

Mongolian Military Commanders Leading Campaigns against Koryŏ in 1218–1260: A Reconstruction of Biographies Based on Historical Sources

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In this article, for the first time in Russian Oriental studies, a comprehensive reconstruction of biographies of Mongol military commanders who led campaigns against the state of Koryŏ in 1218–1260 is undertaken. Noting that the general chronology of the military campaigns of this period has been covered in considerable detail in world historiography, the author aims to fill the gap concerning the identities of these commanders, their origins, and their place within the military hierarchy. The source base of the study comprises Korean and Chinese chronicles and historical works: *Koryŏsa*, *Koryŏsa chŏryo*, *Tongguk pyŏnggam*, *Yuán shǐ*, *Yuán shǐ shízú biǎo*, Wén Tíngshì's *Yuán Gāolǐ jìshì*, Kē Shàomín's *Xīn Yuán shǐ*, and *Huáng yuánshèng wǔ qīnzhēng lù*, as well as *The Secret History of the Mongols* and works of Rashīd al-Dīn and Juvaynī. As a result of a comparative analysis of the source texts and their collation with existing historiographical literature in Russian, English, Korean, and Chinese, the biographies of ten military commanders, who successively or simultaneously led incursions onto the Korean Peninsula, have been reconstructed with varying degrees of reliability: Qachi'un, Saritai, Púli Dàiwán, Tege-Qorči (Díjù), Tangut, Amuqan, Yěgū, Čelodai, Fuboda, and Yesuder. All of them held high command positions, ranging from leaders of embassies and major military campaigns to commanders of thousand-strong units who participated in negotiations. Among other findings, their heterogeneous ethnic composition was revealed: among them were representatives of the Genghisid lineage, the Jürchen nobility, and individuals from various Mongol tribes. The collected information can fill the lacuna regarding the individuals who determined the course of Koryŏ history in the 13th century and make a new contribution to the study of the early stage of Mongol-Koryŏ relations.

Keywords: Koryŏ, Mongol State, military campaign, Genghis Khan, *Koryŏsa*, Qachi'un, Saritai, Púli Dàiwán, Tege-qorchi (Díjù), Tangut, Amuqan, Yěgū, Čelodai, Fuboda, Yesuder.

Introduction

This article¹ represents the first reconstruction in Russian Oriental studies of biographies of the Mongol military commanders who participated in various stages of the conquest campaigns against the state of Koryŏ in 1218–1260. The general chronology of the Mongol campaigns of this period has been covered in detail in Russian, Western European, and South Korean historiography; however, insufficient attention has hitherto been paid to the identities of the commanders, their origins, and their place within the hierarchy of the Mongol army. To address

¹ The study was carried out within the framework of a state assignment to Lomonosov Moscow State University.

this lacuna, materials from the following Korean and Chinese chronicles and historical works were studied: *Koryŏsa* (高麗史, *History of Koryŏ [State]*, 1451, sections 世家 세가 “Annals of Generations” and 列傳 열전 “Biographies”), *Koryŏsa chŏryo* (高麗史節要, *Essentials of Koryŏ History*, 1452), *Yuán shǐ* (元史, *History of Yuan [Empire]*, 1370), *Tongguk pyŏnggam* (東國兵鑑, *Military Overview of the Eastern State*, mid-15th century), *Yuán shǐ shìzú biǎo* (元史氏族表, *Genealogical Tables of Clans and Lineages [Mentioned in] the History of Yuan [Empire]*, 15th century), *Yuán Gāoli jìshì* (元高麗紀事, *Chronicles of Koryŏ [State] in the Yuan Era*, 1917) by Wén Tíngshì, and *Xīn Yuán shǐ* (新元史, *New History of Yuan [Empire]*, 1920) by Kē Shàomín. The text of *Mongyol-un niyuča tobčiyān* (*The Secret History of the Mongols*, or *Yuáncháo bǐshǐ* 元朝秘史, *The Secret History of the Yuan Dynasty*, mid-13th century) was also examined. As supplementary sources, Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi’ at-tawārīkh* (*Compendium of Chronicles*, early 14th century), ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Aṭā Malik Juvaynī’s *Tārīkh-i jahān-gushā* (*History of the World Conqueror*, 1260), and *Huángyuán shèngwǔ qīnzhēng lù* (皇元聖武親征錄, *Description of the Personal Campaigns of the Sacred-Martial [Emperor] of the August [Yuan Dynasty]*) in the Russian translation by Archimandrite Palladius (Petr I. Kafarov) were consulted.

A total of ten commanders’ biographies have been reconstructed. These individuals, either in succession or concurrently, commanded military campaigns in Koryŏ. They were of diverse ethnic origins and held various military ranks; all are mentioned in *Koryŏsa*, while information concerning some of them in other sources is either fragmentary or entirely absent. This article adopts a chronological framework for presenting the figures under investigation, irrespective of their ethnic background or the length of their sojourn in Korea.

Mongolian Commanders Leading Campaigns Against Koryŏ

Qachi’un

The first Mongol commander who arrived on the Korean Peninsula in 1218 was likely the younger brother of Genghis Khan (Temüjin, 1162?–1227, Qa’an of all Mongols from 1206), the third son of Yesügei-ba’atur and Hö’elün: Qachi’un (or Khachi’un, Mong. Qachi’un-elchi, 1166?–1218/9?). In Chinese and Korean chronicles, his name is transcribed as 何稱 Héchēng (Kor. 하칭 Hach’ing / K’ach’iun) or 哈眞 Hāzhēn (Kor. 합진 Hapchin). Qachi’un received from his powerful elder brother the seventh most important position in the hierarchy, following their mother Hö’elün, the four sons of Temüjin, and his brother Joči-Qasar, precisely in that order. Notably, while other brothers of Genghis Khan, such as Joči-Qasar (Mong. Qasar? ᠵᠴᠢᠬᠠᠰᠠᠷ? 1164?–1219?) and Temüge-otčigin (Mong. Temüge? ᠲᠡᠮᠦᠭᠡᠣᠳᠡᠭᠢᠨ? 1168?–1246), are frequently mentioned in *The Secret History of the Mongols* as loyal comrades-in-arms of their elder brother, Qachi’un is rarely spoken of, not only in accounts of political and state

affairs but also in ordinary dialogues concerning daily life. Rashīd al-Dīn wrote of him as follows: “The third son was Qachi’un. He had many wives and sons, and his deputy was [his beloved son] Elčidei (Alchidai, Eljigidei, late 1180s–1252. – *Auth.*). He enjoyed great esteem. Ögedei, Möngke Qa’an, and Qubilai Qa’an always valued and respected him, consulting him on important matters. His ulus and yurt are located in the eastern part, directly to the east, within Mongolia, near the borders of that wall which the Khitai stretched from the Qara Müren [Yellow River] to the sea of Jurje²”. In *The Secret History*, it is merely noted that “when Temüjin was nine years old, <...> Qači’un Elči was five”⁴. The compilers of the modern Korean translation of *Koryŏsa* (2006) from the Sŏktang Research Center at Dong-A University (ROK) also observe that Qachi’un’s son Elčidei and the descendants of Temüge-otčigin made Manchuria their sphere of influence⁵.

The statement by Rashīd al-Dīn: “Since Qachi’un died young without acquiring much renown”⁶, has shaped the scholarly opinion that Qachi’un may have passed away early, as his name is absent from chronicles describing later events in the life of Genghis Khan. For instance, Valery A. Zlygostev dates his death to approximately 1195/1196⁷. However, the nearly verbatim recurring mentions of Qachi’un in *Koryŏsa*, *Koryŏsa chŏryo* and *Yuán shǐ*, pertaining to the end of 1218, may serve as evidence that he was still alive at that time and actively engaged in operations on the Korean Peninsula, holding the position of supreme commander of the Mongol army. It is not improbable that he fulfilled a largely representative function, as “he held the high title of *zhòuwáng* [紂王, prince] in the Chinese table of ranks, signifying a member of the *Golden Lineage*”⁸, while the de facto commander attached to him was Saritai, an outstanding person who will be discussed in detail below.

The first mention of Qachi’un appears in an entry of *Koryŏsa* under the 12th month of 1218, in the account of the Mongol attack on the northern frontiers of Koryŏ: “After the Mongol commanders Qachi’un and Ch’ara (i.e. Saritai. – *Auth.*) led ten thousand soldiers and joined forces against the Khitans with the twenty-

² It is considered that the remains of the Jurje Sea are Lake Dalainor, located in the Manchurian Basin.

³ Rashīd ad-Dīn Fazlullah’s *Jami’u’t-tawarikh. Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*. English Translation & Annotation by W.M. Thackston. Harvard University, Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998. Vol. 1, Part 2. Pp. 131–132.

⁴ Kozin, Sergei A. *Sokrovennoe skazanie. Mongol’skaya hronika 1240 goda pod nazvaniem Monzol-un nizuča tobčiyān. Yuan chao bi shi: Mongol’skii obydenyi sbornik* [The Secret History. Mongol Chronicle of 1240 Named Monrol-un niruča tobčiyān. Yuan chao bi shi: Mongolian Commonplace Book]. Vol. 1. Introduction to the Study of the Monument. Translation, Texts, Glossaries. Moscow, Leningrad: Academy of Sciences, 1941. P. 86; *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century* / Transl. and Comment. by Igor de Rachewiltz. Vol. I–II. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004. P. 13.

⁵ *Koryŏsa* (History of Koryŏ [State]) 고려사. Book 권 23. Annals of Generations (Sega) 세가 23. Kojong 고종 2, *sinmyo* year (1231), 8 month. Commentary 1: Saritai. URL: <https://terms.naver.com/entry.naver?docId=1624193&categoryId=62161&cid=62131> (last accessed: 28.02.2026).

⁶ Rashīd ad-Dīn Fazlullah’s *Jami’u’t-tawarikh*. Vol. 1, part 2. P. 295.

⁷ Zlygostev, Valery A. *Geroi “Sokrovennogo skazaniya”* [Heroes of “The Secret History of the Mongols”]; ed. V.A. Ivanov. Ufa: “Alfa-Reklama”, 2018. P. 640.

⁸ Zlygostev, Valery. Op. cit., p. 32.

thousand-strong army of Wányán Zīyuān⁹, sent by Púxiǎn Wànnú¹⁰ of Eastern Xia, they <...> proceeded directly to the Kangdong Fortress (Kangdongsōng, present-day Kangdong District, P’yōngyang. – *Auth.*).”¹¹ As is known, during the battle of Kangdong, the combined Mongol-Jurchen army assisted the Koryō troops in defeating and expelling the Khitans from the country. In return, however, the Mongols demanded the establishment of inter-state relations in the form of *sadae* 事大, (lit. “serving the great”), the Confucian form of vassal-suzerain foreign relations between states, wherein one assumes the position of “elder brother” and the other that of “younger brother”, and the payment of an enormous annual tribute. *Koryōsa chōryō* records Qachi’un’s words: “The Emperor (Genghis Khan. – *Auth.*), because the Khitan forces have hid in your country now for three years and you have never been able to eradicate them, therefore, he has sent troops to pacify them. Your country should help only with provisions without deficiency. <...> The Emperor commands, that after destroying the enemy we should make a treaty to be older and younger brothers.”¹² The Koreans were compelled to agree, yet they continually delayed the dispatch of successive embassies, withheld tribute, or supplied the Mongols with goods of inferior quality and in far smaller quantities than demanded – circumstances that led to protracted investigations spanning three years.

In *Yuán shǐ*, Qachi’un is mentioned only once, in a brief entry from 1218 (the 13th year of Genghis Khan), which also concerns his arrival in Koryō to

⁹ Wányán Zīyuān (完顏子淵, ?–?) – a Jurchen military commander, participant in the battle against the Khitans in 1218 and the battle at Kangdong[sōng] fortress in 1219. Fragmentary information about him is found only in *Koryōsa*. He was a friend (possibly even a sworn brother) of Cho Ch’ung (趙冲 조충, 1171–1220), a high-ranking Koryō official and participant in the anti-Khitan campaigns.

¹⁰ Púxiǎn Wànnú (蒲鮮萬奴, ?–1233) was a commander of the Jin Empire (1115–1234). In 1215, he proclaimed the state of Dōngxià (東夏, Eastern Xia, 1215–1233), established his capital in Dōngjīng (modern Liáoyáng), and assumed the title *Tiānwáng* (天王, lit. “Heavenly King”), later changing the name of the state to Dōngzhēn (東真, Eastern Zhēn). He attempted to unite the Jurchens inhabiting the basins of the Tumangang (Ch. Tumenjiang, Dòumǎnjiāng) and the Amnokkang Rivers (Ch. Yālùjiāng). In 1233, Ögedei’s son Güyük attacked Dōngzhēn with a large army, captured Púxiǎn Wànnú, and executed him. After this, Dōngzhēn disintegrated, the remnants of the Jurchens in Manchuria surrendered to the Mongols, and in the following year, 1234, the Jin Empire was destroyed. However, there is an opinion that Dōngxià did not perish with the death of Púxiǎn Wànnú. See: Dyakova, Olga V. “O vremeni padeniya chzhurchzhen’skogo gosudarstva Dun Sya (Vostochnoe Sya)” [On the Timing of the Fall of the Jurchen State of Dongxia (Eastern Xia)]. *Obschestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae* [Society and State in China]. Vol. XLIX. Part 1. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies of RAS (2019), pp. 207–213.

¹¹ “蒙古元帥哈真及札剌, 率兵一萬, 與東真萬奴所遣完顏子淵兵二萬 <...> 四城, 破之, 直指江東城”. *Koryōsa*. Book 22. Segi 22. Kojong 1, *muin* year (1218), 12 month.

¹² “皇帝以丹兵逃在爾國于今三年未能掃滅, 故遣兵討之. 爾國惟資糧是助, 無致欠闕. <...> 帝命破賊之後約爲兄弟”. *Koryōsa chōryō* (Essentials of Koryō History) 고려사절요. Book 권 15, *muin* year (1218), 12 month. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://db.history.go.kr/goryeo/itemLevelKrList.do?itemId=kj&types=r> (last accessed: 28.02.2026). See also: *Koryōsa chōryō II. Essentials of Koryō History*. Translated by Edward J. Shultz and Hugh H.W. Kang. Yonsei Korean Studies Series No. 1. Seoul, Jimoondang, 2014. P. 250.

participate in the campaign against the Khitans: “The Khitan [Yēlǔ] Liúgē¹³ captured the Jiāngdōng stronghold in Koryŏ; [Genghis Khan] ordered Héchéng and Zhálà to lead troops to subdue him”¹⁴.

Yoon Eun-Sook has compiled three perspectives regarding the purpose of Qachi’un and Saritai’s incursion into Koryŏ that currently exist in South Korean historiography: “Ko Byŏngik (고병익 1970, p. 160) argued that they entered Koryŏ territory in the process of pursuing Jurchen troops. Chu Ch’aehyŏk (주채혁 1977, p. 300) viewed it as a preliminary reconnaissance operation, and Yun Yŏnggyŏk (윤용혁 1991, p. 28) believed it was part of a joint military operation against Jin”¹⁵. Overall, these perspectives are not mutually contradictory.

Saritai

At the end of 1218 or the beginning of 1219, Qachi’un apparently died, and the post of supreme commander was assumed by his chief assistant, Saritai. *Yuán Gāolǐ jìshì* records under 1219 (14th year of Genghis Khan, Emperor Tàizǔ 太祖): “Koryŏ dispatched officials <...> with a letter proposing peace to the military camp of Zhálà (i.e., Saritai – *Auth.*). <...> Zhálà sent a reply, confirming his agreement to the peace”¹⁶.

Saritai is perhaps the most interesting, yet enigmatic, figure of that era; in terms of the number of mentions in Korean and Chinese chronicles, he collectively surpasses all other Mongol commanders of the pre-Yuan period,

¹³ Yēlǔ Liúgē (耶律留哥, 1165–1220) – the first ruler of the Khitan state of Eastern Liao (東遼 Dōng Liáo, 1213–1220). Little is known about his life. He was descended from the Khitan Liao dynasty, and after the dynasty was overthrown by the Jurchens in 1125, his ancestors began to serve the new Jin Empire. During the Jin war with the Mongols, in 1211 he raised a rebellion against the Jin and declared himself Emperor of Eastern Liao, becoming an ally of Genghis Khan. In 1216, his relative Yēlǔ Sībù revolted against him and proclaimed a new state, Later Liao, but was soon killed, and the state was destroyed. In 1218, other Khitan fled to Koryŏ. In 1220, Yēlǔ Liúgē died a natural death, and Genghis Khan granted his wife, Yaoli, the right to wear a *paizi* with a tiger’s head and to temporarily lead their people for the next seven years. Eastern Liao was abolished by the Mongols in 1233 after the destruction of Eastern Xia by Púxiǎn Wǎnnú. However, Yēlǔ Liúgē’s descendants continued to serve as hereditary local officials governing the northeast of the Great Mongol State. See: Kē, Shàomín 柯劭忞. *Xīn Yuán shǐ* (New History of Yuan [Empire]) 新元史. Juǎn 134. Biographies 列傳 31. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=201395> (last accessed: 28.02.2026).

¹⁴ “契丹六哥據高麗江東城,命哈真,剗刺率師平之”. *Yuán shǐ* (History of Yuan [Empire]) 元史. [Electronic resource]. Juǎn 卷 1, 40; Juǎn 208, 2. URL: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=434890> (last accessed: 28.02.2026).

¹⁵ Yoon, Eun-Sook 윤은숙. The Character of Koryŏ–Mongolia War and Changes of the Attitudes of Mongolia 麗蒙 전쟁의 성격과 몽골의 태도 변화. *Gangwon History* 江原史學. No. 24-25 (2011), Inseok Choi Bok-gyu Professor’s Commemorative Festschrift for Retirement 仁石崔福奎教授定年紀念論叢, pp. 113–129. P. 116.

¹⁶ “十四年己卯正月十三日, 高麗 <...> 奉結和牒文送剗刺行營. 十四日, 剗刺遣人答謝, 以固和意”. Wén, Tíngshì 文廷式. *Yuán Gāolǐ jìshì* (Chronicles of Koryŏ [State] in the Yuan Era) 元高麗紀事. 1219 year, 1 month. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://db.history.go.kr/goryeo/level.do?itemId=cnwk> (last accessed: 28.02.2026).

which allows for a fairly detailed tracing of his activities on the Korean Peninsula in specific years. A comparison of the texts has shown that all information pertaining to his biography is, in one way or another, contained in *Koryōsa*, while other sources, including later Chinese works, repeat – sometimes verbatim – fragments of the Korean chronicle. Despite the fact that the *Yuán shǐ* was compiled almost a century earlier than *Koryōsa*, Chinese historiographers paid extremely little attention to Saritai, mentioning him only in passing. A few unique records were found in *Koryōsa chōryo* and *Yuán Gāolǐ jìshì*. In *Koryōsa* itself, information is also repeatedly duplicated in “Annals of Generations” (世家 세가) and “Biographies” (列傳 열전) sections. *Xīn Yuán shǐ* is the only source that contains a biography of Saritai, together with a number of other figures: Jǎci’ertai Qorči (Saritai), Taču (son of Saritai), Ajuru (Ačínai), Huaidu (grandson of Ajuru), Tagai Ba’atur (Taqai), Atahai, Sūke Qulan (Kereit), Shiliukai-Noyan, Mailidarqan, and Širegi¹⁷. However, it also represents merely a detailed compilation of information from earlier chronicles. Thus, *Koryōsa* can rightfully be considered the main source of information on the life and activities of Saritai.

All surviving information regarding Saritai’s activities is recorded in *wenyan* 文言 (also Kor. 漢文 한문 *hanmun*), with the Northern Chinese official dialect serving as the pronunciation norm¹⁸; the phonetic transcription of his name (the meaning of the characters was not taken into consideration) varies across chronicles and works by different authors, and even within different sections of the same chronicle compiled in different years:

– In *Koryōsa* and *Koryōsa chōryo*: 札剌 (Ch. Zhálà; Kor. Ch’alla; this variant also appears in *Tongguk pyōnggam*), 撒禮塔 (Ch. Sǎlǐtǎ; Kor. 살레탑 Sallyet’ap), and 撒里打火里赤 (Ch. Sǎlǐdǎ huǒlǐchì; Kor. Sallit’a hwarijōk), as well as 箭刺 (Ch. Zháci; Kor. Ch’aja). In this last variant, which occurs only once in an entry from 1233, the character 刺 *cì* is used; it is visually very similar to 剌 *là*, which was evidently due to errors made during copying or the preparation of woodblocks. This same character is used in *Xīn Yuán shǐ* (see below);

– In *Yuán shǐ*: 撒里塔 (Ch. Sǎlǐtǎ), 撒里答火兒赤 (Ch. Sǎlǐtǎ huǒérchì), 札剌台 (Ch. Zhálàtái), 札剌兒 (Ch. Zhálàér; Igor de Rachewiltz notes that such a name could have been borne by both Khitan and Jurchen military commanders¹⁹), 撒里台 (Ch. Chèlǐtái), and 撒兒台 (Ch. Chèértái);

– In *Yuán Gāolǐ jìshì*: 撒里答 (Ch. Chèlǐdá) and 撒里塔火里[赤] (Ch. Sǎlǐtǎ huǒlǐ[chì]);

– In *Xīn Yuán shǐ*: 札剌亦兒台[豁兒赤] (Ch. Zháciyiertái [huōérchì]);

– In *Yuán shǐ shìzú biǎo*: 札剌儿 (Ch. Zhálàér).

It should be noted that in *Koryōsa*, *Koryōsa chōryo*, and *Yuán shǐ*, in the entries for the years 1218–1221 and in the biographies of officials who participated in the events of that period (e.g., Cho Ch’ung, 1171–1220²⁰), his

¹⁷ Kē, Shàomín. Op. cit. Juǎn132. Biographies 29.

¹⁸ Ledyard Gari. “The Mongol Campaigns in Korea and the Dating of ‘The Secret History of the Mongols’”. *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (March 1964), pp. 1–22. P. 9.

¹⁹ *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Transl. and Comment. by Igor de Rachewiltz. P. 1010.

²⁰ *Koryōsa*. Book 103. Biographies 16. Cho Ch’ung.

name is recorded as “Ch’alla/Zhálà”, whereas after 1231 it appears exclusively as “Sallyet’ap / Šălītā”; this is the origin of the most well-known Latin and Russian version of his name, “Saritai”. However, in every mention from 1231–1233 of the Khitan incursion of 1216, in which the Mongol army participated (see above), we consistently encounter the name “Ch’alla / Zhálà”. This may be a consequence of the fact that, firstly, the initial records of *Koryŏsa*, which guided the authors of other chronicles, were compiled by different historiographers, and secondly, that the compilers of the later entries copied information from earlier fragments without subjecting it to doubt or reinterpretation.

– In *The Secret History of the Mongols*, Saritai is mentioned only once and is referred to as Jalayirtai Qorči²¹, and, judging by the context, his activities pertain to a later period, which will be discussed in detail below.

Regarding the etymology of Saritai’s name, there is no consensus, since, as indicated above, it was recorded using Chinese characters. Only the following can be stated with certainty: Saritai’s epithet – Ch. *huōlǐchì*, Kor. *hwarijŏk* – is pronounced as *qorchi* (Mong. *ᠬᠣᠷᠴᠢ*) in Middle Mongolian and means “quiver-bearer”, “arms-bearer” (Rus. *колчанщик, оруженосец*)²²; therefore, some authors refer to him as “quiver-bearer”. For instance, Valery A. Zlygostev, in the chapter “Saritai. The Tormentor of the Koreans”, notes: “Judging by the prefix to his name *qorchi*, that is, ‘archer’ or ‘quiver-bearer’, he followed a path of ascent up the hierarchical ladder typical for many Mongol commanders (who bore the same honorary prefix), having begun his service in the *kešig* guard already under Genghis Khan. Later, with the rank of commander of a thousand, he fought in Northern China by order of Muqali (see below. – *Auth.*) in 1221 <...> By the early 1230s, Ögedei (2nd Great Qa’an of Mongolian State, Emperor Taizōng 太宗, 1229–1241. – *Auth.*) entrusted Saritai with command of the campaign in Korea”²³. Saritai’s biography in *Xīn Yuán shǐ* notes: “He served as a guard for Taizu (Genghis Khan). In the 12th year (1218), Hāzhēn (Qachi’un) was appointed supreme commander, and Saritai was his deputy, leading the Mongol army”²⁴.

It is known that in 1217, six years after the first attack on the Jin, Genghis Khan transferred operational control over all lands seized from the Jurchens to Muqali (Mukali-goyon, Muhuri, Mong. Mühülei?, *ᠮᠤᠬᠤᠯᠢ*?, Ch. 木華里 Mùhuálǐ, 1170–1223), one of his “four nökörs”(closest companions, alongside Bo’orču, Boroqul, and

²¹ Kozin, Sergei A. Op. cit., p. 194; *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Transl. and Comment. by Igor de Rachewiltz, pp. 206, 1109–1110.

²² *Bol’shoi akademicheskii mongol’sko-russkii slovar’* [Large Academic Mongolian-Russian Dictionary]/Ed. A. Luvsandende and Ts. Tsedendamba; ed. in-chief. G.Ts. Pyurbeyev. Vol. IV. Moscow: “Academia”, 2002. P.117.

Valery Zlygostev also explains that “*Qorchi* is a title of a clan chieftain or a high-ranking military commander, <...> *qorchin* – archer, quiver-bearer, arms-bearer”. See: Zlygostev, Valery. Op. cit., p. 774. Since the character transcription of Saritai’s name does not allow for an unambiguous identification of the ending, it can be cautiously assumed that during different periods of his life he bore both the position of *qorchin* and the title of *qorchi*.

²³ Zlygostev, Valery. Op. cit., p. 465.

²⁴ “事太祖為宿衛。十二年，以哈真為元帥，札剌亦兒台副之，帥蒙古軍”。Kē, Shàomín. Op. cit. Juǎn 132. Biographies 29.

Čilaun)²⁵, who was appointed the Great Khan's viceroy in Northern China from 1217 to 1223, and bestowed upon him the title *guówáng* 國王 (“ruler”, “prince of the appanage”). Muqali hailed from the Ĵalayir tribal confederation (Ĵalayids, Mong. Ĵalair, Ĵalaid, Mongols or Mongol-Turks), who in the 12th century inhabited the banks of the Onon River. As mentioned above, when the Mongols conquered the Manchurian region, the younger brothers of Genghis Khan, Joči-Qasar and Temüge-otčigin, received these lands as their possessions. In fact, after Muqali's death in 1223, authority over the Liádōng region and Manchuria became entrenched among the descendants of Joči-Qasar, Qachi'un, Temüge, and Muqali. Thus, it was the Ĵalayir tribe that led the conquest of Northeast Asia, during which Saritai invaded Koryō. Archimandrite Palladius (Petr I. Kafarov), in his translation of the manuscript *Huángyuán shèngwǔ qīnzhēng lù* (*Description of the Personal Campaigns of the Sacred-Martial [Emperor] of the August [Yuan Dynasty]*), notes that “2,000 cavalry of the Ĵalar” participated in the campaign against Korea²⁶.

Chu Ch'aehyök suggests that “Saritai is not a personal name, but a phonetic rendering of the word ‘Ĵalayir’ <...> since the true Mongols used the names of their tribes as personal names”²⁷. This assertion can be cautiously agreed with, considering the naming of Saritai in *Xīn Yuán shǐ* as Zháciyíertái [huōérchì], where the first word precisely denotes the Ĵalayir tribal confederation (allowing for an obvious scribal error in the second character, mentioned above). Furthermore, Chu Ch'aehyök, citing *Yuán shǐ shìzú biǎo*, asserts that Saritai belonged to the Ĵalayir clan, which played a key role in the conquest campaigns against Koryō under Genghis Khan, Ögedei, and Möngke (4th Great Qa'an, Emperor Xiànzōng 憲宗, 1251–1259)²⁸. Dugvema N.-D. Zhapova states that among the Mongols, “in the formation of anthroponyms, appellatives characterizing any properties of the named person, circumstances of their birth, etc., are taken as a basis”, and further: “Nicknames as a type of anthroponym perform communicative functions in the language alongside personal names. <...> They fall into the category of non-ceremonial naming...”²⁹, which also generally confirms the theory of the origin of the name / nickname Zhálà / Saritai from the ethnonym.

²⁵ Yoo, Byungjae 류병재. (2018). A Study on a Relationship between Mongol Empire and the Jin Dynasty Seen Through the Mongolistic Names of Having been Recorded in History of Jin. 『금사(金史)』에 기록된 몽골인명(人名)을 통해 본 몽골·금(金) 관계 연구. Mongolian Studies 몽골학, 52, (2018), pp. 77–133. P. 98.

²⁶ *Starinnoe kitaiskoe skazanie o Chingishane* [Ancient Chinese Story about Genghis Khan]. Translated from Chinese by Archimandrite Palladius. Oriental Collection. Volume one. Saint-Petersburg: Printing House of the Ministry of Railways, 1877. P. 191.

²⁷ Chu, Ch'aehyök 주채혁. “Ch'alla and Saritai” 札剌와 撒禮塔. Collection of Scholarly Articles on Korean History for the 60th Anniversary of Professor Kang Jinch'ŏl “강진철교수 화갑기념 한국사학논총” (姜晉哲教授華甲 紀念韓國史學論叢). *Historical Studies Association, “Historical Collection”* 역사학연구회, “史叢”. Vol. 21·22 (1977), pp. 283–302. Pp. 284–285.

²⁸ Ibid, pp. 286, 301.

²⁹ Zhapova, Dugvema N.-D. *Funktsional'naya evolyutsiya proprial'noi leksiki (na materiale antroponomii mongol'skih yazykov)* [The Functional Evolution of Proprial Vocabulary (Based on Anthroponymy in the Mongolic Languages)]. Ph.D. in Philology Thesis, Abstract. Ulan-Ude, 2004. Pp. 12, 20.

Furthermore, Chu Ch'aehyŏk argues that it was customary for the Mongols to indicate a clan name (corresponding to a Chinese surname) and a personal name, unique to each individual. Together, they constituted a person's full name. In his view, *Ch'alla* is nothing other than a personal name, while *Saritai* is a clan epithet. This is precisely why, during the campaign of 1218, serving as deputy to the supreme commander Qachi'un, he appears in the chronicles under his personal name, whereas in 1231–1232, when Saritai had already assumed the position of army commander (元帥, Ch. *yuánshuài*, "supreme commander"), he began to be recorded under his clan name, as the chief representative of the Ĵalayir clan³⁰. Chu Ch'aehyŏk presents the following arguments: "There are two possible explanations for 'Sarita' being a clan name and 'Ch'alla' a personal name: 1) during the period of the military campaign against Koryŏ, he acted as the sole representative of the Ĵalayir clan (札剌兒氏), so the clan name Sarita / Ĵalayir was used; 2) after returning to the Mongol capital, where other influential representatives of the same clan might have been present, his personal name Ch'alla was used in official documents to avoid confusion. That is, the difference in names is explained by context: military chronicles used the clan name, while court documents used the personal name"³¹. He also asserts that "Ĵalayirtai in *The Secret History of the Mongols* is not a distorted transcription of the name Sarita (撒兒台), but simply a different phonetic rendering of the same name"³².

However, Chu Ch'aehyŏk's theory that *Ch'alla* is a personal name may be called into question, primarily due to its phonetic similarity to the ethnonym "Ĵalayir". Moreover, it can be assumed that the Korean chroniclers may not have known his real name at all, since it was for some reason taboo, especially for subordinate foreigners, and they used the well-known ethnonym instead. This is indirectly confirmed by an entry from 1221, when Qachi'un had already died and Saritai's status had clearly risen to that of a commander, but the naming remained unchanged: "[The envoys] also presented letters from general Ch'alla"³³.

Thus, it can be asserted with a high degree of probability that *Zhàlā/Ch'alla* and *Saritai* are two variants of the same tribal name, and *Saritai-qorči* can be interpreted as "Archer from the Ĵalayir tribe".

It should also be noted that some researchers mistakenly refer to Saritai as *Sartak*, for example, William Henthorn³⁴, Remco Breuker³⁵ and Edward J. Shultz and Hugh H.W. Kang in their translation of *Koryŏsa chŏryŏ*³⁶, or *Sarta*, like Gari Ledyard.³⁷ Not only does such a transcription of his name appear nowhere, but it could also lead to incorrect associations of Saritai with Sartaq (?–1256), the second

³⁰ Chu, Ch'aehyŏk. Op. cit., pp. 284, 288.

³¹ Ibid, p. 297.

³² Ibid, p. 299.

³³ "元帥札剌及 <...> 書各一通". *Koryŏsa*. Book 22. Sega 22. Kjong 1, *sin*sa year (1221), 8 month.

³⁴ Henthorn William E. *Korea: The Mongol Invasions*. E.J. Brill, 1963.

³⁵ Breuker Remco E. And now, Your Highness, we'll discuss the location of your hidden rebel base: Guerrillas, Rebels and Mongols in Medieval Korea. *Journal of Asian History*. Vol. 46, No. 1 (2012), pp. 59–95.

³⁶ E.g. *Koryŏsa chŏryŏ II*. Translated by Edward J. Shultz and Hugh H.W. Kang, pp. 289–290.

³⁷ Ledyard, Gari. Op. cit., pp. 1–22.

ruler of the Ulus of Joči (1255/1256), the eldest son of Batu, and great-grandson of Genghis Khan. Rashīd al-Dīn in his *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* also mentions several times a certain Sartaq-Noyan, whose grandfather or father (unclear) Saba originated from the Ĵalayirs and was a companion of Genghis Khan; possibly, Saritai appears here under the name “Sartaq”: “When Genghis Khan fought the Markit nation and they were victorious, Borta Fujin was pregnant with Jöči (this refers to Jöči, Genghis Khan’ son, not his brother Jöči-Qasar – *Auth.*). The Markits carried her off as booty, and since at that time there was peace between the Markit and Ong Khan, they sent her to Ong Khan, who held her in honor and respect. <...> When Genghis Khan was informed of this, he sent Saba, the grandfather of Sartaq Noyan of the Ĵalayir tribe, to Ong Khan to request the return of the lady. Ong Khan complied and turned her over to him. Jochi was born while they were on the road back to Genghis Khan, and because the road was dangerous and there was no place to stop and make a cradle, Saba kneaded a bit of flour dough, wrapped the child in it, and took him on his lap to protect him and keep his limbs from harm...”³⁸. It cannot be ruled out that such a significant service rendered to Genghis Khan by Saritai's closest relative, among other things, contributed to his becoming close to the Great Qa'an and helped him build his subsequent career.

The next mention of Saritai appears in an entry from the 8th month of 1221, when Mongol envoys led by Zhù Güyü³⁹ arrived at the Koryŏ court to inquire into the circumstances surrounding the delay in tribute. Among other things, they delivered a message to the king on behalf of Saritai and another Mongol commander, Púlǐ Dàiwán (see below for more details), demanding to be provided as tribute with otter skins, silk, and cotton⁴⁰. Saritai himself was not part of the embassy; evidently, his status by this time was already much higher.

After the murder of Zhù Güyü in 1225, official Mongol missions did not visit Koryŏ until 1231. This long hiatus was most likely the result of internal political strife within the Mongol state following the death of Genghis Khan in 1227 and

³⁸ Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 140.

³⁹ Zhù Güyü (著古與, Kor. 저고여 Chŏ Goyŏ) was an envoy of the Mongol State who visited Koryŏ multiple times between 1221 and 1225. The murder of Zhù Güyü in 1225 is a sort of diplomatic enigma. It is known that four parties were involved in the conflict in one way or another: the Mongol State, Koryŏ, Dōngxià (東夏, Eastern Xia, later Dōngzhēn), and Jin. In the spring of 1225 the Mongol envoy Zhù Güyü, who had been on a diplomatic mission in Koryŏ, crossed the Amnokkang (Yalu) River on his return to his own country. However, he was robbed and killed while passing along the Posu road, an area weakly controlled by Jin troops. The Mongols blamed Koryŏ for the incident, but Koryŏ claimed that the states of Eastern Hsia and Chin were responsible. It is not known exactly who killed Zhù Güyü: it could have been some official from Koryŏ, angered by the tyranny and rude behavior of the Mongol envoy, or a mercenary of Jin or Dōngzhēn, planning to provoke a conflict between the Mongol State and Koryŏ, or simply a random bandit. Koryŏ officially stated that the murder of the envoy was the work of Yú Jiāxià (于加下, a Jin official in Liáodōng province), and the incident was not investigated further. This case led to a breakdown in diplomatic relations between Mongolia and Koryŏ, and almost six years later, it became a convenient pretext for the Mongols (“revenge for the envoy”) to attack Koryŏ in 1231. See: The Case of Zhù Güyü's Murder 著古与遇害案. *Baidu Encyclopaedia* (百度百科). URL: <https://baike.baidu.com/item/著古与遇害案/63075386> (last accessed: 28.02.2026); *Koryŏsa*. Book 23. Sŏga 23. Kojong 2, *imjin* year (1232), 11 month.

⁴⁰ *Koryŏsa*. Book 22. Sŏga 22. Kojong 1, *sinsa* year (1221), 8 month.

the accession to power of Qa'an Ögedei. Then, ten years later, in 1231, mentions of Saritai reappear in *Koryŏsa*, leading a campaign against the recalcitrant state that refused to pay tribute: "The Mongol military commander Saritai surrounded Hamsijin and thoroughly trampled Ch'ölchu (modern Ch'ölsan county, P'yŏngan-Pukto Province. – *Auth.*)" ⁴¹.

After the Mongol army led by Saritai crossed the Amnokkan river in the 8th month of 1231, it apparently had two routes for advancing south. The first was the main road in the northwest of the peninsula, which passes through Yŏngju, Ch'ölchu, Kwakchu, crosses the Ch'öngch'öngang River, and reaches Anju and Sogyŏng (P'yŏngyang); the second was an inland road to Sögyŏng via Kwiju (Kuju, modern Kusŏng, P'yŏngan-Pukto Province). Saritai chose the second route; the army moved from Hamsijin towards Kwiju and, on the 3rd day of the 9th month, surrounded the fortress. However, they were unable to capture it and retreated, though causing serious destruction⁴². It is curious that Archimandrite Palladius, when mentioning this campaign in his translation of the chronicle, seems to "split" Saritai into two persons: "From here, he sent Sahata and Qorči to conquer Gāoli". However, he subsequently refers to him as "Sardaqorchi", evidently drawing no parallels between these personages⁴³.

In the 11th month of 1231, "*Pukkye pundaeŏsa* (Inspector of the Northern Region) Min Hŭi <...> reported the following: 'I <...> received an order <...> and went to the Mongol camp to offer food. At that time, the commander, [who calls himself] *quán huángdì* and is known [by the name] Saritai, was sitting in a leather tent decorated with silk, and his wives stood in rows to his left and right'"⁴⁴. The aforementioned term *quán huángdì* (權皇帝, Kor. 권황제 *kwŏn hwangje*), where the character 權

quán literally means "invested with authority" and can be interpreted as "ruling emperor". Nikolai Ts. Munkuev translated it as "temporarily acting emperor", and noted that this title was first bestowed upon Muqali⁴⁵, indicating that such a practice already existed previously. Apparently, over the course of ten years, Saritai had risen significantly in the hierarchical ladder, from deputy and companion (essentially, a bodyguard) of Qachi'un to the All-Mongol Qa'an's viceroy in Koryŏ. Indeed, in the following entry from the 12th month of the same year, it is noted: "At that time, Saritai was at the Protectorate for Pacifying the

⁴¹ "蒙古元帥撒禮塔圍咸新鎮, 屠鐵州". *Koryŏsa*. Book 23. Seg 23. Kjong 2, *sinmyo* year (1231), 8 month.

⁴² *Koryŏsa*. Book 23. Seg 23. Kjong 2, *sinmyo* year (1231), 9–10 month.

⁴³ *Ancient Chinese Story about Genghis Khan*. Translated... by Archimandrite Palladius, pp. 197, 199.

⁴⁴ "北界分臺御史閔曦還奏, "曦與兵馬判官員外郎崔桂年, 承三軍指揮, 往犒蒙兵. 有一元帥, 自稱權皇帝, 名撒禮塔, 坐氈廬, 飾以錦繡, 列婦人左右". *Koryŏsa*. Book 23. Seg 23. Kjong 2, *sinmyo* year (1231), 11 month.

⁴⁵ Munkuev, Nikolai Ts. *Nekotorye problemy istorii mongolov XIII v. Po novym materialam: V 2 tomah: issledovanie yuzhnosunskih istochnikov* [Some Problems of 13th-Century Mongol History Based on New Materials: In 2 Volumes: A Study of Southern Song Sources]. Doctor of History Thesis. Moscow, 1970. P. 773.

North (安北都護府 *Ānběi dūhùfǔ*, or Anbuk Regional Military Commission⁴⁶, established in Tang China in 647 and responsible for relations with Inner Mongolia, the lands of the Uyghurs, the Tiele tribes, etc. – *Auth.*) and sent three envoys to urge [the king of Koryŏ] to submit. <...> The Emperor sent [to you] the army of Saritai-Qorči, [to ask] whether you will surrender or wait until you are killed. In the Year of the Rat (1216), the Black Khitans invaded Koryŏ, [and when you] were unable to properly expel them, [we] sent two men, Ch’alla and Kach’iun, to lead an army, capturing and killing all the Black Khitans”⁴⁷. *Koryŏsa chŏryŏ* additionally notes that after some time, King Kojong (高宗 高宗, 1213–1259) sent his relative, Prince Hweangong Wang Chŏng (淮安公王挺 회안공왕정), to Saritai with gifts and food, and the latter hosted a banquet: “Chŏng presented food. Sartaq offered him kusmiss and delicacies. Chŏng at once was able to eat and drink all that was urget to him. Sartaq was very pleased”⁴⁸.

Shortly after the banquet (possibly on the occasion of the approaching New Year), the king twice sent gifts to the sons of Tangut, T’ege-Qorchi (for more details on them, see below), and Saritai, including numerous silver and gold items, silver ingots, textiles, otter skins, and clothing⁴⁹. *Tongguk pyŏnggam* also notes: “All the gifts sent by the state [of Koryŏ to the Mongols], as well as the offerings [given] to Saritai and [other] military commanders, cannot be listed in detail”⁵⁰. In the 3rd and 4th months of 1232, gifts and letters from the king were sent to Saritai again, requesting a reduction in the amount of tribute, particularly otter skins, as Koryŏ was unable to supply such a volume of goods, and also asking for the revocation of the humiliating demand to send youths and maidens to the Mongol court⁵¹.

In the 5th month of 1232, the Koryŏ government, led by the military strongman Ch’oe I (崔怡 최이, also 崔瑀 최우, 1219–1249), began discussing radical methods to counter the Mongol threat. Consequently, it was decided to move the king and his family to Kanghwa Island, and to relocate the population of the northern regions, which were most vulnerable to attacks, to sea and river islands that would be difficult for the nomads to reach. When Saritai learned of this, the Mongol army prepared to storm the capital Kaegyŏng (modern Kaesŏng, Hwanghae-Pukto Province). In this situation, King Kojong – or rather, more accurately, the military government of Ch’oe U – unable to devise a plan for further resistance, accepted the peace terms proposed by the Mongols. These

⁴⁶ “時，撒禮塔屯安北都護府，亦遣使者三人來，論講和... 鼠兒年，黑契丹你每高麗國裏，討虜時節，你每迭當不得了去也，阿每差得札刺·何稱兩介引得軍來把黑契丹都殺了”。*Koryŏsa chŏryŏ II*. Translated by Edward J. Shultz and Hugh H.W. Kang, p. 289.

⁴⁷ *Koryŏsa*. Book 23. Sega 23. Kojong 2, *sinmyŏ* year (1231), 12 month.

⁴⁸ “挺餉之，撒禮塔饋以湏酪等味。挺隨所勸，能飲啖，撒禮塔大悅”。*Koryŏsa chŏryŏ*. Book 16, *sinmyŏ* year (1231), 12 month; *Koryŏsa chŏryŏ II*. Translated by Edward J. Shultz and Hugh H.W. Kang, p. 289.

⁴⁹ *Koryŏsa*. Book 23. Sega 23. Kojong 2, *sinmyŏ* year (1231), 12 month.

⁵⁰ “몽고에게 전후에 보낸바의 국가 공물과 살레답 등의 제장에게 보낸 퇴물은 다 기록하기가 곤난하다”. *Tongguk pyŏnggam* (Military Overview of the Eastern State) 동국병감. Transl. and comment. by Kim Seŏkhyŏng 김석형역주. P’yŏngyang: State Publishing House 평양: 국립출판사, 1955. P. 342.

⁵¹ *Koryŏsa*. Book 23. Sega 23. Kojong 2, *imjin* year (1232), 3–4 month.

terms, on Saritai's initiative, included the placement of "overseers", or *darughachi*, representatives of the Khan's headquarters to supervise the officials installed in the conquered areas within Koryŏ territory. As a condition for withdrawing his troops, Saritai demanded that 72 *darughachis* be distributed across 14 of the most important regions of the Northwest Territory (Söbukkye), including Sogyŏng (P'yŏngyang). Then, in the 12th month of 1232, as is known, the Mongols resumed military operations against Koryŏ and laid siege to the settlement of Ch'ŏin *pugok* (處仁部曲 처인부곡, or Ch'ŏinsŏng, 處仁城 처인성) in the suburbs of Suju fortress (modern Suwŏn, Kyŏnggi Province). It was there, on the 16th day of the 12th month, that Saritai was killed by an arrow shot by the monk Kim Yunhu (金允侯 김윤후)⁵².

After Saritai's death, the Mongol authorities mentioned him only three times in official correspondence. In 1233, they sent an angry message to Koryŏ king beginning with accusation of Saritai's murder: "Your first sin [is that] after subjugating the Khitans and killing Ch'aja, you never sent an envoy [with explanations] to our court"⁵³. *Yuán Gāolǐ jìshì* notes that Saritai was mentioned twice in decrees sent from the Mongol state for admonition and intimidation. The first time was in 1240 (12th year of Ögedei-Tàizōng 太宗): "[Although] Héchéng and Zhálà are already dead, [do I] not know the affairs [that they] conducted? All the participants in these events [are still] alive"⁵⁴, and in 1249 (4th year of Güyük-Dìngzōng 定宗), 17 years after Saritai's death: "[Do you] think that with the death of Héchéng and Zhálà I do not know their deeds? I am not a child to be deceived! All your crimes: expelling envoys, killing Zhù Gǔ[yǔ], refusing in *imjin* year (1232) to follow Saritai against [Púxiǎn] Wǎnnú, and fleeing to the island, – are evident"⁵⁵. These decrees skillfully combine accusations, admonishments, and direct threats, structured for maximum psychological impact, and show that the Mongols attempted for a long time to use Saritai's death as an additional tool of pressure on the Koryŏ authorities. Nevertheless, this appears to have had no direct negative consequences for the Korean population of Koryŏ.

The last chronological mention of Saritai is found in the aforementioned biography of Mongol military commanders in *Xīn Yuán shǐ*, in the life account of "Jalayirtai's son" Taču (塔出): "Taču, the son of a meritorious official, in the 17th year of the Zhìyuán era (1280), received the title of *Zhāoyǒng dàjiàngjūn* (昭勇大將軍, 'General of Shining Valor'. – *Auth.*) and was appointed *darughachi*

⁵² *Koryŏsa*. Book 23. Segā 23. Kojong 2, *imjin* year (1232), 12 month; *Koryŏsa*. Book 103. Biographies 16. Kim Yunhu.

⁵³ "自平契丹賊，殺割刺之後，未嘗遣一介赴闕，罪一也". *Koryŏsa*. Book 23. Segā 23. Kojong 2, *kyesa* year (1233), 4 month.

⁵⁴ "止爲合車·割刺已死，奏此諂妄之語，知此事之人俱在". Wén, Tíngshì 文廷式. *Yuán Gāolǐ jìshì* (Chronicles of Koryŏ [State] in the Yuan Era) 元高麗紀事. Tàizōng's 12 year (1240), 5 month. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://db.history.go.kr/goryeo/level.do?itemId=cnwk> (last accessed: 28.02.2026).

⁵⁵ "累奏表文，俱是已嘗論去，皇帝御前，爾等尙爲隱諱，合車·割刺二人已死，計我何知，我非童稚，豈能欺我焉。知此事之具臣俱有。據爾等射回使命禾者，并殺訖著古歟之事，顯然可知。如委的出力供賦，果無二心。於壬辰年令隨從撒兒塔校勘 征討萬奴，爾等即却違背，遷入海島". Wén, Tíngshì. Op. cit., Dìngzōng's 4 year (1249), 8 month.

of the Eastern Capital (Dōngjīng, aka Kāifēng, Liáoyáng. – *Auth.*) administration. <...> In the 22nd year (1285), he appeared at an audience, and the Emperor (Qubilai Qa'an, Shizu 世祖, 1260–1294. – *Auth.*) conversed with him at length, asking: 'Do you remember the decree of Genghis Khan given to your father, Jalayirtai?'⁵⁶ The time difference between Saritai's death and Taču's conversation with Qubilai is almost 50 years, so it can be assumed that the son of the Mongol commander was born shortly before or maybe even just after his death. Nevertheless, the mention of Genghis Khan clearly indicates that this refers specifically to Saritai, and not to Čelodai (for more on him, see below).

Pǔlǐ Dàiwán, Tege-Qorči and Tangut

Pǔlǐ Dàiwán – the next commander who visited Koryŏ as an envoy; his name first appears in conjunction with Saritai in the aforementioned entry from the 8th month of 1221, when Mongol envoys arrived at the Koryŏ court to inquire into the circumstances surrounding the delay in tribute. Pǔlǐ Dàiwán (蒲里岱完, Kor. P'ori Taewan, ?–?) took active part in the battle at Kangdong[sŏng] fortress. Fragmentary information about him exists only in *Koryŏsa*, where he is also mentioned under the names 蒲黑帶 (Ch. Púhēidài, Kor. P'ohŭktae) and 蒲桃 (Ch. Pútáo, Kor. P'odo); determining his ethnic affiliation is impossible. It has been established that earlier, in 1219, as part of the Mongol embassy led by Qachi'un, he arrived in the Koryŏ capital Kaegyŏng and, in violation of etiquette, rode his horse into the courtyard of the guest house, and later, during an audience with King Kojong, refused to perform the official bow and attempted to take the ruler by the hand.⁵⁷ Later, Pǔlǐ Dàiwán, under the leadership of Saritai, participated in the campaign against Koryŏ in 1231–1232. Specifically, in the 11th month of 1231, he took part in the attack on P'yŏngju, as simultaneously recounted in *Koryŏsa*, *Yuán shǐ*, and *Tongguk pyŏnggam*: "The Mongol army approached the Sonūmun gate in P'yŏngju and set up camp. The commander P'odo camped at Kŭmgyo (modern station in Kaesŏng district, Sŏhŭng county, Hwanghae-Namdo Province), the commander Chŏkkŏ (see later. – *Auth.*) camped at Osan, and the commander T'angu (see later. – *Auth.*) camped at Pori. The enemy's vanguard reached the Yesŏnggang River, burned an innumerable number of houses, and killed people. The residents of Kaesŏng were shocked and enraged, and riots broke out."⁵⁸ Subsequently, information about the life and activities of Pǔlǐ Dàiwán is nowhere to be found.

During the same campaign, the high-ranking military commanders Tege-Qorči and Tangut distinguished themselves; apparently, after the completion of

⁵⁶ 塔出，以勳臣子，至元十七年授昭勇大將軍、東京路總管府達魯花赤。<...> 二十二年，入覲，帝慰勞久之，且問曰：「太祖命爾父札剌亦兒台聖旨，爾能記否？」Kē, Shàomín. *Op. cit.* Juǎn 132. Biographies 29.

⁵⁷ See: *Koryŏsa*. Book 22. Sega 22. Kojong 1, *kimyo* year (1219), 1 month; *Yuán shǐ*. Juǎn 208, 2.

⁵⁸ 加發五軍兵馬，以禦蒙兵。蒙兵以平州囚其持牒者，欲先滅之，庚戌夜未明，突入城中，殺州官，屠其城，盡燒人戶，雞犬一空。辛亥 蒙兵自平州，來屯宣義門外，蒲桃元帥屯金郊，迪巨元帥屯吾山，唐古元帥屯蒲里。前鋒到禮成江，焚燒廬舍，殺掠人民，不可勝計，京城驚擾洶洶。*Koryŏsa*. Book 23. Sega 23. Kojong 2, *sinmyo* year (1231), 11 month; *Yuán shǐ*. Juǎn 208, 3.

the raid on P'yŏngju, they remained in Koryŏ territory and somehow participated in negotiations with the Koryŏ government: "The King sent people to deliver gifts to the sons of T'anggu, Chŏkkŏ, and Saritai. <...> The King presented to the commander T'anggu a jar with an engraved seal on the lid, a set of cup holders, two rolls of fine hemp cloth, a dun horse, a silver-plated saddle, and an embroidered saddle" ⁵⁹.

Tege-Qorči (迪巨 Dījù, Kor. Chŏkkŏ, 帖哥火魯赤 Tègē huǒlǔchì ⁶⁰, Kor. Ch'ŏpka hwarojŏk, ? – after 1275) was a Jurchen, the eldest son of the founder of Eastern Xia, Púxiǎn Wànnú, mentioned above. It is interesting to note that in *Koryŏsa* he is referred to as Chŏkkŏ, while in *Yuán shǐ* he is exclusively called Tègē or Tègē huǒlǔchì. In 1216, his father sent him to the Mongol state as an honorary hostage: "[In the 11th year of Emperor Tàizǔ (Genghis Khan)] in the 10th month of winter, Púxiǎn Wànnú surrendered and sent [his] son Tege to serve as a court attendant" ⁶¹. Subsequently, no information about him appears until the Korean campaign of 1231 (see above). Later, in 1235, Tege-Qorči was transferred to Shǎnxī and Sìchuān to participate in the attack on the Southern Song. In 1247, when the Mongol army attacked South Song, Tege-Qorči, in the rank of the Great Marshal (元帥 *yuánshuài*), held the first position among the generals under his command; in 1254, he entered Sìchuān also as Great Marshal; in 1262, he participated in the campaign against Jiāding Prefecture (modern Lèshān City, Sìchuān Province); and in 1275, Tege-Qorči, already advanced in age, was sent to guard Huādōng ⁶².

In contrast to Tege-Qorči there is no single definitive version regarding the biography of Tangut/Tangu. With a high degree of probability, we can assume that Tangut (Tangu-ba'atur, Tangqut, Ch. 唐古 Tánggǔ, Kor. Tanggu, Mong. Tanyut, 1210s – after 1246) was a member of the Mongol ruling clan and the sixth son of Jǒči (ca. 1177/78–1227), the eldest son of Genghis Khan and founder of the Ulus of Jǒči. Together with his brothers Orda and Batu, Tangut, among other things, participated in the conquest campaigns against Russian lands and Eastern Europe, which began just after the conclusion of the Korean campaign of 1231–1232. In Juvayni's *History of the World Conqueror*, when describing the commanders of the Western Campaign of the Mongol Empire, it is mentioned that three from Jǒči's lineage participated in the campaign: Batu, Orda, and Tangut ⁶³. Considering that Orda was the commander of the left wing, and Batu was the nominal supreme commander of the expeditionary army, it can be assumed that Tangut held the position of commander of the right wing during the campaign. Rashīd al-Dīn mentions that the Iranian governor of the Mongol Empire visited the Ulus of Jǒči, first paying a visit to Tangut, whose nomadic camps were located on the route from

⁵⁹ *Koryŏsa*. Book 23. Sega 23. Kjong 2, *sinmyo* year (1231), 12 month.

⁶⁰ It should be noted that in this case, *Yuán shǐ*, when recording Tege's title *qorči*, used the character 魯 *lǔ* instead of 里 *lǐ*, which we encountered in the recording of the similar title for Saritai. It is possible that here, too, there was an error during copying or the making of the woodblock print.

⁶¹ “冬十月，薄鮮萬奴降，以其子帖哥入侍。既而復叛，僭稱東夏”。*Yuán shǐ*. Juǎn 1, 38.

⁶² *Yuán shǐ*. Juǎn 131. Biographies 18; Juǎn 153. Biographies 40; Juǎn 165. Biographies 152.

⁶³ Juvaini, Ata-Malik. *The History of the World-Conqueror* / Trans. by J.A. Boyle. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958. P. 184.

the Kipchak steppe through Khwārazm to Khorasan, extending from the Mangyshlak Peninsula west of Khwārazm to the Emba River basin, and then returned to Khorasan via Khwārazm⁶⁴. This indicates that Tangut possessed his own forces, independent of Batu. According to Valery A. Zlygostev, “after Saritai’s death, it was Tangut who, by order of [Qa’an] Ögedei, led the Mongol conquest campaign in Koryō in 1236, but subsequently departed for the west and in the autumn-winter of the same year fought in Volga Bulgaria, after which, apparently, he returned east (it is not excluded that he was wounded)”⁶⁵. This is repeatedly noted in Russian historiography as well (using the Korean pronunciation of his name): “...In 1236, a new Mongol army under Tangu invaded Koryō. <...> For more than two years, Tangu’s army remained in Koryō, plundering and devastating villages and cities”⁶⁶; “The Mongol troops under the command of General Tangu carried out the third invasion of Koryō after the complete defeat of the Jin Empire and simultaneously with the ‘Great Western Campaign’ (i.e., against Rus’ and European countries) – in 1235–1239”⁶⁷. The authors and compilers of the translation of *Koryōsa* also note that “the leader of the Mongol invasion forces at that time was Tangu, and the war continued until the 26th year of King Kojong’s reign (1239). At that time, after the destruction of the Jin dynasty, the Mongol Emperor Ögedei convened a *quriltai* (supreme council) near Qaraqorum, where he decided to conquer unsubdued territories. The main targets were the western regions, the Southern Song, Tibet, and Hindustan. Tangu’s invasion of Koryō was part of this conquest war”⁶⁸. Next time his name appears in the records of *Koryōsa* in 1241: “Tangu sent four men. <...> Tangu also sent eight men...”⁶⁹. It is also known that in 1246, Tangut was present at the *quriltai* that elected Güyük as great Qa’an (r. 1246–1248); there is no later information about him.

There is also another point of view on the biography of this person: the same authors of Korean translation of *Koryōsa* note that “details about Tangu’s origins are unknown. Considering that there was a Tang tribe in the Jin state, it is quite possible that he was a Jurchen. Taking into account the aforementioned assertion by Chu Ch’aehyōk that Saritai is a [modified] name of the Ĵalayir tribe, as well as the practice of using tribal names as personal names at that time, such a possibility is entirely real”⁷⁰. William Henthorn, speaking of Tangut-ba’atur, similarly asserted that “Tangut certainly refers to the eponymous people from

⁶⁴ Rashīd ad-Dīn Fazlullāh’s *Jamī’u’t-tawārīkh*. Vol. 2, pp. 321, 330.

⁶⁵ Zlygostev, Valery. Op. cit., p. 502.

⁶⁶ *Istoriya Korei* [The History of Korea]. Vol. 1. Moscow: “Nauka”, GRVL, 1974. P. 139.

⁶⁷ Tikhonov, Vladimir M., Kang, Mangil. *Istoriya Korei* [History of Korea]: in 2 vol. Vol.1. From Ancient Times till 1904. Moscow: Natalis, 2011. P. 267.

⁶⁸ *Koryōsa*. Book 23. Segā 23. Kojong 2, ūlmi year (1235), 7 month. Commentary 2: Anbyōng tohobu. URL: <https://terms.naver.com/entry.naver?docId=1624193&categoryId=62161&cid=62131> (last accessed: 28.02.2026).

⁶⁹ “唐古遣...等四人來. <...> 唐古復遣...等八人來”. *Koryōsa*. Book 23. Segā 23. Kojong 2, sinch’uk year (1241), 7–8 month.

⁷⁰ *Koryōsa*. Book 23. Segā 23. Kojong 2, sinmyo year (1231), 11 month. Commentary 10: Tanggu. URL: <https://terms.naver.com/entry.naver?docId=1624193&categoryId=62161&cid=62131> (last accessed: 28.02.2026).

the Xi Xia state”⁷¹, that is, he believed that the commander’s name originated from the toponym *Tangut*⁷², and that he himself was a descendant of a people annihilated by the Mongols. Unfortunately, due to the lack of information in the chronicles, it is not possible to definitively determine his identity and ethnicity at the current stage of research.

Amuqan and Yegü

In 1247 (the 2nd year of the third Qa’an Güyük, Emperor Dìngzōng 定宗, 1246–1248/51), the fourth invasion of Koryŏ was led by the commander Amuqan (阿母侃 *Āmókǎn*, Kor. Amogan, ?–?), who had replaced Tangut. He led the army to Yŏmju and set up camp, reaching the capital Kaegyŏng⁷³. Kē Shàomín also indicates that Amuqan visited Korea a second time in 1252⁷⁴, but *Koryŏsa* and *Koryŏsa chŏryo* date this event to the 4th month of 1253: “Amogan and Hong Bogwŏn⁷⁵ reported to the Emperor that Koryŏ had built a fortified stronghold and did not intend to surrender. The Emperor ordered his younger brother Songju (松柱 *Sōngzhù*, Kor. Songju; possibly referring to Ariq Böke, Mong. *Аригбөх*, 1219–1266. – *Auth.*) to lead a 10,000-strong army, which was to proceed east through Chinju and reach the eastern border. Amogan and Hong Bogwŏn led their troops to the Northern Region and encamped at T’aeiju”⁷⁶; “<...> Also presented gifts to the commander Amogan”⁷⁷. It can be cautiously assumed that the chronicles refer to Anmuha (ca. 1180s – after 1254), a Mongol from the Barghut tribe, the first chief of Genghis Khan’s stone-throwing artillery, who borrowed this technology from the Tanguts and successfully applied it from the

⁷¹ Henthorn William. Op. cit. P. 116.

⁷² Yuliy I. Drobyshev notes that “the original name of the Tangut state was Qašin, derived from the Chinese Hēxī 河西 ([lands] west of the [Yellow] River) <...>, and Tangyut, which had an Old Turkic origin (Tañut) <...>. Under the name of Western Xia (Xi Xia) or, as in the Tangut original, the Great State of High Whiteness, the Tangut state does not appear in Mongol, let alone Russian, sources. According to Rashīd ad-Dīn, Ögedei <...> named one of his sons Qašin in memory of the successful campaign against the Tanguts in 1218, and due to his death, the name of the country became taboo, as was customary among the Mongols: ‘Because he was born at the time when Genghis Khan conquered the Qaši region, which is now called Tangut, he was given the name Qaši. Since he was a great lover of wine and constantly remained in a state of intoxication, he died from the vice of excessive drinking while still young, during his father’s lifetime. When he passed away, the name Qaši was made forbidden, and after that, that region was called ‘Tangut’”. See: Drobyshev, Yuliy I. “Tangutskoe gosudarstvo v russkikh letopisyah” [The Tangut State in Russian Chronicles]. *Pis’mennye Pamiatniki Vostoka*, volume 20 (2023), no. 1 (issue 52), pp. 70–83. Pp. 74–75.

⁷³ *Koryŏsa*. Book 23. Segā 23. Kojong 2, *chŏngmi* year (1247), 7 month; Kē, Shàomín. Op. cit., Juǎn 249; *Istoriya Korei* (1974), p. 139.

⁷⁴ Kē, Shàomín. Op. cit., Juǎn 249.

⁷⁵ Hong Bogwŏn (洪福源 *Hongbokwon*, 1206–1258) – a military official from the Northwestern border region who had gone over to the Mongol side. For more details see: *Koryŏsa*. Book 130. Biographies 43. Traitors 반역 4. Hong Bogwŏn.

⁷⁶ 阿母侃·洪福源詣帝所言 ‘高麗築重城，無出陸歸款意。’ 帝命皇弟松柱，帥兵一萬，道東眞國，入東界，阿母侃·洪福源領麾下兵，趣北界，皆屯大伊州。 *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Segā 24. Kojong 3, *kyech’uk* year (1253), 4 month.

⁷⁷ 其諸將阿母侃等，亦皆贈遺。 *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Segā 24. Kojong 3, *kyech’uk* year (1253), 9 month.

early 1200s. From the mid-1210s, he participated in campaigns in Northern China under the command of Muqali; after 1229, he accompanied Ögedei on conquest campaigns in China; and in 1253, Qa'an Möngke "issued [to Anmuhai] a tiger-headed *paizi* (corresponding to the rank of commander of ten thousand. – *Auth.*), promoting him to supreme commander"⁷⁸, and sent him west under the command of *zhūwáng* (諸王, prince) Hūlegü. Overall, this does not contradict the chronology of his, apparently brief, stay in Korea. In February 1258, Anmuhai probably participated in the storming of Baghdad, but no more reliable information about him exists.

In the early 1250s, Prince Yegü (Yěkū dàiwáng 也窟大王, Yěgū *zhūwáng* 也古諸王, Yěkū 也古, Kor. 也古諸王 Yago *chewang*, ca. 1190s – after 1254) appears on the military scene of the Korean Peninsula. He was the eldest son of Jöči-Qasar, a nephew of Genghis Khan, and a fifth cousin of Qa'an Möngke. According to Roman P. Khrapachevsky, "if it is not him, then one could assume it was either his nephew or grand-nephew – the fact is that Jöči-Qasar had more than 40 sons and, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, their names are not recorded and are unknown, except for the names of the three most important ones. Among their sons and grandsons, there could well have been those named after Yegü, who was the senior member of Jöči-Qasar's lineage at that time"⁷⁹. In 1251, he supported Möngke's accession to the throne, and already in 1252, he received an appointment to the high position of supreme commander: "In 10th month [the Emperor] issued an order to Prince Yegü to march on Koryō"⁸⁰. However, at the beginning of 1253, Möngke relieved Yegü of command of the troops in the campaign against Korea due to a scandal involving an attack on the camp of the prominent commander Tačar, appointing Čelodai (on whom see below) as commander of the eastern army⁸¹. In an entry of *Yuán shǐ* from 1253, Yegü is referred to as a "great general" (*dàjiàng* 大將) and it is stated that he besieged the city of Dàlǐ 大理 "modern Yúnnán Province" together with Muqali's grandson Ba'atur: "In the 12th month, on the *bingchen* day, the army approached the city of Dàlǐ. <...> [The Emperor] ordered Yěgū *dàjiàng* and Batu'er to pursue [them]"⁸². At the same time, according to *Koryōsa*, throughout 1253, despite his dismissal from the Korean front, Yegü corresponded with the Koryō court regarding the return of King Kojong from Kanghwa Island to Kaegyōng: "Yegü sent 16 envoys. <...> The King welcomed [them] at Chep'ogung [palace] and presented [them with] gifts of gold, silver, and cloth according to their rank"⁸³; "The Mongol commander Yegü sent a man to deliver the Emperor's decree to the King... <...> The King sent a reply letter to Yegü's camp. <...> At that time, Yegü was in T'osan

⁷⁸ Zlygostev, Valery. Op. cit., p. 46.

⁷⁹ Khrapachevsky, Roman P. "Annaly Hubilaya", *glavnyi istochnik po istorii pravleniya pervogo imperatora dinastii Yuan (tsuani 4–17 "Yuan shi")* ["Annals of Qubilai" as the Main Source on the History of the Reign of the First Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty (volumes 4–17 of Yuan shi)]. Transl and comment. by R.P. Khrapachevsky. Moscow: TSIVOI, 2019. P. 27.

⁸⁰ 冬十月，命諸王也古征高麗。 *Yuán shǐ*. Juǎn 3.

⁸¹ Zlygostev, Valery. Op. cit., p. 703.

⁸² 十二月丙辰，軍薄大理城。 <...> 命大將也古及拔突兒追之。 *Yuán shǐ*. Juǎn 4.

⁸³ 蒙古也窟大王遣 <...> 十六人來。王迎于梯浦宮，贈金銀·布帛有差。己亥 宴蒙使。 *Koryōsa*. Book 24. Segā 24. Kojong 3, *kyech'uk* year (1253), 5 month.

(modern Chunghwa county, P'yŏngyang. – *Auth.*)”⁸⁴; “*Taejanggun* Ko Yŏl was sent with a letter to *t'aewang* Yegü. <...> [Along with the letter], gifts were sent: gold and silver drinking vessels, various kinds of silk, hemp cloth, otter skins, hats, and belts”⁸⁵.

Already in the autumn of 1253, Qa'an Möngke again appointed Yegü as the supreme commander of the forces in Korea, and he captured a number of fortresses; as before, the Mongol invasion was accompanied by extreme terror and mass looting. The destruction wrought by the Mongol army caused great concern among the local ruling elite. In a letter addressed to Yegü, King Kojong expressed bewilderment over the attack and, attempting to halt the Mongol offensive, emphasized that Koryŏ was already in a vassal position. In the 11th month, Yegü departed north, leaving Amuqan and Hong Bogwŏn to guard Ch'ungju, because in 1254 a *quriltai* was to convene in Mongolia, at which Yegü's presence, as the oldest representative of the *Golden lineage* (he was then at least 60 years old), was apparently mandatory⁸⁶. When, in 1258, King Kojong finally returned to Kaegyŏng after 26 years on the island, it was an extraordinary envoy on behalf of Yegü who was the first among the Mongol nobility to greet him at the new palace Sŭngch'ŏnbu and conveyed the following words: “Ever since our troops entered Koryŏ territory, tens of thousands of people have died every day. How could Your Majesty care only for yourself and not for the lives of the people? If you had come to us earlier, how could innocent people have perished so horribly? The words of *t'aewang* Yegü are the words of the Emperor, and my words are the words of *t'aewang* Yegü. How wonderful it would be if we could establish peace and friendship from now on and forever!”⁸⁷ Although there is no information about Yegü in the chronicles after 1254, the mentioned embassy may serve as indirect confirmation that he was still alive in 1258.

Čelodai

After Yegü's departure, the position of supreme commander of the Mongol army in Koryŏ was finally taken by Čelodai (ca. 1190s – after 1259), a figure whose origin and activities cause some controversy among orientalist. He is first mentioned in the records of *Koryŏsa* from 1254: “The Mongol Emperor entrusted Ch'aradae with [matters] concerning Koryŏ”⁸⁸. In Korean and Chinese chronicles we have studied, his name is recorded consistently as 車羅大 (Ch. Chēluódà, Kor. Ch'aradae). At the same time, the variant *Zháciěrdài* 札刺兒帶 also appears in *Yuán shǐ*, 劄刺亦兒 (*Zhálàiyìér*, i.e. Jalayir) in *Koryŏsa*, and there is a single

⁸⁴ 蒙古元帥也窟遣人，傳詔於王... 王遣 <...> 致書于也窟屯所. *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Segā 24. Kojong 3, *kych'uk* year (1253), 8 month.

⁸⁵ 遣大將軍高悅，致書也窟大王... 仍遣金銀酒器·羅紬·紵布·獺皮·笠帶等物. *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Segā 24. Kojong 3, *kych'uk* year (1253), 9 month.

⁸⁶ Zlygostev, Valery. Op. cit., p. 285.

⁸⁷ 自大軍入境以來，一日死亡者，幾千萬人，王何惜一身，不顧萬民之命乎？王若早出迎，安有無辜之民，肝腦塗地者乎？也窟大王之言即皇帝之言，吾之言即也窟大王之言也。自今以往，萬世和好，豈不樂哉？ *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Segā 24. Kojong 3, *kych'uk* year (1253), 11 month.

⁸⁸ 帝使車羅大主東國. *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Segā 24. Kojong 3, *kabin* year (1254), 7 month.

mention of Ĵala'irtai-Qorčĭn in *The Secret History of the Mongols*⁸⁹, which gives some reason to doubt whether this figure might be Saritai – that is, the same commander who fought on the Korean Peninsula in 1218, 1231–1232, and also in the 1250s? In the historiography of the Soviet period, the argument in favor of this was the view of Sergei A. Kozin and a number of other Mongolists⁹⁰ that *Mongyol-un niyuča tobčĭyan* was created in the 1240s, so it could not possibly have reflected the Korean events of the second half of the 1250s, in which Čelodai was the main protagonist. However, the prevailing opinion now is that *The Secret History* was largely recorded by 1240 and then supplemented during the reign of Qa'an Möngke, i.e., roughly in 1251–1259. Gari Ledyard⁹¹ and Igor de Rachewiltz⁹² also maintain the view that Čelodai's campaigns occurred precisely in 1254–1259, in accordance with the records of *Koryōsa*, *Koryōsa chōryo*, and *Yuán shĭ*; that is, Saritai and Čelodai are different people, especially since *Koryōsa* clearly records the circumstances of Saritai's death. The exact date of Čelodai's death is found only in *Tongguk pyōnggam*: “In the 5th month [of 1259], Ch'aradae suddenly died”⁹³.

Chu Ch'aehyōk⁹⁴ believes that Čelodai was a younger tribesman of Saritai, and similarly derives his name from the ethnonym Ĵalayir, since in the 1250s he became the central figure representing the tribe during the conquest campaigns, as Saritai had done earlier (Čelodai's campaigns are also described in detail in the above-mentioned Russian studies). Valery Zlygostev also highlights Čelodai as a separate figure in the section “Ĵalayirtai-Qorčĭn. Conqueror of Korea”: “From the Ĵalayir tribe. (Born ca. 1190s, died after 1258.) Judging by his nickname Qorčĭn (‘archer’), he began his service in the *kešig* guard. According to the register of Mongol troops, at the turn of the 1210s he is listed as a commander of a thousand of the left wing (commanded by Muqali). <...> For many years he fought in Korea and possibly participated in the Mongol invasion of that state in 1231. After Saritai's death in 1232 and the weakening of the conquerors' pressure on the state of Koryō, Ĵalayirtai, who remained in the theater of operations, achieved no particular success. According to *The Secret History of the Mongols*, around 1239–1240, Yesüder-Qorčĭn ‘...was sent to assist Ĵalayirtai-Qorčĭn, who had long been on a campaign against the Solangqas⁹⁵. <...> In subsequent years, Ĵalayirtai, having successfully survived the era of interregnum, awaited his finest hour”⁹⁶.

⁸⁹ Kozin, Sergei A. Op. cit., pp. 194, 513; *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Transl. and Comment. by Igor de Rachewiltz, p. 206.

⁹⁰ For example, see: Bira, Shagdaryn. *Mongol'skaya istoriografiya (XIII–XVII vv.)* [Mongolian Historiography (13–17th centuries)]. Moscow: “Nauka”, GRVL, 1978. Pp. 46–48.

⁹¹ Ledyard, Gari. Op. cit., pp. 8–10.

⁹² *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Transl. and Comment. by Igor de Rachewiltz, pp. 1009–1011.

⁹³ 五월에 차라대가 급사하였다. *Tongguk pyōnggam*, p. 383.

⁹⁴ Chu, Ch'aehyōk. Op. cit., p. 286.

⁹⁵ Solangqas – Koreans, Koryō people. According to Igor de Rachewiltz, “in the Mongol period, owing to the close proximity of the Eastern Jurchens and Koryō, the expression ‘Ĵürčĕt and the Solangqas’ became a general designation for the whole area of southeastern Manchuria and northern Korea”. See: *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Transl. and Comment. by Igor de Rachewiltz, pp. 1010–1011.

⁹⁶ Zlygostev, Valery. Op. cit., p. 703.

Thus, it can be confidently asserted that Saritai and Čelodai are two different individuals; both held the highest positions in the Mongol army a quarter of a century apart, both commanded raids against Koryŏ, and both likely originated from the same tribe or clan.

In 1253, as already mentioned, Qa'an Möngke appointed Čelodai as commander of the eastern army: "In the spring of the 4th year [of Xiànzōng's reign] <...> the Emperor sent Qorči to conquer Koryŏ"⁹⁷. Čelodai was very active; in the 7th month of 1254, he crossed the Amnokkang River, conducted a series of devastating raids on fortresses and villages, and presented the Koryŏ court with a condition: immediate surrender and the introduction of Mongol customs into the country⁹⁸. In the 1st month of 1255, he left Koryŏ with part of his army, but returned in the 9th month and established himself in Sögyŏng (P'yŏngyang)⁹⁹, periodically sending separate detachments to plunder the local population, including southern provinces, and exchanging messages with the Koryŏ court about the need to pay tribute and for the king to return from Kanghwa Island. Mongol soldiers received an order forbidding plunder only in mid-1257, after a member of the ruling clan, Prince Yŏngangong Wang Hui (永安公王偉 영안공 왕희), arrived at Čelodai's camp, presented him with 100 silver bottles (*ũbyŏng*), wine, and fruit, and also secured an agreement that the Mongol army would withdraw if the crown prince personally visited the court¹⁰⁰.

The latest record of Čelodai in the chronicles is dated to the 3rd month of 1259, when the commander was informed that the last representative of the Ch'oe military clan, Ch'oe Ŭi (崔瑄, 1233–1258), had been killed, and the Koryŏ government had made a final decision to swear vassal allegiance to the Mongol ruler, for which purpose the crown prince was prepared to arrive in Mongolia in the 4th month¹⁰¹. Initially, Čelodai had insisted on the king's personal arrival, but Kojong was too old for the journey.

Fuboda and Yesuder

Starting in 1254, under Čelodai's command were two military commanders – Fuboda and Yesuder, as well as a member of the ruling clan, Yŏngnyŏngon Wang Chun (永寧公王綽, 1223–1283), who from 1241 lived in the Mongol state as an honorary hostage, married a Mongol noblewoman, and cooperated with the Mongols until the end of his life, and Hong Bogwŏn.

The identity of Fuboda (Ch. 甫波大 Fübōdà, Kor. Pop'adae, ?–?) is extremely difficult to establish, despite his repeated mentions in *Koryŏsa* and *Koryŏsa chŏryŏ*. In 1254, he was attached to Čelodai's staff: "It was ordered that *taejanggun* Yi Chang go to the Mongol garrison at Pohyŏnwŏn and present gifts [in the form of] gold and silver vessels [for wine], deer skins, silk, and other [items] to the commanders Ch'aradae, Yŏsudal, and Pop'adae, as well as to Yŏngnyŏngon Wang

⁹⁷ 四年甲寅春 <...> 遣劄刺亦兒部人火兒赤征高麗. *Yuán shǐ*. Juǎn 3.

⁹⁸ *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Segǎ 24. Kojong 3, *kabin* year (1254), 7–8 month.

⁹⁹ *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Segǎ 24. Kojong 3, *ũlmyŏ* year (1255), 1, 9 month.

¹⁰⁰ *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Segǎ 24. Kojong 3, *chŏngsa* year (1257), 7 month.

¹⁰¹ *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Segǎ 24. Kojong 3, *kimi* year (1259), 3 month.

Chun and Hong Bogwŏn “¹⁰². Four years later, in 1258, he participated in the campaign against Koryŏ with the rank of chiliarch (unit of a thousand) commander: “The Mongol [commanders] Yŏsudal and Pop’adae, each with their detachment of thousand horsemen, encamped at Kaju (modern Unjŏn county, P’yŏngan-Pukto Province. – *Auth.*) and Kwakchu (modern Kwaksan county, P’yŏngan-Pukto Province)” ¹⁰³; the chronicle does not indicate the route of their further advance. Kang Chaegwang suggests that Fuboda (Pop’adae) may have led the detachment that attacked the Kiamsŏng fortress in Sŏngju (modern Samdŏk district, Sŏngch’ŏn county, P’yŏngan-Namdo Province) in the 1st month of 1259¹⁰⁴, with his thousand constituting the main striking force. It is known that a detachment of *Yabyŏlch’o* and the residents of Sŏngju, acting together, won at that time the greatest victory over Mongol troops in the territory of the Northern Region (Pukkye) during the final stage of the invasion (1254–1259), the only victory achieved through cooperation between the military, the government, and the civilian population. According to Kang Chaegwang, Fuboda moved south from his initial base in Kwakchu towards Unjŏndo and Sunju, and then attacked Kiamsŏng fortress¹⁰⁵.

Fuboda is not mentioned in Chinese chronicles, nor in *The Secret History of the Mongols*, nor in any other sources available to us, so it is impossible to establish his real name. It can be assumed with great caution that his name, like those of Saritai and Čelodai, derives from a toponym or ethnonym, or else represents an indication of his official position or social standing. The latter is more probable, since it is known that in the Mongol state under the Genghisids, tribal divisions were abolished and gave way to divisions by *tümen* and branches of the military, as a result of which the ethnonyms of those Mongol tribes that played a significant role in the pre-imperial era were preserved on the periphery of the empire, and in addition to them, a number of new ones appeared, based on military affiliation. Thus, there existed the term and ethnonym *Ba’atud*, derived from *ba’atur*, *batyr*, *bayatur* (“warrior, hero”), analogous to the previously described term *qorčîn*; the word *ba’atud* itself is formed by adding the affix *-d* to the word *ba’atur*¹⁰⁶. In Mongolia, the Mongol (including Oirat) ethnic group *Ba’atud* (*Bayatud*, *baatud*, *bayatud*, Mong. *Baatuud*?, *ᠪᠠᠭᠠᠲᠤᠳᠤ*?) still lives today. If we assume that the word *fuboda* consists of two parts – *fŭ* 甫 (“father; elder”) and *bōdà* 波大 – a transformed phonetic derivative of *ba’atud* / *ba’atur* – then this name could be interpreted as “father-hero”, “elder hero”, i.e., a major influential military commander. He could also have been Chinese or a descendant of the Balhae people, given that the surname *Fŭ* 甫 still exists

¹⁰² 命大將軍李長，詣蒙兵屯所普賢院，贈車羅大·余速禿·甫波大等元帥，及永寧公縉·洪福源，金銀酒器·皮幣，有差。 *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Sega 24. Kojong 3, *kabin* year (1254), 8 month.

¹⁰³ 蒙古余愁達·甫波大等各率一千騎來，屯嘉·郭二州。 *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Sega 24. Kojong 3, *muo* year (1258), 6 month.

¹⁰⁴ *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Sega 24. Kojong 3, *kimi* year (1259), 1 month.

¹⁰⁵ Kang, Jaegwang 강재광. “The historical significance of the victory in battles of Kiamsŏng and Sŏngju in North Region in 1259” 125 년 북계 成州 岐巖城戰鬪 승전의 역사적 성격. *Journal of Military History*. No. 136 (2025), pp.81–117. Pp. 81, 100–101, 112.

¹⁰⁶ Hoyt, Sandji K. *Etnicheskaya istoriya oiratskih grupp* [Ethnic History of Oirat Groups]. Elista, 2015. P. 199.

in China; in that case, his name in transcription should be written separately: Fū Bōdà. However, these are only conjectures; the only thing that can be stated with certainty is that this commander was not a Genghisid.

Yesüder (Ch. 余愁達 Yúchóudá, Kor. Yösudal, Mong. Yesüder-Qorčîn, Yisüder Qorči, ?– after 1260) hailed from the Jirkin tribe (Mong. Jürkhen, Jürkhin, Zürkhen, which belonged to the Nirun branch of the Mongols)¹⁰⁷, and thus was also not a Genghisid. *The Secret History* states regarding him: “Concerning Yesüder-Qorčîn, who was sent to assist Ĵalayirtai-Qorčîn, who had long been on a campaign against the Ĵürčet and the Solangyas, an order was issued appointing him as the local *basqaq* of the *tanma*”¹⁰⁸. As Mikhail V. Gorelik writes, “in the Genghisid empire, non-Mongol military units were called *tanma*, and they were commanded by special commanders called *tanmachi* (in Turkic – *basqaq*)”¹⁰⁹. That is, Yesüder was the commander of a detachment recruited from representatives of a non-Mongol ethnicity.

In *Koryŏsa*, he is first mentioned together with Fuboda in the above-mentioned record of 1254, and in 1258 they both participated in the campaign against Koryŏ with the ranks of chiliarch commanders. Nevertheless, Yesüder apparently held a higher position than his comrade and enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy, as he independently conducted negotiations with representatives of the Koryŏ court: “When the King went to Ch’ep’ogwan, Kim Bojŏng reported [the following]: ‘Yösudal threatened me, saying: “Do you know that the Emperor has entrusted me and Ĵalayirtai with all matters [concerning] Koryŏ? I will decide on [further] actions depending on whether your country surrenders. [Even if] the king does not come to the mainland [to] greet me, if you send the crown prince to surrender [before] our troops, [I] will withdraw [my] troops that very day. Otherwise, I will advance my troops south”. [Then I] replied that the Crown Prince would definitely come and see [him]’”¹¹⁰. In the following year, 1259, Yesüder apparently accompanied a certain high-ranking Mongol commander, Sŏngjŏ *dàiwáng* (松吉大王, Kor. Songgil *taewang*, ?–?), whose identity we have been unable to determine, on a trip to Dōngjīng (Liáoyáng) to meet with the Koryŏ crown prince Wang Sik 王植, the future King Wŏnjong (元宗, r. 1259–1274). The prince, as mentioned above, arrived to testify to his state’s loyalty to Mongolia and presented the two commanders with silver, ceramic and silver jars and vases, wine, and fruit¹¹¹. As a result of negotiations, military actions were finally halted, and Koryŏ recognized its vassal dependence on the Mongol state.

At the very beginning of King Wŏnjong’s reign, who ascended the throne in mid-1259, Yesüder sent a decree to Koryŏ regarding the establishment of a postal

¹⁰⁷ Zlygostev, Valery. Op. cit., p. 307.

¹⁰⁸ Kozin, Sergei A. Op. cit., p. 194; *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Transl. and Comment. by Igor de Rachewiltz, p. 206.

¹⁰⁹ Gorelik, Mikhail V. “Cherkesskie voyny Zolotoi Ordy (po arheologicheskim dannym)” [Circassian Warriors of the Golden Horde (Based on Archaeological Data)]. *Arheologiya evrazijskikh stepei* [Archaeology of the Eurasian Steppes]. №5 (2017), pp. 280–302. P. 281.

¹¹⁰ 幸梯浦館。寶鼎奏曰，“余愁達語臣云，‘皇帝以高麗之事，屬我與車羅大，汝知之乎？吾以爾國降否，決去留耳。國王雖不出迎，若遣太子，迎降軍前，即日回軍，否則，縱兵入南界。’對曰，‘太子當來見耳’。 *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Segwa 24. Kojong 3, *muo* year (1258), 6 month.

¹¹¹ *Koryŏsa*. Book 24. Segwa 24. Kojong 3, *kimi* year (1259), 6 month.

relay service: “In the regions south of Sögyöng, postal stations shall be established throughout the country and provided [with officials], post horses, and [all necessary] supplies. [Furthermore], the postal stations north of Sögyöng [shall be] fully equipped [according to] requirements”¹¹². In 1260, there are several records of disloyal officials surrendering to Yesüder, indicating that the state apparatus was gradually submitting to the Mongol administration. It is unclear whether Yesüder himself was on Korean territory at this time or received those who surrendered through intermediaries. The last mention of him in *Koryōsa* is from the 7th month of 1260: “Please arrange for the dispatch of items intended for tribute and for presentation to Yesüder”¹¹³.

Conclusion

As a result of this research, the biographies of ten commanders who led Mongol military campaigns against the state of Koryō in the pre-Yuan period have been reconstructed. Some of them are known to modern Korean and Mongolian studies scholars, while others have hitherto remained outside the field of researchers’ attention. Among them were representatives of the highest nobility – the clan of Genghis Khan (Qachi’un, Yegü, and possibly Tangut), a Jurchen representative of the ruling house of Eastern Xia (Tege-Qorči), and Mongols representing various tribes: Ĵalayir (Saritai and Čelodai); possibly Barghut (Amuqan), Jirkin (Yesüder); with a lesser degree of probability, Ba’atud (Fuboda); regarding PúlĴ Dàiwán, his ethnic affiliation could not be determined at this stage of research. All of these men held high positions in the Mongol army: Qachi’un led the army and embassy that arrived in Koryō in 1218; Saritai rose from Qachi’un’s deputy to the title of *quán huángdì* (viceroy of the Great Khan) and led the major campaign of 1231–1232; PúlĴ Dàiwán personally visited Kaegyöng in 1221 and communicated with Koryō king Kjong, and in 1231–1232 was attached to Saritai’s staff; Tege-Qorči and Tangut also participated in the campaign of 1231–1232, with Tangut taking Saritai’s place after his death and leading a new raid in 1236; Amuqan in 1247 and 1252, and Yegü in 1252 led detachments that raided the northwestern regions of Koryō and received embassies from the capital; Čelodai directed the major military campaign of 1254–1259; Fuboda and Yesüder served under him with the rank of chiliarch commanders, and their position allowed them to receive Korean embassies and negotiate the establishment of suzerain-vassal relations.

The factual material collected and analyzed in this study will allow, to a certain extent, to fill the existing gaps in the study of biographies of those remarkable individuals who, in the mid-13th century, exerted a noticeable influence on the foreign, and in some cases domestic, policy of the state of Koryō. The presented data contribute to a more balanced understanding of the early stage of Mongol-Korean relations and to clarifying its key characteristics.

¹¹² 西京以南, 汝國列置站赤, 人戶鋪馬, 一切所湏 2 諸物, 照依已前設置, 無得少闕, 西京以北, 合用站驛, 亦宜准備安置. *Koryōsa*. Book 25. Sega 25. Wonjong 1, *kimi* year (1259), 8 month.

¹¹³ 請辦送進獻及贈遺也束達物件. *Koryōsa*. Book 25. Sega 25. Wonjong 1, *kyöngsin* year (1260), 7 month.

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