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Author(s): Henry Serruys

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REMAINS OF MONGOL CUSTOMS IN CHINA DURING THE EARLY MING PERIOD

HENRY SERRUYS, C. I. C. M.

Washington, D. C.

Until recently it has been thought that without exception the successive foreign dynasties which conquered and occupied China rapidly lost their identity and became Chinese. K. Wittfogel and Ch.-sh. Feng have proved however that this is not true of the Liao dynasty (907-1115),¹ and in a brief discussion in their General Introduction suggest that the Mongols of the Yüan period also were not as rapidly absorbed and assimilated as has been generally supposed.² Certainly the Mongols and their foreign allies underwent the influence of Chinese culture just as in the western part of their empire the Mongols underwent the influence of the Moslem civilization. Marco Polo, writing about conditions during the reign of Qubilai, already noted that some Mongols had forsaken their native customs and "those who frequent Catai keep themselves very greatly to the ways and to the manner and to the customs of the idolaters of those regions and have very much left their law; and those who frequent the Levant keep themselves very much in the manner of the Saracens & hold the faith & laws of Mahomet."³

The Chinese scholar Ch'en Yüan in his interesting study of the sinicization of the Western peoples during the Yüan dynasty abundantly proves that indeed in the course of time many foreigners of the Yüan period adopted the Chinese culture, and he discusses in considerable detail wherein the foreign occupants imitated the Chinese.⁴ Ch'en lists a number of men who became Confucianists, Taoists, and

1) Wittfogel, K. and Feng, Ch.-sh., *History of Chinese Society, Liao, 907-1125* (1948).

2) *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

3) *Marco Polo, The Description of the World*, ed. by A.C. Moule and P. Pelliot (1938), vol. 1, pp. 174-175. All quotations from Marco Polo through courtesy of Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., London.

4) Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, "Yüan Hsi-yü-jen Hua-hua k'ao" 元西域人華化考 in *Pei-ching ta-hsüeh kuo-hsüeh chi-k'an* 北京大學國學季刊 vol. 1 (1923), pp. 573-653, and *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao* 燕京學報 2 (1927), pp. 173-232.

Buddhists (i. e. who adopted Buddhism in its Chinese version, rather than in its Mongol or Tibetan form then enjoying considerable prestige at the Mongol court); further he lists men who became known as writers, poets, calligraphists, and painters. Ch'en also discusses men who adopted Chinese names and came to prefer Chinese funeral ceremonies and sacrificial rites in general.⁵ Ch'en Yüan concludes his long paper with an impressive list of Chinese works written by non-Chinese during that period. However, it does not follow from even a long list of authors and books that the majority of the non-Chinese had become sinicized. The explanation rather seems to be that a certain number of men of foreign descent, some born outside China, had been greatly impressed by Chinese culture and had made a positive step toward identifying themselves with it. Those who did learn Chinese, and wrote in Chinese, or became otherwise known for some skill, attracted more the attention of the world around them than the others who did not try to assimilate Chinese culture.

When we consider all the other circumstances in which these men lived, it becomes very unlikely that, relatively speaking, any large numbers of foreigners tried to become Chinese and lose their Mongol, or Turkish, etc., identity. In this connection we must first of all say that very few of the men listed by Ch'en Yüan are Mongols. Those listed are almost exclusively Önggüd (the Turkish tribe then living in southern Mongolia, close to the Chinese borders, in the modern provinces of Suiyüan and Chahar), Uighurs from Central Asia, Mohammedans from Khwarezm, and Tangγud from the Hsi-hsia country in the modern provinces of Suiyüan, Ninghsia and Kansu. Since most of those peoples in their native countries had already reached a fairly high cultural level, certainly much higher than that of the Mongols proper in Mongolia, representatives of those peoples were better prepared to understand and appreciate Chinese culture than the Mongols fresh from the steppe. It looks as if the difference

5) Some people in the Yüan government tried to prevent the adoption of Chinese customs. For example in the *Yüan-shih* 30. 23a (1328) we read: "Taš-temür and Daulaša requested that the names of such Mongols and Se-mu (officials) who would imitate the Chinese rules of mourning for their parents be crossed out (from the registers). The emperor approved." See also *Yüan-shih* 83. 11b 12a (1329). For a special rule concerning mourning and burial given for the Uighurs, Moslems, Tarsa, etc., see *Yüan-tien-shang* 元典章 30. 9a-10a.

between the cultural level of the Mongols and that of the Chinese was too great to make it likely that any large numbers of Mongols could appreciate Chinese culture at its real value.

On the other hand judging from the material included in the *Hung-wu shih-lu*⁶ one gets the impression that quite a number of Mongols had adopted Chinese names under the Mongol dynasty, but in all other fields the Mongols were by far outdistanced by their western allies. Yet even so the Mongols had acquired a fair measure of understanding of things Chinese, more or less complete, of course, according to the individuals. Herbert Franke⁷ describes the gradual improvement in the knowledge of Chinese, both reading and writing, of the Mongol emperors. Franke comes to the conclusion that a slow but steady progress was noticeable. Still their knowledge of Chinese remained rather superficial. Lacking any other standard of comparison we may tentatively assume that the same obtained for the Mongols in general. Undoubtedly many Mongols (and allies) living in China learned to speak Chinese, but the mastering of a second language in itself must not be called sinicization, although sometimes it may become a first step towards it.

If, compared to the Mongols, remarkably larger numbers of Uighurs, Mohammedans, Tangyud, and Önggüd learned to appreciate and consequently adopted Chinese culture, still it is not likely that a major part of the population of those nations who had settled and lived in China, made this important step. There were too many considerations of practical interest working in the opposite direction which influenced even the Chinese. In these matters one must always keep in mind that against the impressive achievements of Chinese culture which could not fail to attract more and more the better elements among the non-Chinese residents, there always remained the cold fact that a non-Chinese dynasty, aristocracy, and bureaucracy (with a Chinese bureaucracy next to it) governed the empire. Mongol remained the chief official language; but the fact that Chinese

6) *Ming Shih-lu*, Nanking edition 1940, Hung-wu section (1368-1398).

7) "Could the Mongol emperors read and write Chinese?" in *Asia Major*, New Series 3 (1952), pp. 28-41. See also Kiichiro Kanda, "The attitude of Emperor Wen-tsung of the Mongol Dynasty towards Chinese Culture," in *Asiatic Studies in honour of Tôru Haneda*, 1950, English summary, p. 11.

were forbidden to learn it implies that some Chinese indeed did learn the language and tried, probably with some success, to gain some advantage from their knowledge of it.⁸

It should not be concluded, however, that all study of the Mongol language in China was due to crude opportunism. We must not forget what an immense prestige the Mongol language had acquired as the chief official language of the Yüan court and of a world empire, and as the tool for important and widespread diplomatic correspondence. Apart from those attempts in China under the Yüan to study the Mongol language, we have very little if any, direct evidence of interest on the part of the Chinese in Mongol as an international language, and as a result it is impossible for the moment to evaluate that interest properly. It is quite possible that interest in a foreign language such as Mongol was much less in China than in other countries conquered by the Mongols or having relations with them; but that does not exclude all genuine interest on the part of the Chinese. The compiling of such works as the *Secret History of the*

8) The order forbidding the study of Mongol and the languages of the Se-mu peoples (i.e. the allies of the Mongols) was renewed from time to time. For example in 1337 (*Yüan-shih* 39. 8b): "It was forbidden for *Han-jen* (i.e. Northern Chinese) and for *Nan-jen* (i.e. Southern Chinese) to study the Mongol and the Se-mu scripts." Also *Yüan-shih* 182. 10b: "In a court conference there was the intention of putting into effect the old law...of forbidding the *Han-jen* and the *Nan-jen* to study the Mongol and the Uighur scripts. (Hsü) Yu-jen (許) 有壬 contested and stopped it." (Fr. W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1346" in *HJAS* 15, p. 50). The *Yüan tien-chang* 18. 1a, speaking of marriage agreements, says that the contracts may not be drawn up in the "northern language," i.e. Mongol. If the Mongols were used to exchanging marriage contracts between the respective families, one hardly sees how they could be forbidden to use their own language in such documents. It must have been the Chinese who were forbidden to write their contracts in Mongol. Such a regulation has no meaning unless it is intended for Chinese.

The full title of the *Yüan tien-chang* is *Ta-Yüan sheng-cheng kuo-ch'ao tien chang* 大元聖政國朝典章 in 60 *chüan* with a short supplement, ed. in 1908. In 1931, Ch'en Yüan published a *Yüan tien-chang chiao-pu* 校補, and in 1934, a *Yüan tien-chang chiao-pu shih-li* 校補釋例. The *Yüan tien-chang* is a collection of court decisions covering the years 1270-1322. For a short description of the contents see P. Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan* (1937), pp. xix-xx; E. Haenisch, *Steuer-gerechtsame der Chinesischen Klöster unter der Mongolenherrschaft* (1940) (not available to me), and H. Franke, *Geld und Wirtschaft in China unter Mongolen-Herrschaft* (1949), pp. 11-12. Originally composed in Mongol, the *Yüan tien-chang* was translated into Chinese in 1330 (*Yüan-shih* 34. 3b).

Mongols, known under its Chinese title as *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史,⁹ and the *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語¹⁰ during the reign of the first Ming emperor, and the inclusion of the *Secret History* in the great imperial collection *Yung-lo ta-tien* 永樂大典 cannot be explained without the recognition of genuine interest on the part of the Chinese in the Mongol language.

We possess extremely interesting indications of the enormous prestige the Mongol language had acquired among Asiatic tribes. For example we have the declaration by Jürčed chieftains in 1444, almost one hundred years after the collapse of the great Yüan empire. In the entry of March 3, 1444 (day *chia-wu* of the second month of the 9th year Cheng-t'ung) of the *Shih-lu* we read that the commandant of Hsüan-ch'eng 玄城 (in Jürčed territory in what is now Manchuria) memorialized the throne that "in these forty commanderies there is nobody who has a command of the Nü-chih 女直 (i. e. Jürčed) script, and we request that in the future the Tatar (i. e. Mongol) script (and language) be used in all documents."¹¹

It is certain that in other territories, too, the Mongols and their language had enjoyed similar prestige and probably continued to do so for some time after the collapse of their rule in China. In the

9) See A. Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass., with bibliography on pp. [1]-[2].

10) Published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1918, in the fourth series of the *Han-fen-lou pi-chi* 涵芬樓秘笈. A transcription was published by Marian Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du xiv siècle. Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389*, Wrocław, 1949; and a transcription with a German translation was published by Er. Haenisch, *Sino-Mongolische Dokumente vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Abh. der Deutschen Akad.) Berlin, 1952. See also my "The Dates of the Mongolian documents in the *Hua-i i-yü*," in *HJAS* 17, pp. 419-427.

11) *Cheng-t'ung Shih-lu*, ch. 112; Tamura Jitsuzô 田村實造, *Mindai Mammô shiryô, Minjitsuroku-shô* 明代滿蒙史料, 明實錄抄, *Manshû hen 2* 滿州篇二, p. 152. This request was approved by the emperor—a fact which perhaps helps to explain why the twenty short pieces from the Jürčed included in the *Ta-ta-kuan lai-wen* 韃靼館來文 are written in Mongol, not in Jürčed script as are those published by W. Grube, *Sprache und Schrift der Jüzen*. Since there was a scarcity of men able to write this intricate Jürčed script, letters and documents coming from the northeast may frequently have been written in Mongol with the result that the scribes in the *Ssu-i kuan* also made the summaries to be presented to the throne in that language. See my *Sino-Jürčed relations during the Yung-lo period* (1955), p. 37.

opinion of the present writer the fact that the edict of 1453 to the prince of Lar¹² is accompanied by a Mongol translation shows that at the Ming court it was believed that the Mongol language still had the same importance in Western Asia as it had when a Mongol dynasty ruled Persia.

We see other evidence of the prestige of the Mongols in the widespread use of Mongol names, for example by the Jürčed tribes and by the Koreans, under the Yüan and immediately thereafter. If it had become fashionable everywhere to imitate the Mongols, this was also true to a certain degree in China as will be shown in this paper.

During the Yüan, the non-Chinese were greatly favored over the Chinese, so that from a practical point of view it was more advantageous for the Mongols not to become Chinese. The favor thus enjoyed by foreigners was not only for the Mongols a powerful brake counteracting the attraction that Chinese civilization had for them, but also for the Chinese an incentive to try, as they often did successfully, to pass for Mongols, in order to obtain some of the advantages and privileges reserved for the Mongols and their allies.¹³

12) See p. 436 of Fr. W. Cleaves' article "The Sino-Mongolian edict of 1453" in *HJAS* 13 (1950) (pp. 431-446). It seems reasonable to assume that a Mongol translation was made because the Ming government believed Mongol to be the language most likely to be understood by those to whom the document was being sent. It is extremely interesting that in Korea at the very end of the 14th century the Mongol and Uigur languages were still being taught in the government Bureau of Translation Service 司譯院 (*Yiji sillok*, vol. 1, pp. 218-219) and no doubt continued to be taught for many years.

13) For example in the *Yüan-shih* 21. 14a (1304) we read the following text: "A decree ordered that for (the post of) daru¹aci (i.e. governor) in appanages of imperial princes (諸王) and imperial sons-in-law (駙馬). Mongols may be used and had to be replaced every three years according to the regulations. All *Han-jen* (i.e. Northern Chinese), *Nü-chih* (i.e. Jürčed), and *Ch'i-tan* (Kitan) who had assumed Mongol names (in order to get the posts) had to be relieved."

In the *Yüan tien-chang* three cases (9. 10b 11a) are mentioned (1307, 1311, 1316) wherein both Northern and Southern Chinese, Kitan, and Jürčed had assumed Mongol names, had passed for Mongols, and under this disguise had usurped important offices usually reserved for Mongols. It is interesting to note that one hundred years later, under the native Ming dynasty, some Chinese were still trying to pass for Mongols. During the first century or so of the Ming dynasty many foreigners, especially Mongols, were in the Ming service, mostly in the army, and sometimes enjoyed privileges over the Chinese. In the *Yung-lo Shih-lu* 23.

Although some became sinicized during the Yüan period, we must expect that as a rule the Mongols and their allies maintained their language and customs. And contrary to what has been the general belief so far, far from being swallowed up rapidly by the Chinese and losing their identity, the Mongols to a certain extent influenced the Chinese, and as we shall try to show in this paper, the marks of their occupation remained visible in China for many years after the fall of the Yüan house.

Government Institutions. When the Ming house succeeded the Yüan dynasty, the new Chinese government did not make *tabula rasa* of all existing things and institutions of Yüan origin simply because they were foreign. Quite to the contrary, the Ming inherited much of the Yüan bureaucracy including the many foreigners working in the various offices,¹⁴ and they also kept several Yüan institutions regardless of the fact that these had been originated by the Mongols. For example, under the Yüan, the Han-lin yüan 翰林院 (College of Literature) comprised a Chinese and a Mongol section.¹⁵ Under the Ming many Mongols continued to work in the Han-lin yüan. For example on April 18, 1376 (day *kuei-wei* of the third month of the 9th year Hung-wu) a Mongol by the name of Qoniçi 火你赤 was appointed Mongol Compiler (蒙古編修) in the College of Literature.¹⁶ We find other Mongols and Central Asiatics working in that body. Huo Yüan-chieh 火原潔 was a Lecturer (侍講) and Ma Šāih 馬沙

6b7a (Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, *Mindai Mammō shiryō, Minjitsuroku-shō, Mōko hen 1* 蒙古篇一, p. 281) we find this revealing passage: "On the day *keng-shen* (of the 10th month of the first year Yung-lo: October 31, 1403) the emperor said to Liu Chün 劉儁, President of the Board of War: 'Among the Mongols [lit. *Ta-ta*: Tatars] serving as military officers, many are illiterate and it is difficult to entrust them with administrative work (政); therefore we let them enjoy their salary and in case of an emergency we use them as fighters. Now among the Chinese there are men who have assumed Mongol names in order to avoid administrative work. Let them be instructed to correct themselves. Those who do not conform shall be punished.'"

14) See my *The Mongols in China during the Hung-wu period (1368-1398)*. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1955.

15) *Yüan-shih* 87. 3b-5b. See P. Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan*, pp. 106, n. 1; 147-150.

16) *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 105. 4b.

亦黑 was a Compiler.¹⁷ One other Mongol whom we know to have become a Lecturer in the Han-lin yüan was Qudai 忽歹.¹⁸ Of course these are only a few individuals whose names we happen to know. But they represent a whole group of men, and it was to this group that was entrusted the compilation of such works as the Chinese transcription of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, and the *Hua-i i-yü*. It looks thus as if the Ming continued a tradition established by the Yüan of having a special Mongol section in the Han-lin yüan. The *Ming-shih* does not list such a special section; probably because there was no formal "Mongol College of Literature" as under the Yüan, but we cannot doubt for a moment that in the Ming Han-lin yüan, at least under Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋, the first emperor of the Ming, and his first successors, there was a special section handling the documents relating to the Mongols.

In the organization of the army, too, the Ming continued to make use of elements inherited from their predecessors. The Mongols had an army organized in groups of ten, a hundred, a thousand, and ten-thousand men, the functions of the officers—centurions, chiliarchs, and myriarchs—as a rule being hereditary. As a matter of fact in Mongolia every able-bodied man was considered a soldier, the Mongol people thus becoming equivalent to the Mongol army. After their conquest of China the Mongols organized among the Chinese people a large group of "military families," or "military people," who became their constant reserve of man power and from which the Yüan government drafted its soldiers, while the rest of the population did not have to serve as soldiers. This organization of the "military people" was adopted by the Ming, and although in the course of time many changes and reforms were introduced, the main features of the early system were maintained throughout the Ming dynasty. Such a professional army had existed several times before in China, and thus was not entirely unknown, but the interesting point here is that

17) *Ibid.* 141. 3b; Haneda, *op. cit.*, p. 154 (April 18, 1376). See also pp. 230-231, and 252 of P. Pelliot's article "Le Hoja et le Sayyid Husain de l'*Histoire des Ming*," in *T'oung Pao* 38 (1948), and p. 452 of W. Hung's article "The Transmission of the Book known as the *Secret History of the Mongols*," in *HJAS* 14. For more information on Ma Šāih, see Kōdō Tasaka's recent paper "An Aspect of Islam Culture introduced into China" in *Memoirs of the Tōyō Bunkō* 16, 1957, esp. pp. 126 and ff.

18) *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 194. 6b (January 16, 1389)

the Ming consciously inherited it directly from the Yüan and kept it.

When Chu Yüan-chang organized his army to fight the Mongols and organize his conquests, he adopted the Mongol organization in myriarchies, chiliarchies, etc., with little modification. As a matter of fact the myriarchy was soon abolished, but the rest of the organization remained; and the commandery (*wei* 衛), as a rule comprising five chiliarchies, with centuries, and smaller units of fifty men and ten men, became the basic unit. One other interesting feature, perhaps more significant than any other, is that as a rule, within the commandery the functions of the officers were hereditary.¹⁹

One other important institution of the Yüan organization reestablished by the first Ming emperor was the Mongol Body Guard (蒙古親軍指揮使司) which was more than an ordinary army unit with Mongols serving in it. In those days there were many Mongols serving at the capital and we know of several units of the guards having Mongols serving in them. This Mongol Body Guard even though it had been discontinued for a few years after the collapse of the Yüan was the "Mongol Body Guard" inherited from them.²⁰ The Hung-wu emperor re-established this unit of the Guard on February 20, 1372,²¹ and the name *ch'in-chün* is proof enough that it was intended to be an imperial body guard as it had been under the Yüan dynasty. On June 26, 1375, a Right Mongol Guard is mentioned which may have been created shortly before or on that very date,²² and on July 5, 1375, the former "Mongol Guard" was renamed the "Left Mongol Guard."²³ The last time the "Mongol Guard" (without distinction of Left and Right) is mentioned is in the entry of January

19) For the organization of the commandery, chiliarchy, etc. see *Ming-shih* 76. 19b-21b.

20) The Mongol Body Guard of the Yüan emperors (or sections of it) is frequently mentioned in the *Yüan-shih*, e.g. 11. 6b; 13. 5b; 28. 4b; 89. 8b. In the *Ming-shih* 90. 7a a "Right Mongol Guard" and a "Left Mongol Guard" are listed not among the Imperial Body Guards, but with the Guards of the Capital (京衛) under the authority of the Posterior Military Headquarters (後軍都督府) with the remark "[later] abolished." Here the *Ming-shih* lists the military installations of the Ming under the Hung-wu emperor. This list is followed by a second, which I believe to be a list of the installations of the Yung-lo period and later, but in which the two Mongol Guards are no longer mentioned.

21) *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 71. 4a. Also mentioned in 83. 5a (August 3, 1373).

22) *Ibid.*, 100. 2b, and Haneda, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

23) *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 100. 3b, Haneda, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

2, 1388.²⁴ The Mongol Guard (or Guards) must have been abolished sometime between 1388 and the end of the Hung-wu period.

If, as it has been explained in the foregoing lines, the Mongol Guard was first established as an imperial body guard, it is probable that it did not serve very long in that capacity. Indeed the Imperial Body Guards were not under the authority of any of the Five Military Headquarters established on February 25, 1380.²⁵ Under this date the *Shih-lu* gives the lists of the capital guards and of the garrison towns under their respective Military Headquarters (basically the same as the first list in the *Ming-shih*, ch. 90), and in this list we find the Right and the Left Mongol Guards already listed as capital guards under the jurisdiction of the Posterior Military Headquarters.

Another institution no less interesting and perhaps no less important, inherited from the Yüan, is the Mohammedan Bureau of Astronomy 回回司天監.²⁶ Shortly after the conquest of the capital of the Yüan, Daidu (大都 Tai-tu, the modern Peking), on December 9, 1368, fourteen Yüan officials of the Mohammedan Bureau of Astronomy were forwarded from Daidu to the new Ming capital, Nanking.²⁷ Two names mentioned in this connection, Haidar Abdullāh and Derwiš, show, as we can expect, that this office was staffed by Mohammedans, either Arabs, Persians, or Central Asiatics. On January 14, 1369, the Mohammedan Bureau of Astronomy was officially created,²⁸ and on May 12, 1369, eleven more Mohammedan astronomers were dispatched from Daidu to Nanking.²⁹ This Mohammedan Bureau, however, was formally abolished on April 17, 1398,³⁰ although it is quite sure that the Ming continued to avail themselves of the services of foreign astronomers.

A governmental postal system with relay stations and credentials for identification carried by the couriers had been in existence in

24) *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 187. 3a.

25) *Ibid.*, 129. 6a-7a.

26) See the *Yüan-shih* 90. 22b, *Ming-shih* 31. 2b; 74. 17b. See also Tasaka Kōdō 田坂興道, "Introduction of European Astronomy in China and the Mohammedan Calendarers" 西洋曆法の東漸と回回曆法の運命 in *Tōyō Gakuho* 東洋學報 31, 2, pp. 141-180.

27) *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 31. 6b7a.

28) *Ibid.*, 34. 3a.

29) *Ibid.*, 40. 2b.

30) *Ibid.*, 257. 1a.

China long before the Mongol period.³¹ This system of communications had been continued and gradually developed by successive dynasties, especially by the Liao and the Chin,³² but no doubt it was the Mongols who gave it its most perfect organization and its greatest efficiency, and the Ming, and after the Ming the Ch'ing, inherited it from the Mongols. With this system the Ming inherited also the Mongol word *jam* > *chan* 站 for the relay station.

As a matter of fact a prototype of this non-Chinese term appears already in an earlier Chinese source. The Nan-Ch'i-shu 南齊書 (57. 3b) lists the T'o-pa word 咸眞 (Anc. Chin. *γam-t'sien*, corresponding to the Mongol *jam* + suff. of agent-*č'in*): "those in charge of a relay station."³³ But at that time the word did not enter the Chinese language. It was under the Yüan, or under the early Ming, that the word *jam* was borrowed from the Mongol and became a genuine part of the Chinese language. The word 站 *chan* "to stand," of course, is an old Chinese word, but its meaning of "station, postal station," and in more modern times "railroad station" is new and originally is the Mongol word *jam* written with the same character 站. In 1232 P'eng Ta-ya 彭大雅 and in 1235-1236, his first commentator, Hsü T'ing 徐霆, wrote 蘸 *chan* (Anc. Chin. *ṣam*) for the Mongol *jam*.³⁴ Later, however, 站 (anc. Chin. *t'am*) became the standard writing, probably because the concept "station" became associated with the original meaning of 站 "to stand, to stand up, to stand still." Thus in the *Ching-shih ta-tien* 經世大典 (1331) a section dealing with communications was called *Chan-ch'i* 站赤 i. e.

31) For example for the T'ang period see R. des Rotours, *Traité des Fonctionnaires et Traité de l'Armée*, pp. 111-112, and Ed. Reischauer, *Ennins Travels in T'ang China*, pp. 143-146.

32) For a description of the Liao system see Wittfogel-Feng, *History of Chinese Society, Liao*, pp. 160-163, *et passim*.

33) W. Eberhardt, *Das Toba Reich Nord Chinas*, p. 360; Wl. Kotwicz, "Contributions aux études altaïques," in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 16 (1950) [reprinted from *Collectanea Orientalia* 2 (1932), pp. 1-54], pp. 327-341, 353, 355. Mediaeval European travellers always record this word *jam* in its Turkic form *yam*. See also P. Pelliot, "Sur quelques mots d'Asie Centrale attestés dans les textes chinois" in *Journal Asiatique*, Mars-Avril, 1913, p. 458, and "Sur *yam* ou *jam* 'relais postal'," in *T'oung Pao* 27 (1930), pp. 192-195.

34) *Hei-Ta shih-lioh* 黑韃事略, *Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u* 國學文庫, vol. 25, p. 74.

jamč'i "Those in charge of relay stations."³⁵ In the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* for *jam* we find the transcription 站, and for *jamč'i* we find both 札木赤 (*jamuč'i*) and 站赤 (*jamč'i*).³⁶ Although in modern Mongol the word *jam* has lost its original meaning of "relay station" (in this meaning it has been replaced by *örtege*) and has come to stand for "way" (i. e. the way between the relay stations), in Chinese *chan* continues to be used for "station." The Ming continued to use the terms *chan* and *chan-ch'i* for the original Yüan postal system as well as for their own in non-Chinese territories recognizing Chinese overlordship.³⁷

Clothing and Language. But the Ming did more than continue to make use of existing organisms and institutions. The people themselves showed that they had undergone the influence of the foreign occupation. The *Ming Shih-lu* contains several passages hinting at such an influence. In this paper we shall review those passages and determine as closely as we can their exact meaning.

The first passage that we have to consider is an imperial declaration from 1367 in which the emperor complains that many people had imitated the Mongols for personal advantage. About one year before the capture of the Yüan capital, on November 15 (the day *ping-yen* of the tenth month of the first year Wu 吳), 1367, Chu Yüan-chang sent to the people of North China an appeal in which, among other things, he said: "Since the emperors and kings of antiquity ruled the Universe, China was located in the middle in order to govern the *I* 夷 and the *Ti* 狄, and the *I* and the *Ti* lived on the outside in order to serve China. Never had it been heard

35) This section was later incorporated in the *Yung-lo ta-tien* 永樂大典 and in 1936 published separately in vols. 28 and 30 of the *Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u*.

36) For example see the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* § 249, Suppl. 2. 49a, *et passim*.

37) For example in the *Yung-lo Shih-lu* (1402-1424) 85. 5b (Tamura, *Manshû hen 1*, p. 264), *et passim*; in the *Huan-yü t'ung-chih* 寰宇通志 (1456, in *Hsüan-lan-t'ang ts'ung-shu*, second series) 116. 3b; *Ming-shih* 90. 19b. In Liaotung also as place names: e.g. Tamura, *Manshû hen 3*, pp. 57, 532 (*Hung-chih Shih-lu* 125. 4a has the cyclical characters *chi-ssu* for the day in question while Tamura reads *chi-yu*, but the Nanking ed. of the *Shih-lu* does not have this text); *Chia-ching Shih-lu* 558. 1a. *Chan* appears also on pp. 2 and 3 of the first volume of the Veritable Records of the late Li Dynasty of Korea, *Yijo Sillok* 李朝實錄 (ed. Tokyo 1953); same on p. 4 of Ikeuchi Hiroshi's 池内宏 abbreviated version *Mindai shiryô*, *Richô jitsuroku-shô* 李朝實錄抄, vol. 1.

that the *I* and the *Ti* should settle inside and rule the Universe. But after the Sung the throne (祚) passed to the Yüan so that the Northern *Ti* entered China and ruled it, and both within and without the Four Seas there was none who did not submit to them. Could this have been achieved by human power (alone)? Indeed when Heaven transferred (the Mandate) to them (i.e. the Mongols), the rulers were intelligent and the subjects were sincere which was enough to govern the Universe.³⁸ But sharp-minded and determined men resented that things were upside down. From then on the rulers of the Yüan no longer observed the instructions of their ancestors and broke the regulations. For example during the *Ta-te* 大德 period (1297–1307) the elder brother was passed over and the younger one was set up;³⁹ during the *T'ai-ting* 泰定 period (1324–1327) a subject murdered his ruler;⁴⁰ and during the *T'ien-li* 天歷 period (1328–1330) a younger brother poisoned his elder brother.⁴¹ Things went so far that a young-

38) In his official declarations Chu Yüan-chang consistently maintained the view that the Yüan were the legitimate successors of the Sung, but that just as the Sung had lost the Mandate to the Yüan because of neglect, maladministration, and lack of attention to the people's welfare, so the Yüan emperors soon became neglectful and lost the Mandate of Heaven.

39) *Ta-te* was the second reign title of emperor Ch'eng-tsung 成宗 (r. 1295–1307). His personal name was Temür, and his posthumous name Öljeitü. He was the third son of Jingim 眞金, one of Qubilai's sons. His two elder brothers were Kan-ma-la 甘麻剌 (<Skr. Kamala) who later was given the posthumous title of Hsientsung 顯宗, and Darmabala 答剌麻八剌 who was given the posthumous title of Shun-tsung 順宗. Chu Yüan-chang here seems to allude to the fact that Kamala did not succeed Qubilai in 1294. According to Kamala's biographical note in the *Yüan-shih* 115. 11b, he said that as he had been entrusted with the government of the northern border regions in order to protect the empire on that side, rather than become emperor he desired to continue to do this, and that his brother ought to succeed. There had been other and graver irregularities in the succession of the Mongol rulers before, but Chu Yüan-chang probably was ignorant of them.

40) *T'ai-ting* is the first reign title of T'ai-ti (r. 1324–1328), whose personal name was Yesün-temür. The event alluded to here probably is not an event of the T'ai-ting period itself, but the murder of the T'ai-ting emperor's predecessor, Ying-tsung 英宗 (r. 1321–1323) whose personal name was Shih-te-pa-la 碩德八剌 (Šidebala?). *Yüan-shih* 28. 16b17a; 29. 2a.

41) Chu *Yüan-shih* here refers to the murder of Ming-tsung 明宗 (Qošila) who reigned only for a few months. After T'ai-ting ti's death in 1328, Wen-tsung 文宗 (Tuγ-temür, posthumous name: Jayaγatu qaγan), a second son of Wu-tsung (r. 1308–1311), succeeded him. But in the first month of the following year (actually February 27, 1329) Wen-tsung abdicated and Ming-tsung, Wu-tsung's

er brother (could) marry (收, lit. "to accept, to inherit") his (deceased) elder brother's wife, and a son (could) have relations with his (deceased) father's concubine. Those above became familiar with those below and they became so used to this state of affairs that nobody felt anything strange about it. The result was that the rules of conduct between ruler and subject, husband and wife, elder and younger brothers broke down completely. . . Now in the area of the Yellow River and the Lo 洛 River and in the Kuan (-chung) 關 (中) and Shen(-si) 陝 (西) (regions), there are heroic men (數雄)⁴² who have forgotten the surnames of their ancestors, and instead, have turned to the barbarian caitiffs' animal names (胡虜禽獸之名)⁴³ and consider them honorable appellations; who borrow titles of the Yüan to further their personal (advantages); who, relying on the number of their armies, want the ruler to oppress the people

elder son ascended the throne in Qara-qorum (Yüan-shih 31. 4a; 33. 3b). In the eighth month of the same year (actually western style: August 30, 1329) Ming-tsung "suffered a violent death" (暴崩) and Wen-tsung became emperor again. Yüan-shih 31. 10a; 33. 13a.

42) The expression *shu-hsiung*, lit. "several heroes," does not indicate people who supported the Yüan, as it might seem, but the other pretenders to the succession of the Yüan empire. We find similar expressions in several other passages. When writing to the Mongol leaders, Chu Yüan-chang's thesis always was that when the Mongol emperor lost control over the empire so many aspirants rose up against him and caused so much suffering to the people, that he, Chu Yüan-chang, could do nothing else to rescue the people and restore peace but subdue all those pretenders. For example in the *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 44. 5a, Haneda, *op. cit.*, p. 22 (1369): "I seized all the heroic men (群雄) and pacified China;" the same expression appears in the *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 46. 12b, Haneda, *op. cit.*, p. 27, and *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 51. 6b, Haneda, *op. cit.*, p. 35, etc. Maybe the best proof that *hsiung* "the heroes" does not refer to partisans of the Mongols, but their enemies, comes from a document in the *Hua-i i-yü* 2A. 4a, where the sentence 英雄並起 "the heroes rose simultaneously" corresponds to the Mongol *jüg-jüg-eče bul'a e'üsgegsen-ü tula*: "because revolution was started from every direction."

43) "Animal names" could be nothing but a depreciatory term. Compare the expression *ch'üan-jung* 犬戎 "dog-jung" often appearing in older historical sources, for example several times in the *Shih-chi*, ch. 110, and the *Han-shu*, ch. 94. In Ming times the expression *ch'üan-lu* 犬虜 "dog-caitiff" is frequently used to indicate the Mongols. For example in the *Wan-li wu-kung lu* 萬曆武功錄 (*Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u*, vol. 38), ch. 7, p. 54, *et passim*. On the other hand the expression "animal names" may also allude to the many names of animals used by the Mongols and the Turks as personal names. Such names as El jige (Donkey), Buqa (Bull), Arslan (Lion), Noqai (Dog), Qayinuγ (Yak), etc., are met with frequently.

and tread down legal rights, and hope to control the government from a distance."⁴⁴

The influence of the foreigners, however, was evident in other aspects of Chinese life as well as in the use of names and titles, as we can see from the following text. On February 29, 1368, only three months after this first imperial declaration, in order to regulate customs with regard to raiment and caps the emperor decreed that the T'ang Institutes (唐制) had to be followed.⁴⁵ The compilers of the *Shih-lu* give us the following explanation: "When Shih-tsu (i. e. Qubilai) rose from the Sandy Desert and conquered the Universe, he replaced Chinese institutions with barbarian customs. (From then on) officials and commoners all braided their hair and wore plaits (辮髮推髻⁴⁶). They wore long tunics (深檐) and barbarian hats. Their

44) *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 21. 12a-13a.

45) Also in the *Ming-shih* 2. 1b.

46) *Ch'ui-chi* "hammer-chignon" for the Mongol hair-do appears already in the *Hei-Ta Shih-luoh*, p. 64. Originally it indicated a type of hair-do with the hair tied into a knot either on the top of the head or towards the back. The *Shih-lu* clearly states that the Ming, too, wore the hair in a knot, but on top of the head. But *ch'ui-chi* here refers to a type of hair-do different from that of the Chinese. In fact *ch'ui-chi* had come to designate various types of hair-do of non-Chinese peoples. See P. Pelliot's remark in his *Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge de Tch'ou Ta'kuan* (Oeuvres posthumes III, Paris, 1951), pp. 158-159. Chou Ta-kuan 周大觀 uses the same expression for the people of Cambodia at the end of the 13th century.

The Mongols did not wear their hair in the form of a knot on top of the head, but in tiny tresses of twisted hair hanging behind the ears. See A. Mostaert "A propos de quelques portraits d'empereurs mongols," in *Asia Major* 4, pp. 147-156. See also A. Waley, *Travels of an Alchemist* (The Broadway Travellers 1931), p. 67: "The men wear their hair in two plaits that hang behind the ears." "Two," however, is not in the Chinese text of the *Ch'ang-ch'un hsi-yu-chi*. Wang Kuo-wei's edition (Ch'ing-hua Univ., Peking, p. 22a) reads: "The men wear their hair in plaits (結髮) hanging down [behind] both ears." Waley perhaps said "two" after John of Plano Carpini who ends his description of the Mongol hair-do as follows: "The rest of their hair they allow to grow like women, and they make it into two braids which they bind, one behind each ear." (Chr. Dawson [ed.] *The Mongol Mission, translated by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey*, copyright Sheed and Ward, 1955, p. 7 [All quotations from *The Mongol Mission* with permission of Sheed and Ward], A. Van Den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, I, p. 33). William of Rubruc, however, seems to contradict Carpini: "At the sides and the back of the head they leave their hair, which they make into plaits, and these they braid round the head to the ears." (*The Mongol Mission*, p. 102; *Sinica Franciscana*, p. 182). Hsiao Ta-heng 蕭大亨, writing at the beginning of the 17th

garments comprised breeches and jackets (膀褶) with narrow sleeves, and they plaited thread (into girdles) to gird their jackets.⁴⁷ The women wore short clothes with narrow sleeves and below wore pet-

century (*Pei-lu feng-su* 北虜風俗, *Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u*, vol. 29, 1936, pp. 14-15; H. Serruys, "Pei-lou fong-sou," in *Monumenta Serica* 10, 1945, p.144) speaks only of one plait for men and a dozen for young girls.

The expression *ch'ui-chi* 椎髻 is also written 椎結 and 魃結, and in the *Secret History of the Mongols* § 56 (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 1. 37a) the name of those plaits, *šibülger*~*šibilger* in Mongol, is rendered in the Chinese version with the characters *lien-ch'ui* 練椎. Cf. note 71.

The part of the head which the Mongols shaved is called *p'o-chiao* 婆焦 by Meng Hung 孟珙 (*Meng-Ta pei-lu* 蒙鞬備錄, 1221, *Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u*, vol. 25, pp. 23, 38) and *po-chiao* 跋焦 by Hsü T'ing (*Hei-Ta shih-lioh*, p. 82).

For the hair-do of northern Asiatic tribes see the interesting article by K. Shiratori "The queue among the peoples of North Asia," in *Memoirs of the Tôyô Bunko* 4 (1929), where on pp. 6-7 part of this passage from the *Ming Shih-lu* is translated.

47) Char. 褶 is read *hsi* in some dictionaries, *shih* in others. Couvreur, *Dict. Classique de la langue chinoise*, 1930, p. 833, translates the expression *k'u-shih* (~*hsi*): "vêtement de cavalier." The same in R. des Rotours, *Traité des Fonctionnaires et Traité de l'Armée* (1941), pp. 96, 286. Giles, *Engl.-Chinese Dict.* (n. 6280): "short riding-breeches."

K'u-shih means "trousers and jackets." It is an ancient expression indicating the dress of the northerners occupying North China before the Sui and T'ang dynasties. Speaking of this particular style of dress of the Six Dynasties period, Y. Harada 原田淑人, *Chinese Dress and personal ornament* 漢六朝の服飾 (1937, English summary, p. 25) writes: "The Court dresses of the Six Dynasties were not materially different from those of the Han Dynasty. Of course, there were minor changes made in details. One striking difference, however, was the *k'u-t'ieh* [read: *shih*. H.S.] dress, which consisted of *t'ieh* [*shih*], a short upperpiece with broad loose sleeves, and *k'u* or trousers. From olden times it was customary for the Chinese to wear trousers, but they hid them under the skirt, with the exception of servants and soldiers. However under the influence of the northern race, it became fashionable even among the aristocrats to wear trousers instead of skirts, until finally these became to be used for the court dress in the Southern dynasty, as well as in the Northern." This author further refers to plates xxxi, 2; xli, 1; xlii, 2; xlvii, 1, of his book.

However, it seems to me that the expression "*k'u-shih*" is used here not so much to describe a particular dress in two pieces, as to indicate "foreign style" clothes in general. Harada's description is no longer applicable in all details to the clothes worn by the Mongols. Concerning the narrowness of the sleeves, see below. The belt, however, still was definitely a part of the Mongol dress. See S. Camman, *China's dragon robes*, p. 8, and *Pei-lu feng-su*, p. 16 (*Monumenta Serica* 10, p. 145). Hsü T'ing (*Hei-ta shih-lioh*, p. 65) also mentions the belt made of twisted thread.

ticoats.⁴⁸ Nobody followed any more China's ancient customs regarding dress and hats. Some went so far as to change their surnames (姓氏) for barbarian names, and they learned the barbarian language and (observed) their customs. Since they had been doing this for a long time, they took it all for granted. The emperor, however, always detested (such practices) and at this moment with regard to raiment and caps he ordered the people to go back to the T'ang Institutes. Officials and commoners all were to tie their hair (in a knot) on top of the head. [Follow various regulations. . .] Singing girls. . . were not allowed to dress as ordinary women, or to wear the barbarian clothes in two pieces 兩截胡衣.⁴⁹ As to braided hair, plaits, barbarian clothes, barbarian speech, and barbarian names, these were all forbidden. This decision came from the imperial mind after deliberation on advantage and harm ensuing (from those things). At this time, after more than one hundred years of barbarian customs, all went back to China's old (Institutes)."⁵⁰

It is difficult from this description to visualize clearly what the dress of the Mongols was like, yet it must have remained substantially the same as the dress seen by such travellers as John of Plano Carpini, William of Rubruc, and others, and as the dresses represented in the contemporary miniature pictures in such works as the *General History of the World* by Rašid ad Din.⁵¹ Judging from those pictures it is clear that the Mongols wore more than one type of dress. In the pictures in Blochet's edition of Rašid ad Din we first notice a long dress with narrow sleeves, and with slashes in the sides, worn by men. It is buttoned under the right arm and down, in exactly the same way as a modern Chinese robe, except that in the pictures we see no button halfway between the neck opening and the right arm.⁵² We find a second type in the form of a long dress also worn

48) This "long skirt" probably was what John of Plano Carpini (*The Mongol Mission*, p. 7, *Sinica Franciscana*, I, p. 34) calls "a very full tunic, open to the ground in front."

49) This expression must indicate the "trousers and jacket" dress.

50) *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 26. 11b.

51) Several of these pictures are reproduced in *Jami'ut-Tawarikh of Rashid'-dDin Fadlu'llah* (*Persian text*), ed. and annotated by E. Blochet, 1912 (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Publications, vol. xviii, 2).

52) Blochet, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, plate I; 41, V; 603, XVI. Hsiao Ta-heng, *Pei-lu feng-su*, p. 15 (*Monumenta Serica* 10. p. 145) also stresses the narrowness of the sleeves.

by men and cut very much as the preceding one, with this remarkable difference, however, that it has very broad sleeves but so short that they hardly reach the elbows. The long and narrow sleeves of either an underrobe, or a jacket worn underneath, are clearly visible.⁵³

A third type of garment consists of trousers and a short jacket with the same short but very broad sleeves from which emerge the narrow and long sleeves of another undergarment. There is only one example of this type of dress in the pictures in Blochet's book. The man wearing it seems to be a plain soldier ready to behead some criminal. Since all the other personages represented in those miniatures appear to be emperors and princes and their wives, may be we are not too wrong if we conclude that this third type was the daily dress of plain soldiers and common people.⁵⁴ The ladies in the miniature pictures are all dressed in a long wide robe, with long and wide sleeves, and buttoned either under the right arm, as with the men's dresses, or in the middle but slightly to the right.⁵⁵ Furthermore we find two good examples of a short cape worn by men and hanging over the shoulders and the back.⁵⁶

John of Plano Carpini, speaking of the clothes used by the Mongols of his day, describes them as follows: "They [i. e. their tunics] are open from top to bottom and⁵⁷ are folded over the breast; they are fastened on the left with one tie, on the right with three; on the left side they are open as far as the waist⁵⁸. . . The married women have a very full tunic, open to the ground in front."⁵⁹ It is plain, however, that the descriptions by Carpini and Rubruc do not cover all the possible pieces of clothing used by the Mongols and of

53) Blochet, *op. cit.*, pp. 213, X; 271, XII; 295, XIII. See also S. Camman, *China's Dragon Robes*, p. 8.

54) Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 197, IX.

55) *Ibid.*, pp. 218, XI; 271, XII.

56) *Ibid.*, pp. 271, XII; 350, XIV. *Pei-lu feng-su*, pp. 15-16 (*Monum. Serica* 10, p. 145): *jaga* (collar); *Wan-li wu-kung lu*, ch. 7, p. 41: *wei-chien* 周肩 "envelope of the shoulders." P'eng Ta-ya and Hsü T'ing (*Hei-Ta shih-lioh*, p. 65) call it a "square collar."

57) The Latin text has "*quia*."

58) *Brachiale*: the belt.

59) *The Mongol Mission*, p. 7, Van Den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* I, pp. 33-34.

which the Persian miniatures give us a few examples.⁶⁰

Concerning the way in which the Mongols fastened their tunics, what Carpini says probably is to be understood this way: the tunics opened in the front, and the right lapel was brought under the left lapel and fastened there with one tie or one button, while the left lapel, much longer than the right one, was crossed over the right lapel and fastened with three ties under the right arm. But Carpini also says that the Mongol tunics had slashes in the left side as far as the waist, whereas in the miniature pictures of the manuscript of Rašid ad Din's *History*, we see slashes also in the right side. Carpini's description of the ladies' robes perfectly fits the robes in the miniature pictures. William of Rubruc describes the ladies' robes as follows: ". . .and she has a tunic as wide as a nun's cowl, and in every respect wider and longer, and open in the front, and this they tie on the right side."⁶¹

On the whole the Mongol outer robe cannot have differed too much from the Chinese robe. At present the robes worn by the Mongols are almost exactly copied from the Chinese pattern, only much shorter than the Chinese robes; women, however, always have theirs a little longer than men. One difference from the Chinese pattern is that today the Mongol robes do not always have slashes in the sides, or have very short slashes, or even have slashes in the back instead of in the sides.⁶²

60. In the *Meng-Ta pei-lu* (p. 43) we read that the women also wore a dress with broad sleeves so long that they reached the ground and had to be carried by slaves. Perhaps this was a special court dress. Hsü T'ing (*Hei-Ta shih-lioh*, p. 65), too, mentions the long tunic. Hsü T'ing further mentions the great number of tiny pleats (*ibid.*) also described by Hsiao Ta-heng (*Pei-lu feng-su*, p. 15, *Monum. Serica* 10, p. 145).

61) *The Mongol Mission*, p. 102, *Sinica Franciscana* I, p. 182.

62) For detailed descriptions of modern Mongol garments, both from Inner and Outer Mongolia, see H. H. Hansen, *Mongol Costumes, Researches on the garments collected by the first and second Danish Central Asian Expeditions under the leadership of Henning Haslund-Christensen*, København, 1950. For robes without slashes, or with extremely short ones, see pp. 13 Rxiv-4; 28, Ri-9, fig. 26; 32, Rxii-72, fig. 32; 35, Rxii-71; 36, Rv-5, fig. 34; 37, Rvii-26; 39, Rxv-3; 41, Rvii-27; 43, Rxvi-3. The author (*ibid.*, p. 130) says that the slashes are the characteristic feature of the Mongol dress and are due to the fact that they are suitable for horseriding. But then why so many dresses without slashes, as I have noticed myself during short visits to the Mongols of Chahar Province? It seems

To return to our text from the *Shih-lu* it is immediately apparent that, like Carpini's and Rubruc's accounts, it does not describe all the possible garments of the Mongols, nor all the types of clothes adopted by the Chinese in imitation of the Mongols. It is even possible that the Chinese, while adopting one or more types of foreign clothing, and following the general lines of the original foreign style, had introduced features of their own.

As to the number of Chinese wearing dresses in Mongol fashion, we can only make a guess. The only thing we can say is that a few individuals wearing Mongol clothes in the midst of a large majority of people with the customary Chinese clothes, would never have warranted the issuance of a solemn imperial declaration. Moreover by February 1368 the Mongols had already virtually been driven out of the country and the Yüan capital itself was about to be conquered in September of the same year. By this time nobody could have had any doubt as to the outcome of the war, and a small minority of "collaborators" or sympathizers with the Mongols, still persisting in wearing the enemy's dresses would have appeared completely out of place. Had they been a small minority, so conspicuous through their foreign attire, they would certainly have switched back rapidly to the traditional Chinese costumes and hair-do.

We should keep in mind also that such things as cut of garments and style in hair-do after one hundred years could easily have become so widely accepted as to be no longer felt to be of foreign origin. This seems exactly to be what our passage from the *Shih-lu* says: that the people were no longer aware of the foreign origin of those clothes. On the other hand, however, next to such innovations as had been introduced during the Yüan period, most certainly the old types of clothes had continued to exist.

Such an easy acceptance was, of course, not possible with regard to language and names. Those who had assumed Mongol names and had learned the language could never have become ignorant of the fact that those were foreign elements. After the fall of the Yüan and the accession of the Ming, the Chinese could hardly have gone

more probable that the slashes came from China together with the robe, and that the dresses without slashes or with short slashes are a Mongol innovation.

on using Mongol speech and names, because no sooner had the Ming come to power than we see the Mongols in the Ming service change their names and assume Chinese names, and this also caused the emperor to issue a protest, though quite in vain. The point, however, is that if Mongols immediately after the change of dynasty started to assume Chinese names, no doubt in order to conceal their foreign origin and identify themselves the better with China, one would hardly expect the Chinese to cling to the Mongol names assumed under Mongol rule. Later the Hung-wu emperor was to protest again against foreign clothes but he would mention names and language no more, although other individuals would touch a few times upon the question of the language, as we shall see.

We may be sure then that those who had accepted non-Chinese hair-do and dress must have been much more numerous than those who had identified themselves more closely and more consciously with the foreigners by assuming their names and speaking their language. The way Chu Yüan-chang protested against Mongol clothes and hair-do, and would continue to protest, as we shall see, most clearly implies that imitation of the Mongols in this matter had become very widespread, though by no means general.

Indeed that there were a goodly number of people who dressed like the Mongols and had the Mongol hair-do we can conclude from the fact that in January 1355, during the early stage of the revolt against the Mongol rulers, Chu Yüan-chang was able to assemble in one place three thousand soldiers dressed as Mongols. These men were ordered to approach a town as friends of the Mongol garrison and take it by surprise. The *Shih-lu* says that Chu Yüan-chang assembled daring men who had the Mongol plaits and the lapels of their clothes on the left side (椎髻左衽) and donned black dresses (衣青衣)⁶³. And let us remark that the text does not speak of

63) *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 2. 1a; also in the *Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo* 明史紀事本末 (Shanghai, in the series *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu chien-pien*, in 4 vols. with continuous pagination), ch. 1, p. 4.

Chinese dresses both for men and women, are always buttoned under the right arm, and "dress with the lapel to the left" is the classical expression for the non-Chinese dress, especially of the foreigners from the north and the northwest and Central Asia of antiquity. Rubruc, describing the Mongol dress of the 13th century, says: "and this [i.e. the tunic] they tie on the right side.

troops in disguise, but of a selection of men who dressed as foreigners. A disguise with Mongol clothes would have been easy enough, but their hair-do would probably have been much more difficult to imitate.

An important remark that should be made here is that we find no indication at all that the Mongols ever tried to impose by force their hair-do (or their clothes) on the Chinese, as they did with the Turkish peoples,⁶⁴ and as the Manchus did with the Chinese when they conquered China.⁶⁵ We may also note that before the Mongol conquest the Ĵürčed, too, for a while had forced the Chinese to adopt the Ĵürčed hair-do and clothes.⁶⁶

Now in this matter the Tartars differ from the Turks, for the Turks tie their tunics on the left, but the Tartars always on the right." (*The Mongol Mission*, p. 102; *Sinica Franciscana* I, p. 182). We have already seen that the Mongol tunics indeed were fastened on the right side. The explanation of the use of the expression *tso-jen* here, no doubt, is that it had become the standard expression to indicate any foreign dress. (cf. *Lun-yü*, J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 146; Were it not for Kuan Chung we might be wearing our hair loose and folding our clothes on the left." Also *Shu-ching*, Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 577). Hsiao Ta-heng, *Pei-lu feng-su* p. 14, after stating that the barbarians generally had the lapel on the left side, goes on to say that in his day the Mongols had it on the right side. In fact the Mongols had their lapel on the right side already in the first half of the 13th century, as we learn from Rubruc, and from Hsü T'ing's comment (*Hei-Ta shih-lioh*, p. 65).

As to *ch'ing-i* "black, or dark, clothes," compare the Mongol text of the *Secret History* § 189 (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 7. 11 b) "*Mongγol irgen hünür ma'utan qubčasu baratutan*."—"The Mongol people smell evilly and wear black clothes." (衣服黑暗).

64) Rašid-ad Din (O.I. Smirnova [trsl.] *Rašid-ad-Din, Sbornik Letopisei*, vol. 1, book 2, 1952, p. 208) informs us that the Mongols compelled the Turks who had been conquered to adopt the Mongol haircut. No doubt the Mongols felt that the Turks were closely enough related to them to permit a more complete integration. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale* (1945), p. 171, says that at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century Timür (Tamerlane) and his troops, although Mohammedans, still kept their Mongol tresses and garments, a fact very much resented by the other Mohammedan peoples. Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador to the court of Timür, does not mention those tresses. Speaking of the hair-do of women, the only thing he does say is that they wore their hair loose.

65) L.C. Goodrich, *A Short History of the Chinese People* (1943), pp. 214, 225. Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-lung*, pp. 44, 45; Wittfogel-Feng, *History* . . ., *Liao*, pp. 12 b, 13 a.

66) Wittfogel-Feng, *History* . . ., *Liao* p. 8a.

Other evidence that Mongol clothes had been adopted extensively by the Chinese comes from another text of the *Shih-lu* from the fifth month of 1372: "The people refuse to be civilized. In the villages and hamlets they still continue to follow the Yüan customs. . . Chinese hats and garments have been corrupted by the barbarian customs."⁶⁷

Toward the end of his reign Chu Yüan-chang made one more reference to Mongol clothes. On July 5 (day *chi-wei* of the sixth month of the 24th year), 1391, in a set of regulations for officials, the emperor said: "They should not make use of barbarian clothes (胡服)."⁶⁸

As a final note on Mongol dresses worn by the Chinese people during the Hung-wu period we may point to the attire of the "northern dancers" in Chu Yüan-chang's own imperial court. Under the date of October 19, 1370, the *Ming Shih-lu* gives a detailed description of a musical performance in which 16 "barbarian dancers" took part: four each from the East, the West, the North, and the South. The dancers in the four groups were dressed in costume typical of their respective countries of origin. We need not quote the whole passage, but it is interesting that in the attire of the "northern dancers"⁶⁹ we find such things as the "Shan-yü cap" (單于冠), a "pair of hanging knots" (雙垂髻), and "a girdle with a pouch" (繫腰合鉢). The "Shan-yü cap", of course, suggests an old non-Chinese tradition, associated with the Hsiung-nu. The other elements remind us of a similar passage of the *Yüan-shih*⁷⁰ describing the dancers on Toyön-temür's Dragon boat (龍船). Among other things on this Dragon boat there were sixteen Demons (天魔), whose attire included such things as "hair hanging down in several plaits" (垂髻數辮), and eleven girls with their hair "tied in tresses" (練椎髻).⁷¹ Such little details tend to show that even in the Ming court a few foreign things had become fashionable.

67) *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 73. 10b-11b.

68) *Ibid.*, 209. 5a.

69) *Ibid.*, 56. 11b.

70) *Yüan-shih* 43. 14b.

71) *Ch'ui-chi* 垂髻, 槌髻, 椎髻, no doubt, all indicate the same thing. I am not sure, however, whether 垂 *ch'ui* is just a phonetic reading for the same expression, or whether char. 垂 "to hang down" has been chosen here expressly to convey the idea of the hanging plaits of the Mongols. Whatever the explana-

What are we able to determine concerning the later fortunes of the Mongol dresses and hair-do? As a matter of fact the sources

tion, all three expressions indicate the *šibülger* of the Mongol hairdress. Cf. note 46.

Ho-po 合鉢, 盒鉢, *ho-pao* 荷包, is a word of foreign origin, apparently Uighur, meaning the pouch worn at the belt by the Mongols and Central Asiatic tribes. See P. Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan*, p. 318: "le sac qu'ils portent attaché aux reins." Such pouches had also been in use in China long before the Yüan period but they were not called *ho-po*; they were known under such names as *p'an-nang* 槃囊, 盤囊, *tzu-ho* 紫荷, *ch'i-nang* 契囊, etc. According to Ilse Martin, "Über die *Ho-pao* und ihre Technik, mit Beschreibung von 25 Exemplaren aus der Sammlung Hammer," in *Folklore Studies* 4 (pp. 291-318), pictures of these pouches can be seen in many T'ang paintings representing foreigners living in China but the term *ho-pao* 荷包 itself appears for the first time in the works of the Yüan writer Ma Chih-yüan 馬致遠. Ilse Martin also lists a few paintings from the same period in which the *ho-po* can be seen. We may mention also Chao Meng-fu's 趙孟頫 (1254-1322) painting representing the "Departure of Wen-chi 文姬 from the Nomad camp." This painting formerly belonging to Mr. and Mrs. G. Del Drago, New York, is now in the possession of Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Mr. Del Drago has graciously sent me a picture in color of a detail of Chao's painting in which two pouches are clearly visible. Incidentally, this picture has also a few good examples of the long dresses with long sleeves discussed above. Although the scene depicted is from the Hsiung-nu, we cannot doubt for a minute that Chao Meng-fu represented the "barbarians" of the Han period as he saw them dressed in his own day.

Mongols sentenced to jail had to lay down their pouch—a fact which seems to indicate that the carrying of the pouch was a mark of honor (*Yüan-shih* 103. 10a; *Yüan tien-chang* 39. 9b). Under the Yüan government there existed factories for the manufacturing of pouches: *ho-po-chü* 盒鉢局: *Yüan-shih* 89. 14a, 90. 3b.

As to the two writings: *ho-po* and *ho-pao* it is obvious that char. 包 was soon written instead of 鉢 because of its meaning: "to wrap, to contain." Ilse Martin also mentions a popular expression that came into general use around 1500 in Ming China: *ho-pao-li* 荷包裏 "It's in the bag!"

Under the Manchus the *ho-pao* again became part of the dress of court people and officials. The *ho-pao* is mentioned for example in the celebrated novel *Hung-lou-meng* 紅樓夢, ch. 3, *hui* 64, p. 36; *hui* 74, p. 108, and *hui* 77, p. 136 (ed. Kuang-i shu-chü 廣益書局, Shanghai 1948, in one volume). See also S. Camman "Chinese Mandarin Squares," in *The University Museum Bulletin*, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 17 (1953), p. 40.

As for the form of the word *ho-po* in Turkic and in Mongol, compare the following forms: A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (1950), p. 326: *qap*: Paket. N. Poppe "Remarks on the Salar language" in *HJAS* 16 (1953), p. 443: *xap*: sack; East Turk: *qap* "container," *divân*: *qap*: "sack." Rubruc (*The Mongol Mission*, p. 98, *Sinica Franciscana* 1, p. 177) has the form "*captargac*, that is, a square bag which they carry to put such things in. . ." As to the

from the reigns of Chu Yüan-chang's successors tell us very little, but a few references, vague as they are, tend to show that these foreign elements did not die out rapidly. In the entry of January 3 (day *chi-ch'ou* of the 12th month of the seventh year Cheng-t'ung), 1443, we read the following passage: "The President of the Board of Rites Hu Jung 胡濬 and others memorialized: 'sometime ago the *ts'an-cheng* to the Left (左參政) of Shantung province, Shen Ku 沈固, declared that officials in the Metropolitan area and in the provinces and the military, with regard to hats and garments, are still following the barbarian fashion (胡制); and in their speech and in their way of genuflecting and greeting (跪拜) they study the barbarian customs. They have tassels hanging (from the hem of their clothes?) and they fix plumes (on their hats); (they wear hats) with cone-shaped tops (尖頂) and dresses with "bald(?) sleeves" (秃袖). That Chinese should imitate the customs of the Dog-Jung 犬戎,⁷² should disregard the (more) valuable (things) and go after the worthless (things) is extremely shameful. Formerly the Northern Wei 北魏⁷³ originally were barbarians, yet once had moved to the Lo(-yang area), they forbade (to follow) barbarian customs. Furthermore our civilization surpasses the ancient past; how can we then possibly still follow bad examples? Now the *ts'an-cheng* to the Right (右參政) of Shantung province, Liu Lien 劉璉, also spoke in the same sense and requested that the Censorate (Tu-ch'a-yüan 都察院) be ordered to issue notifications and the provincial censors strictly to forbid (those practices).' This was approved (by the emperor)."⁷⁴

Mongol forms see G.J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch* (1935), p. 167 a: "xapta₇a: Tasche, grosse Seitentasche. Vgl. Kir. *qap*: sack;" A. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos*, p. 282 b: "GaB't'arga: sachet, bourse qu'on porte suspendue à la ceinture au côté gauche et dans laquelle on met le tabac et la pipe (Mo. qabtar₇a, qabta₇a)." Cf. also *qamqana* (—*qabqana*) ("cloth bag," i.e., ? "pouch" in Fr. W. Cleaves "Qabqanas —Qamqanas" in *HJAS* 19, p. 401.

72) Cf. note 43.

73) Also called T'o-pa (Tab₇ač) Wei 拓跋魏 (A.D. 368–556). In the beginning they had their capital at Ta-t'ung, and in 493 moved to Lo-yang in Honan province. According to Eberhardt, *Das Tobareich Nord-Chinas*, pp. 224–229, the removal of the government to the south was favored by a "pro-Chinese" party against the opposition of the old T'o-pa gentry who preferred to remain around Ta-t'ung.

74) *Cheng-t'ung Shih-lu* 99. 1b2a; Tamura, *Môkohen* 3, p. 20.

The question of greeting referred to by Shen Ku will be discussed later. From the other remarks in this memorial we conclude that by the middle of the 15th century, Mongol clothing and hats had not yet disappeared, either in the capital or outside. And since the request of 1443 to forbid the wearing of Mongol dresses and hats had originated in Shantung, one wonders whether outside the capital it was not in that province that Mongol clothes were seen more frequently than elsewhere.

This passage also contains a few new details about the dress adopted by the Chinese. Little tresses attached to the hem of the robe have also been mentioned by later authors describing the Mongol attire. Hsiao Ta-heng says: "a foot or so below the knee (the robe ends) in small tresses."⁷⁵ Pictures of men's conical hats with plumes or with a button beset with a pearl or a precious stone can be seen in Blochet's edition of Rašid ad Din's *History*.⁷⁶ The present ex-

75) *Pei-lu feng-su*, p. 15 (*Mon. Serica* 10, p. 145). Ch'ü Chiu-ssu 瞿九思 in his *Wan-li wu-kung lu*, ch. 7, p. 41, mentions threads hanging down from the *pi-shou* 臂手, 辟手 (part of the battledress, probably covering forearm and hand, used by both Chinese and Mongols). Ch'ü further says that the trousers were made of leather on which they also carried fragrant substances (? in the pouches *ho-po* [cf. note 71] ? and attached tresses (繫縑).

76) See Blochet, *op. cit.*, pp 218, XI; 295, XII; 350, XIV. The plumes which the Mongols put on their hats indicated their rank. See W. Heissig, *Bolur Erike*, "Eine Kette aus Bergkristallen" *Eine Mongolische Chronik der Kienlung-Zeit von Rasipungsur (1774/75)*, Peiping, 1946, pp. 82-83. Hsiao Ta-heng also mentions (*op. cit.*, p. 15) a "scarlet plume" (朱英; 英 does not stand for 英, sort of "precious stone" as I had supposed in *Mon. Serica* 10, p. 145). Hsiao compares the Mongol hat to the south-Chinese *li* 笠 also of conical shape. P'eng Ta-ya, *Hei-ta shih-lioh*, p. 64, says that in winter they wore a hat (*mao*) and in summer a *li*.

For the headdress of the Turks also conical in shape and incrustated with pearls and surmounted with feathers; see Ibn Battuta (*Travels in Asia and Africa*, Translated and selected by H.A.R. Gibb, The Broadway Travellers, p. 147).

This wearing of plumes was revived under the Ch'ing dynasty. See for example Katanov (—K.H. Menges), *Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Turkistan* II (1943), p. 21, n. 16; p. 59, n. 10; see also Ant. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos*, p. 523 a "o't'ogo: décoration en forme de plume portée au chapeau." Also S. Camman, "Chinese Mandarin Squares," in *The University Museum Bulletin*, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 17 (1953), p. 41.

It is interesting to note that Hsiao Ta-heng, writing after the second rapid expansion of Lamaism in Mongolia, also says that the Mongols attached silver images of the Buddha to the front of their head gear. But before him Wang Shih-chen 王世貞 (1526-1590) speaking of Altan-qan's troops in the middle of the

pression *t'u-hsiu* "bald sleeves" seems to indicate sleeves lacking something, and perhaps stands for short sleeves.^{76a} It would imply then that only the long Mongol dress with wide but short sleeves (see above) had continued to be used by the Chinese, not the ordinary and more often described long dress with narrow and long sleeves mentioned by Chu Yüan-chang. It is certainly significant that this dress with "bald sleeves" and the cone-shaped hat are mentioned once more in the *Shih-lu*, this time not in reference to Shantung province, but to the Sino-Mongol borders and in particular to the military people stationed there. In the entry of March 9 (day *ping-yen* of the 2nd month of the 14th year Cheng-t'ung), 1449, we read the following: "The Fu-tu-yü-shih to the Right (右副都御史), Lo Heng-hsin 羅亨信, governor of the military districts of Ta-t'ung and Hsüan-fu, reported: 'for the color of clothes of officials and military people there are fixed patterns, but in recent years among the commandants, chiliarchs, and centurions, of every border commandery there have been men who unlawfully wear clothes with flowery designs with *ch'i-lin* and lions; among the sons of officers (舍人) there are some who wear clothes with flowery designs with tigers and leopards, rhinoceroses and sea horses; among the younger soldiers (軍餘)⁷⁷ some wear clothes with "bald sleeves" and the

16th century, already says that "they wore iron Buddhas" (or: stūpas?) (鐵浮圖) (*Pei-lu shih-mo chih* 北虜始末志, in Chiao Hung 焦紘, *Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu* 國朝獻徵錄 120, 6b). The same information went into the *Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo*, ch. 60, p. 11.

For the conical hat worn by Mongols in modern times see Hansen, *Mongol Costumes*, p. 127 ff.

It is a little surprising that the elaborate hat, *boṭar*, of the Mongol women of the Middle Ages is never mentioned. Apparently it was never used by the Chinese, although during the 15th century the Mongols sometimes obtained such hats from China. The *boṭar* is described by Carpini and Rubruc, *The Mongol Mission*, pp. 7, 102; *Sinica Franciscana* I, pp. 34, 182-183; Serruys, *Monumenta Serica* 10, p. 136.

76a) Mr. Schuyler Camman (letter dated May 14, 1956) also is of the opinion that *t'u-hsiu* indicates the short sleeve. I wonder, however, if the "bald sleeve" of the Mongols is not related to the "arrow sleeve" (箭袖) or the "arrow dress" (箭衣) of the Manchus. This dress had a narrow sleeve covering the hand and so devised that it could not hinder one's movement while shooting with bow and arrow.

77) I.e. the younger members of the military families who were expected to serve as soldiers in case their fathers or elder brothers could no longer discharge their military duties. In the *Hua-i i-yü* 2B. 18b they are called *yü-ting* 餘丁, in Mongol *ösbürin* 幹思不鄰, from the verb *ös*- "to grow."

conical hats in fox skin of the foreign barbarians. They break the rules of proper behavior and transgress the law. We request that it be decreed to the Board of Rites and to the Censorate that they issue injunctions forbidding (such practices) so that higher and lower (ranks in the army) become clearly distinguishable and that Chinese and barbarians become completely separated.' This was approved by the emperor."⁷⁸

Lo Heng-hsin here reports two different things: that officials in the administration and officers in the army were used to dressing in colors and patterns reserved for higher ranks than their own, and secondly, that some soldiers, especially the younger ones, wore clothes ("bald sleeved" robes and cone shaped hats) in Mongol fashion. In view, however, of the fact that this report comes from a border area, and that it explicitly states that these practices were very common among troops stationed in areas along the Sino-Mongol borders, it is quite possible that here we have not so much a form of Mongol influence carried over from the Yüan as a recent borrowing by Chinese garrisons from the Mongols living just across the borders, with whom they had constant relations, both peaceful and warlike. Or should we not rather say that in all border areas Mongol influence had never ceased to operate from the Yüan period down to the year 1449 when this report was written?

There is even a slight possibility that after the fall of the Yüan, Mongolia continued to exert a certain measure of influence over Chinese troops in general. We have seen that by the time of the collapse of the Yüan rule in China, some Mongol customs had been adopted by the Chinese people and had taken firm root in Chinese soil. But the question is considerably more complicated than that. When the Yüan rule broke down and the Mongol emperor withdrew into Mongolia, many foreigners, mostly Mongols, remained in China and entered the Chinese service, mainly as soldiers. Moreover, from 1368 on many Mongols began to migrate from Mongolia into China. Throughout the reigns of the first Ming emperors Mongol surrenders are regularly reported on the borders. All those who presented themselves were allowed upon Chinese territory and the Ming actively promoted this immigration movement of the Mongols. So it is not

⁷⁸) *Cheng-t'ung Shih-lu* 175. 7 b; Tamura, *Mokohen* 3, p. 206.

so certain that all the aspects of the Mongol influence which we are able to detect in China at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries were owing to the Yüan occupation alone. However, it is not likely that these new arrivals introduced new forms into China, except perhaps in border areas, since every "surrender" involved so few people at a time; but there can be no doubt that the sum of these new arrivals resulted in giving new strength to such Mongol customs as were then in existence in China.

However, in connection with clothing and hair-do, the surprising thing is that, as far as we can follow those things in the Chinese sources, it is not certain at all that those Mongols in the Ming service dressed as Mongols. Certainly not all seem to have done. One small but interesting event occurred at the end of 1449, only a few months after Lo Heng-hsin had complained about Chinese in the border areas dressing as Mongols. At that time the Mongols under the leadership of Esen-tayishi had invaded North China, and here and there Mongols in the Ming service joined the invaders. Thus the entry of November 10, 1449, of the *Shih-lu* reads as follows: "surrendered caitiffs, who had been incorporated (in the army) and stationed in the Metropolitan area, as soon as the caitiffs (i. e. Esen-tayishi's troops) invaded the country, braided their hair (after Mongol fashion) and put on barbarian clothes and robbed and plundered unscrupulously."⁷⁹ This passage clearly implies that the

79) *Cheng-t'ung Shih-lu* 184. 24 b; Tamura, *Môkohen* 3, p. 263. This is also confirmed by another event from 1450 in westernmost Kansu: when some "barbarians" invaded Kansu they talked in "barbarian" language (番語) to the native defenders (here called *t'u-min* 土民 an expression indicating the Mongols of Kansu) who changed their mind about defending the country on behalf of the Ming, braided their hair (椎髻) and went away with the invaders (*Cheng-t'ung Shih-lu* 188. 15 a; Tamura, *Môkohen* 3, p. 293). This event also seems to imply that the Mongols in the Ming service in Kansu had not been braiding their hair, but now did so in order to join the Mongols from outside the Ming orbit—unless we be compelled to understand the expression "braid their hair" as a mere figure of speech with the meaning of taking back one's allegiance from the Ming.

In 1620, when the Ming were having increasingly great difficulties in maintaining their positions in Manchuria, an official submitted a plan of defense and reorganization of the Ming positions in Liaotung. In this plan we find the expression "the surrendered caitiffs (虜) who have shaven their heads." (*T'ien-ch'i shih-lu*, Nanking ed., ch. 7; Tamura, *Mindai Mammô shiryô*, *Manshû hen* 5, p. 503). "Caitiff" is a term usually reserved for the Mongols. These "surrend-

Mongols in the Chinese service around the capital had been wearing Chinese clothes, and now had changed their attire in order to pass for Mongols from Esen-tayishi's forces. One century later, on May 10, 1544, a certain Tai Meng-kuei 戴夢桂 presented a long memorial to the throne on the advisability of organizing a group of spies and saboteurs to be sent into Mongolia.⁸⁰ In Tai's plans Mongol clothes had to be provided in order to disguise the saboteurs and spies as Mongols. Now the candidates for this job under consideration in Tai's plan were first the surrendered Mongols in the Ming service, then interpreters and slaves of prominent families. This seems to mean that the Mongols serving in the Ming armies, too, would have to be supplied with Mongol clothes before going back to Mongolia as agents of the Ming. This means, of course, that as a rule the Mongol soldiers in China did not dress as Mongols but as Chinese.

Yet, strange as it may be, if generally speaking the Mongols in the Ming service in China dressed as Chinese not as Mongols, the puzzling fact of these repeated protests against the use of Mongol clothes remains, and at the end of the 15th century a new protest was voiced against people in the capital dressing in clothes made after the Mongol fashion and speaking the Mongol language. The writer Cheng Hsiao 鄭曉 relates how during the first days of 1491 the President of the Board of Justice (刑部), Ho Ch'iao-hsin 何喬新, requested the emperor to forbid "the wearing of barbarian clothes and speaking of the barbarian language."⁸¹ We find a longer text concerning this request in Ho's biographical note in the *Ming Shih-lu*.⁸² In this note we read how Ho made the remark that "people of the capital

ered caitiffs" were supposed to assist the Ming in the defense of the borders. What their "shaven heads" means is not clear. Does it mean that, at least at the end of the Ming, the Mongols settled on the borders and recognizing the Ming overlordship, shaved their heads? But why should they have done so? Not because the Chinese did. It must, on the contrary, have been a disgrace for the Chinese to shave their heads. In 1505, the Chinese had suffered a crushing defeat near the modern Kalgan, and some 6000 Chinese captives had had their hair shaven off by the Mongols before being released. *Cheng-te shih-lu*, ch. 3; Tamura, *Môkohen* 5, p. 189.

80) *Chia-ching Shih-lu* 285. 3 ab.

81) *Huang-Ming pei-lu k'ao* 皇明北虜考 (*Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u*, vol. 45, 1937), p. 48.

82) *Cheng-te Shih-lu* 165. 8b (1518). There is nothing concerning this matter in his biographical note in the *Ming-shih*, ch. 183.

were used to wearing barbarian clothes and to speaking the barbarian language, which ought to be forbidden." "Barbarian clothes" and "barbarian language," of course, can only mean Mongol clothes and language. No other foreigners in those days had had enough influence upon China to impose their customs and their language. But who were those people in the capital accused by Ho? It will be recalled that in January, 1443, too, Mongol speech had been mentioned (see above). Were those men Mongols in the Chinese service or were they Chinese? It is my impression that they were Chinese. Indeed, in all other passages dealing with the Mongols in China, the compilers of the *Ming Shih-lu* are always careful to note that they are speaking of "surrendered Tatars" or of "surrendered caittiffs," and had Ho Jung's and Ho Ch'iao-hsin's remarks of 1443 and 1491 been directed at the Mongols, or any other foreigners in the Ming service, it would have been natural for the authors to say so. It is possible, of course, that Ho was speaking of men of Mongol ancestry who otherwise were already passing for ordinary Chinese. But then why the Mongol clothing and language? One can hardly suppose that people of foreign origin had become sinicized but had tenaciously clung to their national costume and language. This would be tantamount to saying that clothes and language were not an element in the process of sinicization. Such a statement would be absurd. In discussing Chu Yüan-chang's declaration we have made the remark that the number of those Chinese who at the time of the change of dynasty spoke Mongol, instead of Chinese, and preferred Mongol names, must have been much smaller than the number of those who had adopted foreign clothing. One would thus expect that more than one hundred years later there were no more Chinese speaking Mongol and dressing as Mongols; especially since among the Mongol immigrants serving in the Ming armies so few dressed as Mongols. Yet Ho's declaration cannot have been made without reason. Ho's statement remains hard to explain, and in the state of our present knowledge it can only mean that in spite of everything a small group of Chinese, or people of foreign origin otherwise regarded as Chinese, had continued to dress as Mongols and to speak the Mongol language.

Cremation. We must now consider another aspect of foreign influence in China, namely that of cremating the dead. On July 17 (day *hsin-ssu* of the sixth month of the third year Hung-wu), 1370,

the emperor issued a decree ordering the establishment of public graveyards for the people. The emperor gave the following instructions to the officials of the Board of Rites (禮部): "The Saintly Rulers of Antiquity ruled the Universe and gave orders to cover bones and bury corpses, thus extending their kindness to decaying bones. In recent generations, because of contact with barbarian customs, the dead sometimes were burned and the bones cast into the water. How can a filially pious son and affectionate grandson bear this in his heart? Nothing injures affection and destroys customs more (than this practice): let it be forbidden. It (there are) poor who have no land, local officials shall select a broad and vacant piece of land close to the town as a public graveyard, and have (the poor) bury (their dead) on it. As to officials (who die) on a trip to far-away countries and cannot be brought back, the government shall defray the expenses in order to bring them back."⁸³ In this statement Chu Yüan-chang does not mention the Mongols by name, but it is clear from the context that it is the Mongol occupation which he blames for the introduction of cremation of the dead. The Yüan are explicitly named in a parallel text in the *T'u-shu chi-ch'eng* where it is said that an order was issued to all districts and counties to have public graveyards and that it became forbidden in Chianghsi⁸⁴ and other localities to bury by fire (火葬) or to bury in water (水葬). According to this order if common people were too poor to possess any land suitable for burial, local officials were to select close to the town a broad and empty piece of land as a public graveyard and those who should continue to follow the customs of the Yüan and burn or cast away the dead, would be found guilty of a grave crime.⁸⁵ Although this latter text speaks of Chianghsi (or: Chechiang) in particular, it is obvious that it is the imperial order of July 1370. The same order is also summarized in the *Ming-shih*, and there we read "Yüan customs" not "barbarian customs."⁸⁶

83) *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 53. 13a.

84) The *Tu-li t'ung-k'ao* 讀禮通考 85. 5b has the same text, but reads "Chechiang" here.

85) *T'u-shu chi-ch'eng*, section 經濟, 禮儀, ch. 65, p. 58a, col. 3. The order is dated 1370.

86) *Ming-shih* 60. 22a.

It is obvious that Chu Yüan-chang and the Ming government were wrong in blaming the Yüan, or the Yüan alone, for the introduction of the custom of cremating the dead. Cremation of the dead in China, of course, is of foreign origin. It was introduced with Buddhism, but long before the Mongol period. It was already widely practised during the 5th century,⁸⁷ and became very popular under the T'ang and the Sung dynasties.⁸⁸ During that period scholars such as Tu Yu 杜佑 (d. 812), Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 (1019-1086), and others put up a stiff fight against it, but no dynasty was ever able to eradicate cremation completely.

Cremation of the dead was not even known by the early Mongols. It was their custom to bury the dead, but as a result of their conquests of other peoples where Buddhism flourished, they began to adopt cremation. In China the practice of cremating the dead probably received new vigor under the Yüan occupation, not so much from the Mongols themselves as from the Tang-yud (Hsi-hsia)⁸⁹ and Tibetan monks who became very influential in governmental circles. The Yüan government did not always approve of it, however. Sometimes they even tried to have it stopped.⁹⁰

The custom of cremating the dead was never completely suppressed—not even after the accession of the Ming, nor even among the higher classes of the Ming empire.⁹¹ In 1506 when an empress

87) See Kenneth Ch'en "Anti-Buddhist propaganda during the Nan-ch'ao," in *HJAS* 15 (1952), esp. p. 171.

88) De Groot, *Religious System of China*, vol. 3, pp. 1391 ff.

89) For cremation among the Hsi-hsia see for example Moule-Pelliot, *Marco Polo, The Description of the World*, vol. 1, pp. 151-152.

90) For example in the *Yüan tien-chang* 30. 10ab (1278) we find an order against cremation. In this passage we are told that cremation was practised frequently in Pei-ching, the Northern Capital (in modern Jehol Province), and a general regulation was issued forbidding cremation except in cases of troops or travellers who died in far-away countries; the *Se-mu* peoples, however, did not come under this order.

91) An article in the penal code of the Ming *Ta-Ming lü* 大明律 of 1397 (Japanese edition of 1722) 12. 41b 42a summarizes the regulation of 1370 but also stipulates circumstances under which cremation was allowed: "Those who obey their elders' last words, and burn the corpses and throw (the ashes) in the water, shall be punished with a bastinado of one hundred blows. (The punishment of) minors shall be reduced by two degrees. If (parents) pass away in a far-away country and the sons and grandsons are unable to bring them back for

died, whom apparently nobody had liked, some officials proposed to have the body cremated, not for religious reasons, but in order to do away with the empress completely.⁹²

Manner of greeting. If the Mongols had but little if anything at all to do with cremation of the dead in China, there are other matters in which their influence is definitely noticeable. A passage not included in the Nanking edition of the *Ming Shih-lu*, but found in the manuscript copy of the National Library in Peking and in Haneda's excerpts from the *Ming Shih-lu*⁹⁴ (April 7, 1327: day *hsin-hai* of the third month of the 5th year Hung-wu) reads as follows: "The emperor ordered the Board of Rites to re-arrange the Ceremonial to be followed by officials and commoners when greeting each other. Formerly, according to the Yüan custom, officials when seeing each other would abruptly genuflect once as a form of politeness.⁹⁵ In order to express their respect they would knock the ground with the head as a form of extreme reverence, and after thus showing their respect they would genuflect once. When lower officials and common people met a higher official or a superior and

burial, and desire to cremate them, they shall be allowed to do as they please." This text is also incorporated, with a few minor changes, in the *Tu-li t'ung-k'ao* 85. 6a.

92) *Ming-shih* 113. 18a; 181. 22b.

93) Microfilm copy at Columbia University, New York, chapter 73.

94) *Môkohen* 1, p. 79. The Nanking edition has only the introductory sentence. It drops the passage concerning Mongol customs, and proceeds with another text.

95) Carpini tells how he and his companions were instructed to genuflect three times on the left knee before entering "Corenza's" tent, and four times before entering the emperor Güyüg's tent. *The Mongol Mission*, pp. 54, 63; *Sinica Franciscana* 1, pp. 107, 119-120. Also passim in Rubruc's itinerary. P'eng Ta-ya (*Hei-Ta shih-lioh*, p. 66) also mentions genuflection with the left knee as a form of obeisance. And in the *Yijo Sillok*, vol. 2 (Ed. Tokyo, 1954), p. 108 (太宗錄實 ch. 2, p. 18b, 1401) we read that when the king of Korea asked whether or not a certain ceremony was of Mongol origin, a minister answered that it was not, and that "the only Yüan forms of greeting were prostration and genuflection" 元朝之禮拜與跪耳. See also G. Le Strange, *Clavijo, Embassy to Tamerlane* (The Broadway Travellers), pp. 175, 220, 231, 246, 262. For modern times compare such Ordos expressions as: öwöDök nugul—: "plier le genou pour saluer;" and sö'kxör—"saluer en pliant un genou et en plaçant en même temps sur l'autre genou les deux mains croisées l'une sur l'autre." Ant. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos*, pp. 499, 586.

wanted to greet him, they would stretch forth the hands (引手)⁹⁶ and, stepping backwards (退却),⁹⁷ retire as if they wanted to avoid him. But the emperor detested such practices and no sooner had he ascended the throne than he forbade them. However, the old customs could not be rooted up completely. Now the Ceremonial was fixed again and was ordered to be promulgated."

To my knowledge this is the only passage in the Hung-wu section of the *Shih-lu* where Mongol ceremonial is mentioned. But in view of what we have already seen in connection with clothing, hair-do, names, and language, it will come as no surprise that Mongol forms of politeness, too, had been adopted and were rather firmly rooted among the Chinese people. Indeed in the text of January, 1443, quoted above, we have seen how an official from Shantung complained that the people continued to genuflect to greet each other. Through lack of additional information, however, we do not know whether or not any other forms of politeness originating in Mongolia were observed in China nor, if they were, how long they survived.

Marriage customs. One other custom adopted from the Mongols and the Turks, one which much more than cut of hair, fashion in dress, or rules for greeting, ran against traditional thought and morals was that of marrying one's brother's widow. And since this practice went contrary to a centuries-old way of thinking it shows how deeply China had been affected by the occupation of the Mongols.

In the first pages of this paper we have quoted Chu Yüan-chang's appeal of November 1367 in which he declared that as a result of the long presence of foreigners in China a younger brother could marry his older brother's widow, and that a son could inherit his

96) Ordos Mongols when greeting each other often stretch forth both hands at the height of the chest with the palms turned upwards. This is called *alagāā Dos*—(Mo. *Alaya-ban tos*—) "to stretch forth one's hands (lit. the palms) (like a beggar asking for money)." Personal communication by Rev. Ant. Mostaert, November 16, 1955.

97) Hsiao Ta-heng, *Pei-lu feng-su*, p. 17, says that a daughter-in-law had to walk backwards when leaving her parents-in-law. (*Mon. Serica* 10, p. 147). See Ant. Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p. 216b: "Džuxurtši Gar—: sortir en marchant à reculons (p. e. les brus quand elles sortent de la tente ou de l'appartement où sont leurs beaux parents)." See also Le Strange, *Clavijo*, pp. 124, 246, 262.

deceased father's concubines. These indeed were the marriage customs of the Mongols, the Central Asiatic Turks, and many other peoples. Chu Yüan-chang's charges could mean that the foreigners occupying China practised their customs and consequently made it permissible for everyone in the Mongol empire to do the same. In his appeal of 1367, however, the emperor does not state explicitly that Chinese ever adopted such practices condemned by traditional Chinese morals. But toward the end of his long reign, Chu Yüan-chang came back upon this question, and this time he plainly charged that some people indeed were still following foreign customs, and, as we shall try to show, he was referring to Chinese, not to foreigners living in China.

For almost three centuries before the accession of the Yüan parts of North China had been dominated by foreign dynasties: the Liao (907-1125), the Chin (1125-1234), and in the west the Hsi-hsia (1032-1227). The Chin conquered the Liao, and the Mongols destroyed both the Chin and the Hsi-hsia, and afterwards conquered all of China. All these foreign peoples knew such customs as sororate and levirate, and they cannot have failed to influence China to some degree.⁹⁸

The marriage customs of the Mongols have been described by Mediaeval travellers. John de Plano Carpini has this to say: "Each man has as many wives as he can keep, one a hundred, another fifty, another ten—one more, another less. It is the general custom for them to marry any of their relations, with the exception of their mother, daughter, and sister by the same mother. They can, however, take in marriage their sisters who have only the same father,^{98a} and even their father's wives after his death; also a younger brother

98) For the levirate of the Liao people see Wittfogel-Feng, *History . . . Liao*, pp. 201, 211. For the Jürčed from whom the Chin people descended see for example the *Yijo Sillok*, vol. 5 (Tokyo 1955), p. 22 (1415) where we read that Korean officials complained about marriage customs of their Jürčed subjects in the northern border regions: "they do not in the least insist on marrying someone with a different surname, so much so that if one's elder brother dies one marries one's elder sister-in-law (i. e. the widow of the deceased)." Similar customs, however, were not practised by the Manchus, also related to the Jürčed.

98a) The same custom as the old Hebrews had. See *Genesis* xx, 12: "she is truly my sister, the daughter of my father, and not the daughter of my mother, and I took her to wife."

may marry his brother's wife after his death ; or another younger relative is expected⁹⁹ to take her. All other women they take as wives without any distinction and they buy them at a very high price from their parents. After the death of their husbands the women do not easily enter into a second union, unless a man wishes to take his stepmother to wife."¹⁰⁰ Carpini also relates how Batu urged a Russian prince to marry his elder sister-in-law, whose husband had been executed by the Mongols.¹⁰¹ William of Rubruc describes those customs in the following way : "As for their marriages, you must know that no one there has a wife unless he buys her, which means that sometimes girls are quite grown up before they marry for their parents always keep them until they sell them. They observe the first and the second degree of consanguinity, but observe no degrees of affinity ; they have two sisters at the same time, or one after the other. No widow among them marries, the reason being that they believe that all those who serve them in this life will serve them in the next, and so of a widow they believe that she will always return after death to her first husband. This gives rise to a shameful custom among them whereby a son sometimes takes to wife all his father's wives, except his own mother, for the *ordo* of a father and a mother always falls to the youngest son and so he himself has to provide for all his father's wives who come to him with his father's effects ; and then, if he so wishes, he uses them as wives, for he does not consider an injury has been done to him if they return to his father after death."¹⁰²

A few decades later Marco Polo wrote : "Again they take cousins for wives, and they are also allowed to take the wife of their father, except their mother, also the wives of brother [or of] every relation. . ."¹⁰³ and again : "they take their cousins for wives and, what is more, if the father dies, his eldest son takes to wife the wife of his father,

99) The Latin text reads *tenetur* : "is bound."

100) *The Mongol Mission*, p. 7 ; *Sinica Franciscana* I, p. 33. Also quoted by H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part IV (1927), p. 195.

101) *The Mongol Mission*, p. 11 ; *Sinica Franciscana* I, p. 39.

102) *The Mongol Mission*, p. 104 ; *Sinica Franciscana* I, pp. 184-185. Also in *History of the Mongols*, part IV, pp. 194-195, and in other works.

103) A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot (ed.), *Marco Polo, The Description of the World*, vol. 1 (1938), p. 160.

if she is not his mother, and all the women who are left by the father except his mother and sisters. He takes also the wife of his own brother if he dies."¹⁰⁴

The minor divergences between the statements by these three observers are unimportant. An interesting fact emerging from these descriptions is that, according to the Mongols and probably also to other Asiatic peoples, a widow would be claimed by her former husband in the next life, and thus as a rule was unwilling to remarry, unless a member of the husband's family was prepared to marry her in a second union.¹⁰⁵

There were, however, some definite limitations to the rights of marrying the widow of a relative, as the three celebrated travellers state. May be these limitations varied somewhat from tribe to tribe or from people to people.¹⁰⁶ Anyway once in China, the Mongols probably tried to regulate and standardize their tribal customs, and introduced a few new limitations. A complete review of all the changes undergone by the Mongol attitude in China would fall beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice here to point out a few of the changes introduced in China, no doubt, under the influence of Chinese civilization.

The 1331¹⁰⁷ code incorporated in the *Yüan-shih* (ch. 102-105) contains four articles concerning this matter :

104) *Ibid.*, p. 170.

105) Wittfogel-Feng, *History* . . . , p. *Liao* p. 201ab.

106) For example Carpini says that a younger brother could marry his elder brother's widow. It was not permissible, however, for an elder brother to marry his younger brother's widow, although this, too, was done sometimes. But among the modern Qaračın Mongols in the province of Jehol it is the elder brother who is allowed to marry his younger brother's widow. See p. 108 of E-tu Zen Sun "Results of culture contact in two Mongol-Chinese communities," in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 8, 1952. Among the Mongols of South Ordos, too, it is not considered becoming to marry the widow of an elder brother (Comm. Rev. A. Mostaert, February 2, 1956). L. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-tibetan Frontier. Their origin, history, and social organization* (1954), p. 88, speaks only of brothers in general.

107) According to P. Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan*, Introduction, pp. xxii-xxiv, the material incorporated in this code was derived from the *Ching-shih ta-tien* of 1331. P. Pelliot (*Ibid.*, Préface, p. iii) supported this view.

1. "An elder brother who takes (收 [by succession])¹⁰⁸ his younger brother's wife shall be punished with a bastinado of 107 blows with the big stick (杖);¹⁰⁹ the woman [i. e. the widow] shall receive 97 blows, and they shall be separated; even if they reveal their crime on their own accord they shall receive the prescribed punishment. The director of the marriage (主婚) shall receive 57 blows with the small stick (笞),¹⁰⁹ and the go-between 37 blows."¹¹⁰

2. "If during the mourning period for one's father or mother one should incestuously take to wife (收) his stepmother (庶母), he shall receive 107 blows with the big stick, and the two parties shall be separated. If the guilty occupies an official position, his name shall be deleted (from the registers)."¹¹¹

3. "It shall be forbidden to all (Northern) Chinese (漢人) and Southerners (南人) to marry (by succession) their stepmothers in case their fathers die, or their elder sisters-in-law should their elder brothers die."¹¹²

4. "Nobody may marry (by succession) the wife of a (deceased) first cousin (if the father of one party and the mother of the other party are brother and sister (姑表兄弟嫂叔); one who should marry (the widow of such a first cousin) shall be guilty of incest."¹¹³

108) *Shou* or *shou-chi* 收繼 are the terms most frequently used to designate the succession to a brother's widow. Other expressions appearing in the *Yüan tien-chang*, perhaps with different shades of meaning, are: *shou-hsü* 收續, *chieh-hsü* 接續, *shou-chieh* 收接, *shou-na* 收納, *shou-ch'i* 收訖, *ch'ü-ch'i* 取訖, etc.

109) For the terms *chang* and *ch'ih* see p. Ratchnevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

110) *Yüan-shih* 103. 23a. In the *Yüan tien-chang* 18. 2a the same punishments are found in a comprehensive diagram for comparison with punishments for other crimes. The provision that the two parties must be separated is expressed twice. We find also this additional information that if the guilty elder brother was an official, he was to be removed from his post. For two court decisions from 1275 and 1277 against marriages of an elder brother with the widow of his younger brother see the *Yüan tien-chang* 18. 40ab. The person involved in the case of 1275 was the governor-general of the Southern Capital (then K'ai-feng, Honan). In addition to a corporeal punishment he was cashiered. There is another similar case in the *Yüan-tien-chang*, suppl. 1. 52ab. And a case of 1297 (*ibid.* 18. 20b) presupposes the same regulation.

111) *Yüan-shih* 103. 23a.

112) *Ibid.*

113) *Ibid.*, 103. 23b. Such a marriage was forbidden by a court decision of 1289. See *Yuan tien-chang* 18. 42ab.

The code of 1331 incorporated in the *Yüan-shih* was the law for the Chinese part of the Mongol empire. Mongolia and Central Asia, no doubt, kept their own customary laws. But what about the Mongols and the Classified Peoples (色目 i. e. the non-Chinese allies of the Mongols) living in China: soldiers, officials, merchants, etc., and their households? Since so many passages in chapters 102-105 of the *Yüan-shih* now and then mention the Mongols and the Classified Peoples specifically, while other articles are specifically meant for the Chinese both Northerners and Southerners, there can be no doubt that generally speaking all were bound by the laws formulated in the *Yüan-shih*. How then should these four articles of the Yüan law be interpreted?

The first article, as it forbids marriage to a younger brother's widow, implies that it was permissible for a younger brother to marry his elder brother's widow. (Cheng Hsüan in his statement of 1355—see below—was to say that elder brothers, too, married their younger sisters-in-law). The second article forbids marriage to one's stepmother during the mourning period, and thus seems to allow it at other times. Although both articles are stated in general terms, and thus could apply to everybody in China, it was the Mongols and the *Se-mu* peoples alone who could marry an elder brother's widow (as John of Plano Carpini states) or one's father's concubine; such marriages are strictly forbidden for all Chinese in the third article.

The fourth article no doubt was primarily intended for the Chinese, although such marriages were not likely to be popular among them. As to the Mongols, since a widow normally could be claimed only by a relative of her former husband, such a marriage between cousins whose parents were brother and sister became unlikely. Indeed if the father of one cousin and the mother of the other (姑表兄弟姊妹) were brother and sister, it followed that the two cousins belonged to a different family and consequently also to a different clan because the rule of the exogamic marriages among the Mongols demanded that girls (here the mother of one of the two parties) always be married into a clan other than their own. After the death of her husband the widow had to be claimed by a relative of her former husband, and could not be claimed by a first cousin of hers since such a cousin would belong to a clan other than her

husband's.¹¹⁴

Again it appears from the Yüan legislation of 1331 that the Mongols made no attempt to enforce their own customs upon the Chinese people conquered by them. Quite to the contrary, does this legislation not show that some Chinese were inclined to adopt or had already adopted some Mongol or other tribal (e. g. Jürčed ?) customs, and that the Yüan government here tried to stop the further spread of those customs among the Chinese ? In order to understand this better it must be pointed out that Carpini and Rubruc seem to say that although levirate and other similar marriages regularly occurred among the Mongols, they did not occur too frequently. These two travellers say: "After the death of their husbands the women do not easily enter into a second union, unless. . ." and: "No widow among them marries, the reason being. . ." Moreover it is certain that the ruling classes in the Yüan empire in the course of time underwent the influence of Chinese thought, and in my opinion the legislation of 1331 reflects this change of mind of the Mongol rulers and nobility.

Probably the common tribal people (i. e. the Mongols and their allies) in China underwent very little of this influence, and continued to marry in their own ways. It is quite understandable that the common people, living among themselves and more or less segregated from the Chinese, were more immune to such Chinese influence. But that a slow change of mind was taking place within the better circles of the Mongol people already prior to the 1331 legislation can be concluded from several facts, a few of which will be mentioned here in order to illustrate this evolution.

During the year 1329 an imperial edict said of the Princess of Lu 魯, Sengge-ragi 僧哥刺吉, daughter of Shun-tsung 順宗 (Darmabala. See note 39) that: "she became a widow early (in life).

114) See O. Lattimore, "The Gold tribe of the Lower Sungari," in *Mem. of the Am. Anthr. Assoc.* 40 (1933), p. 49; also L. M. J. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, p. 87, col. a. It is for the same reason, I believe, that the il-qan of Persia Öljeitü (r. 1304-1316) could marry the daughter of his mother's brother: his mother and her brother, and consequently the brother's daughter, belonged to a clan other than Öljeitü's. See Wallis Budge, *The monks of Kúblai Khan*, 1928, p. 257.

She guarded her chastity and has not permitted (any of her) various brothers-in-law to marry (her) by succession."¹¹⁵ The edict obviously praises the princess for her conduct. In Mongol society a widow may not have been compelled to remarry, but I believe that no Mongol would ever praise her for the sole fact that she did not marry. Here we definitely detect traces of Confucian influence.¹¹⁶ Not only, as it has been pointed out, did the Mongols never try to impose their own marriage customs upon the conquered peoples, but in 1330 an edict was issued with the purpose of checking the spread of the levirate and similar customs: "An edict (said): 'all those, unless it be their own custom, who dare marry by succession their elder sisters-in-law, or their respective stepmothers, shall be found guilty.'"¹¹⁷ In 1340 it became forbidden for "Classified Peoples to marry the wives of their (deceased) younger paternal uncles (叔母);"¹¹⁸ and a few months later a new regulation was introduced: "the censor Šigtür 世圖爾 advised (the emperor) to forbid the Dašman 答失蠻,¹¹⁹ the Hui-hui 回回 (Khwarezmians), the Jews 主

115) *Yüan-shih* 33. 29b. Translation on p. 19 of Fr. W. Cleaves' article "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1338 in memory of Jigünteï," in *HJAS* 14 (1951; pp. 1-104). The *Yüan tien-chang* 18. 4a contains a regulation whereby a widow after the mourning period could return to her own family and remain in widowhood, and could not be compelled by her uncle to remarry. Since this rule is put in very general terms it seems to imply that the non-Chinese in China too came under it, and thus that the Mongols, etc., could never claim the widow of a deceased brother, unless the widow herself was willing.

116) The *Yüan tien-chang* 18. 25ab mentions a case from 1311 where regret is expressed that it had become very much the custom for widows of officials to remarry after the death of their husbands. In order to improve the morals of the country, widows of officials were strongly urged not to remarry. *Yüan tien-chang* 11. 34ab contains decisions of 1317 and 1318 whereby wives of officials, who after the death of their husbands decided to remarry, were deprived of any titles they had been granted on account of the rank held by their former husbands. This rule, however, applied only to Chinese, not to the Mongols and the *Se-mu* peoples.

117) *Yüan-shih* 34. 23a. The law of 1331, of course, repeats this edict for the Chinese, both Northerners and Southerners.

118) *Yüan-shih* 40. 8a.

119) "Dašman" < *dānīshmand* or *danshūmand*, Persian title of teachers in Transoxania. See W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion* (1928), p. 232; Mar. Lewicki, "Les inscriptions mongoles inédites en écriture carrée," in *Collectanea Orientalia* 12 (1937), p. 17: "dašmad;" p. 19: "clergé musulman;" N. Poppe "Turkic loan words in Middle Mongolian," in *Central Asiatic Journal* 1 (1955), p. 39; K. H. Menges, *Glossar zu den Volkskundlichen Texten aus Ost-Turkistan II* (Ak. der Wissen. und der Literatur, 1954), p. 711.

吾, and others, to marry their paternal cousins (叔伯)."¹²⁰

The change in attitude reflected in these regulations can only have been brought about by the influence of Chinese social customs. This evolution, naturally, took place rather among the higher circles, much closer to the Chinese influential groups, and affected very little the common Mongol people in China, not to mention those living in Mongolia. However, apart from such isolated facts as the one mentioned above concerning the princess Sengge-ragi, it is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty to what extent even the higher Mongol circles in general, including other foreigners, were affected by Chinese influence and conformed to the new regulations inspired by Chinese customs. At any rate in 1355, when the revolt against the Yüan was just getting under way, a certain Cheng Hsüan 鄭暄, a Confucianist teacher in the Great Ordo (大斡兒朶),¹²¹ made

120) *Yüan-shih* 40. 9a. This text is also quoted by R. Löwenthal in his article "The nomenclature of the Jews in China," in *Monumenta Serica* 12 (1947) pp. 95-126.

121) This "Great Ordo" probably is the "Magna Curia" of Činggis mentioned by William Rubruc, *The Mongol Mission* pp. 123, 148, 170; *Sinica Franciscana* 1, pp. 208, 243, 268. Činggis' Ordo, or Ordos, is frequently mentioned in the *Yüan-shih*. E. g. 29. 1a: "T'ai-tsu's four Great Ordos" (太祖四大斡兒朶); 29. 2a: "Emperor Činggis' four Great Ordos;" 89. 27a "The region of T'ai-tsu's four Ordos" (i. e. the Onan-Kerülen area); 89. 28a "T'ai-tsu's Great Ordos;" 89. 3a "T'ai-tsu's Ordos;" etc. Besides Činggis-qan's, however, there were other "Great Ordos" as we can see for example in the *Yüan-shih* 106. 3a. P'eng Ta-ya (*Hei-Ta shih-lioh*, p. 58) says: "The ruler's tent faces the south and is set up alone. In front of it are arranged (the tents of his) concubines and wives, then of his bodyguard and officials, and then of all the Tatar chiefs. The place where the hunting tent is set up is called Wo-li-t'o 窩裏陀 (*ordo*). The Golden Tent 金帳 [commentary: 'the pillars are covered with gold, hence the name'] (is the place where) all the wives and concubines assemble (with the ruler). It alone is called Ta-wo-li-t'o (Great *Ordo*)." Güyüg's Golden Ordo is mentioned by Rubruc (*The Mongol Mission*, p. 63). In Činggis, own day Ong-qan, too, had a "Golden extended tent" (in Mongol: *altan terme*, in Chinese 金撒帳; *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* § 184: 6. 48a; § 185: 6. 50b; § 187: 7. 2b). See also V. Minorsky, "Tamin ibn Barh's Journey to the Uyghurs," in *Bull. of the School of Oriental and Afr. Studies*, Univ. London 12 (1948), p. 283: "He says that from (a distance of) five farsakhs before he arrived in the town (of the khaqan) he caught sight of a tent of the king (made of) gold. (It stands) on the flat top of his castle and can hold 100 men." The Golden or Great Tent is mentioned in many other works. See also what Clavijo says about the "Enclosures" and the large tents and pavilions in them at Samargand. G. Le Strange, *Clavijo*, pp. 238-244. Compare also what Ibn Battuta (*Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, Translated and selected by

the following statement: "The Mongol race is the foundation of the country, and they should be taught civilization; yet they continue to follow their own customs, and do not observe the three years' mourning; moreover they marry by succession their stepmothers (庶母), the wives of their (deceased) younger paternal uncles (叔嬭), and the wives of their (deceased) elder brothers (兄嫂). It is to be feared that we shall become the laughing stock of future generations, and such a situation should be remedied through civilization and law."¹²² The text, however, goes on to say that the emperor replied nothing to Cheng's complaints. The reason for his silence probably was that Cheng's remarks concerned not so much the higher classes, especially those stationed in China, as the common Mongol people who had continued to cling to their tribal customs, and the emperor probably did not want to intervene and disturb them.

But if the Mongols, at least the higher classes in China who were more apt to appreciate the advantages of Chinese culture, had already been influenced to a certain extent by it, is it not somewhat paradoxical to say that the Chinese people also were being influenced by such Mongol and Central Asiatic social customs as went radically against traditional Chinese thinking and in regard to which the Mongols themselves were gradually coming closer to the Chinese point of view? One answer, if not a complete one, probably is that just as it was the higher class and better educated among the foreign peoples who were being influenced by the Chinese, so it was the lower class Chinese who were being influenced by the non-Chinese peoples, and partially adopted their customs.

What was the situation then in China under the Yüan with regard to marriage customs? Levirate has been known in China since antiquity and has been practised sporadically in the rural areas up to modern times, although not favorably looked upon.¹²³ It is thus

H. A. R. Gibb, *The Broadway Travellers*, p. 148) says about the Golden Pavilion of the Turks, and Marco Polo's description of the Mongol qaγan's Bamboo Palace (Moule-Pelliot, *The Description of the World*, vol. 1, p. 186).

¹²²) *Yüan-shih* 44. 1b.

¹²³) M. Granet, *La civilisation chinoise* (1929), p. 401; Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine antique* (1926), pp. 15, 276 ff. W. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China, Kulturen des Nordwestens*, Reihe 5, 2; 23, 1; *Kulture des Südens und Ostens*, Reihe 49, 4; 70, 2; P. Serruys "Les cérémonies du mariage," in *Folklore Studies* 3 (1944), p. 102.

sure that the foreigners could not be blamed for every case of levirate occurring in China during the Mongol period and immediately thereafter. But the cases reported in our sources are much broader than levirate would strictly allow, and furthermore in most of the cases under consideration reference is made to foreign law and custom. As far as my knowledge goes the only source at our disposal for forming an opinion on the subject is in the decisions in matrimonial cases handed down by courts of justice and included in the *Yüan tien-chang* and the (*Ta-Yüan*) *t'ung-chih t'iao-ko* (大元)通制條格. We must be certain, however, that the decisions referred to were given for Chinese, not for Mongols. Although this is not certain a priori, let us point out the following facts: no Mongol names appear in any of the cases listed in the two aforementioned books, and the Mongol people are never referred to in any of those cases.¹²⁴ In a few cases names of the persons involved are not given, but in all other cases the names are Chinese, although of a popular type. Most of the matrimonial cases are from North China; modern Hopei, Honan, Shantung, and a few from Central China. This geographical detail tends to show that the people involved were Chinese, although perhaps

124) A decision of 1270 (*Yüan tien-chang* 18. 33ab) was given for Hui-hui from Daidu (the people from Khwarezm whom the Mongols called Sartaγul). We are told that it was the custom of the Hui-hui that if a boy died before the marriage ceremony could be performed his younger brother was entitled to marry his elder brother's fiancée if her parents consented. Otherwise the parents of the girl had to return half of the bride price.

Only one other case involving Hui-hui is mentioned in connection with a decision of 1276 (*Yüan tien-chang* 18. 40b41a). In this case, that the persons involved were Hui-hui can be concluded from the names. The case of 1276 was as follows: a man [maybe also a Hui-hui] from P'u-t'ai hsien 蒲臺縣 [the text reads *man* 滿 instead of *p'u*], Shantung, wanted to marry the widow of his elder brother; the woman, however, refused, and the court upheld his right to marry her, since he was fulfilling the tax requirements formerly carried out by his elder brother. A higher court, however, reversed this decision on the strength of an earlier decision involving a Hui-hui, also from Shantung. A woman had refused to marry her deceased husband's younger brother because she had decided to remain a widow and to live together with her son and with him perform the labor tax. According to the law a widow who refused to remarry could not be forced into a new marriage; on the other hand the imperial order of January, 1272, said that "one must marry one's stepmother or one's sister-in-law." The decision given in the P'u-t'ai case was that the widow was free to marry or not, but should she later decide to remarry the younger brother of the husband could still exercise his right.

to a certain degree already influenced by the Liao and the Chin¹²⁵ occupations. Furthermore the majority of the cases are from before 1290 and it is very unlikely that already at that time many Mongols had assumed Chinese names. If the people involved in those cases were not Chinese, but Mongols, why don't they bear Mongol names? If some of the persons mentioned in the cases reported in the *Yüan tien-chang* are Mongols who had adopted Chinese names, they cannot have been more than a few, and the others must have been Chinese. In view of these facts I think that we can assume as certain that all, or at least most of the people involved, were Chinese. The fact that the names are of the popular type also confirms our assumption expressed above that it was the lower strata of the population that had been most strongly, if not exclusively, affected.

On more than one occasion a law is quoted from the 12th month of the eighth year Chih-yüan 至元 (i. e. January, 1272): 小娘根底阿嫂根底收者 "One must marry one's stepmother and one's elder sister-in-law."¹²⁶ It is quite probable, if not certain, that this regulation was given for the Mongols exclusively and in the minds of the ruler was never intended to apply to the Chinese; but as we shall see, such regulations were invoked by the Chinese, too. Whether this rule of January 1272 had been given originally for Mongols alone or for both Mongols and Chinese, we must point out that the *Yüan tien-chang* mentions no case of a person wanting to marry his stepmother; and since such unions occurred from time to time among the Mongols (several cases are reported by Sayang-sečen and by Ming authors) this detail seems to give us an additional proof, though a negative one, that the cases collected in the *Yüan tien-chang* generally

125) By a decision of 1277 (*Yüan tien-chang* 18. 41ab) a younger brother was denied permission to marry the widow of his elder brother, not because the right itself was questioned, but because the widow had nursed him when he was still a baby and she was twice his age. The plaintiff's family name was Wan-yen 完顏, the clan name of the imperial family of the Chin dynasty. Shun-t'ien lu 順天路, where the case was decided, probably must be read Shun-te-lu (德; modern south Hopei). The *T'ung-chih t'iao-ko* 3. 12ab mentions a marriage ceremony called *pai-men* 拜門 said to be of Jürčed origin.

126) *Yüan tien-chang* 18. 35a, and 35b. In the first passage the character 休 *hsiu* "do not..." is inserted by mistake. In the second passage (first line) character 收 *shou* has been left out, as also on line 13 of the same page 35b, and also 18. 41a.

speaking concern Chinese, not Mongols.

This being established, what do we learn from the court decisions in the *Yüan tien-chang* and in the *T'ung-chih t'iao-ko*? In many of the cases reported permission is granted to the younger brother to marry the widow of his elder brother.¹²⁷ In a number of cases permission is refused for a variety of reasons, but not because the principle of succession itself is questioned.¹²⁸ In some cases the right to marry an elder sister-in-law is not the matter in question; but the cases presuppose the existence¹²⁹ of such a custom.

Chinese and Po-hai 淳海 peoples are mentioned in two cases of 1270 in which permission was denied.¹³⁰ The first case concerns a man from Ho-chien 河間, in modern Hopei, who wanted to marry the widow of his younger paternal uncle (孀母). Someone maintained that a rule allowing such a marriage existed; nevertheless permission was denied. The decision was based on an earlier similar case also from Ho-chien in which a man had paid the customary bride price and had already married the widow of his paternal uncle. In this case the court had decided that such a marriage could not take place because the man was a Chinese and the Old Law (舊例)¹³¹ "in mar-

127) In a few cases the elder brother had died before the wedding ceremony had taken place. E. g. *Yüan tien-chang* 18. 36b. In this connection a word may be said about the customs of the tribes of the Sarö Yögurs in Kansu. Colonel (later Marshal) G. E. Mannerheim "A visit to the Sarö and Shera Yögurs," in *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 27 (1911, pp. 1-72), p. 14, writes: "A younger brother steps into his elder brother's place, in case of the death of the latter, despite the difference in age, but if the marriage has already taken place he cannot afterwards marry his sister-in-law." Both the Sarö Yögurs and the Shera Yögurs are the descendants of the Sarig Uighurs (Yellow Uighurs), although the Shera Yögurs in the course of time have adopted Mongol as their language. The Shera Yögurs vocabulary collected by Mannerheim is definitely Mongol, whereas that of the Sarö Y. is Turkish. According to tradition the Sarö Y. migrated into Kansu from the north during the early Ch'ing period.

128) For example see *Yüan tien-chang* 18. 40b-42b; *T'ung-chih t'iao-ko* 3. 17b; 18ab; 18b 19a; 19a; 19ab.

129) For example *Yüan tien-chang* 18. 4b.

130) *Ibid.*, 18. 30ab.

131) This "Old Law" was the code of the Chin called *T'ai-ho lü* 泰和律 (called after the T'ai-ho period: 1201-1208) which had remained in force under the early Yüan until it was finally abrogated by Qubilai on December 18, 1271. *Yüan-shih* 7. 13b; P. Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan*, p. X.

rying¹³² one's own kind (同類)¹³³ everybody shall follow one's own customary law" did not apply to the Chinese. On the basis of this earlier decision permission was also denied in the Ho-chien case of 1270.

The second case was from Hsi-chou 息州 in Honan province. Once more the claim to a levirate marriage was not recognized, and the refusal again is based on an earlier case from Ho-chien in which the court had decided that according to the Old Law regulations concerning levirate marriages¹³⁴ did not apply to Chinese and Po-hai.¹³⁵

But does not the fact that this remark is repeated twice in connection with the cases of 1270 prove that no rules on levirate and

132) The text here reads 自相犯者, but this should be corrected to 自相婚姻者, as we find in *Yüan tien-chang* 18. 4a and *T'ung-chih t'iao-ko* 3. 14b.

133) From the context we see that *t'ung-lei* is not the same as *t'ung-hsing* (同姓). *T'ung-lei* indicated persons related through marriage, as here in the case of 1270 from Honan, the younger brother and his sister-in-law. Marriages between persons with the same surname (*t'ung-hsing*) must have become very common, although as a rule the Chinese consider all persons with the same surname as related to each other (but this principle probably was never applied too strictly), for on the 25th day of the first month (March 7, 1271) of the eighth year Chih-yüan such marriages became forbidden. Marriages contracted before that date remained valid, but such marriages as would be contracted after that date would be considered invalid (*Yüan tien-chang* 18. 4a). It seems that originally the expression *t'ung-lei* was used more specifically with regard to non-Chinese other than the Mongols. Indeed in the *Yüan tien-chang* (*Ibid.*) we find the following rule: "All Classified People (*Se-mu*) marrying their own kind, must follow their own customary law. Between those marrying each other, it is the husband who is the master. This law does not apply to the Mongols."

In the penal code of the Ming from 1397, *Ta-Ming lü* 6. 11a, the expression *pen-lei* 本類 is used with the same meaning as *t'ung-lei* for both the Mongols and the *Se-mu* Peoples. According to this code, all were forbidden to marry "their own kind" (sisters-in-law, etc.) except the Hui-hui and the Qibčaq who, we are told, were somewhat unpopular because of their physical features and had some difficulty in finding suitable partners, and therefore were allowed to marry according to their old customary laws.

134) In the text here the same mistake is made as the one corrected in note 132.

135) We may add in passing that the names of the Chinese involved in the cases of 1270 (*Yüan tien-chang* 18. 39ab) are of the same vulgar type as all the other Chinese names in this section of the *Yüan tien-chang*. This fact seems to confirm our conclusion that all the persons involved in these marriage cases are Chinese.

other matrimonial customs applied to the Chinese and the Po-hai? P. Ratchnevsky,¹³⁶ speaking of the modes of inheritance of rights and duties in the Yüan armies, including the right to marry an elder sister-in-law, remarks that the rule of marrying the widow of an elder brother did not apply to the Chinese, and he refers to the cases just mentioned of 1270. Granted that originally the authors of the Old Chin Law and the Mongol law of 1272 had never had the Chinese in mind, the cases of 1270 clearly show that in spite of the primary intention of the legislators the Chinese people as well as the Mongols invoked those rules. Let us once more call attention to the fact that before the Yüan conquest, a long foreign occupation of North China had made the Chinese familiar with non-Chinese customs and disposed them favorably to adopt those customs.

I am inclined thus to believe that by the beginning of Qubilai's reign, even if it had not yet become the universally accepted practice of the Chinese to invoke specifically non-Chinese laws, some Chinese had accepted the foreign customs without the sanction of the law.

But by 1270 the Mongols had been ruling North China for only a very short time and the Mongols could hardly have exerted enough influence on the Chinese to account for so many non-Chinese marriages. It seems thus, as we have already suggested, that we must make allowance for a larger share of Jürčed (and may be also Kitan) influence on the population of North China. When the Mongols moved in and supplanted the Jürčed conquerors in 1234 they found the country wide open to foreign influence.

On the other hand foreign influences must not be exaggerated. The *Yüan tien-chang* does not record one case of a man marrying his stepmother after his father's death, although this was a custom well known by the Mongols. Neither do we find any case of an elder brother being given permission to marry the widow of his younger brother. The only permissible form of levirate marriage was that of a younger brother with his elder brother's widow. But if this is the only form allowed by Yüan courts, it does not necessarily follow that this was the only form practised by the people, as we shall see in a moment.

136) *Un Code des Yuan*, p. lxvi.

If the Yüan courts allowed a younger brother to marry the widow of his elder brother, what is the meaning then of the third of the four articles of the code of 1331 (in the *Yüan-shih*): "It shall be forbidden to all Chinese and Southerners to marry (by succession) their sisters-in-law in case their elder brothers die?" As the Old Law of the Chin was officially interpreted as not applicable to the Chinese, yet was being followed and invoked by them, after seeing how between 1270 and 1300 many decisions permitted Chinese to contract levirate marriages, we conclude that it is not probable that the new law of 1331 was able to stop the trend, although its letter prohibited such marriages. And whatever the result was of the law of 1331, after what we have seen, the very fact that a new law was needed, suggests that such marriages had become increasingly popular among the Chinese.

After this long digression on the situation under the Yüan dynasty, Chu Yüan-chang's protest of November, 1367, cited above, will come as no surprise. The emperor speaking of the Mongol domination, and apparently meaning the Mongols, says: "Things went so far that a younger brother (could) marry his (deceased) elder brother's wife, and a son (could) have relations with his (deceased) father's concubine." Then, speaking of the whole population of the Yüan empire, including the Chinese, he goes on to say: "The result was that the rules of conduct between ruler and subject, husband and wife, elder and younger brothers broke down completely." But Chu Yüan-chang is speaking in such general terms that one can hardly draw any concrete conclusion from his statement. As we have already pointed out, certainly not all Chinese followed the Mongol customs; moreover there is not a single case recorded in the *Yüan tien-chang* of a person marrying or trying to marry his stepmother. Neither is there one permission recorded in the *Yüan tien-chang* to marry the widow of one's younger brother. According to Carpini, the custom of the Mongols was that a younger brother could inherit his elder brother's widow, and several examples of this custom are listed in the *Yüan tien-chang*. Nevertheless it seems that sometimes elder brothers, too, married their younger sisters-in-law. Indeed Cheng Hsüan in 1355, speaking of the Mongols, said that elder brothers could inherit their younger sisters-in-law, and if the Mongols did it now and then, it is quite probable that the Chinese imitated them on this point as

they did on so many others. In the collection of laws entitled *Chao-tai wang-chang* 昭代王章¹³⁷ we read the following article: "To be sentenced to death by strangulation: those who after the death of their elder brother marry (by succession) their elder sister-in-law, and those who after the death of their younger brother marry (by succession) their younger sister-in-law."¹³⁸ This text suggests that there actually were among the Chinese cases of elder brothers marrying their younger brothers' widows, and thus doing more than follow the original Mongol tribal custom.

The *Chao-tai wang-chang* has also preserved an imperial declaration not recorded in the *Shih-lu*, reading as follows: "Marriages between two persons with the same surname, or between sisters' children (兩姨), or between children of a sister and a brother (姑舅), between a son and a concubine inherited from his father, these are barbarian customs of the former Yüan. When I pacified (the country) and drove out the Yüan House, I (decided) that those who had already contracted such marriages must not be judged. It has been eighteen years now since I unified (the empire) and proclaimed the Ancient Regulations of our former Chinese Kings, and I have tried to bring affection between father and son, loyalty between ruler and subject, attention to their separate duties between husband and wife, proper order between elder and younger (brothers), fidelity between friends:¹³⁹ but unscrupulous rascals, with the connivance of greedy and corrupt officials have taken advantage of my laws to accuse people who had been married under the Yüan and already had many children. The result was that people who had been married for several years but had no money (to bribe the officials) were separated, and those who had the money were able to stay together. Some day it will be too late for those criminals to repent for their crimes of killing

137) By Hsiung Ming-ch'i 熊鳴岐. In *Hsüan-lan-t'ang ts'ung-shu*, vols. 73-82. In the *Combined Indices to Twenty Historical Bibliographies* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, No. 10), p. 354, this book is called *Ming-tai wang-chang* (明), apparently a misprint. I am inclined to believe that this work dates from the end of the Hung-wu period and contains laws and regulations issued at different times of that period.

138) Preliminary chapter (首卷), p. 8b: small print in the top margin of the page: "Essentials of laws and rules."

139) A quotation from Meng-tzu IIIA, 4, 8. See J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, pp. 127-128.

people and wrecking families. Is this the only evil (result) of barbarian customs? An elder brother marries (by succession) his younger brother's wife, and a younger brother marries his elder brother's wife, and a son inherits his father's concubine. If a wife serves the father and bears (him) a son, and after the father's death the concubine serves the son of the legitimate wife, and also bears him a son, then there are no separate duties between husband and wife. This is a serious breach of the Great Rules (of Conduct). And how is this affecting the teachings of our Chinese Wise Men? There are many difficulties in bringing order into old situations, and this is wherein the works of the Yüan House were not according to reason. From now on if there are who act against the teachings of the Ancient Kings their crimes shall not escape punishment."¹⁴⁰

The eighteenth year of the Hung-wu period was 1385. The emperor himself states that levirate marriages had occurred. Even if such marriages had not become generally accepted among the Chinese, there were enough to give corrupt officials an opportunity to exact unjust money from people thus married. In the second part of the statement the emperor bitterly denounces the foreign matrimonial customs as going against everything acceptable in the eyes of the Chinese. The final warning undoubtedly means that the customs were still being followed.

We find a further confirmation of the continuance of Mongol customs among the Chinese in one other imperial instruction. In the entry of April 24 (day *kuei-hai* of the third month of the 27th year Hung-wu), 1394, the emperor addressed the officials of the Board of Rites with the following words: "Social morality formed the basis of the government of the Universe by the Ancient Kings, but under the barbarian Yüan, during ninety-three years of cultural ignorance, social morality was in disorder with the result that sons took their (deceased) fathers' concubines, younger brothers married their (deceased) elder brothers' wives, and elder brothers took possession of their (deceased) younger brothers' wives. This is the most unhappy situation that has ever occurred either in the past or in the present, and it has changed China completely. When in obedience to the Heavenly Mandate, I (began) to rule (both) China and the barbarians

140) *Chao-tai wang-chang* 11b12a.

(華夷), I went back to the teachings of the Ancient Kings with the purpose of bringing order in social relations and making everybody keep his proper place. Thus a law was made and promulgated in a solemn declaration to enlighten the Universe. But recently I have learned that there are some who obstinately refuse to observe my instructions and continue to follow the barbarian customs, thereby jeopardizing the government. (Instructions) must be issued to forbid (such customs) and those who disobey them shall be sentenced according to the law."¹⁴¹

These repeated references leave no doubt that Mongol customs continued to exist in China under one form or another up to the end of the 14th century, although it is a little hard to believe that the situation was as bad as the emperor's words paint it. From the penal code of 1397 we have seen that in the Ming empire levirate marriages were allowed within certain limits for some of the *Se-mu* peoples, but otherwise forbidden for all foreigners in China. The Mongols and other foreigners serving in the Ming armies no doubt continued sporadically to observe their old tribal customs in spite of the Ming law. But it is not against the Mongols that Chu Yüan-chang protests in 1385 and 1394. Had the emperor had the foreigners in mind, we would certainly have been told so, as in so many other passages of the *Shih-lu*. There can be no doubt that the emperor was speaking of Chinese—which is not so surprising after we have seen what the situation was under the Yüan.

On the other hand there is no reason to believe that all the forms of marriage mentioned by Chu Yüan-chang in his latest document were being practised, and that the "foreign" marriages continued to occur on a large scale. Had they occurred so frequently among the Chinese, we would have found them mentioned in the penal code of 1397. This code does not mention Chinese in connection with levirate and similar marriages, nor are such marriages any more referred to in the *Shih-lu* after 1397.

We must conclude that under the Yüan and under the early Ming levirate marriages were practised by the Chinese; but it is impossible

141) *Hung-wu Shih-lu* 232. 5a.

to know exactly to what extent, and the practice must have gradually died out except for such cases as continued to occur sporadically in rural areas.¹⁴²

142) It need not be stressed that since the fall of the Yüan, the Mongols, and in particular the Mongols of Southern Mongolia, have in an ever increasing measure undergone the influence of the Chinese, especially in later times when the Chinese began to move into Mongolia in large numbers. Levirate, sororate, etc., are still practised here and there in Mongolia. See for example H.H. Vree-land, *Mongol Community and Kinship Structure* (1954), pp. 65, 158. New restrictions, however, have also been introduced. For example the proverb (Ant. Mostaert, *Textes oraux ordos*, p. 543; *Folklore ordos*, p. 555, n. 270) "A good elder sister-in-law is as a mother," in my opinion reflects the high respect due to the wife of the elder brother, and by the same token hints that a later marriage between her and her younger brothers-in-law is excluded. (The Chinese possess similar proverbs.) Levirate, originally also known among the Monguors of Kansu, was already on the point of disappearing in the 1920ies under the influence of Chinese customs. See L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kan-sou* (1932), pp. 103-104.

We may also add that among the Chinese farmers presently living in Inner Mongolia, the elder sister-in-law has almost the authority of the mother of the house over the husband's younger brothers, and a marriage between them is looked upon very unfavorably.