

Marriage Alliances and Chinese Princesses in International Politics from Han through T'ang

Ever since the beginning of Chinese civilization, marriage has been an important social tool. In the pre-Ch'in period it frequently was used to cement relations among the Chinese states and to balance power.¹ In addition, it was sometimes a technique of diplomacy between the Chinese states and their non-Chinese neighbors: for example, in 635 BC the Chou king took a Ti 狄 lady as his queen to express his gratitude for the assistance of the Ti in attacking the state of Ch'eng; and the state of Chin formed intermarriages with the Ti and Jung 戎 peoples to strengthen its power.² Moreover, as in other civilizations, intermarriage has continued throughout Chinese history as a means of establishing and maintaining relations among families in the private sphere, as well as a factor in political careers. But one practice in particular stands out and needs to be considered separately – the marrying out of Chinese princesses to foreign rulers. This was begun during the Han era and continued through the end of T'ang, becoming along the way a highly deliberated, if sometimes controversial, foreign policy measure. It is the purpose of this paper to sketch the history and significance of princess marriages to foreign courts.

The unification of China by the Ch'in state 秦 in 221 BC placed China in a new relationship with its non-Chinese neighbors on the periphery. For the first time, a unified Chinese empire had to interact with foreign states. In a sense this was the beginning of “foreign affairs” in Chinese history. Marriage alliances, or *ho-ch'in* 和親, literally “harmonious kinship,” was something new in its Han-era application. It was part of a formal peace treaty arrangement at the interstate level, designed to pacify the powerful Hsiung-nu 匈奴 empire,

I wish to thank Edwin. G. Pulleyblank for advice on aspects of this paper, as well as Denis Twitchett and the outside reviewer for *Asia Major*, whose comments I used in making revisions.

¹ See, e. g., M. P. Thatcher, “Marriage of the Ruling Elite in the Spring and Autumn Period,” in R. S. Watson and P. B. Ebrey ed. *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society* (Berkeley: California U.P., 1991), pp. 25–57.

² Chang Cheng-ming 張正明, “Ho-ch'in t'ung-lun” 和親通論, Research Institute of Ethnology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, eds., *Min-tsu-shih lun-ts'ung* 民族史論叢 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1981) 1, pp. 3–4.

and it became part of a number of foreign policy options developed in Han and passed on to later dynastic court. One of these, the tributary system, endeavored to treat other countries as subordinate to the Chinese Son of Heaven as suzerain, but it was inadequate in itself to handle all the situations that arose. In short, *ho-ch'in* alliances had to fit with other policy options, including aggressive military expansion of Chinese territory, wars and defensive constructions for frontier defense, payment of subsidies, organized systems of trade, and resettlement and incorporation of the non-Chinese who had submitted under Chinese administration.³

The *ho-ch'in* policy has inspired quite a few studies, focusing mostly on the marriages concluded in the Han and Sui-T'ang periods.⁴ Here we examine the *ho-ch'in* policy not just in that time but also in the Period of Division, when the various non-Chinese powers inside and outside China contracted or attempted to contract marriages with one another or with the Chinese rulers south of the Yangtze. During this long period there were variations and changes in the way the policy was carried out and in how it was regarded by courts. Another focus of our attention, based on very limited data, will be to see how the lives of the women involved were affected and how in some cases they were able to intervene actively in politics.

THE WESTERN HAN PERIOD (206 BC - 8 AD)

The Han dynasty began in the face of imminent harm from the powerful Hsiung-nu. Marriage politics seems to have intruded itself into the very first

³ For more, see Pan Yihong, *Son of Heaven and Heavenly Qaghan: Sui-Tang China and Its Neighbors* (Bellingham, Washington: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1997), pp. 58-62.

⁴ Essential studies of *ho-ch'in* international marriage-alliances are: Wang T'ung-ling 王桐齡, "Han-T'ang ho-ch'in cheng-ts'e" 漢唐和親政策, *Shih-hsüeh nien-pao* 史學年報 1.1 (1929), pp. 9-14; K'uang P'ing-chang 鄺平樟, "T'ang-tai kung-chu ho-ch'in k'ao" 唐代公主和親考, *Shih-hsüeh nien-pao* 2.2 (1935), pp. 23-68; Lin En-hsien 林恩顯, "T'ang-ch'ao tui Hui-hu te ho-ch'in cheng-ts'e yen-chiu" 唐朝對回鶻的和親政策研究, *Kuo-li Cheng-chih ta-hsüeh pien-cheng yen-chiu-so nien-pao* 國立政治大學邊政研究所年報 1 (1970), pp. 259-89; idem, "Sui-T'ang liang-tai tui T'u-chüeh te ho-ch'in cheng-ts'e" 隋唐兩代對突厥的和親政策, in idem, *T'u-chüeh yen-chiu* 突厥研究 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1988), article first published 1970, pp. 183-224; Li Hu 黎虎, "Chieh-yu kung-chu ch'u-sai te li-shih kung-hsien" 解憂公主出塞的歷史貢獻, *Pei-ching shih-fan ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao* 北京師範大學學報 (1979.4), pp. 40-50; Nunome Chōfū 布目潮風, "Zui no Daigi kōshu ni tsuite" 隋の大義公主について, *Zui Tō teikoku to Higashi Ajia sekai* 隋唐帝國と東アジア世界 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1979), pp. 279-303; Hino Kaizaburō 日野開三郎, "Tōdai no wahan kōshu" 唐代の和親公主, *Tōyō shigaku ronshū* 東洋史學論集 (Tokyo: Sanichi shobo, 1984) 9, pp. 234-310; Chang, "Ho-ch'in t'ung-lun," pp. 3-24; Sechin Jagchid and Van Jay Symons, *Peace, War, and Trade along the Great Wall: Nomadic-Chinese Interaction through Two Millennia* (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 1989), chap. 5; Ts'ui Ming-te 崔明德, "T'ang yü Hui-ho ho-ch'in kung-chu k'ao-shu" 唐與回紇和親公主考述, *WSC* (1991.2), pp. 98-102; Pan, *Son of Heaven*, chaps. 3, 5, 7-10.

contacts between the two Asian powers. In 200 BC armies of the Hsiung-nu *ch'an-yü* 單于 Mo-tun 莫頓 besieged the Han emperor Kao-tsu's troops in P'ing-ch'eng 平城 (present-day Shansi province).⁵ According to the *Shih-chi* 史記 and *Han Shu* 漢書 accounts, on the advice of an adviser named Ch'en P'ing 陳平, Kao-tsu sent an envoy to the wife of the *ch'an-yü*, and by means of a "secret stratagem" persuaded her to intervene so that the siege was lifted. According to another source (that of Huan T'an 桓譚; 46 BC-28 AD), Ch'en P'ing was the envoy, and the stratagem was to make the Hsiung-nu wife believe that the Han court was going to present princesses to the *ch'an-yü*, causing her to persuade the *ch'an-yü* to retreat in order to prevent the arrival of new women.⁶

It was soon after this that Han officials took the initiative by proposing a formal *ho-ch'in* agreement with the Hsiung-nu. The policy was suggested by Lou Ching 婁敬 (later rewarded with the Liu royal surname), an important adviser to Kao-tsu. He proposed that Kao-tsu should give the hand of his own daughter, along with valuable presents, to the Hsiung-nu *ch'an-yü*. This would make the *ch'an-yü* the emperor's son-in-law, and "the grandson would not be hostile to the grandfather." Kao-tsu agreed, but since his empress Lü insisted that her daughter not be thus "abandoned," Kao-tsu had to choose another woman from the royal clan. The latter was sent, along with a large subsidy, to marry Mo-tun in 198 BC. The fictitious relationship so established was that of "brothers" rather than father and son-in-law.⁷ Though we are not told the reason, one may assume that the Hsiung-nu insisted on this as recognition of their equal status. The Hsiung-nu knew that the Chinese princess was not a true daughter of the emperor but evidently did not consider it an important matter.⁸ In 192 BC a second Han princess was sent to Mo-tun,⁹ and each of his two successors was given the hand of a princess.¹⁰

During this period *ho-ch'in* was used as a cover term for the pragmatic

⁵ *Kuang-yün* gives three pronunciations for the character 單: 1. pron. *tan*; 2. pron. *ch'an*, as in *ch'an-yü* 單于; 3. pron. *shan* as a place name, or "abdicate"; see also Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver: U. British Columbia P., 1991), p. 48.

⁶ *Shih-chi* 史記 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1959; hereafter cited as *SC*) 110, p. 2894; *Han Shu* 漢書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1962; hereafter cited as *HS*) 1B, p. 63; 94A, pp. 3753-54. For Huan T'an's statement, see his *Hsin-lun* 新論, included in *Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* 百部叢書集成 (Taipei: I-wen Press, 1967) 52, pp. 24b-25b; Homer H. Dubs, trans., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938) 1, pp. 116-17.

⁷ *HS* 43, pp. 2121-22; 94A, p. 3754. ⁸ Jagchid and Symons, *Peace, War, and Trade*, p. 142.

⁹ *HS* 2, p. 89.

¹⁰ *SC* 110, pp. 2898, 2904; *HS* 5, p. 144; 94A, pp. 3759, 3764; *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1956; hereafter cited as *TCTC*) 14, p. 468.

policy of appeasement in all its aspects. While most officials accepted *ho-ch'in*,¹¹ objections were raised by two prominent scholars, Ch'ao Ts'o 晁錯 and Chia I 賈誼, in the time of emperor Wen (r. 179-157 BC). Chia I argued that the policy placed Han in an inferior tribute status vis-à-vis the "barbarians." He does not seem, however, to have objected to using women or contracting marriages since the "five baits" stratagem which he devised included providing Hsiung-nu envoys and defectors with rewards that included female entertainers.¹² Ch'ao Ts'o also opposed *ho-ch'in* in general terms and recommended more aggressive measures to weaken the Hsiung-nu.¹³

When emperor Wu succeeded to the Han throne in 141 BC the *ho-ch'in* treaty was renewed. It seems that he too sent a royal woman to marry the *ch'an-yü*: the emperor remarked at a court conference in 134 BC, "We have fitted out a daughter [of the imperial house] as a mate to the *ch'an-yü*."¹⁴

The *ho-ch'in* policy towards the Hsiung-nu was, however, soon abandoned in favor of aggression. When the two sides were in a stalemate in 110 BC a Han envoy challenged the Hsiung-nu to battle or to submit. In response, the *ch'an-yü* Wu-wei 烏維 proposed to renew *ho-ch'in* ties but with a new arrangement: he would send his heir to the Han court in exchange for a Han princess. But in 107 when the envoy discussed this arrangement, the *ch'an-yü* refused on the grounds that this was not in accordance with precedent. Military confrontations continued.¹⁵

In order to attack the Hsiung-nu, the emperor Wu adopted strategies to undermine Hsiung-nu influence in the so-called Western Regions (Inner Asia), where the oasis states had been subject to the Hsiung-nu and had provided them with revenue and supplies. Sometime between 118 and 115 BC emperor Wu sent a mission headed by Chang Ch'ien 張騫 to offer a marriage alliance with the Wu-sun 烏孫, a nomadic people located in the Ili Valley near Issyk-kul who had previously been subject to the Hsiung-nu and were now a strong power in the area. This marriage alliance was suggested by Chang in order to "cut off the right arm of the Xiongnu." The Wu-sun king at first hesitated but then agreed when his own envoys reported on the wealth of the Han court and, moreover, when the Hsiung-nu turned hostile because of these negotiations. Princess Hsi-chün 細君 was sent to marry the king around 105 BC, and a

brother- status relationship was established.¹⁶

Princess Hsi-chün was from a disgraced family. Her father Liu Chien 劉建, prince of Chiang-tu 江都, committed suicide in 121 BC when he was implicated in a plot of rebellion, and his queen and many others were executed for witchcraft directed against the emperor in the same year. Her being chosen for a distant non-Chinese king must have seemed the equivalent of exile. She was sent with lavish presents and an official staff with a complement of several hundred eunuchs and serving attendants, and she lived separately from the king in her own buildings. Yet the princess grew homesick and at one point composed a song lamenting the foreignness of her life. Adding to her distress was the precarious political situation at the Wu-sun court. On hearing of her marriage, the Hsiung-nu also sent a princess to the Wu-sun, and for the sake of balance of power the Wu-sun established the Hsiung-nu wife in a superior position. Soon, due to his own old age the king wished Hsi-chün to marry his grandson Chün-hsü 軍須靡. The princess was unwilling to do this and wrote a letter to the Han emperor. In reply, emperor Wu asked her to follow the custom so as to make common cause with the Wu-sun to destroy the Hsiung-nu. Princess Hsi-chün then married Chün-hsü Mi 軍須靡. The princess was unwilling to do this and wrote a letter to the Han emperor. In reply, emperor Wu asked her to follow the custom so as to make common cause with the Wu-sun to destroy the Hsiung-nu. Princess Hsi-chün then married Chün-hsü Mi and bore him a daughter. Chün-hsü Mi later became the king and he too had a Hsiung-nu wife. The princess died not long after, apparently only four or five years after she had arrived among the Wu-sun.¹⁷ Although she died young, she was the first exiled princess to be remembered as a distinct personality and her song later became a symbol of the sacrifices Chinese princesses had to endure.

Upon her death, emperor Wu sent princess Chieh-yu 解憂 to wed Chün-hsü Mi around the year 101 BC in order to maintain the alliance.¹⁸ Like Hsi-chün, Chieh-yu was from a disgraced family of an imperial prince. Her grandfather, the prince of Ch'u 楚, committed suicide in 154 BC after the failure of the rebellion of the seven kings, in which he had participated.¹⁹ Unlike Hsi-chün however, princess Chieh-yu seems to have had a very exciting political life.

In her almost fifty years of life among the Wu-sun, princess Chieh-yu married three kings successively. The second marriage, to the king Weng-kui

¹¹ *SC* 110, pp. 2895-96; *HS* 4, p. 120; 94A, pp. 3754-56.

¹² *HS* 48, p. 2240; Chia I, *Hsin-shu* 新書 (SPTK ch'u-pien edn.) 4, pp. 32-34; Yü Ying-shih *Trade and Expansion in Han China* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1967), pp. 36-37.

¹³ *HS* 49, p. 2289.

¹⁴ *SC* 110, p. 2904; *HS* 6, p. 162; 94A, p. 3765; Dubs, *History of the Former Han* 2, pp. 38-39.

¹⁵ *HS* 94A, p. 3773.

¹⁶ *HS* 96B, pp. 3901-3; A. F. P. Hulswé, *China in Central Asia: An Annotated Translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), pp. 143-45; Li Hu, "Chieh-yu kung-chu," p. 43.

¹⁷ *HS* 53, pp. 2416-17; *HS* 96B, pp. 3901-3; Hulswé, *China in Central Asia*, pp. 147-49; Li Hu, "Chieh-yu kung-chu," p. 40; Jagchid and Symons, *Peace, War, and Trade*, pp. 142-44.

¹⁸ Li Hu, "Chieh-yu kung-chu," p. 40.

¹⁹ *HS* 36, pp. 1923-24; 96B, p. 3904.

Mi 翁貴靡 (d. 64 BC), was the longest, about 37 years. During her life there, she urged a joint military campaign of the Han and the Wu-sun against the Hsiung-nu, which led to a crucial success in 71 BC. She promoted relations between the Han and the oasis states to the south of the Wu-sun. Following their joint campaign against the Hsiung-nu, the Han and Wu-sun planned an attack on Kucha. The king of Kucha switched to a pro-Han policy by requesting the hand of the daughter of Chieh-yu. The marriage proceeded after 71 BC, and Kucha remained quite friendly and under much influence of Chinese culture from then onward.²⁰ Around 65 BC the childless king of So-chü 莎車 made one of her sons his heir. The princess's capable female assistant, Feng Liao 馮嫪, who had married a Wu-sun general, often acted as her envoy to the states in the Western Regions, and was highly esteemed and referred to as lady Feng.

More importantly, she exerted her influence against the pro-Hsiung-nu faction in the Wu-sun court. In 64 BC, to strengthen relations with Han, the Wu-sun king desired to establish the son by princess Chieh-yu as his heir, and to have a Han princess marry this son so that he would make a complete break with the Hsiung-nu. The Han court agreed to send the daughter of Chieh-yu's younger brother for the marriage. Marriage alliance was apparently an important strategy among states in Central Asia, and the Chinese had to use it actively as well. Unfortunately for the Han, the agreed marriage did not transpire: the Wu-sun king died that year, and the noblemen in Wu-sun established Ni Mi 泥靡, the son of Chün-hsü Mi by his Hsiung-nu wife, as the king. Princess Chieh-yu married the new king and bore him a son, but did not get along with him. It seems that he also had a Hsiung-nu wife. Chieh-yu plotted to get rid of her husband, causing a serious power struggle, in which Feng Liao also participated. As a result, a pro-Han king was established. Thus the Han was able to exert its influence on the Wu-sun and gain a foothold in controlling the western border peoples until the end of the Western Han.

In 51 BC princess Chieh-yu returned to Ch'ang-an at the age of seventy. To reward her contribution to relations between the Han and the Wu-sun she was granted land and slaves, but died two years later.²¹

In the well-known debates concerning state-monopoly policy in 81 BC, government critics severely condemned Ch'in and Han aggression into foreign lands and spoke in support of the earlier *ho-ch'in* policy. The court's spokes-

man Sang Hung-yang 桑弘羊, on the other hand, argued for using military means and against the *ho-ch'in* policy on the grounds that it cost Han a great deal economically and failed to maintain peace.²² The Han court continued to use marriage alliance when feasible. In 77 BC, after the Han arranged the assassination of the pro-Hsiung-nu king of Lou-lan 樓蘭 (present-day Shan-shan, near Lob Nor), the court established his pro-Han brother as the king and sent him a palace woman as a reward. The close relationship enabled the Han to establish an agricultural colony there.²³

The Han strategy of competition with the Hsiung-nu and alliance with the oasis states in the west gradually weakened the Hsiung-nu. Internal struggles over the succession also damaged the Hsiung-nu empire, which was split into Southern and Northern rivals. Around 44 BC the Northern Hsiung-nu formed an alliance with the K'ang-chü 康居 kingdom (present-day Tashkent) using reciprocal marriages, and both states tried to maintain power to offset Han-court aggression.²⁴

After Han troops eliminated the Northern *ch'an-yü* in 36 BC,²⁵ the *ch'an-yü* Hu-han-yeh 呼韓邪 of the Southern Hsiung-nu in 33 BC asked for a marriage. The Han court agreed. In contrast to the earlier *ho-ch'in* agreement, the *ch'an-yü* was given son-in-law status, rather than that of brother, and the Han emperor Yüan gave him five palace ladies instead of a royal princess. Earlier, Hu-han-yeh had sent hostages to the Han court.²⁶ Were these women sent as hostages in exchange for the Hsiung-nu hostage as proposed by the Hsiung-nu in 110? There is no mention of the connection in the Chinese sources. But this may have been a type of reciprocal arrangement.

One of these women was Wang Chao-chün 王昭君. Wang was perhaps the most famous of the Chinese women sent to be the wife of a foreign ruler because of the poems and plays written about her that made her a stock literary figure, and because it was believed that she herself volunteered to marry a foreign chief.²⁷ She bore him a son, and after Hu-han-yeh's death she was required to follow the nomadic custom and marry the new *ch'an-yü*. She expressed her wish to return to China but the Han emperor asked her to follow the Hsiung-nu custom. She accepted the situation, and later bore two daugh-

²² Wang Li-ch'i 王利器, annot., *Yen-t'ieh-lun chiao-chu* 鹽鐵論校註 (Shanghai: Ku-tien wen-shieh, 1958), pp. 305-6.

²³ HS 96A, pp. 3875-78; *T'IC* 21, p. 687. ²⁴ HS 70, p. 3009. ²⁵ HS 96A, p. 3892.

²⁶ HS 94B, p. 3803; *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1965; hereafter cited as *HHS*) 89, p. 2941.

²⁷ *HHS* 89, p. 2941; Ko Hung 葛洪 (284-363), comp., *Hsi-ching tsu-chi* 西京雜記 (SPTK ch'u-pien edn.) 2, p. 5.

²⁰ HS 96B, p. 3904; pp. 3916-17.

²¹ HS 96B, pp. 3904-6; Hsü Sung 徐松, in Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙, ed., *Han shu pu-chu* 漢書補注 66B, p. 5502; Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia*, pp. 149-54; Li Hu, "Chieh-yu kung-chu," pp. 40-50.

ters. Peace was maintained between the Han and the Southern Hsiung-nu until Wang Mang's reign (9-23 AD).²⁸

Although little is mentioned in the way of an active role on the part of Wang Chao-chün, her children were unavoidably involved in Hsiung-nu politics. At Hu-han-yeh's death, in order to avoid quarrels over succession that had occurred in previous generations, his two Hsiung-nu wives (who were sisters) decided that his sons should succeed one another as *ch'an-yü* according to seniority. Such was the practice among the Hsiung-nu that would be followed until Hu-han-yeh's sixth successor, who reigned 18-46 AD. He assassinated the younger brother who was to succeed him, and who was none other than Wang Chao-chün's son from Hu-han-yeh. This may demonstrate Hsiung-nu hostility towards the Han. In any case the breach in the rule of succession caused internal struggles that split the Southern Hsiung-nu into southern and northern rivals in 48 AD.²⁹

Earlier, during Wang Mang's reign, one of Wang Chao-chün's daughters, Yün 雲, together with her husband, a Hsiung-nu nobleman, had been promoting a pro-Chinese policy at the Hsiung-nu court. Wang Mang had her and her husband brought to Ch'ang-an; he planned to make her husband *ch'an-yü*, but the latter soon died. Wang Mang then planned to marry his own daughter by a concubine to one of Yün's sons. This unusual variant on the *ho-ch'in* policy also came to nothing subsequent to the end of Wang Mang's reign and his violent death.³⁰

THE EASTERN HAN PERIOD (24-220 AD)

War and peace alternately came and went between the Eastern Han and the Hsiung-nu until the mid-40s AD. Two events then changed the situation in favor of the Eastern Han. First the Wu-huan inflicted a heavy defeat on the Hsiung-nu.³¹ Then in 48 the Hsiung-nu empire was again split between Southern and Northern rivals. The Southern *ch'an-yü*, pressed by his Northern rival, was allowed to settle within Chinese territory. The Eastern Han court provided gifts, financial aid, and military protection to them in return for tribute and hostages to the Han court.³² No marriage was concluded, since the Southern Hsiung-nu were treated more like a dependent than an equal. The Northern

Hsiung-nu were seriously defeated by a joint force of the Han and Southern Hsiung-nu in 89 and 91 and eventually disappeared from the Chinese frontiers.³³

The Hsien-pei 鮮卑, a semi-nomadic people inhabiting the area between the Mongolian steppe and east of the Greater Hsing'an 興安 Mountains, emerged under a brilliant war leader T'an-shih-huai 檀石槐 as a formidable nomadic power. To keep the latter around control, the Han court offered a *ho-ch'in* arrangement in 166. Unlike the Hsiung-nu, who had a stable political organization with a regular succession, the Hsien-pei were tribal and maintained no permanent ruler, only a military leader elected in time of war.³⁴ Making peace through the *ho-ch'in* agreement would have jeopardized T'an-shih-huai's position, and so he refused the Han proposal.

The end of the Han dynasty was characterized by a breakdown of central power, and concomitantly various regional warlords near the northern frontier used marriage with neighboring peoples to strengthen their own positions. Kung-sun Tu 公孫度 (d. 204), for example, the governor of Liao-tung 遼東 commandery, in the far northeast, expanded his power by sending a female relative to marry the king of the Manchurian state of Puyō 夫余.³⁵ In 205 another warlord, Yüan Shao 袁紹, formed an alliance with the Wu-huan 烏桓, a nomadic proto-Mongolian people inhabiting the China's northeastern frontier commanderies, by sending their ruler a woman from his clan (purportedly his own daughter).³⁶

Within China we have an example of a political marriage between Chinese warlords: in 209 Sun Ch'üan 孫權, who later founded the state of Wu, married his younger sister to Liu Pei 劉備, the eventual dynast of the Shu-Han kingdom. Two years later Sun plotted to get back his sister and also Liu's heir by a deceased wife. After some fighting she returned, but without the boy.³⁷

THE PERIOD OF DIVISION (304-589)

Early in the fourth century the Western Chin court fell and was forced to move south of the Yangtze, where a series of Chinese dynasties ruled for over two centuries. Northern China, on the other hand, was subject to a series of non-Chinese rulers. Marriage alliance was frequently used by northern regimes

²⁸ *HS* 94B, pp. 3806-8; *HHS* 89, p. 2941. *HS* 94B, p. 3806, says that Wang had one son from Hu-han-yeh, whereas *HHS* says two.

²⁹ *HS* 94B, pp. 3806-7; *HHS* 89, pp. 2941-42.

³⁰ *HS* 94B, pp. 3818, 3826-29; 99, p. 4166; *TCTC* 38, pp. 1225-26.

³¹ *HHS* 1B, p. 75; 90, p. 2982.

³² *HS* 94B, pp. 3810, 3829.

³³ *HHS* 89, p. 2953.

³⁴ *HHS* 89, p. 2989. E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Chinese and Their Neighbors in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times," D. N. Keightley, ed., *The Origins of Chinese Civilization* (California: U. California P., 1983), pp. 452-54.

³⁵ *San-kuo chih* 三國志 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1959) 8, p. 252; 30, p. 842.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 1, pp. 28-29; 30, p. 834.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 34, p. 906; 36, p. 946; *TCTC* 66, p. 2111.

in order to compete with one another, and continued as well to be a feature of northern foreign policies. An important characteristic of these marriages was that they were concluded, in most respects, as between equals, that is, without referring to such diplomatic statuses as "father-in-law to son-in-law." Marriages were often reciprocal and entailed the ruler of each side taking a woman from the other; the women involved were daughters or sisters of the rulers, and the persons married were of the same generation. The alliances generally served a twofold purpose – to fend off a third rival and to consolidate a regime's power (in contrast with simply seeking economic benefits).

The T'o-pa 拓跋 were a branch of the Hsien-pei that in the fifth century established the Northern Wei dynasty and unified the whole of north China in 439. They appeared for the first time in 315, when their leader was given the title of king of Tai by the Western Chin court. The T'o-pa regime, however, underwent a short period of political instability until Shih-i-chien 什翼犍 assumed the title of king in 338. During his thirty-eight-year rule he concluded six marriages with the northern state of Former Yen 燕 founded in Ho-pei by the Mu-jung 慕容 Hsien-pei. In 339 Shih-i-chien married the younger sister of the king of the Former Yen and established the Mu-jung lady as his queen,³⁸ but two years later she died. According to the official history of the Northern Wei dynasty, *Wei Shu* 魏書, the Mu-jung king proposed another marriage in 341 and 343, and an exchange of marriages was concluded in 344 in which Shih-i-chien married the Mu-jung king's own daughter, established her also as his queen, and gave the hand of his niece to the Mu-jung king.³⁹ The account given in *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, however, is different: in 343 Shih-i-chien proposed a marriage to the Mu-jung king, who thereupon asked for a thousand horses as a bride-gift; but Shih-i-chien refused in a way that was "arrogant and without behaving with the propriety of a son-in-law." The Mu-jung launched an attack, and a year later a Yen lady was sent to marry Shih-i-chien. Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 stated in his investigation of the source material (*Tzu-chih t'ung-chien k'ao-i* 考異) that he had followed the record from the lost *History of Yen* rather than *Wei shu*.⁴⁰ His comparatively fuller account, then, is probably more accurate. It seems that the Yen wished to degrade the Tai, and, looking back on the earlier history of the Tai, the Wei historian glossed over the fact that Shih-i-chien had initiated the marriage and was asked to pay a high price to Yen, thereby putting himself in the position of inferiority.

The issue of inferiority appeared also in the case of marriage between the state of Northern Yen (407–436) and the Jou-jan 柔然, a contemporary nomadic power on the steppe. In 409 Feng Pa 馮跋, an ethnic Chinese, usurped the kingship of Later Yen and founded Northern Yen. In 411 when the Jou-jan chief asked for the hand of Feng's daughter, Feng's younger brother objected on the grounds that only women from the clan or from imperial concubines (not the principal wife) were sent to marry "barbarians" (as he termed them) according to precedents of earlier dynasties. Ignoring this, Feng Pa sent his daughter to show his sincerity.⁴¹ The difference of opinion between Feng Pa and his brother no doubt reflects the contrast between the traditional mores of Chinese regimes and the contemporary practice among the northern non-Chinese regimes. In 414 Feng received the Jou-jan chief's daughter as a concubine.⁴²

Some regimes attempted to make marriage alliances but did not succeed. For instance, in 407 the state of Hsia 夏, newly established by the T'ieh-fu 鐵弗 Hsiung-nu, proposed a marriage contract with the state of Southern Liang 涼, but was rejected. The Hsia retaliated by launching an attack.⁴³

In 386 T'o-pa Kui 珪 was elected as the king of Tai and then changed the name of Tai to Wei. Jennifer Holmgren holds that the Wei rulers were not interested in using marriage alliance in relations with other independent rival regimes and attributes two counter-instances to the persuasion of a Chinese adviser.⁴⁴ A careful reading of the sources, however, does not support her conclusion. In fact, from 386 to 534 Northern Wei concluded seven marriages with other powers for political purposes. A marriage with the Later Ch'in 秦 was first proposed around 400 by T'o-pa Kui with a bride-price of a thousand horses. The Later Ch'in agreed but changed its mind when it learned that Wei had established a Mu-jung lady as empress. The two sides went to war in 402.⁴⁵ In 413, according to *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* Wei again proposed a marriage with the Later Ch'in, who agreed.⁴⁶ The *Wei Shu* account, on the other hand, says that the Later Ch'in sent tribute and asked to present a woman.⁴⁷ Obviously, the *Wei shu* compiler intended to place Ch'in in an inferior position. In any case the marriage was concluded in 415 when the ruler of the Later Ch'in gave the hand of his daughter, senior princess Hsi-p'ing 西平, to the Wei. She was received by T'o-pa Ssu 嗣, the Wei king, with great honor, was established as

⁴¹ *Chin shu* 晉書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1974) 125, p. 3130; *TCTC* 116, p. 3647.

⁴² *WS* 103, pp. 2291–92; *Chin shu* 125, p. 3132; *TCTC* 116, p. 3668.

⁴³ *TCTC* 114, p. 3602.

⁴⁴ Jennifer Holmgren, "Wei-shu Records on the Bestowal of Imperial Princesses during the Northern Wei Dynasty," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 27 (1983), pp. 38–40.

⁴⁵ *Chin shu* 118, p. 2991; *TCTC* 112, p. 3534. ⁴⁶ *TCTC* 116, p. 3663. ⁴⁷ *WS* 3, p. 54.

³⁸ *Wei shu* 魏書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1974; hereafter cited as *WS*) 1, p. 12; 13, p. 323; *TCTC* 96, p. 3031.

³⁹ *WS* 1, p. 12.

⁴⁰ *TCTC* 97, pp. 3056, 3059.

a concubine, and was treated with favor until her death.⁴⁸ Such a marriage alliance resulted in the Wei military support to Later Ch'in when the latter was attacked in 417 by the Chinese Sung regime.⁴⁹

The Northern Wei's interest in using the marriage strategy can be seen furthermore in its relations with the Chinese Sung court in the south under Liu I-lung 劉義隆 (r. 424-453). The Wei asked for a Sung-court woman to marry their crown prince in 431 and again in 433. The Sung neither agreed nor disagreed, but in 437 a Sung envoy went to the Wei to negotiate a bride-price. The daughter of Liu I-lung died, however, and no marriage materialized.⁵⁰ In 450, during the wars between these two regimes, *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* says that the Wei proposed a peace agreement with a provision that if the Sung sent a woman to marry the grandson of T'o-pa T'ao 譙, the Wei king, T'ao would send his daughter to marry Liu's son. In no position for military confrontation, the Sung court agreed.⁵¹ Again there is a discrepancy in the version in *Wei shu*. It says that it was the Sung regime that presented tribute and asked to present a woman to marry the Wei imperial grandson, and that T'ao agreed to peace but not to the marriage. *Ssu-ma Kuang's K'ao-i* rejects the Wei record. There does not seem to have been any actual marriage.⁵² The southern dynasties did not conclude any marriage alliance with other independent political powers throughout their history, which ended with the unification by Sui in 589.

In the marriage alliance between the Wei and the Northern Liang, the Wei princess Wu-wei 無為 married the ruler of Liang in 437 in return for T'o-pa T'ao's marriage to the Liang princess Hsing-p'ing 興平 several years earlier. These marriages may have been used by Wei to win time for its final confrontation with Liang in 439. Princess Wu-wei had provided Wei with important information for the campaign, and was treated with favor. She remarried, and her daughter succeeded to her title after her death. On the other hand, the Liang princess Hsing-p'ing was asked to commit suicide.⁵³

The loyalty of the women of the Wei court was not always on the side of their natal family. In 439 Northern Wei enfeoffed the Ti 氐 leader Yang Pao-tsung 楊保宗 as the king of Wu-tu 武都 and gave him a Wei princess. Persuaded by his brother and his Wei wife, however, in 443 Yang Pao-tsung rebelled but failed. He was executed, and his Wei wife was taken to the Wei capital in 448. When asked why she had betrayed her parents' country, she replied that

a wife gained her honor because of her husband, and that if he had succeeded she would have been the mother of a country. Upon this she was ordered to commit suicide.⁵⁴

While the Northern Wei occupied themselves with governing an agricultural China, control of the steppe was taken over by the Jou-jan nomads. After a military victory over the Jou-jan in 429 the two sides concluded reciprocal marriages. In 434 a Wei princess married the Jou-jan qaghan and the Wei emperor in turn married the qaghan's younger sister as a secondary wife. But peace did not last long, and conflicts continued until 449, when Wei won another decisive victory over the Jou-jan.⁵⁵ In 475 and 478 the Jou-jan asked for a marriage contract. The Wei agreed, but the marriage did not proceed because the Jou-jan were accused of not presenting enough gifts.⁵⁶ When the rebellion of the Six Garrisons broke out against the Wei regime in 523, A-na-kui 阿那瓌, the qaghan of the Jou-jan, and his cavalry assisted in suppressing it. The balance of power began to tip in favor of the Jou-jan. In 532 A-na-kui asked for a princess to marry his eldest son, and Wei agreed to send princess Lang-yeh 瑯邪, the eldest daughter of the prince of Fan-yang 范陽, Yüan Hui 元暉. The marriage, however, was interrupted by the split of the Northern Wei into the Eastern and the Western Wei in 534.⁵⁷

The splitting of the Wei weakened each side. Each competed to win over the Jou-jan through marriage alliance to obtain border stability and to concentrate efforts against the other side, and against their southern rivals.

In 538 Western Wei contracted reciprocal marriages with the Jou-jan qaghan A-na-kui, who seems to have had the upper hand in the arrangement: at his request the Wei emperor dismissed his T'u-yü-hun 吐谷渾 empress, whose ancestor had formerly submitted to the Wei, and established A-na-kui's daughter as empress. Under the pressure of the Jou-jan, Wei forced the T'u-yü-hun empress to commit suicide in 540.⁵⁸

Eastern Wei was more active in the marriage-alliance strategy. It contracted three marriages with the Jou-jan. In 541 when the senior commandery princess of Lan-ling 蘭陵 was on her way to marry A-na-kui's son, the Wei minister Kao Huan 高歡, the real power holder, personally gave her a send-off, and treated the Jou-jan envoys with favor.⁵⁹ In 542 A-na-kui sent his grand-

⁴⁸ *WS* 3, p. 56; 13, p. 325. ⁴⁹ *Sung shu* 宋書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1974) 95, p. 2322.

⁵⁰ *Sung shu* 95, p. 2334; *TCTC* 122, pp. 3832, 3847; 123, p. 3865.

⁵¹ *Sung shu* 95, p. 2352; *TCTC* 125, pp. 3960-61. ⁵² *WS* 4B, p. 105.

⁵³ *WS* 83A, p. 1824; 99, pp. 2206-9; Holmgren, "Wei-shu Records," pp. 50-53.

⁵⁴ *WS* 101, pp. 2230-31; *TCTC* 123, p. 3870; 124, p. 3899; 125, p. 3932.

⁵⁵ *WS* 4A, p. 83; 103, p. 2294. ⁵⁶ *WS* 103, p. 2294; p. 2296.

⁵⁷ *WS* 103, p. 2303; *Pei shih* 北史 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1974; hereafter, *PS*) 98, pp. 3263-64.

⁵⁸ *PS* 13, pp. 506-7; 98, p. 3264; *TCTC* 158, pp. 4892-93, 4905.

⁵⁹ *WS* 103, p. 2303; *PS* 98, p. 3265. *TCTC* 157, p. 4869, dates the marriage to 535; I follow the fuller account in *PS*; but possibly a 535 agreement resulted in the marriage of 541.

daughter princess Lin-ho 鄰和 to wed the ninth son of Kao Huan.⁶⁰ Apprehensive of the strong Jou-jan, Kao Huan requested a Jou-jan princess for another son, to which A-na-kui demanded that Kao himself wed his daughter. Kao agreed after hesitation. The marriage proceeded in 545. After Kao Huan's death, following the nomadic practice, Kao's eldest son married the Jou-jan princess.⁶¹ To further its strategic interest, Eastern Wei in 545 also contracted two marriages with the T'u-yü-hun kingdom,⁶² at that time located in what is now known as the Ch'ing-hai area.

Just when the Jou-jan power was at its height another nomadic power arose. This was the Turks, who, some believe, were once blacksmith slaves of the Jou-jan. Both Western Wei and the Turks soon saw each other as a possible alliance. In 545 the Western Wei sent an envoy to the Turks, and when the Turks broke away from the Jou-jan they turned to Western Wei. In 551 they concluded a marriage. A year later the Turks defeated the Jou-jan, and A-na-kui committed suicide.⁶³

When the Northern Chou (557-581) began its rule as the successor of the Western Wei it continued the efforts to maintain the Turkish alliance against its rival, the Northern Ch'i (550-577). The Northern Ch'i had succeeded upon the Eastern Wei and sought to win over the Turks and to disrupt any alliance between Chou and the Turks, but with no success. Their competition led the qaghan to boast that if his "two sons" in the south were filial, he would not have to worry about poverty.⁶⁴ Eventually the Chou emperor Yü-wen Yung 宇文邕 received a Turkish princess in 568, and established her as his respected empress. She still enjoyed favor after Yung's death.⁶⁵ This alliance was an important factor in bringing about the Chou's final victory over the Ch'i in 577. The Turks now made attempts to lend support to Ch'i but soon the qaghan switched back to Chou. The qaghan proposed a marriage contract to Chou in 579, to which Chou agreed on the condition that the Turks hand over the Ch'i prince who had taken refuge with the Turks. The Turks eventually complied. In 580 princess Ch'ien-chin 千金 was sent to marry the Turkish qaghan Taspar (T'a-po 佗鉢).⁶⁶

⁶⁰ *WS* 103, p. 2303; *PS* 8, p. 281; 98, p. 3265.

⁶¹ *Pei Ch'i shu* 北齊書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1972) 9, p. 124; *PS* 14, pp. 517-18; *TCTC* 159, pp. 4928-29.

⁶² *PS* 96, p. 3186.

⁶³ *PS* 99, pp. 3286-87.

⁶⁴ *PS* 99, p. 3290; *Sui shu* 隋書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1973; hereafter, *SS*) 84, p. 1865.

⁶⁵ *Chou shu* 周書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1971) 9, p. 144; *PS* 99, p. 3289.

⁶⁶ *PS* 99 (p. 3290) says that Taspar qaghan asked for the marriage; and *SS* 51 (p. 1329) says that She-t'u qaghan requested it. Nunome holds that she was first married to Taspar and then to She-t'u; "Zui no Daigi," pp. 279, 288-89. See also Lin, "Sui-T'ang liang-tai tui T'u-chüeh te ho-ch'ün

THE SUI DYNASTY (581-618) PERIOD

In 581 Yang Chien 楊堅 forced the young Northern Chou emperor to abdicate, and subsequently he established his own Sui dynasty. After unifying the whole of China in 589, the Sui actively continued the policy of marriage alliance with northern rivals, but unlike the rulers during the Period of Division, the Sui emperors, as Sons of Heaven governing the whole of China and claiming universal authority, never took women from foreign regimes. To do so would have placed Sui in an inferior position.

The most formidable challenge to the newly established Sui came from the Turkish nomadic empire on the steppes. The Turkish qaghan was Ishbara (Sha-po-lüeh 沙鉢略), the successor of Taspar, now married to the Northern Chou princess Ch'ien-chin. A strong-minded lady, princess Ch'ien-chin deeply resented the Sui usurpation of the Chou. Moreover, her father, prince of Chao 趙 (Yü-wen Chao 招), had been executed in 580 after a failed attempt to assassinate Yang Chien, then a powerful minister of Northern Chou.⁶⁷ She committed herself to using Turkish forces to take revenge on the Sui, and the Turks raided the Sui frontiers.

Yang Chien (emperor Wen; r. 581-604), for his part, took advantage of the internal power struggle among the Eastern and Western Turks. By using a strategy of divide and conquer, he succeeded in making the Eastern Turks under Ishbara accept peace in 584. Princess Ch'ien-chin had to show her submission to the Sui by receiving a change in surname from Yü-wen to Yang, the Sui royal family name. She was also given the title princess Ta-i 大義.⁶⁸

Princess Ta-i, however, continued her hostility towards the Sui. After the death of Ishbara she married his son, Tu-lan 都藍 qaghan, in 588.⁶⁹ On learning of the Sui conquest of Ch'en in 589 Ta-i wrote a poem lamenting her lot as a princess of a fallen dynasty. In 593 a Chinese renegade who took refuge among the Turks asked princess Ta-i to send troops to assist in a rebellion against the Sui. She turned Tu-lan qaghan against the Sui and attempted to organize an alliance with the Western Turks. In an effort to nullify her influence, the Sui court sent four women to the qaghan. Another opportunity for the Sui arose in 593 when Zamqan (Jan-kan 染干), a secondary Turkish qaghan, asked for a marriage with a Sui princess. Taking advantage of this request, the

cheng-ts'e," p. 210.

⁶⁷ For the prince of Chao, see *Chou shu* 13, pp. 201-3; *TCTC* 174, pp. 5419-20.

⁶⁸ *SS* 51, p. 1332; 84, pp. 1868-69; *TCTC* 176, pp. 5475-76. Her name is explained as derived from the phrase "obliterate kinship ties for the sake of the greater right" 大義滅親.

⁶⁹ *SS* 84, p. 1871; *PS* 99, pp. 3295-96.

Sui court asked him to get rid of princess Ta-i as a condition. He managed to persuade Tu-lan to have her killed.⁷⁰

After the death of princess Ta-i, Tu-lan himself requested the hand of a Sui princess. At the court discussion some were in favor, but Chang-sun Sheng 長孫晟, an expert on Turkish affairs, favored granting Zamqan's request for a marriage instead, since Zamqan did not possess a strong force and would be easy to deal with. Emperor Wen agreed with Chang-sun.⁷¹

In 597 the marriage between Zamqan and princess An-i 安義 took place. Zamqan qaghan became a vassal providing military support for Sui. In 599, upon the death of princess An-i, emperor Wen sent princess I-ch'eng 義成 to wed Zamqan.⁷² She later played a very active role in politics (see below).

Towards the end of the Sui period, the Eastern Turks grew in strength. P'ei Chü 裴矩, an important adviser on foreign affairs, devised a strategy to foment discord in order to weaken them. At P'ei's suggestion, the Sui court offered a Chinese princess to the qaghan Shih-pi's 始畢 younger brother and proposed to confer the title of southern qaghan on him, but the latter was too afraid to accept. This plus other intrigues that P'ei Chü planned made Shih-pi decide to retaliate. In 615, when emperor Yang was on his northern tour, Shih-pi planned a sudden attack. Princess I-ch'eng, now wife of Shih-pi, sent an envoy to the Sui to report the plan, but it was too late. The Turks besieged emperor Yang in Yen-men 雁門. Eventually the court asked princess I-ch'eng to help, knowing that among the Turks the wife of the qaghan regularly participated in military decisions. Thanks to her false report to Shih-pi that there was an emergency on his own northern border, Shih-pi withdrew his troops.⁷³

At this time, the Western Turks, having split with the Eastern Turks, were weak. In 611, a tribal leader, She-kui 射匱, sent an embassy to the Sui court requesting a marriage alliance. P'ei Chü suggested that the Sui should agree on the condition that She-kui attack Ch'u-lo 處羅, the supreme qaghan of the Western Turks. She-kui launched an attack, as a result of which Ch'u-lo had to pay court to emperor Yang.⁷⁴ It is not clear, however, whether Sui sent any princess to marry She-kui. We know that in 614 they gave the hand of princess Hsin-i 信義 to Ch'u-lo in marriage.⁷⁵

Another important neighbor of Sui-dynasty China was the T'u-yü-hun kingdom, which formed a buffer state between China and the Western Turks. The Eastern Turkish qaghan Zamqan had a T'u-yü-hun wife, indicating a close relationship between the two.⁷⁶ In 591 the newly established T'u-yü-hun king Fu 伏 sent a mission to Sui, offering T'u-yü-hun women for the Sui harem. Emperor Wen refused. Nevertheless, in 596 the emperor gave the hand of princess Kuang-hua 光化 to Fu, who died the next year. His younger brother Fu-yün 伏允 succeeded him and married the Sui princess.⁷⁷ When emperor Yang succeeded to the Sui throne in 605, Fu-yün sent his son Shun 順, perhaps persuaded by princess Kuang-hua,⁷⁸ to pay homage to the court, but despite such submission, the aggressive emperor Yang detained Shun and destroyed the T'u-yü-hun kingdom in 609. Once the Sui dynasty lost its grip on China, Fu-yün managed to restore his kingdom in Ch'ing-hai.⁷⁹

The Kao-ch'ang 高昌 kingdom at Turfan was at first under the control of the Turks and then of the T'ieh-le 鐵勒, another Turkic-speaking confederacy. It also sought relations with the Sui. In 609 the Kao-ch'ang king Po-ya 伯雅 went to the Sui court and even followed emperor Yang on his Korean expedition in 612. As a reward, emperor Yang gave the hand of princess Hua-jung 華容 from the Yü-wen clan. After the death of Po-ya, his son Wen-t'ai 文泰 married the princess, and the two went over to the T'ang court in 630. At her request T'ai-tsung granted the princess the royal Li surname and changed her title to princess Ch'ang-le 常樂. In 640, however, T'ang conquered Kao-ch'ang.⁸⁰

T'ANG CHINA UNDER KAO-TSU AND T'AI-TSUNG (618-649)

As in early Sui, the most severe threat to the early-T'ang regime came from the Eastern Turks, now renewed as an empire. Various anti-T'ang Chinese warlords allied themselves with the Turks by receiving Turkish titles or by arranging political marriages. Wang Shih-ch'ung 王世充, for example, sent a woman from his clan to marry the qaghan in 620.⁸¹ T'ang Kao-tsu also followed a policy of appeasement, and his son, T'ai-tsung, eventually conquered the Eastern Turks in 630 by having set them against each other.

⁷⁰ SS 51, p. 1332-33; 84, pp. 1871-72; PS 99, p. 3296; TCTC 178, pp. 5542-43.

⁷⁷ SS 83, p. 1844; TCTC 178, pp. 5551, 5560.

⁷⁸ Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳, *Toban okoku seiritsu shi no kenkyū* 吐蕃王國成立史の研究 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1983), pp. 658-59.

⁷⁹ SS 83, pp. 1844-45.

⁷¹ SS 51, p. 1333; 84, p. 1872; TCTC 178, p. 5543.

⁷² SS 51, p. 1334; 84, pp. 1872-73; TCTC 178, pp. 5568-69.

⁷³ SS 4, p. 89; 84, p. 1876; *Chiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975; hereafter, *CTS*) 63, p. 2399; TCTC 182, pp. 5697-99.

⁸⁰ SS 83, pp. 1847-48; *CTS* 198, p. 5294; *Hsin Tang shu* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975; hereafter, *HIS*) 221, pp. 6220-22; TCTC 181, p. 5666.

⁷⁴ SS 84, pp. 1878-79; TCTC 181, pp. 5654-55.

⁷⁵ SS 84, p. 1879.

⁸¹ TCTC 188, p. 5884.

Before 630 inconclusive negotiations for a marriage alliance took place between the T'ang court and the Turks. The failure may have been due to the Sui princess I-ch'eng's interference, because a T'ang princess installed among the Turks would have weakened her position. I-ch'eng had become the wife of the Eastern Turkish qaghan Ch'u-lo in 619. Ever loyal to her natal Sui house, in 620 she asked Ch'u-lo to receive the remaining members of the Sui royal family, including emperor Yang's grandson, whom Ch'u-lo established as king of Sui.⁸² Upon Ch'u-lo's death in 620, princess I-ch'eng did not support elevation of his son to qaghan, but helped establish his brother Chieh-li 頡利, and ultimately married him.⁸³ In 622 the T'ang promised a marriage with the Turks in return for handing over a T'ang envoy who had been detained there.⁸⁴ It seems however that no woman was sent, for in 623 the qaghan Chieh-li was pressing the town of Ma-i 馬邑, making a marriage proposal as a condition for peace. Kao-tsu agreed. The qaghan decided to withdraw but princess I-ch'eng persisted in pleading for an attack. The qaghan gave in to her, and captured Ma-i. Later, he returned Ma-i to the T'ang and continued to negotiate for a marriage.⁸⁵ It is not clear whether an actual marriage agreement was concluded.⁸⁶ In 630, when T'ang armies finally succeeded in conquering the Eastern Turks, the Chinese generals spared the life of Chieh-li but killed the Sui princess I-ch'eng.⁸⁷

While following an appeasement policy towards the Eastern Turks, Kao-tsu tried to win an alliance with the Western Turks. Thus, in 625 the Western Turks requested a marriage. Kao-tsu agreed but the Eastern Turks disrupted it.⁸⁸ Early in T'ai-tsung's reign, the Western Turkish qaghanate was divided into contending groups, each of whose ruler tried to obtain T'ang assistance. Yet T'ai-tsung did not enter into a marriage alliance with any of them.⁸⁹ In 646 T'ai-tsung granted the request of one qaghan for a marriage but demanded that the Turks concede as betrothal gifts five oasis states under their control. The marriage, however, did not proceed because of T'ai-tsung's death.⁹⁰ One can also assume that T'ai-tsung may not have deemed it necessary, and may have tried to discourage it by demanding the concession of territory.

With the defeat of the Eastern Turks in 630, the Hsüeh-yen-t'o 薛延陀 Turkish-speaking people grew to be an important nomadic power on the steppe land. In 642 the qaghan I-nan 夷男 requested a marriage contract with the T'ang, and T'ai-tsung agreed to send his own daughter, princess Hsin-hsing 新興 in marriage in exchange for handing over Ch'i-pi Ho-li 契苾何力, a general, then detained by the Hsüeh-yen-t'o. It would have been of great significance if Hsin-hsing had been sent in marriage since she was a daughter of T'ai-tsung. But upon his return Ch'i-pi strongly opposed the marriage, arguing that by refusing the T'ang would weaken I-nan and bring about the final defeat of the Hsüeh-yen-t'o. T'ai-tsung was persuaded. He was clearly aware that the policy of marriage alliance was to be used only as an expedient to further Chinese aims, and that if the T'ang stopped the marriage, the various tribes would rebel against I-nan.⁹¹ T'ai-tsung's refusal worked, and the Hsüeh-yen-t'o were conquered by the T'ang in 646.

In dealing with the T'u-yü-hun, T'ai-tsung was determined to exert Chinese control. Early in his reign, when the king, Fu-yün, requested a marriage for one of his sons, T'ai-tsung asked that the prince come to the court to receive the bride with the idea of keeping him under control, but the prince excused himself on account of illness, and the marriage did not materialize. Hostilities broke out between the two sides. In 635 Fu-yün committed suicide in the power struggle, and his son, Shun, who had been a hostage at the Sui court, was installed briefly as qaghan by T'ang military force. Soon after, he was killed by his ministers. His son No-ho-po 諾曷鉢 succeeded him.

No-ho-po adopted a pro-T'ang policy. In return, T'ai-tsung supported him with the titles of king and qaghan, and gave him the hand of princess Hung-hua 弘化 in 640. In 641, when the T'u-yü-hun chief minister planned to make a surprise attack on the T'ang princess and take No-ho-po to the Tibetans, T'ang troops intervened, and No-ho-po's position was maintained.⁹² Obviously there was a pro-Tibetan group among the T'u-yü-hun. It has been suggested that the pro-Tibetan faction developed around Fu-yün's second son, who had married a Tibetan princess.⁹³

At this time the Tibetan kingdom emerged as a new challenge to China. When the Tibetan king, Srong btsan sgam-po, first proposed a marriage soon

⁸² *CTS* 54, p. 2239; 194A, p. 5154; *HIS* 85, p. 3700; 215A, pp. 6029-30; *TCTC* 188, p. 5878.

⁸³ *CTS* 194A, pp. 5154-55; *HIS* 215A, p. 6029; *TCTC* 188, p. 5896.

⁸⁴ *Tang hui-yao* 唐會要 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935) 94, p. 1688; *TCTC* 190, p. 5948.

⁸⁵ *TCTC* 190, p. 5973.

⁸⁶ K'uang P'ing-chang thinks a marriage was concluded; "T'ang-tai kung-chu," pp. 24-25.

⁸⁷ *CTS* 194A, p. 5159; *HIS* 215A, p. 6035; *TCTC* 193, pp. 6072-73.

⁸⁸ *CTS* 194B, pp. 5181-82; *HIS* 215B, p. 6057; *TCTC* 191, p. 5995.

⁸⁹ *CTS* 194B, pp. 5182-83; *HIS* 215B, p. 6057; p. 6058; *TCTC* 193, p. 6061.

⁹⁰ *CTS* 194B, p. 5185; *HIS* 215B, p. 6060; *TCTC* 193, p. 6236.

⁹¹ *CTS* 109, pp. 3291-92; 199B, pp. 5345-46; *HIS* 110, pp. 4118-19; 217B, pp. 6136-37; *Tang hui-yao* 6, p. 63; *TCTC* 196, p. 6177; pp. 6179-80; 197, pp. 6199-201.

⁹² *CTS* 198, pp. 5298-300; *HIS* 221A, pp. 6224-26; Gabriella Molè, *The T'u-yü-hun from the Northern Wei to the Time of the Five Dynasties* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970), pp. 49-57.

⁹³ Yamaguchi, *Toban okoku*, pp. 673-84.

after 634, T'ai-tsung was prepared to agree, presumably with the hope of forming an alliance against the T'u-yü-hun. However, in about 635 No-ho-po became the king of the T'u-yü-hun, and in promoting a pro-T'ang policy he came in person to the T'ang court in 636. He objected to the marriage alliance between the T'ang and Tibet, and T'ai-tsung therefore turned it down.⁹⁴

Srong btsan sgam-po then launched attacks on both the T'u-yü-hun and T'ang borders. When he petitioned again for a marriage contract in 640, T'ai-tsung had to agree.⁹⁵ Princess Wen-ch'eng 文成 was sent in this instance and an uncle-nephew diplomatic status was established. Apparently the Tibetans were led to believe that she was a sister or a daughter of T'ai-tsung.⁹⁶ When the Tibetan chief minister came to the T'ang court to receive the princess, T'ai-tsung offered him the granddaughter of senior princess Lang-yeh 琅邪, but he refused.⁹⁷ Wen-ch'eng left for Tibet in 641, marking the beginning of a period of peaceful cultural exchange and frequent communication between the two states that lasted until 660.⁹⁸

T'ANG UNDER KAO-TSUNG AND EMPRESS WU (649-704)

Under Kao-tsung, China followed a pro-T'u-yü-hun policy in competition with Tibet. In 652 the T'ang princess Hung-hua and the T'u-yü-hun qaghan went to the T'ang court and arranged the marriage of the eldest son of the qaghan to a T'ang princess.⁹⁹ Several years later they arranged the marriage of the second son with a T'ang princess. The T'ang provided military assistance to the T'u-yü-hun when the latter were attacked by the Tibetans.

From about 650, Tibet expanded in all directions, a fact that led to confrontation with the Chinese. Kao-tsung took a firm stand against this powerful rival. In 658 a Tibetan request for a marriage produced no result.¹⁰⁰ In 679,

⁹⁴ Satō Hisashi 佐藤長, *Kodai Chibetto shi kenkyū* 古代チベット史研究 (Kyoto: Kyoto University 1958) I, pp. 248-52. Christopher I. Beckwith, without referring to Satō's opinion, questions the record of T'u-yü-hun's interference; *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (New Jersey: Princeton U.P., 1987), p. 23, n. 53.

⁹⁵ *CTS* 196A, p. 5221; *HIS* 216A, pp. 6073-74; *TCTC* 194, pp. 6107-8; 195, p. 6139; Satō, *Kodai Chibetto* I, p. 267.

⁹⁶ K'uang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," pp. 30-33; *TCTC* 212, p. 6734.

⁹⁷ *CTS* 196A, p. 5223; *HIS* 216A, p. 6075; *TCTC* 196, p. 6164.

⁹⁸ K'uang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," pp. 30-33. Yamaguchi rejects the traditional view that princess Wen-ch'eng was married from the outset to Srong btsan sgam-po. He concludes, instead, that she first married then-ruler king Gung srong gung rtsan, subsequently bore him a son and only after the king's death married Srong btsan sgam-po when he reascended the throne; Yamaguchi, *Tōban ōkoku*, pp. 547-62.

⁹⁹ *HIS* 221A, p. 6227; *TCTC* 199, p. 6279; K'uang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," pp. 28-30.

¹⁰⁰ *HIS* 216A, p. 6075; *TCTC* 200, p. 6310.

following a series of military clashes in which T'ang was often defeated, Tibet sent a proposal for another marriage through princess Wen-ch'eng, asking in particular that princess T'ai-p'ing 太平, Kao-tsung's own daughter by empress Wu, marry the Tibetan king. This was refused with the excuse that the princess was a Taoist nun.¹⁰¹

Eventually, in 703, when Tibet again raised a marriage proposal, empress Wu agreed.¹⁰² Seven years later under the emperor Chung-tsung, princess Chin-ch'eng 金城 was sent to marry the Tibetan king. She was a great-granddaughter of Kao-tsung, and her grandfather was the crown prince Chang-huai 章懷, who had been forced by empress Wu to commit suicide. Although she was adopted by Chung-tsung, she was probably chosen for the marriage because her relationship to the emperor was distant. The princess at the time may have been just over ten years old.¹⁰³ Princess Chin-ch'eng grew to be a strong-minded woman, and until her death in 740 was active in promoting a friendly relationship between the T'ang and Tibet (see below).

The Eastern Turks revived their empire in 682. In 697, Bäg Chor qaghan proposed to send his daughter to marry a Chinese prince.¹⁰⁴ Disregarding a remonstrance that no Chinese prince had ever married a non-Chinese woman, empress Wu, then in control of power, decided to make peace by sending her grandnephew Wu Yen-hsiu 武延秀 to the Turks to receive the lady. Bäg Chor, however, refused to recognize Wu Yen-hsiu as a member of the royal family. He detained him and launched attacks.¹⁰⁵ In 703 Bäg Chor again asked for a marriage. This time empress Wu presented two princes from the Li house for the Turks to choose from. The Turks then sent Wu Yen-hsiu back in 704.¹⁰⁶ The agreement, however, was broken off in 706 when emperor Chung-tsung came to power and took a firm stand against the Turks.¹⁰⁷ In 711, when Bäg Chor asked for a Chinese princess, the emperor Jui-tsung agreed to send princess Chin-shan 金山, the daughter of his eldest son. Soon after, when Jui-tsung was forced to abdicate the throne to Hsüan-tsung, the marriage was stopped.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ *HIS* 83, p. 3650; *TCTC* 200, p. 6310; 202, p. 6393; 202, p. 6402.

¹⁰² *HIS* 196A, p. 5226; *TCTC* 207, p. 6562.

¹⁰³ *CTS* 193A, pp. 5226-28; *HIS* 216A, p. 6081; K'uang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," pp. 33-35.

¹⁰⁴ *CTS* 194A, pp. 5168-99; *HIS* 215A, p. 6045; *TCTC* 206, p. 6516.

¹⁰⁵ *CTS* 91, p. 2939; 194A, pp. 5169-70; *HIS* 120, p. 4321; 215A, pp. 6045-47; *TCTC* 206, pp. 6530-31.

¹⁰⁶ *CTS* 194A, p. 5170; *HIS* 215A, p. 6047; *TCTC* 207, pp. 6562, 6573.

¹⁰⁷ *CTS* 194A, p. 5170; *HIS* 215A, p. 6047.

¹⁰⁸ The son was Li Ch'eng-ch'i. *CTS* 95, pp. 3009-13; 194A, p. 5172; *HIS* 81, pp. 3596-99; 215A, p. 6047; *TCTC* 210, p. 6664.

T'ANG UNDER HSÜAN-TSUNG (712-755)

When Hsüan-tsung assumed the throne in 712, the Eastern Turkish empire was in a weakened position. In 713 Hsüan-tsung agreed to give the hand of county princess of Nan-ho 南和, the daughter of the prince of Shu 蜀, to the son of Bäg Chor. This would have been the only marriage between the T'ang court and the Turks. The son died soon after, and the qaghan again asked for a marriage. Although Hsüan-tsung agreed,¹⁰⁹ there is no further mention, making it unlikely that the marriage took place.

The next Eastern Turkish qaghan, Bilgä (r. 716-734), chose to make peace with China. He filially called himself "son" in the proposed relationship with Hsüan-tsung and asked for a Chinese princess in marriage. Hsüan-tsung agreed to the relationship but refused the marriage. When the request for marriage was renewed, it was still refused on the grounds that Bilgä had not sent an envoy of high enough rank to make the request, and had not prepared adequate betrothal gifts, and, further, since a father-son status already existed, the son-in-law status would be improper.¹¹⁰ At this time the T'ang had formed marriage relations with the Khitan and Hsi 奚 regimes to counterbalance the Turks, and it is possible that this was the reason why it would not permit a marriage with the Turks.¹¹¹ In 734 Hsüan-tsung finally agreed to a marriage, but it was stopped with Bilgä's death.¹¹² The second Turkish empire collapsed in 745.

Under Hsüan-tsung marriage alliance was a major northeastern-front policy towards the Khitan and Hsi, whom the T'ang were anxious to detach from the Eastern Turks. From 717 until 725 five successive Khitan chiefs had T'ang princesses as wives. Three princesses were sent, all from the families of imperial kinswomen. In 724, when a power struggle occurred among the Khitans, the Khitan chief fled to T'ang with his T'ang princess. In 725 the chief was given the hand of princess Tung-hua 東華. He again was defeated in an internal power struggle and was killed in 730. The Khitans then turned to the Turks, and the princess had to flee to the T'ang. In 745, after the collapse of the Turks, the Khitan chief again turned to the T'ang, and Hsüan-tsung sent princess Ching-le 靜樂 in marriage, but soon after the chief killed the princess and rebelled.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ *HTS* 215A, pp. 6047-48; *TCTC* 210, p. 6686; 211, pp. 6699, 6706; K'uang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," pp. 39-40. On titles of royal princesses, see Denis Twitchett, "The T'ang Imperial Family," *AM* 3d ser. 7.2 (1994), pp. 49-52.

¹¹⁰ *CIS* 194A, pp. 5175-76; *HTS* 215B, p. 6053; *TCTC* 212, pp. 6761, 6764-65.

¹¹¹ Jagchid and Symons, *Peace, War, and Trade*, p. 154.

¹¹² *HTS* 215B, p. 6054.

¹¹³ *CIS* 199B, pp. 5351-53; *HTS* 219, pp. 6170-72; K'uang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," pp. 43-45.

The relationship between the T'ang and the Hsi followed the same pattern. In 717 the T'ang princess Ku-an 固安 was married to the chief of the Hsi, and then, when he died several years later, to his younger brother. Having discovered that a Hsi official was plotting against the T'ang, the princess poisoned him with wine. She was generously rewarded by the court. Jealous of her favor, her reputed mother reported to the court that princess Ku-an was not her own daughter, as she had been deemed originally, and she asked to replace Ku-an with her own daughter. Enraged at this, Hsüan-tsung ordered a divorce and sent princess Tung-kuang 東光 of a different family to continue the marriage. In 730, when the Hsi were forced by the Khitan to switch to the Turks, the chief and the princess fled to the T'ang court. In 745 the T'ang sent princess I-fang 宜芳 to Hsi, but as in the contemporary Khitan case, the chief killed the princess and rebelled. All three princesses were from the imperial kinswomen's families.¹¹⁴

During the time of Hsüan-tsung, Tibet's strategy alternated between military aggression on the T'ang frontier and demands for a peace treaty. In the peace-making efforts the T'ang princess Chin-ch'eng played an important role. She asked the T'ang court to send Confucian classics and other books to Tibet. During treaty negotiations of 717 she urged Hsüan-tsung to follow Tibetan custom by putting his personal signature on the treaty, but he was not persuaded. With the uncertainties of politics at the Tibetan court, she had to consider asking asylum from the king of Kashmir in 723, but when the situation settled down she did not have to go. Although the emperor never agreed to have his signature on a treaty, a peace treaty was concluded in 732 that defined the T'ang-Tibetan relationship as that of uncle to nephew. At the request of the princess, in 733 after the conclusion of the treaty, the two sides erected a stone stele at the border to mark the demarcation line.¹¹⁵ It is no accident that in 756 one of her brothers, Li Ch'eng-ts'ai 李承采, was chosen by the T'ang to marry a Uighur princess (see below).¹¹⁶ And in 763, when the Tibetans invaded and occupied Ch'ang-an for fifteen days, they established Li Ch'eng-hung 承宏, another brother of Chin-ch'eng, as emperor.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ *CIS* 199B, pp. 5354-56; *HTS* 219, pp. 6174-75; K'uang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," pp. 40-42.

¹¹⁵ *CIS* 196A, pp. 5228-35; *HTS* 216A, pp. 6081-86; *TCTC* 212, p. 6762; 213, pp. 6794, 6800; *Ts'ie-fu yüan-kwei* 冊府元龜 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1960; hereafter, *TFYK*) 979, pp. 11500-1, 11503. Chin-ch'eng kept regular communications with the T'ang court, who treated her favorably, except that they refused her several requests for a full household staff (a "princess administration" 公主府) in Tibet; *TFYK* 979, p. 11503; *Tang hui-yao* 6, p. 69.

¹¹⁶ Ch'eng-ts'ai was a son of Li Shou-li, and Shou-li was the father of Chin-ch'eng; *CIS* 86, p. 2834; 196A, p. 5226; *HTS* 81, p. 3592.

¹¹⁷ According to *TCTC* 223, pp. 7151-52, Ch'eng-hung was a grandson of Li Shou-li. See also

Tibetan power expanded to the Western Regions (Inner Asia). Early in Hsüan-tsung's reign, the Türgish people of the Western Turks became a strong power under their capable leader Su-lu 蘇祿. Su-lu made an alliance with Tibet, and in 734 took a Tibetan princess in marriage. He also married a princess of the Eastern Turks.¹¹⁸ Aware of his strength, the T'ang had to guard against him while trying to keep a friendly relationship. In 708, before Hsüan-tsung's reign, the T'ang had conferred a title on the leader of the Türgish and given him four palace ladies. In 719 Hsüan-tsung confirmed Su-lu's title of qaghan, and in 722 sent princess Chiao-ho 交河 to marry him.¹¹⁹ Eventually, when T'ang launched a crushing defeat on the Türgish in 739, princess Chiao-ho was brought back to T'ang.¹²⁰

After subduing the Türgish, China exerted its influence in Ferghana and the Talas basin west of the Pamirs. In 744 Hsüan-tsung gave the hand of princess Ho-i 和義 to the king of Ferghana, who had assisted the T'ang in the defeat of the Türgish.¹²¹ Hsüan-tsung also gave the hand of a royal lady to the king of Khotan.¹²²

T'ANG MARRIAGE ALLIANCE WITH THE UIGHURS

The An Lu-shan rebellion (755-763) drastically changed China. After the rebellion the T'ang usually followed a policy of alliance with the Uighurs against Tibet. Seven marriages took place in this regard. From 747 until 840, when the Uighur empire collapsed, thirteen qaghans ruled, most of whom had Chinese wives.¹²³

The first marriage was between a T'ang prince and a Uighur princess. This is unique in the sense that it was the only occasion in the Sui-T'ang era that a non-Chinese woman was married into the royal house. In 756 when China was engulfed by the chaos of the An Lu-shan rebellion, both the Uighurs and Tibetans sent envoys requesting a marriage alliance and offering

assistance to defeat the rebels. Su-tsung responded positively to the Uighur offer but not to that of Tibet. He made the great-grandson of Kao-tsung, Li Ch'eng-ts'ai, prince of Tun-huang 敦煌 and sent him to the Uighurs to cultivate friendship and ask for military assistance. The qaghan adopted his sister-in-law as daughter and married her to Ch'eng-ts'ai.¹²⁴

An even more noteworthy feature of T'ang marriage alliances with the Uighurs was the sending of three actual daughters of emperors to Uighur qaghans. Until then, all so-called imperial princesses sent as brides to foreign rulers were daughters of imperial kinsmen and kinswomen, not direct offspring of emperors. In 758 princess Ning-kuo 寧國, the daughter of Su-tsung and already twice married, was sent to marry the Uighur qaghan Mo-yen-ch'o 磨延曷.¹²⁵ The emperor also sent the prince of Jung's 榮 daughter to accompany Ning-kuo as concubine. After the qaghan died in 759, his officials wanted princess Ning-kuo to be buried with him, but the princess refused on the grounds that this was not a Chinese custom. A compromise was made according to which she observed the nomadic custom of slashing her face and weeping loudly. She returned to the T'ang the same year since she had not born a child to the qaghan. The daughter of prince of Jung remained, and was called "younger princess Ning-kuo" by the Uighurs.¹²⁶

Mo-yen-ch'o was succeeded by his son, Bögü qaghan (Mou-yü 牟羽; r. 759-779). The younger princess Ning-kuo became his wife, and bore him two sons. Bögü, while a prince, had married the daughter of P'u-ku Huai-en 僕固懷恩. She was chosen because of her family connections with the Uighurs. P'u-ku Huai-en was descended from the Buqu tribe that was related to the Uighurs and had come over to the T'ang in T'ai-tsung's time. In 762 the qaghan was enticed by Shih Ch'ao-i 史朝義, an anti-T'ang rebel leader, to come over to his side with the promise of plunder. P'u-ku Huai-en, as father-in-law, succeeded in persuading the qaghan to remain true to the alliance with the T'ang, and to assist in suppressing Shih Ch'ao-i.¹²⁷ In 764, however, P'u-ku Huai-en rose in rebellion against the T'ang, and found ready support from the Uighurs and Tibet. Fortunately for the T'ang court, P'u-ku died in 765, and the T'ang

¹¹⁸ *IFYK* 39, p. 439; 358, p. 4248. But according to the following sources, Ch'eng-hung was the son of Shou-li: *CTS* 86, p. 2834; 196A, p. 5237; *HIS* 81, p. 3592. If he was a grandson, Ch'eng-ts'ai should also be a grandson since their middle names suggest a same-generation relationship.

¹¹⁸ *CTS* 194B, p. 5192; *TCTC* 214, p. 6833.

¹¹⁹ *CTS* 194B, pp. 5190-91; *HIS* 215B, pp. 6066-67. *CTS* says that the conferment of qaghan was in 715; I follow *TCTC* 212, p. 6737.

¹²⁰ *CTS* 194B, p. 5192; *HIS* 215B, pp. 6068-69; *TCTC* 214, p. 6838.

¹²¹ *TCTC* 215, p. 6862; K'uang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," p. 48.

¹²² *HIS* 110, p. 4127.

¹²³ See Haneda Tōru's 羽田亨 list of Uighur rulers; "Tōdai kaikotsushi no kenkyū" 唐代回鶻史の研究, in *Haneda hakushi shigaku rombun shū* 羽田博士史學論文集 (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1957) 1, pp. 298-303; Ts'ui, "T'ang yü Hui-ho," pp. 98-102.

¹²⁴ *CTS* 86, p. 2834; 195, p. 5198; *HIS* 217A, p. 6115; *TCTC* 218, p. 6998; 219, p. 7005. See also Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire according to the Tang Dynastic Histories: A Study in Sino-Uighur Relations 744-840* (Canberra: Australian National U.P., 1972), p. 128, n. 14.

¹²⁵ K'uang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," p. 49; Mackerras, *Uighur Empire*, p. 62; Ts'ui, "T'ang yü Hui-ho," p. 98.

¹²⁶ *CTS* 195, pp. 5200-2; p. 5210; *HIS* 217A, pp. 6116-17; p. 6120.

¹²⁷ *CTS* 21, pp. 3477-81; 195, pp. 5202-4; *HIS* 217A, pp. 6117-19; 224A, pp. 6365-68; *TCTC* 222, pp. 7131-40.

was able to persuade the Uighurs to ally with them against Tibet.¹²⁸ In 769 Tai-tsung bestowed the title of princess Ch'ung-hui 崇徽 on another daughter of P'u-ku Huai-en, treating her as an emperor's daughter, and married her to the qaghan.¹²⁹

Bögü qaghan was killed in a coup by his chief minister Bagha Tarqan (Mo-he Ta-kan 莫賀達干), who established himself as qaghan (r. 779-789). In the power struggle he also killed the two sons of younger princess Ning-kuo. She died in 791.¹³⁰

In 787 Bagha Tarqan asked for a new marriage contract with T'ang. At first Te-tsung was unwilling to consider it. He had complex feelings toward the Uighurs, for he had suffered a great humiliation in 762 as prince at the hands of the Uighur Bögü qaghan. This had led him to a pro-Tibetan policy, which had produced disastrous results. Now when this opportunity for renewing the Uighur alliance arose chief minister Li Mi 李泌 strongly urged the emperor to consider a marriage, suggesting that the T'ang lay down the condition that the qaghan accept the status of vassal and son, rather than that of brother, to the Tang emperor. Finally Te-tsung was persuaded, and the Uighurs accepted the condition.

In 788 princess Hsien-an 咸安, a daughter of Te-tsung, was married to the qaghan. The qaghan expressed clearly that the previous brother type of relationship was changed now that he was a son-in-law.¹³¹ The marriage marked a significant turning point for peace in the T'ang court's relations with the Uighur empire. Moreover, the relationship ensured an alliance against Tibet. In 789 the qaghan died. Between 790 and 808 the Uighurs were in a succession crisis. Four qaghans were set up one after the other, and before her death in 808 princess Hsien-an had married the last three in succession.¹³²

In 813 the qaghan Pao-i 保義 (r. 808-821) requested a marriage contract. Hsien-tsung at first refused on the grounds that the marriage would be too costly (he was then preoccupied with internal campaigns against the powerful independent military commissioners). Li Chiang 李絳, chief minister from 811 to early 814 and now minister of rites, insisted on an agreement on the grounds that a marriage would ensure peace on the frontier so that the court could concentrate on dealing with internal rebels, and could prevent the Uighurs from joining forces with Tibet. In 820, towards the end of his reign,

when China's internal situation had become calm and Tibet was making continuous attacks, Hsien-tsung permitted the marriage.¹³³

The marriage took place in 821 under the next emperor, Mu-tsung. By then Pao-i had died. The T'ang court sent princess T'ai-ho 太和, the daughter of Hsien-tsung, to the Uighur qaghan Ch'ung-te 崇德, setting up for her a special administration to emphasize special treatment.¹³⁴ One can assume that T'ai-ho married the succeeding qaghan when Ch'ung-te died in 824. Between 832 and 840 renewed succession crises occurred among the Uighurs. The Uighurs began dispersing in 840. One branch under the qaghan Ögä held princess T'ai-ho. In the winter of 841-842 princess T'ai-ho asked the T'ang court to invest Ögä as qaghan.¹³⁵ Holding the princess as a hostage, Ögä repeatedly made requests for T'ang assistance. In the court discussions, Li Te-yü's 李德裕 aggressive policy prevailed.¹³⁶ He wrote a letter to the princess on behalf of the emperor saying: "You are their queen, able to command. If the Uighurs cannot accept your command, then this is [tantamount to] renunciation of our good marriage connections. From today hence, they must not use you, our paternal aunt, as an excuse."¹³⁷ The letter was in fact a declaration that severed the mutual relationship between the Uighurs and the Chinese, implying also that the T'ang would not take the usual responsibility to protect the princess. Early in 843 the Chinese inflicted a mortal blow on Ögä, who fled and died in 846. Princess T'ai-ho returned to the T'ang in 843, and was rewarded with a higher rank as senior grand princess of An-ting 安定, a title applied to a paternal aunt of an emperor.¹³⁸

In the T'ang alliance with the Uighurs against Tibet, the T'ang also tried to make peace with the Nan-chao 南昭 kingdom in present Yün-nan 雲南. With the collapse of the Tibetan state and the Uighur empire in the 840s, however, Nan-chao grew to be a major foreign threat to T'ang China. Late in the T'ang, Kao P'ien 高駢, who was made military commissioner of Hsi-ch'uan 西川 in 875, initiated peace negotiations and promised (apparently without

¹²⁸ Mackerras, *Uighur Empire*, pp. 26-29.

¹²⁹ *CTS* 11, p. 293; *HIS* 217A, p. 6120; *TCTC* 224, p. 7208.

¹³⁰ K'uang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," pp. 49-51.

¹³¹ *CTS* 195, p. 5208; *HIS* 217A, pp. 6122-24; *TCTC* 233, pp. 7501-6, 7515-16.

¹³² *HIS* 217A, p. 6126; K'uang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," pp. 52-53.

¹³³ *CTS* 195, pp. 5210-11; *HIS* 152, p. 4843; 217A, pp. 6126-27; 217B, p. 6129; *TCTC* 239, p. 7704; 241, p. 7779.

¹³⁴ *CTS* 195, pp. 5211-12; *HIS* 217B, pp. 6129-30; *TCTC* 241, pp. 7791-92; Twitchett, "Imperial Family," p. 51.

¹³⁵ Haneda, "Tōdai kaikotsushi no kenkyū," pp. 238-41; Michael R. Drompp, "The Writings of Li Te-yü as Sources for the History of T'ang-Inner Asian Relations" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana U., 1986), pp. 37-38.

¹³⁶ *TCTC* 246, pp. 7966-67; Drompp, "Writings of Li Te-yü," pp. 148-50.

¹³⁷ Drompp, "Writings of Li Te-yü," p. 160.

¹³⁸ *TCTC* 247, pp. 7974-75; 248, p. 8025; K'uang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," p. 56; Twitchett, "Imperial Family," p. 49.

authorization by the T'ang court) to send the Nan-chao king a T'ang princess for marriage. The king, a capable leader known for his strong attitude against T'ang, welcomed the gesture, but insisted on an equal footing with China. He died, however, in 877. The new king sent a diplomatic mission to the T'ang court for a peace settlement. Finally in 880, T'ang accepted the proposal for marriage and acknowledged Nan-chao as an equal, that is, Nan-chao would no longer refer to itself as a subject. The promised marriage, however, never took place.¹³⁹

CONCLUSION

This survey of the *ho-ch'in* type of international marriage alliance through the T'ang period confirms an important conclusion made in previous studies: international marriage alliances characterized China's relations only with nomadic and semi-nomadic powers and was little used in relations with agricultural societies. The question is why. One typical explanation has been that such regimes, seeking material gain, proposed the alliances actively. Also, such alliances could enhance the political prestige of the leaders among their own people and in the eyes of neighboring peoples.

A conclusion that emerges clearly from the present study, and that bears on the question above, is that marriage alliance was commonly used among nomadic and semi-nomadic powers themselves. Among others, we note that between the Hsiung-nu and Wu-sun, the Hsiung-nu and K'ang-chü, among the non-Chinese regimes in northern China during the Period of Division, and between the Turks and the T'u-yü-hun, the T'u-yü-hun and Tibet, and Tibet and the Türgish. One may suggest that intermarriage was thus simply a feature of these tribal organizations that was extended to relations with China. In inter-state relations, the alliances were effected not just for economic and political support from China. For example, the Wu-sun intermarried with both China and the Hsiung-nu, using the marriages as a way to maintain independence by keeping a balance between competing powers. The Türgish, a small power among several larger ones, used marriage alliance successfully for some time to exert its own position. Aware of the situation, China had to use the same strategy to its own advantage. Although the Chinese had their own tradition of using marriage to further political ends, when using that tradition among non-Chinese nomadic people they adapted it to the practices of those people.

¹³⁹ Charles Backus, *The Nan-chao Kingdom and Tang China's Southwestern Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1981), pp. 153-64.

Further, the marriage alliances of the Sui-T'ang courts were based on the understanding that in Turkish practice the qaghan's wife would participate in decision-making. In 615, the Sui relied on princess I-ch'eng's intervention to lift the siege of Yen-men by the Turks; in 623 she urged the Turks' attack on T'ang; and in the letter of Li Te-yü to princess T'ai-ho in 842 he urged the princess to use her influence in politics.

We have seen different features and purposes of international marriage alliances at different times. The early-Han regimes began the *ho-ch'in* policy as appeasement of the Hsiung-nu in a passive way and recognized a brother-status relationship in addition to the marriage, but later the Han was able to use it in an active way with the Wu-sun, Lou-lan, and Southern Hsiung-nu. With the Hsiung-nu the status was changed from that of brothers to that of father and son-in-law. In the Eastern Han the *ho-ch'in* policy lapsed since the Hsiung-nu were under Chinese control, and the initiative to entice the Hsienpei with the promise of marriage failed. The attempts by frontier warlords at the end of Han to form marriage alliances with nomads may be looked on as a prelude to the following period.

During the Period of Division, a specific feature was equals-status and reciprocal arrangements, although the states involved were sensitive as to who made the proposal first, and what positions their women were given. The non-Chinese regimes used marriage alliance to consolidate their own power and to oppose third parties. Sometimes refusal of marriage alliance was also used as a strategy in the power struggles in multi-state relations. In the case of the Northern Wei, marriages were concluded with other independent states for a mixture of goals to maintain a balance of power, to win time, or as a reward for cooperation. The Northern Dynasties, faced with formidable challenges from the steppe and from rival powers within China, competed to win over the Jou-jan, Turks and T'u-yü-hun. Several northern emperors married women from other powers, even though this could bring about an inferior status.

As direct successors of the Northern Dynasties, the royal families of the Sui and early T'ang had both intermarried with non-Chinese, and had quite an open and positive view of the policy of marriage alliance. The Sui dynasty was able to use marriage alliances to manipulate relations with the Turks, and to eliminate the Chou princess Ch'ien-chin, who was strongly anti-Sui. The Sui marriages with the T'u-yü-hun and Kao-ch'ang served to consolidate a pro-China policy. During pre-An Lu-shan T'ang, the Chinese policy makers to a large extent utilized this policy in a positive way to enhance China's position. Sixteen marriages were made with the Turks, T'u-yü-hun, Tibet, Kao-ch'ang, Hsi, Khitan, Türgish, Khotan, and Ferghana. Several times the T'ang courts

refused marriage requests of non-Chinese rulers when it would not benefit China, or when the refusal would weaken the foreign powers. A typical example is T'ai-tung's breach of the marriage agreement with the Hsieh-yen-t'o. In at least two cases China was forced into agreeing to marriage. One was the marriage of princess Wen-ch'eng to a Tibetan ruler, and the other was when the Turkish qaghan Bäg Chor requested a marriage between his daughter and a Chinese prince in 698, although this did not materialize.

The An Lu-shan rebellion placed T'ang China in a disadvantageous position vis-à-vis its neighbors. To maintain the alliance with the Uighurs against powerful Tibet, the T'ang court demonstrated a remarkable flexibility and pragmatism in concluding seven dynastic marriages. An unprecedented feature was that three princesses sent to the Uighurs (Ning-kuo, Hsien-an, and T'ai-ho) were the actual daughters of T'ang emperors.

Under the Sui-T'ang unified empire, Chinese emperors ceased taking foreign princesses. In two cases China agreed to take foreign women for its princes: in 703 empress Wu agreed to send a T'ang prince to the Turks (though it did not materialize), and in 756 a T'ang prince, Li Ch'eng-ts'ai, married a Uighur lady. Presumably, to the Chinese, an emperor's receiving a foreign woman would place China in an inferior position. Also, as open-minded as they were about arranging marriages, the Sui-T'ang rulers made sure that the marriage was not defined as a brother-status relationship: between the T'ang court and Tibet it was defined as that of uncle-nephew; in 788 the Uighur qaghan was given the hand of princess Hsien-an on the condition that he changed his status of brother to the T'ang to that of son-in-law and a vassal. The use of kinship terms to describe Chinese relations with their neighbors was quite common. While they did not define the non-Chinese as vassals, they implied a superior-inferior family relationship at least in the eyes of the Chinese.

Previous studies have recognized that the Chinese were sensitive about the status of the princesses they chose to send out for marriage alliance. Chinese princesses fell into a hierarchy, beginning at the apex: actual daughters of emperors, of imperial princes (a title given to all the sons of each reigning emperor), of imperial kinsmen, of imperial kinswomen, and women from non-imperial houses. Such distinctions were made according to the perceived importance of the foreign state. We see also in this study that during the Period of Division the Northern Wei historians held the idea that those who initiated the marriage proposal placed themselves in an inferior position, while at the same time the marriages at that period were often reciprocal, with the ruler of each side taking a woman from the other, and that these women were often the

actual daughters or sisters of the rulers, suggesting an equality in status.

As for the women themselves, life in a foreign land was not easy to adjust to, and often they were in dangerous political situations, faced with power struggles within and complex international politics without. Some had to flee for their lives or were killed. Princess Hsing-p'ing of Northern Liang, who married into the Northern Wei, was ordered to commit suicide when Northern Liang was eliminated by Wei. The T'ang princess Ching-le (sent to the Khitan) and princess I-fang (to Hsi) were killed by husbands who turned hostile to the T'ang.

Depending on the circumstances, they were expected to fulfill various roles. Some were just given as reward in return for assistance, as bribery to foreign rulers, or as a means to drive a wedge among foreign regimes. Imperial princesses stranded in the felt tents and hardships of nomadic life were more than mere focuses of poetic, sentimental convention; they were representatives of China. The solemn farewell ceremonies, the possessions loaded onto carriages, gifts, and retinues (for example, the princesses sent to Tibet and to the Uighurs) demonstrate the importance given by the court to these events. Once in the foreign land, the women still enjoyed the status of a Chinese princess; the Chinese court would regularly send envoys to them to maintain their communication with China, and to provide protection, which amounted to military assistance to, or cooperation with, the foreign states (for example, the princess Chieh-yu during the Han; Chin-ch'eng in the T'ang). These women were expected to represent and protect the interest of their natal states while promoting harmonious or pro-China relations. They served variously as diplomats, intermediaries, and informants.

Some women were active in fulfilling their roles and exerted strong influence in international politics. In a number of notable cases they devoted their lives to furthering Chinese interests by maintaining good relations between their adoptive countries and China: the Han princesses Hsi-chün and Chieh-yu (sent to the Wu-sun), Wang Chao-chün (to the Southern Hsiung-nu), the T'ang princess Hung-hua (to the T'u-yü-hun) who arranged further state marriages, and the T'ang princesses Wen-ch'eng and Chin-ch'eng (to Tibet) who served as cultural ambassadors.

Several capable and strong-willed princesses participated actively in local politics and were forced to take action for self-protection. Examples can be seen in the Han princess Chieh-yu's exerting influence in Wu-sun politics, in the Northern Wei princess Wu-wei's providing information on Northern Liang to her natal family, in the Northern Chou princess Ch'ien-chin's anti-Sui activities, in Sui princess I-ch'eng's assistance to Sui and anti-T'ang activities,

in T'ang princess Ku-an's poisoning of an anti-T'ang general in Hsi, and in T'ang princess Chin-ch'eng's efforts to make possible a T'ang-Tibetan treaty.

From the beginning, the *ho-ch'in* policy aroused controversy among contemporary Chinese commentators. The attitudes of such writers varied from support to objection or severe criticism, and from sympathy towards the princesses married to a distant foreign land to feelings of humiliation. During T'ang, Liu K'uang 劉況, an official historian in Hsüan-tsung's time and the eldest son of the famous historian Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾, attacked the *ho-ch'in* policy of the Han era as a humiliation, making China into a subject state and forcing Chinese women into levirate marriage practice.¹⁴⁰ Upon the return of princess Ning-kuo to the T'ang court in 759, Tu Fu 杜甫, writing in a poem, lamented: "We hear that even the Uighurs were defeated (in the battle with anti-T'ang rebels). So the marriage alliance did not turn out to be advantageous."¹⁴¹ Jung Yü 戎昱, a prefect in the early 780s, wrote a poem implying that it was shameful that China had to rely on women for peace: "In the history of Han, the clumsy plan was *ho-ch'in*. The state depended on an enlightened ruler, but the security was entrusted to women. How could one plan to use beautiful faces, to calm the barbarian turmoil? Among the bones underground for a thousand years, who were the supporting ministers?"¹⁴² The policy makers nonetheless continued to arrange *ho-ch'in* international marriages.

In sharp contrast to previous dynasties, the Sung, while tremendously realistic in its relationship with the Khitan-Liao and Jurchen-Chin empires, abandoned the policy of marriage alliance. To the Liao request for a marriage, the Sung suggested sending a larger silk and money subsidy instead of marriage. A marriage alliance was seen as a greater insult and humiliation than payment of goods.¹⁴³ At the same time, the Khitan empire continued the marriage alliance policy with Korea and Western Hsia.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ *Tung tien* 通典 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935) 200, pp. 1086-87; *HTS* 215A, pp. 6023-24.

¹⁴¹ Mackerras, *Uighur Empire*, p. 137, n. 70.

¹⁴² *Ch'üan Tang wen* 全唐文 (Taipei: Hui-wen Press, 1961; facs. reproduction of 1814 edn.) 270, p. 674.

¹⁴³ Tao Jing-shen, *Two Sons of Heaven: Studies in Sung-Liao Relations* (Tucson: U. Arizona P., 1988), pp. 60-62.

¹⁴⁴ Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett, eds., *The Cambridge History of China, v. 6, Alien Regimes and Border States, 907-1368* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1994), pp. 104, 140, 169.

APPENDIX: Chronological List of Marriage Alliances, Han through T'ang

Western Han (202 BC-8 AD)

- 198 BC Princess married Hsiung-nu *ch'an-yü*.
- 192 BC Princess married Hsiung-nu *ch'an-yü*.
- 174 BC Princess married Hsiung-nu *ch'an-yü*.
- 152 BC Princess married Hsiung-nu *ch'an-yü* (*SC* 110, pp. 2898, 2904; *HS* 5, p. 144; 94A, pp. 3759, 3764; *TCTC* 14, p. 468.)
- 134 BC *ante* Princess married Hsiung-nu *ch'an-yü*.
- 105 BC *ca.* Princess Hsi-chün; granddaughter of emperor Ching; daughter of Liu Chien, prince of Chiang-tu, married Wu-sun king, and eventually to king's grandson, Chün-hsü Mi.
- 101 BC Princess Chieh-yü; granddaughter of Liu Wu, prince of Ch'u 楚王 劉戊, married Wu-sun king, Chün-hsü Mi; eventually married two successive Wu-sun kings.
- 77 BC Palace lady was rewarded to king of Lou-lan.
- 33 BC Five palace ladies, including Wang Chao-chün, sent to Hu-han-yeh of So. Hsiung-nu; Wang later married Hu-han-yeh's successor.

Eastern Han (24-220 AD)

- 204 AD *ante* Woman in house of Kung-sun Tu, governor of Liao-tung commandery, married king of Puyö.
- 205 AD Woman from clan of Yüan Shao (deemed his own daughter) married ruler of the Wu-huan.

Sixteen Kingdoms era (304-439)

- 339 Younger sister of Mu-jung Huang 毓, king of Former Yen, married Shih-i-chien, king of the T'o-pa Tai.
- 341 Daughter of Shih-i-chien married ruler of the T'ieh-fu Hsiung-nu after their political submission; T'ieh-fu maintained independence (*WS* 1, p. 12; *TCTC* 96, p. 3046).
- 344 Shih-i-chien married daughter of Mo-jung Huang of the Former Yen.
- 344 Shih-i-chien's niece married Mu-jung Huang.
- 356 *post* Former Yen and Tai made marriage alliance (*WS* 1, p. 14).
- 360 The Tai and the T'ieh-fu Hsiung-nu made marriage alliance (*WS* 1, pp. 14-16; 95, p. 2055; *TCTC* 101, p. 3182).

- 362 Reciprocal marriages between Tai and Former Yen; status of women involved not clear (*TCTC* 101, p. 3191; Jennifer Holmgren believes daughter of the Tai king was sent; idem, *Annals of Tai: Early T'o-pa History according to the First Chapter of the Wei-shu*, Faculty of Asian Studies Monographs NS 1 [Canberra: Australian Nat. U.P., 1982], p. 71).
- 394 Senior princess of Tung-p'ing 東平, the younger sister of Fu Teng 苻登, king of Former Ch'in, married king of Western Ch'in in return for military assistance (*Chin Shu* 125, p. 3117; *TCTC* 108, p. 3415. There is a discrepancy in the date of the marriage; I follow *TCTC*).
- 411 Princess Le-lang 樂浪, daughter of Feng Pa, king of Northern Yen, married Jou-jan chief Hu-lü 斛律.
- 414 Daughter of Jou-jan chief Hu-lü sent to king of Northern Yen, Feng Pa.
- Northern Wei (386-534)*
- 415 Senior Princess Hsi-p'ing, daughter of the king of Later Ch'in, married Northern Wei emperor, T'o-pa Ssu.
- 437 *ante* Princess Hsing-p'ing, younger sister of king of Northern Liang, married N. Wei emperor, T'o-pa T'ao.
- 434 Northern Wei princess Hsi-hai 西海 (relationship to the emperor unclear) married Jou-jan qaghan.
- 434 Jou-jan qaghan's younger sister married to N. Wei emperor T'o-pa T'ao; latter's secondary wife.
- 437 T'o-pa T'ao's younger sister, princess Wu-wei, married king of Northern Liang.
- 439 Northern Wei enfeoffed Ti leader Yang Pao-tsung as king of Wu-tu and gave him a Wei princess as wife.
- 442 *ca.* Ti leader Yang Nan-tang 楊難當 turned politically to Wei, and married a Wei princess (mentioned in 442 in letter from a Northern Wei general to local regimes under Sung; see *Sung Shu* 95, pp. 2334-35).
- Northern Dynasties (534-581)*
- 538 W. Wei princess Hua-cheng 化政, daughter of clansman Yüan I 元翬, married brother of Jou-jan qaghan (*PS* 98, p. 3264).
- Eldest daughter of Jou-jan qaghan, A-na-kui, married emperor Wen of Western Wei; she was established as empress.
- 541 Eastern Wei princess Le-an 樂安, younger sister of prince of Ch'ang-shan Yüan Chih 常山王元鸞 (about whom no other information is found), married son of Jou-jan qaghan A-na-kui; princess promoted to senior princess of Lan-ling commandery, a rank usually referring to sisters of emperor.
- 542 Princess Lin-ho, qaghan Jou-jan's granddaughter, married eight-year-old ninth son of Kao Huan.
- 545 Kao Huan married daughter of the Jou-jan qaghan. After Kao Huan's death, his eldest son married the Jou-jan princess.
- 545 Cousin of T'u-yü-hun qaghan married emperor Hsiao-ching of Eastern Wei; latter's secondary wife.
- 545 E. Wei princess Kuang-le 廣樂, granddaughter of Yüan Kuang 元匡, prince of Chi-nan, married T'u-yü-hun qaghan (*PS* 96, p. 3186. Yüan Kuang was grandson of T'o-pa Huang, son of emperor T'o-pa T'ao; see *WS* 19A, p. 454-57).
- 551 Western Wei princess Ch'ang-le 長樂 married Turkish chief.
- 568 Turkish princess married Northern Chou emperor Yü-wen Yung; established as empress.
- 580 Northern Chou princess Ch'ien-chin, daughter of prince of Chao (Yü-wen Chao - younger brother of Yü-wen T'ai) married Turkish qaghan Taspar.
- The Sui Dynasty (581-618)*
- 596 Princess Kuang-hua married the T'u-yü-hun king Fu, and later the next king, Fu's younger brother Fu-yün.
- 597 Princess An-i married Zamqan, a minor qaghan of the Eastern Turks.
- 599 Princess I-ch'eng married Zamqan. She was the daughter of Yang Hsieh 楊諧 of the royal house (*HYS* 215A, pp. 6029-30). She married the next three qaghans in succession.
- 612 Princess Hua-jung from the Yü-wen clan married the king of Kao-ch'ang, and later his son in succession. In 630 the princess was granted the royal Li surname of the T'ang dynasty and the title as Princess Ch'ang-le.
- 614 Princess Hsin-i married Western Turkish qaghan.

- 620 Wang Shih-ch'ung, a Sui official, sent a woman from his clan to marry Eastern Turkish qaghan.
- Tang (618-907)*
- 640 Princess Hung-hua married king of the T'u-yü-hun (*CTS* 198, p. 5300; *HIS* 221A, p. 6226).
- 641 Princess Wen-ch'eng married Tibetan king.
- 652 Princess of Chin-ch'eng district married eldest son of the king of the T'u-yü-hun.
- 652 *post* Princess of Chin-ming 金明 district married second son of the king of the T'u-yü-hun.
- 708 Four palace ladies sent to Türgish chief (*CTS* 194B, p. 5190; *HIS* 215B, p. 6066; *TCTC* 212, p. 6737).
- 710 Princess Chin-ch'eng married Tibetan king.
- 713 Princess of Nan-ho district, daughter of the prince of Shu, married son of Eastern Turkish qaghan (*HIS* 215A, p. 6047; *TCTC* 210, p. 6686).
- 717 Princess Ku-an married chief of Hsi, and later his successor.
- 717 Princess Yung-le 永樂 married chief of the Khitan, and later his successor.
- 720 Princess Yen-chün 燕郡 married the chief of the Khitan, and later his successor.
- 722 Princess Chiao-ho married the Türgish king. She was a daughter of A-shih-na Huai-tao 阿史那懷道, the grandson of A-shih-na Pu-chen 步真, who had submitted to T'ang during T'ai-tsung's time (*CTS* 194B, p. 5191; *HIS* 215B, p. 6067; *TCTC* 212, p. 6754; Kuang, "T'ang-tai kung-chu," p. 46).
- 722 Princess Tung-kuang married Hsi chief.
- 725 Princess Tung-hua married Khitan chief.
- 744 Princess Ho-i married king of Ferghana.
- 744 A royal lady married king of Khotan. It is not clear what title she was given.
- 745 Princess Ching-le married Khitan chief.
- Princess I-fang married Hsi chief.
- 756 Uighur princess married Li Ch'eng-ts'ai, commandery prince of

Tun-huang and brother of princess Chin-ch'eng, who was sent in marriage-alliance with Tibet.

- 758 Princess Ning-kuo, daughter of Su-tsung, married the Uighur qaghan, Mo-yen-ch'o.
- 758 The daughter of the Prince of Jung married the Uighur Mo-yen-ch'o qaghan as concubine. Called Younger Princess Ning-kuo by the Uighurs, she later married the next qaghan (*CTS* 195B, p. 5210; *HIS* 217A, p. 6120).
- 758 A daughter of T'ang general, P'u-ku Huai-en, married the Uighur prince, who later became Bögü qaghan (*CTS* 121, pp. 3477-80; 195, p. 5202; *HIS* 217A, p. 6117; 224A, pp. 6365-67; *TCTC* 222, p. 7131). P'u-ku might have had another daughter sent in marriage alliance with the Uighurs before his death in 765 (Ts'ui, "T'ang yü Hui-ho," p. 99).
- 769 Princess Ch'ung-hui, a daughter of P'u-ku Huai-en, married the Uighur Bögü qaghan.
- 788 Princess Hsien-an, daughter of Te-tsung, married to the Uighur Bagha Tarqan qaghan. She later married three qaghans in succession.
- 821 Princess T'ai-ho, daughter of Hsien-tsung, married the Uighur Ch'ung-te qaghan.

Note: Any item in the appendix not covered above, in the body of the article, is given source citations here for the first time.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CTS</i>	<i>Chiu Tang shu</i> 舊唐書
<i>HHS</i>	<i>Hou Han shu</i> 後漢書
<i>HS</i>	<i>Han shu</i> 漢書
<i>HIS</i>	<i>Hsin Tang shu</i> 新唐書
<i>PS</i>	<i>Pei shih</i> 北史
<i>SC</i>	<i>Shih chi</i> 史記
<i>SS</i>	<i>Sui shu</i> 隋書
<i>TCTC</i>	<i>Tzu-chih t'ung-chien</i> 資治通鑑
<i>TFYK</i>	<i>Ts'e-fu yüan-kuai</i> 冊府元龜
<i>WS</i>	<i>Wei shu</i> 魏書