

Mongol Chronicles and Chinggisid Genealogies*

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Mongol chronicles constitute a distinct genre in Mongolian literature. The earliest of them appeared in the second half of the seventeenth century, soon after the Mongols of Inner Mongolia fell under the Manchu domination in 1634, and the last of them was written directly after the Volga Turghud returned to Ili to seek the Ch'ing protection in 1771. Thus the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a time when the Mongols and their western kinsmen, the Oyirad, were feeling their traditional world of unfettered nomadic existence and heroism in tribal wars fading away. It was natural that they felt compelled to preserve their national identity by writing down the names of their ancestors and the glorious deeds performed by them.

The Mongol chronicles derived their origin from the cult of Chinggis Khan at his Four Great Ordos (Dörben Yeke Ordos) on the Kerülen in Eastern Outer Mongolia. Chinggis Khan organized his ancestral estate and three great tribes whom he had conquered by the strength of his arms into four groups called "Ordos" (pavillions), each of which was governed by one of his queens. The First Ordo was on the Kerülen, governed by Börte Hüjin of the Khunggirad, being the old camp of Seche Beki and Tayichu of the Yürkin Clan. The Second Ordo was in the Kentei Mountains, governed by Khulan Khatun of the Merkid, being the home of the Kiyán Clan to which Chinggis belonged. The Third Ordo was on the Tuula, governed by Yesüi Khatun of the Tatar, being the old camp of Toghöril Ong Khan of the Kereyid. The Fourth Ordo was in the Khangai Mountains, governed by Yesüken Khatun, Yesüi's sister, being the old camp of Tayibugha Tayang Khan of the Naiman. Thus the Four Great Ordos in Chinggis' reign covered most of the present-day Outer Mongolia.¹⁾

When Chinggis Khan died in 1227, his fourth son Tolui inherited the Four Great Ordos. His elder brother Ögedei came on the throne two years later, and Tolui relinquished most of his possessions in Outer Mongolia in favor of the new Khan. Thereafter the Four Great Ordos were reduced in size and functioned as an organization devoted to posthumous services to Chinggis Khan. In other words, they were now a shrine of the deified Chinggis Khan.

In 1292, Khubilai Khan, Tolui's second son, conferred on his grandson Kamala the title of Chin Wang, or King of Shansi, and put him in command

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1) Okada 1975.

of the Four Great Ordos of Chinggis Khan and the land and troops of Mongolia. The prince was thus made responsible for the cult of Chinggis as a god. Kamala died and was succeeded by his son Yesün Temür in 1302. In 1323 Siddhipāla Gegen Khan, or Emperor Ying Tsung of the Yüan, was assassinated by his courtiers, leaving no heir. Invited to take over the imperial throne, Chin Wang Yesün Temür proclaimed himself Khan at his camp on the Kerülen, and then marched on Ta-tu (Peking). Thus a Chin Wang became emperor, and the Chinggis Khan cult was brought from Eastern Outer Mongolia to the imperial capital. This title of Chin Wang was the origin of the Jinong, a title traditionally borne by the heads of the Ordos Mongols, the latter-day form of the Four Great Ordos.²⁾

The earliest prototype of Mongol chronicles, *Mongghol-un ni'ucha tobcha'an* (Secret History of the Mongols, or Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih), was most probably compiled at the court of Chin Wang and brought to Ta-tu by the retinue of Yesün Temür. It ostensibly describes Chinggis' deeds up to the time when he was enthroned as Khan in 1206, but its accounts of historical circumstances are rather fictional than factual, filled with episodes invented for literary effect. Many of its features indicate that it was not meant to be a chronicle of historical facts about the life of Chinggis Khan as a human being, but a holy scripture narrating the origin of the Chinggis Khan cult, probably recited at religious services.³⁾

The Four Great Ordos, after the fall of the Yüan Dynasty in China in 1368, became the Myriarchy of Ordos, who kept up the cult of Chinggis Khan at his Eight White Yurts (Naiman Chaghan Ger) as his shrine was now called. It was Khutughtai Sechen Khong Tayiji (1540–1586) of the Ordos, a wise counsellor to the famous Altan Khan of the Tümed, that, after meeting the Third Dalai Lama Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho in Kokonor and embracing the Tibetan Buddhist faith in 1578, coordinated teachings of the new religion and the traditional system of the Chinggis cult and established a "Code of the Law of Ten Meritorious Deeds." That code has come down to us in the form of *Arban buyan-tu nom-un Chaghan teüke* (White History of the Law of Ten Meritorious Deeds). This literature, though not a chronicle, left its mark on later Mongol historiography, particularly that of *Erdeni-yin Tobchi*.

In 1662, twenty-eight years after Inner Mongolia fell under the Manchu domination and eighteen years after Emperor Shun-chih sat on the Chinese throne in Peking, the first of the Mongol chronicles appeared. Saghang Sechen Khong Tayiji, a prince of the Ordos Ügüshin Banner (Ordos Right Wing Front Banner), composed his *Khad-un ündüsün-ü Erdeni-yin tobchi* (Jewel History of the Origins of the Khans) in that year. Translated into Chinese through its

2) Okada 1975.

3) Okada 1970; Okada 1972a.

Manchu edition, *Enetkek Tubet Monggo Han sai Da Sekiyen* (Origins of the Khans of India, Tibet and Mongolia), it is commonly known under its Chinese title, *Meng-ku Yüan Liu*. Though preeminently a family chronicle of the Ordos princes, it set a pattern for later Mongol chronicles.⁴⁾

Erdeni-yin tobchi was followed by Gүүshi Lobsang Danjin's *Altan tobchi* (Golden History) some ten years later. A lama of the same name is known to have composed an itinerary of Mount Wu-t'ai at the behest of another lama living at Köke Khota in 1667. If they are the same person, the chronicle too must have had its origin in Inner Mongolia. In its description of Chinggis Khan's descendants, *Altan tobchi* mentions two sons of Abunai Vang of the Chakhar by a Manchu princess, Burni Vang and Lobsang Tayiji. Emperor K'ang-hsi put Hošoi Cin Wang Abunai of the Chakhar under house arrest in 1669 and caused the title pass on to the latter's son Burni. Cin Wang Burni revolted against the Ch'ing but was shot to death together with his brother Lobsang by fellow Mongols in 1675. Thus it is most likely that *Altan tobchi* was composed when the memory of the tragic end of the legitimate heir of the Northern Yüan Khans was still fresh. It is difficult, however, to identify the author's affiliation with any particular lineage. It may not be a family chronicle after all, but the stories told in it are often richer in details than those in *Erdeni-yin tobchi*.

There is an abridged version of *Altan tobchi*, titled *Khad-un ündüsün Khuriyangghui altan tobchi* (Abridged Golden History of the Origins of the Khans). It is anonymous and of no historical value as no new material has been added to quotations from *Altan tobchi*.

Much more important is *Asaraghchi neretü teüke* (History named Maitreya) by Byamba Erke Dayiching, a prince of the Outer Mongolian Khalkha. Its date of composition, 1677, was only two years after the failed rebellion of Burni, attesting to the profound impact that the incident gave the Mongols of the day. At that time the Khalkha Mongols still maintained independence in Outer Mongolia, and Byamba was one of the most pro-Manchu of their princes. When Outer Mongolia was overrun by the Jün Ghar forces of Galdan Boshoghtu Khan in 1688, Byamba took refuge in Inner Mongolia and three years later was given the title of Hošoi Cin Wang by Emperor K'ang-hsi. His descendants became princes of the Sayin Noyan Banner of the Khalka Sayin Noyan Ayimagh. *Asaraghchi* is a family chronicle of the Outer Mongolian Khalkha princes in the last phase of their independence before the Ch'ing domination, and its stories closely resemble those in *Altan tobchi*.

After Outer Mongolia was integrated into the Ch'ing Empire in 1697, another Khalkha chronicle appeared. It is anonymous and has no definite title, variously known as *Shira tughuji* (Yellow History) or *Jalaghus-un khurim* (Ban-

4) Okada 1962.

quet of the Youths). In its section on Chinggisid genealogies, the latest inner evidence for the date of its composition is the mention of Jasagh-un Tayiji Khongghor of the Middle Front Banner of the Sayin Noyan Ayimagh in the *Shira tughuji* version, and of Gūn Anuri, his son, in the *Jalaghus-un khurim* version. Khogghor was given the title of Jasagh First Class Tayiji in 1703 and died in 1706. His son Anuri was given the title of Tusalakhu Gūng in 1711 and promoted to the rank of Gūsai Beise in 1731. Thus the author's affiliation is established as that banner and the date of the chronicle's composition as the first part of the eighteenth century.

By this time Inner Mongolians had already been well integrated into the ruling class of the Ch'ing Empire, and, to exalt their ancestry, were producing their own family chronicles. One of them was *Gangga-yin uruskhal* (Stream of the Ganges) of Gombojab, an Üjümüchin Mongol professor at the Tibetan School of the Li Fan Yüan who wrote his chronicle in 1725. The author was a grandson of Jasagh-un Sechen Chin Vang Chaghan Babai of the Üjümüchin Right Wing Banner. As the Üjümüchin was a branch of the house of Chakhar Khans, the chronicle seems to reflect family traditions that had existed before the Chakhar princely house was abolished and its subjects were integrated into the Eight Banners in the aftermath of the 1675 rebellion of Burni.

Lomi was another high Mongol official at the Ch'ing court who wrote his family chronicle. His eighth-generation ancestor was Bayaskhal Köndelen Khan of the Kharachin. The Kharachin were destroyed by Lingdan Khutughtu Khan of the Chakhar in 1628 and their survivors were integrated into the Eight Banners of the Manchus. Lomi belonged to the Thirteenth Arrow of the Left Jalan of the Plain Blue Banner Mongol Command, and was serving as the Mongol Commander of the Bordered Red Banner when he wrote his chronicle in 1735. The chronicle, composed originally in Manchu and titled probably *Monggo Borjigit Halai Giyapu Bithe* (Book of Genealogy of the Mongol Borjigid Clan), is now available only in its Mongolian translation, *Mongghol borjigid obogh-un teüke*, and Chinese translation, *Meng-ku Shih Hsi P'u*. Thus it is a family chronicle of the Manchurized Kharachin Mongols. A word of caution: This Kharachin is not the same people as the present-day Kharachin. The old Kharachin were the descendants of the Qipchaq Turkish guards of the Yüan emperors, whereas the present-day Kharachin are a branch of the Uriyangkhan known to the Ming Chinese as To-yen Wei who intermarried with the royal house of the Kharachin Khanate. After the destruction of the old Kharachin the name was transferred to their relatives by marriage, the present-day Kharachin.

The genre of Mongol chronicles was brought to completion by two works by Inner Mongolian Khalkhas. There had been two kinds of Khalkhas, the Seven Khalkha of Outer Mongolia and the Five Khalkha of Inner Mongolia. The Five

Khalkha, consisting of five sections called Jarud, Bagharin, Khunggirad, Bayaghud and Öjiyed, were once powerful in the Shira Mören valley east of the Khingan Mountains, but were conquered by the Manchus and had their major part integrated into the Eight Banners, leaving only the Jarud and the Bagharin.

Shiregetü Guushi Dharma of the Jarud wrote his *Altan kürdün mingghan kegesütü bichig* (Book of the Thousand-Spoked Golden Wheel) in 1739. And in 1775, four years after the Volga Turghud returned to Ili and all the Mongolic-speaking peoples except the Kalmyks west of the Volga and the Buriats east of the Baikal became subjects of Emperor Ch'ien-lung, there appeared the last and most voluminous of the Mongol chronicles. It was *Dai yuvan-u Bolor erike bichig* (Book of the Crystal Rosary of the Great Yüan) authored by Rashipungsugh of the Bagharin. According to the chronicle itself, Jasagh-un Törö-yin Giyün Vang Sebten of the Bagharin Right Wing Banner was the fifth-generation ancestor of the author, who had the title of Tusalaghchi Third Class Tayiji. The chronicle shows a remarkable degree of Sino-Manchu influence in its extensive use as a source of the Manchu edition of *Hsü Tzu Chih T'ung Chien Kang Mu*, and is most exhaustive in enumerating the lines of descent from Chinggis Khan. It was the culmination of historiographical activities of the Mongols, after which chronicles were replaced by church histories and hagiographies, as the Mongol society became too stable under the Ch'ing control for anything new to happen in the world of aristocracy.

All these Mongol chronicles, from *Erdeni-yin tobchi* to *Bolor erike*, are basically genealogies of the Chinggisids, interlaced with epic accounts of their heroic deeds.⁵⁾

Now let us briefly describe what became of the descendants of Chinggis Khan in the Northern Yüan period spanning the fall of the Yüan Dynasty and the Manchu domination of Mongolia.

In 1368 Toghon Temür Ukhaghatu Khan, commonly known as Shun Ti, left Ta-tu before the advancing Ming Chinese armies and retreated into Inner Mongolia, where he died two years later at the city of Ying-ch'ang-fu. His son and heir Äyüsrīdhara Biligtü Khan, or Chao Tsung, operated in Outer Mongolia until he died in 1378. He was succeeded by Toquz Temür Uskhal Khan, or T'ien-yüan Ti, who was probably his younger brother. In 1388 Toquz Temür was surprised by the Ming forces on the shore of Lake Buyir Naghur and was killed by the troops of rebel prince Yesüder on the Tuula while fleeing to Khara Khorum. With this incident the Khubilaid line of Chinggis Khan's descendants came to an end. Yesüder, a descendant of Arigh Bugha who had fought a civil war against his elder brother Khubilai from 1260 to 1264, sat on the Northern Yüan throne and styled himself Jorightu Khan. He was backed by the Oyirad, a newly-formed federation of the great tribes of Northwestern Mongolia. He died in

5) Okada 1965a.

1391 and was succeeded by his son Engke Khan, who reigned until 1394. His successor Elbeg Khan is said to have been killed by his Oyirad vassals in 1399. He was succeeded by Kün Temür, who reigned 1399–1402. His successor Örüg Temür, known to the Ming Chinese as Kuei-li-ch'ih, was a descendant of Ögedei. When Öljei Temür, a prince who had taken refuge at the court of Timür in Samarkand in 1398 fleeing from the Oyirad, returned to Mongolia in 1407, Örüg Temür was dethroned and then killed by his vassals, who accepted Öljei Temür as their Khan. The new Khan, who was presumably a descendant of Arigh Bugha, was also known as Puṇyaśrī. In 1410 Emperor Yung-lo of the Ming crossed the Gobi in command of a large army and routed Puṇyaśrī's forces on the Onon. The Khan fled into the Oyirad but was killed by them in 1412. The Oyirad put up as their Khan Dalbag, a descendant of Arigh Bugha. Dalbag Khan reigned until 1415, and was succeeded by Oyiradai Khan, another descendant of Arigh Bugha. Arughtai Tayishi, a chief who represented the Eastern Mongols, put up as a counter-Khan Adai, son of Örüg Temür Khan, in 1425. Toghon Tayishi of the Oyirad enthroned Toghtogha Bukha in 1433. Toghtogha Bukha, who is called Tayisung Khan in Mongol chronicles, cooperated with Toghon to destroy Arughtai in 1434 and Adai Khan in 1438.

It is not clear to what line this Tayisung Khan belonged. All the Mongol chronicles give only confused accounts of the lineages of the Khans who came and went between 1368 and 1438, attesting to the great damages suffered by the Mongolian records in the confusion that ensued the subsequent Oyirad supremacy.

Tayisung Khan fell out with his ally Esen Tayishi, son of Toghon, and opened war with him in 1451. He was defeated and killed in his flight. Esen ascended the throne of the Northern Yüan in 1453, but was killed by rebellious vassals in the following year. Markörgis, a young son of the late Tayisung Khan, was put up as Khan in 1465, but was killed by Bolai Tayishi in 1465. Maghulikhai Ong, another powerful chief, killed Bolai and put up Mulan Khan, a half brother of Markörgis. Maghulikhai, a descendant of Belgütei, Chinggis Khan's half brother, fell out with the Khan, whom he killed in the following year. After a decade of interregnum had passed, Mandughulun, a half brother of Tayisung Khan, was elected Khan by Beg Arslan Tayishi, a chief from East Turkestan. Beg Arslan fell out with Mandughulun Khan and killed him in 1479. Ismā'il Tayishi, a kinsman of Beg Arslan, killed the Tayishi and elected a Chinggisid by the name of Bayan Möngke Bolkhu Jinong as Khan.

Bolkhu Jinong's grandfather Aghbarji (Akbar-al-Dīn) Jinong was a younger brother of Tayisung Khan. When Tayisung Khan warred with Esen of the Oyirad, Aghbarji Jinong sided with the latter, but was killed by an Oyirad trickery. His son Kharghuchugh, who was married to Esen's daughter, escaped to Central Asia, where he too was killed. His widow gave birth to Bayan Möngke

in the Oyirad, who was later taken to the Uriyanghan Mongols in the Kentei Mountains. Bayan Möngke Bolkhu Jinong had a son by his Uriyangkhan wife in 1464. The boy was named Batu Möngke and put out to nurse when very young.

Meanwhile Bolkhu Jinong Khan soon fell out with Ismā'il Tayishi and was driven away. Having suffered a heavy blow, the Khan nevertheless operated in the Yellow River Bend region for a while, until he was killed by the Yöngshiyebü Mongols in 1487.

Batu Möngke, who had married Mandukhui Khatun, Mandughulun Khan's widow, now sat on the throne and styled himself Dayan Khan. This Batu Möngke Dayan Khan became the sole ancestor of all the Chinggisid princes who flourished from that time on. In other words, he was the second founder of the Chinggisid line. In the Ch'ing times, 23 banners out of the 49 Inner Mongolian banners and all but three of the 86 Outer Mongolian banners were governed by descendants of Batu Möngke Dayan Khan. The exceptions were the six Khorchin banners, the Jalayid banner, the Dörbed banner, the two Ghorlos banners, the Aru Khorchin banner, the Dörben Keüked banner, the Muu Mingghan banner and the three Urad banners governed by descendants of Jöchi Khasar, a younger brother of Chinggis Khan; the two Abagha banners and the two Abaghanar banners governed by descendants of Belgütei, a half brother of Chinggis; the two Ongniud banners governed by descendants of Khachighun, another younger brother of Chinggis; and the three Kharachin banners and the Tümed Left Wing Banner governed by descendants of Jelme of the Uriyangkhan, all in Inner Mongolia. The Outer Mongolian exceptions were three Ögeled banners.⁶⁾

Dayan Khan had seven sons by Mandukhui Khatun: 1. Törö Bolad, 2. Ulus Bolad, 3. Barsubolad, 4. Arsu Bolad, 5. Alchu Bolad, 6. Vachir Bolad, and 7. Ar Bolad; and four more sons by other queens: 8. Garudī, 9. Ubasancha Ching Tayiji, 10. Gerebolad, and 11. Geresenje. Törö Bolad died before the father, and his son Bodi Alagh Khan became the founder of the line of the Chakhar Khans, legitimate heirs of the Northern Yüan throne. Barsubolad became Jinong of the Ordos, and had six sons, of whom 1. Gün Bilig's descendants inherited the title of Jinong; 2. Altan became the founder of the Tümed Khanate; 4. Bayaskhal became the founder of the Kharachin Khanate. Alchu Bolad became the founder of the princely house of the Five Khalkha of Inner Mongolia. Geresenje became the founder of the Seven Khalkha of Outer Mongolia. Geresenje's eldest son Ashikhai became the founder of the Jasaghtu Khanate, while third son Noghonokhu became the founder of the lines of Tüshiyetü Khans and Sayin Noyans, and fourth son Amin became the founder of the line of Chechen Khans. Such was the manner in which the descendants of Chinggis Khan spread themselves

6) Okada 1965a; Okada 1965b; Okada 1965c.

all over Mongolia.⁷⁾

Thus the Chinggisid genealogies preserved in the Mongol chronicles offer important clues for reconstructing what Mongol society was like before it fell under the Manchu domination in the seventeenth century.

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7) Okada 1965a; Okada 1965c; Okada 1972b; Okada 1974; Okada 1981.