The commander CH'EN Chiu-ch'ou, therefore, presenting prince

Pu-liu with silks asked him to attack the Turfan castle when unguarded. The foreigners killed numbered tens of thousands. Turfan intimidated made peace. In the 8th year of Chia-ching, while considering intermarriage, they again began to hate each other. Turfan became more and more powerful. Oirad was often miserably defeated. The tribesmen remained where they found themselves. A good many of them returned to China. Khamil, availing itself of the opportunity, invaded. Prince Pu-liu could not stand the attack, and asked the Court to annex it, but this was refused. Beyond the boundary, the men went none knew whither".⁽⁵⁴⁾

At any rate, it is a fact that Oirad began to decline after Dayan Khan's days.

The *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p'u* (Bk. 4), in discussing the profit of this campaign, says:

"As he ascended the throne later, he desired to revenge himself for his father's murder; so he attacked Oirad country. With foot-soldiers and fighting oxen at the head they marched for three days. The Khan, united with Mandukhai Sechen Khatun, personally leading the horsemen, made A-lai of Keshikten tribe clear the road as far as the land of T'ê-ssü-pu-êrh-tu. They fought Oirad and won a brilliant victory. Subjugating 40,000 Oirad men, they controlled the commanders of Oirad country. After this they were allowed to call their dwellings not mansions, but houses; their crown-strings could not exceed four-fingers; in everyday life they were to kneel, and not to sit. They were permitted to chew meat, but not to cut it. Their name *üsük* (yoghoort) was changed to *chige*. The tribesmen knelt and begged to be permitted to use knives in eating meat. This was granted. The other items were all enforced as ordered. Until this day Oirad remains obedient."⁽⁵⁵⁾

(54) 自也先死，瓦剌衰，部屬分散，其承襲代次不可考。天順中，瓦剌阿失帖木兒屢遣使入貢，朝廷以其爲也先孫，循例厚賚之。又捨力克者，常與孛來警殺。又拜亦撒哈者，常偕哈密來朝，其長曰克捨，頗強，數糾韃靼小王子入寇。克捨死，養罕王稱雄。擁精兵數萬。克捨弟阿沙爲太師。成化二十三年，養罕王謀犯邊，哈密罕慎來告，養罕不利去，憾哈密兵，還掠其大土刺。弘治初，瓦剌中稱太師者，一日火兒忽力，一日火兒古倒溫，皆遣使朝貢。土魯番據哈密，都御史許進以金帛，厚賂二部，令以兵擊走之。其部長卜六王者，屯駐把思濶。正德十三年，土魯番犯肅州，守臣陳九疇因遣卜六王，綵幣，使乘虛襲破土魯番之城，殺虜以萬計，土魯番畏，與之和。嘉靖九年，復以議婚相仇隙。土魯番益強，瓦剌數困敗，又所部輒自殘，多歸中國。哈密復乘間侵略，卜六王不支，亦求內附，朝廷不許，遣出關，不知所終。

(55) 後卽位，欲報先世之仇，征威勒忒國，步卒牛軍先三日啓行，汗同滿都海賽音哈吞，親統騎兵，使克式克騰部之阿來通開道，至忒思布爾都之地，與威勒忒戰，大勝之，服其四萬威勒忒。下令威勒忒國將領，嗣後房舍不得稱殿稱宅，冠纓不得過四指，居常許跪，不得坐，食肉許啣，不許割，改烏蘇克之名爲址格。其部衆以食肉用刀跪請，許之。餘悉如令。威勒忒至今，猶奉行焉。

Here is some evaggregation, and the date is uncertain. T'ê-ssü-pu-êrh-tu 志思布爾都 is Tas Burdu 塔斯博爾都 which appears in the *Yüan-liu* as previously stated. Such a severe punishment of Oirad took place only in later times, but here is depicted a tribe completely intimidated.

Now, under the 10th year of Hung-chih (1494) in the *Kuang-ming-pei-lu-k'ao*, this is written: "This year, Khosai 火篩 was powerful. Uniting various tribes, he invaded Ta-t'ung and Hsüan-fu. A man who submitted to the Ming says: 'The barbarian plan to invade deeply'. The emperor ordered Hsu Chin 許進 Shih-lang 侍郎, to command an army and Lru Ta-hsi 劉大夏 to send foods and defend against him".⁽⁵⁶⁾ Under the 13th year of the same era (1500), this occurs: "In May, Khosai entered Ta-t'ung and Hsüan-fu fortresses. Khosai was originally the tribe of the Little Prince. Being strong and courageous, they had often invaded the borderland, and plundered valuables and cattle. They grew more powerful and unruly day by day. They vied with the Little Prince for leadership among the tribesmen. They frequently invaded the near-barrier. The capital was guarded more strictly."⁽⁵⁷⁾ Again under the 14th year of the same era (1501), it reads: "In August, Khosai entered Hua-ma-ch'ih 花馬池 fortress and reached Ku-yüan 固原, and plundered a great many men and cattle and murdered officials and common people".

Now, who was Khosai? This question may be answered by the *Ta-tan-chuan* of *Ming-shan-tsang*. A passage from it reads: "Khosai was the son of To-lo-kan 脫羅干, and of the tribe of the Little Prince. He was sly in tactics. He plundered several tribes and often invaded the frontier. He seized valuables, and waxed stronger day by day. He vied with the Little Prince for leadership among the tribesmen."⁽⁵⁸⁾ If he was Chi-yüan 知院脫羅干, he was the man who, with I-ssü-ma-yin defeated Bekerisün. And Khosai Tabunang 科賽塔布囊 of Tümed Monggholchin Chegud who appears in the *Mêng-ku-yüang-liu* (Bks. 5-6)⁽⁵⁹⁾ Khosai Tabunang was the man who married Princess Ishige 伊錫克 the orphan daughter of Mandghal Khan the man who had previously brought up Bars Bolod, the third son of Dayan Khan, and

(56) 是年，虜火篩強，結諸部落，迭寇大同·宣府。歸正人言，虜謀深入，勅侍郎許進督軍，劉大夏轉餉禦虜。

(57) 五月，火篩入大同·宣府塞，火篩本小王子部落，強悍，既屢寇邊，獲財畜，日強盛跋扈，與小王子爭雄長，數寇近邊，京師戒嚴。

(58) 火篩者脫羅干之子，小王子部落也。狡黠善用兵，劫諸部，屢寇邊，獲財產，日強盛，與小王子爭雄長。

(59) Tabunang 塔布囊 means Fu-ma 駙馬 or a man who married an heiress. The Mongol word for Fu-ma was formerly Kürgen, but about this time the word Tabunang began to appear. Khosai Tabunang 和賽塔布囊 (the son-in-law of Mandaghal Khan) and Baghasun Tabunang 巴曠遜塔布囊 (the son-in-law of Dayan Khan) are good examples of this. The *Wu-pei-chi* 武備志 says, 富家女婿，他不浪。According to the *San-pien-ch'uo-tsu-k'ao* 三邊籌俎考 by WANG Shih-ch'i 王士琦, says, 倘不浪是王子家女婿即儀賓。

also had become the father-in-law of Gün Bilik Jinong his son. According to the *Yüang-liu*, there is no trace that he quarreled with Dayan Khan, but his territory, Tümed Monggholchin, was to fall into the hands of the Khaghan's children. That happened as stated in the following. The *Altan Tobchi* does not give the name Khosai, but narrates the conquest of Monggholchin; this might correspond to the affair in question. Khosai Tabunang, according to the *Yüan-liu*, is traced until Dayan Khan's conquest of the Right-wing, but according to the *Shih-lu*, his name does not appear after June, the 17th year of Hung-chih (1504). I am of the opinion that probably he died about this time.

Dayan Khan's next conquest was on the Right-wing 右翼. After Bekerisün and I-ssü-ma-yin were successively slain, the chief of Wild Mekrin was Prince Ibrahim 亦不剌因 who was brave and strong enough to demand the Khaghan's several personal conquests. The name Prince Ibrahim of Wild Mekrin first appears in the *Shih-lu* under I-mao October, the 5th year of Hung-chih, (1492). In Chia-yin June, the 8th year of the same era, he sent a messenger to the Sū-chou fortress with the message to the effect that, for the purpose of averting the plunder of Ta-ta-tzū 大達子 in the north, he asked for permission for cattle-raising in the near-by boundary area and also for paying tribute and conducting mutual trade. This being refused, he left. However, according to the item under the 8th year of Hung-chih (1494), in Ta-tan-chuan, the *Ming-shih* (Bk. 328), it is written as follows: "Prince Ibrahim and others of the north entered Ordos and took to cattle-breeding. After this the Little Prince and Khosai the son of To-lo-kan supporting each other grew more powerful day after day. They came to be a manace to the east and west borders."⁽⁶⁰⁾ It is evident that this Prince Ibrahim of the north is the chief of Wild Mekrin of the northern barbarians, and is also I-pu-la 亦卜剌, the powerful chief of later days, as may be inferred from the fact that he often fled across the western border into Kan-sü.

This is definitely confirmed by the passage in the *Shih-lu* under Chi-ssü 己巳, November, the 3rd year of Chia-ching (1524), in which CHENG Tsü-pi 鄭自璧 Ping-k'o-tu-chi-shih-chung 兵科都給事中 says, "I-pu-la 亦卜剌 and A-êrh-tu-ssü 阿爾禿斯 of Ta 達 barbarian are paternal or maternal relatives of the Turfan brothers Sultan A-hei-ma 速壇阿黑麻 and Chên Temür 眞帖木兒. For Turfan and Wild Mekrin dwelt adjacently and intermarried since early times." Though the name I-pu-la appears in the *Shih-lu* only after the 6th year of Chêng-tê (1511), he is also identified with Sheng-pu-lai 升孛來 the barbarian chief who, prior to this, in December, the 4th year of Chêng-tê (1509), had invaded Mu-kua-shan 木瓜山 and been defeated by the Tsung-pin-

(60) 北部亦卜剌因王等入套住牧，于是，小王子及脫羅干之子火篩相倚日強，爲東西諸邊患。

kuan MA Ang 總兵官馬昂. The spelling Sheng-pu-lai of course is a miscopy of I-pu-lai 亦孛來 which is correctly given in the *Ming-shan-tsang* and Ta-tan-chuan in the *Ming-shih*. As to its being nothing but I-pu-la, there is no doubt, for HUANG K'o chuan 黃珂傳 in the *Ming-shih* (Bk. 185) definitely writes I-pu-la 亦卜刺. Probably because I-pu-la 亦卜刺 and I-pu-la 亦不刺 were originally abbreviations for I-pu-la-yin 亦卜刺因, it was sometimes spelt I-pu-lai 亦孛來.

Now, the circumstances of the revolt of I-pu-la against the Little Prince are given as previously quoted in the *Kuang-ming-pei-lu-k'ao*. "During the Chêng-tê era, the Little Prince had three sons:—the eldest A-êrh-lun, the second A-chu, and the youngest Man-kuan-chên. Taishi I-pu-la slew A-êrn-lun, and fled to the west of the Huang river. The barbarians of Hsi-hai 西海 originated from I-pu-la."⁽⁶¹⁾ The *Ssü-i-k'ao* by YEH covers the circumstances then and also later as follows:

"In that year, the 4th year of Chêng-tê, I-pu-la invaded Hsi-hai. I-pu-la was Chingsang to the Little Prince. The Little Prince revenged himself on khosai and slain him. For another reason, he was angry with I-pu-la, and desired to kill him.

I-pu-la being scared, and organizing great troops Liang-chou and attacking the tribe of Prince An-ting and others, and robbed him of his seal. The various tribes suffered much. Hsi-hai began to have barbarian inhabitants after this. Another tribe named A-êrh-tü-ssü came to be united with I-pu-la, and daily fought the Little Prince's troops. Being defeated, they plundered the border and destroyed over 50 fortress, slaying over a thousand soldiers. Vast numbers and quantities of various cattle, provisions and weapons were lost. The commander reported all this to the throne."⁽⁶²⁾

Before we take up this matter, we may grasp an outline by referring to the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* (Bk. 6).

"Following the conquest of Taishi Isama 伊斯滿太師, Dayan Khan's power was gradually established. Some Right-wing tribes secretly approached and requested that a Jinong be appointed above them to govern them. Dayan Khan, overjoyed, appointed his second son Ulus Bolod as Right-wing Jinong and dispatched him to Ordos. Some powerful Right-wing chief, especially such as Ibari Taishi 伊巴里太師 of Yüngshiyebü and

(61) 正德間, 小王子三子, 長阿爾倫, 次阿著, 次滿官曠。太師亦不刺弑阿爾倫, 遷入河西, 西海之有虜, 自亦不刺始也。

(62) 其年亦不刺入西海。亦不刺者小王子丞相也。小王子與火篩讐殺, 火篩死。復以他事怒亦不刺, 欲殺之, 亦不刺懼, 撓萬衆涼州, 攻破安定王等族, 奪其駝印, 諸番苦之。西海自是始有虜。別部阿爾禿斯與亦不刺合, 日與小王子尋兵。敗則掠邊, 破堡塞五十餘, 殺兵千餘, 雜畜糧械, 失亡無算。守臣輒以捷聞。

Mandulai Aghulkhū 滿都賚阿固勒呼 of Ordos who were dissatisfied slew Uluṣ Bolod and rose in revolt. Thereupon, Dayan Khan personally conducted campaigns, but the first campaign proved a failure as his troops, alarmed by the moos of the grazing cattle, retreated; on the second campaign with a large army he attacked them, ordering Khalkha to attack Tümed and Chakhar to attack Yüngshiyebü, and Uriangkhai to attack Ordos. As Bars Bolod 巴爾斯博羅特 desperately fought and made the enemy surrender, all the Right-wing three Tümen obeyed. Slaying Mandulai at A-chin Ch'ai-ta-mu 阿津柴達木 and setting Ibari on the run to the Khamil castle at White cap 白帽, and subjugating all the people, the Khan returned from a victorious campaign. Thereupon, Bars Bolod was made the Right-wing Jinong and every one of the meritorious warriors was duly rewarded."

This was the greatest that the Khaghan achieved and it finally established his position as Khaghan. It had so much to influence the later situations. This matter is most completely treated in the *Yüan-liu*, the *Altan Tobchi*, and the *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p'u*. It is natural that the Ming accounts should also be rather plentiful on this item.

In my view, there is no doubt that Taishi I-pu-la of Wild Mekrin is Taishi Ibari of Yüngshiyebü. It is also evident that Mandulai Aghulkhū of Ordos is A-êrh-tu-ssü 阿爾禿斯 another chief. However, the trouble is that, while Ordos is explained as called Ordos because of the Pa-pai-shih 八白室 the Shrine of Chinggis Khan which existed there, the name Ordos already existed at this early time. When HOWORTH says "This Mantlu 滿都魯 is doubtless Mandulai Agholkho 滿都賚阿固勒呼, a chief of the Ordus, mentioned by Sanang Setzen"⁽⁶³⁾, he is mistaken, and also when the *Chin-yen-lei-pien* 今言類編 says "the Little Prince's younger brother is Ordos 阿爾多斯,"⁽⁶⁴⁾ it is mistaken, because A-êrh-tu-ssü 阿爾禿斯 and E-êrh-ta-ssü 鄂爾多斯 are both different transliterations of one and the same sound, probably the former is the nickname based on the geographical name. According to the statement of CH'ENG Tzū-pi 鄭自璧 in Chi-ssü 己巳, November, the 3rd year of Chia-ching, A-êrn-tu-ssü 阿爾禿斯 and I-pu-la 亦不剌 seem likewise to be from the northern mountain tribes. And so far as the Ming people's memory was concerned, I-pu-la or A-êrh-tu-ssü did not die at that time, but for a considerable time after that he defied attacks on the part of Dayan Khan's children and grandchildren. Therefore, the account in the *Yüan-liu* to the effect that at this time he slew Mandulai 滿都賚 and made Ibari 伊巴里 fly to death could not be an actual account on that occasion, but it is only a postscript of a later affair.

(63) HOWORTH, *History of the Mongols*, I, p. 371.

(64) This is probably a misstatement of the fact that the later Ordos 鄂爾多斯 tribe was related to the Little Prince somewhat like a minor brother.

Now, of the three sons of the Little Prince, A-chu 阿著 is represented as the father of Chi-nang 吉囊 and Altan therefore he is no doubt Bars Bolod the third son of Dayan Khan; and Man-kuan-chên 滿官嗔 is Monggholchin and identical with Arsu Bolod, the fourth son, as will be explained in the following. If so, A-êrh-lun 阿爾倫 seems to be the eldest son, who is represented below as the father of Pu-ch'ik 卜赤 and Miêh-ming 乜明, and therefore was Törö Bolod the eldest son; but if so, he was not slain by I-pu-la 亦不刺. It was Ulus Bolod that was slain by Ibari 伊巴哩, I am of the opinion that, as the eldest son Törö Bolod who died before he was well-known, the Ming Chinese mistook the second son Ulus Bolod for the eldest son, and as he was slain, they mistook the former's two orphans for the latter's. Only it is not known why named the orphan A-êrh-lun and A-chu. Under Ssü-i 四夷 in the *Huang-yü-kao* 皇輿考 by CHANG T'ien-fu 張天復 and under Ta-tan-chuan 鞑韃傳 in the *Shu-yü-chou-tzû-lu* 殊域周咨錄 by YEN Ts'ung-chien 嚴從簡, they are represented as Aêrh-lun Taiji 阿爾倫台吉 and A-chu-pu-sun 阿著卜孫.

Finally, as to the date of this campaign, the *Pei-lu-chi-liao* 北虜紀略 by CHAO Shih-ch'un 趙時春⁽⁶⁵⁾ put it within the last year of Hung-chih while the *Ssü-i-K'ao* by YEH, the *Ming-shan-tsang* and the *Chin-yen-lei-pien* 今言類編 date it back to the 4th year of Chêng-tê, and the *Mêng-ku-yu-mu-chi* 蒙古遊牧記 by CHANG Mu 張穆 to the 7th year of the same era, all these are erroneous. We should follow the Ta-tan-chuan of the *Ming-shih* which dates it back to the 5th year of Chêng-tê (1510). It seems that the campaign took place in the latter half of the year. The report to the throne in I-wei November, the 7th year of Chêng-tê, in the *Wu-tsung-shih-lu* 武宗實錄 made by CHENG Wên 成文 Hsün-an-shan-hsi-yü-shih 巡按陝西御史 reads: "Since January, the 6th year, the barbarian chief A-êrh-tu-ssü I-pu-la 阿爾禿斯亦卜刺 has been attacked by the Little Prince and the tribesmen have fled to Kan-chou, Liang-chou; Yung-ch'ang, Sû-chou etc. and remain there, engaging themselves in cattlebreeding."⁽⁶⁶⁾ Again, under Kêng-wu 庚午 July, Autumn, the 9th year of the era, a passage reads: "The barbarian chief A-êrh-tu-ssü I-pu-la and others since the 5th year of Chêng-tê, have fled from the Little Prince. Leading his people, he has gone to Liang-chou, Shan-tan, Kan-chou, and Kao-t'ai, Chên-i, Sû-chou. They live in touch with one another, engaging themselves in cattlebreeding."⁽⁶⁷⁾ Thus the conquest of the Right-wing became an indisputable

(65) The *Pei-lu-chi-liao* 北虜紀略 is generally regarded as a work by WANG Tao-p'i 王道昆, but really it is a work by CHAO Shih-ch'un 趙時春. Cf. Sei WADA, *Hokuryo-kiryaku-kô* 北虜紀略考 (A study of *Pei-lu-chi-liao*), *Tôa-shi Ronsô* 東亞史論叢 p. 550-2.

(66) 自六年正月以來, 虜酋阿爾禿斯亦卜刺爲小王子所攻, 部衆奔甘·涼·永昌·肅州等處駐牧。

(67) 虜酋阿爾禿斯亦卜刺等自正德五年以來, 避小王子, 引衆至涼州·永昌·山丹·甘州及高臺·鎮夷·肅州。聯絡住牧。

fact, and before long the third son Bars Bolod being appointed the Right-wing Jinong in place of his deceased elder brother, was stationed at Ordos.

By the way, it is not known whether the men are represented as receiving rewards for distinguished services after the campaign, received rewards for their services on this occasion; however, as the following passage serves to clarify the inside situation in Dayan Khan's days, we may have a *lood* at it. The text in the *Yüan-liu* says:

“As Bars Bolod Jinong came and surrendered with Right-wing three Tümen, he was ordered to control them as the Jinong of the Right-wing three Tümen; and at the same time we awarded Sain Alak with the title of Jinong over three Tümen, Those four men who had rescued Bolod Jinong, those four men who had helped Mandughai Sechen Khatun, those seven men who had assisted Sain Alak, Temür Khadak of Tanlaghar who had deprived back and brought up Dayan Khan, Kharghatan Bainchukhur Darkhan who had remonstrated when Abakhai was tortured, Baghatur Kürisün of Onggirad who had given a nice horse with red and white fur to Abakhai and made him ride on, Gelin Noyan and Ordoghod Taishi who had offered a sword to Abakhai and protected him, Bayalikhun Darkhan who had shot Ibari through the belly, five commanders of the left wing three Tümen and all of those who had assisted. To all of above mentioned people were presented a gold seal, on which the imperial mandate appointing Dai Darkhan was impressed, and the title, and to Baghasun Darhan Tabunang of Jarud of Khalkha was born from Mandukhai Sechen Khatun”.⁽⁶⁸⁾

It was natural that Bars Bolod should have been appointed Jinong for the Right-wing; the first mentioned four men refers to those four men who had rescued Dayan Khan's father, Bolkho Jinong, who had been first in the hands of Oirad, who have been mentioned in the item previously quoted from the *Yüan-liu*, but who have been dead for a long time; the second four refers to those who had saved Mandughai Sechen Khatun when she had fallen off her horse in the campaign of Dörben Oirad, who have also been mentioned previously. The seven refers to those seven men who prior to this battle had sent Sain Alak to Dayan Khan out of the hands of the enemy. Temür Khadak refers to the man who had deprived back and brought up Dayan

(68) 因巴爾斯博羅特帶右翼三萬人投來，即令爲管右翼三萬人之濟農，併授賽音阿拉克，爲管三萬人之濟農。其資送博勒呼濟農之四人，幫助滿都海徹辰福晉之四人，以及效力於賽音阿拉克之七人，護持達延汗被擄時之唐拉噶爾之特穆爾哈達克，戕害阿巴海時，諫勸之哈爾噶坦拜音珠固爾達爾罕，給與阿巴海上好沙馬乘騎之洪吉喇特之巴圖魯庫哩遜，給與阿巴海順刀，護衛阿巴海之格倫諾延·鄂爾多郭特太師，射穿伊巴哩腹之巴雅里袞達爾罕，領頭目七十人入降左翼三萬人內五人以下，凡有出力一切人等，俱賞給岱達爾罕名號勅諭金印。其札噶特之巴噶遜達爾罕塔布囊，以滿都海徹辰福晉所生之圖魯勒圖公主降焉。

Khan; Bainchukhur Darkhan refers to the man who had dissuaded Ibari and Mandulai from the rebellion. Baghatur Kūrisūn and Gelin Noyan Ordoghod Taishi⁽⁶⁹⁾ refer to the men who had tried to rescue Abakhai namely Ulus Bolod from his assassination. The next phrase praises the serllices of one named Bayalikhūn Darkhan of Tūmed in shooting the abdomen of Ibari and injuring him immediately prior to this war.

In addition to these, he awarded the title, the rescript, and the gold seal of Dai Darkhan 岱達爾罕 on every one who had helped him. Darkhan 達爾罕 was one exempted from taxes and labor service. Baghasun Darkhan 巴噶遜達爾罕 of Jarud of Khalkha was one of those who had extinguished themselves for bravery during this campaign; to him Dayan Khan gave his only daughter Töröltü Günji in marriage. Therefore, not only those who had participated in the war, but also those who had rescued Bolod Jinong, those who had reared Dayan Khan, and those who had helped Mandughai Khatun during the campaign of Dörben Oirad, were considered to be meritorious.

According to the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu*, Dayan Khan's last campaign was the conquest of Uriyangkhai Tūmen. It had belonged to a tribe under the Kha-ghan and had been recognized for meritorious services in the Right-wing campaign; but now its leader Gegen Chingsang 格根丞相 and others had conspired a rebellion, and been suppressed by Dayan Khan's personal campaign, and the remnant tribesmen were reported to have been distributed among other tribes. The *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* (Bk. 6) gives a most detailed account:

"At that time Gegen Chingsang, Toktai 托噶台, Kharakhula 哈喇呼拉特 became chiefs in Uriyangkhai, and leading Uriyanghai Tūmen rose in revolt. Dayan Khan, leading the soldiers of the two tribes Chakhar and Khalkha, went out and conquered them. At the same time pledging loyalty to the son of Bars Bolod Jinong, and accompanied by Right-wing three Tūmen, he attacked from the front; and at last fought against the Uriyangkhai Tūmen. Out of the Right-wing three Tūmen, the two men, namely Baghasun Darkhan Tabunang of Jarud of Khalkha and Nekebei Köndölen Khashagha the son of Sain Chegeji; and out of the Right-wing three Tūmen of Jaghud of Chakhar, the two men Bainchukhur Darkhan of Kharghatan 哈爾噶坦 of Ordos and Aljulai Aghulku of Kharggin 抗錦 of Tūmed, these four men accompanied by the men of the leading squads defended against the enemy and defeating the great Uriyanghai army

(69) Though the Chinese translation reads 格論諾延鄂爾多郭特大師, 格論諾延 is not a personal name, and should be translated as noyans of the family, according to the view of Mr. Gō, and 鄂爾多郭特大師 should be corrected as 鄂爾多斯特穆爾太師 according to the view of the *Chien-chêng* 箋證. These should be adopted. Temür 特穆爾 of Ordos 鄂爾多斯 had been appointed Taishi 太師 on account of his services prior to this. Cf. Gō, *Mōko Genryū*, Bk. 6, note 13; *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu-chien-chêng*, Bk. 6.

subjugated the rest of them and including them in the five Tümen, and called themselves Six Tümen. This Dayan Khan leading the six Tümen subjugated all the rest. This was the origin of the pacification of Mongolia."⁽⁷⁰⁾

This affair is told in the *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p'u* (Bk. 4) as follows:

"After the Gegen Chingsang 格寒丞相 and Kharakhula 哈拉呼拉 of Uriyanghai 無量漢 revolted again. The Khan again personally conquered them. Thereupon he distributed the people of the Uriyanghai tribe among his own tribes and did away with their name Tümen 圖們. Thereupon peace reigned, to his credit, and his administration was splendid. The people of the various tribes equally enjoyed our peace. The Khan reigned for 74 years and died at the age of 80 years."⁽⁷¹⁾

It would seem that his aim was to conquer the Tümen and to distribute the tribesmen among other tribes. Uriyanghai 烏梁海 (無量漢) well known as Wu-liang-ha 兀良哈 in the *Ming-shih*, and divided into San-wei 三衛 (three military district) was another Mongol tribe which inhabited the area to the east of the Hsingan 興安 Mountains. It had always assumed a half-independent aspect, truckling to a greater power, now annexed by Mongolia, then allied with China. However, the one now conquered was, not this tribe, but another section of Uriyanghai which inhabited the north. This section of Uriyanghai will be discussed more fully elsewhere, but here we may notice that the *Huang-ming-pei-lu-k'ao* says; "There is a camp of Uriyanghai. This is a northern tribe which had belonged to the late Little Prince. Availing itself of an opportunity, it had gone away, but now it was conquered." The *I-yü* says, "In the north, an extremely brave tribe named Wu-liang-ha inhabits the area against the Gobi desert. Among the barbarians it is called 'yellow-haired'." Again, "The north-western tribe is also called Wu-liang-ha. They have an even disposition, because of the red caps they wear, they are called red-caps. The soldiers, all told, number only several ten-thousand. They breed cattle and ride horses. The Little Prince and his followers made the most of this estate. They invade and plunder every year. A greater part was killed or wounded in fighting. The rest was led away by the enemy."

(70) 時烏梁海格根丞相·托噶臺，哈喇呼拉特爲首，以烏梁海萬人謀叛，達延汗率察哈爾·喀喀爾兩部落之兵往征之，並致信於巴爾斯博羅特濟農之子，帶右翼三萬人，前來攻入，遂與烏梁海萬人交戰。左翼三萬人內，則有喀爾喀札魯特之巴噶遜達爾罕塔布囊·察哈爾札固特賽音徹格濟之子訥克貝昆都楞哈什哈二人，右翼三萬人內，則有鄂爾多斯哈爾噶坦拜音珠固爾達爾罕。土默特抗錦之阿勒楚賽阿固勒呼二人，此四人與頭隊之兵拒戰破烏梁海大隊，收其餘衆，併入五萬人內，稱爲六萬人。此達延汗將六萬人全行收服，致蒙古國於太平之原委也。

(71) 後無量漢之格寒丞相·哈拉呼拉又叛，汗復親勦滅之。乃以無量漢之衆，分附于衆部落，而滅其所有圖們之名。于是治定功成，修明國政，與衆部落同我太平。汗在位七十四年，壽八十而崩。

All these refer to the tribe. According to the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu*, Sümer Khatun 蘇密爾福晉 the second wife of Dayan Khan is the daughter of Khutuk Shigüshi 呼圖克實古錫 of Jalair, whereas the *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p'u* (Bk. 4) gives her as Sümer Khatun 薩陸爾哈吞 the daughter of Khutuk Shigüshi 呼圖克少師 of Uriyanghai 無量漢. That mean Jalair tribe is identical with Uriyanghai. Subudai 速不台 of the Jalair tribe, the famous subject of Chinggis Khan is no doubt Uriyanghai, but the tribe inhabited the banks of the Onon river in Outer Mongolia at the beginning of the Yüan period, but they probably had somehow moved down into the northern border of Inner Mongolia, against the Gobi desert. As the north or northwest Uriyanghai seems to have inhabited the northern border of the present Urad 烏喇特, Maghu Mingghan 茂明安, Dörben Keüked 四子部落, Abagha 阿巴噶 and Abaghanar 阿巴哈納爾 it was naturally near the Ordos tribe. This certainly accounts for the utmost intimacy between Uriyanghai and Ordos reported in the *Yüan-liu* and others. This Uriyanghai Dayan Khan conquered. At least the following account in the *Pei-lu-k'ao* of *Ssü-i-k'ao* by YEH most probably referred to this Uriyanghai:

“Another tribe called the yellow-haired is ferocious and brave, and hardly distinguished life and death. The people are of less than three (the Little Prince, Jinong, Altan). As the barbarians once penetrated deeply, the yellow-haired plundered them from the rear and robbed children, gems and silks. The barbarians suffered much from this. So they uniting their forces attacked suddenly, and destroyed a large number of the yellow-haired. As no more internal trouble arose, they served us faithfully—.”⁽⁷²⁾

The *I-yü* by Min-ê-shan-jên refers to this:

“Formerly the Mongols resorted to no tricks, but they are otherwise nowadays. The Little Prince assembled the chiefs Pa-tu-êrh 把都兒, Nalin Taiji 納林台吉, Ch'êng Taiji 成台吉, Hsüeh-la Taiji 血刺台吉, Manghui 莽晦, An-da 俺答 (Altan), Chi-ning 己寧 (Jinong), and their men, and plundered Uriangkhai in the northwest, and killed and wounded nearly all of them. Then he allied himself with the friendly and deceived the rest. Distributing all of them among the several tribes, and treating them to drinks and meat to their hearts' content, he murdered them. This was only one of the tricks.”⁽⁷³⁾

This was treacherous, and lacking in fairness. The *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* also says: “At the same time pledging loyalty to the son of Bars Bolod Jinong and accompanied by three Tümen Right-wing, he attacked them from the front.”

(72) 異種黃毛者凶悍，不能別生死，衆少於三部，虜或時深入，黃毛輒從後掠徼，取子女玉帛，虜苦之，因合兵急擊，大破臣黃毛，以是無內顧，得專事我。

(73) 蒙古舊無誕詐，今亦不然。小王子集把都兒·納林台吉·成台吉·血刺台吉·莽晦·俺答·己寧諸酋兵，掠西北兀良哈，殺傷殆盡，及以結親給其餘，至則悉以分諸部，啖以酒肉，飽盡殺之，此其一事也。

From this it is evident that the Right-wing soldiers were also mobilized, and Pa-tu-êrh and others were all Right-wing chiefs. Though the order of arranging them seems to be lacking in the natural order of seniority, it may be explained by the fact that they are arranged in the order of proximity of their abodes from the Khan's headquarters. Of these men, at least Jinong 己寧 (濟農), Altan 俺答, Baghatur 把都兒 were sons of Bars Bolod, born respectively about the 1st year, the 2nd year, and the 5th year of Chêng-tê. If these chiefs were already active, the date must be around the 10th year of Chia-ching.

Otherwise, if we accept the following passage under Kuei-ch'ou August, 7th year of Chia-ching (1528): "According to a man WANG Mao-wa-tzũ 王毛娃子 who had came back from the front recently, the Little Prince wished to deceive the barbarians of Ordos and ford eastward and attack the 'yellow-haired,' etc." Dayan Khan's conquest of Uriangkhai probably was approximately this time. It seems that the area Dayan Khan subjugated at this time roughly corresponds to that lying to the north of the present Urad, Maghu Mingghan, Abagha, Abaghanar.

The *Altan Tobchi*, as the events during Dayan Khan period, enumerates (1) the conquest of Oirad, (2) the subjugation of Monggholchin, (3) the conquest of Ismail, (4) the destruction of Bekerisün, and (5) the unification of Ibari and other Right-wing men. However, as Bekerisün most probably referred to Pai-chia-ssü-lan 札加思蘭 it must refer to the preceding generation, and could not be an event of the Dayan Khan period. The *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p'u* also gives as the first event the conquest of Oirad, then as the second the slaying of I-ssü-ma (Ismail) Taishi 伊思滿太師, and as the third the unification of the Right-wing such as I-pa-lai (Ibrahim) Taishih 義巴來太師 of Yüngshiyebu, and Mandulai Aghulkhu 滿都賴阿噶爾固 of Ordos, and as the last the campaign of Uriangkhai 無量漢. The accounts differ slightly, but in the present study I have adjusted them by referring to the *Yüan-liu*, and have treated five campaigns: (1) the conquest of Yüngshiyebü, (2) the destruction of Oirad, (3) the annexation of Tümed, (4) the annexation of Right-wing, (5) the conquest of Uriangkhai. These must be the chief campaigns Dayan Khan conducted most probably between the 16th or 17th year of Ch'êng-hua and the 1st year of Chia-ching. By them he managed to subjugated Inner Mongolia only; he could not penetrate into Ho-hsi 河西, much less could be reach Outer Mongolia.⁽⁷⁴⁾

(74) As to the headquarters of Dayan Khan, the official report by the War Department dated I-ch'ou May, the 12th year of Hung-chih reads: 北虜部落, 往年春過河未, 久即趨東北驢駒河, 往牧過夏. It would seem from this that they went as far as the banks of the Lu-chu river namely the Kerulen river. Did they? The official report

A general survey of these campaigns will show that, more than anything else these operations were usually started in the east and pushed westward. And, as a rule, he swept the alien tribes and established a genuinely Mongol power. This mighty power could not be pictured through the fragmentary Ming accounts; but referring to the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* and other Mongolian accounts, it will become clear. Generally speaking, Dayan Khan's power first rose at the reign of the Shilin Ghool 錫林郭勒 alliance; with the conquest of Ismail of Yüingshiyebu the region of the present Chahar was subjugated, and he defeated the power of Oirad in several battles about this time, and he readily occupied Tümed, and succeeded to capture the region of the Ulan-chab 烏蘭察布 alliance adjacently to the west of Chahar. The Right-wing power did not so readily decline; and as I-pu-la and A-êrh-tu-ssü 阿爾禿斯 came into power again, the Khaghan making his utmost efforts succeeded in conquering this area and finally occupying as far as the western border of Inner Mongolia. The value of this last war may be seen from the fact that Dayan Khan universally declared his title as a Khan in front of the great tomb of Chinggis Khan. His subsequent annexation of part of Uriangkhai probably was an aftermath of his power now established. And those whom he slew, namely Oirad, Ismail, I-pu-la, A-êrh-tu-ssü and Uriangkhai were all different sections of the Mongols. In this manner, all the enemies at home and abroad were disposed of, and Dayan Khan's power extended over all Inner Mongolia and part of the eastern border of Outer Mongolia. Only in Ho-hsi 河西 and Ch'ing-hai 青海, there were still some remnants of Wild Mekrin, and in the greater part of Outer Mongolia, Khara Khorum 和林, Bar Kùl 巴里坤, and the Wala tribe of the west, but Dayan Khan's troops were never employed after this except in invading Ming China. As far as the sphere of influence was concerned, Dayan Khan's was hardly a half of that of Esen before him but his merit consisted in the most solid unification of his tribe; it may be said that his greater effort in life was spent in removing all heterogeneous elements in his sphere of influence. As his marked achievement, we may give his peaceful enfeoffment of his sons, from which dates the origin of the later establishment of the various Mongol tribes. This will be treated in the following section.

IV. The Enfeoffment of His Sons

As to Dayan Khan's children, a general statement is found under Chih-

of the War Department dated Kuei-wei December, the 13th year of Hung-chih, reads: 往年小王子部落, 冰凍則西入, 河開則東過大同或間來貢, 或時有侵犯。May the latter not be true?

fung-k'ao 職方考 quoted under Chên-shu Shan-hsi 鎮戍山西 in the *Wu-pei-chi* 武備志 (Bk. 206) by MAO Yüan-i 茅元儀: "In the Hung-chih era, there lived the Little Prince. As Oirad migrated westward, he and Turfan hated and killed each other. His power gradually grew. His son Dayan Khan was nicknamed the Little Prince. He had eleven sons".⁽⁷⁵⁾ Pei-lu-k'ao in the *Ssü-i-k'ao* by YEH gives a much more detailed account.

"In those days the Little Prince was the most powerful of all, possessing more than 100,000 men, and large quantities of golden sash-band. He was somewhat averse to fighting. An invasion, however, was taken every year to a great extent, and the northwestern border was plundered. It was done by the other chiefs of the branches of his tribe:—one was Chinang, the other was Altan: both chiefs were of Yüan descent and the Little Prince is their uncle. His grandfather, whose name was Tai-yen-ha (Dayan Khan), had eleven sons. The next was named Sai-na-la and had seven sons. The eldest was Chi-nang. The next was Altan, who were both brave and skillful in tactics. Chi-nang built a fortress at Ho-t'ao 河套, named Ordos 襖兒都司 which confronted Kuan-chung. Altan built a fortress at Fêng-chout-t'an which confronted Tai and Yün-chu. Both Chinang and Altan had each nine sons. Each son had ten thousand horsemen. Their younger brother, Lao-pa-tu 老把都 also had several ten-thousand horsemen, and built walls at Chang-chia-k'ou. The all followers of the family had been allotted a territory. They were one hundred and ten in number. They plundered the borders and enriched themselves, and waxed more powerful from day to day. One was honoured as the Little Prince. He never consented to a treaty. The Little Prince also migrated and built a fortress at eastern parts, confronting Hsien and Liao and named it T'u-man 土蠻".⁽⁷⁶⁾

This treats, not only the situation of the period in question, but also that of the subsequent period. Of this class are Li-tai-i-ming-tsung-p'ai 歷代夷名宗派 in the *Ch'ou-pien-tsuai-i* 籌邊纂議 (Bk. 1) by CHENG Wên-pin 鄭文彬, Pei-lu-ko-chih-p'ai 北虜各支宗派 in the *To-t'an-pi-chiu* (Bk. 23), and *Pei-lu-shih-hsi* 北虜世系 attached to *Pei-lu-fêng-su* 北虜風俗 (*I-su-chi* 夷俗記) which is in full detail. Let us now compare this with the account in the *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* (Bk.

(75) 弘治間，有小王子，因瓦剌西徙，與土魯番相仇殺，勢漸強，其子歹顏罕亦稱小王子，有子十一人。

(76) 是時小王子最富強，控弦十餘萬，多畜黃金犀毗，稍厭兵。其連歲深入，蹂西北邊，皆其別部酋，曰吉囊，曰俺答，二酋亦元裔，于小王子為從父行。其大父曰歹顏哈，有十一子。次曰賽那刺，有七子，長吉囊，次俺答，皆雄黠善兵。吉囊壁河套，名襖兒都司，直關中。俺答壁州灘，直代·雲中。吉囊·俺答各九子，子各萬騎。其弟老把都亦數萬騎，壁張家口。諸毘從百十，皆有分地，率盜邊自肥，日益強盛，名尊小王子，不受其約束，小王子亦徙壁東方，直蘄遼，號曰土蠻。

5), in enumerating Dayan Khan's sons, says:

"After this Mandughai Sechen Khatun delivered Törö Bolod and Ulus Bolod twin sons, then Töröltü Günji and Bars Bolod twin sons; then Arsu Bolod one child; and then Alchu Bolod and Wachir Bolod twin sons".⁽⁷⁷⁾

By the way, Ara Bolod seems to be missing. These seven sons are styled seven Bolods⁽⁷⁸⁾. Nevertheless, it was a strange case for her to deliver so many twins. She gave birth to too many twins. The *Yüan-liu* goes on to say:

"Sümer Khatun the daughter of Khutuk Shigüshi of Jalair delivered Gere Bolod Taiji and Geresanja Taiji two children; Khüchi Khatun the daughter of Manggilai Aghulkhu the son of Alak Chingsang of Baghatud Bagharkhan Otok of Oirad delivered Ubshighun Ching Taiji and Geretü Taiji two children. All made eleven generations"⁽⁷⁹⁾

These four children were of different mothers. This Khutuk Shigüchi of Jalair is given as Khutuk Shigüchi of Uliangkhai in the *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p'u* and the *Altan Tobchi*; so Jalair was Uliangkhai. Alak Chingsang of Oirad was probably A-la-chi-yin who slew Yesen 也先. Mandulghai Khatun being the daughter of Chorokbai Temür Chingsang 綽囉克拜特穆爾丞相 of Endküd 恩袞, this will serve to prove the range of cross-marriage in these days. In spite of some differences in the order of the children we may get a general idea. Under a later heading, it reads:

"His two sons Törö Bolod and Ulus Bolod were born in the year Jên-yin (1482); in two sons Törö Bolod and Bars Bolod were born in the year Chia-chên (1484); the two sons Alchu Bolod and Wachi Bolod were born in the year Kêng-hsü (1490); Gere Bolod whom Jalair Khatun delivered was born in the year Jên-yin (1482); and Geretü Taiji was born in the year Hsin-hai (1491)".⁽⁸⁰⁾

(77) 其後滿都海徹辰福晉一乳生圖嚕博羅特·烏魯斯博羅特二子，其次一乳生圖嚕勒圖公主與伯爾色博羅特二人，次生阿爾蘇博羅特一人，又其次一乳生阿勒楚博羅特·斡齊爾博羅特二子。

(78) Bolod 博羅特 is said to mean "steel" in the Mongol language. It is the first name which Sechen Khatun 徹辰福晉 gave all her seven sons as a blessing for their future. According to the *Yüan-liu*, as Khatun married Dayan Khan, she prayed to the deity and was given these sons. Cf. *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, pp. 181-2, Note 27.

(79) The Chinese translation of the *Yüan-liu* on this reads "In both lines eleven Khans succeeded". In the translation by Mr. Gō also reads "until the eleventh Khan....," while the German translation says "in allem elf Prinzen", and the *Mêng-kugüan-liu-chien-chêng* also "In Erh-tien's view, both produced eleven Khans in all". Naturally, this is correct.

(79) 其札賚爾呼圖克實古錫之女蘇密爾福晉生格喀博羅特台吉·格喀森札台吉二人，循喇特巴圖特巴嚕爾觀鄂托克之阿拉克丞相之子孟克額阿古勒呼之女古實福晉生鄂卜錫袞青台吉·格喀圖台吉二人，共十一汗。

(80) 其子圖嚕博羅特·烏魯斯博羅特二人係壬寅年生，圖嚕勒圖公主·巴爾斯博羅特二人係甲辰年生，阿爾楚博羅特·斡齊爾博羅特二人係庚戌年生，札拉爾福晉所生之格喀博羅特係壬寅年生，格喀圖台吉係辛亥年生。

From this may be seen that some children are omitted; moreover, their ages can be approximately computed.

According to the *Têng-t'an-pi-chiu* (Bk. 23), under a description of "Chusan-chien-fang-i-kan chia-ta-tzū-tsung-p'ai 住三間房義汗家達子宗派" in *Pei-lu-ko-chih-tsung-p'ai* 北虜各支宗派, it gives the following tables:

The first generation Ha-la-ha-ch'u Noyan 哈喇哈處那言.

The second generation Ha-li-pa-na-chien 哈利巴那見.

The third generation Pu-êrh-hu Jinong 卜兒戶吉囊.

The fourth generation Ta-yen Khan 答言罕.

The fifth generation Ha-pu-hai Khan 哈不害罕.

The sixth generation Pu-chao Khan 卜着罕.

The seventh generation Lai-sung Khan 來宋汗 who bore three sons.

The eighth generation Tu-man Khan 土蠻罕 the eldest who bore a son.

The ninth generation Pu-yen Taiji 不燕台吉.

This table contains many erroneous characters and errors. This is evidently a genealogical table of the Ch'a-kan 叉汗 or Chakhar family, though entitled I-kan 義汗. The seventh generation Lai-sung Khan should read Ta-lai-sung Khan 打來宋汗. The first generation Ha-la-ha-ch'u Noyan and the second generation Ha-li-pa-na-chien correspond to Akbarji Jinong 阿噶巴爾濟農 and Kharghuchuk Taiji 哈爾固楚克台吉 in the *Yüan-liu*; the third generation Pu-êrh-hu Jinong to Bolkho Jinong 博勒呼濟農, and the fourth generation Ta-yen Khan to Dayan Khan. The fifth generation Ha-pu-hai Khan is Abkai Khan 阿不亥汗 and would correspond to Bars Bolod; however, in this connection Törö Bolod who did not assume the Khanate should be inserted, the sixth generation Pu-chao Khan is Bodi Khan 博迪汗 (Pu-ch'ih 卜赤汗); the seventh generation Lai-sung Khan Daraisun Khan 達賚孫汗 (打來孫汗); the eighth generation Tu-man Khan is Tümen Khan 圖門汗; and the ninth generation Pu-yen Taiji is Buyan Taiji 布延台吉.

Now according to the *Pei-lu-shih-hsi*, the eleven sons Tai-yen-ha 歹顏哈 (Dayan Khan) are as follows: the eldest is Tieh-li-pa-hu 鐵力擺戶, which should correspond to Törö Bolod; the next is Wu-lu-tu Taiji 五路土台吉 (Urus Bolod) who did not succeed; the third is Sai-na-la 賽那刺 which corresponds to Bars Bolod; the rest will read: the fourth, Wo-chê Khong Taiji 我折黃台吉, (Arus Bolod); the fifth A-ch'ih-lai Taiji 阿赤賴台吉 (Wachir Bolod); the sixth, Na-li-pu-la Taiji 納力不刺 (Alchu Bolod); the eighth, Chêng Taiji 稱台吉 (Ara Bolod); the ninth, K'o-li-tu Taiji 克列兔台吉 (Gerelt Taiji) who did not succeed; the tenth, Wu-pa-shan-chih-Taiji 五八山只台吉 (Gere Bolod); the eleventh, Ko-

li-shan-chih Taiji 格列山只台吉 (Geresanja Taiji);⁽⁸¹⁾ The eldest was born in the year Jên-yin, (the 18th year of Ch'êng-hua, 1482) and the youngest approximately in the year Hsih-hai, (the 4th year of Hung-chih, 1491).

The *Mêng-ku-yüan-liu* (Bk, 6), after describing the succeeding Khanate reigns by the first-born sons of Dayan Khan, Bodi Khan, Daraisun Khan, Tümen Khan, describes the enfeoffment of the rest of the sons as follows:

“The next son Urus Bolod had no son. Now Bars Bolod Sain Alak ruled the Right-wing three Tümen. Arsu Bolod Mergen Khong Taiji ruled the seven Tümed. Alchu Bolod ruled the five inner Khalkha. Geresanja ruled outer seven Otok Khalkha. Wachir Bolod ruled Eight Otok Keshikten of Chakhar. Gere Bolod ruled Aokhan Naiman of Chakhar. Ara Bolod ruled Khaghuchid of Chakhar. Ubasanja ruled the two distincts Asud, Yungshiyebu. Gered Taiji had no son”.⁽⁸²⁾

This means that of the eleven sons, the eldest Törö Bolod succeeded to the Khanate, excepting the second son Urus Bolod and the youngest son Gered Taiji whose line came to an end because they were favored with no successor, the other eight sons became the princes of the provinces which Dayan Khan had founded. To begin with, the eldest Bars Bolod ruled Jinong and was the chief of the Right-wing three Tümen. That the castle he occupied was Ho-t'ao 河套 or Ordos 鄂爾多斯 is evident because of references under other headings in the *Yüan-liu*. Tümed which Arsu Bolod occupied seems to have been the area of the present Kuei-hua-ch'êng 歸化城. The inner

(81) On this table Geresanja 格列山只 is represented as the youngest son. CHANG Mu 張穆 of Ch'ing, in his *Mêng-ku-yu-mu-chih* 蒙古遊牧記 (Bk. 7), supposes that Dayan Khan possessed his headquarters in Outer Mongolia, and says, “獨其季格喀森札札賽爾渾台吉留故土, 號所部曰喀爾喀云々 (Only his youngest son Geasanja Jalair Taiji stayed at the old abode and called there Khalkha....)” However, the Mongolian inheritance system in those days was primogeniture, and the youngest son had no share in inheritance. But it is not certain that Geresanja was the youngest son. Though he is put as the youngest son on this list, the order is decided with reference to the mothers who gave birth to the children, and seeing that his elder brother Gere Bolod 格列博羅特 is the very eldest of all the family, Geresanja also may have been a fairly elder brother. His fairly high position in the order of the feoffments in the *Yüan-liu* of the children must be consulted. The *Mêng-ku-shih-hsi-p'u* gives as the first son Törö Bolod, as the third son Bars Bolod, as the fourth son Arsu Bolod, as the fifth son Wachir Bolod, as the sixth son Alchu Bolod, as the seventh son Ara Bolod, as the eighth son Geresanja 格喀三札, as the ninth son Gere 格勒, as the tenth son Ghartu Taiji 噶魯帝台吉, and as the eleventh son Ubasanja Ching Taiji 五巴三察青臺吉.

(82) 次子烏爾斯博羅特無子。今巴爾斯博羅特賽音阿拉克統率右翼三萬人之衆, 阿爾斯博羅特墨爾根鴻台吉統率七土默特, 阿爾珠博羅統率內五鄂托克喀爾喀, 格喀森札統率外七鄂托克喀爾喀, 幹齊爾博羅特統率察哈爾之八鄂托克什克騰, 格喀博羅特統率察哈爾之敦罕奈曼, 阿爾博羅特統率察哈爾之浩齊特, 烏巴繼察統率阿蘇特·永謝布二處, 其格喀圖台吉無子。

five Otok of Khalkha⁽⁸³⁾ for Alchu Bolod corresponds to the present two provinces of Bagharin 巴林 and Jarud. Geresanja is the ancestor of the four tribes of the later Khalkha in Outer Mongolia, but outer seven Otok of Khalka at the beginning seems to have referred only to the eastern border of Outer Mongolia. Keshikten Aohan Naiman, and Khaguchid of Chakhar for Wachir Bolod and the others were no doubt respectively near the provinces so named; and Asud and Yungshiyebu seem to have been within the present Chakhar and Sunid 蘇尼特.

This situation continued to control the foundation of the Mongol tribes for a long time, yet there were sometimes discontinuations and changes in the royal family relations. After Dayan Khan's death, the Right-wing Jinongs grew exceedingly powerful and as a result of their concurrent ruling and annexation of other provinces, they came to threaten the Khanate of the original Left wing family, and as the result of the conflict between the Right and Leftwings, the rest of the Khanate was compelled to move eastward. As for the eastward transference of the headquarters of the Little Prince, it will be fully treated later, but the execution of annexations on the part of the powerful Right-wing Jinongs may easily be seen from the following account in the *Yüan-liu* concerning the enfeoffment of Dayan Khan's sons.

"The eldest son Gün Bilik Mergen Jinong occupying Ordos, dwelt there. Altan Khan, occupying Twelve Tümed, dwelt there. Labuk Taiji, occupying Wu-k'o-hsin 烏古新 of Tümed, dwelt there. Bayaskhal occupying Seven Otok Kharachin of Yungshiyebu, dwelt there. Bayandara, occupying Chaghan Tatar of Chakhar, dwelt there. Bodidara occupying Asud and Yungshiyebu, dwelt there. Talakhai died in childhood"⁽⁸⁴⁾

This means that, let alone the eldest son Gün Bilik who succeeded his father Bars Bolod, the second son Altan Khan and the third son Labuk Taiji occupied the former province of Tümed, that of their uncle and the fourth son Bayaskhal and the sixth son Bodidara likewise took the provinces of Asud and Yungshiyebu, that had belonged to their uncle Ubasanja, and the fourth son Bayandara newly occupied Chaghan Tatar of Chakhar, So it may be seen that, to say nothing of the province of the Right-wing three Tümen which

(83) According to the history of the *Mongol Social System* by ULADIMIRTSOV, "Otok is a Mongol word derived from the Sogdo word Oták, a word used in connection with an area; but as a military term it was used synonymously with Khoshighun". In this book the Ming Chinese probably used it for the camps composing a tribe. As to the Mongol society culture in those days, Yui Bayan offers brief explanations. *Nei-mêng-ku-li-shih-kai-yao* 內蒙古歷史概要, pp. 86-88.

(84) 長子衮必里克墨爾根濟農佔據鄂爾多斯萬人而居，阿勒坦汗佔據十二土默特而居，拉布克台吉佔據土默特之烏古新而居，巴雅思哈勒佔據永謝布之七鄂托克喀喇沁而居，巴延達喇佔據察哈爾之察罕塔々爾而居，博鄂達喇佔據阿蘇特，永謝布而居之，塔喇海幼死。

had been the sole territory of the Jinong, the provinces of Tümed, Asud, and Yungshiyebu adjacently lying to the east had now passed as a private possessions into the hands of the Right-wing and their superfluous power had extended over Chakhar the abode of the Left-wing. From this period on, throughout the whole Ming period, until the Mongolian campaign at the beginning of the Ch'ing Dynasty, this general state of things suffered no radical change. Therefore, this accounts for the above account by some Ming writers of the middle Chia-ching era who were aware of this fact.