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## Prince Manggala – The Forgotten Prince of Anxi

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**Abstract:** Manggala (忙哥剌 d. 1278) was the third son of Qubilai Qa’an (r. 1260–1294) and his chief wife, Chabi Qatun (察必 d. 1281). Although he was not the crown prince he ruled over a large and strategic territory between the frontiers of the Southern Song before it was fully conquered, and the north-western frontier, where some of the Mongol princes still challenged Qubilai’s legitimacy as the Great Khan. In spite of this, Prince Manggala does not have a biography in the *Yuanshi*, and is mainly remembered as the father of Prince Ananda, Qubilai’s grandson, famous for embracing Islam. However, juxtaposing sources from different parts of the Mongol empire to compile Prince Manggala’s biography shows that he appears to have been a governor and capable military commander, who established his own princely administrative system, *Wangxiangfu* (王相府), showed interest in both Islam and Buddhism and addressed the various peoples and religions in his heterogeneous domain differently, thereby enhancing his legitimation. Manggala’s annotated biography can expand our knowledge of the role and status of princes in the Yuan dynasty (元代 1271–1368), as well as shed light on both administration and cross-cultural contacts in northwest China during the early Yuan era.

**Keywords:** Manggala, Anxi Wang, Yuan dynasty, Mongol princes, local government

“But now the king thereof is a prince called MANGALAI, the son of the Great Kaan, who hath given him this realm, and crowned him king thereof [...]. This Mangalai rules his realm right well with justice and equity, and is much beloved by his people.”<sup>1</sup>

Manggala (忙哥剌 d. 1278) was the third son of Qubilai Qa’an (忽必烈 r. 1260–1294) and of Chabi Qatun (察必 d. 1281), Qubilai’s chief wife from the Qonggirat tribe. Manggala was married to Putri, the granddaughter of Alchi

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<sup>1</sup> Polo 1921: 24–25.

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Noyan, also from the Qonggirat. We do not have details on Manggala's birthdate – but he was born around 1250. Manggala's and Putri's children were Arslan Buqa, Altan Buqa (按攤不花), and Ananda (阿難答 d. 1307). While the Persian historian, Rashīd al-Dīn, states that Ananda was the third son, most Chinese sources report that Manggala had only two sons – Ananda and Altan Buqa – and describe Ananda as the eldest and heir.<sup>2</sup>

Manggala had three full brothers. The first, Dorji, was sick and died at a young age. The second was Jingim (Zhenjin 真金 d. 1286) whom Qubilai Qa'an chose and prepared to be his heir. In 1261 Qubilai Qa'an gave Jingim the title of Prince of Yan (Yan Wang 燕王) and appointed him as director of the Secretariat and head of the Bureau of Military Affairs. In 1273, Qubilai officially appointed him heir apparent. Manggala's younger brother Nomughan (那木罕 d. 1301), received the title of Prince of Pacification of the North (Beiping Wang 北平王) in 1266. However, he was disgraced later in his life as will be detailed below.<sup>3</sup> Manggala was the last of his brothers (from Chabi Qatun) to receive a title, and the reason for this is not explained in the Chinese or Persian sources. In 1272, he received from Qubilai Qa'an the title of Anxi Wang (安西王 literally: the Prince of Pacifying the West) and in 1273, when Jingim was nominated as Qubilai Qa'an's heir, he additionally received the title of Prince of Qin (Qin Wang 秦王),<sup>4</sup> perhaps as a compensation for not becoming the crown prince.<sup>5</sup> Since he was not the crown prince, Manggala's childhood is not documented in the Chinese sources, that mainly say that he was a military commander who died young (around the age of thirty).<sup>6</sup> The Persian sources also do not elaborate on Manggala other than mentioning him as Qubilai Qa'an's third son or the father of Prince Ananda.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn/Rawshan 1994: 866 has Qūtūī (قوتویی) for Manggala's wife; Thackston uses the name Putri for Manggala's wife (Rashīd al-Dīn/Thackston 1999: 422, 424), while Boyle calls her Qutui (Rashīd al-Dīn/Boyle 1971: 243). Boyle notes that according to Blochet "Qutui is a corruption of either *Putri* or *Kumārī* in the sense of 'princess'". Both translations describe her as the granddaughter of Alchi (Alchin) Noyan, Chinggis Khan's brother in law. Zhao claims her name is Khutui and that she was the niece of Alchi Noyan (Zhao 2008: 19–21); see also note 20 in this paper; Song (Henceforth: YS.) 1995: 14: 302, 107: 2724; Hambis 1945: 117–118; de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 342, 539. See Manggala's genealogy at the end of the essay (Figure 2).

<sup>3</sup> Biran 1997: 37; Dunnell 2014: 187.

<sup>4</sup> Atwood 2004a: 82, 278, 459; Dunnell 2014: 187.

<sup>5</sup> Qubilai nominated his heir apparent more than a decade after he became the great Qa'an which could indicate that Manggala and his brothers from Chabi were all legitimate candidates to the throne.; Chen 2008: 102.

<sup>6</sup> Chen 2010: 114; this is similar to the poor documentation of Qubilai's early years, as argued by; Rossabi 1988: 13.

<sup>7</sup> Qāshānī 1969: 33; Rashīd al-Dīn/Rawshan 1994: 866; Rashīd al-Dīn/Thackston 1999: 422.

Manggala's biography as presented in this essay includes information gathered and compiled from data scattered in sources from different parts of the Mongol empire, notably *The History of the Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuanshi* 元史), *the Collection of Chronicles* (*Jāmi' al-tawārikh*) compiled by the Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn, and *The Travels of Marco Polo*, who passed through Manggala's domain, as well as a variety of other literary, documentary and archaeological sources. This article aims to reconstruct Manggala's biography thereby shedding new light on early Yuan military and civil administration as well as on cross-cultural contacts in northwest China under Mongol rule. Furthermore, it can illuminate the situation in northwest China in the establishment of the dynasty, the status and hierarchy of the princes and the imperial clan.

When Manggala received his titles, Yuan borders were still unstable. The Southern Song (南宋 1127–1279) was not yet conquered and in addition Qubilai Qa'an faced challenges in the northern and north-western frontiers. His main rival was the Mongol prince Qaidu (海都 d. 1301), the grandson of Ögödei (r. 1229–1241), who was striving to create his own kingdom in Central Asia and refuted Qubilai's authority as the Great Khan. The ongoing conflict caused Qubilai Qa'an in 1271 to send more troops and princes to the north headed by his son Nomughan. In the following year, Qubilai sent Manggala to the north-west frontier, entitling him as the prince of pacifying the west (Anxi Wang).<sup>8</sup>

In 1272 when Manggala was established as the first Prince of Anxi, he was given territory that partly belonged to Qubilai,<sup>9</sup> in order to strengthen his father's rule over these as-yet unpacified borders. Manggala's domain was a vast area that had not been referred to as a single unit beforehand.<sup>10</sup> It comprised parts of the former Tangut kingdom (Xi Xia 西夏 1038–1227), which included parts of present-day Gansu (甘肅) and Ningxia (宁夏), conquered already in Chinggis Khan's reign; plus territories that had belonged to the Jin Dynasty (金代 1115–1234) as well as parts of Sichuan (四川), that before the 1250s were part of the Southern Song realm, and parts of Tibet (Tufan, 吐番) that submitted to the Mongols in the 1240s. This heterogeneous domain was also an important part of the Silk Roads, enabling connections between Central Asia and China.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Biran 1997: 1, 37–38; May 2012: 73; Morgan 2007: 104–106; Rossabi 1988: 46–49, 77.

<sup>9</sup> Möngke (蒙哥 Mengge r. 1251–1259), Chinggis Khan's grandson and the fourth Mongol Qa'an, gave Jingzhao to his brother, Qubilai, who stayed there occasionally. Rossabi 1988: 23; Xue 2011: 52–53.

<sup>10</sup> YS. 1995: 7: 143, 14: 302; Dunnell 2014: 187; Hsiao 1978: 206–207 note 385; Matsuda 1979: 38–39; de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 342.

<sup>11</sup> YS. 1995: 7: 143, 14: 302; Hansen 2012: 3–24; Hsiao 1978: 206–207 note 385.

Manggala maintained two royal courts: his winter residence was in Jingzhao (京兆, the former Chang'an 長安 and present-day Xi'an 西安), formerly under the Jin Dynasty, in present-day Shaanxi, and his summer residence at the Liupan Mountains (六盤山, Kaicheng 開成) in present-day Gansu and southern Ningxia to the northwest of Jingzhao (see Map 1). He moved between these two courts according to the seasons, going to the cooler Liupan court in summer, and returning to the court in Jingzhao for winter.<sup>12</sup> In Liupan, Manggala had his headquarters, where both civil and military authorities were located, and his troops were stationed.<sup>13</sup> He also had soldiers stationed in other places such as Chaghan Naur (Chahannao'er 察罕腦兒, Mo. White lake), where he had four thousand troops and where his son Ananda also had a *yurt*.<sup>14</sup>

The Liupan Mountains region had already been recognized by Chinggis Khan as a strategically important area and in 1227 he had a temporary camp there. The campaign against the Xi Xia was initiated from the Liupan region and many Tanguts were annihilated during that campaign, in which Chinggis Khan found his death. Since the times of Ögödei until Qubilai's reign this important area was given to a son or a brother or the next in line to the throne. Qubilai and Möngke also had their headquarters at Liupan Mountains prior to their campaigns against the Dali kingdom and the Southern Song respectively.<sup>15</sup> After the Yuan Dynasty (元代 1271–1368) was established, Qubilai Qa'an assigned this domain to Manggala, thereby suggesting that even though Manggala was not the next in line to the throne, his father believed he was competent to be in charge of this vast and militarily important territory.

Territories were added to Manggala's realm in 1273, when he received the new title of Prince of Qin with a separate gold seal<sup>16</sup>; the Qin seal ranked above the Anxi seal. Now Manggala, as Anxi Wang and Qin Wang ("one ruler two seals"), was in charge of an even larger and more strategic territory that

<sup>12</sup> YS. 1995: 7: 143; Dunnell 2014:189; Matsuda 1979: 44.

<sup>13</sup> YS. 1995: 7: 143; Ke 1956: 114:1–2; de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 342.

<sup>14</sup> YS. 1995: 45: 948, 47: 980; Rashīd al-Dīn/Rawshan 1994: 910; Rashīd al-Dīn/Thackston 1999: 446; Li 2011: 366–367. According to Pelliot, Chaghan Naur "was situated 'inside the great bend of the Yellow River, somewhat west of Yü-lin and north of the district of Huai-Yüan (now Hengshan)...'" Rashīd al-Dīn/Boyle 1971: 286 note 183; Pelliot 1959: 246–247 note 143. However, there are many places named Chaghan Naur and this location is not definite.

<sup>15</sup> Allsen 2015: 141; Dunnell 1994: 213–214; Dunnell 2014:189; Mote 1999: 256; de Rachewiltz 2013: 123–124; Rossabi 1988: 44–45; Tu Ji 2012: 76: 507; Xue 2011: 51–53.

<sup>16</sup> YS. 1995: 108: 2736.

included parts of Shaanxi, the former Tangut territory, parts of Tibet, Sichuan and Yunnan.<sup>17</sup>

The domain of Manggala and later his son Ananda included also several other princely or semi-princely units which were to some extent connected to each other and to the Anxi realm. These units were managed mostly by Chinggisid princes from the houses of Ögödei and Chaghadaï who were loyal to Qubilai. Qubilai gave them these domains to maintain Möngke's policy of dispersing Mongol princes of the ruling clan, as well as for using them as a counterweight against the Ögödeid and Chaghadaïd princes who challenged his authority. The overlap between the domains of these princes and those of Qubilai's sons might indicate that although Qubilai trusted the princes he still wanted to monitor their actions, limit their authority and maintain a balance of power in the area. The prominent actors were:

a. Köten (fl. 1235–1247), Ögödei's second son. He received from Möngke territories in northwest China that previously belonged to the Tanguts (Hexi, Gansu, and Shaanxi area) and he resided in Xiliang (today's Liangzhou 涼州) in Gansu. His son Jibik Temür (只必帖木兒) was a very successful military commander in Hexi.<sup>18</sup>

b. Wang Shixian (汪世顯), a Jin commander in the area of Gongchang (鞏昌) in Gansu who surrendered to Köten with his people in 1235–1236. Wang Shixian remained under Köten's command, fought with him against the Southern Song, and he received territories in Shaanxi. Wang Shixian belonged to a Christian Öng'üt family that played a leading role in this area for many years simultaneously with Köten and his descendants.<sup>19</sup>

c. On the border of Köten's appanage was the domain of Chikü's family which was located in Xiningzhou (西寧州, nowadays Xining 西寧 in Qinghai) or the area of Tibet. Chikü was the son-in-law (güregen) of Chinggis Khan and together with Köten took part in the conquest of Sichuan.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> YS. 1995: 14: 302; Chen 2008: 96; Dunnell 2014: 187; Matsuda 1979: 43–44; Tu ji 2012: 76: 507; Xue 2011: 51.

<sup>18</sup> YS. 1995: 6:108; Rashid al-Din/Thackston 1999: 305–306; Atwood 2004a: 321; Atwood 2014–2015: 7; Kim 2014.

<sup>19</sup> Atwood 2014: 36; Matsuda 2003: 12–13.

<sup>20</sup> According to Atwood there is a claim that Chikü was the adoptive son of Alchi Noyan, Putri's grandfather or uncle and perhaps Putri was Chikü's daughter. If this claim is correct then there was a marital connection between Manggala's and Chikü's families, in addition to governing over neighboring domains.

Atwood 2014: 32–33; Atwood 2014–2015: 8–9.

d. Chübei (出伯),<sup>21</sup> a Chaghadaid prince who submitted to Qubilai around 1271 and later fought against Qaidu with his elder brother Qaban. Chübei and prince Ajiqi<sup>22</sup> (Ajiqi 阿只吉) were stationed near Qara Qocho (Gaochang 高昌) which was the border between the territories of Qaidu and Qubilai Qa'an. Chübei received a seal in 1283 and was promoted in 1304 to prince of *Weiwu* (威武) and *Xining* (西寧). Chübei in 1304 governed Ganzhou, which is in Gansu, where Ajiqi also dwelled. After Qaidu appointed Du'a (都哇 r. 1282–1307) as the head of the Chaghadaids, Chübei moved to Hexi with his people.<sup>23</sup>

e. A'uruqchi, (d. 1303 奧魯赤 Oqrucchi, Xiping Wang 西平王), Qubilai's seventh son whose realm included Hezhou (河州) in Gansu. Qubilai assigned him and his descendants to deal with different affairs in Tibet.<sup>24</sup> (see Map 1). It is unclear what relations existed between these princely appanages and Manggala's domain. However, they probably fought together and had marital connections (see note 20)

Around the time he was named Anxi Wang, Manggala was also granted permission to establish a princely administrative system named *Wangxiangfu* (王相府), which was probably a special establishment designated for prince Manggala which enabled him to be in charge of his domain. The *Wangxiangfu* replaced the prior provincial administration (*Xingsheng*, 行省) in which the civil, military and fiscal bureaucracies were managed by administrators sent from the capital. After Manggala received the Qin seal, this administration system was applied also to his new territories. Qubilai Qa'an thus entrusted Manggala with the administration and management of a wide range of military and economic affairs in his domain. The *Wangxiangfu* gave prince Manggala authority as a sort of surrogate to the Qa'an in terms of ruling his domain.<sup>25</sup> It gave Manggala the authority to dispatch troops as needed thereby enabling him to defend and

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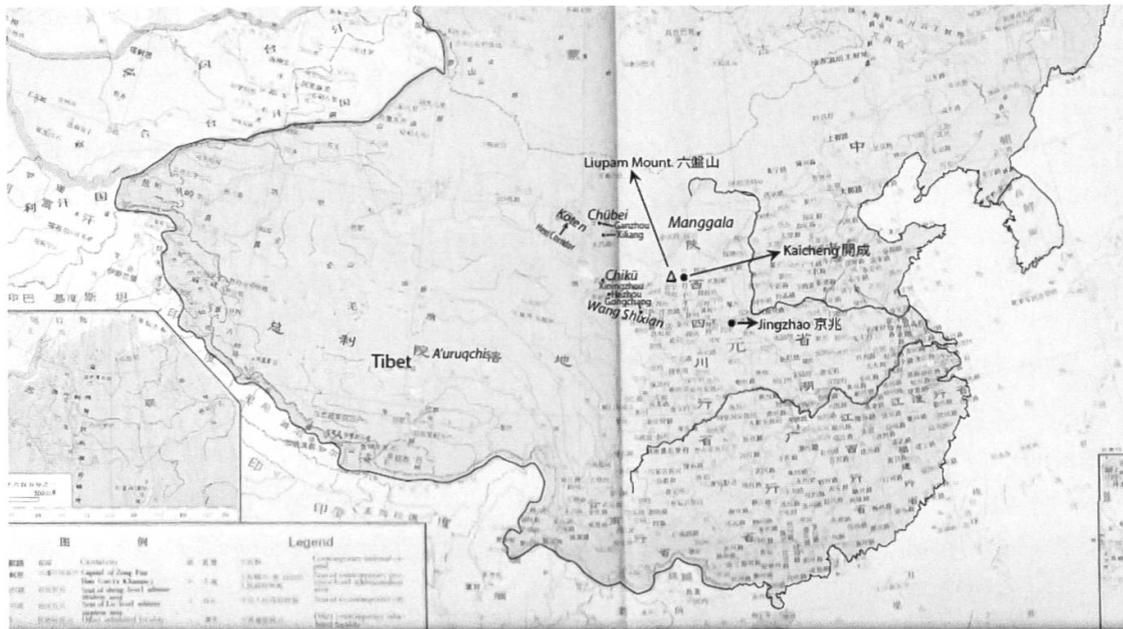
<sup>21</sup> Chübei was the son of Alghu, the grandson of Baidar and the great grandson of Chaghadaid Qa'an.

<sup>22</sup> Ajiqi, Chaghadaid, son of Buri, grandson of Mö'etüken great grandson of Chaghadaid.

<sup>23</sup> Rashid al-Din/Boyle 1971: 285–286; Rashid al-Din/Thackston 1999: 446–447; Biran 1997: 49–50; Kim 2014; Matsuda 2003: 12–13; Pelliot 1959: 262–263 note 153.

<sup>24</sup> Rashid al-Din/Boyle 1971: 244; Rashid al-Din/Thackston 1999: 423; Petech 1990: 23, 42.

<sup>25</sup> The *Xingsheng* was a provincial level of administration. The Mongols sent to the provinces part of the Central Secretariat that functioned as a Branch Secretariat in the regions where the armies were in combat. These provincial administrations became permanent during Qubilai's rule and ran the provincial government. Their duties included pacifying the frontiers and transporting goods and they had the authority on the province's civil and military affairs. They reported directly to the Central Secretariat and were under its control.; Endicott-West 1994: 591–593; Hsiao 1978: 206–207 note 385; Matsuda 1979: 42–46; Mote 1999: 485.



**Map 1:** The Anxi principality Area.

This map includes the princes, semi-princes and their descendants who resided in the area during the times of Manggala and Ananda. After Tan 1996: 3–4. Drawn by Amit Niv.

expand his borders. For example, part of Manggala's troops participated in the attack on Tufan led by Qubilai's seventh son A'uruqchi and Manggala's advisor Li Dehui (李德輝 1218–1280)<sup>26</sup> directed part of the attack on Sichuan in which Manggala's troops were also involved.<sup>27</sup>

Manggala's success might have encouraged Qubilai to dispatch him to join the campaign against the rebel princes in the North. He was sent in 1277 to battle against an unidentified rebel Mongol general, and apparently succeeded. This rebel might have been in contact with Shiregi, Möngke's fourth son, who rebelled in 1277, took Nomughan and Kökechü (闊闊出 Qubilai's eighth son)<sup>28</sup> hostage and delivered them to the Golden Horde. They were held captive until

<sup>26</sup> Li Dehui was a Yuan administrator recruited by Qubilai in the middle of the thirteenth century, to become one of his advisors. Around 1247 he managed Qubilai's finances, including the military's. In 1275, he was ordered to go to Sichuan, where he supervised the administration. See YS. 1995: 163: 3815–3819; de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 342, 408–409, 422, 539.

<sup>27</sup> Matsuda 1979: 45–46; Tu Ji 2012: 76: 507.

<sup>28</sup> Kökechü was involved in fighting against rebels with his brother Nomughan and was granted the titles of Ning Wang (寧王) and later Ningyuan Wang (寧遠王). YS. 1995: 107: 2709, 108: 2737.

finally released in 1284.<sup>29</sup> Later Manggala joined Bayan, (伯顏 1236–1295) on the successful campaign to eliminate Shiregi.<sup>30</sup>

Although Qubilai Qa'an entrusted Manggala with a wide range of responsibilities he also appointed advisors to assist Manggala in governing this important region.<sup>31</sup> These advisors – all Qubilai Qa'an's confidants and experienced administrators were Shang Ting (商挺 1209–1289),<sup>32</sup> Li Dehui and Zhao Bing (趙炳 1222–1280).<sup>33</sup> As part of his duties, Zhao Bing was also given an imperial decree to build the palace in Jingzhao around the time Manggala received his title.

Although Manggala was depicted as a fair and just leader, there is also some evidence which suggests that there were problems in his territory. Manggala's advisors dealt with the management of civil and military affairs in Anxi, especially when Manggala was engaged in military campaigns.<sup>34</sup> When in 1277–1278 uprisings occurred at Liupan while Manggala was on the expeditions in the north, his advisors, Shang Ting and Zhao Bing, were in charge of suppressing these rebellions and succeeded in stopping them. These rebellions attest to Manggala's weakness as a ruler and might have been triggered by his misuse of princely power. Zhao Bing informed Qubilai, that there was mismanagement in the Anxi court and people were harassed. Therefore, Qubilai ordered Zhao Bing to return to Anxi and monitor Manggala's actions. Furthermore, after Manggala's death Zhao Bing also reported that some administrators in

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**29** After his release Nomughan received a new title “Prince of Bei'an” (北安王), the northern peace. Since he was unhappy with Jingim's nomination as heir apparent, he was again sent to the north. Atwood 2004a: 460; de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 342–343; Rossabi 1988:107–109, 225.

**30** de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 343.

**31** Appointing advisors was a practical custom in the Mongol Empire since the times of Chinggis Khan who assigned advisors to his brothers and sons.; de Rachewiltz 2004: 867–868 § 243.

**32** Shang Ting was one of Jin dynasty's fifty-four scholars spared by the Mongols. From 1252, Shang Ting became part of the administration of the Mongol empire and the Yuan dynasty in the Chinese territories. He held a variety of different positions and was assigned to various places. From 1258 he became Qubilai's advisor and held important posts for example in the Regional Secretariat council. For more about Shang Ting see YS. 1995:159: 3738–3742; de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 336–347.

**33** Zhao Bing was Qubilai Qa'an's confidant. He was a *darughachi* (official in the Mongol Empire in charge of administration and taxation in a certain province), in the Department of Military Affairs. Qubilai Qa'an assigned him to help Shang Ting as joint administrator of Anxi. After Manggala's death, Qubilai gave Shang Ting the responsibility for Anxi, but since he was too old and sick, Zhao Bing took his place. For more about Zhao Bing see de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 343–344. Zhao Bing's biography can be found in YS. 1995:163: 3835–3838.

**34** YS. 1995:163: 3836–3837; Chen 2008: 98, 100; Chen 2010: 121; Ke 1956: 114: 1–2; de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 342–343; Xia 1960: 24– 25.

Jingzhao were corrupt, involved in illegal actions and he was ordered to investigate this. However, Zhao Bing was murdered by these administrators soon after he returned. Manggala's wife might have been involved in Zhao Bing's murder and later with the help of Shang Ting even succeeded in appointing her son Ananda as Manggala's heir against Qubilai's orders.<sup>35</sup> Manggala's advisors also served in Anxi under Ananda, after Manggala's death.<sup>36</sup>

Marco Polo and Chinese sources describe Manggala as a commander of a vast territory, as a just and fair ruler and loved by his subjects.<sup>37</sup> According to Shang Ting's biography, he managed to convince Manggala to act in a very Confucian way, to take a variety of actions, such as remitting taxes, conducting justice with lenient penalties for crimes and loosening bans.<sup>38</sup> If even part of it is true (and not mere topoi) it can attest to Manggala's popularity in his realm.

Marco Polo described Jingzhao, Manggala's capital, as a rich city in which trade flourished and where military equipment for local troops was manufactured. He stated that Manggala built a palace outside Jingzhao and described it as magnificent, beautiful both inside and out, and including many halls, all decorated with gold. Manggala also built a beautiful palace in his summer residence in Liupan. Polo's observations are attested also by the archeological excavations and historical records which reveal palaces parallel to those of the Great Khan. Manggala's palaces were both destroyed: The palace in Liupan collapsed in a strong earthquake in 1306, and the Jingzhao palace was probably destroyed during the uprisings in the last years of the Yuan Dynasty. The extravagant palaces attest to Manggala's wealth, and can also indicate a misuse of money and aspiration for power even beyond the Anxi realm.<sup>39</sup>

Manggala's religious beliefs attracted scholarly attention. He was probably raised as a Tibetan Buddhist like his parents who gave him a Buddhist name, meaning "happiness" in Sanskrit.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, Manggala also gave his son a

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<sup>35</sup> YS. 1995:159: 3741; Chen 2008: 101.

<sup>36</sup> YS. 1995: 159: 3740–3741, 163: 3837; de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 342–343; Wang 1993: 72–74.

<sup>37</sup> YS. 1995: 7: 143, 14: 302; Matsuda 1979: 43; Polo 1921: 25.

<sup>38</sup> Chinese sources tend to give credit for all Mongol benevolent deeds to Confucian scholars. de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 343.

<sup>39</sup> Chen 2008: 99–100; Polo 1921: 24–25. More information about the palaces and the excavations done, can be found in; Matsuda 1979: 44; Xia 1960: 23–26; Xue 2011: 51–56.

<sup>40</sup> Qubilai Qa'an adopted Tibetan Buddhism with his family in the second half of the thirteenth century under the influence of his advisor Phags Pa (1235–1280), a charismatic priest and a prominent figure of Tibetan Buddhism.

See Biran 2015: 549; Chen 2010: 115–117; Rossabi 1988: 16, 40–42.

Buddhist name – Ananda, which means “joy” and refers to Ananda, a first cousin of the historical Buddha and one of his earliest and closest disciples.<sup>41</sup>

Manggala ruled over diverse populations and was sympathetic to the various religions in his domains. His realm included – ‘idolaters’ in Polo’s words, namely Buddhists,<sup>42</sup> as well as ‘Saracens’ (Muslims) and Eastern Christians, among them also Öng’üts like the afore-mentioned Wang Shixian.<sup>43</sup>

Numerous Muslims arrived and settled in north China; Many were mobilized by the Mongols, after the fall of the Tanguts, and settled at Anxi, while others might have chosen to settle there independently. By the mid-late thirteenth century, Muslims lived in the territory of the former Xi Xia and even became part of the Mongol military. According to the *Yuanshi*, in 1272 there was even a “Xi Xia Huihui (Muslim) army” (西夏回回軍). Nothing more is known about this unit. However, we can assume that in 1272 the Mongol army at Hexi included Muslim soldiers, who were either formerly Xi Xia subjects or, more probably, lived in the former Tangut region.<sup>44</sup> Muslims lived also in Shaanxi and one of the most prominent of them was Sayyid ‘Ajall (賽典赤瞻思丁 1211–1279) who was appointed in 1264 to be Acting Chief of the Secretarial Council of the five districts of Shaanxi, and of Eastern Sichuan (Shaanxi wulu xi shu Sichuan xing Zhongshusheng 陝西五路西蜀四川行中書省), as well as Director of Political Affairs (pingzhang zhengshi 平章政事). In 1274 (when Manggala’s position was strong) Sayyid ‘Ajall was sent to Yunnan.<sup>45</sup> While there was no clear connection between him and Manggala, he probably had influence on the Shaanxi and Sichuan regions and perhaps even on Manggala’s court.

Muslims were also part of Manggala’s guard and close circle. He even chose to entrust his son Ananda to a Muslim family for fostering. The couple were a Turkestani man named Mithar Ḥasan Aqtachi (*aqtachi* means ‘gelding overseer’), apparently a member of Manggala’s guard, and his wife Zulaykha, who

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<sup>41</sup> Chen 2010: 116–117. Rashīd al-Dīn claims that Ananda is named after an enemy commander who was nearby when Ananda was born. However, this could be Rashīd al-Dīn’s effort to explain why Ananda kept a Buddhist name although he was a Muslim, Rashīd al-Dīn/Thackston 1999: 422.

<sup>42</sup> Marco Polo “idolaters” included also Daoists (“sensin” – a group of Daoists in Polo’s description). Confucians were not included under Polo’s “idolaters” since the Mongol rulers (e. g. Ögödei, Möngke and Qubilai) did not recognize them as part of the religious clergy, but as professionals like physicians and diviners.

Atwood 2004b: 248–250, 255; Polo 1993: 321–327 note 17; Shinno 2016: 30, 40–41.

<sup>43</sup> Polo 1921: 24; Polo 1993: 203, 219.

<sup>44</sup> YS. 1995: 7: 137; Allsen 2015: 141–142; Biran 2007: 85–86.

<sup>45</sup> YS. 1995:125: 3063–3070; Dunnell 2014: 198.

was Ananda's wet-nurse. Not much is known about them, however as mentioned above, since Muslims moved throughout the Mongol Empire they might have arrived as part of the army taken by the Mongols from Transoxania.<sup>46</sup> Being raised in a Muslim environment may have influenced Ananda who converted to Islam in his mid-twenties.<sup>47</sup>

Further evidence that Manggala was in contact with Muslims and respected their expertise, can be seen from the fact that in 1278 he asked to reckon for him two Muslim calendars (*huihui liri* 回回曆日). Anxi Wang ordered the Vice Director of the Bureau of Astronomy, Kamāl al-Dīn (Kemalading 可馬刺丁)<sup>48</sup> to calculate a Muslim calendar and send him two copies of it. This order was executed by Kamāl al-Dīn himself. The fact that Manggala ordered these calendars may be another manifestation of his unique position, as calendar keeping was usually the Emperor's privilege. However, the calendars might have been ordered, without his knowledge, by a Muslim who had access to his seal.<sup>49</sup>

We also have archaeological evidence for Muslim presence in Manggala's domain: an Arabic magic square has been found in the foundation of the Anxi Palace in Jingzhao, built during Manggala's rule. This magic square has Arabic numerals arranged 6x6 and adding up to 111 in every direction (see Figure 1). It was probably placed in the palace foundations for protecting its inhabitants.<sup>50</sup> Even as a non-Muslim, Manggala might have thought that the magic square's protection cannot harm and did not object to its presence. The existence of the magic square in such a high-status location suggests that people in the vicinity

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**46** *Aqtachi* – gelding overseer/herder was a position in the *Keshig* (personal guard) that had existed since the times of Chinggis Khan, see; Dunnell 2014: 192; Farquhar 1990: 89–90; Melville 2006: 137.

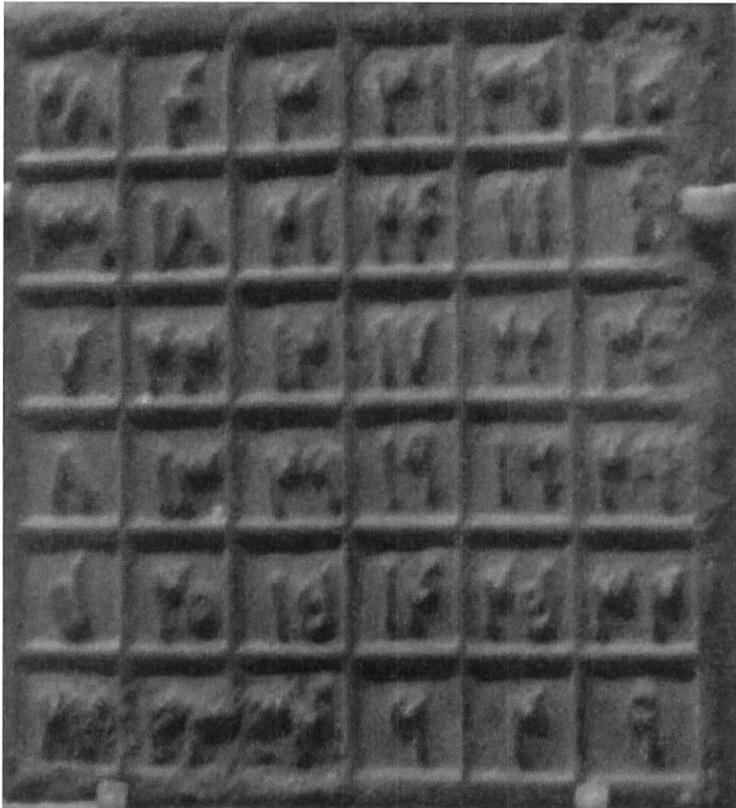
Rashīd al-Dīn/Rawshan 1994: 951; Rashīd al-Dīn/Thackston 1999: 465; Dunnell 2014: 189–190, 192; Zhao 2008: 21.

**47** For more about Prince Ananda's conversion to Islam see; Dunnell 2014: 185–200; Shurany 2014: 28–45; Wang 1993: 72–79.

**48** This Kamāl al-Dīn (Kema Shuding 可馬束丁) might have been identical with the famous astronomer, known as Jamāl al-Dīn of Bukhara (Zhamalading, 札馬刺丁), who served the Mongols and the Yuan court and was in charge of the Muslim Bureau of Astronomy (回回司天臺) when it was established in 1271. Allsen even claimed that Jamāl al-Dīn was the one who brought the magic square that was excavated from the ruins of Manggala's palace in Jingzhao. See YS. 1995: 7: 136; Allsen 2001: 107, 167–168; Yang's article in this volume (Yang, Forthcoming).

**49** Dunnell 2014: 196; Wang/Shang 1992: 124.

**50** The use of magic squares for protecting buildings is a tradition also known in ancient Egypt, China and India. Xia 1960: 26.



**Figure 1:** The Arabic Magic Square.  
Picture taken at the Shaanxi History Museum.

of Manggala's palace knew Arabic numerals, and might have had influence in his court and on his family. Such Muslims might have also advised Manggala to use the Muslim calendar. Yet it is also possible, although unlikely, that the square was placed without Manggala's knowledge by a Muslim courtier.

Apart from Muslims, the Quanzhen Daoist School (全真道), that had begun to develop in north China under the Jin Dynasty and expanded under Mongol rule, was also prominent in Manggala's realm: Manggala gave protection to Quanzhen priests,<sup>51</sup> and supported and promoted the Quanzhen School. He invited Gao Daokuan (高道寬 1195–1277), a Daoist Quanzhen priest, to his domain and also had a close personal relationship with Li Daoqian (道謙, 1219–1296), a known member of this Daoist School, to whom Manggala wanted to assign a position in his administration.<sup>52</sup> In addition, Manggala also protected, supported and promoted Confucian teaching and learning in his territory. There are also records that

<sup>51</sup> Chen 2010: 119–120; for more about the Quanzhen Daoist School see Eskildsen 2004: 3–18.

<sup>52</sup> Chen 2010: 120; Zheng 2010: 70–71.

he reconstructed a Confucian temple, showed respect to the Confucian tradition and enabled its teaching to flourish in Jingzhao.<sup>53</sup>

Manggala, like previous Mongol rulers, issued a decree that granted tax exemptions to religious leaders in his domains. His decree (a princely decree – *lingzhi* 令旨) was issued in 1276 in Jingzhao, and was addressed to officials, including *darughachi* (*daruqaci*, *daluhuachi*, 達魯花赤),<sup>54</sup> soldiers, officers and commanders in Manggala's provinces. It granted tax exemptions to the clergy of the various religions in the Anxi region: Buddhist monks (和尚 *heshang*), Christian priests (也里克溫 Mo. Erke'ün), Daoist priests (先生 *xiansheng*) as well as Muslim clergy (達失蠻 *dashiman*),<sup>55</sup> who are mentioned for the first time in China in this decree.<sup>56</sup> The decree explains the reason for the exemption, citing the precedents of Chinggis Khan and Ögödei who exempted the clergy of different religions from paying taxes, in return for praying for the Khan's well-being and giving blessings. The priests received a letter that stated that they were granted an exemption in return for their prayers.<sup>57</sup> This decree, reflecting Mongol religious pluralism and *realpolitik*, also assisted Anxi Wang in gaining the loyalty of the clergy and their communities.

It is hard to conclude from this information what Manggala's personal beliefs were. It seems as if Manggala, like other Mongol rulers, chose the path of religious tolerance, either for strategic benefits, because religion was not a major part of his life, or because he did not see religion as exclusive, supporting different religions regardless of his personal belief, or (probably) both.

Manggala died in 1278, less than a decade after receiving the titles of Anxi Wang and Qin Wang. The cause of Manggala's death appears only in the *Xinshi* (心史 *The History of a Loyal Heart*) attributed to the Southern Song loyalist – Zheng Sixiao (鄭思肖 1241–1318). According to it Manggala was murdered by Qubilai. However, Zheng's work is considered to be a late-Ming forgery and therefore not credible.<sup>58</sup> Manggala's early death is in accordance with the short

53 See: “大元京兆府重修文宣王廟記” (A Record of Reconstructing the Shrine of King Wenxuan (i. e., Confucius) at the Jingzhao Superior Prefectures of the Great Yuan) and “皇子安西王文廟釋奠記” (a Record of the Prince of Anxi the Son of the Emperor, Presenting Offerings to the Shrine of Confucius) in Luo 1990: 321–322; Chen 2010: 122–123.

54 For the explanation of the term *darughachi* see note 33.

55 The term *dashiman* is derived from *danishmand* in Persian, which usually means “learned”. However, in Chinese it refers to a religious leader or to Muslims in general. Dillon 1999: 22 note 32.

56 For other decrees issued in China see; Atwood 2004b: 242–243; Chavannes 1908: 376–377.

57 Atwood 2004b: 238–242; Chavannes 1908: 376–378, 381.

58 Zheng claimed that Manggala was murdered by his father, Qubilai Qa'an, who refused to acknowledge him as the crown prince and therefore poisoned him. However, there is little corroborating evidence for the claim that the relations between Qubilai Qa'an and Manggala

life span of many princes at the royal court. These early deaths might have resulted either from the military campaigns that characterized the early Yuan period or from their need to accommodate to a different terrain and diet.<sup>59</sup>

When Manggala died in 1278, his heir Ananda was a young child (under the age of ten). A year later, following Putri's requests, Qubilai Qa'an agreed to confer upon Ananda, Manggala's titles. However, Ananda did not receive Manggala's administrative apparatus (the *Wangxiangfu*), which was abolished<sup>60</sup> and he also lost his sovereignty over regions that were previously part of his father's domain, such as Hexi, Sichuan and Tibet. As Manggala's heir, Ananda first held his father's two golden seals: Anxi Wang and Qin Wang. However, in 1287 Ananda gave the superior Qin seal to his brother, Altan Buqa, presumably when the later came of age, retaining only the Anxi seal. His brother held the Qin seal, and later had to give it up.<sup>61</sup>

Ananda is described as a Muslim, who was a capable commander. At the beginning of the reign of Qubilai Qa'an's heir, Temür Qa'an (Chengzong 成宗 r. 1295–1307), Ananda was posted like his father on the border near Chaghan Naur, defending the northern frontier from invasions by the armies of Qaidu and Du'a. The impression from Rashīd al-Dīn is that Ananda was on the same level with other princes (e. g. Chūbei) who held other parts of the border.<sup>62</sup>

In 1307 Temür Qa'an died without heirs. Ananda played a major role in the succession struggle as the candidate of Temür's widow, Empress Bulughan (Buluhan 不鲁罕). However, a competing faction at court supported Temür's nephew Qaishan (the future Wuzong 武宗 r. 1307–1311). Although Ananda was a

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were hostile. Certainly, Qubilai entrusted his son with a large territory, two seals, and administrative and military authority in his domain. However, Qubilai Qa'an did appoint three advisors to help Manggala and watch over his actions, which might indicate that he did not trust him completely. Finally, even Chen Guang'en acknowledges Zheng's claim that Manggala was poisoned by his father, as unreliable.; Zheng 1991: 179. More information about this book see; Haw 2015: 317–325; Jay 1990: 589–612.

<sup>59</sup> Chen 2008: 96–104; Dunnell 2014: 194.

<sup>60</sup> Hsiao 1978: 207 note 386; Ke 1956: 114: 1–2; Matsuda 1979: 49.

<sup>61</sup> Altan Buqa had to give up his title because Qubilai's chief minister, Sangha (Sangge 桑哥 d.1291) opposed to the arrangement of having two seals in the same family. As a result, Qubilai Qa'an issued a decree that took the Qin Wang title and all its benefits from Altan Buqa and his household. Ananda was left with the title of Anxi Wang. YS. 1995: 14: 302; Dunnell 2014: 195; de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 565–566; Shurany 2014: 31.

For more information about Sangha see de Rachewiltz et al. 1993: 558–583.

<sup>62</sup> Dua, Baraq's son, a descendant of Chaghadai was one of the rulers of the Khanate and Qaidu's right-hand man. Biran 1997: 33, 49, 71, 122; Rashīd al-Dīn/Rawshan 1994: 913; Rashīd al-Dīn/Thackston 1999: 447.

capable regional commander, he did not have a power base in the capital and even the Empress' support was not enough to guarantee victory over Qaishan and his brother Ayurbarwada (the future Renzong 仁宗 r. 1312–1320). The fact that he was a Muslim since his mid-twenties while the Yuan court was mainly Buddhist seems likely to have been another obstacle in Ananda's way. In 1307, Ananda's faction lost, he was executed and the empress was exiled. After his execution, Ayurbarwada received from his brother the lands that formerly belonged to the Prince of Anxi.

Ananda had a daughter – Ula'ajin (Wulazhen 兀刺真) and a son – Örüg Temür (Yuelu-Timur 月魯帖木耳, 月魯鐵木兒, d. 1332) who was banished by Qaishan after Ananda's execution. In 1323, Örüg Temür and his uncle Altan Buqa took part in a coup d'état against the emperor Shidebala (Yingzong 英宗 r. 1321–1323). After the coup's success the new emperor Yesün Temür, (Taiding 泰定 r. 1323–1328) gave Örüg Temür Ananda's title of Anxi Wang. Soon after, however, when Yesün Temür felt more secure in his position as the Qa'an and in order to enhance his legitimation, he exiled the princes who took part in the coup, including Örüg Temür and Altan Buqa. In 1332 Örüg Temür was once more involved in a failed conspiracy and was executed together with his family. Their property was confiscated and the Anxi Principality was dismantled. This was the end of Manggala's family, yet parts of the region over which he ruled in northwest China have remained the center for Chinese Muslims to this day.<sup>63</sup>

Manggala's life can serve as an example of the changing status of imperial clansmen in late Imperial China, which greatly differs among dynasties. In the early Song dynasty, the royal clan lived in the capital, had mostly ritual duties, no official posts and no responsibilities. Throughout the dynasty there were changes in the status of the royal clan, but territories were not conferred upon princes. The royal clan that lived in the palace, had no influence on political decisions and hardly any practical power, did not pose a threat to the majority of the Song emperors. This started to change in the last years of Northern Song (北宋 960–1127) when distant clansmen moved out of the capital and settled down in new places while there were mostly under strict regulations. Some clansmen even received active positions in the government. These transformations became evident in the Southern Song as the royal clan dispersed outside the palace and the capital. They were in contact with the local elites, served in official positions and were loyal to the emperor. From the mid twelfth to the

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<sup>63</sup> Dunnell 2014: 185–200; Hsiao 1994: 532–537; Shurany 2014: 28–49.

mid thirteenth centuries the clansmen could hold any post in the government and acquired political power.<sup>64</sup>

Qubilai Qa'an, the Yuan emperor, trusted his sons and enfeoffed them with large territories and responsibility especially in the military realm. He appointed them as commanders and they took part in campaigns mostly against rebel princes of the royal clan. He relied on his sons to fight and protect his reign but limited their power and their autonomy. Manggala as a royal prince received his territories from his father and in his territory served as an extension of the court and was also connected to the elite. He and his court were an example of the privileges and obligations the Yuan princes had. Such privileges were originally continued under the early Ming, but the princes' authority was curtailed later to avoid a direct threat on the reigning emperor.<sup>65</sup>

The Qing dynasty clansmen had important roles in the military and administrative institutions however, during the second half of the dynasty the court monitored the princes' actions and did not enfeoff the royal princes. When they granted positions in the government, it was decided not according to family ties but to actual abilities and capabilities.<sup>66</sup> The authority of prince Manggala was therefore quite exceptional in Late Imperial China.

In conclusion, Manggala's life is barely documented, since he was not Qubilai's heir and spent most of his life on the borders. However, he contributed to the consolidation of the Yuan rule both in the northwestern frontiers and against the Southern Song. But while he was a military commander who participated in various military expeditions, he also held considerable civil authority in his vast domains through the *Wangxiangfu*. Manggala's actions as a local ruler could indicate that he was trying to expand his power. He built impressive palaces, issued a decree that previously was issued by the Great Khans, and commissioned a calendar. Even if his actions were motivated by his desire to increase his authority in his domains, rather than seeing himself as an emperor-in-waiting, his power probably threatened the court. In addition, there was evidence that Manggala or his officials abused their power which might have led to rebellions in his territory. Indeed, after his death the special administrative system was abolished and the *Xingsheng* restored, thereby giving the capital more control over the reduced realm of the Anxi Wang.

Manggala's domain was comprised of diverse religious and ethnic groups. He ruled this domain with tolerance, addressing each group according to its

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<sup>64</sup> Chaffe 1999: 17–19, 25–26, 29–30, 44, 65, 77–78, 97, 108–109, 112, 149, 155–157, 201, 214–215, 261–265.

<sup>65</sup> Chaffe 1999: 272–273; Robinson 2012: 1, 4–7.

<sup>66</sup> Chaffe 1999: 274–275; Rawski 1998: ch. 2, 3.

customs and beliefs. These actions probably helped him strengthen his hold on the Anxi principality and gain legitimization from his subjects. Under Manggala there were first signs to the serious presence of Islam in the Anxi region, which remained Muslim up till today.

Manggala's biography sheds light on the decisive role of the princes in the formative stages of the Yuan dynasty. Qubilai sent his sons to guard the frontiers, assigning them vast territories and significant—though not unlimited—administrative power. With the elimination of the threats from both the Song and the northern frontier, the post-Qubilai Yuan court strived to limit princely authority. Manggala's rather extensive realm and his degree of independence in administrating it therefore remained inequivalent in Yuan history.

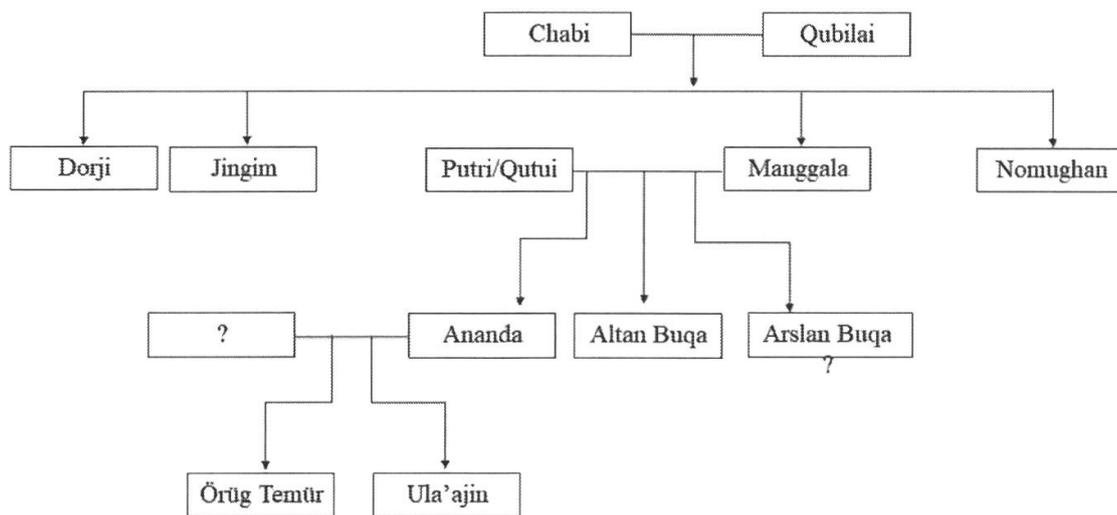


Figure 2: Genealogy of Manggala's Family.

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